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OTHER STRATEGIES FOR OTHER PLACES

Strategies for the Informal Markets and Workers of the Warwick

Junction in Durban, South Africa

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Eine Arbeit

von

Dorothee Huber

OTHER STRATEGIES FOR OTHER PLACES

Strategies for the Informal Markets and Workers of the Warwick Junction in Durban, South Africa

ausgeführt zum Zwecke der Erlangung des akademischen Grades einer

Diplom-Ingenieurin

unter der Leitung

Arch. DI Dr. tech. Helge Mooshammer

264/1 Institut für Kunst und Gestalten

Abteilung Zeichen und visuelle Sprachen

eingereicht an der Technischen Universität Wien

Fakultät für Architektur und Raumplanung von

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Wien, am 03.11.2016

DEUTSCH

Die Warwick Junction ist ein einzigartiger Ort im Zentrum der Süd Afrikanischen Stadt Durban. Dieser lebhafteste Transportknotenpunkt ist der Schauplatz von überwiegend informellen Händlern beträchtlichen Umfangs und übernimmt die Rolle eines wesentlichen Gliedes von Durban's sozialer und physischer Fragmentierung, und zwischen dessen peripheren Beschaffenheit und polyzentrischen inneren Struktur. Warwick definiert einen Ort der Interaktion, wo verschiedene Welten zusammenströmen und wo formal und informal im Einklang existieren. Innerhalb der neun Märkte und deren vielen Händlern, wird man beeindruckt von der Dichte der Aktivitäten, der bewegenden Menschenmassen, dem vielen Verkehr, den vielen Geräuschen, Gerüchen und dem regen Treiben - alles binnen einem relativ kleinen Teil der Stadt.

Dieses Marktgebiet ist ein informelles Zentrum des Handels, welches täglich von fast einer halben Million Nutzer passiert wird und Platz bietet für in etwa 6000 Händler. Es ist ein wichtiger ökonomischer, kultureller und sozialer Ort, welcher immer weiter wächst und floriert, trotz der vielen Herausforderungen der Nutzer und Bewohner.

Das Ziel der Arbeit ist diese komplexen Systeme der ökonomischen, kulturellen und sozialen Dynamiken zu erforschen und Wege zu finden, diese Systeme zu verbessern, zu stärken oder zu erweitern.

Um das zu erreichen, wird der geschichtliche und räumliche Hintergrund, sowie die komplexen Systeme und Dynamiken des Gebietes, erarbeitet und analysiert. Basierend auf diesen Untersuchungen, ergeben sich Schlussfolgerungen und Prämissen, die wesentliche Bedingungen für eine positive Entwicklung und inklusiver Planungsansätze darstellen. Anhand eines Fallbeispiel wird getestet, wie man diese Erkenntnisse in beispielhafte räumliche Strategien übertragen kann, welche mögliche ortsspezifischen und bedürfnisorientierten Planungszugänge aufzeigen, die positive zur Zukunftsfähigkeit der Warwick Junction und deren Nutzer beitragen.

ABSTRACT

ENGLISH

The Warwick Junction is a unique location within central Durban, South Africa. This vibrant transport hub provides a setting predominantly for informal traders on a considerable scale. It is also a crucial space for understanding, and addressing issues related to, Durban's social and physical fragmentation – the peripheral conditions of Warwick Junction, on the one hand, and Durban's poly-centric structure on the other. It defines a place of interaction where very different worlds converge, and stands as an example of a place where the formal and informal co-exist. Within its nine specific markets and its many street traders, one is struck by the density of activities and goods, the moving crowds, the amount of traffic, the many noises, the smells and constant hustle and bustle - all within a relatively small part of the city.

This market area is an informal commercial centre with almost half a million users passing through on a daily basis. It provides commercial opportunities for approximately six-thousand traders. It is an important economic, cultural, and social space in Durban that continues to thrive, despite various challenges faced by its users and inhabitants alike.

This thesis aims to achieve a greater understanding of the complex economic, cultural, and social dynamics inherent to the Warwick Junction Markets, and to find ways to improve, strengthen and enhance the area in a beneficial way.

In order to do so, this thesis analyzes the historic and spatial developments, as well as the complex systems and dynamics, inherent to the area. Based on these examinations, certain premises are put forward and conclusions reached for a positive development plan that is also inclusive. A case-study applies these findings to exemplary spatial strategies, which show possible site-specific and need-orientated planning approaches that will contribute positively to the sustainability of the Warwick Junction and its workers.

IGNORANCE IS LIBERATING
START WHERE YOU CAN: NEVER SAY CAN'T
IMAGINE FIRST: REASON LATER
BE REFLECTIVE: WASTE TIME
EMBRACE SERENDIPITY: GET MUDDLED
PLAY GAMES, SERIOUS GAMES
CHALLENGE CONSENSUS
LOOK FOR MULTIPLIERS
WORK BACKWARDS: MOVE FORWARDS
FEEL GOOD!

Code of Conduct¹
by Nabeel Hamdi

*For my grandmother Dietzi and all the Street traders
and workers in and around the Warwick Junction Markets,
who, although encountering infinite challenges on a daily basis,
live their lives with smiles on their faces*

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PREFACE + MOTIVATION

The initial impetus behind this thesis was a student competition about the Warwick Junction Markets announced during the 25th International Union of Architects World Congress, which took place in Durban, South Africa in 2014. It is not easy to identify, two years later, the driving force that compelled me, a European architecture student, to choose this very sensitive topic about a totally different cultural environment in a city more than 9,000 kilometers away. However, I believe there were two primary reasons behind my decision to focus on this part of the world.

1. I've always harbored an innate curiosity about the 'unknown' and the 'other.' That this is a quite common human characteristic is nothing new. Applying my fascination with this 'otherness' to the informal aspects of the Warwick Junction Markets – in the same way that Michel Foucault conceives of Heterotopias - my motive becomes even more clear. Foucault uses this term to describe a real place which stands outside of known space¹ and has more layers of meaning or relationships to other sites. The prefix 'hetero-' is from the ancient Greek ἕτερος (héteros, which means "other, another, different") and is combined with τόπος ('topos,') which means 'other place'. Informal spaces, such as the Warwick Junction Markets, can be understood as rich embodiments of such Foucauldian heterotopias - they provide shelter for the excluded, harbour all kinds of non-conformity, and bring together ("simultaneously" or in a 'juxtaposition') a multiplicity of economic and non-economic events.²

2. My personal motivation to practice architecture is that it has the power to directly impact people's lives. Originally, I started my academic career in the arts and humanities, but soon realised that an essential component for personal fulfilment was missing – this was the acquisition of skills and tools that can produce something tangible, something that can positively affect an environment. When reviewing the history of cities, we see clearly that urban structures and planning have had a direct influence on spatial and social relations within a population. As urbanisation and all its entailing issues (such as limited space, noise, and pollution) is one of the main challenges of the 21st century, it becomes increasingly important that planning is properly approached, and that its impact on the lives of human beings is kept in mind.

This thesis is an opportunity to combine my two architectural interests in a single approach.

Additionally, it must be pointed out that the terminology in this thesis for classifying different ethnic groups, such as 'Black, White or Coloured' are not meant in any offensive or discriminating manner. South Africa is a country with a complex mix of different cultural identities, languages, and ethnic bonds, and in order to understand its past and current challenges, it becomes relevant to use the historical language that reflects this division.

DISPOSITION

This thesis can be categorized under three sections arranged by topic :

The first section of the thesis is concerned with the analysis, and is the main part of the thesis. It comprises a broad synopsis of theoretical and analytical research concerning the informal markets and workers of the Warwick Junction. This section builds on the presented research to evaluate the possibilities of inclusive sustainable development. The research incorporates different topics and approaches in order to gain a large-scale perspective of this area and its local communities. It provides background information for the urban, spatial, cultural, and socioeconomic features of South Africa, as well as for Durban and its informal economy, and specifically for the Warwick Junction Markets. The section begins with an introduction to the Warwick Junction Markets. Their scope and prominence is captured by way of a pictorial report, which outlines the informal economic situation in South Africa. This preface raises relevant questions and determines the aim of the thesis. National challenges, such as conditions of labour, poverty and the informal sector, are discussed. The origin of this state of affairs is explained by way of an historic analysis. A detailed examination of Durban's history and spatial development, its cultural phenomena, and a general framework provide a deeper understanding for the local setting of the markets. A chapter on the informal economy chapter in general offers essential background information for a deeper sense of comprehension. A detailed examination

of the Warwick Junction Markets and its workers summarizes important aspects of the area. The expertise and opinions of various specialists conclude this first section.

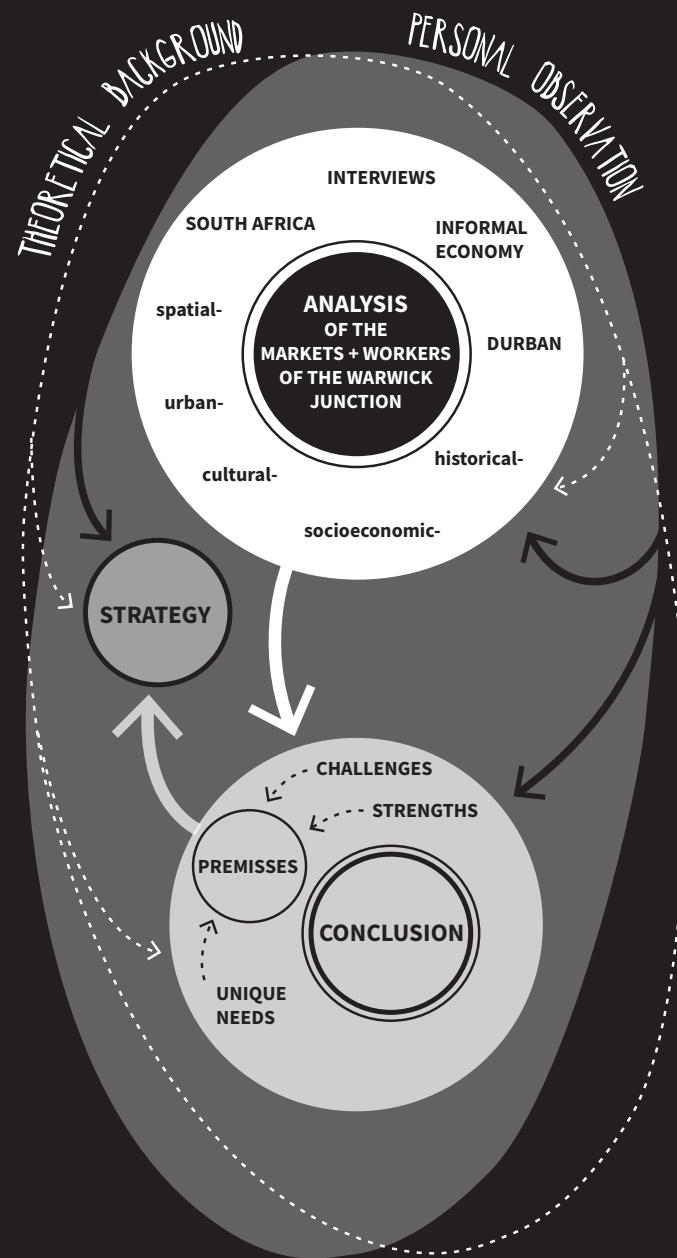
The second section draws conclusions based on the preceding analysis. These conclusions are broken down into the „strengths“ and „challenges“ facing the area, as well as the unique needs of the local communities.

The last section of the thesis comprises a case-study on the basis of the previous findings and premisses. It demonstrates what inclusive sustainable development within Warwick could look like, and proposes recommendations and concepts for an improvement of the informal markets and the living conditions of the informal workers of the Warwick Junction.

LIST OF REFERENCES

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2. Mooshammer, H (2015). Other Markets: Sites and Processes of Economic Pressure, p. 17-18, in: Mörtenböck, P., Mooshammer, H., Cruz, T., Forman, F. (2015). *Informal Market Worlds Reader: The Architecture of Economic Pressure*, Rotterdam: NAI010 Publishers

METHODOLOGY



This empirical thesis draws from on-site ethnographic research and analytic working methods. The findings based on these methods result in proposals, that respond to the essential and unique needs of the area under study. The methodical approach of this thesis can be classified into the following four proceedings: literature analysis, observation, documentation, and interviews with various stakeholders.

To gain insight into the topic of the informal economy in South Africa and its state of research, a literature analysis was conducted. Important references which supplied data and statistics include the World Bank and several NGOs, but also newspaper articles and diverse research papers.

The most important approach to undergoing research were two field trips to Durban, South Africa, the first from January to February, 2014, which was enabled by the scholarship 'Kurzeitiges wissenschaftliches Arbeiten im Ausland' [KUWI] of the international office of the Technical University of Vienna. The second field trip was self-financed and took place from October to December, 2015. This return trip provided the opportunity to intern at the well-established NGO 'Asiye eTafuleni', which works directly within the case study's area, the informal markets and workers of the Warwick Junction. Having lived in Durban for a total of about five months allowed me to gain first-hand knowledge of the complex systems which underpin the economic, cultural and social dynamics inherent in the Warwick Junction; what is more, I also gained insights into the

local South African culture, including the challenges and mannerisms of the specific environment and the informal economy. The time on site permitted me to establish a wide-ranging social network with different stakeholders, from academics, city officials, NGOs, local residents and informal workers, which all contributed to my research in one way or another.

Observations were made in two ways: intentional, through long wanderings through the Warwick Junction precinct and the rest of the city, accompanied by a guide (for safety reasons); and unintentional, by simply living in Durban and soaking up its culture and history. Documentation of my observations were done in various ways, although sketches, notes, mapping, and photographs form the principal elements of it. With the help of Professor Andrea Rieger-Jandl, an interview guideline for the street traders was prepared before the first field trip. The interviews were conducted in a quantitative and qualitative manner. I have tried to speak to a wide range of stakeholders, in order to obtain a holistic understanding of the subject.

The collected data was subsequently processed, analyzed, discussed, and amplified by further literature, so that fundamental conclusions for the thesis could be made. The findings obtained by this process form the basis of the proposed strategies and concepts for the case study area.

Fig.1: Structure of the Thesis

THIS CHAPTER IS A SHORT INTRODUCTION TO THE AREA OF INTEREST IN THIS THESIS: THE WARWICK JUNCTION MARKETS. A PICTORIAL REPORT CAPTURES AND DOCUMENTS SCENES OF THE MARKETS AND ITS OPERATORS, AND FACTS AND COMPARISONS ARE PRESENTED TO DEMONSTRATE THE PROMINENCE OF THESE MARKETS. THE INFORMAL ECONOMY IN THE CONTEXT OF SOUTH AFRICA IS DISCUSSED, WHICH RESULT IN EMERGING RESEARCH QUESTIONS THAT DEFINE THE AIMS OF THIS PAPER.

INTRODUCTION

AN INTRODUCTION - THE WARWICK JUNCTION MARKETS
A PICTORIAL REPORT
AN INTRODUCTION - THE INFORMAL ECONOMY
AIM + RESEARCH QUESTIONS

AN INTRODUCTION - THE WARWICK JUNCTION MARKETS

INTRODUCTION

The Warwick Junction is a unique location within central Durban, South Africa. This vibrant transport hub provides a setting for informal traders at an unprecedented scale, and is a crucial link between peripheral conditions and Durban's current polycentric structure. It defines a place of interaction where very different worlds converge and stands as an example of a place where the formal and informal exist in unison. Within its nine specific markets and among its many street traders, one is confronted with loud noises, the hustle and bustle of an active area, strong smells, crowds, constant movement, and a density of activity, all within a relatively small part of the city.¹

This market area is an informal commercial centre with almost half a million visitors passing through on a daily basis. It provides commercial opportunities for approximately six-thousand traders. The financial capital in circulation within the Warwick Junction's trading system is comparable to the capital flows of Durban's city centre, or to any of its major shopping malls. It is an important economic, cultural and social space in Durban that continues to thrive, despite various challenges faced by its users and inhabitants.²

1. UIA (2014). UIA 2014 international student competition brief [online]. p. 1-4, Available at: http://www.uia2014durban.org/resources/docs/UIA2014_StudentBrief_FINAL_1906.pdf [accessed 31.10.2016]
2. UIA (2014). op.cit

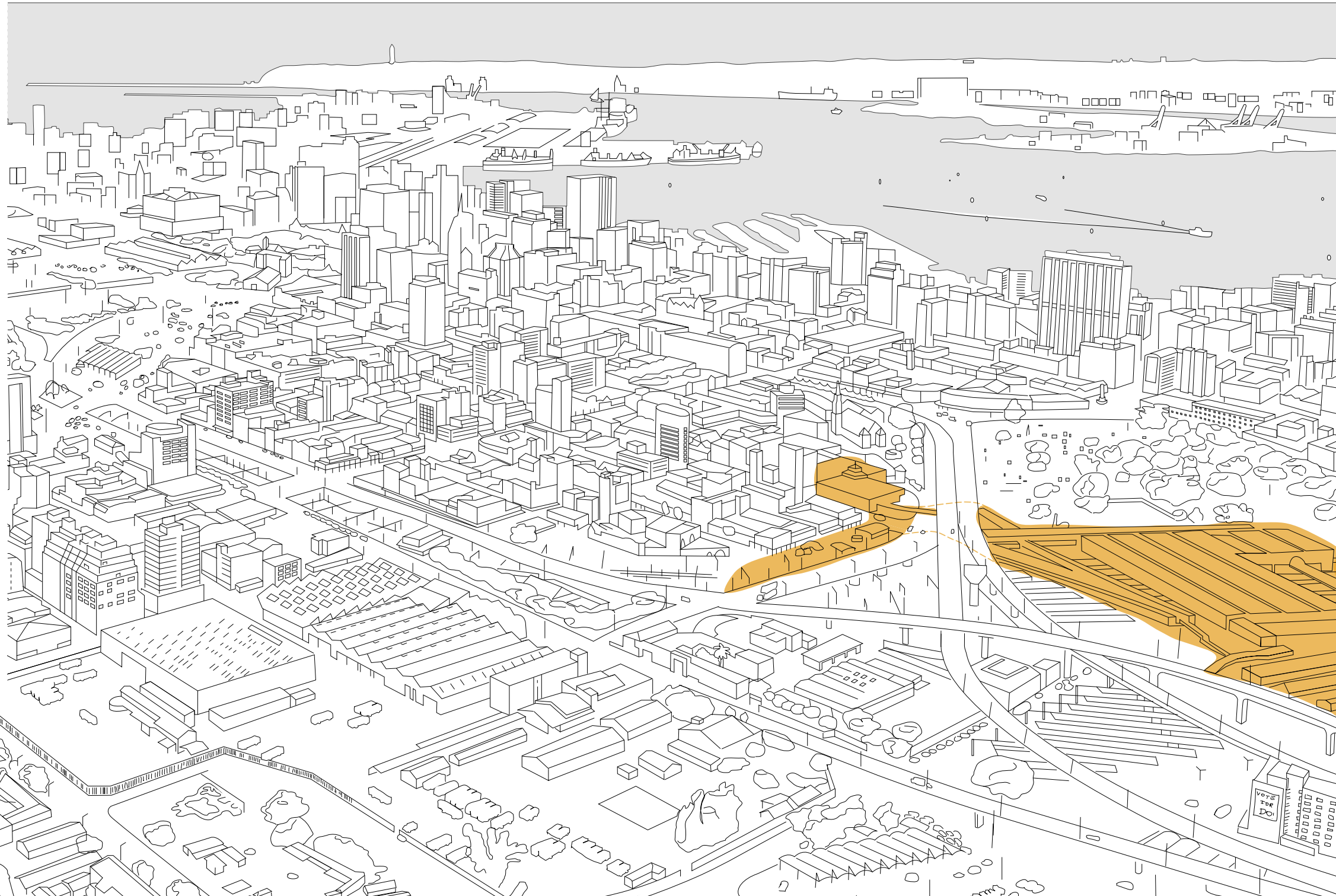


Fig. 1. The Urban Setting of the Warwick Junction Markets



Fig. 2. Aerial View of the Warwick Junction Markets

11 MILLION

SOUTH AFRICANS EARN A LIVING 'FORMALLY' [2015]

2.7 MILLION

SOUTH AFRICANS EARN A LIVING 'INFORMALLY' [2015]
(24,5% OF 11 MILLION)



3. Statistics South Africa (2015). *Quarterly Labour Force Survey, Quarter 3: 2015* [pdf]. Available at: <http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0211/P02113rd-Quarter2015.pdf> [accessed 15. May 2016]



4



5

ITS PATHWAYS + PASSAGES



6



7



ITS MANY LAYERS, BRIDGES AND STAIRS

ANNUAL TURNOVER AND ATTENDANCE IN COMPARISON WITH A LOCAL SHOPPING MALL⁴

R1.2 BILLION

TURNOVER PER ANNUM IN WARWICK
(€ 70 MILLION)

R1.2 BILLION

TURNOVER PER ANNUM AT
REGIONAL GALLERIA SHOPPING MALL
(€ 70 MILLION)

11 MILLION

PEOPLE PASS THROUGH WARWICK PER ANNUM

6 MILLION

PEOPLE PASS THROUGH
REGIONAL GALLERIA SHOPPING MALL PER ANNUM

4. designworkshop:sa + Asiye eTfuleni (2016). *The Transformation of the Warwick Triangle, Durban, South Africa* [exhibition], Biennale (2016) Reporting from the Front, Venice



15

ITS INDOOR SITUATIONS



16

TRADE ACTIVITY IN THE WARWICK JUNCTION⁵

460.000

PEOPLE WALK THROUGH WARWICK EVERY DAY

BETWEEN **5.000** AND **8.000**

PEOPLE TRADE INFORMALLY IN THE WARWICK JUNCTION

BETWEEN **R1000** AND **R8000**

TRADERS EARN IN A MONTH

4. Dobson, R. and Skinner, C. and Nicholson, J. (2009). *Working in Warwick. Including street traders in urban plans*, Durban: School of Development Studies University of KwaZulu-Natal, p.5



TRANSPORT ACTIVITY IN THE WARWICK JUNCTION⁶

300 BUSES AND **1.550**

MINI BUS TAXIS DEPART FROM WARWICK EACH DAY

166.000

PUBLIC TRANSPORT PASSENGERS USE THE JUNCTION

38.000

VEHICLES DRIVE THROUGH WARWICK EACH DAY

4. Dobson, R. and Skinner, C. and Nicholson, J. (2009). *Working in Warwick. Including street traders in urban plans*, Durban: School of Development Studies University of KwaZulu-Natal, p.5



20



21



22

ITS MANY FACES



23



24



25



ITS DIVERSE GOODS



37



38



39



40

AN INTRODUCTION - THE INFORMAL ECONOMY

INTRODUCTION

WHAT IS THE INFORMAL ECONOMY?

The informal economy is a diversified set of economic activities, enterprises, jobs, and workers that are, in law or practice, not covered or insufficiently covered by formal arrangements. This means such activities and workers are not regulated or protected by the state. The concept of informality originally applied to self-employment in small, unregistered enterprises, but the term has since been expanded to include wage employment in unprotected jobs. The notion of exclusion lies at the heart of the informal economy since informal workers are largely excluded from the exchanges that take place in the recognized market system and are often not captured by national accounts and official statistics. As a consequence, the informal economy is largely invisible in policy formulation.^{1,2}

HISTORICAL AND CONCEPTUAL BACKGROUND³

Initial discussions about the informal economy can be traced back to economic theories in the 1950s that focused on the 'traditional sector.' Many economists envisioned that this sector - which comprises the vast pool of surplus labour in developing countries, including petty traders, small holders and casual wage workers - would slowly become absorbed into the growing modern industrial sectors. It was seen as a marginal sector, which is not linked to the formal economy or to modern capitalist development.

The economic anthropologist Keith Hart defined the field, and coined the term, 'informal economy' in the 1970s when he observed low-income activity in Ghana and had determined that the 'informal sector' had not merely persisted but expanded. This observation resulted in an on-going debate about the nature and causes of the informal economy as a feature of pre-capitalist economies; another, the Dualist school, believed that the informal sector comprised peripheral activities not linked to the formal sector. The persistence of peasant forms of production were understood as the result of economic imbalances, such as when traditional skills fail to match new economic opportunities, or when labour supply outstrips economic development. The Legalists school of thought (including Hernando de Soto and others) holds the view that the informal sector consists of micro-entrepreneurs who try to avoid the costs and responsibilities of formal registration. Burdensome and complicated regulations and

1. WIEGO (n.d.). *About the Informal Economy* [online]. Available at: <http://wiego.org/informal-economy/about-informal-economy> [accessed 29. October 2016]

2. ILO (n.d.). *Decent Work and the Informal Economy* [online]. Available at: http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_emp/---emp_policy/documents/publication/wcms_210442.pdf [accessed 29. October 2016]

3. ENTIRE TEXT: Chen, M. (n.d.). *Rethinking the Informal Economy, from enterprise characteristics to employment relations*, in: ILO (n.d.). *Decent Work and the Informal Economy* [online], p. 3-4. Available at: http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_emp/---emp_policy/documents/publication/wcms_210442.pdf [accessed 29. October 2016]

costs drive private enterprises underground. De Soto, and others of this school, have been advocates for property rights as a means of converting informally held capital into real capital. The Structuralist school (including Alejandro Portes) argues that the informal sector is a feature of capitalist development. In this view, the informal sector is seen as being subordinated to, or even exploited by, the formal sector, for the purpose of lowering costs and increasing competitiveness among large firms. The Il-legalist school of thought is linked to neoliberalism and neo-classical economic theory. For this school, informality is seen as a way for entrepreneurs to avoid taxes and labour market regulations. Informality is therefore a conscious choice for gaining market advantage.

A renewed interest in the informal sector in the 1990s, both in developed countries and developing countries, affirmed that informality was persistent and growing. This fact entailed a fundamental rethinking of the informal sector and a committed effort towards understanding its dimensions and dynamics. New debates broadened the understanding of informality and helped foster opportunities for more nuanced, country-specific perspectives on the causes, consequences, and characteristics of informality, as well as what links the informal sector with the formal regulatory environment.

SIZE AND SIGNIFICANCE

A large share of the global workforce of today's world is informal. The informal economy is growing throughout the world, in many different contexts and appearing in new places and guises.⁴ In 2002, ILO and WIEGO estimated that the informal economy comprises one-half to three quarters of non-agricultural employment in developing countries - 48% in North Africa, 51% in Latin America, 65% in Asia, and 72% in sub-Saharan Africa (78% if South Africa is excluded).⁵

It is often overlooked that the informal economy makes a real contribution to economic growth. Although individual incomes are often low, informal activities taken cumulatively contribute in a significant way to gross domestic products in some countries. Another essential asset of the informal economy is that it provides low-cost labour, inputs, goods, and services to both formal and informal enterprises, as well as low-cost goods and services to the public, particularly the poorer sections. Informal activities are often what sustains families living in poorer parts of cities and towns. Furthermore, urban informal workers also play a role in climate change mitigation since they usually leave a smaller carbon footprint than their formal counterparts.⁶

THE INFORMAL ECONOMY IN THE CONTEXT OF SOUTH AFRICA

According to the Quarterly Labour Force Survey, in the third quarter of 2015 there were 2.7 million people in South Africa active in the informal economy (excluding the

agricultural sector)⁷, which is about 17% of the national labour force. Many people in South Africa subscribe to the idea that the informal economy is the best alternative to unemployment, and that it is a key component in the formulation of strategies to address poverty. It has been argued that without the informal economy, the unemployment rate would rise from currently 25% to around 47.5%. This implies that it is more important than even its relative size suggests.⁸

An interesting characteristic of the South African informal economy is the dominance of trade. This makes the South African informal economy different from other African countries. This is due to the fact that the structure of the economy is not typical for a developing country: the majority of its manufacturing sector comes from formal businesses; there is an absence of small-scale, informal manufacturing activity; and there is an absence of informal business-service firms.⁹

SOCIAL AND SPATIAL INEQUALITY IN SOUTH AFRICAN CITIES

'The city is the site where people of all sorts of classes mingle'¹⁰ - a true observation! Mingling classes in cities also applies to South Africa, with one appreciable difference: the different classes mingle within their segregated spaces.

Segregated city planning has been in practice since the beginning of the colonisation¹¹ of South Africa. It gained momentum in the first half of the twentieth century¹² and reached its peak in the Apartheid era beginning in 1948. The transition to democratic rule in 1994 implied that the new government (ANC) would set out to reverse these spatial legacies of the planned apartheid city. Today, almost two decades after the end of the repressive political system, South African Cities are growing impressively and driving national growth, but they still do this more exclusively rather than inclusively. Comparable emerging nations, like Brazil, have managed to decrease inequality, but in South Africa inequality continues to increase.¹³

One spatial legacy of apartheid is the fragmented and low-density form of South African cities, which is considered to have harmful social, economic, and environmental consequences. 'It creates poverty traps on the periphery and favours road-based transport – private cars and minibus taxis. Cities are the dominant centres of economic activity and jobs, and continue to attract most foreign investment, but they are not performing to their potential or reaping the benefits of agglomeration because of shortages of energy and water infrastructure, transport congestion and shortfalls in education and skills.'¹⁴

The post-apartheid government recognizes the challenges of a distorted urban form, but its policies have been too short-term and sector-specific to bring about essential restructuring. Indeed, some of the government's pro-poor policies have reinforced the exclusion of certain people (e.g. subsidizing social housing on the periphery, rather

8. South African LED Network (n.d.). *Informal Economy* [online]. Available at: <http://led.co.za/topic/informal-economy> [accessed 28. October 2016]

9. South African LED Network (n.d.). *Informal Economy* [online]. Available at: <http://led.co.za/topic/informal-economy> [accessed 28. October 2016]

10. Harvey, D. (2012). *Rebel Cities. From the right to the City to the urban revolution*, London: Verso, p. 67

11. Maylam, P. (1995). Explaining the Apartheid City: 20 Years of South African Urban Historiography, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 1, Special Issue: Urban Studies and Urban Change in Southern Africa, p. 22

12. Maylam, P. (1995). op.cit., p. 28

13. Karuri-Sebina, G. (2016). Op-Ed: South Africa's cities must include everyone, 08 July 2016, *Daily Maverick* [online]. Available at: <http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2016-07-08-op-ed-south-africas-cities-must-include-everyone/#.WB08WFeRmRt> [accessed 28. October 2016]

14. Turok, I. (2012). *Urbanisation and Development in South Africa: Economic Imperatives, Spatial Distortions and Strategic Responses*, London: International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED), p. 1

15. Turok, I. (2012). op.cit.

4. Chen, M. (2012). *The Informal Economy: Definitions, Theories and Policies*. Cambridge: WIEGO, p.1

5. Inclusive Cities (2016). *Size and Significance of the Informal Economy* [online]. Available at: http://wiego.org/sites/wiego.org/files/resources/files/BACKGROUND_stats.pdf [accessed 28. October 2016]

6. Inclusive Cities (2016). op. cit.

7. Statistics South Africa (2015). *Quarterly Labour Force Survey. Quarter 3: 2015* [pdf]. Available at: <http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0211/P02113rdQuarter2015.pdf> [accessed 15. May 2016]

than supporting better locations). Institutional transformation has also affected cities' ability to manage their growth effectively and to create the conditions for economic expansion. However, there are new initiatives emerging that may facilitate more coherent urban development. These include a more flexible and responsive housing policy, a commitment to reinforcing public transport into the cities, and more compact forms of urban development.¹⁵

AIM



The aim of this thesis is to gain a greater understanding of the complex economic, cultural and social dynamics inherent to the Warwick Junction Markets, and to find ways to improve, strengthen and enhance these systems in a beneficial way.



RESEARCH QUESTIONS



1. The informal markets in the Warwick Junction are an integral component of Durban. However, neither the markets nor their workers are treated with the kind of consideration or respect that would help contribute to their sustainability.

Based on the assumption that SOCIETY AND URBAN SPACES SHARE A DEEP CONNECTION, it becomes evident that SOUTH AFRICA'S SPATIAL AND SOCIAL LEGACIES WITH REGARD TO APARTHEID continues to play a leading role in today's society. What are these legacies, and how have they developed, historically and spatially?

2. Urban planning and design are often understood as the key agents of change in helping to support the livelihoods of informal workers. In this context, the term 'INCLUSIVE DESIGN' refers to a method used to build a better and more sustainable urban future for everyone. What exactly is 'Inclusive Design,' and how should it be applied by cities? What are the methods used by architects and city planners to stimulate positive development and are most expedient in combating the deficiencies of the markets and the quality of the lives that revolve around them?

3. The Warwick Junction Markets had been, for some time, a kind of forerunner in the effort to include informal workers in urban planning considerations. Nevertheless, Warwick struggles with the same problems of inequality as any other informal market. HOW CAN THE WARWICK JUNCTION MARKETS AND THEIR COMPLEX SOCIO-ECONOMIC SYSTEM BE ADEQUATELY ADDRESSED? What are the most FEASIBLE SUGGESTIONS on offer to strengthen the markets and the quality of life for the workers?



THIS PART OF THE THESIS GIVES AN OUTLINE OF THE GENERAL FACTS AND FIGURES OF SOUTH AFRICA. IT EXAMINES IN DETAIL THE LOCAL LABOUR, POVERTY AND INFORMAL WORK SITUATION.

SOUTH AFRICA

FACTS AND FIGURES _____
LABOUR FORCE _____
POVERTY _____

FACTS + FIGURES

SOUTH AFRICA



| Chief of State | **President Jacob ZUMA**

| Government | **Unitary parliamentary Republic**

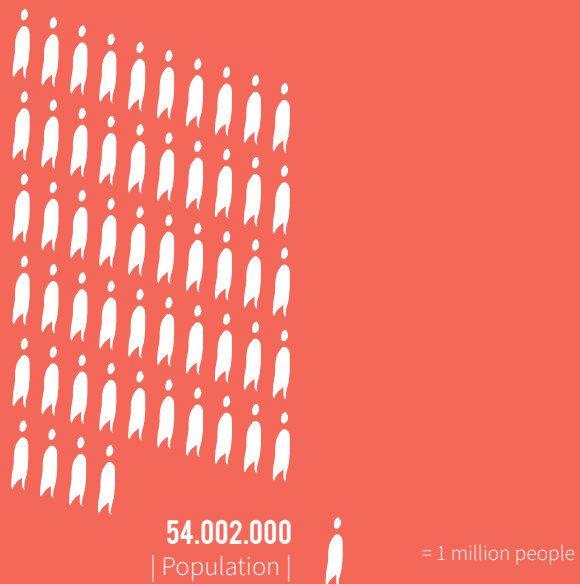
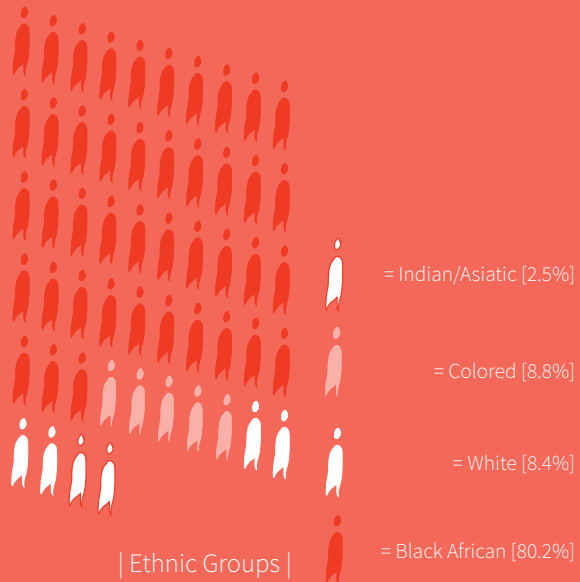
| Administrative divisions | **9 Provinces** |
Eastern Cape, Free State, Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal,
Limpopo, Mpumalanga, Northern Cape, North West,
Western Cape

| Languages |
siZulu, isiXhosa, Afrikaans, English, Sepedi, Setswana,
Sesotho, Xitsonga, siSwati, Tshivenda, isiNdebele

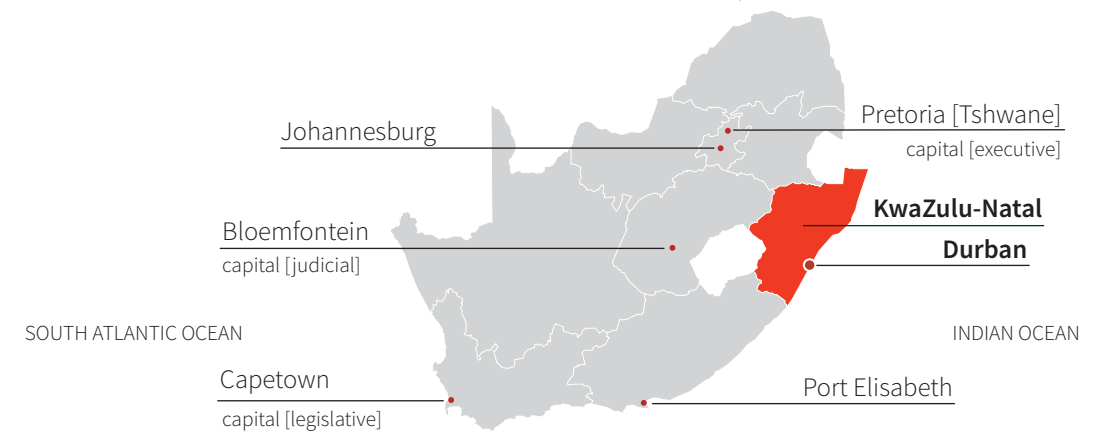
| Currency | **South African Rand [ZAR]**

| Timezone | **UTC+2**

| Urbanization | **64.8% of total population**



| Area |



LABOUR FORCE

SOUTH AFRICA

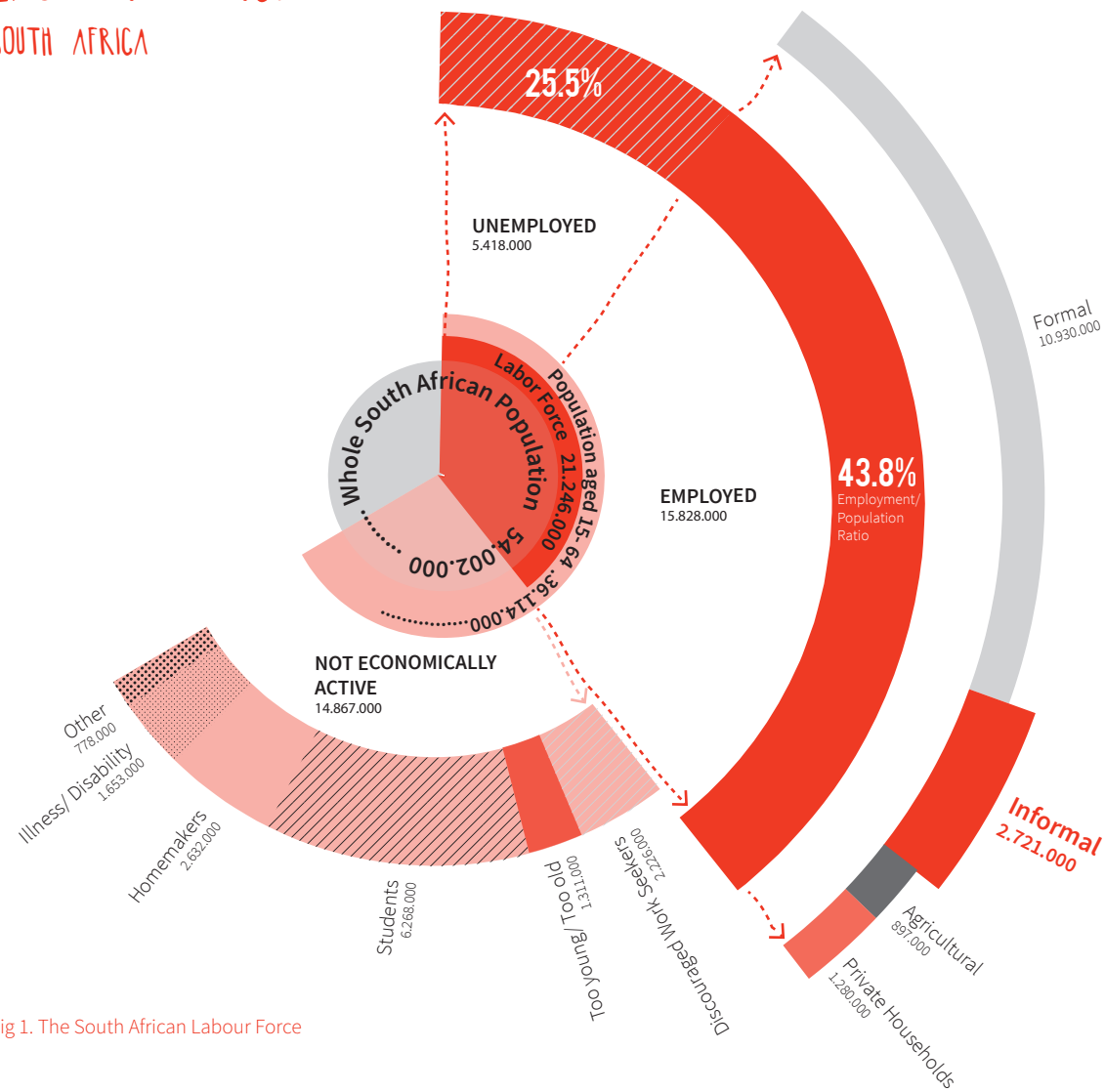


Fig 1. The South African Labour Force

In South Africa, the informal economy is one of the key elements in forming a strategy to deal with unemployment and poverty, and to support the creation of sustainable livelihoods. According to the Quarterly Labour Force Survey, in the third quarter of 2015 there were 2.7 million people in South Africa active in the informal economy (excluding the agricultural sector), compared to 10.9 million in the non-agricultural formal sector. For many people the informal economy is the only alternative to unemployment. It has been argued that there

would be a significant rise in the unemployment rate, from 25% currently to around 47.5%, without the informal economy. Additionally, some estimates value the informal economy at around 28% of South Africa's GDP. Yet because of its very nature, informal economic activity often goes unrecorded. It is therefore difficult to measure. And yet such economic estimates suggest that the informal economy has great significance for pro-poor economic, social, and urban development policy – even more so than its relative size suggests.¹²

POVERTY

SOUTH AFRICA

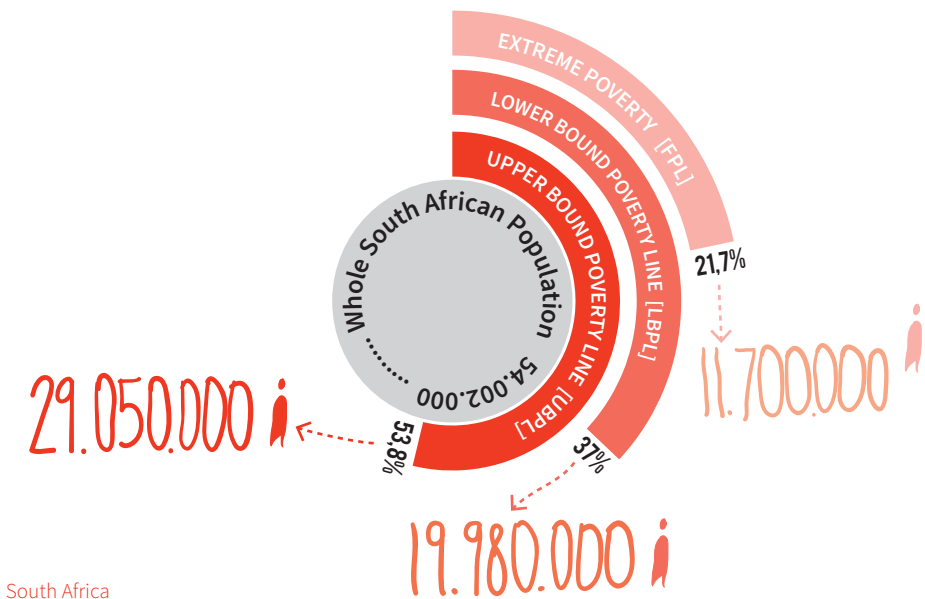


Fig 2. Poverty in South Africa

3 LINES OF POVERTY (2015)^{3,4}

Food Poverty Line [FPL] >>> R335/Month (R11 per day)

[can't purchase enough food to meet a minimum energy intake, about 2,100 kilo calories a day]

Lower Bound Poverty Line [LBPL] >>> R501/Month (R16,50 per day)

[don't have enough money to purchase both adequate food items and non-food items, so they have to sacrifice food to pay for things like transport and airtime]

Upper Bound Poverty Line [UBPL] >>> R779/Month (R25,50 per day)

[are still considered in poverty, but can generally purchase both food and non-food items]

South Africa faces the 'triple challenge' of poverty, inequality, and unemployment: around half of the South African population lives in poverty and nearly one-fourth live in extreme poverty (subsisting on under \$1.25 a day). The country struggles with one of the highest official unemployment rates in the world (~25%) and is one of the most unequal countries, with a Gini coefficient of 0.69. The wealthiest 4% of households receive 32% of total income, while 66% of households receive only 21% of all income.⁵

1. South African LED Network (n.d.). *Informal Economy* [online]. Available at: <http://led.co.za/topic/informal-economy> [accessed 15. May 2016]
2. Statistics South Africa (2015). *Quarterly Labour Force Survey. Quarter 3: 2015* [pdf]. Available at: <http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0211/P02113rdQuarter2015.pdf> [accessed 15. May 2016]
3. Grant, L. (2015). Infographic: Poverty in South Africa, 05.Feb.2015, *Mail&Guardian* [online]. Available at: <http://mg.co.za/data/2015-02-05-infographic-poverty-in-south-africa> [accessed 15. May 2016]
4. Nicolson, G. (2015). South Africa: Where 12 million live in extreme poverty, 03.Feb.2015, *Daily Maverick* [online]. Available at: <http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2015-02-03-south-africa-where-12-million-live-in-extreme-poverty/> [accessed 15. May 2016]
5. Anon. (2015). Shocking levels of poverty in South Africa revealed, 01.Aug. 2015, *BusinessTech* [online]. Available at: <http://businesstech.co.za/news/general/94849/shocking-levels-of-poverty-in-south-africa-revealed/> [accessed 15. May 2016]

THIS CHAPTER WILL DISCUSS THE IMPORTANT HISTORIC INCIDENTS THAT MADE SOUTH AFRICA THE COUNTRY IT IS TODAY: AN EMERGING DEMOCRATIC COUNTRY, BUT STILL STRUGGLING WITH THE LEGACY OF APARTHEID, INEQUALITY, RACISM, AND POVERTY. TO COMPREHEND THE URBAN CONTEXT OF THE CASE STUDY AREA - THE MARKETS IN WARWICK - THIS SECTION OUTLINES THE HISTORIC AND SPATIAL DEVELOPMENT OF DURBAN.

HISTORICAL + SPATIAL DEVELOPMENT

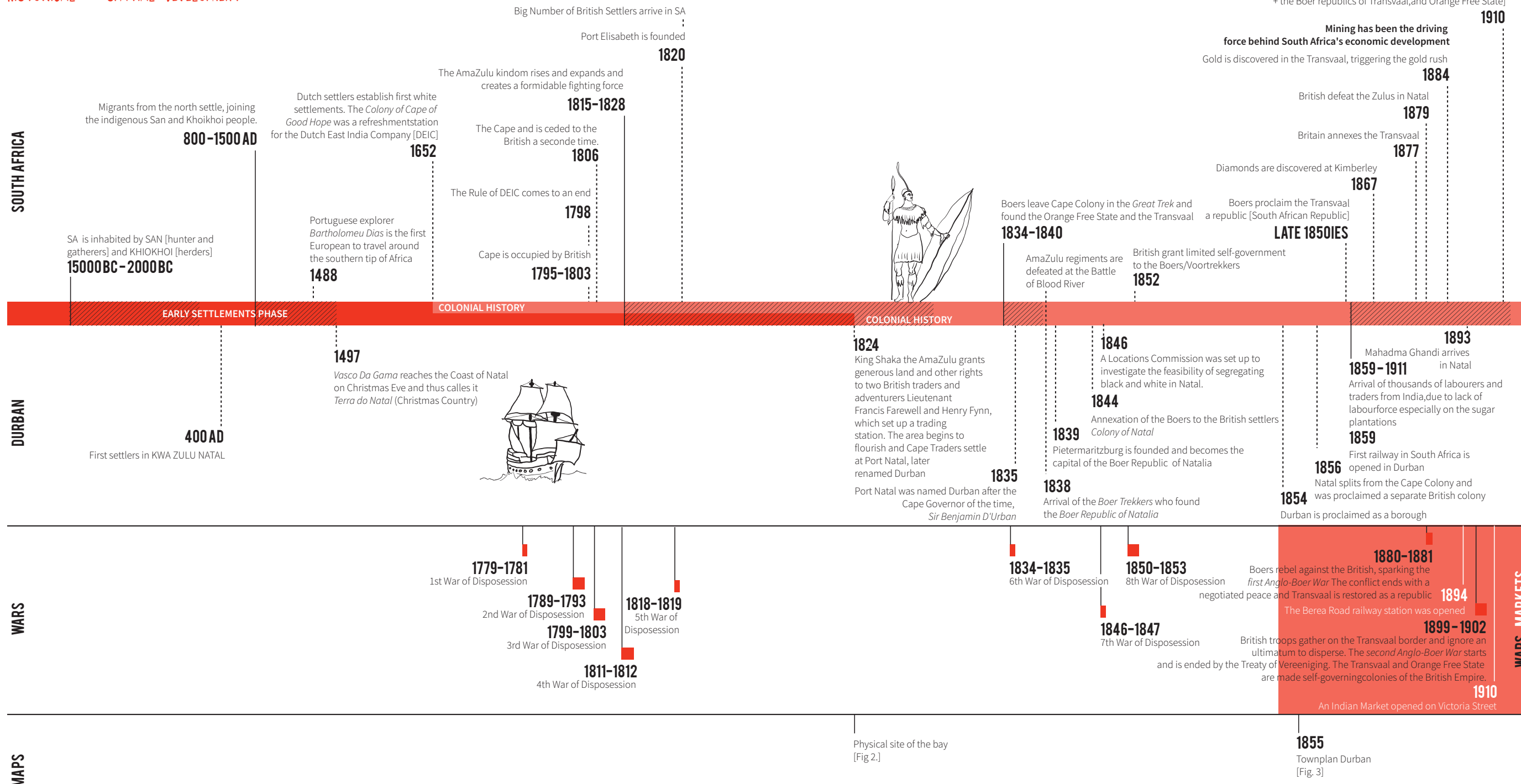
TIMELINE

THE CITY OF DURBAN

- 1824 - 1870s: THE EARLY SETTLEMENT PHASE
- 1870s - 1930s: THE COLONIAL PHASE
- 1930s - 1940s: THE PRE-APARTHEID PHASE
- 1940s - 1980s: THE APARTHEID PHASE
- 1994 - today: THE POST-APARTHEID PHASE

TIMELINE

HISTORICAL + SPATIAL DEVELOPMENT



The *Native Land Act* is introduced to prevent blacks from buying land outside reserves. [reserves = 13% of the total land area of South Africa, though they form 80% of the population]

1913

Apartheid set in law

The Union of South Africa parliament enacts the Status of the Union Act, which declares the country to be a *sovereign independent state*

1934

Policy of Apartheid [separateness] set in law when National Party [NP] takes power

1948

Population is classified by race
Group Areas Act passed to segregate 'races'
ANC responds with campaign of civil disobedience, led by Nelson Mandela

1950

Seventy black demonstrators are killed at Sharpeville
ANC is banned

1960

South Africa is declared a republic and leaves the Commonwealth
Mandela heads ANC's new military wing, which launches sabotage campaign

1961

ANC leader Nelson Mandela is sentenced to life imprisonment

1964

Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd is assassinated

1966

Black Africans rally against the white government, which hit back violently. More than 600 are killed in clashes between black protesters and security forces during uprising which starts in Soweto

1976

Agreement on interim constitution

1993

Start of multi-party talks
De Klerk repeals remaining apartheid laws and the international sanctions are lifted

1991

ANC is unbanned
Mandela is released after 27 years in prison

1990

De Klerk replaces Botha as president and meets Mandela
Public facilities are being desegregated
Many ANC activists are freed

1989

Township revolt, state of emergency.

1984-89

ANC wins first non-racial elections, Mandela becomes president, Government of National Unity formed, Commonwealth membership is restored, remaining sanctions are lifted

1994

Truth and Reconciliation Commission report brands apartheid as a crime against humanity and finds the ANC accountable for human rights abuses

1998

ANC wins general elections, *Thabo Mbeki* takes over as president

1999

Hundreds of thousands of public-sector workers strike and cause widespread disruption to schools, hospitals and public transport

2007

South Africa becomes the first African country, and the fifth in the world, to allow same-sex unions

2006

Ruling ANC wins landslide election victory, gaining nearly 70% of votes
Thabo Mbeki begins a second term as president

2004

SOUTH AFRICA

PRE APARTHEID PHASE

APARTHEID 1948 - 1991

POST - APARTHEID ERA

DURBAN

1935

Durban is elevated in the status of that of a City, due to incorporation of satellite suburbs

1952

Final race zoning plan in Durban is approved

1916

Baumanville - first formal settlement for African families in Durban

1914

Mahatma Gandhi leaves South Africa

1973

Grey Street is proclaimed an Indian Group Area for trading and light industrial and excluded residential, educational and cultural purposes of this site

1969

The Indian commercial area, the Grey Street complex, came under threat of clearance

1987

Introduction of minibus taxis

1984

Opening the CBD as a free trade area for all ethnic groups

1983

Turnaround for the Grey Street Complex. Indian residence were once again allowed in the area

1980S

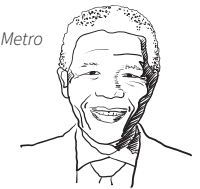
Ethnic mixing process ['Greying Process']

2000

Durban reaches the status of an *inclusive Unicity* resulting from further expansions of the City

1996

Durban is further enlarged to become the *Durban Metropolitan Region*, also known as *Durban Metro*



WARS MARKETS

1939-1945

2nd World War
a new bulk sales hall, known as the English Market, is opened south of the EMM, for mainly white citizens

1934

The new market building for the Early Morning Market is formally opened

1914-1918

1st World War

1940SONWARDS

Muthi trade is driven underground

1968

Proposal to build a freeway and thus meant a peril to the existence of the Victoria Street Market

1973

Planned eviction of Indian traders of the Victoria Street Market, but two weeks before that date the market was destroyed by a blaze

MID 1970S

The EMM flourishes until the mid 70s, but the plans of extending the Berea Station, as well as making a declaration for white trade in this area led to a large reduction of the traders of by removal and relocation

MID 1980S

The Berea Station is expanded as a major train station. Due to this development the area between the cemetery and newly erected building became attractive for the informal traders and thus laid the foundation for the Brook Street Market

1984

Opening of the new building for the Indian Market [Victoria Street Market]

MID 1990S

Establishment of a buy-back centre for cardboard collectors

2001 2003

1st phase of construction of the Brook Street Market completed
The Mealie Cooks facility was established
Redesign of the Music Bridge
Relocation of the Bovine Head Cooks to an existing roofed trading area and establishment of a sort of food court

1999

Renovation of the EMM, including an extension of the roof over the cooking area of the Bovine Head cookers. Shelters are also built diagonally opposite the Victoria Street Market for the bead traders.

1998

Muthi/Herb Market opens its doors to the public, including an interlinking bridge, known as the Music Bridge

1996

Start of the *Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Project*

2000

Durban Unicity [Fig. 4]

1996

Durban Metropolitan Region [Fig. 4]

MAPS

1935

Durban City [Fig. 4]

1944

Race Zoning Proposal [Fig. 6]

1952

Race Zoning Map [Fig. 7]

1932

Durban Borough [Fig. 4]

SOUTH AFRICA

2008
 ANC wins general election and Parliament elects Jacob Zuma as president
 Township residents are complaining about poor living conditions mount violent protests

2009
 South Africa hosts the World Cup football tournament
 Civil servants stage nation-wide strike

2010
 Massacre of Marikana takes place:
 Police open fire on workers at a platinum mine in Marikana, killing at least 34 people, and leaving at least 78 injured and arresting more than 200 others
 Prosecutors drop murder charges in September against 270 miners after a public outcry, and the government sets up a judicial commission of inquiry

2012

December - Nelson Mandela dies, aged 95. Tributes is payed to the father of the nation flood in from throughout the world

2013

Ruling ANC party wins a majority in general elections.

2014

President Zuma announces plans to limit farm sizes and ban foreign farmland-ownership in an attempt to redistribute land to black farmers

Power utility Eskom rations electricity to prevent power cuts, blaming years of poor maintenance

A spate of anti-immigrant attacks leaves several people dead

Government receives unwelcome international attention over allegations of bribery to disgraced Fifa to secure 2010 World Cup and allowing Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir to visit despite International Criminal Court arrest warrant over genocide and war-crimes charges

2015

DURBAN

MARKETS

MAPS

2009-2011
 City Council proposes a spatial redesign to a shopping mall and the installation of taxis ranks on the site of the EMM to upgrade the area. The following 2 years were a struggle to reverse this decision with considerable resistance from the traders and support groups until the proposal was aborted

2010
 2nd phase of construction of Brook Street Market completed

2016

City of Durban project announcement of the Inner City LAP - a regeneration plan for the Inner City in the next 20 years with a special focus on the Warwick Junction precinct

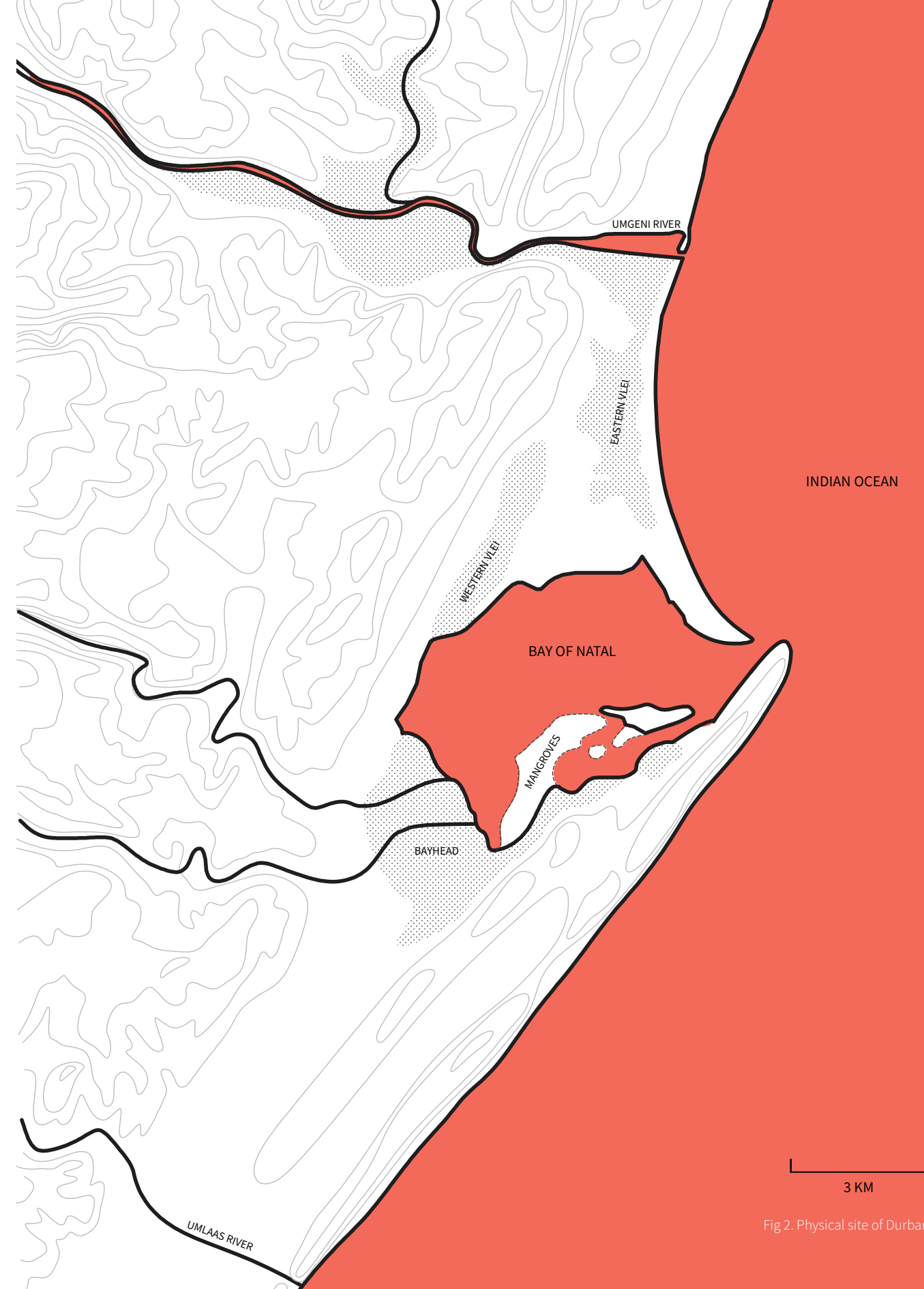


Fig 2. Physical site of Durban

THE CITY OF DURBAN

HISTORICAL + SPATIAL DEVELOPMENT

Durban's origin is tightly linked to its natural qualities as a port, since the bay's natural formation was ideal for giving shelter to ships from the rough sea. Even today, Durban is famous as the busiest port in Africa, being ranked among the top ten ports in the world in terms of size and volume.¹

This section examines the historic and spatial evolution of Durban from the beginning of records of the area.

1824 – 1870s: The Early Settlement phase

The first written history about Durban dates to the end of the 15th century. In 1497, the Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama came to the coast of KwaZulu-Natal while searching for a route from Europe to India. It is said that he landed on the coast on Christmas day and thus named the area Terra do Natal (“Christmas Country” in Portuguese).² The founding of Durban, which was initially named Port Natal, did not occur until 1824, when British Lieutenant F.G. Farewell and a handful of merchants and adventurers from the Cape Colony established a settlement on the northern shore of the bay of Natal. The settlement was formed at the northern end of the bay on a narrow triangle of coastal lowlands, flanked by two poorly drained marshlands known as the Eastern and the Western vleis.^{3 4}

Henry Fynn, one of the adventurers alongside the settlers, happened to be an important figure for Durban's future development. He initiated immediate contact with the Zulu Kingdom, and since the Zulu King Shaka took an obvious liking to the European's “western” acquirements, before they left he granted them a large tract of land and gave his authority to establish a trading station. A relatively cordial relationship between the British traders and the Zulu kingdom developed, but was not destined to last. Shaka always instructed his citizens to tolerate the white settlers because he understood that their trading habits were useful to his kingdom. Circumstances changed for the worse, however, when Shaka's successor, Dingane, took over in 1828. In contrast to his predecessor, Dingane displayed open animosity and undisguised aggression towards the settlement.^{5 6 7}

In the beginning, Durban developed slowly and there was no support or protection by the British government. In 1835 it was decided to change Port Natal's name to

1. SAHO (n.d.), 23 June 1835 [online]. South Africa: SAHO. Available at: <http://v1.sahistory.org.za/pages/chronology/thisday/1835-06-23.htm> [accessed 20. March 2016]

2. SAHO (n.d.), op. cit.

3. Rosenberg, L (2013), The Spatial Evolution of Durban, p. 12, in: Rosenberg, L & Vahed, G & Hassim, A & Moodley, S and Singh, K, S, *The Making of Place. The Warwick Junction Precinct 1870s-1980s*, Durban: Durban University of Technology

4. SAHO (n.d.), op. cit.

5. SAHO (2011), Second European Settlement at the Bay of Natal [online]. South Africa: SAHO. Available at: <http://www.sahistory.org.za/second-european-settlement-bay-natal> [accessed 20. March 2016]

6. Footprint Handbooks (n.d.) History of Durban, South Africa [online]. Available at: <http://www.footprinttravelguides.com/africa-middle-east/south-africa/kwa-zulu-natal/durban/history-of-durban/> [accessed 20. March 2016]

7. Ulwazi (n.d.), History of Durban [online]. Available at: http://www.ulwazi.org/index.php5?title=History_of_Durban [accessed 20. March 2016]

“Durban,” after the current governor of the Cape Colony, Sir Benjamin d’Urban. This was probably done in the hope that Durban would become part of the Colony. Still, the British Colony showed no interest in the annexation of Durban to the Colony at that time.^{8 9}

When the Voortrekkers - Afrikaner /Dutch emigrants who left the Cape Colony - moved in 1838 to the area north of Durban, they established the Republic of Natalia. The indigenous Zulu population became uneasy with the steady increase of white people in their kingdom over the years, and this led to unavoidable conflicts between the communities, but also between the Voortrekkers and the British settlement of Durban. A viable independent Voortrekker republic wasn’t acceptable to the Cape Colony, and through several battles an expeditionary force was sent from the Cape in 1842 to maintain order in the area. Immediately upon their arrival they were besieged by the Voortrekkers. Nonetheless, they prevailed in that same year the Dutch Parliament submitted to British rule. The Cape Colony incorporated Natal as a separate district in 1845. Becoming a part of the Cape Colony encouraged many new settlers in search of land to come to Durban. Through this influx, and the support of the British government, Durban was set to become one of the most important seaports of the British Empire.¹⁰

Durban developed from the beginning on the basis of those characteristics common to a sea-port town, its growth stimulated by its function as a trading headquarters. The absence of a distinct church square, in its early days, was unusual for a British settlement and suggested that Durban was to be a trading center, and hence a

marketplace. The first settlement structures stretched out over the flat land between the two vleis north of the bay. This area emerged as the center of the city and suggested a configuration of a town layout with a narrow grid plan, main streets from east to west (Pine-, West- and Smith Street) and shorter cross streets at right angles to the shore of the bay. The market square was situated in the center of these three streets. The west side of the square developed as a businesses area due to the availability of cheap land. Smith Street developed as an area for hotels, clubs and commercial business administration; and West Street became the nodal growth area for retail. The market square itself became the focus of institutional and public functions. Religious buildings could be found scattered around the embryonic town.¹⁴

When Durban was proclaimed a borough in 1854, the major axes of the city’s future growth and character had already been established “as a series of nodes interconnected with spines, open spaces between, a long town centre [sic!] with an emphasis on the street, recognition of landform, drainage and topographical framework elements and all set within an environment of natural vegetation.”¹⁵ At that time the population of Durban totaled 1,204 people.¹⁶ Particularly significant for the growth of Durban was the boom of the sugarcane industry in Natal toward the end of the 19th century, which made Durban’s seaport into the largest sugar terminal in the world. The objection of the Zulu population to engage in poorly paid wage labor in the sugar industry led to the import of Indian indentured laborers to work the farms. The first indentured laborers arrived in 1860, and until 1911 more than 150,000 Indian workers arrived in Durban. Once their period of indenture ended many remained in the province of Natal. The Indian population in Durban today remains one of the largest outside India.^{17 18 19}

Further factors contributing to the city’s increase in size was its connection by way of its transportation system to the burgeoning economy of the Witwatersrand. This began in 1860 with the construction of South Africa’s first railway line linking the harbor of Durban with the small town, and within thirty years this line reached all the way to Johannesburg. The discovery of gold there, and the discovery of coal in Dundee, resulted in a major boost to Durban’s port. As a result of the increased use of the harbor, many marine-related industries were established. Later, the industries of Durban were supplemented by petro-chemical industries, which also depended on the port’s proximity for the import and export of goods.^{20 21 22}

1870s-1930s: The Colonial phase

By the end of the twentieth century, Durban had already grown to a City with a sewerage system, hardened roads and water reticulation. Until the 1930s, this growth phase was characterized by segregationist tendencies. In 1893, Natal attained self-government and the new government increasingly viewed town planning, public health, trade arrangements and other public issues in terms of racial and ethnic distinction. This led to the formulation of measures to segregate and impose control over residential settlement, trade and recreation by Indians and Africans.^{23 24} Africans were perceived as a passive threat by Whites, but they came to view Indians

- 14. Rosenberg, L (2013), op.cit., p.12-13
- 15. Rosenberg, L (2013), op. cit., p.13
- 16. Rosenberg, L (2013), op. cit., p.14
- 17. Southern Domain Online Travel Guides (n.d.), op. cit.
- 18. Marx, C. and Charlton, S. (2003). The case of Durban, South Africa, p.2, in: Global Report on Human Settlements 2003. The Challenge of Slums, London:Earthscan [online]. Available at:http://www.ucl.ac.uk/dpu-projects/Global_Report/pdfs/Durban.pdf [accessed 20. March 2016]
- 19. SAHO (2011), Indian Community [online]. South Africa: SAHO. Available at: <http://www.sahistory.org.za/indian-community> [accessed 20. March 2016]
- 20. SAHO (2011), The first railway line in South Africa, between Durban and the Point, is officially opened [online]. South Africa: SAHO. Available at: <http://www.sahistory.org.za/dated-event/first-railway-line-south-africa-between-durban-and-point-officially-opened> [accessed 20. March 2016]
- 21. eThekweni Municipality (n.d.) Introduction to the History of Durban [online]. Available at: http://www.durban.gov.za/Discover_Durban/History_Communities/Durban_History/Pages/Introduction_to_the_History_of_Durban.aspx [accessed 20. March 2016]
- 22. Marx, C. and Charlton, S. (2003), op.cit
- 23. Rosenberg, L (2013), op.cit., p.19
- 24. eThekweni Municipality (n.d.) op.cit.

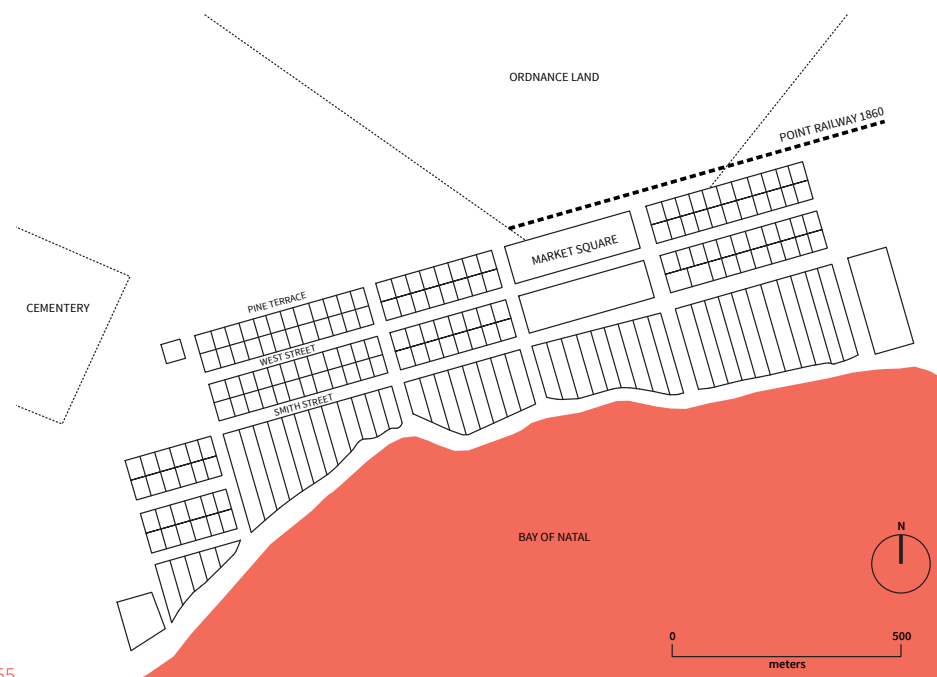


Fig 3. Durban Town Plan 1855

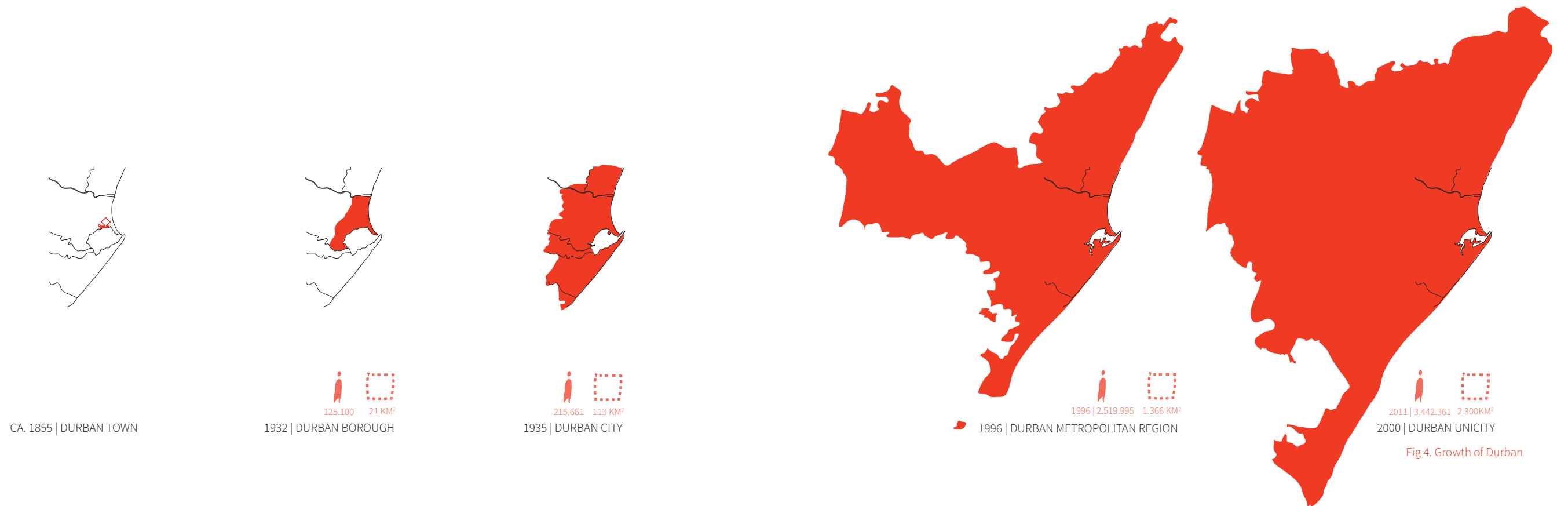


Fig 4. Growth of Durban

as an active menace to their own position in colonial society since, as British subjects, they claimed civil and economic rights. Separate Indian settlements outside the borough of Durban were established, including areas like Clairwood, Merebank, Sydenham, Overport Clare Estate, Riverside and Cato Manor. Within the town itself, attempts to create separate Indian areas had failed and Indians settled on the west end of West Street, the northern part of Field Street and bounding the Western vlei. At the beginning of the twentieth century, barracks which housed single male migrant workers were the only formal accommodation available for Africans in Durban. In the following years they tried to live wherever they could, even renting backyard accommodation or living in other informal residential alternatives. The first formal settlement for African families, called Baumanville, was built in 1916 and was followed by Chesterville and Lamontville, the latter two townships being located a great distance from the city.²⁵

Africans were not generally regarded as part of the urban life of the city. Africans could not acquire land from non-Africans and they were also barred by various means from settling in town. Various laws prohibited Africans from owning property in the cities, and as such no African residential areas were evident in Durban.²⁶

In general the residential areas and their distributions in Durban were characterized by

sharp contrasts between European and Indian areas and the limited accommodation for African barracks.²⁷ The council adopted a series of legislative measures to control the settlement and trade of non-whites. Three of these approaches were residential segregation, political exclusion and commercial suppression.²⁸

1930s-1940s: The pre-apartheid phase

Before 1932 the municipal boundaries of Durban enclosed an area of twenty-one square kilometers. Populous suburbs had developed around the city beyond the control of local authorities. These satellite suburbs were incorporated into Durban in 1932, which provided further borrowing powers for the Town Council. The new boundaries increased the municipal area from twenty-one to 113 square kilometers and increased the population from 125.1 to 215.661, and in 1935 elevated the status of Durban to that of a city.²⁹

At the beginning of the twentieth century, slums and vast shack settlements had emerged around the town and in its suburbs. They were seen by many as a breeding ground for disease and crime. Clearing these areas was the focus in the 1930s and can be seen as the basis that paved the way for the first proposals of racial zoning plans

25. Rosenberg, L (2013), op.cit., p.23,

p. 27

26. Rosenberg, L (2013), op.cit., p.26

27. Rosenberg, L (2013), op.cit., p.26

28. Rosenberg, L (2013), op.cit., p.20

29. Rosenberg, L (2013), op.cit., p.26

for the city in the 1940s. It was believed by the City's authorities of that time that the interests of all racial groups could be served if they were housed in separate areas. These zoning plans had a massive impact, especially on the non-European population. The concept of these plans was that large areas were designated for different areas, with the Europeans occupying the best areas. The final race zoning plan was approved in 1952, which can be seen as the blueprint for the implementation of the Group Areas Act in Durban in the 1950s.³⁰

1940s-1980s The apartheid phase

The Group Areas Act of 1950 meant that for each of the non-European groups in Durban, two zones were designated beyond the perimeters of the City. Coloureds were assigned to the inner Bluff ridge, away from the sea-front, and to a large zone to the west of Durban North. The Africans were allocated the south-west and north-west, what became Umlazi and KwaMashu, and Indian zones were placed between the European and the African Zones. Mainly non-Europeans had to move out of the city. The estimated displacement from the areas west of the old borough alone comprised approximately 700,000 Indians, 8,500 Coloureds and almost 40,000 Africans, as compared with a total European displacement of less than 12,000. Whites also declared large parts of central Durban as zones for their occupation.³¹ This involved the Grey Street complex, which came under threat of clearance in 1969. This complex

30. Rosenberg, L (2013), op.cit., p.28-30
 31. Rosenberg, L (2013), op.cit., p.34-35

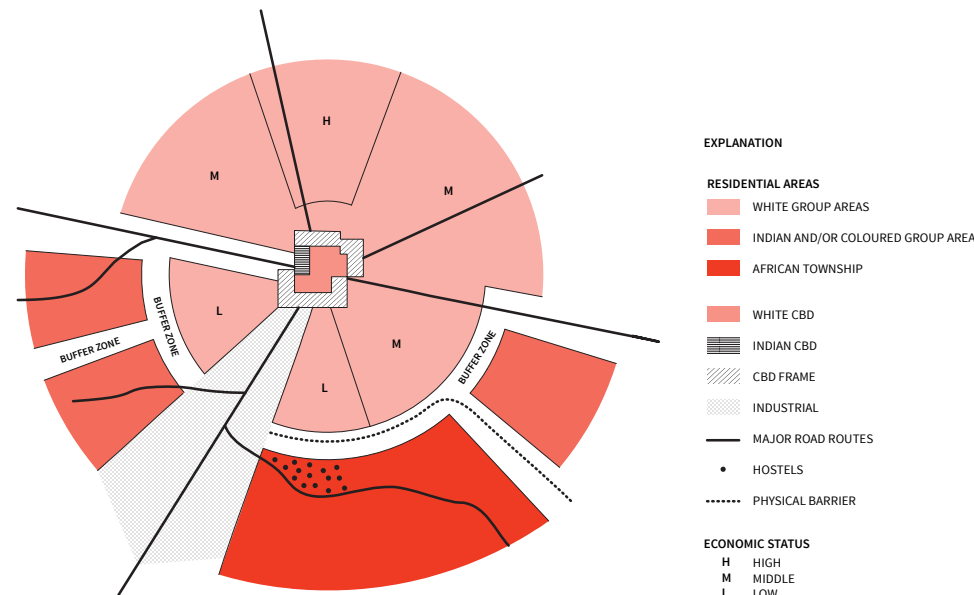


Fig 5. Spatial policy's strict zoning principles during Apartheid

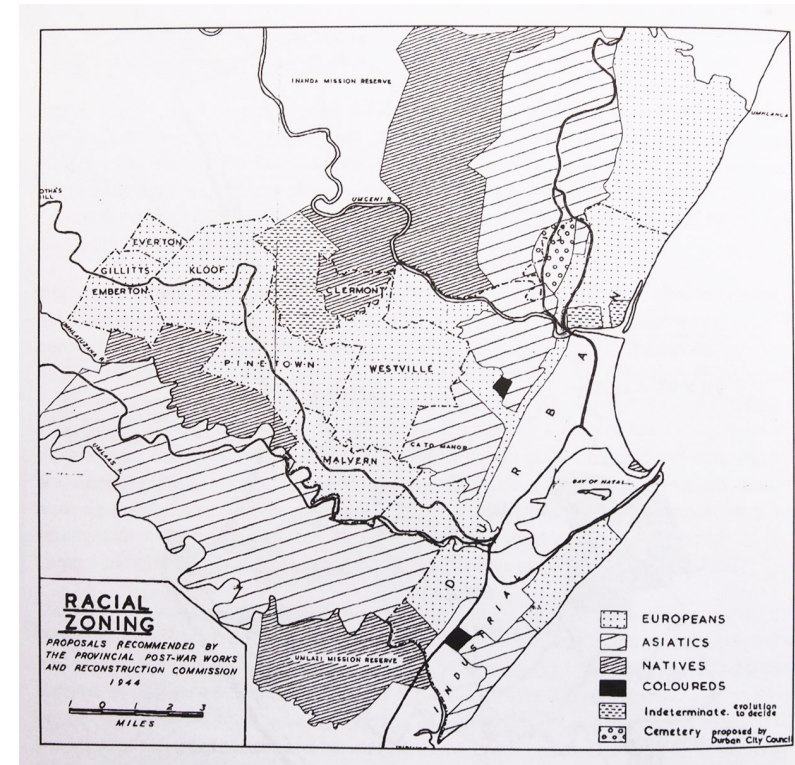


Fig 6. Race Zoning proposal in 1944

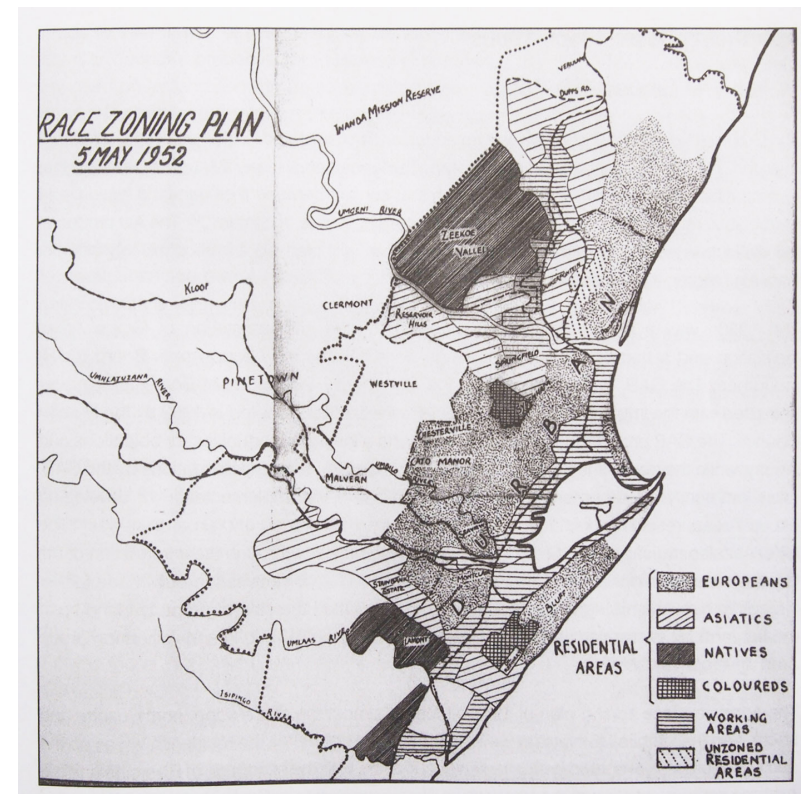


Fig 7. Approved Race Zoning Plan for Durban in 1952

was the most concentrated Indian commercial area in South Africa in the 1960s. After more than twenty years of uncertainty, it was finally decided in 1973 to proclaim the land an Indian Group Area for trading and light industry. This proclamation excluded residential purposes and this meant that approximately 12,000 residents had to vacate the area. Furthermore, educational and cultural facilities were consequently excluded from the site. “The loss of the residential component adversely affected not only the residents and businesses, but also the residential character of the area.” By 1981 half of the residents had moved away from the Grey Street area. This development came to a turnaround in 1983 when Indians were once again allowed to live legally in the Grey Street area.³²

In the 1980s an ethnic mixing process began to evolve in Durban and other South African cities, which Cloete refers to as the “greying process.” This can also be seen as the beginning of the decline of apartheid. Towns and cities were still not fully racially segregated by the mid-1970s, despite the strict enforcement of the Group Areas Act. Initiatives failed to move “illegal” residents, and intense local and international criticism of these forced removals had made the government reluctant to continue segregation maneuvers on a large scale. Another explanation for the trend to racially

32. Rosenberg, L (2013), op.cit., p.35

Fig 8. A beach in Durban reserved for the whites



integrate neighborhoods was the fact that prohibitions on inter-racial marriages and social relations only applied to whites, allowing relatively free racial intermingling among African, Indian and Coloured communities. All of these “greying” developments were accelerated by the opening up of the CBD as free trade areas for all races in 1984, the abolishment of the prohibition on inter-racial marriages in 1985, and the repeal of influx control in 1986.³³

In the 1980s several developments all over the country ultimately entailed the end of apartheid structures. By 1983 in Durban, and especially in the Warwick precinct, Indians once again allowed to stay in the Grey Street area. The segregation of the public transport system was abolished in 1986 and the following year mini-bus taxis were introduced. Informal trading of muthi (traditional African medicine), fruits and vegetables were once again seen on the streets. These developments all over South Africa finally ended in the repeal of the Group Areas Act in June 1991.³⁴

1994 – today: The post-apartheid phase

In 1994 South Africa had its first democratic election and transitioned from a system of apartheid to one of majority rule. This election was the first where all citizens – non-European and European - were allowed to take part. This changed forever the tone and flavor of Durban and the rest of South Africa. In 1996 Durban was further enlarged to become the Durban Metropolitan Region, also known as Durban Metro, by including large areas north, south and west of the city. Four years later, in 2000, a further expansion resulted in the inclusive Durban Unicity.³⁵

Apartheid’s spatial policy left Durban highly fragmented along racial lines. The residential areas of the poor, mainly black townships are situated in locations far away from the city’s core with limited socio-economic opportunities in their vicinity. The core and suburban areas were composed nearly entirely of whites or Indians, and the city’s centre used to consist of primarily white communities. After the decline of apartheid the inner city of Durban faced the problem of degeneration as a result of the rapid inward migration of mainly poor people from rural areas, and the simultaneous flight of the white middle class and most commercial services to suburban locations. In order to foster the integration and transformation of Durban after 1994, the Durban Municipality embarked on a number of projects focused on making it a city for all.³⁶

Given that the central city in particular was confronted with stagnation and decay, the city launched the program ITRUMP [Inner City Thekwini Regeneration and Urban Management Program] as a response to the urgent need to prioritize the regeneration of the urban core. ITRUMP focused on increasing economic activity, reducing poverty and social isolation, making the inner city more viable, implementing an effective and sustainable urban management, improving safety and security and developing institutional capacity. ITRUMP accomplished various projects in the inner city, the most successful of which has been the revitalization of the Warwick Junction transport and trading hub.^{37 38 39}

Other development projects, intended to transform the spatial remnants of apartheid,

33. Rosenberg, L (2013), op.cit., p.36

34. Rosenberg, L (2013), op.cit.

35. eThekweni Municipality (n.d.)a op.cit.

36. Adebayo, A., Musvoto, G. (2010) Integration and Transformation of Post-Apartheid South African City Fabric [online], p. 1127. Available at: http://conference.corp.at/archive/CORP2010_36.pdf [accessed 06. April 2016]

37. eThekweni Municipality (n.d.)b Sectors and Key Projects [online]. Available at: http://www.durban.gov.za/City_Services/Economic_Development/Pages/Sectors_Key_Projects.aspx [accessed 07. April 2016]

38. eThekweni Municipality (n.d.)c ITRump [online]. Available at: http://www.durban.gov.za/City_Government/Administration/Area_Based_Management/Pages/iTrump.aspx [accessed 06. April 2016]

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include the Florida Road Heritage Precinct project, an inner city neighborhood revitalisation project, the Durban Point Water Front redevelopment project (which is an inner city redevelopment project), the Bridge City project (a new mixed node for integration located on a buffer zone that separated blacks and whites during the apartheid era), and the Umlazi Town centre upgrading project, a township town-centre upgrading project.⁴⁰

Besides the above-mentioned urban developments meant to diminish apartheid's urban legacy, Durban has focused on positioning itself in a more international context. Development and infrastructure projects, in connection with mega events like Fifa 2010 and high profile conferences, changed the cityscape in recent years. Tourist magnets like the waterpark uShaka Marine World and the entertainment complex Suncoast Casino are Durban's prominent projects for its regeneration strategy. Other key projects of economic and urban development in Durban are massive road projects to open up desolate areas to economic activity, the extension of the harbour, the establishment of business parks, trade ports, and the extension of the existing automotive cluster.⁴¹

It is evident that through all these attempts and developments, Durban strives to be renewed by transforming its communities into democratic spaces that may serve towards the development of a new political ideology.³⁷ From one project to another, Durban has demonstrated grand ambition, though the city still has a long way to go to realize its goals.⁴²

40. Adebayo, A., Musvoto, G. (2010) op.cit., p. 1128

41. eThekweni Municipality (n.d.)b op.cit.

42. Adebayo, A., Musvoto, G. (2010) op.cit., p. 1131

THIS CHAPTER IS AN ESSAYISTIC REPORT ABOUT THE CURRENT CULTURAL AREA OF DURBAN. A DEEPER COMPREHENSION OF THE PROJECT'S CULTURAL CONTEXT WILL BE DEVELOPED ON THE BASIS OF THE CITY'S TYPICAL CULTURAL CHARACTERISTICS.

DURBAN NOW

MOBILITY _____
PUBLIC SPACE _____
FOOD _____
SOCIETY + CULTURE _____
SPORT _____
TOURISM _____
SEGREGATION, INEQUALITY + CRIME _____



Fig.1 Fully loaded minibus taxi

MOBILITY

Taxis as a Way of Life in Durban

Loud music, congestion, rapid lane changes, honking, getting cut-off in traffic, driving cars with the doors wide open and someone hanging out of them - once you experience all of these attributes, you know you are situated near a transport junction for minibus taxis, one of the main (informal) public transport systems in South Africa. The origin of this vibrant transport industry springs from the insufficient provision of public transport by the apartheid government, especially for townships which are normally located far away from the cities' centres.¹

Even now, minibus taxis are the most commonly used form of short-distance, regional and long-distance transportation in Durban and all other South African cities. They play a critical role in the lives of the majority of commuters, particularly in poor Black communities. A case study from the ILO in 2003 confirms that approximately 127,000 minibus taxis operate on fixed commuter corridors in South Africa and directly employ around 185,000 people. Aside from drivers, there are queue marshals, car washers

and fare collectors.²

Taxi commuting is not about comfort; it's about getting to your destination in one piece. Taxis stop wherever they like, the drivers are generally in a hurry, and most of them seem to have spent more money on their sound systems than the cost of a small car. The drivers take pride in their taxis and pimp their minibus with alloy wheels and TV screens. Some are even equipped with disco lights. At the taxi stands, shirtless men retrieve their soap and buckets and wash their "mean machines" until they shine like they're just off the shop floor.³

There is no need to tell the driver in a taxi in which direction you are heading. One assumes that if you jump into the taxi you already know where you are going because of the hand signs that have been made to get the vehicle to stop. These signs have become well known across Durban. Over the years, a set of hand signals have been developed to signify some of the more well used destinations, like the town centre.

The "town" sign is simply the lifting of an index finger in the air. Going to the South Beach and Point is signalled by an index finger making a circular motion. All these signs will get you from a residential area to the CBD but are more complicated when you need to get from the CBD to a residential area.^{4,5}

Within the preparation of the FIFA 2010, Durban implemented a public transport redesign process and introduced the "people mover," a "safe and reliable public transport system" for the city. For now just two routes have been available: one route runs along the beach front, and there is an inner city route. Compared to the minibus taxis, this transport system is more expensive.⁶ Cars are in general driven by wealthier individuals for safety and convenience. Train routes connect all major cities and are also an important asset for much of the population.

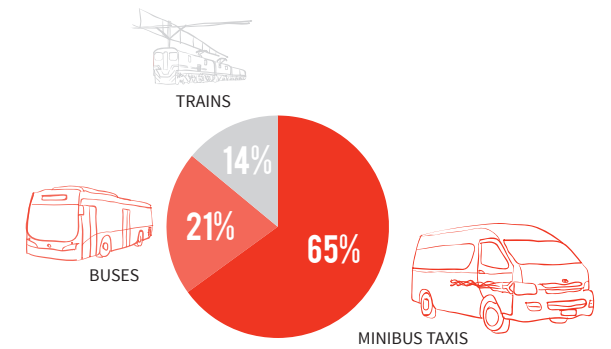


Fig. 2 Breakdown of usage of all public transport commuter trips in South Africa



Fig. 3 Taxirank in Durban

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PUBLIC SPACE

Living in a Mall Society

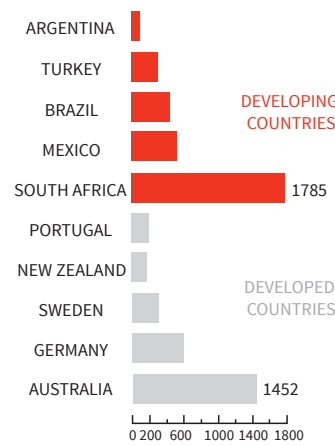


Fig.4 Number of shopping centres larger than 2000m² in each country [2011]

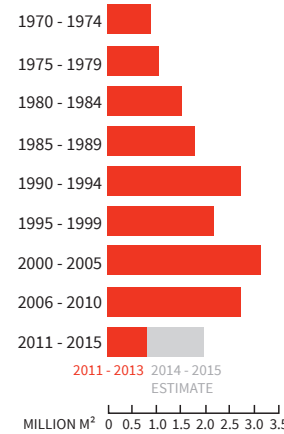


Fig.5 New retail space added to SA supply [1970-2015]

Concerts, exhibitions, fitness, cinema - modern malls in South Africa offer more than just shopping and food consumption. These enormous commercial complexes envision themselves as all-inclusive entertainment centres that include special activities seeking to attract more and more consumers. Durban's biggest mall is Gateway and calls itself a "theater of shopping." It is more than just a shopping centre – the mall sees itself as a destination. Besides regular shopping facilities, Gateway offers a skate park, a water park, outdoor go-kart, a concert venue, hotels and much more. It seems that malls are seen by many Durban locals as a vital place of public life. In the urban texture of the city these air conditioned spaces provide shelter from heat, moisture and traffic, and provide what many other public spaces in SA do not: security.¹²

Malls are the emerging venue of public space in South Africa. They appear to be slowly replacing traditional urban markets and trading areas. This "built public" is privately developed and can be seen

as representative of the growth of global consumer culture, but also as a lack of planning public spaces. Malls have become interior public streets, frequented by people across class-lines, but at the same time have the ability to separate people by class and income. Many of the goods, for example, are economically unattainable for the black working class.³⁴

In addition to these segregationist tendencies, the freedom of the interiorized street is, like public spaces in the Apartheid era, complicated by the extensive surveillance that make the visitor feel safe while protecting consumer goods. Appropriation of space and the concept of spacial equality are nuanced and not without problems, like so much in the current post-apartheid reality.⁵

Shopping mall facts and an outlook: South Africa has the highest number of shopping centres in the world after the United States, Japan, China, Canada and the United Kingdom. South Africa

ranks 6th in the world when it comes to the number of shopping centres, with over 2000 centres. When it comes to floor space South Africa ranks 7th highest globally, with roughly 23-million square metres. The driver of retail space growth, many experts agree, is the emerging middle class and urbanization. According to research, South Africa is experiencing unprecedented growth in urbanization, and is now 63% urbanized. That is expected to reach 68% by 2030, warranting up to two million square metres of additional retail floor space by 2025.⁶⁷



Fig.6 The Pavilion shopping centre in Westville Durban

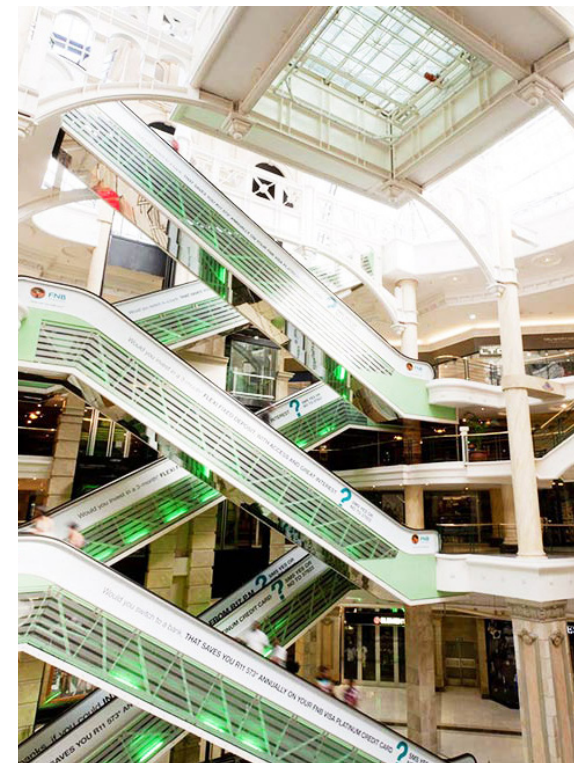


Fig.7 Inside view of the Pavilion mall - a multi story shopping complex

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FOOD

Fusion and Eclecticism on the Daily Menu



Fig.8 Vetkoek sold and prepared at the Berea train station

It is hard to classify Durban's style of food, because it doesn't have only one but many. You might realize a vague approximation of this style by mixing American, Indian and African cuisine. Fusion is the dominant force in Durban's food culture, and eclecticism the order of the day. Ever since Apartheid ended in South Africa, minds have opened towards global grocery products, and so the African cuisine has developed in various ways. In Durban you can find the world's menus sampled and find entirely new genres of food – sushi meets Indian roti, for example, or Indian samosas with bacon and cheese filling.¹

The most renowned Durban dish is “bunny chow,” often referred to as a bunny, which consists of a hollowed out loaf of bread filled with curry. A real Durbanite eats this dish only with the fingers starting with the lump of bread, or virgin, on top. There are competing theories as to its origin, but all agree that it was developed in the Durban Indian community because of segregationist circumstances during Apartheid. Seating areas in restaurants and many other privileges were then reserved only for the white population; henceforth, takeaways became a necessity for most of the population. The self-

contained curry within the bread was an ideal way of being able to eat the bought curry on the streets or being able to transport it. It is typically served with mutton or lamb, chicken or bean curry.²

Durban is the city with the highest concentration of Indians outside of India.³ Thus the Indian influence in the Durban cuisine is very evident. The Indian food in Durban has developed its own Durban spin-off and culinary line, and resulted in plenty of crossover dishes with other cuisines. The ‘Durban curry’ as compared to Indian curries: “It's hotter and [...] oilier”.⁴ Durban's Indian Food has had the power to transcend race lines and unite across the demographic spread, even during Apartheid.⁵

Another dish that has been adopted by many ethnic groups is braai. Braai is Afrikaans for “barbecue” or “roast” and is a social custom in South Africa as well as other sub-Saharan countries. It originated with the Afrikaner people, but one can find it today in black African households as a regular staple.⁶ Zulus refer to it as Chisa Nyama.⁷

Pap, vetkoek, cooked cow's head, and mealies, are omnipresent foods in black African communities. Pap is a traditional porridge made from mealie meal (ground maize). It is one of the staple foods of the black community. It is the food that is eaten routinely and in such quantities that it constitutes a dominant portion of a standard diet in a given people. Many typical South African dishes include pap. Vetkoek is also Afrikaans and literally means “fat cake,” or “fat cookie.” It is bread dough deep-fried in oil. One vetkoek costs about two Rand on the streets and is the perfect cheap breakfast for anyone rushing to work. Mealies (or Maize) is also a popular, low-cost street food in Durban. For about five Rand water-boiled maize can be purchased on the inner-city streets. The mealie cooking business has become an

important source of income for scores of poor people. (see also p.120) Cooked cow's head is traditionally a Zulu delicacy and found in Durban's inner city at the Bovine Head Market. (see also p.103)^{8,9}

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Fig. 9 Bunny Chow - the most renowned and exemplary Durban dish



SOCIETY + CULTURE

Durban as a “Melting Pot” of Traditions

Durban is an extraordinary city, the most culturally and ethnically diverse in Southern Africa, with a rich mix of beliefs and traditions. It is a blend of African, European and Asian influences - one will find Victorian homes, the largest mosque in the southern hemisphere and Vishwaroop, the oldest Hindu temple in South Africa, all in close vicinity to each other. Zulus form the largest single ethnic group of the city, followed with a big gap by Indians, to which Durban is the city with the highest concentration outside India. The city also has a large number of people of British descent. In Durban you'll find an Indian woman in her sari next to an African man in his traditional attire, a Muslim man talking about sports in an Afrikaner accent, Indians and native Africans, which speak Afrikaans and white men, which speak Zulu. To many it is also known as the friendliest city in South Africa, due to the great warmth and openness of its people and the laid-back lifestyle that everyone here enjoys.

1 2 3 4 5

At the lively beachfront one can feel the cultural mixture for which Durban is famous, but other worlds are not far away. Culturally, Durban is still divided into pockets: northern suburbs such as Umhlanga are fairly white with sedate cafes and beachfront hotels; areas like Chatsworth and Phoenix offer authentic curries as they are the home to a majority of the Indian community, and there are vast townships like KwaMashu and Umlazi in peripheral areas of Durban, which host mainly black urban dwellers.⁶

Still, Durban offers a unique cultural mix - from a bustling nightlife, a lively arts and crafts movement, various galleries and museums, to an active music, film, theatre and dance scene. In addition, the city entails a high cultural and historic heritage with its Zulu villages, battlefields, historic sites, religious venues, townships and traditional markets. Diverse festivals shape Durban's multicultural atmosphere.

Authentic Indian Festivals, like the Diwali festival (Festival of Lights) to Durban's famous International Film Festival. Although South Africa is constitutionally a secular country, most of the population acknowledges a faith of some kind. In keeping with the city's multicultural reality, numerous religious rites and traditions are practiced in Durban and can be seen as a reflection of the global nature of the city's origins.⁷

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Fig. 10 Three Zulu girls in their traditional attire

Fig. 11 Church members performing their ceremony at the beach

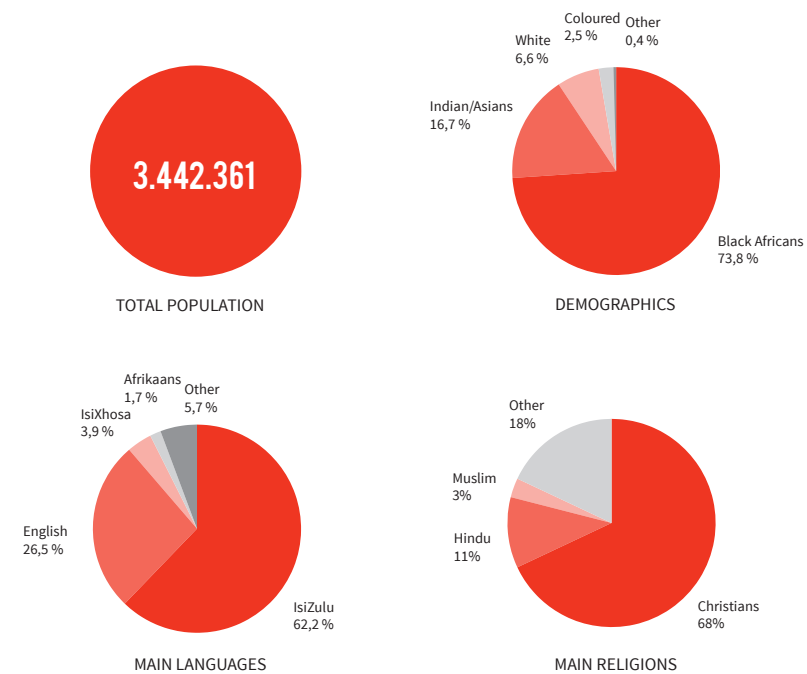


Fig. 12 Facts and figures about the society and culture set up of Durban's population



Fig. 13 Two muslim women and a man enjoying their cup of tea on a sidewalk

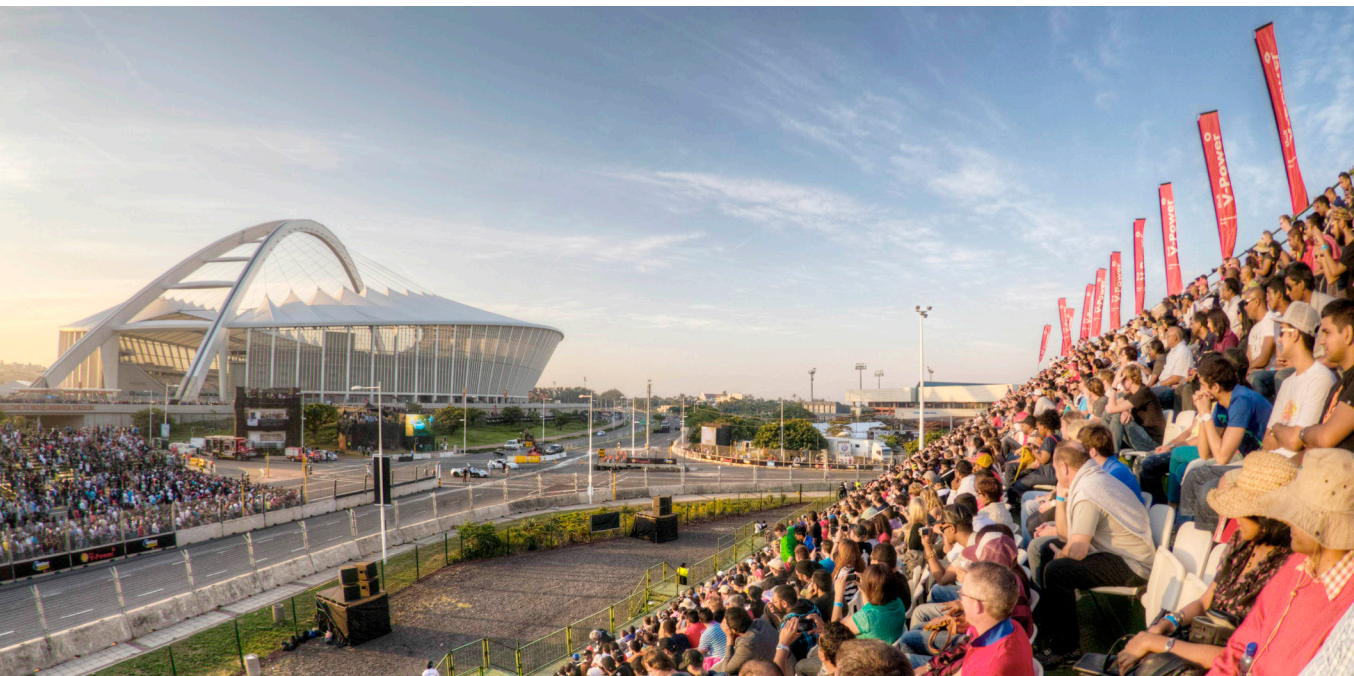


Fig. 14 South Africans have a passionate following - Spectators at the Top Gear festival in front of the Moses Mabhida stadium

SPORT

Durban's Will to Transform into a Sport's Mecca

South Africans are passionate followers of sports, although they remain largely divided along ethnic groups. Soccer, cricket and rugby are the most popular sports in the country, with soccer being the most popular. Cricket is traditionally the sport most popular among the white British and Indian South African communities. Rugby is particularly popular amongst persons of Afrikaner descent. Nowadays, however, the ethnic divisions among sports fans are becoming less distinct.¹²

Durban's subtropical weather allows athletes to practice their sport all year round. It also encourages an "outdoor culture" and motivates people to engage in more physical exercise. This is one reason why Durban's sports field are always full of fans and enthusiasts; why parks accommodate enough space for organised sports meetings such as yoga or martial arts; and why the beachfront is intensively used by joggers, cyclers and beach volleyball players. The physical coastline, along with the climate and the proximity of the main beaches to the city, contributes

to Durban's culture of athleticism. Durban's beaches are generally known for their waves and the warmth of the ocean. So whether one wishes to take a swim or catch a wave, one will always find an opportunity to do so in this city.³⁴

Durban became aware of its sports-friendly environment long ago. Today the city hosts major sporting events such as horse racing, marathons, and surfing events. The city has been marketing itself as a sporting destination since 1991, with the International Powerboat Racing Grand Prix in the Durban harbor. This was done in the belief that sports can be used as a medium to bring people together. In 1991 Durban also tendered a bid to stage the 2004 Olympics, but Cape Town was chosen instead as the South African candidate city. Although there was much disappointment about this decision, the reality was that Durban did not have the infrastructure to host an event of such magnitude.⁵⁶

In 2010 South Africa was the host for the FIFA World

Cup, and Durban was one of the locations used in the event. Participating in FIFA's Cup was seen as an 'event-led economic development strategy [...] aimed to use the World Cup to build the economy of the city and to ensure that the infrastructure developed for the World cup provided a lasting legacy for the city'. The city was obliged to commit to certain types of infrastructure developments. This included the construction of a stadium (Moses Mabhida Stadium), upgrading the city's transport system – including airports – as well as public facilities such as beaches.⁷ One of the planned projects was the redevelopment of the Warwick Triangle, because of its 'chaotic appearance',⁸ by means of private investment (a new shopping mall). This plan would have affected approximately eight-thousand livelihoods. The plan met with strong objections from the street traders, urban planners, architects, academics and the general public, and was canceled when the City conceded to the public outcry.^{9 10}

In 2022 the Commonwealth Games, an international, multi-sport event featuring various sports, will be held in Durban.¹¹ Durban has finally succeeded in marketing itself as a respected international sporting destination.

"The marketing of Durban as a sporting city is an example of urban regeneration. It reinforces civic pride amongst residents, giving them an opportunity to participate and enjoy a sense of ownership. It can also be classified as a special event that creates a spectacle and in turn draws tourists. Sport has the ability to create media hype, raise the profile of an area and attract crowds during off-season periods"¹²



Fig. 15 Surfing in Durban - Durban is seen by many as the Surf City of South Africa

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TOURISM

More than just a Sub-Tropical Beach City

Durban became a popular tourist destination once the railway connection to the inner South African provinces was established. Its mild and tropical climate became a welcome vacation spot for people from the inner parts of the country. In the 1970s, especially, its immediate beachfront, known as the Golden Mile, was one of the main tourist attractions. Durban has remained very popular among domestic tourists. Around Christmas, in particular, the city attracts masses of tourists who want to spend their free days at the beach.^{1,2,3}

During apartheid, laws ensured that tourism along Durban's coastline was almost exclusively a white phenomenon. Although there was resistance from conservative whites, the city was forced to open up its beaches to all races in 1989. Consequently, some whites from the interior of South Africa no longer value Durban as a place to visit because of negative, racially-charged press coverage, which has projected the city as being overcrowded with blacks, dirty, and full of crime. Following the 1994 democratic elections, racial tensions have somewhat subsided as the city has realised its tourism industry depends on attracting white, middle-class visitors to Durban. Thus, city officials have made an effort to re-brand Durban as an attractive city for all kinds of tourists. In order to successfully promote its tourism opportunities, Durban has attempted to enhance its image by promoting its sports culture and other attractions.⁴

In 1997 the city opened the International Convention Centre (ICC) and began marketing it as a conference destination. Although Durban has successfully hosted a few high profile conventions (e.g. COP17, the 5th BRICS Summit, 13th International AIDS Conference)⁵, critics still claim that Durban lacks a number of key requirements to be considered a successful convention destination. They complain

the city continues to lack appeal as a result of crime, untidiness and limited tourist attractions.⁶

In recent years an increasing focus fell on eco-tourism and cultural tourism in Durban, due to competitive tourism developments throughout the country. Durban has a unique cultural mix of art and culture; yet only recently has it begun capitalizing on these components. Compared to the cosmopolitan city of Capetown, Durban can vaunt that it is among the richest cultural mixes of all cities in South Africa. A few public attractions, like the Victoria Street Market, have begun to appreciate this local cultural asset, but in general the city's tourism strategy is still in its infancy.⁷

Tourism represents a major economic activity and has the potential to play a significant role in the national economy. If it were not for its apartheid history, South Africa would have been one of the most visited destinations in the world.⁸ Yet the tourism sector in Durban continues to bear the mark of apartheid. Durban is one of South Africa's leading year-round tourist destinations, but still faces a lot of challenges. In order to fully unleash its potential as a major tourist destination, it needs to respond to the changing international tourism market, address its problems of crime and uncleanliness, and increase investment in its infrastructure.⁹

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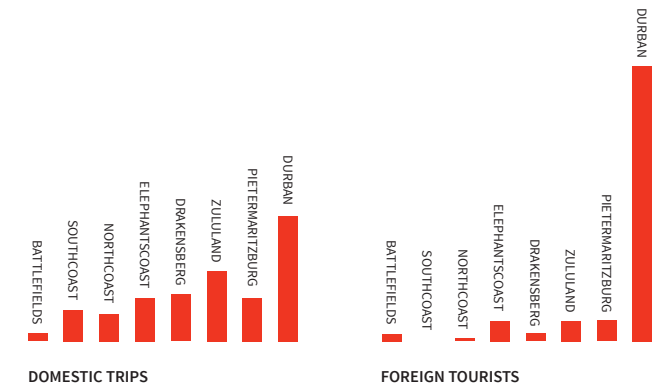


Fig.17 Popularity of destinations to visit in KwaZulu-Natal

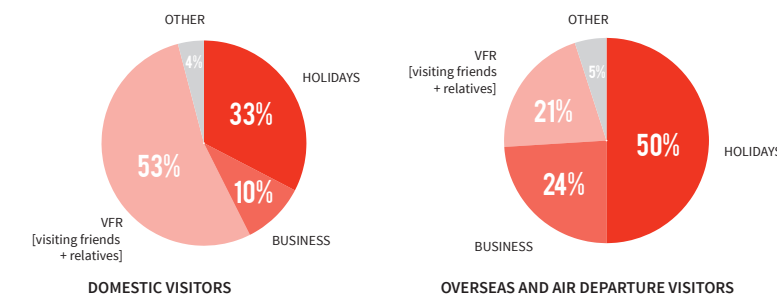


Fig.18 Purpose to visit KwaZulu-Natal

Fig.16 Durban's beachfront in the holiday season



SEGREGATION, INEQUALITY + CRIME

Post-Apartheid Durban

Apartheid might be a policy of the past, but it still is present in present-day South African society, and seems to be the key contributor to the high level of crime in the country. Apartheid's legacy entails segregation, high inequality and a still-pervasive atmosphere of racism, all of which contributes to crime in the region. An exceptionally high rate of violence is not unique to South Africa, but what distinguishes the country from others is the legacy of apartheid and colonialism, which nurtured a culture of violence and disempowerment against non-whites.¹

Durban is rated as one of the fifty most violent cities in the world, determined by the number of murders per 100,000 people.² Crime rates contrast dramatically between the well-off suburbs and other, informal settlements, where many people live in shacks with uncertain access to electricity, water and proper sanitation. In wealthier areas of the city, houses are protected by high walls, electric wire fences, steel window bars and gates, as well as armed twenty-four-hour security patrols. The conclusion to draw from these facts is that residents in suburbs have the wealth to buy comfort and security, while those in less fortunate living conditions cannot.³

In this sense, then, Durban is a typical former and post-apartheid city of South Africa as it continues to struggle with being fragmented along racial lines. The city is still strongly characterized by three types of areas inherited from apartheid: urban African townships, located in peripheral areas far from the core; core and suburban areas, composed nearly exclusively of whites or Indians; and centrally located, primarily white communities.⁴ The latter experienced a rapid change in demographics when mainly poor people began migrating towards the city's center. At the same time, the area's previous inhabitants simultaneously departed, along with most commercial services, to suburban locations. The city now confronts its

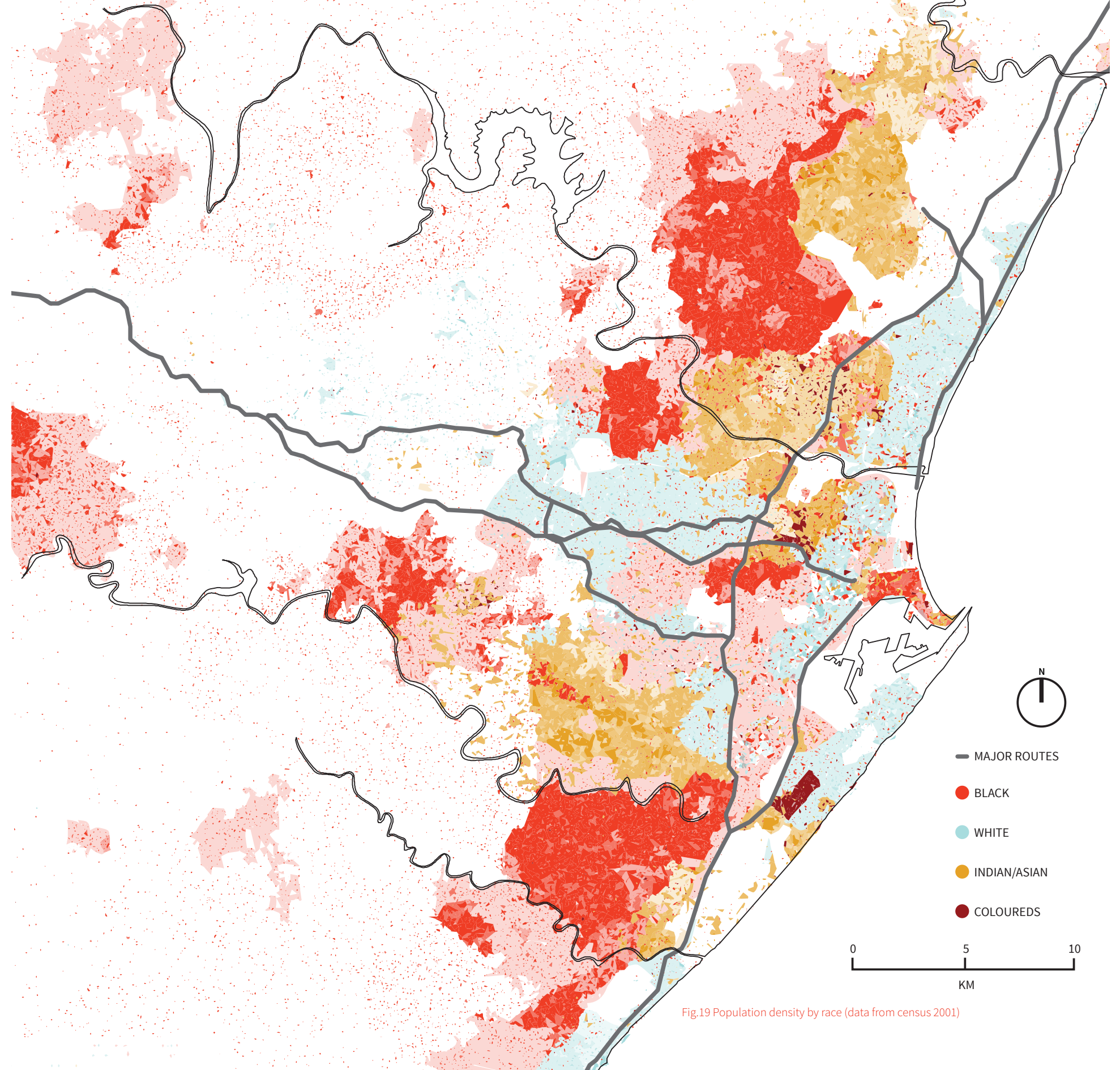


Fig.19 Population density by race (data from census 2001)

legacy of segregation and inequality by promoting integration through urban development projects, hoping to make the city more accessible for all.⁵

South Africa still struggles with the inequalities reinforced by apartheid. The country has one of the highest inequality levels in the world.⁶ Despite steady economic growth, the rates of poverty, unemployment, income inequality, and life expectancy have all worsened since the end of apartheid. These problems and are further fostered by an unequal education system, the lack of a nation-wide social safety net, and unequal distributions of land ownership. It is clear that economic growth alone will not reduce poverty and inequality. Pro-growth social and economic policies for the poor are seen as possible solutions.⁷

Durban was one of the first South African Cities that sought to come to terms with the inevitable political change and development after apartheid. For this reason, it was ahead of other cities in the way it responded to the growth of informal workers. In 1999, Durban was the only South African city to have set up a separate department to oversee street-trader management. Furthermore, it had allocated more resources for the provision of street trader infrastructure than other cities.^{8,9}

With the end of apartheid and the attempted inclusion of long-excluded ethnic groups, South Africa as a whole began a nation-wide process to redefine its history, in part by renaming national holidays, old memorial sites, streets and buildings. In Durban, the renaming of streets began in 2008, though the process was met with controversy, dissatisfaction, and even vandalism. Well known Durban street names suddenly bore the names of famous (or not so famous) people who have contributed in some way to the democratization of South African society. Many argued that the ‘old’ street names in Durban occurred in tandem with urbanization, and thus the creation of the city itself, and many bore historical names dating back to the 1850s. However, a central

argument for renaming streets and landmarks is the need for the country to move beyond a colonial mindset. In practice, however, many continue to use old street names, and even taxi drivers may not know the location of renamed streets.^{10,11}

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THE FOLLOWING CHAPTER FOCUSES ON THE INFORMAL MARKETS AND WORKERS OF THE WARWICK JUNCTION. THE CHAPTER MERGES VARIOUS COMPONENTS OF RESEARCH TO PRESENT AN OVERALL PICTURE OF THE MARKETS IN THE FORM OF A CATALOGUE.

THE INFORMAL MARKETS+WORKERS OF THE WARWICK JUNCTION

LOCALIZATION	_____
SITE ANALYSIS	_____
TRADING DYNAMICS	_____
EARLY MORNING MARKET	_____
BOVINE HEAD MARKET	_____
ENGLISH MARKET	_____
BEREA STATION	_____
BROOK STREET MARKET	_____
VICTORIA STREET MARKET	_____
STREET TRADERS IN WARWICK	_____
STREET TRADERS	_____
MEALIE COOKS	_____
BARROW OPERATORS	_____
CARDBOARD COLLECTORS	_____
BEAD MARKET	_____
IMPHEPHO AND LIME MARKET	_____
MUTHI/HERB MARKET	_____
MUSIC BRIDGE	_____

LOCALIZATION

THE INFORMAL MARKETS + WORKERS OF THE WARWICK JUNCTION

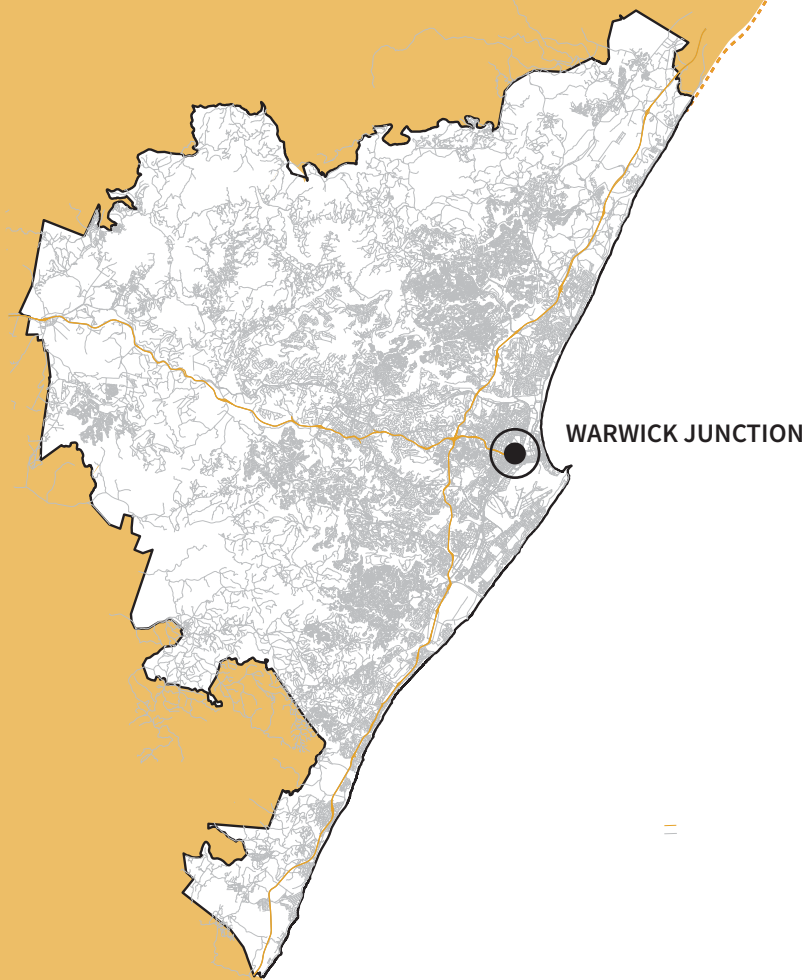


Fig. 1 Localization of the Warwick Junction in Durban

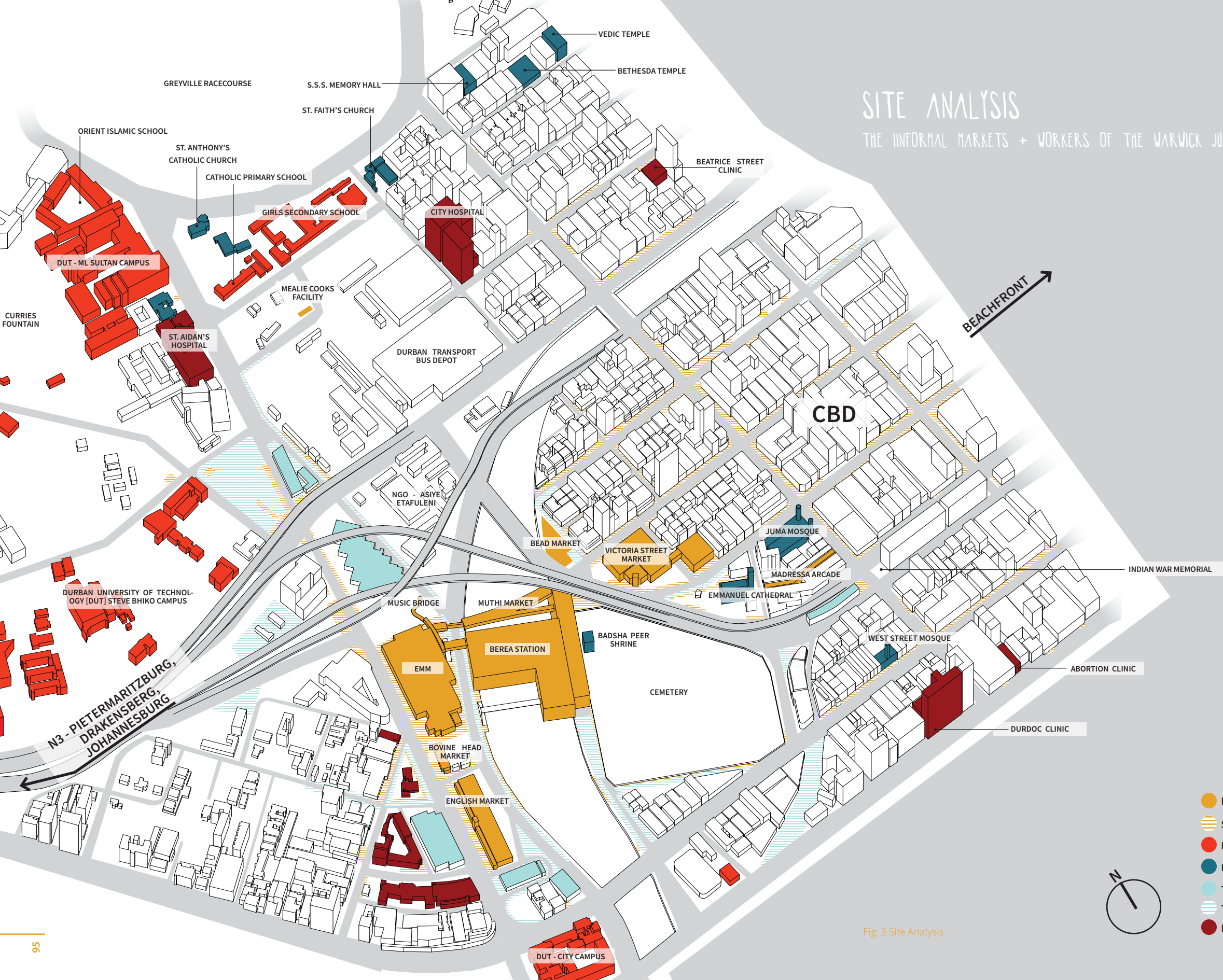
TO THE RIGHT:

Fig. 2 The Warwick Junction in the urban structure of Durban



SITE ANALYSIS

THE INFORMAL MARKETS + WORKERS OF THE WARWICK JUNCTION



- INFORMAL MARKETS
- STREET TRADING
- EDUCATION
- RELIGIOUS FACILITIES
- TAXI RANKS
- TAXI RANKS/PARKING
- HEALTH

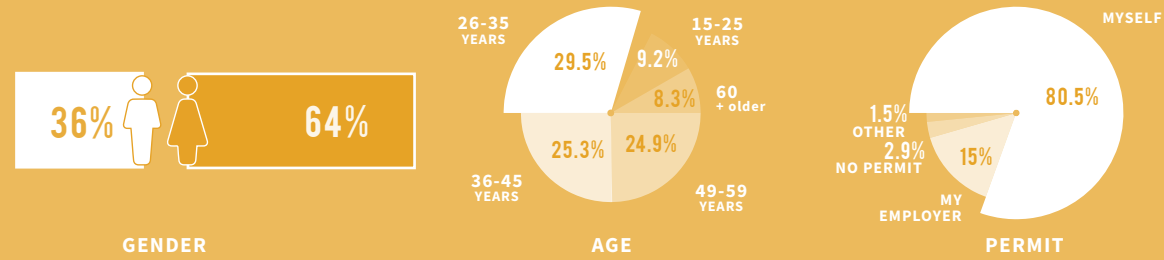


Fig. 3 Site Analysis

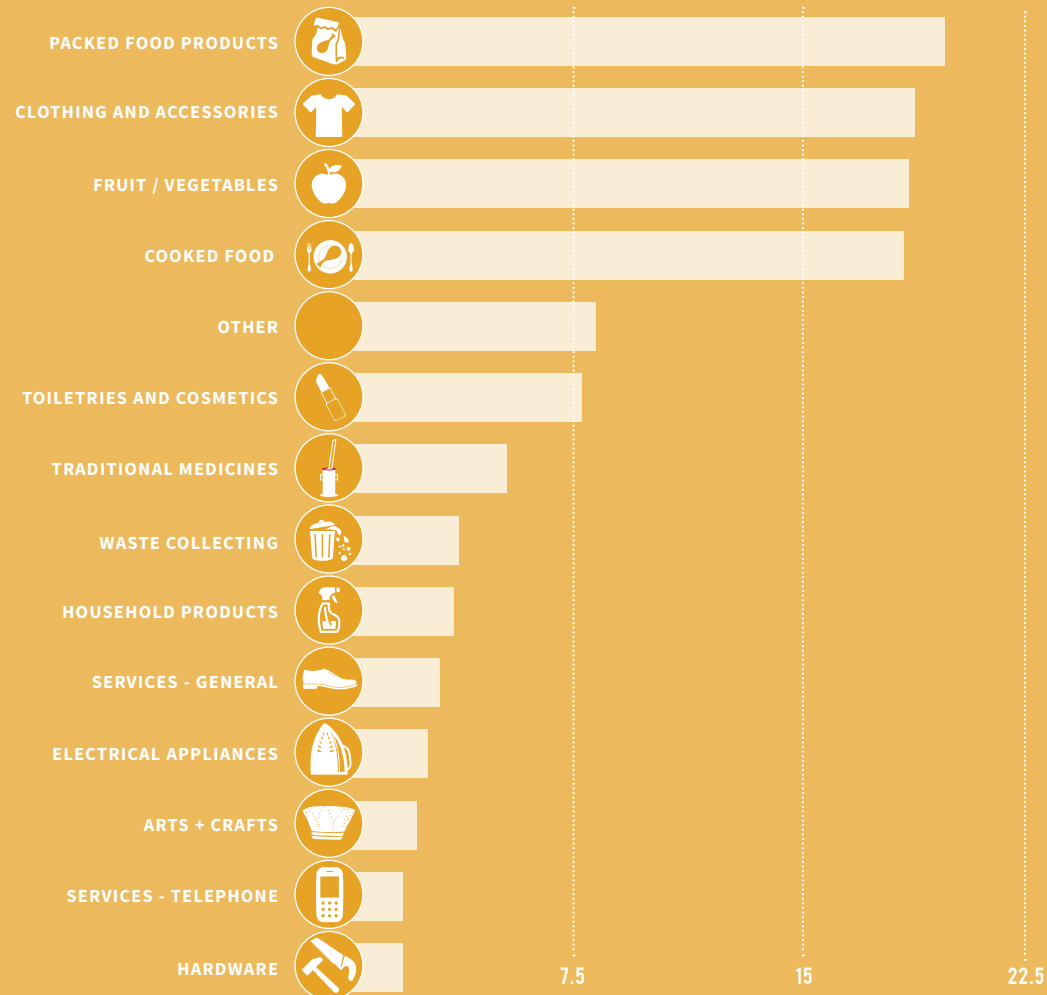
TRADING DYNAMICS

THE INFORMAL MARKETS + WORKERS OF THE WARWICK JUNCTION

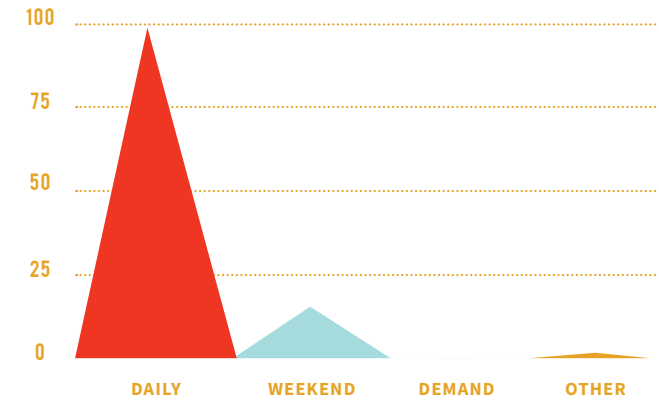
OVERALL DISTRIBUTION OF TRADERS BY GENDER / AGE / PERMIT



DISTRIBUTION OF TRADERS BY SECTOR



BUSIEST TIMES OF THE WEEK



BUSIEST TIMES OF THE DAY

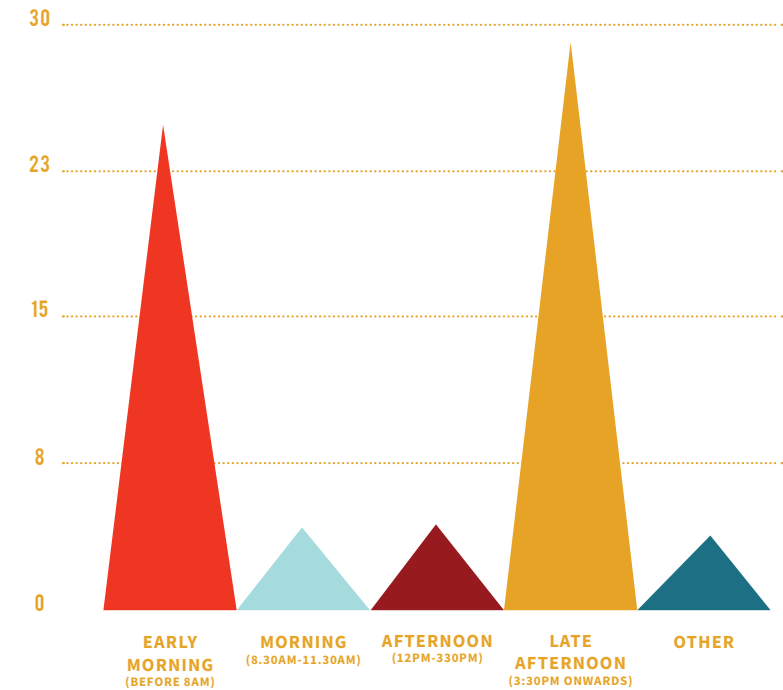


Fig. 4. Trading Dynamics in Warwick

EARLY MORNING MARKET

THE INFORMAL MARKETS + WORKERS OF THE WARWICK JUNCTION

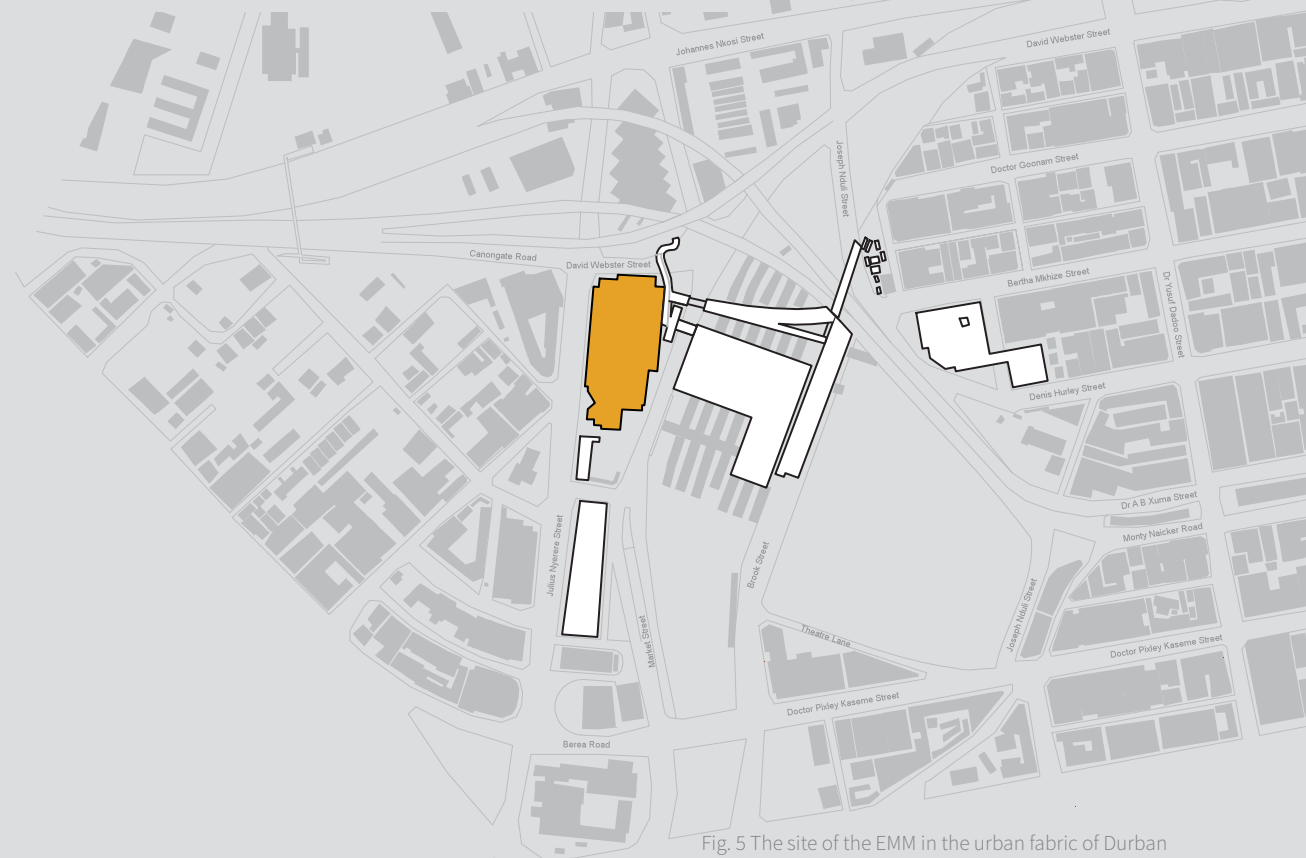


Fig. 5 The site of the EMM in the urban fabric of Durban

QUICK FACTS^{2 3}

- 670 WIRED STALLS, WHICH CAN BE LOCKED AT NIGHT
- TRADING OPPORTUNITY FOR OVER 2000 PEOPLE
- OPENING HOURS: 6AM - 3PM
- ARTICLES FOR SALE: FRESH PRODUCE, FLOWERS, SPICES, LIVE POULTRY
- TRADERS BUY THEIR PRODUCTS MOSTLY FROM THE MUNICIPAL BULK FRESH PRODUCE MARKET
- AFTER THE EMM CLOSES, THE PRICES FOR FRESH PRODUCE FROM THE STREET TRADERS GO UP, SINCE THEY ARE THE ONLY SOURCE LEFT
- HISTORIC CONSTRUCTION [ROOF]
- PLACE OF LIVELIHOOD OVER GENERATIONS

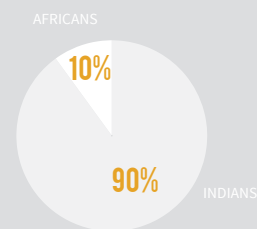


Fig. 6 Ethnic affiliation of traders

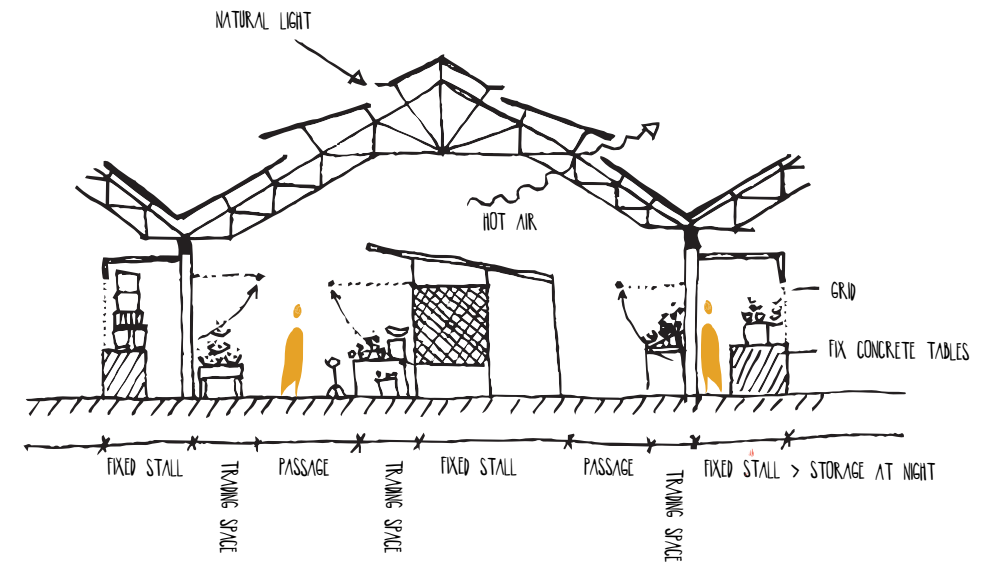


Fig. 7 Systematic section through the EMM

The Early Morning Market started out in the beginning of the 20th century as an open-air street market in Victoria Street (now Bertha Mkhize Street), where almost two-thousand farmers and other merchants traded fresh produce. It earned the name Early Morning Market because of its opening hours from 4 am to 9/10:30 am. The concentration of a large number of carts and people, combined with excrement from the animals, led to a discussion about the unsanitary conditions. After twenty years of existence, the farmers requested a relocation of the street market to a new venue with proper shelter, tables, space for carts and horses, and improved hygienic conditions. After some delay the new market building for the Early Market was formally opened in Warwick Avenue (now Julius Nyerere Avenue) in January 1934, and to the public soon after.⁴

“The new market although it was housed in a rudimentary, open-sided structure with concrete tables and had few amenities, was a vast improvement on the unhygienic

conditions that had prevailed in the street, and was a great success from a business point of view, being patronized by people of all racial groups”⁵

The Market flourished until the mid-1970s (approximately six-hundred twenty long-term rented stalls and five-hundred eighty daily rented stalls) and was at that time in desperate need for more trading space. Instead of assisting them, the Council had other plans – extending the Berea Station, as well as making a declaration for white trade in this area. These two actions led to a large reduction of the traders of the Early Morning Market by removal and/or relocation.⁶

A renovation in the late 1990s revived the old structure.⁷ Still, this makeover could not avoid the next challenge to the market’s existence. In 2009 the City Council proposed a spatial redesign to accommodate a shopping mall and the installation of taxis ranks on the site of the EMM. This was offered

as an “upgrade” to the area, but also would have proved a great risk to the livelihood of the market itself. The following two years were a struggle for the market’s supporters, who tried to reverse this decision against considerable opposition from the city, until the proposal was aborted. In 2014 the City Council continued their development plans of the Warwick Area, though, because of its controversial history, it promised to keep the EMM unaffected.^{8,9}

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Fig. 9 Inside view of the Early Morning Market

I run with my husband a stall in the Early Morning Market in the 3rd generation, selling vegetables. We have three children, all either at university or at school. We live in Phoenix, a well known township with a long history of Indian occupation. To assist our business we employ two more ladies, whom we pay around 350 Rand a week.

The Early Morning Market is one of the oldest build markets in the area and has undergone a refurbishing in the 1990's. Even though one would think that the stalls with their wired boxes have a very homogeneous appearance, these were installed by us traders ourselves. All of the equipment we have to present our products, we ourselves have organized and/or built, except the concrete tables. These were setup during the refurbishment by the municipality, but are more used for seating and open placement area for boxes.

I'm quite active in fighting for the rights of the traders of the Early Morning Market. The situation for us here is far beyond ideal. Every time it rains everything gets flooded, the floor is in general in bad condition, the toilets and the water taps too and over all of this they have a big rat problem at night. My wish for the future is a decent upgrading of the EMM but also the rest of the Warwick area, because these problems effect all of the traders not only us. In my opinion the basis for a proper upgrade, which includes all the trader's concerns, requires a good working relationship with the municipality, which at the moment just exists at a small extent.

I started my business in the Early Morning Market in 1992, selling like most of the other traders in this market fresh produce vegetables. My working day starts at 6:00 pm, but ends already at 3:00 pm, when the market closes.

Since i occupy 3 stalls with my business I pay approximately R1290 per month to the municipality. In addition to that I have 2 employees to pay as well as a wife and children to support. For my business I also own a car to transport the vegetables I buy in the morning at the city owned fresh produce market to my stall in the Early Morning Market.

I, like many others, would wish for a urgent upgrading of the Warwick area, where I see huge potential now and even more in the future. A cleaner and bigger space, with proper facilities would attract more clients and this would mean more business for him and all the other traders



Fig. 8 Romina Chetty , 51, trader at the EMM



Fig. 10 Million Phehlukwayo, 54, trader at the EMM

BOVINE HEAD MARKET

THE INFORMAL MARKETS + WORKERS OF THE WARWICK JUNCTION

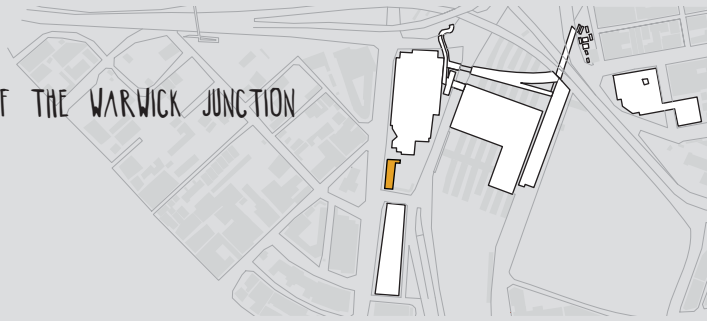


Fig. 12 The site of the Bovine Head Market

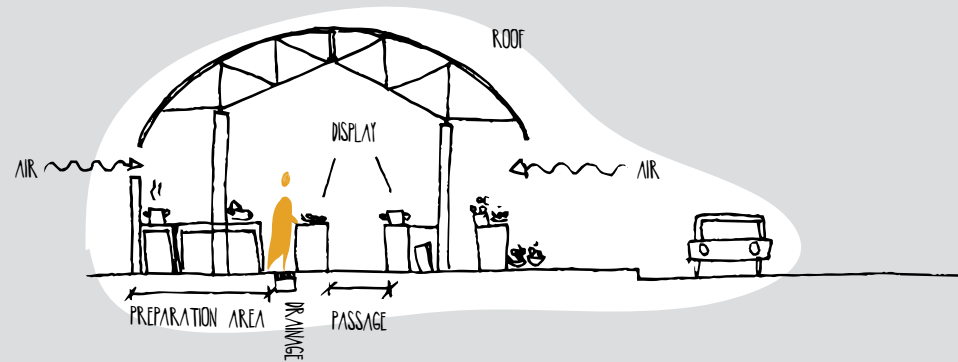


Fig. 11 Systematic section through the Bovine Head Market

QUICK FACTS¹

- ABOUT **30 BUSINESSES** ARE WORKING IN THE MARKET
- OPERATED **MOSTLY BY WOMEN**
- ARTICLES FOR SALE: **COOKED MEALS** - PORTIONS OF BOVINE HEAD, WITH WHITE DUMPLINGS AND CONDIMENTS
- **EACH BUSINESS HAS THEIR OWN CUBICLE** FOR PREPARING AND COOKING THE MEAT AND TABLES FOR THE CUSTOMERS
- JOB OPPORTUNITIES ALONGSIDE THE COOKS: **COOKS ASSISTANT, WATER SUPPLIER, PORTERS AND A GAS SUPPLIER**
- APPROPRIATE INFRASTRUCTURE: SHADING, SUITABLE CENTRAL DRAINAGE, WATER SUPPLY, SOLID WASTE DISPOSAL
- A TYPICAL BEGINNING OF A DAY: PORTERS BRING THE COOKING EQUIPMENT FROM THE STORAGE AND FROZEN COW-HEADS, WHICH THEN DEFROST IN THE SUN. OTHER SUPPLIERS BRING WATER AND THE PREPARING AND THE COOKING OF THE MEAT AND DUMPLINGS STARTS
- **ITRUMP PROJECT**



Fig. 13 Inside view of the Market

What is Bovine Head?

Bovine head is a Zulu delicacy in which the meat of a cow's head is simmered in water and then served with white dumplings (based on steamed bread), salt, and spices. Traditionally, this meal was prepared exclusively by, and served to, men, and represented the high status of the male in society. Over time this ancient custom evolved so that, nowadays, women are cooking and eating it, too. Still, it remains more common that only the men sit down to eat and women take the dish as a take-away.²

History

The origin of this market is said to be near Dalton Road, south of the inner city, where a lot of male-only hostels were located. During the apartheid era, this sort of accommodation was quite common for migratory laborers from rural areas. This type of dwelling soon resulted in new job opportunities and the establishment of the cooked-meal business

alongside them.³

In the Warwick precinct the bovine head enterprises organized themselves at the western boundary wall of the Early Morning Market. The numbers of businesses increased steadily and the venue became known for this delicacy. This growth of the cooking community caused a simultaneous increase in the number of urban management challenges, including greasy sidewalks due to the discharge of cooking wastewater into the sewers, congestions on the sidewalks, health and hygiene challenges, heat and noisome problems around the Early Morning Market, and difficulties regarding solid waste disposal and open fires in the middle of the city. The need for improvement was undeniable.⁴

Beginning in 1994, the City Health department has provided an educational program about health issues when preparing food in public spaces. In 1999, when the EMM was being renovated, the opportunity was used to extend the market roof over the cooking

businesses and the department contributed concrete tables. Still, these alterations did not have the desired effect, so in 2003 iTrump (Inner City Thekwini regeneration and Urban Management Programm) relocated the Bovine Head Cookers to an existing, roofed trading area just north of the English Market on Warwick Avenue (now Julius Nyerere Avenue) and established a kind of “food court” with adequate infrastructure.⁵



Fig. 14 Trader peeling off the meat of a cow's skull

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I prepare and sell a authentic Zulu delicacy of bowine (cow) head meat, along with traditional dumpling (steamed bread). My stall is situated with all the other bowine head traders in a separate market area, underneath a sheltering roof with concrete tables as their working place, known as the Bovine Head Market. This setup appears as a form of food court, but it hasn't always been like that. The building has been constructed only in 1997. Before that we, the Bovine Head traders, used to work directly on the street at the western boundary wall of the Early Morning Market. Defrosting the cows heads in the sun on the street became a logistical and health concern as well with as the open fires on the roadside. This and the refurbishing of the EMM led to the relocation of the traders

I sell a whole dish (meat + dumpling) for R35. Depending of how many costumers I have in a month I can count in general with an income from about R2000 per month. With this money, though I support not only my 4 children, but also my parents and my two sisters back home in the Eastern Cape.

My day starts around 7:00 am where a trolley operator arrives with fresh or frozen heads from local butcheries. All my equipment and utensils for cooking arrive with a second operator. The heads are then skinned and chopped up and boiled in large pots just in water with salt. The boiled meat is then served on wooden chopping boards to the costumers with condiments and dumpling. At 6:00-7:00 pm all the equipemt gets picked up again and brought back to the storage, waiting for the next day to repeat the process.



Fig. 15 Funeka Genuka, 32, trader at the Bovine Head Market

ENGLISH MARKET

THE INFORMAL MARKETS + WORKERS OF THE WARWICK JUNCTION

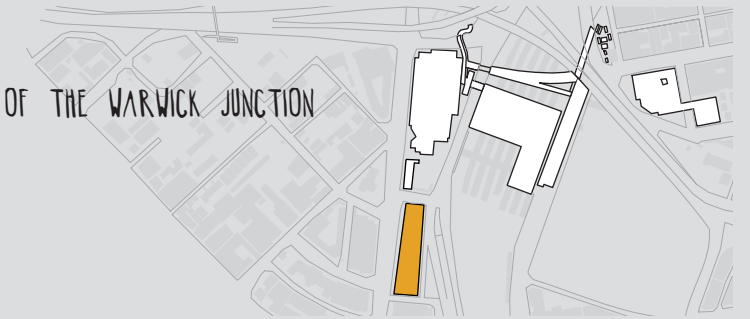


Fig. 17 The site of the English Market



Fig. 16 Systematic cross and longitudinal section through the English Market

QUICK FACTS^{1 2 3}

- ARTICLES FOR SALE: DIVERSE - MEAT, HARDWARE, FRESH PRODUCE, BREAD, CLOTH, ETC.
- HISTORIC AND EXTENSIVE CONSTRUCTION
- USED TO BE A MARKET HALL FOR MAINLY WHITE CUSTOMERS, DUE TO BEING A PART OF THE MAIN MARKET OF DURBAN
- CHANGED ITS TRADING COSTUMES OVER THE YEARS - THE MAJORITY OF THE TRADERS ARE NOW OF INDIAN BACKGROUND

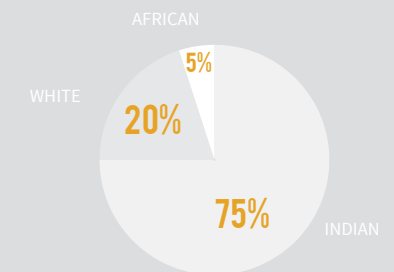


Fig. 18 Ethnic affiliation of traders

Shortly after the Early Morning Market was erected, the main market in the center of Durban had to be relocated due to the overcrowding of its facilities. A location near Berea Road Station seemed suitable and thus, in the autumn of 1935, a new bulk sales hall was opened south of the EMM, where some of the retail functions of the main market were moved. This market hall for mainly white citizens soon became known as the English Market and primarily traded fodder, poultry and bagged produce. The segregation of costumers was and still is visible though its architecture, a beautiful fine brick building, which stands in strong contrast to the rudimentary, open-sided structure of the EMM.⁴

Over the years the trading customs of the English Market have changed. Today the majority of the traders have, like in the EMM, an Indian background, and the product range has broadened. Presently eleven butcheries, four laundries, three supermarkets, four phone shops, one hardware shop, ten cold rooms, one post office, one bakery and four fresh produce stalls are located at the English Market.⁵

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Fig. 19 Inside view of the English Market

BEREA STATION

THE INFORMAL MARKETS + WORKERS OF THE WARWICK JUNCTION

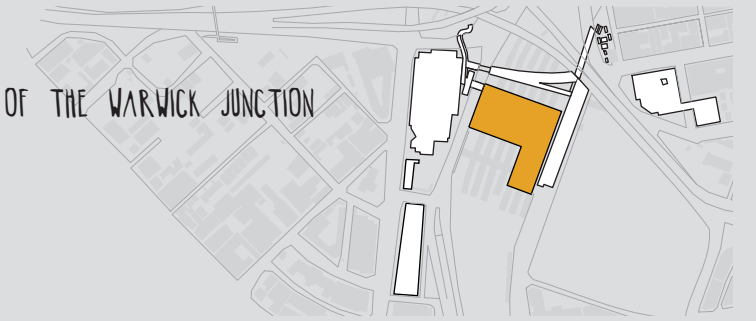


Fig. 21 The site of the Berea Station



Fig. 20 Systematic section through the Berea Station

QUICK FACTS^{1,2,3}

- TRAIN STATION, WHERE PARTS OF THE WALKWAYS INSIDE THE STATION ARE USED FOR INFORMAL MARKET STALLS
- IS ONE OF DURBAN'S MAIN PUBLIC TRANSPORT INTERMODAL CENTRE
- COLLABORATION BETWEEN FORMAL AND INFORMAL MARKET SECTOR
- ARTICLES FOR SALE: BROAD VARIETY - PREPARED FOOD, FRESH PRODUCE, TRADITIONAL ZULU ITEMS, RELIGIOUS ATTIRE, DVDS, SHOES, BELTS, WALLETS, BAGS, ETC.
- EXTREMELY BUSY DURING RUSH-HOUR
- MAIN CUSTOMERS: PASSERBY



Fig. 22 Inside view of the Berea Station

In August 1894 the Berea Road railway station was opened at the convergence of Berea Road and Smith Street. [Frescura, F. and Rossenburg, L. 2010] It was part of the extension of the railway from the center to the Umgeni River in the north of Durban.⁴

The Berea Station, as it still appears today, was planned and built as a major train station in the mid 1980s. It was part of Durban's development and transportation master plan, proposed by the consultants Holford and Kantorowich and the De Leuw Cather Associates in 1968. Both saw Durban as a city for whites, and all non-whites entering the city had to do so on the periphery of the white center. Thus, intermodal transportation hubs for non-whites (bus/train interchange) like the Berea Station were established, which connected the townships to industrial areas and to the center.⁵

Today, two centuries after the end of the apartheid era, the Berea Station still functions as a commuter rail station for mostly non-whites.

Coexistence of the informal and the formal

The Berea Station is a good showcase for collaboration between the informal and formal market sectors. It is privately managed by the organization Intersite, but this organization has allowed informal traders to operate at the concourses serving the station.⁶

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BROOKSTREET MARKET

THE INFORMAL MARKETS + WORKERS OF THE WARWICK JUNCTION

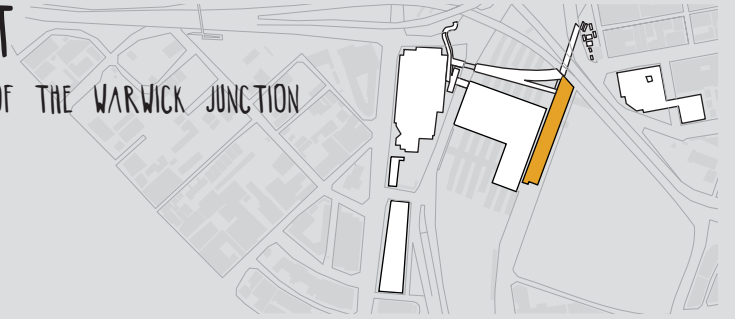


Fig. 24 The site of the Brook Street Market

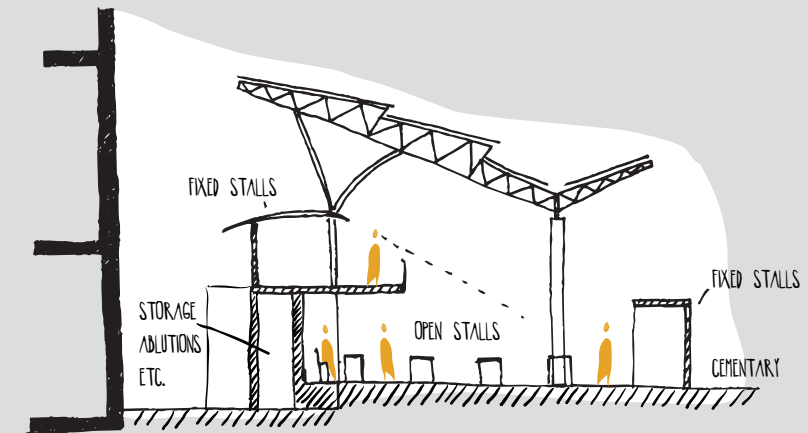


Fig. 23 Systematic section through the Brook Street Market

QUICK FACTS¹

- VIBRANT, PULSATING, COLORFUL MARKET
- CANOPIED OPEN SPACE FOR DUAL USE: ANNUAL WORSHIP CEREMONIES AND DAILY INFORMAL TRADE
- INCLUDES INFORMAL TRADING INFRASTRUCTURE: STORAGE, SANITATION, FIXED STALLS, ETC.
- CONNECTION POINT: BEREA STATION, VICTORIA MARKET, IMPHEPO AND LIME MARKET, BEADS MARKET, CEMETERY EDGE AND HERB MARKET
- ARTICLES FOR SALE: PINAFORES, DRESSES, TRADITIONAL ZULU ITEMS, HATS, SHOES, BAGS, HOUSEHOLD PRODUCTS, FOOD IN THE UPPER LEVEL FOOD COURT
- ITRUMP PROJECT

Ever since the construction of the new Berea Station in the 1980s, during apartheid, the area between the cemetery and the newly erected building became attractive for informal traders. The station, being the only elevated corridor over the railway, connecting the center of town to the transportation hub, increased rapidly in its significance. It served as the main pedestrian distribution point into the inner city. The natural consequence of increased pedestrian traffic on the east side of the Berea Station was the settling of informal traders.²

Opposite the Station is the oldest cemetery in Durban (opened in 1850), known as the West Street Cemetery. This cemetery is of historical importance due to the fact that three different religious denominations - Christian, Muslim, and Jewish - are buried alongside one another on the site. As a result, the area around Brooks Street has always been of religious significance. This applies especially to Muslims because the iconic shrine of Badsha Peer is located in the corner of the present market. Venerations at this shrine have been taking place in Brook Street since 1943.^{3,4}

Over the years, even though these two stakeholder communities are very diverse, a mutual understanding developed between the informal traders and the Muslim society. This enabled creative use of the space by both groups. Still, the dual usage of this space created some challenges that could not be avoided. Preparations for the annual celebration of Badsha Peer commence two weeks before the pinnacle weekend, as the Muslim community builds grand marquees as shelter. Especially in wintertime, these shelter were used for accommodation by the homeless. Lighting fires underneath these make-shift shelters eventually burned them down. So in 2000, the Badsha Peer Mazaar (meaning shrine) Society approached the organization iTrump, which engages in the management of the informal economy, with an idea for solving this problem. The intention was to construct a permanent roof, one which could be used for both the Muslim and trader communities –

for the annual veneration ceremonies as well as for daily informal trading. During the eight development phases that followed, the entire length of Brook Street next to the Station (approximately 200 m) was covered by a roof, and new infrastructure for the traders was also developed. The first phase was completed in 2001 and the last in 2010.^{5,6,7}

Cultural cohesion as a potential outcome of the project

The Brook Street Market is a positive case study for a joint venture between two different societies. It all began with an unconventional idea by one social group which then resulted in a win-win for both sides. This was possible through the work of area-based management, which engaged and collaborated with all stakeholders.⁸

“Cultural fusion is one means of securing sustainable transformation.”⁹

(RICHARD DOBSON)



Fig. 25 Typical trading equipment of traders in the Brook Street Market

ON THE RIGHT: Fig. 26 Inside view of the Brook Street Market





Fig. 27 Xolani Dlamini, 34, takeaway owner at the Brookstreet Market

I have a small restaurant/ takeaway in a fixed kiosk space in the upper level of the Brook Street market. I used to make a living as a taxi driver, but build up this new business 5 years ago. Now I sell food, mainly roasted beef and chicken with pap (a typical South African ground maize porridge), soft drinks, coffee and tea. I also have another stall where I sell music and movies. In total 4 people are working in these two businesses, one worker, two of my siblings and myself.

The biggest disadvantage of his kiosk is that it suffers a tap and a sink. I buy the water for R5 per bucket to be able to prepare the food and drinks as well as to wash the dishes. In total I spend about R90 each week on it. In addition to that I pay every 3 weeks R200 for electricity and a yearly rent for the kiosk of about R1700.

I am sceptical to the city's momentary plans of the Warwick area. Like most of the other traders I think that these plans forget about the traders' needs and will eventually destroy a lot of people's livelihoods.

I was born in Durban and still live close by in Clermont. Practically I have been working here on the market all my life, due to my mother being the owner of the stall. I started helping her out next to school and now work full time for already 3 years.

The stall is situated in the ground floor of the Brook Street Market. The main goods we sell are pinafores, and dresses but also some traditional Zulu-items such as beadbelt and necklaces. The dresses and the pinafores are made on the weekend at home by my mother, which then are sold for 30 Rand on the market. I can't tell how much income we have, but enough for my mother, my 4 siblings and myself. Since the stall is a family business I don't get any salary. All the money gets into the family hands to make a living for all 6 of us.

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Fig. 28 Nobuhle Ntsengwane, 18, trader at the Brookstreet Market

VICTORIA STREET MARKET

THE INFORMAL MARKETS + WORKERS OF THE WARWICK JUNCTION

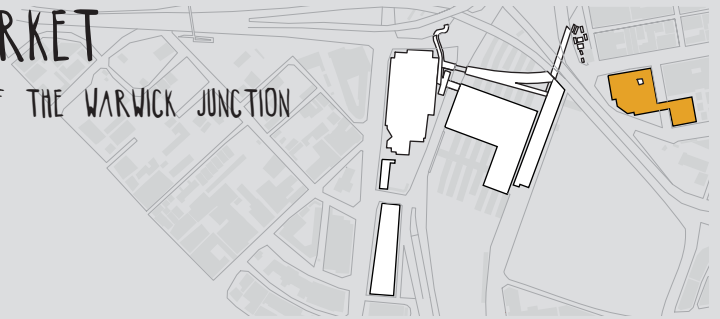


Fig. 30 The site of the Victoria Street Market

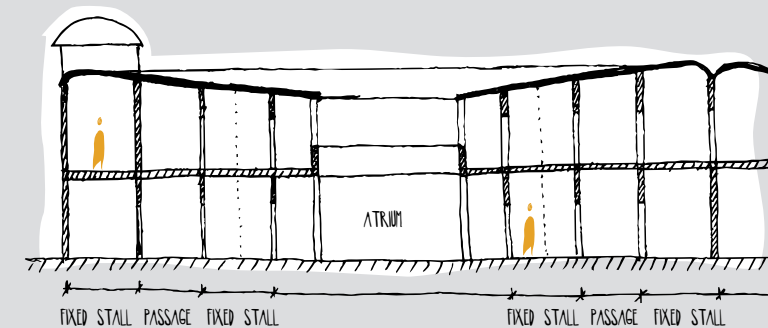


Fig.29 Systematic section through the Victoria Street Market

QUICK FACTS!

- 2 TYPES OF MARKETS: THE „DRY“ MARKET AND THE MEAT AND FISH MARKET
- DRY MARKET: INNER ATRIUM WITH STALLS/SHOPS ARRANGED AROUND IT (2 FLOORS)
- THE 2 MARKETS ARE SEPARATED BUILDINGS BUT ARE CONNECTED WITH A PASSAGE
- ARCHITECTURE STYLE: EASTERN THEME WITH THE ROOFLINE MARKED BY DOMED TOWERS AND TURRETS
- OPENING HOURS: MO – SAT FROM 8AM – 6PM AND SUN 10AM – 4PM
- SUPPORTS AROUND 180 TRADERS
- TOURISTIC MARKET
- ARTICLES FOR SALE: DRY MARKET – JEWELRY, SPICES, SKINNED PRODUCTS, TRADITIONAL AFRICAN AND INDIAN ARTS AND CRAFTS, BEAD WORK, CDS, DVDS, ...
- MEAT AND FISH MARKET – THE NAME SAYS IT ALL :)
- 90% OF THE TRADERS ARE SHAREHOLDERS OF THE MARKET AND HAVE SECTIONAL TITLE RIGHTS TO THEIR INDIVIDUAL SHOPS

After having finished their indenture, many Indian migrants remained in Natal and made their living through market gardening, hawking and fishing. They started selling their produce prior to 1890 at the Borough Market, but through high fees and racial segregation had difficulty competing with European farmers. The opportunity for fair rental prices emerged in the courtyard of the Grey Street Mosque, but this collaboration also did not last long. An Indian Farmer Association was formed, which saw the relationship with the mosque as inequitable, due to imprecise statements of the use of their rent. To break free, the association demanded that the Council of Durban provide them with their own market area.²

In 1910 their request bore fruit when an enclosed Market opened in Victoria Street. This soon became known as the “Indian Market.” This Market was a huge success and the two-hundred stalls attracted up to twenty-thousand costumers every Saturday morning. But overstocking and congestion at the market were seen as a risk to health and safety by the municipality. Additionally, in 1968 a proposal to build a freeway imperiled the existence of the market. The Council considered relocating the traders to Chatsworth, Southwest of the Inner City. The Indian Market Association opposed that decision and gained broad public support, but encountered resistance by the Council. An eviction of the traders was planned in March 1973, but two weeks before that date the market was destroyed by a blaze, the cause of which was never satisfactorily explained. All traders of the market were suddenly unemployed, with around nine-thousand additional dependents also affected. Many still believe the city was involved in setting the conflagration.^{3,4}

Soon after this massive event, a temporary market

was opened in the former Bulk-Sales-Hall of the English Market. Enormous pressure was put on the Council to assist those whom had lost their livelihoods, such that – even though they were averse to the idea to rebuild the market – the new Indian Market Building was opened in 1984. This new market is brighter and airier than its predecessor, but many say that it lacks the “authentic” appeal of the past.⁵

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Fig. 31 Inside view of the Victoria Street Market

STREET TRADERS IN WARWICK

THE INFORMAL MARKETS + WORKERS OF THE WARWICK JUNCTION

STREET TRADERS

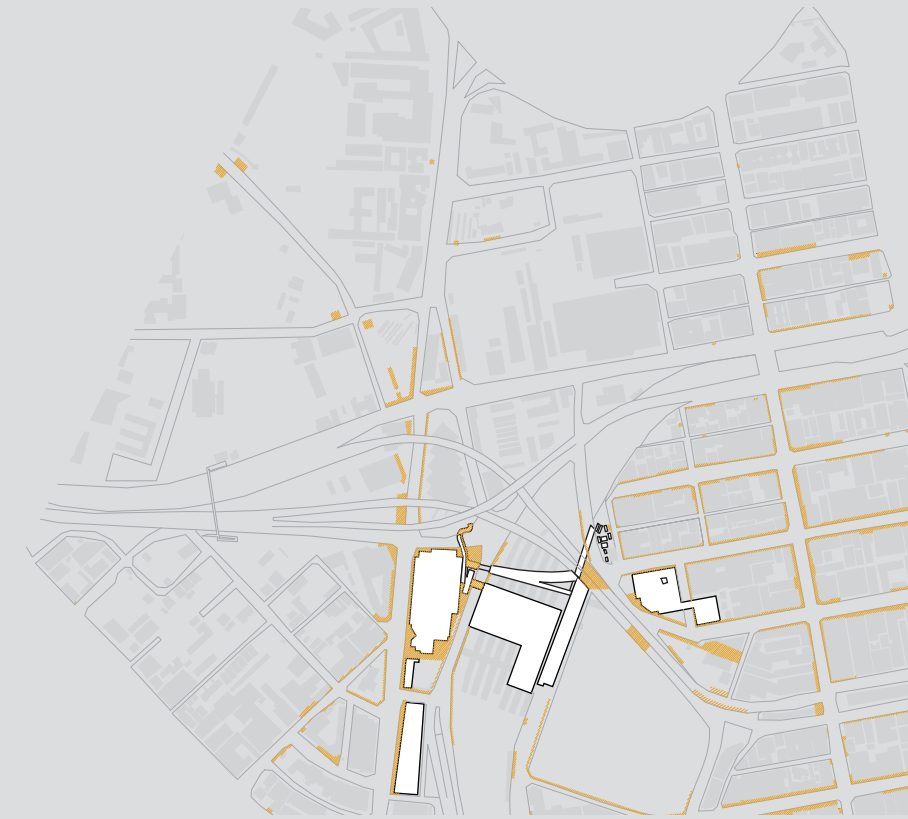


Fig. 32 The trading sites of the informal workers in Warwick

QUICK FACTS¹ – STREET TRADERS

- GREY STREET AREA: MIX OF FORMAL AND INFORMAL TRADING
- HISTORIC INDIAN AREA: FIRST SET UP OF INDIAN BUSINESSES IN THE LATE 1800S
- THIS AREA LINKS WARWICK TO THE CITY CENTRE
- MANY SHOPS [FORMAL] ACCOMMODATE THE NEED OF STREET TRADERS PINAFORE MATERIAL, COOKING UTENSILS, CELL PHONES, SMALL HARDWARE, ETC.
- ARTICLES FOR SALE: BROAD RANGE OF ARTICLES – FROM GOODS LIKE FRESH PRODUCE, COOKED FOOD, COSMETICS, CLOTHES, SHOES, SMALL HARDWARE TO SERVICES SUCH AS HAIRCUTTING AND SHOE REPAIRING

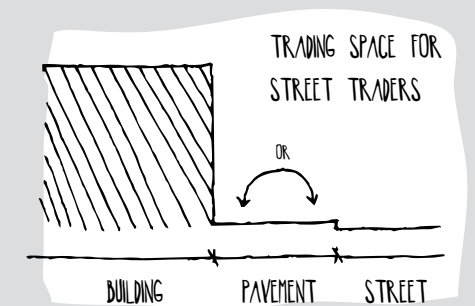


Fig 33. Systematic section of street trading in Warwick

Warwick’s condition - now and then

Warwick’s history has always been dominated by the struggle for freedom on the part of its less affluent traders. Both Africans and Indians had to suffer in order to earn an honest living in a social and political climate which has always favored the white, the rich, the powerful, and the well connected. Still today, about twenty years after the end of apartheid, despite the fact that some things have improved for the traders in Warwick, the Council appears to repeat its old pattern of behavior when dealing with informal trading. At the moment, plans are being discussed for the redevelopment of the Warwick area. **This includes upgrading much of the important infrastructure in the precinct, though it largely excludes the informal economy from the planning process.**³⁴

History

he establishment of Warwick as a market area is tied to the rising Indian population in Durban and its surrounding areas. It goes back to 1860, when the first Indian farmers arrived in the Natal Colony as indentured laborers, the majority of them to work on the sugar estates. When their five-year contracts expired, some returned to India, a few renewed their indenture, but nearly sixty percent chose to make South Africa their permanent home. In the 1870s they were followed by families of entrepreneurs, who recognized business opportunities due to the quantity of Indians living in Natal. The majority established themselves locally as traders, but also as teachers and interpreters.⁵

By 1884 it was estimated that approximately twenty-one thousand free Indians had made Natal their home. Many turned to market gardening as a means of making a living, even though this never led to more than a hand-to-mouth existence for most. Initially the traders were allowed to sell their products in some outlets in the city, but eventually this access was denied and Indian farmers and retail traders

were forced to turn to hawking and street trading for survival. During that time, open-air street markets also emerged in the Warwick area where some traders were, for various reasons, eventually relocated into buildings. The further establishment of Warwick as a transport hub confirmed these developments as an important trading spot.⁶

The Grey Street vicinity has from the beginning been under strong Indian influence. The first Indian businesses settled in West Street and expanded rapidly onto Victoria Street and Field Street. The African presence in Durban lagged behind that of whites and Indians, even though they have always constituted (and continue to do so) the majority population of South Africa. Nevertheless, war, natural disasters, expulsions from their own land (e.g. by the 1913 Land Act) and tax implementation pushed the natives into poverty, and thus into low-wage labor jobs in mines and in the fast growing cities. The increase of Africans in the cities spurred alternative job opportunities. Over time, more and more Africans located their trading spots around Warwick, a strategic location because of the many daily commuters in that area.⁷⁸ (cf. Author)

When apartheid-era city planning became a factor in Durban around 1950, a racial zoning plan got introduced for the city. In the 1970s this involved an ethnic cleansing of Warwick and its surrounding areas for the exclusive occupation of whites. During that time, racially discriminative actions were a daily occurrence: people got removed to other locations throughout Durban, one market was destroyed by a sudden fire, plans were announced that large parts of the market facilities were going to be demolished due to freeway extensions, and so forth. The constant competition between African and Indian peoples for economic survival has always been tainted by such discrimination, and these influences in part have affected Warwick, its surroundings, and its people to this today.⁹



Fig. 34 Ndakongaba Majaliwa Epiphania, 22, barber in the streets of the Warwick precinct

I come originally from the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and work here in Warwick as a barber. I have completed the first year of university but then had to migrate to South Africa, where I started to work as an employee in the barber business.

Every morning at 6:00 am I go to the storage room to get my box, containing all the necessary items for my stall – the tent, a few chairs, electric clippers powered by a car battery and some other barber products. After a 12 hours working day, I put all the equipment back in the box and back in the storage.

Like other barbers working in the area, I charge for a haircut R10 and R5 for a trim of the beard. My income depends on how many costumers come on a day, which can vary from just 4 on a bad day to about 20 on a good day. Since I have to pay R1000 to the stall owner as a monthly rent, and a yearly fee of R500 to the municipality, as well as yearly R650 for the storage, I can only keep about R1000 per month for myself (and this only if it was a good month). From this income I try to support my family in DRC as well as make a living here in Durban.

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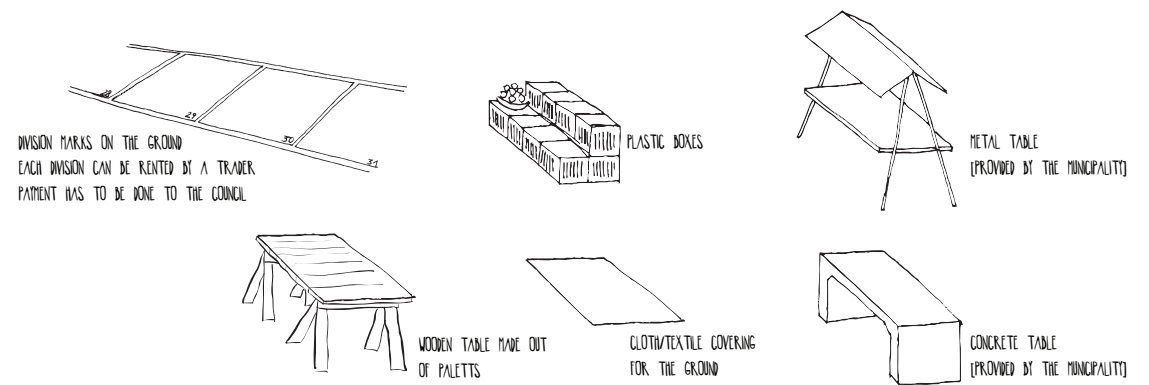


Fig. 35 A selection of tables and equipment used by traders to present their goods



Fig. 36 A typical sidewalk in Warwick

STREET TRADERS IN WARWICK

THE INFORMAL MARKETS + WORKERS OF THE WARWICK JUNCTION
MEALIE COOKS

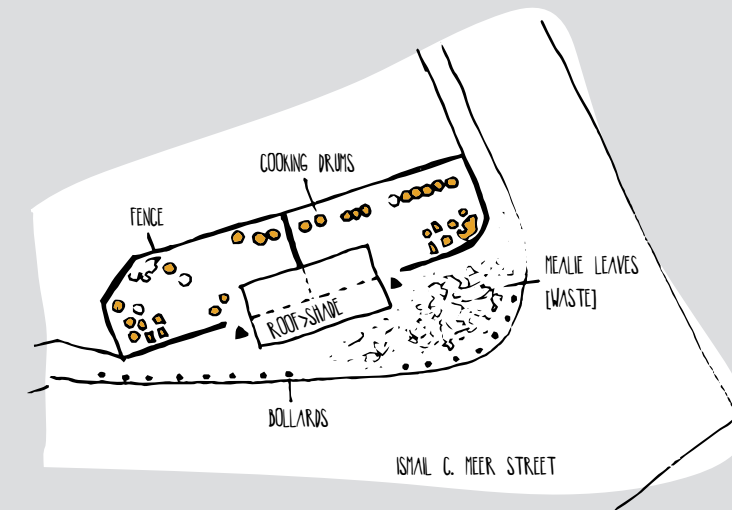


Fig. 38 Systematic plan view of the Mealie Cooks Facility

I have a small stall on Bertha Mkhize Street, former Victoria Street, and sell shoes. I grew up on Lusikisiki in Eastern Cape and now live already for many years with my family in Pinetown east to Durban. I have 7 children, all already grown-up, but only one of them takes financial care of himself, all the others still get supported by me.

I started working on this market already 22 years ago. Since I am besides being a trader, also a chairman for the other traders I'm quite a busy man, always attending meetings and other official appointments. Thus I have two employees taking care of my stall when I'm not there.

Because of all the meetings and appointments I actively attend to try to change the situation for the traders to the better I recently got in trouble with the police. For informal traders applies the law that you, as the owner of a stall, are not allowed to leave it. If you do and your stall gets checked being alone or in the hands of your employee or friend, it is a breaking of the law. This leads to fine for the owner, or, the second option, which is barely ever taken, is to take the way to the court. This is what I did. If I will succeed in this matter, only future can tell. But for sure I am one of the first ones taking this step towards equality.



Fig. 37 John Makwicana, 64, trader on Bertha Mkhize Street

QUICK FACTS¹ - MEALIE COOKS

- MEALIE = SOUTH AFRICAN WORD FOR CORN
- SOLD BOILED IN THE WARWICK PRECINCT FOR R5 A PIECE
- LOW COST CARBOHYDRATE „FAST FOOD“
- MOBILE BUSINESS (SALE THROUGHOUT THE INNER CITY), BUT FIXED PREPARATION LOCATION
- FACILITY = ITRUMP PROJECT
- IN MEALIE SEASON: AROUND 120-140 PEOPLE ARE INVOLVED IN THIS BUSINESS
- 26-28 TONS OF MEALIES ARE SOLD IN DURBAN'S INNER CITY PER DAY
- GROSS TURNOVER PER WEEK: R1 MILLION

In the 1990s mealies were being prepared in three distinct locations in the Warwick area, each causing significant urban management, health and safety challenges. Open wood fires and extreme heat have resulted in damage to the paving. Wastewater, ash, and corn leaves have threatened to plug the storm-water drainage. In one location, the wastewater even saturated the ground, creating a virtual swamp that resulted in health risks.^{2,3}

The need for an improvement was indisputable and a task force was established to solve these challenges. To find solutions, it was essential to understand the whole process of cooking the mealies. Meetings and consultations with the cooks and the project leaders marked the start of the project. A relevant challenge was to find a solution to the open wood fire issue. The task team suggested using low-pressure gas instead. The cooks did not believe in the effectiveness of this method and proposed an experiment: the mealie cooks would prepare the mealies using their current method, and a member of the task team would use gas. This “cook off” event was decided after only twenty minutes by the obvious success of the wood fires. Cooked mealies depend on rapid boiling. This can only be realistically achieved with a wood fire that shrouds the drum. After twenty minutes, the gas had only raised the water in the mealie drums to luke warm temperature, while the wood fire drums had already boiled.^{4,5}

Once the process was understood, the municipality agreed that the wood fires could continue at a safer site, away from shops and pedestrians. An area in Ismail C. Meer Street was chosen to accommodate these the cooks. In 2001, this space, which is approximately 300 m², was entirely fenced off and a central drainage channel was constructed to receive waste water. A grate prevents the corn leaves and ashes from clogging the drainage channel, and an additional shelter was constructed to provide some shade for the mealie cooks.^{6,7,8}



Fig. 39. Mamsy Nhlabathi, 44, mealie cook

I practically have been working all my life on the market. I prepare and sell mealies (South African word for corn) to commuters in the Warwick area and in town. My mother already was a mealie cooker, so I was already involved in the business from a young age.

I cook the mealies, like the other cooks, in big drums over an open fire. After being cooked for over an hour the mealies are placed into large poly bags which are then distributed in town by my employee with a trolley for R5 a piece.

I pay my employee R70 a day and in addition have daily expenses for water, since no tap is close by. I don't have to pay a rent for using the space where I prepare the mealies.

Like all the other markets areas around Warwick there are also here insufficient facilities and space. Even though the construction for the mealie cookers was built just a few years ago in 2008 (?), it already provides too little shelter and space. The closest toilets and water tap is approximately 200m away.

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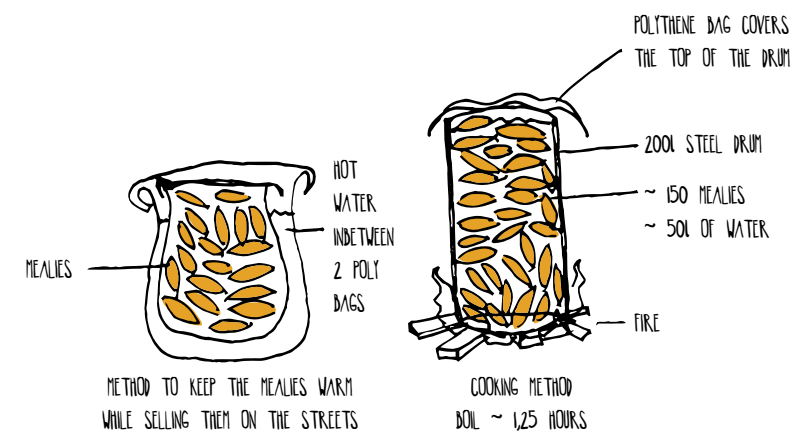


Fig. 40. The cooking and handling of Mealies

STREET TRADERS IN WARWICK

THE INFORMAL MARKETS + WORKERS OF THE WARWICK JUNCTION

BARROW OPERATORS

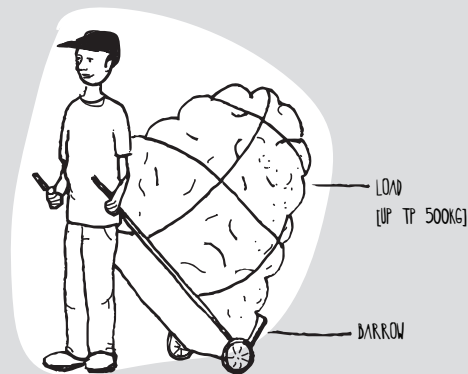


Fig. 42 Systematic illustration of a barrow operator

I work already the last 22-25 years here in Warwick as a barrow operator. I grew up in Mount Ayliff in Eastern Cape, where still the rest of my family lives. Just I myself came to Durban to find work to be able to support my family back home. When I earned enough money, I go home at the end of the month, if I don't, I wait another month.

My main costumers are the traders. When they need goods from their storage, they contact me and I'll transport their order from the storage to their stall with my barrow. The storage and the trading sites disperse widely, which means I have to move great distances each day, as well as remember all the whereabouts. My working day depends of the demands of my costumers, but can stretch from early in the morning till in the evening, leaving always space to rest when the demand isn't there. Then I and my colleagues rest at the entrance to the bead market.



Fig. 41 Sunny Jali, 52, barrow operator

What do they do?

Barrow operators are in charge of transporting trader's goods back and forth from storage sites to the trading stalls.

The life of a barrow operator³⁴

There is not a lot of documentation available on this group of informal labourers, even though they offer an important contribution to the informal society. The connection between informal traders and the porters is vital: each one would not exist without the other.

There are two types of porters offering different services: Trolley operators, who move lighter and less bulky goods, and barrow operators, who work with much larger loads, sometimes up to 500 kg.

Each porter serves multiple locations and storage sites. This makes it difficult to remember where each good is stored. Finding a substitute, who knows the correct routes, when the porter is sick or when they go home to their families, is nearly impossible. Thus the porters end up working even if they become ill.

If a porter delivers goods before a trader arrives to work, fellow traders normally will help ensure they

are not stolen. Still, sometimes goods do get stolen and this can lead to strain between the traders and porters. Another common source of tension occurs when the porters, to supplement their income, guard the goods themselves instead of paying a storage facility. This happens much of the time, without the knowledge of the owner, but if discovered it adds serious strain potential to the trader-porter relationship. The reality however, is that honest operators often face little payment. One further problem the porters have to deal with is a lack of space to transport goods (on roads and sidewalks) between the storage area and the trader's stall. To avoid foot- and motorized traffic they prefer to work late at night or early in the morning. At these early or late hours the streets are badly lit and so motorists cannot easily see the porters. Also, the quality of the tarmac and the flooring makes carrying the goods quite difficult. Potholes all around the area can damage the goods and the wheelbarrow's wheels. A wheelbarrow costs around R3000; it is the essential tool by which porters and their families make a living.

Since the porters are constantly moving they do not occupy a fixed space. During the day the work for them slows down and they sit in groups around the market area chatting, sleeping and waiting. At night many are forced to sleep next to their goods or at the storage sites, since their homes are far away and they do not have, or cannot afford, permanent residences in or near Durban.

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QUICK FACTS² - BARROW OPERATORS

- MEN DOMINATED BUSINESS
- WORKING DAY ~ 4AM-9PM
- CARRY UP TO 500 KG GOODS IN ONE LOAD
- DIFFERENT PAYMENT METHODS AMOUNT OF TRIPS OR WEIGHT AND DISTANCE
- PAYMENT NORMALLY AROUND R15-R30, WHETHER PAID PER TRIP OR WEIGHT AND DISTANCE
- BARROWS CAN COST UP TO R3000 (EXPENSIVE !) BARROW = EXISTENCE OF WHOLE FAMILY DEPENDS ON IT
- CHARACTERISTICS OF AN IDEAL PORTER PHYSICALLY STRONG, PUNCTUAL, DEDICATED, RELIABLE, HONEST AND SHOULD NOT STEAL

STREET TRADERS IN WARWICK

THE INFORMAL MARKETS + WORKERS OF THE WARWICK JUNCTION

4. CARDBOARD COLLECTORS



Fig. 43 Two Cardboard Collectors waiting with their collected goods

QUICK FACTS^{1,2} – CARDBOARD COLLECTORS

- COLLECT CARDBOARD BUT ALSO OTHER WASTE THROUGHOUT DURBAN AND SELL IT TO BUY-BACK CENTRES
- ARE AMONG THE POOREST INFORMAL OPERATORS
- OVER 500 MEN AND WOMEN COLLECT AROUND 30 TONS OF CARDBOARD A DAY
- SEWU + ITRUMP PROJECT
- KILO PRICE OF CARDBOARD BEFORE ITRUMP PROJECT: 18 CENT
- KILO PRICE OF CARDBOARD AFTER ITRUMP PROJECT: 45 CENT (RISE OF 250% !)

What do they do?

Cardboard collectors, like the name indicates, mainly collect cardboard, but some also collect other waste throughout Durban. With their collected goods they supply larger collectors or buy-back centres, who in turn deliver the goods to large formal recycling companies (in the case of cardboard, this is the multinational paper company, Mondi).³

History

Throughout their existence cardboard salvagers have faced injustice and often suffered due to poor working conditions. Their value to the city and its environment had gone largely unrecognized until, in the mid-1990s, the organization SEWU (Self Employed Women's Union), along with iTrump, engaged the situation. They found out that middlemen, who purchased cardboard from the collectors, often paid them under the market value. These middlemen would take advantage of poor lighting conditions at twilight – when the scale was difficult to read – and often when the collectors were not sober. The collection point for the middlemen was a well-attended site in Brook Street, since in the immediate vicinity of the market no commercial buy-back centres were located. As he weighed the cardboard at the end of the day, the collected goods were left along the pavement around the area. This caused an urban management problem as the goods prevented the unobstructed movement of pedestrians.^{4,5}

To stop this exploitation of the salvagers, as well as to improve the quality of the area, became the focus of intervention. The task team of the project decided to establish buy-back center as part of a public-private partnership. The council provided a small plot of land in Brook Street, and the paper company Mondi provided the scales and storage containers for the cardboard and trolleys of the collectors. One of the problems with the implementation of this plan was the resistance of the former middlemen. Even Mondi did not easily cooperate with this venture.

The middlemen would lose money, while Mondi claimed that their trucks could not get through the narrow streets surrounding the buy back center. In addition, a cash-float - or bridging finance - needed to be loaned to the person in charge of the centre to pay the cardboard collectors. The solution arrived at permitting the middlemen to operate within the buy-back centre as deliverers of goods to the recycling company, who furthermore agreed to put up the financing for the immediate payment of the collectors.^{6,7}

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BEAD MARKET

THE INFORMAL MARKETS + WORKERS OF THE WARWICK JUNCTION

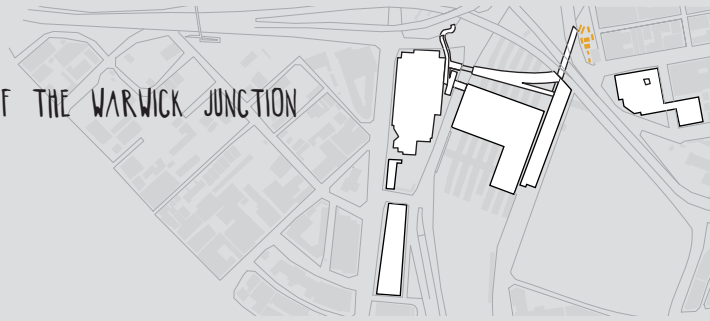


Fig. 46 The site of the Bead Market

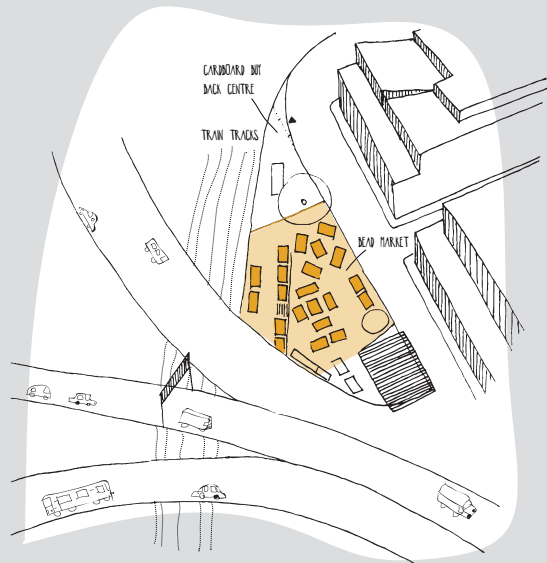


Fig. 44 Systematic plan view of the Bead Market



Fig. 45 Systematic section through the Bead Market

QUICK FACTS! 2

- BEAD PRODUCTS > LONG ROOTED AFRICAN TRADITION
- FEMALE DOMINATED BUSINESS
- OPENING TIMES: ONLY FRIDAYS
- DURING THE WEEK THE WOMEN DESIGN AND THREAD THE BEADWORK AT THEIR HOMES, BECAUSE MOST OF THE BEAD VENDORS LIVE ALL OVER NATAL, NOT NEAR TO DURBAN CENTER
- CUSTOMERS: MAINLY TOURISTS OR OTHER BUSINESSES
- THE SHELTERS INCLUDE A ROOF STRUCTURE AND HANGING POSSIBILITIES, BUT NO TABLES - WOMEN SIT AND DISPLAY THEIR GOODS ON FABRIC OR PLASTIC CLOTH ON THE FLOOR.
- VENDORS SOURCE THEIR BEADS FROM FORMAL BUSINESSES
- ARTICLES FOR SALE: BEADED JEWELRY, BOWLS, TOYS, HATS, BAGS, BELTS, TRADITIONAL CLOTHING, ETC.
- PRICE EXAMPLE: NECKLACE SOLD FOR R70 ON THE BEAD MARKET, HAS A MATERIAL VALUE OF ABOUT R30, AND WILL BE SOLD BY RETAILERS FOR ABOUT R250

In 1999, shelters were built diagonally opposite the Victoria Street market for the bead traders. This implementation was a part of iTrump's Warwick Junction Projects' intervention to support the informal economy in the area.³

Previously, the traders were situated in other places around Warwick and were initially reluctant about the idea to move to the new trading space. The traders rely on their customers knowing where to find them - moving to a new space was a risk for their businesses. Still, the project met with positive responses and the spot soon became known for bead art.⁴

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Fig. 47 Detail of the Bead Market



Fig. 48 Phumzile Shozi, 45, trader on the weekly bead market



I and seven other women out of my family and friends come to the Warwick Junction every Friday to sell bead jewelry they produce during the week at home.

We and the other ladies live about 40 min or even more with the taxi away from the trading area. Since the journey is long and expensive we work at home and only come one day a week to the city to sell our products, which include beaded necklaces, earrings and bracelets. Our clients are mostly the general public and other traders and businesses, but also tourists every now and then.

The stall's space, as well as its monthly cost, will be shared in between all of us. The construction the municipality provided includes a canopy, but nothing more. No tables and chairs are provided. So we sit on the floor or on some boxes and our products are laid out before us on the floor. Also the dirt, which accumulates in one week in the bead market area, is a problem for me. The first thing we do when we arrive around 6:00 am at the market is that we start cleaning their stall.

The income is shared in between the 8 of us. Our profit can range from nothing up to R2000, always depending how many costumers we have on a day. One thing we struggle a lot with, is with the rising prices of the beads we buy close by in an Indian shop in the Victoria Street Market.

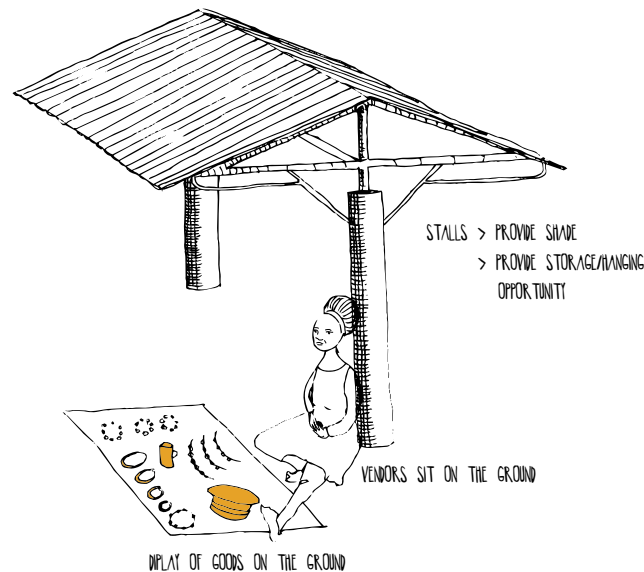


Fig. 49 Trading situation at the Bead Market

IMPHEPHO + LIME MARKET

THE INFORMAL MARKETS + WORKERS OF THE WARWICK JUNCTION

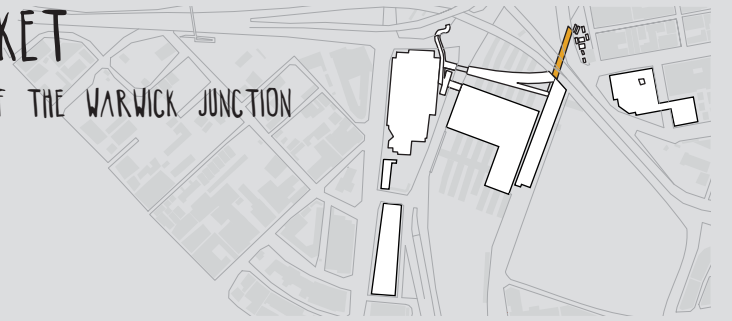


Fig. 51 The site of the Imphepho + Lime Market

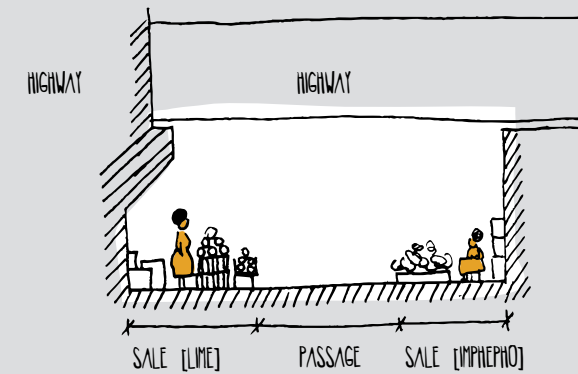


Fig. 50 Systematic section through the Imphepho + Lime Market

QUICK FACTS!

- FEMALE DOMINATED BUSINESS
- LOCATION: PASSAGE UNDER SEVERAL HIGHWAY FLYOVERS
- ARTICLES FOR SALE: IMPHEPHO (INCENSE) AND LIME/CLAY
- CUSTOMERS: THOSE WHO SPECIFICALLY SEEK THEM (NO 'PASSERBY')
- MOST TRADERS SLEEP AT THE TRADING SITE, DUE TO THE LONG DISTANCE TO THEIR HOMES. ONCE ALL PRODUCTS ARE SOLD, THEY RETURN HOME TO MINE/HARVEST NEW GOODS



Fig. 52 View of the Imphepho + Lime Market passage

Imphepho

Imphepho is a traditional incense used by South African tribes, which is said to enable communication with their ancestors. It is commonly used by traditional healers known as “Sangomas” to induce a trance state by inhaling the smoke that the plant produces once it is burned.²

There are two main types of imphepho to be found in the market: one, which comes from yellow flowers originating in the province KwaZulu Natal, and is primarily used by Zulus. The other is harvested in the province Eastern Cape and is mostly used by people who claim origin with the Xhosa tribe.³

Lime

Like imphepho, lime is, of traditional importance in the South African natives’ culture. There are two types of lime: a white one, known as Umcako, and red one, known as Ibomvu. Both are mined in the region of

Ndwedwe. In traditional use it is commonly applied as a facial and/or body coloring, and it can also be eaten. The colors used refer to the hierarchal position of a healer – a trainee healer wears red lime while the qualified Sangomas use white lime. These products also fulfill other, non-spiritual purposes: they are used as sunscreen for skin protection, and as paint for pottery.⁴

The lime business has a very dark side to it: to access proper lime, miners must delve deep into the earth. This, plus insufficient mining tunnels, leads to frequent accidents when tunnels collapse over the workers.⁵

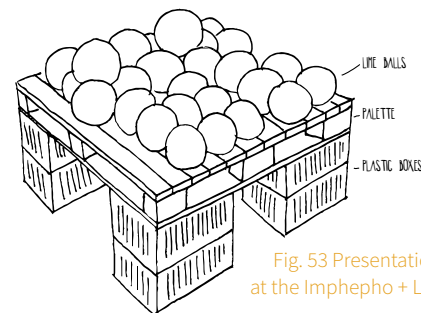


Fig. 53 Presentation of wares at the Imphepho + Lime Market



Fig. 54 Happyness Dntokozi, 33, Imphepho trader

I am a clay wholesaler. The clay I sell is a product made by my sister and myself at my home in Ndwedwe, a rural area 2 hours away from Durban.

Clay is used in the African culture in traditional practices to spread onto the face or parts of the body. On traditional healers red clay indicates the trainee status and white clay that the training to become a healer has been completed. But some also just use it just as a sunscreen.

All of my kids have passed away, but I still have 10 people in my household, which depend on me and my sisters income. So even though the whole process of mining the clay deep in the earth and having the fear of the mine around us collapsing is a big strain, we still take this process on us to be able to support our family.

I have been working here on the market already for 5 years. Together with my sister we divide the work: when one of us is on the market, then the other one is back home mining and preparing the clay. When all the clay is sold, then we change our working cycle – my sister comes with fresh clay to the market, and I go home to prepare new ones and vice versa. So the one who sells the clay on the market, also sleeps at the trading site on an old bed. At night the market, which is situated in a passage under the highway with gates on each side gets locked and thus is reasonably safe. The site of the market is away from the main concourse of passengers. This means that the traders rely on costumers specifically seeking for them.

I sell a clay ball for R5,50. My income varies strongly. The profit, so the amount of money left once all business costs are paid, ranges from R 90 – R 300 per week, depending how many costumers come.

The product I sell is a traditional important plant of the African culture, known as Imphepho. Imphepho is used for different reasons: traditional diviners, known as Sangomas, use the plant to induce a trance state once it's burned and inhaled. It is also used as a ritual incense enabling communication with ancestors. Equally to the clay wholesalers the trading site lies a bit off the busy routes of the passengers. Thus only people, who directly seek this product come to this part of the market.

I came to Durban 4 years ago to be able to support her family back home in Bizana in Eastern Cape. During the week I stay directly in Durban, in Mayville. I try to go home every second week to see my 3 young children and the rest of the family, always depending if I can afford going home or not.

I sell a bundle of imphepho for R10 and make an average income from about R500 in two weeks. With this money I have to make a living here in Durban, but also have to support 5 family members back home.

Fig. 55 Dudu Shamge, 38, clay wholeseller at the Imphepho and Lime Market



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MUTHI / HERB MARKET

THE INFORMAL MARKETS + WORKERS OF THE WARWICK JUNCTION

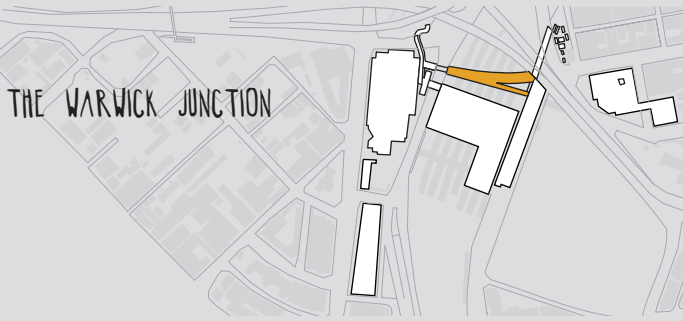


Fig. 57 The site of the Muthi / Herb Market

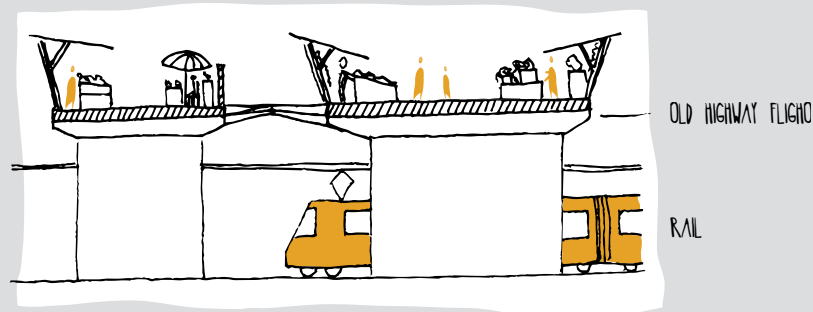


Fig. 56 Systematic section through the Muthi Market

QUICK FACTS^{2 3}

- ABOUT 80% OF BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS ARE ESTIMATED TO USE MUTHI REGULARLY
- IN KWAZULU-NATAL ABOUT 300.000 PEOPLE WORK IN IN THE TRADITIONAL MEDICINE SECTOR (2003)
- MEDICINAL PLANTS TRADED ANNUALLY IN KZN IS WORTH ABOUT R61 MILLION
- ANNUAL TRADE IN KZN IN WEIGHT: ABOUT 4.500 TONS
- ANNUAL TRADE ONLY IN DURBAN IN WEIGHT: 1.500 TONS
- ARTICLES FOR SALE: HERBS, PLANT ROOTS, SEEDS, LEAVES, BARK, ANIMAL PARTS, -SKIN, -FATS, SKELETONS, HORNS, PELTS, ETC.
- 232 ROOFED STALLS AT THE ALONG SIDE THE SPURS
- 103 OPEN AIR SPACES
- 48 SEMI-ENCLOSED INZINTANGA KIOSKS
- ECONOMIC IMPACT: GROSS TURNOVER OF 1998 (FIRST YEAR) = R170,0 MILLION (AMONGST APPROXIMATELY 700 TRADERS)
- FURTHER EMPLOYMENT CHAIN (EG. RURAL SUPPLIERS ETC.) SUGGESTED AROUND 14,000 PEOPLE.
- UP TO 1000 TRADERS CURRENTLY
- MATERIALS: TIMBER POLES + PREPAINTED CORRUGATED METAL SHEETING
- ITRUMP PROJECT



Fig. 58 The Muthi / Herb Market flyover

Traditional African Medicine developed in South Africa long before Durban or any other city in the country was founded. Nonetheless, in 1895 the working conditions of the Sangomas and Izinyanga (traditional healers) were determined through the Zululand Proclamation. These regulated compulsory trading licenses – the fees these healers were allowed to charge – and determined which medicines were prohibited.⁴

During the first decades of the twentieth century the trade expanded all over the country, concentrating in cities around transport hubs, hostels for laborers, shebeens, and eating houses. However, various legal challenges, restrictions, and acts of suppression

on the part of the authorities led to a long struggle. Eventually, the muthi trade was driven underground from the 1940s onward.⁵

In the area of the Warwick Precinct, an accumulation of muthi traders was found along the sidewalks of Russell Street (now Joseph Nduli Street) and Leopold Street (now David Webster Street), but also throughout the district. Although the trade was managed, it was still unregulated in terms of securing their goods at night, because the quantity of goods was making it impossible to move on a daily basis. Thus, the traders lived at the same space on which they traded - in essence, they were a residential community.⁶

In 1992 the City Health Department initiated work in the health and safety challenges concerning this sector, but this also required documentation of the needs and aspirations of the trading community. This resulted, in 1996, in the Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Project's focus on improved urban management. The project identified the Russell and Leopold Street traders as a distinctive concern, meaning they were in particularly urgent need of additional trading space. Since the Leopold Street sidewalks were not suitable as a permanent location for the traditional herb and medicine traders, a new location had to be found. Finding an unused space in such a congested area proved to be a tough challenge, but two unused freeway flyovers turned out to provide a solution.^{7,8}

The task of designing this specialized market for traditional herb and medicine started with a combination of observation, surveys, research, and consultations with all the parties involved. Since there was no precedent for this kind of project, the project's development was slow. The market opened its doors to the public in 1998. Open-roof and smaller open-air stalls; kiosks for healers; basic services like toilets and water taps; safe storage by means of locking the market at night; and the connection of the flyovers to an existing adjacent pedestrian bridge all resulted in a new trading environment. The entire market was a magnificent achievement. The improvements enhanced the working conditions of the traders, gave them greater recognition, and raised the reputation of the project in front of the council. It also opened up possibilities for new initiatives in the informal sector through the delivery of new insights about informal traders.^{9,10}

“It has been extremely successful! Anybody would tell you that some upper level retail just doesn't work. Why does it work? Because somehow you find yourself mysteriously get pulled to go on to this thing. It's just like a big ramp. [...] So if one would build a new herb market now you probably wouldn't build it much differently like it is now.”¹¹

Mut(h)i

Mut(h)i is the term used to describe traditional South African medicine. Its roots lie in the Zulu word for 'tree.' It is a spiritually curative medicine based on botanical, mineral and zoological formulas. Mut(h)i's field of application is broad - it is used to treat everything from small discomforts like headaches and high blood pressure to serious diseases. Any physical or spiritual illnesses, believed to be either naturally or supernaturally caused, whether a physical heartache, or, more enigmatically, bad luck, slow business success, or even lost cattle, are all treated with this traditional medicine. Though the line between medicine and witchcraft seems quite thin, many plant medicines of Muthi have proven correct when judged by western scientific methods.^{12,13}

Traditional Healers: Sangomas and Izinyanga

There are two types of healers that practice this type of traditional medicine: the diviner, known as Sangoma, and the herbalist, known as Izinyanga. Their function as healers involve diagnosing, selling, and dispensing remedies for medical complaints, not unlike common doctors, while also divining the causes for these ailments and providing solutions to spiritually or socially centered complaints. These two types of South African shamans are highly revered and respected in society because of their reputed healing and divining powers. Their importance results from the belief, in black South African Society, that illness is caused either through witchcraft, pollution (contact with impure objects or situations), or because of neglect of one's ancestors. These spiritual causes are, of course, dismissed in the practice of Western medicine. But supernatural beliefs are overwhelmingly subscribed to in South African, as demonstrated by the numbers: the country hosts twenty-five thousand Western-trained doctors, but upwards of two-hundred thousand indigenous traditional healers.^{14,15,16,17}



Fig. 59 Zodwa Khumalo, 69, Muthi trader

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I am one of the traders of the Traditional Medicine Market in Warwick, which is also known as Muthi or Herb Market. To understand this market a comparison to a western society's doctor's appointment and a following pharmacy visit can be made. People come here to a Izinyanga, a traditional healer, to get advice for their problem. With their 'recipe' from the healers they can buy their medicine at the herb traders.

Already since 1972 I am is working here in this market area. I grew up in Bisana in Eastern Cape but live now just a 15 min Taxi ride away from my working place. All of my family (7 people in total) live nearby me, and are supported by my income.

My herb stall is integrated into the Brook Street Market, just on the ridge to the entrance of the herb market. The advantage this brings along, is that I have my own tap and sink and a fully closed space, so when I go home at night I can just close the door behind me. Still this doesn't prevent my stall being flooded every time it rains.

Being the Chairwoman of the traders of the herb market on meetings and other official appointments, I would say that I am a very critical and committed person when it comes to the further development of the whole Warwick area for continuing steps in the development. I emphasize on a intense collaboration with the traders. These are the first and direct stakeholders on who any change will have an effect on.



Fig. 60 Presentation of Muthi in the Market

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MUSIC BRIDGE

THE INFORMAL MARKETS + WORKERS OF THE WARWICK JUNCTION

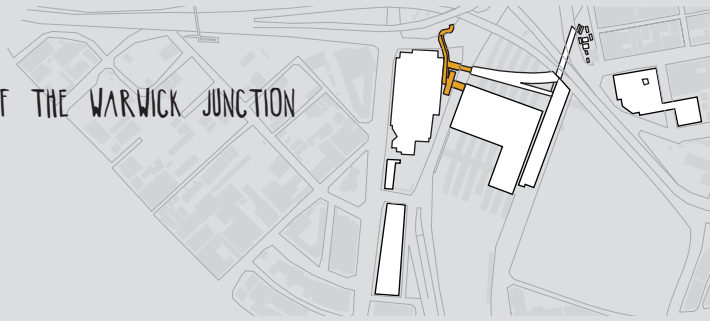


Fig. 62 The site of the Music Bridge

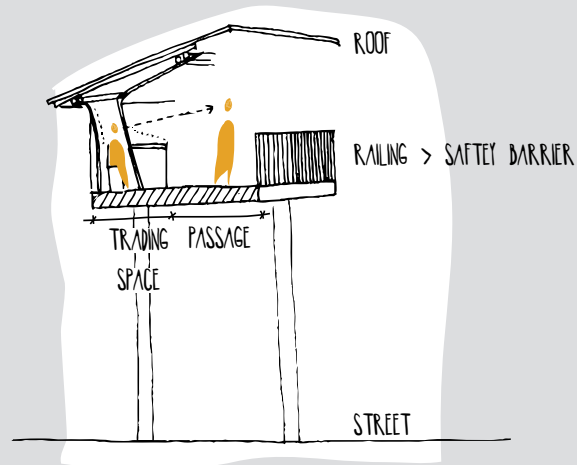


Fig. 61 Systematic section through the Music Bridge

QUICK FACTS ¹⁴

- PEDESTRIAN BRIDGE WITH ROOFED STALLS ALONG ONE SIDE
- INTERLINKING THE HERB MARKET, THE EMM, THE BEREA STATION AND A BUS TERMINAL
- SAFE ALTERNATIVE WAY TO CROSS TWO BUSY ROADS
- WAS BUILT WHEN THE MUTHI MARKET GOT RELOCATED
- ARTICLES FOR SALE: MUSIC, HATS, SHOES, CLOTH, SMALL HARDWARE, ETC.
- ITRUMP PROJECT
- GOOD VISIBILITY FROM AND TO THE BRIDGE > IMPROVED SAFETY
- GOT ITS NAME FROM WHEN THE MAJORITY OF THE TRADERS SOLD ONLY PRE-RECORDED MUSIC



Fig. 63 The Music Bridge

The Bridge, nowadays known as “Music Bridge”, is a wide pedestrian crossing connecting the Early Morning Market with a bus terminal and the Berea Station. Before its renovation the bridge was notorious for crime. This was due to what urban designers refer as a “canyon” – pedestrians could be trapped on the bridge, as there was only one entrance and one exit. Also trading was prohibited on the bridge because of the lack of safety due to improper balustrades. The absence of people contributed to the raising of the crime incidents.³

When Traditional Herb and Medicine Market got relocated, an interlinking bridge to the Music Bridge was built. Due to the still increasing crime and safety conditions of the bridges it became obvious that a redesign was needed to enhance these conditions. In 2001 tables and shelters were built to accommodate the vendors and the balustrades were designed in such way, that the users of the bridge were easily visible from surrounding areas. This increased visibility has improved the safety of this market space.

Additionally to this, the traders of the bridge agreed that they would make sure there are no more criminal incidents.⁴

Its name derived from the inception of the project, when the majority of the traders sold only pre-recorded music.^{5,6}

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TO GAIN A FULL PICTURE OF THE WARWICK JUNCTION MARKETS AND THE LOCAL INFORMAL ECONOMY, SPECIALISTS WERE CONSULTED FOR THEIR EXPERTISE. QUALITATIVE INTERVIEWS WITH THREE STAKEHOLDERS WERE CONDUCTED, WHICH SUMMARIZE DIFFERENT POINTS OF VIEW ABOUT THE SITUATION OF THE MARKETS AND THEIR WORKERS.

INTERVIEWS

CAROLINE SKINNER _____
HOSEN MOOLA _____
RICHARD DOBSON _____



Fig. 1

CAROLINE SKINNER

is a Senior Researcher at the African Centre for Cities at the University of Cape Town and Urban Policies Research Director for the global action-research-policy network Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing (WIEGO). For over 15 years, Skinner's work has interrogated the nature of the informal economy with a focus on informing advocacy processes and livelihood-centred policy and planning responses. She has published widely on the topic.¹

Compared to other informal urban markets around the world the Warwick Junction Markets in Durban stick out not only through the site's considerable size and its amount of operators and user, but also through its spatial layout, its multi-layered interconnectedness of web of streets, transport nodes and markets. When researching in this field one comes across these Markets quite quick, due to probably many reasons.

What would you, as a specialist in the field the informal economy and of particularly this market area, say is the unique aspect of the Warwick Junction Markets which you don't find anywhere else, why are they so eminent?

I would perhaps locate this answer in broader trends: You probably have heard about action-research-policy network WIEGO (Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing), where I'm involved with. One of the many things we do is track trends over time. We look particular at home based workers, slum dwellers, waste pickers and street vendors. A global trend affecting all of these informal workers is removal. Look what is happening across this continent: from these radical cases in Zimbabwe like the 'Operation Murambatsvina'. It got a lot of attention for some time but it is still continuing. Its happening also in Nigeria, Kampala, and in so many other places. You just have to check the news. There are very few examples of integrating street vendors into urban plans, especially in the fabric of the inner city. Informal workers, especially in the African context are located in the outskirts of the city, far away from the 'passing feet'. So Warwick was for a period it a very unusual case because there was this deep level of engagement with traders and a real sense of integrating, spatially right in the center of the city. These trades had virtually only a century before been very violently dealt with. So there is a uniqueness around that integration and there is a uniqueness around the apartheid history, which was extremely repressive, generally and particularly for traders.

There are a whole lot of reasons why it is not unique.

Warwick is in a constant state of anxious insecurity. In 2009 we published that very celebrated book 'Working in Warwick: Including street traders in urban plans' that you have probably read. Literally when it got to print there was the debacle with the Early Morning Market, where its existence was threatened by commercial development right on its site, when the City's Council granted a land lease to a developer. It was a huge debacle, but the informal workers did continue trading! That might not have happened if we hadn't pursued that litigation process and that whole advocacy campaign around saving Warwick.

In respect of eThekweni Municipality's interventions on the Warwick Junction Markets, one has to refer to the Inner City eThekweni Regeneration and Urban Management Programme, also known as iTrump. iTrump used to have it's focus on this market area and made a lot of beneficial contributions towards the informal economy. Their projects encountered a lot of positive response in Warwick, e.g. they realised the Brooksteet Market, the Bovine Head Cooking Facility, The Traditional Herb&Medicine Market, etc. . Now, a few years later, it seems their focus has changed. Why is that so?

iTrump did a institutional reconstruction and instead of just focusing on Warwick they were given the responsibility of the whole Inner City with fewer resources. In the course of the EMM debacle just mentioned before, the traders of Warwick have effectively taken the council to court. They went to first constituency and the state was saying: 'Let's go and support these guys!' - because it has been such a conflictual situation. The response of the council to their losing of the dispute in court was like: 'You guys have prevented us from doing what we wanted to do: which was building the mall and now that's what we are going to do: not give this area of town a lot of attention.

Durban is credited as being the first city after the

Apartheid in South Africa to develop a policy for its informal economy. Home come?

I have to reference here WIEGOS's urban pilot for the Urban Policies Program, which was looking at 5 different cities and their approaches to street vendors in 1998 – 1999. Francie Lund and myself were looking at South African cities and argued very strongly that Durban was definitely further ahead from a whole range of perspectives. They still have problems and battles and are very conservative, but Durban had allocated the most money and created a lot of energy. They particularly worked with the Warwick area, but obviously there is also the rest of city do deal with. It is a very mixed approach across the city, which makes it difficult to generalise. They were doing the same standard mistakes everybody else was making - spending a lot of money on infrastructure that was badly designed and badly located. The key thing, the mistake, that is absolutely consistently made, is where these facilities are located. No formal retail development would ever be placed, without thinking mindfully of how people access it and where are the passing feet. This is not the shopping mall-model of where you just drive your car into the parking lot. There are destination trades, like the traditional herb&medicine (muthi) market, for which people will be prepared to cleave their way through. But largely there is this convenience shopping and this needs to be where people are walking anyway.

Would you say that in Johannesburg and in Capetown similar (positive) developments towards the informal economy like in Durban have happened?

No!
Concerning Johannesburg and Capetown: both contexts are very complicated. In November 2013 Johannesburg violently removed 6000 traders from the Inner City in the course of the 'Operation Clean Sweep'. I find this a very ambivalent approach to street vendors and it doesn't fit into the kind of set

of what they want their city to be like. In Capetown there are only 410 vending sites outside of markets allocated to street vendors in the whole Inner City. Compared to the city of Durban, who once claimed they had about 10.000 sites. That's probably an exaggeration, but there are for sure thousand more sites there than in Capetown. This shows a very exclusionary approach on the Inner City in Capetown and that there is very little attention been paid on informal trade.

Certainly, looking at the 3 major cities in South Africa, Durban still stands out! Yet in the informal economy monitoring study, a street trading report where they worked both in the Inner City and outside with the street vendors, the main constraint that was reported by traders was harassment from the police. So we must not glorify Durban.

Compared to Capetown, Durban's city structure seems a lot more socially and spatially mixed. Whereas Capetown feels very harshly segregated and it sometimes appears as if just a thin line is separating the rich and wealthy from the very poor. How come?

In understanding South African cities you have got to understand the apartheid approach. So it really impacted on the way, in which cities manifested space. The post apartheid approach for example to low cost housing has exacerbated the situation of segregation, because they did not go for a model of social housing developments in the inner city. At that time there was a big lobby for this model and it would also have made much more environmental and economic sense.

Additionally there is also the model of individual ownership. People wanted to own the land they are living on and the state did not have enough money to buy in the prime sites. Therefore the apartheid spatial structure remained and it is particularly acute in the city. We are the most unequal country in the world and I always say Capetown is the most unequal city, but I don't think it is in fact. But it feels more acute

here. In Durban there is not the level of wealth, so it is much more integrated. It is as integrated as South African cities go.

A recent development plans for Durban is the introduction of a BRT (Bus Rapid Transit) system. One of the proposals is to make an additional direct link between the townships and commerce, business and industry zones (routes like Pinewood to Bridgcity to Umhlanga) without entering the Inner City and having the Warwick Junction as the main transfer junction. It is very understandable from a transport perspective to tackle the amount of traffic and congestion inside of the city. On the other hand, Warwick exists and works because of being this highly used transfer node. How do you see this development?

BRT system implementations globally tend to forget the effect that they are generating on these kinds of natural markets. So if you think of the models that everybody looks up to, e.g. Bogota or other cities across Latin America, they just do an imagery trick: informal traders are nowhere to be seen! So it is a little bit about where the informal economy sits in the minds of planners and the people of the city who make the big decisions. I would say it is generally forgotten. Think about apartheid spatial planning: people in this city are miles away! So Durbanites need public transport! But a very nuanced approach is required. It is not to say that BRT is bad and isn't something that is pretty vital for poorer Durban residents but it can and should be done in a more or less friendly informal trade way. The current set of frameworks that are being used in Durban, aren't necessarily as inclusive as they could be.

Toilets, ablutions and access to water are some of the basic needs of infrastructure of a informal worker. There is a little of this basic infrastructure given in the Inner City of Durban, but it is inadequate. Is it the task of the city to provide and

maintain this basic infrastructure? Why isn't it working now?

This is premised on the acknowledgment that informal workers are here to stay! I think there is generally an ambivalent attitude from city councils - globally and there's no difference in South African cities. So if you see these informal workers as temporary you are not going to put that infrastructure in place. But this infrastructure is the foundation! You have to have that! It's important for consumer health. It's important for so many perspectives.

Consistently xenophobic attacks in SA have been in the news over the past few years. What role takes on migration and xenophobia in connection to the informal economy?

You cannot look at the South African informal economy without picking up on the issue of migration and xenophobia. Particularly foreigners working in the informal economy are being targeted and victims of xenophobic attacks. For example if you look what is happening in Grahamstown in Eastern Cape. 300 shop owners were displaced and looted just in the last few weeks. It's an ongoing issue that is particularly acute. If you do some research of tracking cases of collective violence against foreigners or international migrants, you'll realise it's consistent. It's happening all the time across the country every day.

What is the cause of the violence from South Africans against the migrants? Is it the fear of foreigners taking their jobs away?

It's a little bit more complicated! This is the discourse on some levels, but often there is a general dissatisfaction as the driving force. Look at the most recent case in Grahamstown. There have been really difficult circumstances to live in: there has been ongoing service delivery protests and they had water cutoffs. It has been in the papers for months and

months and then suddenly there are the foreign shop owners being targeted.

Now the research suggests that a lot of foreigners have created jobs, so they often employ South Africans, they often pay rentals to South Africans, they are providing goods sometimes cheaper than in the formal economy and in ways that are appropriate for poorer consumers. They are really providing useful goods and services and they are contributing. There have been cases where international migrants have been kicked out of certain townships and within a few weeks the residents have said "Please will you come back?".

I think there is a complex confluence of things going on and additionally the very ambivalent approach from the state is not helping. Top level ANC members will come out with some serious xenophobic statements. You have widespread xenophobic attacks across the country, initiated by the Zulu king and his statement that foreigners must leave. In addition you have the 'Operation Fiela', which is incorporating the military, as a response from government. The military is completely unprecedented and so is arrest of lots and lots of foreigners.

According to the humanity that is enshrined in our constitution, you would hope that there would be a very different response across the board. You would think the president comes out within a few hours after an attack and say that it was completely unacceptable, that these are criminal acts and that the perpetrators of xenophobia will be dealt with in a very strong way. No! In the 2008 xenophobic violence, for example, there were never any prosecutions. A recent example of a xenophobic attack is the case of the Mozambican national Emmanuel Sithole, who was stabbed in broad daylight. They have the two perpetrators, who killed him. They haven't been sentenced yet, but the case of murder is gone through. But it is a case, where the evidence has been so overpowering and international eyes were on us. So they have pursued that case but it is one of the rare cases that they have. This round of xenophobic attacks unlike the 2008 ones was particularly targeted at people working in the informal economy. It is this

link (between the informal economy and migration) that is sometimes forgotten.

South Africa has a pretty high unemployment rate. Informal work is one important means of securing livelihoods. Still the government and local authorities don't give the informal economy a lot of recognition or even remove them forcefully. What kind of relationship does the state and local authorities have towards the informal sector?

One thing you must realise about our informal economy is that it is very unusual. It is quite small, so it's about seventeen percent of our labour force which is definitely one of the smallest of the continent. That is partly because of our apartheid history and it's partly because we have such a strong formal economy. So my international colleagues look at us and say it's really weird. Why are, with the unemployment level we have (about 25%), not more people working within the informal economy? The core curiosity in South Africa therefore is what the barriers to entry are? We have got some hypotheses. The people aren't actually making very much. There is also an ambivalent approach from the state, particular from the local authorities to the informal economy. If you do a careful analysis of post-apartheid's national levels and policy responses you come across very piecemeal interventions. In 2013, for the first time ever, there was a national level informal sector policy, which is about 20 years in. So the informal economy never has been seen as a big priority. When the policy makers think about this sector of economy, it is seen as rather small and irrelevant. It is quite a small player. It represents only about 17% of the South African labour force. This percentage translated into a number is about 2.5 to 2.6 million people. This number is not totally insubstantial. But that's the core issue. The unemployment level in South Africa is so unprecedented. You've got to look at whole scenario: What's happening in the formal economy? But the critical thing is: What is

stopping the people from starting? I think it's partly a harshly set of environment, it's partly that we are in a recession globally and in South Africa, it's partly that there are not that many opportunities and it's partly a apartheid history not having a history of entrepreneurship.

The policy approach towards the informal sector has been largely to neglect and in many cases to violently remove. It is not easy being an informal operator in this country.

What would you wish for the informal economy, especially in South Africa, in the future?

I think it has to start with an acknowledgement of the role that the informal economy is playing. So there needs to be a broad acceptance: that this (the informal economy) is here to stay and it's contributing! I think it's also about trying not to aspire a developed country model at city and national level. You have to accept that your cities aren't going to look pristine, like the Capetown's Inner City, because that model excludes people. So I would say, it is certainly necessary at city level to pursue a much more inclusionary approach that these guys are contributing. A cross cutting support is needed: access to financial services, trainings, sector specific support, etc. So it's about really understanding what the dynamics are within particular segments of the informal economy. It's the understanding of the economics of what's going on and intervening in ways that are supportive. It is also very important to review the legislative framework. They all criminalise street trading. There is no other economic activity that has a criminal sanction to it. This is a very fundamental revision.

We still got a very long way to go!

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Fig. 2

HOUSEN MOOLA

is iTrump's (Inner City eThekweni Regeneration and Urban Management Programme) Senior Manager. Has a background as an environmental health practitioner located in City Health

The Inner City eThekweni Regeneration and Urban Management Programme, or better known as 'iTrump', is notable for its projects in the Warwick Junction. These projects garnered a lot of positive responses for their beneficial contributions towards the informal economy. However, iTrump has in the past years dedicated its focus to other areas. As the present senior manager of iTrump, and an essential contributor from the start, could you talk a little bit about the history of iTrump? Why did it first focus on the Warwick precinct, and why has this now changed?

Let me to take you back to when the iTrump office was established in 1997-98. Back then, it was called the 'Warwick Junction Project Center.' Our intent was the urban renewal of the Warwick avenue. That area was basically the crime and grime centre of Durban. It was a very problematic area, in terms of the number of trading practices that were conducted on the streets. When the project started, the focus was to take the problems off the street and make them into business opportunities. Local economic development (LEDs) projects have been established - the Bovine Head Market, the Early Morning Market, the Muthi/Herb Market, the Brook Street Market, the Buy-Back centre, and the Mealie Cookers Facility. These were all established within the iTrump budget, which came from the EU. Well, we had EU funding and the city funding - it was a joint to make those projects possible.

The Warwick Junction is such a large transport network and has foot traffic of over five-hundred thousand people on a daily basis - the focus at that time was to look at how you could developed this into an informal economy market system. You must remember, in order for you to do something you will need capital funding. So we were quite honoured to have capital funding in order to establish these markets. The reason why the projects and the focus on Warwick did not continue, was because there was no capital funding. So you need capital funding if you want to do more projects. It's easy, give me more capital funding and I will do more projects.

Nowadays we only have an operational budget over the year. So what we do with this budget is try to help one thing or two, fix some things up and ensure that we don't let the previous LEDs (Local Economical Development) deteriorate and let all the good work be in vain. People's lives depend on these markets, in terms of feeding their families, creating jobs, and the acquisition of skills in terms of creating a business. We have to look at South Africa being an African Country - we have such a broad diversity of cultures. We need opportunities for them, for example, you can't get traditional African food in a restaurant, you can only get KFCs and these things, but nobody sells 'putu' (a crumbly maize porridge), bovine head, or other Zulu delicacies. Why shouldn't people come from outside South African also get a bit of a taste of African traditional food? So another big opportunity of the area is a food court. A proper food court that sells traditional food, where you, the tourist that comes from Austria, can go and have traditional food, that you feel safe to go there to eat, that it is prepared under proper conditions and proper compliances. But at the moment the problem is that the conditions under which the food is prepared and presented is still not adequate. But it can be done! Though the city needs to invest money in providing facilities to support these type of businesses on the street. And the problem is, this has stopped over the years. Warwick should be a market for survivalists and for poor people to come in. It should be an entry point to come and sell. But it has to have compliances of the bylaws and should not affect formal businesses that are here to contribute to the rates of the city. The majority of the funds that run into the rates of the city come from them, or building owners, or property owners, etc. But, the informal economy doesn't contribute much to the rates. So you need to have a balance.

iTrump is an ABM (Area Based Management), but what we do now is more urban management; we ensure that earlier projects are continued and also provide support. And to answer your question about why the projects in Warwick have stopped: it's capital funding. So the focus is still in the area, but its more

an operational focus.

How does iTrump operate? You mentioned that it has changed more to a management and support programme?

We were an ABM program till about 2009. Then we joined the 'Safer Cities' Programme, but now we are back to an ABM because one of the city managers decided to reestablish an ABM. What is the function of the ABM? The ABM basically ensures facilitation and coordination of all practice- and businesses-development that takes space within that geographic area of your ABM. So it's going to add value in terms of connecting all line departments. It's more than integration of urban management; it's the integration of all departments. We are the ones that bring the people together, in terms of ensuring that consultation takes place.

People in Durban have very diverse opinions about the Warwick Junction Markets. Some say it's such a great and vibrant area, while other are very reserved and would dissuade people from visiting the area. How do you feel about these diverse views?

I think that's the picture of the whole country. The whole country is like that in terms of crime. You are not even safe in residential regions. Crime happens everywhere in South Africa. It's not just in Warwick. I think it's more safe in Warwick than in some of the suburbs. I mean, if you look at the crime statistics of Warwick during the day, it is quite safe. One can't go there as safely during the night, but during the day traders are around. Of course you are going to get people mugging and all that stuff. But it happens all around the world. So it has to do with the perceptions of people, it is how you perceive an area. If you look at Warwick before - you couldn't even walk through all the shacks that encourage illegal activity. We've already improved this condition to the extent

that the area has improved a lot.

Is the informal economy important for the city?

Yes, it is important. The informal economy of the Warwick area in particular. But the area needs to be managed and ensured that it's not oversubscribed: the sidewalks are for commuters. There are separate spaces for the traders not to get into conflict with pedestrians and formal businesses.

But in general, the informal economy is a priority of the city because you are creating jobs and it supports the chain of businesses, from your whole sale to retail to street trading - the people who make money on the streets, the traders, buy from retail shops, the retail shops from the wholesale,...

So there is a strong connection between formal and informal?

There is a huge connection between rural and urban growth. People need to look at the bigger picture and not just see that any informal trader coming here will fit in with formal businesses. But I think over the years the formal businesses have seen the benefits of traders in the street - an asset, which contributes to the informal economy here in Warwick.

There have been constant rumors lately about the development plans of introducing a BRT system into the city. This would entail a lot of changes within the city and, additionally, have a strong impact on the Warwick Junction Markets and workers. Therefore, it seems a very critical atmosphere prevails around these development plans. What is your opinion about this situation?

Unfortunately we still have some departments that don't do proper consultations. They want to just function on their own, but we try and make sure the consultation process takes place. We push them for it

and make sure that it happens.

In the apartheid days it was even worse - there were no consultations at all. Nobody was asked or integrated in the decision making process. When we started off with the ABM, there was consultation for any project we ever did. I think we actually set the stage for consultation within communities. You need intelligence on the streets. For example, if you build public ablutions, you ensure that the design is done in such a way that it doesn't create spaces for crime. But what happens in reality is this: you get third-rate facilities for people in black areas and first-rate facilities in high-profile areas. That keeps up the illusion and you create a problem. Additionally, the city has a lot of issues and challenges in terms of management. For example, a lot of ablutions close at 5pm. People still trade till late hours on the streets, and when there are no facilities that are open for them it becomes problematic. I think the challenge is that the management of the street traders doesn't really take place as it should.

With regard to social housing, investigations show that there is little residential use and not many affordable short-term accommodations for traders in close proximity to the markets. For example, there is a women's hostel, with approximately nine-hundred women on the waiting list. There is an extreme shortage of accommodation. What is your perception of this situation?

I think we really need more shelters and we need more social housing. As a rental stock, not ownership but for renting!

Would you say that Durban handles the situation with their local informal economies differently than, for example, Johannesburg or Capetown?

I think Durban's consultation process is quite good. When we started the ABM, the stakeholder consultation in all the projects was excellent.

Whatever we did on the streets, it was in consultation with traders and people in the community.

What are the strengths and weaknesses of Warwick?

I think there are more strengths than weaknesses in Warwick. The biggest strength is that it is a POS (point of sale - cf. interpretation of author) of the city, in terms of the high level of activities, job creation, the informal economy, and opportunity. Warwick is a place of opportunities!

The weakness is that the city is unable to put in more resources to manage the area to ensure that its facilities are upgraded, that the infrastructure is maintained. I think those are the weaknesses.

How do you see the future of Warwick?

I would like to see it grow into more LEDs opportunities: proper food courts, more trading. For example, making another go at creating more trading spaces on the Early Morning Market. I would also like to see in Warwick more social housing coming in, and student accommodations because of its close proximity to DUT. I would also like to see ensured that more government services are coming to the area.

Warwick has the potential to become a one-shop stop - imagine, you can go there for a post office, you can get your IDs done there, you can access all your services in the same vicinity. Even now, all the clinics and hospitals are there - everything is within a walking distance. Additionally, you are close to public transport. So you can get into a bus or taxi and continue to your destination.

I think you can see that the location of Warwick is quite suitable and ideal for entering the city.



Fig. 3

RICHARD DOBSON

is an architect by training, who worked for over ten years for the eThekweni Municipality as a project leader, first of the Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Project and then for the inner city renewal programme. In 2006 he left the city to establish the NGO 'Asiye eTafuleni' and focuses on offering design and facilitation services to those working in the informal economy.³

Name one word to describe the relationship between the city of Durban and the local informal economy.

Ambivalent

As an architect by training, you used to work for over ten years as a project leader in the department dedicated to street trader management and support of the eThekweni Municipality. During that time, very innovative infrastructure developments financed by allocated resources in and around the Warwick Junction evolved, which had a positive impact on the local informal economy. In 2006, you quit this rather 'safe position' to establish the NGO 'Asiye eTafuleni' that focuses 'on promoting and developing good practice and process around inclusive urban planning and design'²

What were the reasons for this transformation?

The reasons for this transformation ?

A significant amount of the energy that was devoted to the transformation of Warwick Junction was as a result of the 'honeymoon period' of post apartheid. There was a genuine willingness and energy amongst city officials and politicians to implement change. This, therefore, provided both the implementation energy, but also a fresh look at informality in public spaces and a more progressive view about condoning its presence. The notable change was the award of the FIFA World Cup and the immediate implementation of hosts city agreements. These agreements were confidential but it was very evident that they were biased towards privileging what became known as 'The FIFA Family' and their colonial dictates for the various hosts cities. These changing priorities became starkly evident when the city officials approved the proposed Early Morning Market re-development in favour of the Mall. It was never entirely clear as to what the explicit rationale was for this proposal, but clearly Warwick was considered a 'Gateway Route' for the World Cup and therefore

required political reimagine.

In addition, I had been exposed to a precedent from the WIEGO network, that had highlighted the impact of 'World Class Events' on the vulnerable poor, particularly in city neighbourhoods that were generally targeted for re-development ahead of these events. Notable in my memory were the Common Wealth Games in Delhi. StreetNet were also promoting their 'World Class Cities for All' campaign which was also highlighting the threat of the FIFA event and the confidentiality of the country and host city agreements which were non-transparent and prejudicial.

In essence therefore, it was a political change of heart in favour of the perceived glory of the FIFA event. It has been subsequently shown to have been both corrupt and hugely beneficial to the 'FIFA Family'. [I'm under correction, but I believe that FIFA's tax free profit from the games was in excess of USD 440 million! Host city stadia were budgeted to have cost ZAR 5,8 billion but the final spend was in excess of ZAR 19,5 billion. I am told that the Durban stadium is costing ZAR 250 million a year in operating costs!]

3. At the end of the 1990s, Durban, as the first of any international, national or provincial city, formed an Informal Economy Policy, which reflected important shifts in thinking and includes a lot of innovations. Still, respected organizations like WIEGO believe the following: 'If Durban's Informal Economy Policy were fully implemented, there is little doubt that the environment for those working in the informal economy in the city would improve. [...] [But] implementation has [...] been patchy and uneven.'³ What is your opinion of the policy and its implementation?

The policy was progressive in many respects:

Its conception - The fact that it had not yet been considered elsewhere (internationally) is in itself

indicative of its originality. One of the prime motivations for the policy was that the city had started committing funding to infrastructure projects in Warwick (for approximately 5 years) without the necessary support of enabling policy. It was therefore interesting that (in my opinion) the policy requirement was driven by infrastructure.

Its formulation - A detailed analysis of how the policy was formulated is in itself interesting. The city appointed external consultants (both WIEGO members) who assembled an inter-disciplinary city team to assist them in the task. This extended the reach of the research into the city and its officials.

Its consultation - In addition to the multi disciplinary city team, sensitised by the WIEGO team, there was a strong willingness and determination to be consultative at every stage or opportunity. Therefore the city officials constituted themselves into work-stream task teams which in turn consulted with wider groupings of colleagues and stakeholders, and ultimately when the draft policy was finalised there was an extremely thorough stakeholder engagement process. The later included plenary meetings – the one I can recall, involving at least 3000 traders.

Its adoption - In addition to the policy being adopted by Council, it was innovative in its format, in that not only did it provide policy guidelines but it also acknowledged that there was subsequent work that was needed. This subsequent work was identified and specific recommendations included for successive pieces of research to be implemented, e.g. container storage policy, allocations policy, etc. It is this later reference to subsequent implementation work that perhaps WIEGO is making reference to as a reservation about how faithfully the city has progressed with the Policy, i.e. they haven't necessarily implemented these subsequent pieces of research.

4. 'Inclusive design' is seen by your organisation

as the key driver of change that can support the livelihoods of informal workers.⁴ What exactly do you understand by inclusive design in the context of the Warwick Junction Markets?

Would you say that the conventional planning tools of architects and planners are still sufficient for designing inclusively? If not, what are the kinds of methods you would suggest?

In my opinion 'Inclusive Design' has three aspects: Need, Product and Process

Need - During your time here you perhaps heard us talking about what we describe as 'Urban Literacy'. Often the need for project intervention, in whatever manner, is either not identified or understood. The challenge is who is identified as the initiator of or the identifier of need, i.e. is it the stakeholder and direct beneficiary or is it at the level of the urban interventionist, e.g. designer or city official? Urban literacy therefore, is about demystifying urban development, infrastructure and capital works in such a way as it is mainstreamed into peoples understanding of the contribution they can make to the city's evolution as citizens.

Product - The product is concerned about the soliciting of potential ideas and solutions. With an inclusive inclination the soliciting of solutions cannot be preserve of the designer but should also include stakeholders and direct beneficiaries. This implies that one not only needs an attitudinal shift about how one approaches the process but that one also needs specific techniques to be able to engage a wider group of problem solvers.

Process - Process is implicit in all of the above, i.e. need and product. The process that one adopts clearly needs to make the design interventionists accessible in every way: there needs to be sensitivity towards any language or communication barriers; there needs to be an acknowledgement that participating parties might have a vastly different skill levels both in communication and technical

expertise; urban literacy needs to demystify what is often paraded as an exclusive preserve of intellectuals!

Are conventional planning tools sufficient ?

I read recently (I cannot find the author) that Architects 'come in too late and leave too early'. This quotation highlights one of the primary challenges. Here in South Africa, within the regulatory fee structure, no specific provision is made for preliminary in-depth consultation or social facilitation. If this is required, it is generally subject to a separate agreement and fee. The general inclination is that this activity is therefore committed or devolved to the Architect and their conscience as to how thoroughly or otherwise they engage with the stakeholder. It is not uncommon that Architects are already presented with the design brief and specifications, i.e. the implication being that these should not be queried and simply accepted – hence 'come in too late...' There is also a very unclear understanding of who the client is in a commission. Typically in the Warwick situation, the city line department is the client, i.e. paying the fees and directing the commission, however the real end user beneficiary is the street vendor. The expectation is that the Architect will be consulting at length with the line department and not necessary the street vendor. I believe that this challenge has featured prominently throughout my work both in the city and now AeT. The '...leave too early' - refers to the lack of post-implementation feedback or reflection.

I believe a solution is that Architects/Designers need to develop a deep inquisitiveness around fully understanding the design challenges and context of their commissions. In addition, Architects and Designers do not necessarily have all the skills necessary to engage with stakeholders. During your time here at AeT you would have experienced Patrick's social facilitation skills which are unique in their own right but clearly essential if one is to communicate into a particular context, around

particular urban needs, across language challenges, with cultural understanding and the ability to communicate technical information. The implication is that Architects and Designers need to acknowledge that broad based skill sets are required if one is to have an inclusive approach.

5. The city of Durban recently announced a new Inner City Regeneration Plan. This plan has identified the Warwick Junction precinct as one of its priorities and intends to implement a lot of new projects, which focus on public transport, pedestrian friendliness, public realm upgrades, mixed-use development and an improved trading environment.⁵

How do you see these new plans and the city's approach?

What recommendations would you, an experienced planner with an expertise in planning with and for the informal economy, pass on to them for these projects?

The cities Local Area Plan ?

I believe this has been a moderately acceptable process. However it was generally a competent team of consultants, not the normal groupings that have worked on the area in the past, suggesting that there has been a fresh and original approach taken with the research. The individual consultant who was specifically responsible for Warwick has worked alongside me in Warwick for many years (in fact designed the 2003 Bovine Head Cook facility) so is well versed in the sensitivities of the district. The overall conceptualisation has been refreshingly different adopting the approach of densifying the inner city to its maximum thresholds and utilising the principle of 'walkable neighbourhoods'. This concept has translated into nodal points within the city with neighbourhood level facilities and good public transport access.

Warwick Junction itself has been acknowledged as a significant district within the Local Area Plan

and its current function recognised as an essential component of the city.

What recommendations would I make ?

Specifically with Warwick, I would highlight the unique and contextual relationship (in South Africa) between transport and low LSM (Lifestyle Measure) retail. As a transport node, Warwick fulfills a particular function in the latter regard, but also as part of South Africa's post apartheid agenda in the urban transformation, i.e. it is the dormitory for urban assimilation for those who have been previously excluded from an inner city economy.

6. What would you wish for the informal economy, especially here in South Africa, in the future?

I would wish for the mainstream acceptance of the use of public space as the opportunity to earn an informal livelihood. You will notice that I have been careful to avoid reference to 'informal economy' but I do believe that we should be attempting to achieve a hybrid understanding of how South Africans earn their livelihoods and that given our apartheid past, those who were previously excluded from inner city towns or cities should be given creative access to public space to enable their assimilation into the economy. The implication is that public spaces are not necessarily equipped for this purpose and therefore appropriate infrastructure is critical to enable the productive and dignified use of these spaces in the manner described. A common criticism of informality in public spaces is that they generate excessive urban management challenges and it is therefore necessary that one mitigates this through the provision of appropriate infrastructure as we believe is evidenced in Warwick. We also believe that in responding in this holistic manner there is a positive and unique urban aesthetic that becomes endemic to the district and will be a characteristic of the emergent post-apartheid South Africa.

1. Asiye eTafuleni (n.d.). *Richard Dobson* [online]. Available at: <http://aet.org.za.www12.flk1.host-h.net/our-staff/richard-dobson/> [accessed 13.October 2014]

2. Asiye eTafuleni (n.d.). *Who We Are* [online]. Available at: <http://aet.org.za.www12.flk1.host-h.net/about-asiye-etafuleni/> [accessed 31.October 2014]

3. WIEGO (n.d.). *Durban/eThekweni, South Africa Informal Economy Policy* [online]. Available <http://wiego.org/informal-economy/durbanethekweni-south-africa-informal-economy-policy> [accessed 31.October 2014]

4. Asiye eTafuleni (n.d.). *Inclusive Design* [online]. Available at: <http://aet.org.za.www12.flk1.host-h.net/what-we-do/inclusive-design/> [accessed 31.October 2014]

5. eThekweni Municipality (2016), *eThekweni Draft Integrated Inner City Local Area Plan and Draft Warwick Precinct Plan* [online]. Available at: http://www.durban.gov.za/Resource_Centre/Current%20Projects%20and%20Programmes/Inner%20City%20LAP/Documents/LAPWarwickPrecinctPlanSept2016OpenDay.pdf [accessed 22. October 2016]

THE SECTION 'WHAT IF...:' PRESENTS CONCLUSIONS OF THE PREVIOUS ANALYSIS AND EXAMINATIONS. AN EXEMPLARY STRATEGY, BUILT ON THIS RESULTS, DEMONSTRATES WHAT INCLUSIVE DEVELOPMENT IN THE WARWICK MARKET AREA COULD LOOK LIKE, AND PROPOSES RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCEPTS FOR AN IMPROVEMENT OF THE INFORMAL MARKETS AND THE LIFE CONDITIONS OF THE INFORMAL WORKERS OF THE WARWICK JUNCTION.

WHAT IF...

CHALLENGES + STRENGTHS	_____
TRADERS' UNIQUE NEEDS	_____
RÉSUMÉE	_____
PREMISSSES	_____
CASE-STUDY	_____
CONCLUSION	_____

CHALLENGES

WHAT IF...

The findings of the previous evaluations of the Warwick Junction Markets are summarized and classified under two categories, the 'challenges' and 'strengths' of the area. For a better understanding of the subject, these headings are further subdivided into social, spatial, political, and economical topics.

SOCIAL

- *Warwick has a bad reputation in terms of crime and insecurity*
- *There is a lack of esteem for, and acknowledgement of, the informal workers*
- *Poverty, crime, drugs, and discrimination are prevailing social problems of the area*
- *Xenophobia is an emerging issue*

SPATIAL

- *Though it is centrally located, the area is disconnected from the rest of the city*
- *The condition of the infrastructure is bad and insufficient*
- *Many market buildings are in poor condition and need upgrading*
- *The market buildings and stalls are not adequately equipped to withstand heat and rain*
- *There is a deficit in qualitative public spaces (leisure areas, rest areas, ...)*
- *The public realm is very pedestrian unfriendly*
- *There is a very high spatial density, but also many under-used and run-down spaces*
- *There is a lack of sufficient and affordable short-term sleeping spaces, storage space, ...*
- *There is a low residential population*
- *Much traffic congestion and ensuing conflicts*
- *Much previous gender-blind planning*

POLITICAL

- *New development proposals by the city, when not adequately applied, could have a negative effect on the markets and their workers (e.g.: Mall, BRT system,...)*
- *There are limited financial means of the municipality*
- *There is limited attention given to the traders and their needs by the municipality*
- *The local area management is inadequate*

ECONOMIC

- *The entry to the formal job market is an exception*
- *Many traders still live below the national poverty line*

JUDICIAL

- *Traders and workers experience frequent harassment by local police and others*
- *The majority of the informal workers have no access to social security*
- *Traders live in a constant state of anxiety; they fear being evicted*

STRENGTHS

WHAT IF...

SOCIAL

- *The majority of the people like working in Warwick and want to stay there*
- *There are strong communities and social networks*
- *It is a historic site with a unique identity and autochthonous communities*

SPATIAL

- *The inner city location is an advantage*
- *The area is the gateway/entrance to the inner city*
- *The traffic hub is a crucial link necessary for the markets to function*
- *The markets function well and are well received by their users*
- *Due to the sub-tropical, mild climate, a lot of activities can take place outdoors*
- *The precinct comprises an important services cluster - especially for transportation, education, and health*

POLITICAL

- *There is a political commitment by the municipality towards making positive changes*

ECONOMIC

- *Warwick is affordable for many*
- *The markets generate work*
- *The entry to the informal job market is rather easy*
- *The half-million commuters passing through the area per day support significant formal and informal businesses*

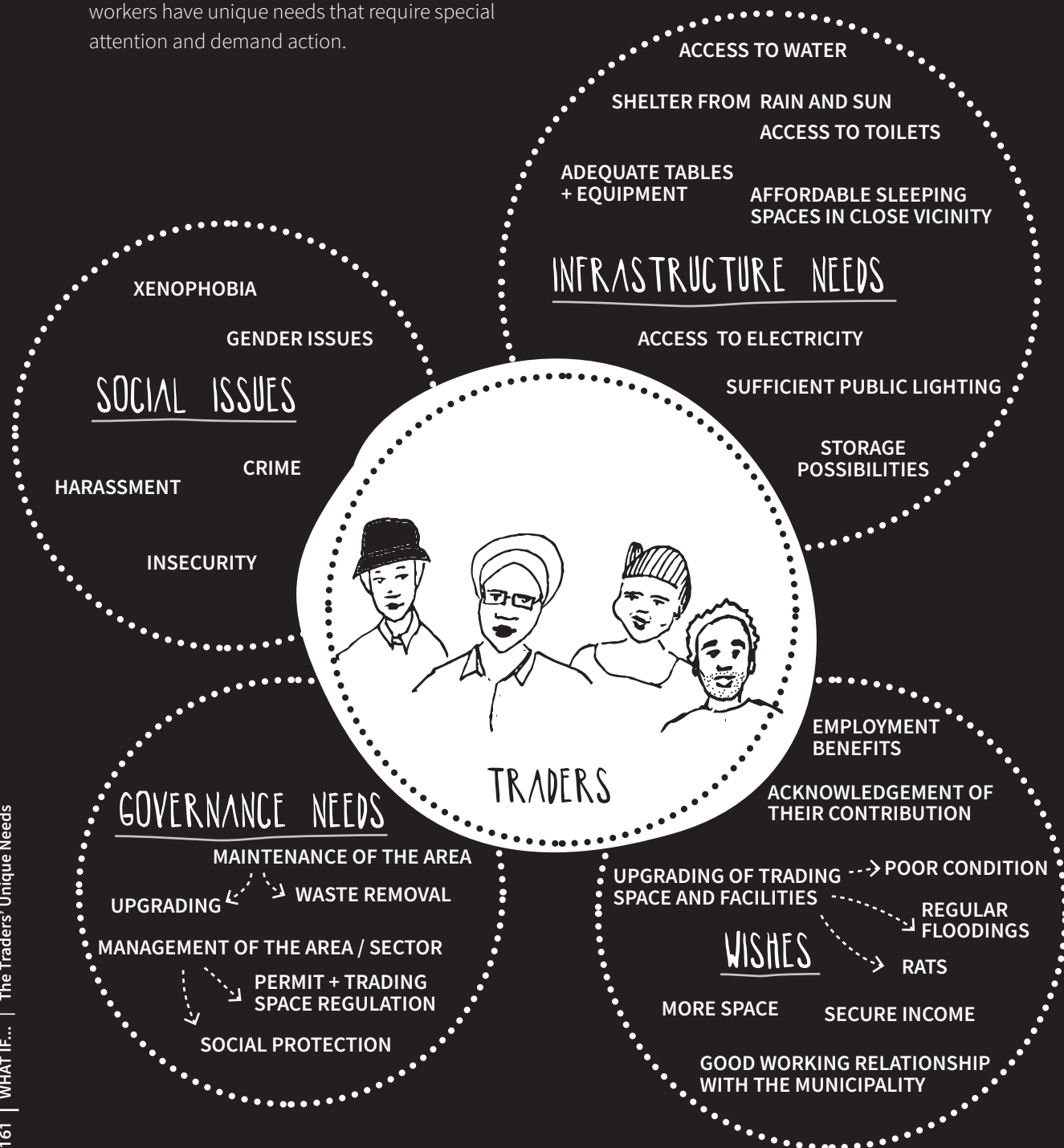
JUDICIAL

- *The majority of traders have a permit to trade in Warwick*
- *A local, informal economy policy exists*
- *Most of the area is state owned land*

THE TRADERS' UNIQUE NEEDS

WHAT IF...

The research on the Warwick Junction Markets and its workers supports the conclusion that informal workers have unique needs that require special attention and demand action.



RÉSUMÉ

WHAT IF...

In developing countries, the majority of urban workers earn their livelihood in the informal economy. In general, the informal economy comprises one-half to three-quarters of all non-agricultural employment in these nations.¹ In South Africa it is less, but the informal economy still concerns nearly three million people, which constitute roughly seventeen percent of the labour force.² Compared to other countries, this number is rather small, but definitely not insubstantial. And yet, given this considerable size in South Africa and in other developing countries, it becomes evident that it is essential to give this community attention, to understand and include them when pursuing the goal of promoting inclusive cities and reducing urban poverty.³

It is the case, however, that in many cities around the world, very much including South Africa, many people are actively undermining or destroying urban informal livelihoods. Exclusionary practices are the usual norm with regard to the informal economy in many cities - slum and street vendor evictions, and the harassment of informal workers by local authorities, including bribes and confiscation of goods, occur on a daily basis.⁴ Informal workers face numerous additional challenges: "Few have secure work; most have low and erratic earnings and few are protected against loss of work and income. Most operate outside the reach of government regulations and protection and are excluded from economic opportunities."⁵ It is often forgotten or ignored that home-based producers, street vendors, and waste pickers are all age-old occupations in which large numbers of urban workers around the world are still employed, all of whom contribute in important ways to the overall economic system; for example, they provide jobs and reduce unemployment and underemployment.⁶

General Findings

The research undertaken on the Warwick Junction Market, including the relevant literature, interviews, and observations and experiences on site, have shown there are three fundamental means used to secure and improve the livelihoods of informal workers: W

1. An inclusive policy
2. An inclusive urban planning approach
3. The organization of informal communities

The core interest of each of these means are:

1. Inclusive policy
 - Policies need to be reformed to match the reality of informal work (inclusion, not exclusion!)⁷

1. ILO (n.d.). *Informal Economy* [online]. Available at: <http://www.ilo.org/global/topics/employment-promotion/informal-economy/lang-en/index.htm> [accessed 25. October 2016]

2. Statistics South Africa (2015). *Quarterly Labour Force Survey. Quarter 3: 2015* [pdf]. Available at: <http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0211/P02113rdQuarter2015.pdf> [accessed 15. May 2016]

3. Chen, M. (2016). *The Urban Informal Economy: Towards more inclusive Cities* [online]. Available at: <http://www.urbanet.info/urban-informal-economy/> [accessed 22. October 2016]

4. Chen, M. (2016), op.cit.

5. Chen, M. (2016), op.cit.

6. Chen, M. (2016), op.cit.

7. Chen, M. (2016), op.cit.

2. Inclusive planning approaches:

- Inclusive planning means planning with, rather than for, informal workers⁸
- It is based on the understanding of the functionality/mode of operation and needs of the informal sector (data!)

3. Organization of informal communities:

- Informal workers need to be organized
- Their representatives need to be integrally involved in urban planning and legal reform processes⁹

Informal workers have unique needs and face unique challenges. They contribute to society and the economy, but receive little to no acknowledgement by local policy makers. One substantial asset as the basis for improving the situation of the informal economy are improved statistics. Data has power. “Policy makers like data, more than other kinds of information”¹⁰ Therefore, detailed and accessible information is needed. Ensuring that the complexity of informal employment, including the workers’ needs, are comprehensible to policy makers brings us a step closer to overall inclusiveness.

Marty Chen, the International Coordinator of WIEGO, and an experienced development practitioner and scholar at Harvard, believes that inclusive planning and policy approaches to the urban informal economy are possible, even if difficult, although such approaches will require a fundamental change of conventional mindsets.¹¹

“The challenge is to convince the policy makers to promote and encourage hybrid economies in which micro-businesses can co-exist alongside small, medium, and large businesses: in which the street vendors can co-exist alongside the kiosks, retail shops, and large malls. Just as the policy makers encourage bio diversity, they should encourage economic diversity. Also, they should try to promote a level playing field in which all sizes of businesses and all categories of workers can compete on equal and fair terms.”¹² (ELSA BHATT¹³)

Durban - an inclusive city?

In the case of Durban and the Warwick Junction, the past development proposals (e.g. in 2009 the proposal to build a Mall instead of the EMM¹⁴) have shown that Durban, although celebrated for its interventions in the Warwick precinct, lacks an essential asset for inclusive planning – a sufficient understanding of the informal economy. Nonetheless, Durban has recently (as of September 2016) announced an Inner City Regeneration LAP (Local Area Plan) for the next twenty years, which lays special focus on the Warwick Junction Precinct. In the course of the announcement, the city avowed that there has been a lack of investment in this particular area, although the area has now been identified as one of their development priorities. This commitment is made with the underlying premise that the local informal economy is included and promoted

within their plans.¹⁵

Durban was the first city after apartheid in South Africa to established a department dedicated to street trader management and allocating resources to infrastructure development for informal workers. This led to innovative interventions for integrating street traders into city plans. There was, however, no overall policy guiding these city interventions, and specific challenges arose in the aftermath. This led to an official informal economy policy in the late 1990s that reflected important shifts in thinking. However, to this day, the policy has not seen proper implementation, and thus the environment for those working in the informal economy continues to suffer from many deficits in planning.¹⁶

16. WIEGO (n.d.), Durban/eThekweni, South Africa Informal Economy Policy [online]. Available at: <http://wiego.org/informal-economy/durbanethekweni-south-af-rica-informal-economy-policy> [accessed 22. October 2016]

8. Chen, M. (2016), op.cit.

9. Chen, M. (2016), op.cit.

10. Chen, M. (2016), op.cit.

11. Chen, M. (2016), op.cit.

12. Chen, M. (2016), op.cit.

13. Elsa Bhatt - founder of the Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA), Indian cooperative organiser and activist

14. Hassim, A. and Vahed, G. (2013). Trade and Commerce in the Precinct, in: Rosenberg, L & Vahed, G & Hassim, A & Moodley, S & Singh, K, S, *The Making of Place. The Warwick Junction Precinct 1870s-1980s*, Durban: Durban University of Technology, p. 167

15. eThekweni Municipality (2016), *eThekweni Draft Integrated Inner City Local Area Plan and Draft Warwick Precinct Plan* [online]. Available at: http://www.durban.gov.za/Resource_Centre/Current%20Projects%20and%20Programmes/Inner%20City%20LAP/Documents/LAPWarwickPrecinctPlanSept2016OpenDay.pdf [accessed 22. October 2016]

PREMISES

WHAT IF...

An evaluation of the challenges-and-strengths analysis of the Warwick Junction Markets have resulted in social, spatial, political, economic, and judicial conclusions about the area. These shall serve as the determining factors for shaping methods of planning that may additionally support any future development of the precinct.

SOCIAL

- *Crime and social anxiety are central social issues that will be tackled*
- *Acknowledgement and recognition of the communities and their contribution will be promoted*
- *Warwick's unique identity and culture will be preserved and enhanced*

SPATIAL

- *The market area will be better integrated into the rest of the city*
- *Existing market buildings in poor condition will be upgraded*
- *Inadequate infrastructure will be upgraded and supplemented*
- *Local climatic conditions will be integrated into new designs*
- *Inadequate or neglected spaces in Warwick will be evaluated for their potential and, where appropriate, become a focus of development*
- *The public realm will be made pedestrian-friendly and facilitate qualitative public spaces*
- *Greater daytime and nightlife activity in the area will be encouraged*
- *The high amount of traffic, and its consequential challenges, will be addressed*
- *Gender equality issues will be included in new design features*
- *The fact that Warwick is used as a transportation hub and its central location will be acknowledged and promoted as potentials for future improvements and growth*

POLITICAL

- *The political commitment for changes in the city will be supported, but will be so under the consultation of specialists for securing an inclusive approach*
- *An adequate local area management will be implemented*

ECONOMIC

- *The preservation of existing jobs and communities will be a prerequisite for any economic change*
- *The creation of new job opportunities will be an aim of development*
- *An easier entry into the formal job market will be pursued*

JUDICIAL

- *The municipal policy for the informal economy will be established in such a way to ensure that people's rights and security are protected*

GENERAL PREMISES !

- * EVERYBODY MUST BE INCLUDED !
- * INTEGRATION OF THE UNIQUE WAYS AND NEEDS OF THE INFORMAL COMMUNITIES
- * CREATION OF QUALITATIVE SPACES FOR EVERYONE (!)
- * GOALS: POVERTY REDUCTION, IMPROVED LIFE CONDITIONS AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF THE WORKING POOR

CASE-STUDY

WHAT IF...

The following case-study has been performed in an intentionally partial manner - it should not be interpreted as a complete, viable design, but rather as **AN EXAMPLARY STRATEGY IN HOW TO INTERACT POSITIVELY WITHIN THE INFORMAL URBAN STRUCTURES OF WARWICK AND THE LIVING CONDITIONS OF ITS WORKERS.** The case-study transfers the findings and conclusions of the previous analysis into a spatial implementation, which demonstrates possible catalytic effects on the needs and challenges of the informal economy of the Warwick Junction.

In doing so, the case-study focuses on one potential area identified within the markets' structure. Its current condition is analyzed and different possible interventions – and their implications on the environment – are examined.

The interventions are posed as hypothetical questions so to better understand what can be achieved when planning involves a “site-specific and user-oriented approach.”

What if... the ground floor were to undergo a restructuring?

What if... there was a direct pedestrian connection to the Berea Station?

What if... the parking lot was on a separate level?

What if... there was residential use?

What if... there were qualitative public spaces for communication + leisure?

Walking through the Warwick Junction Markets is an exciting experience. It's loud and bustling; there are strong smells, beckoning screams, aggressive honks. The narrow sidewalks make it all but impossible not to be dragged along by rush-hour's masses. Alongside the main passageways, the trading locations are tightly filled with stalls and variations of goods. Alongside less used walkways, mostly voids can be found. This suggests that there is a correlative relationship between the traders, their locations, and the passerby. And no matter how big or small, any change or interference in this balance produces a heavy effect on such a precarious set-up. Closing or relocating a taxi stand, for example, can mean the ruin of a trader's business, since the routes of the pedestrians will be affected. Thus, any future interventions in this area must be very carefully thought through before they are applied.

Even though the markets are tightly organized, there are still underused or neglected spaces to be found that have a high potential for positive development in the area. The parking lot next to the Bovine Head Cooks facility is one of these highly valuable sites. The lot itself is not underused, nor neglected, but it takes up precious space on the ground floor, which is the level of pedestrian movement.

By adding extra floors, the valuable ground space could instead be used for an upgraded food court or other essential infrastructure, as well as new public transport facilities. More stories could provide for even more acute needs in the Warwick Junction area.

Various uses, and their possible implications to the area, are being tested for their viability with regard to the Warwick Junction Markets and their workers.

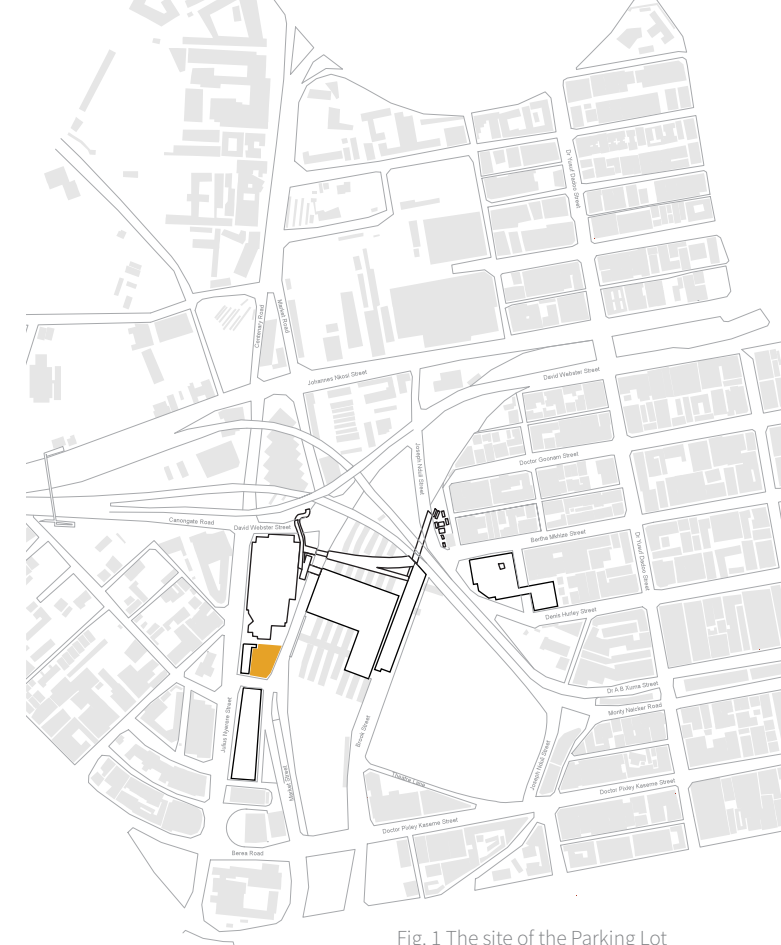


Fig. 1 The site of the Parking Lot

Site Analysis

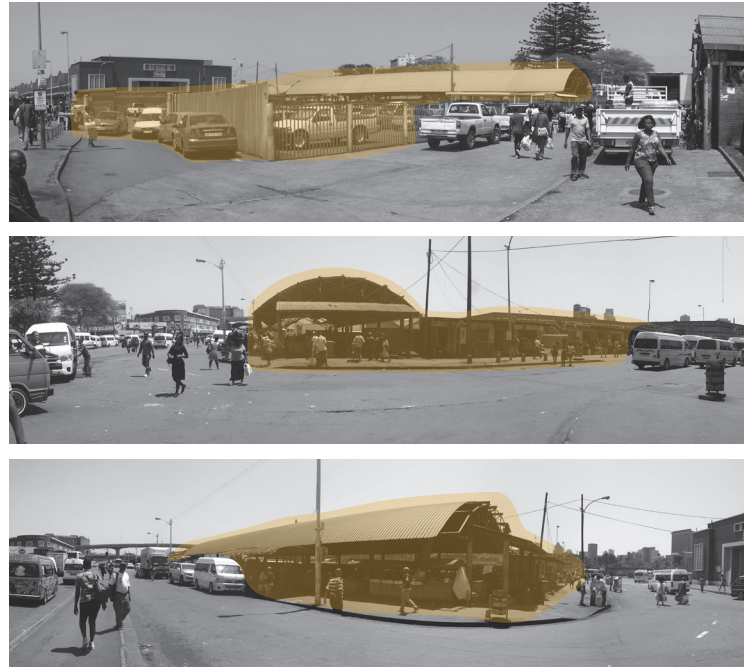


Fig. 3 The immediate surrounding

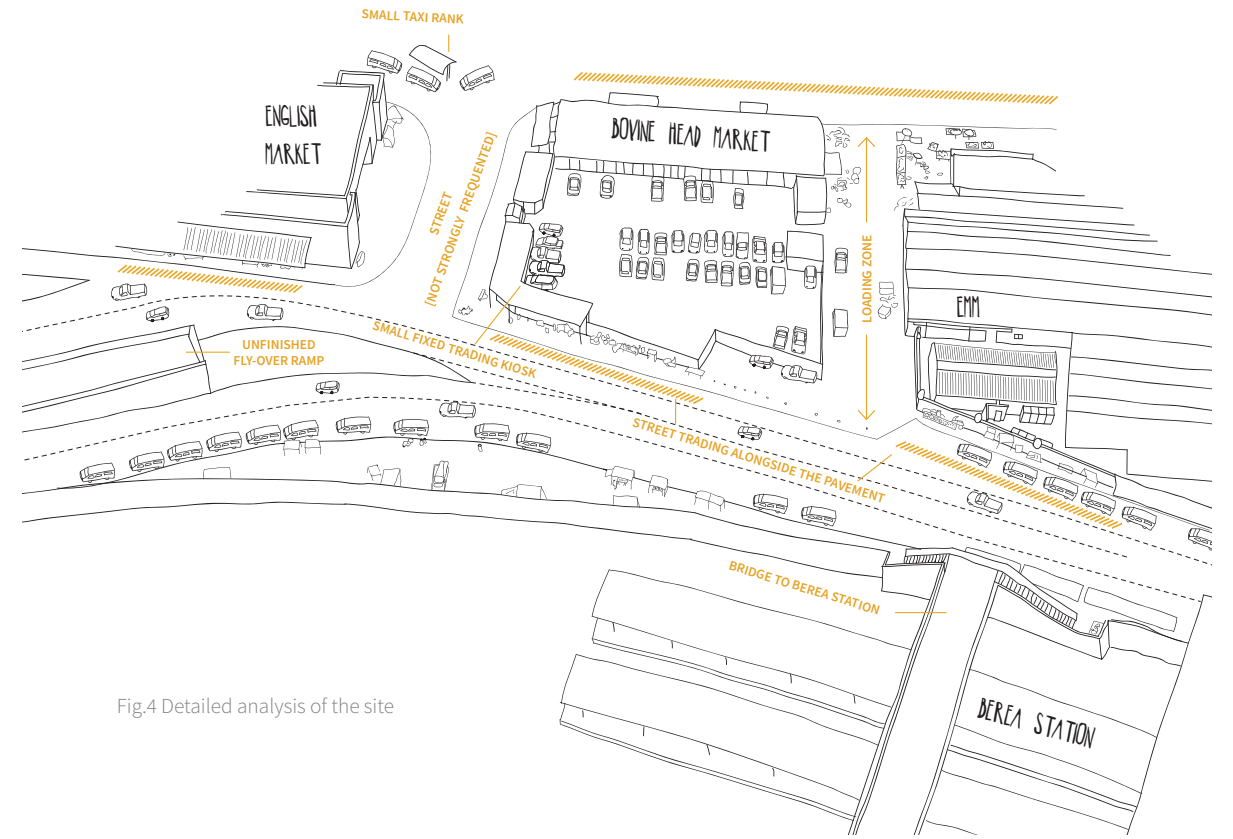


Fig. 4 Detailed analysis of the site

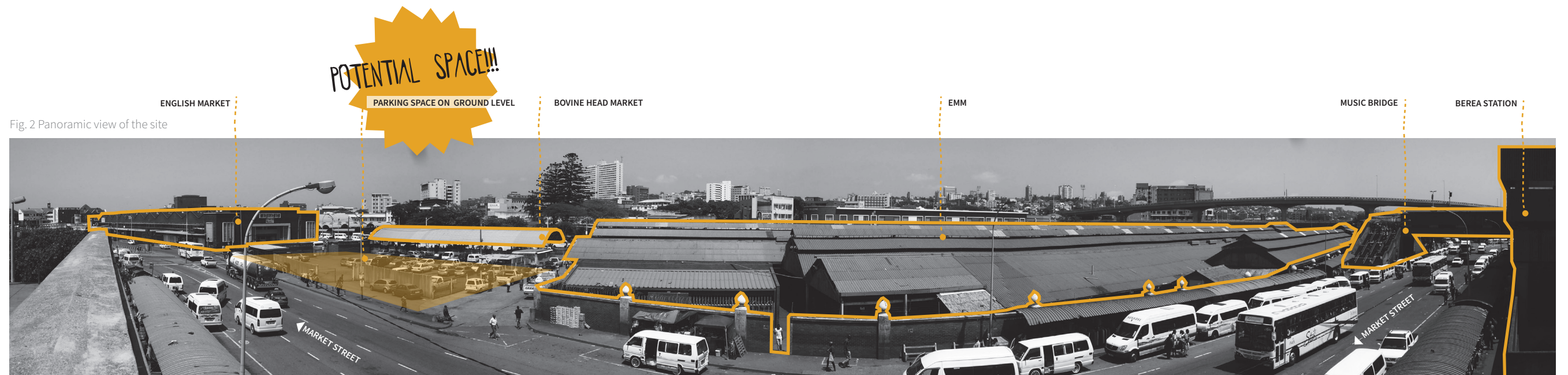
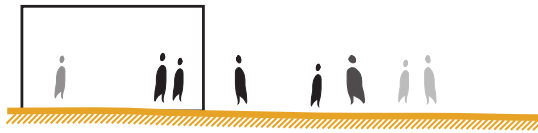


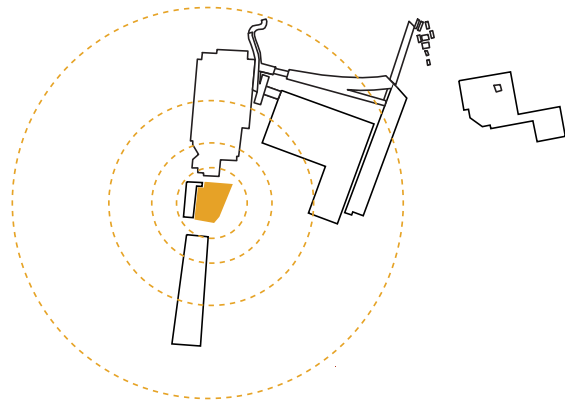
Fig. 2 Panoramic view of the site

HIGHLY VALUABLE SITE!!

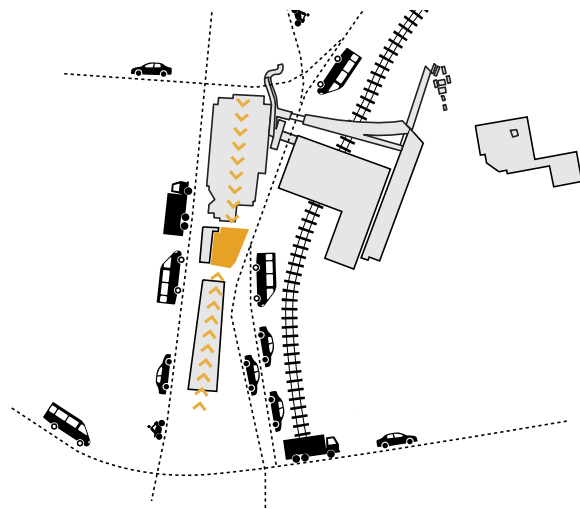
GROUND FLOOR = LEVEL OF PEDESTRIAN MOVEMENT <<



PROXIMITY TO OTHER MARKETS <<



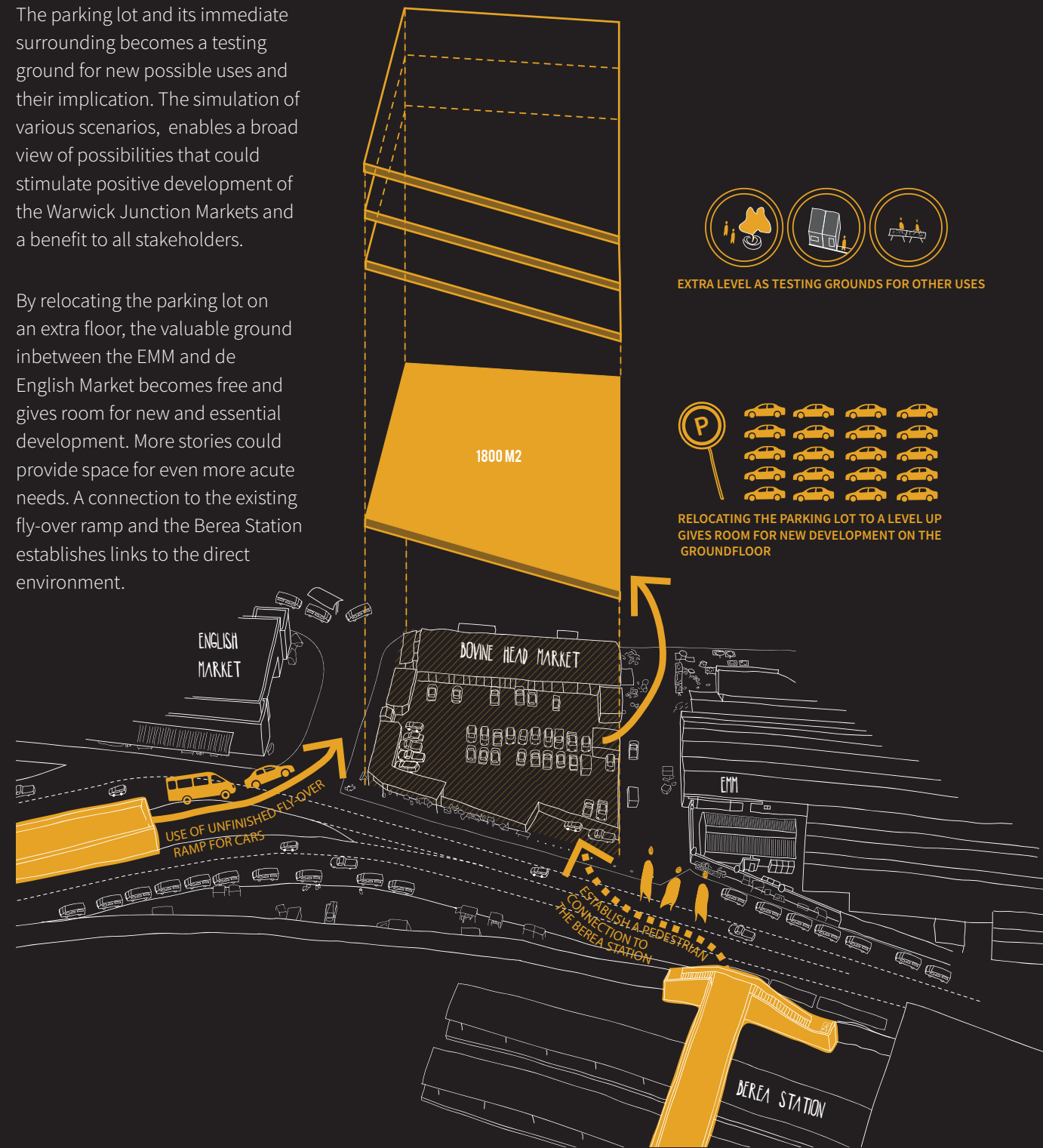
NO BIG PHYSICAL BARRIER <<



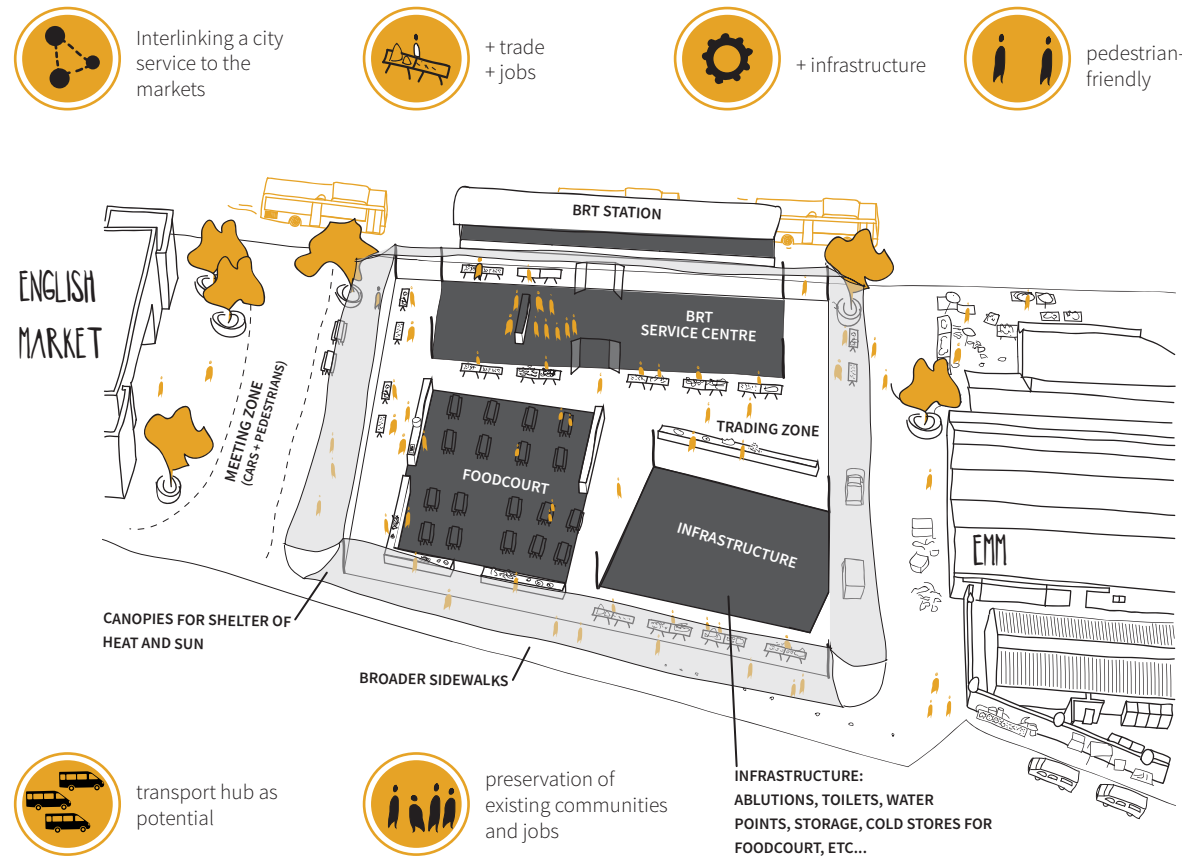
Concept

The parking lot and its immediate surrounding becomes a testing ground for new possible uses and their implication. The simulation of various scenarios, enables a broad view of possibilities that could stimulate positive development of the Warwick Junction Markets and a benefit to all stakeholders.

By relocating the parking lot on an extra floor, the valuable ground inbetween the EMM and de English Market becomes free and gives room for new and essential development. More stories could provide space for even more acute needs. A connection to the existing fly-over ramp and the Berea Station establishes links to the direct environment.



What if... the groundfloor were to undergo a restructuring?



PREMISES

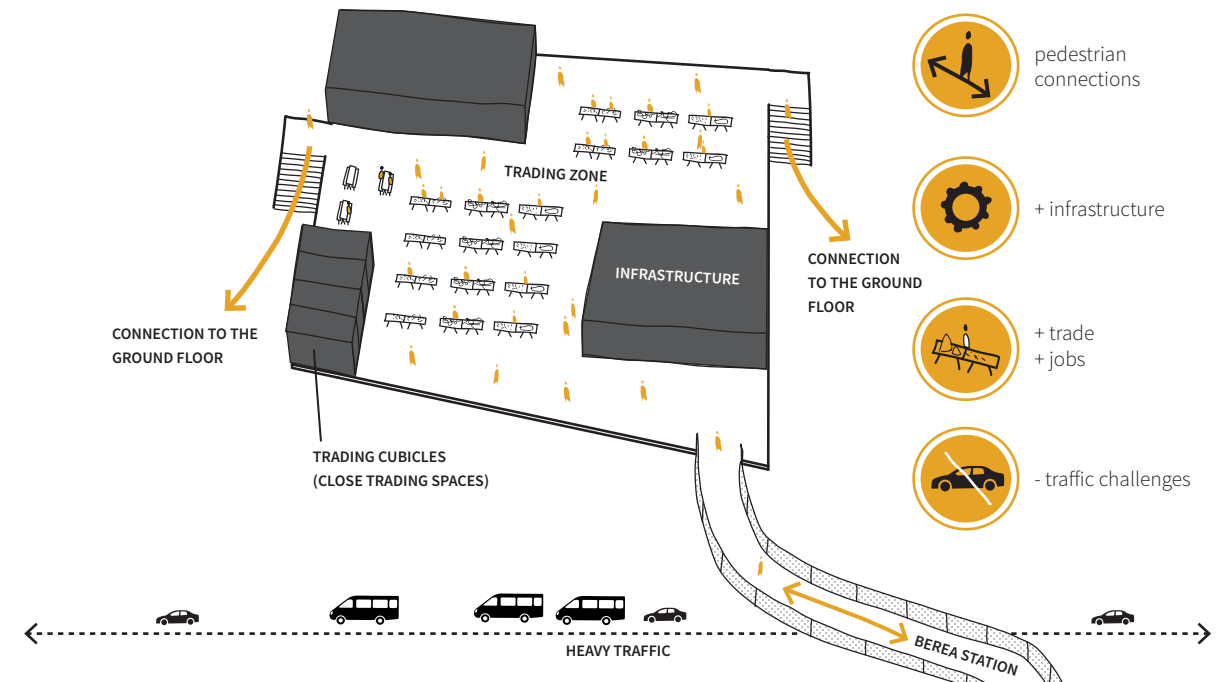


HOW ?

- Acknowledgement of the communities
- Warwick's unique identity and culture will be preserved and enhanced
- Existing market buildings will be upgraded
- Infrastructure will be supplemented
- Inadequate spaces in Warwick become a focus of development
- The public realm will be made pedestrian-friendly and facilitate qualitative public spaces
- The fact that Warwick is used as a transportation hub and its central location will be promoted as potentials
- The preservation of existing jobs and communities
- The creation of new job opportunities

The redesign of the ground floor uses the concept of a mix of uses to ensure the strengthening of the whole. The proposal includes the city plan to introduce a BRT Bus system and places a station and service centre right in the centre of the Warwick Junction Markets. The local fusion with a food court meets the demands of a modern transport hub and provides the Bovine Head Cooks community, and additional traders, a new up to date cooking facility. Relocating the parking lot provides extra space for diverse infrastructure (storage, cooling, ablutions, etc.).

What if... there was a direct pedestrian connection to the Berea Station?



PREMISES

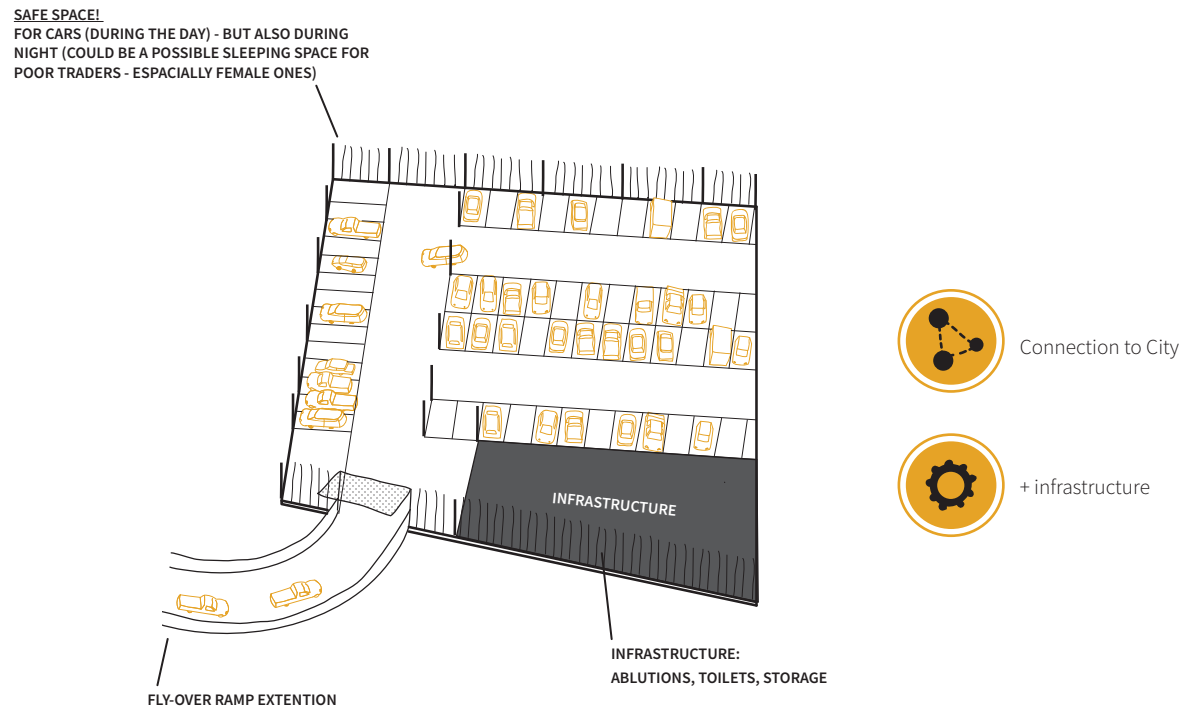


HOW ?

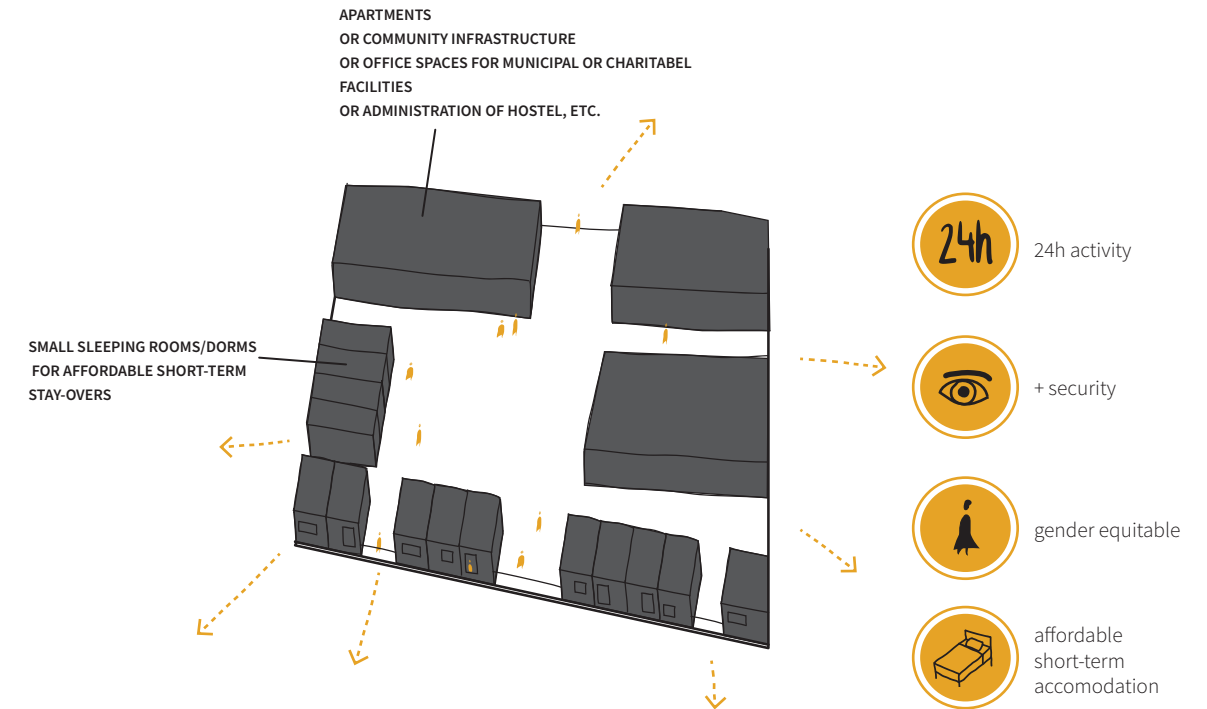
- Acknowledgement of the communities
- Warwick's unique identity and culture will be preserved and enhanced
- The (market) area will be better integrated into the rest of the city (market)
- Infrastructure will be supplemented
- The public realm will be made pedestrian-friendly and facilitate qualitative public spaces
- The high amount of traffic, and its consequential challenges, will be addressed
- The creation of new job opportunities

A pedestrian connection to the Berea Station tackles the problem of crossing the busy Market Street and will attract more passerby, who will eventually choose this route for their destination. This will have an important effect on the traders. Along with sufficient entrances and exits, a new Market area would create new jobs, or provide alternative trading locations for existing traders.

What if... the parking lot was on a separate level?



What if... there was residential use?



PREMISES



HOW ?

- *The market area will be better integrated into the rest of the city*
- *Inadequate infrastructure will be supplemented*
- *The fact that Warwick is used as a transportation hub and its central location will promoted as potentials*
- *Crime and social anxiety are central social issues that will be tackled*

The parking lot would be relocated to a new level. The necessary parking spaces for traders, costumers, and suppliers are still provided, but this new design leaves the highly valuable ground floor for other more adequate uses. The use of existing conditions, such as the fly-over ramp as the entrance and exit, illustrates the sustainable intention of the concept. The safe parking spot will eventually attract new clients for the traders. People who used to avoid the area might be more reassured of its safety by an adequate and safe parking deck.

PREMISES

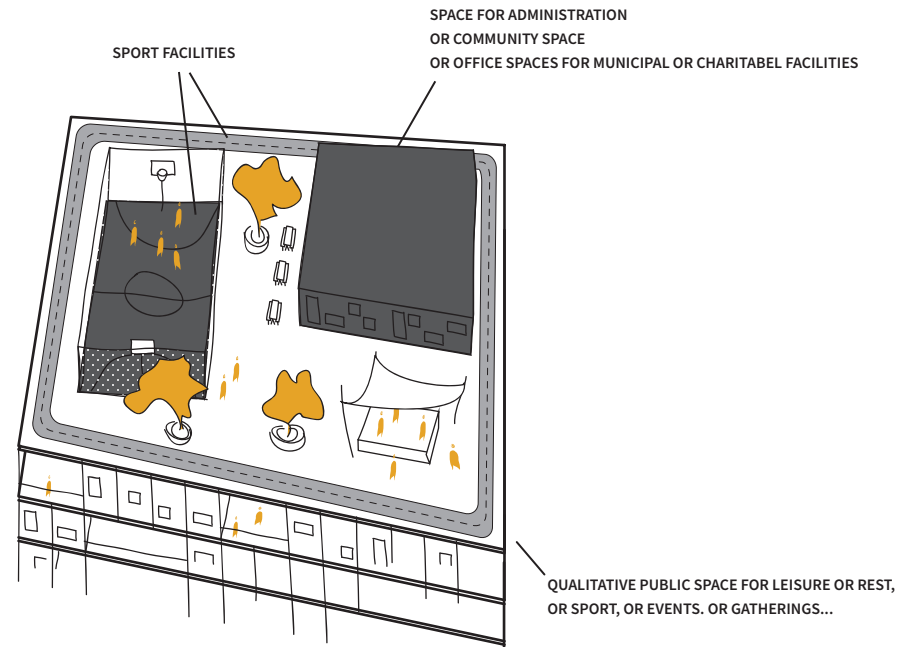


HOW ?

- *Crime and social anxiety are central social issues that will be tackled*
- *Acknowledgement of the communities*
- *Warwick's unique identity and culture will be preserved and enhanced*
- *Infrastructure will be supplemented*
- *Greater daytime and nightlife activity in the area*
- *Gender equality issues will be included in new design features will be encouraged*

There is an urgent need for affordable short-term accommodation in Warwick. Many traders are traveling from far away to the market area, and therefore need a place to sleep that is within their budget and in close vicinity to where they work. Additional levels of a possible new structure on this site would meet these demands. A residential use would benefit daytime and nightlife activity, as well as help in reducing the crime that is still inherent to Warwick.

What if... there were qualitative public spaces for communication + leisure?



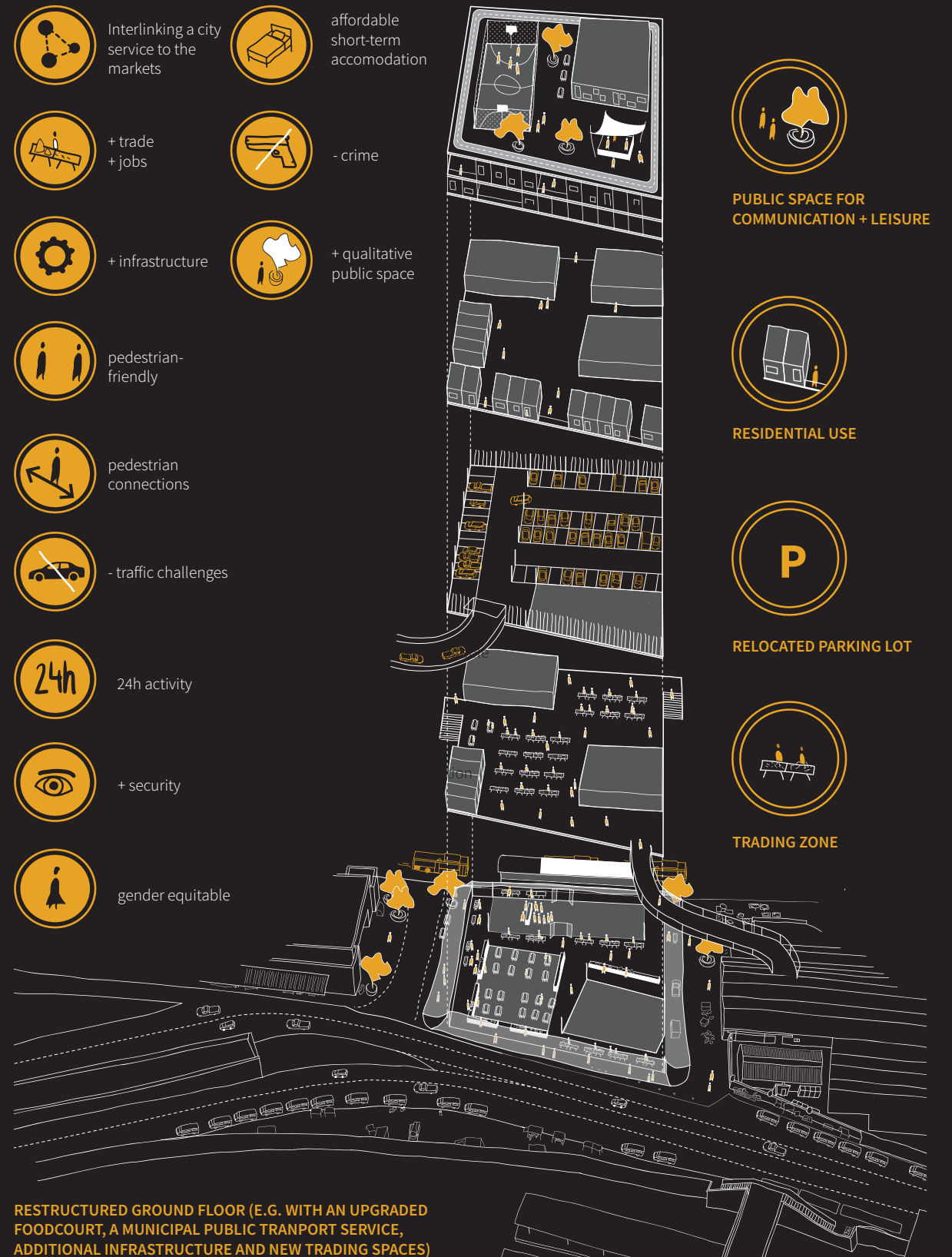
PREMISSES



HOW ?

- *Crime will be tackled*
- *Acknowledgement of the communities*
- *Warwick's unique identity and culture will be preserved and enhanced*
- *The public realm will facilitate qualitative public spaces*
- *Greater daytime and nightlife activity in the area will be encouraged*

To countervail the general lack of leisure and rest areas in Warwick, the roof is transformed into a public space. A gym is integrated in this concept, as sport facilities are known to be able to reduce crime levels, while contributing to the physical health levels of its users at the same time.



CONCLUSION

WHAT IF...

This thesis illustrates that city planning and society are clearly and deeply connected. This strong relationship, particularly in the context of South Africa, becomes quite evident when assessing the following statement by Jan Gehl, a Danish architect and leader in people-centred urban design: ‘We shape cities, and they shape us.’¹ Long-standing systematic segregation has shaped South Africa’s nation and society into what it is today: unequal and fragmented.

1. A detailed analysis of the historical and spatial development of South Africa, Durban, and the Warwick Junction Markets has revealed that the progress of decreasing social and spatial inequality within urban areas is still slow. South African cities have attempted to avoid the serious social damage of the past, but relatively little has been done to overcome the legacy of segregation.² In short, it seems as if the historic experiences of segregation and inequality are still firmly anchored in the minds of many South Africans, which is a hindrance on inclusive urban development.

2. Inclusive planning is one essential means of tackling social and spatial inequality. It is being included more often in municipal planning approaches, yet its practice is still far from widespread. As David Harvey has written in the book “Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution”, “the freedom to make and remake ourselves and our cities is [...]one of the most precious yet most neglected of our human rights.”³ However, “it is, moreover, a collective rather an individual right, since reinventing the city inevitably depends on the exercise of a collective power over the processes of urbanization.”⁴ The creation of a just and inclusive city implies the inclusion of everybody, including all vulnerable social groups - it means planning with, rather than for, these otherwise excluded groups.

Inclusive planning demands a greater recognition that space matters. It includes concerns over how space can offer livelihoods for everyone. Conventional tools by architects and planners have to adapt to these circumstances and recognize that (urban) inclusive planning is an important instrument to engage positively with social relations and behaviour.

3. The Warwick Junction Markets and its workers are a unique economic, social, and culturally essential feature of Durban. They provide a setting for thousands of predominantly informal economic activities and workers. Furthermore, they sustain a significant amount of livelihoods. Their role within Durban and its society is fundamental, as their scope and characteristic unprecedented. Nevertheless, like

any other informal market, they cannot be taken for granted and must be continually improved upon. These markets have become a quite renowned example of collaborative and “people-centered” governance in South Africa. And yet they have been largely neglected in recent years. Given that the city of Durban has recently avowed that the Warwick Junction area is one of their developmental priorities⁵, Warwick seems to have a promising future. However, this can only be achieved when the area’s complex dynamics and unique challenges are taken into account.

‘Imagination is the prime detector of change’

(Aldo van Eyck)

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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This thesis has been a great, long adventure, and I am very thankful for the opportunities I've been afforded and the experiences I've gathered along the way. Through the entire process, I have been in touch with many wonderful people who have assisted me in one way or another to complete this thesis. They have also, beyond a doubt, helped to enrich my life.

.....

First of all, I would like to thank my supervisor *Helge Mooshammer* for his support and guidance. Also, I want to thank the *Technical University of Vienna* and the '*Studienbeihilfebehörde*'. Their financial support was essential to making this project possible.

A big thanks to *my family*, who have never lost faith in me. A special thanks to *my mother Nikoline*, who endured long hours of transcription, due to her daughter's bad time management.

The biggest "Siyabonga" to the '*Asiye eTafuleni*'-team. My work with you has put my experiences in a new, illuminating light. I want to especially thank *Richard Dobson* and *Tasmi Quasi* for sharing their great knowledge on the Warwick Junction Markets and the local informal economy with me. The same honour applies to *Patrick Ndlovu*, *Nonhlanhla Nyandeni*, *Lihle Nyawo*, *Chantal Froneman* and *Phumelele Mkhize*, who helped me through any challenge I encountered and who contributed so much during my second stay in South Africa.

Other key people who deserve acknowledgment for assisting with this thesis:

Caroline Skinner, *Hoosen Moola* and *Len Rosenberg*, through whom I received invaluable input; *John Makwicana*, who guided me fearlessly many times through the markets and the inner city; the City Architects, *Arthur Gammage* and *Nic Combrink*, for taking time to answer my questions; *Mongezi Ncube*, for introducing and sharing his incredible work and research on Warwick with me. And a special thank you goes to all the *informal workers of the Warwick Junction*, for their spirit of cooperation, their overall support, and for teaching me how to never lose my enthusiasm, no matter how tough a given challenge may first have seemed.

Other big thanks are due to those whom I encountered in South Africa and who significantly enriched my time there:

Kruschen Grovender, who has been a wonderful host (twice!);

Reevin, *Andrew*, *Rodney*, *Caro*, *Jen*, *Rannveig*, *Katharina*, *Nathalie*, *Carmen*, *Dan* and *Anna*, who made my visits to Durban an unforgettable experience.

And what would this thesis be without the support of my wonderful friends, who stood by my side no matter what?

Thank you to my dearest Betriebsrätinnen - *Gabriele Kohlmaier* (Pikto-Gabi), *Angelika Krauk* (3D-Angie), *Claudia Hulwa* (Claudia-Collage) + *Laura Scharf*. It has been a pleasure sharing with you my (first) co-working space; thank you for your help and support during the first part of my elaboration.

To *Klara Hrubicek* + *Nora Sahr* + *Susi Teutsch* + *Kerstin Pluch* + *Susi Hofer* + *Madlyn Miessgang* + *Alexander Kauer* - thanks for being there for me during this time.

A very special thanks to *Klaus-Michael Urban*, who has been an incredible support throughout the final stages of the thesis.

The *FUTURELAB-Team* and the *NEST Agency* deserve my thanks for furnishing me with great work spaces and excellent colleagues: *Jan Gartner* + *Magdalena Mayerhofer* + *Christoph Bus* + *Helene Schauer* + *Astrid Strak* - working with you has been incredible, inspiring, and always fun.

And a huge thanks to *Christopher Birkett* for his dedication as the wonderful editor of this work.

There are some final people whom I would like to thank:

Dr. Kirsten Seale + *Dr. Clifton Evers* for making their scientific research available;

Anna Hagen + *Olivia Strolz*, who's wonderful thesis has been a great source of inspiration

SIYABONGA ! THANK YOU ! DANKE !

ABBREVIATIONS

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ANC	African National Congress
CBD	Central Business District
DEIC	Dutch East India Company
NP	National Party
SA	South Africa
ZAR	South African Rand
SEWU	Self Employed Women's Union
DUT	Durban University of Technology
LAP	Local Area Plan
AeT	Asiy eTafuleni
DUT	Durban University of Technology
ABM	Area Based Management
LED	Local Economic Development

GLOSSAR

APPENDIX

<i>Afrikaner</i>	is a South African ethnic group descended from predominantly Dutch settlers
<i>Apartheid</i>	is an Afrikaans (= language from Afrikaner) word meaning “separateness”, or “the state of being apart”, and was a system of racial segregation in South Africa from 1948 to 1994
<i>Area Based Management</i>	ABM (in Durban) is a program introduced by the city in 2003 with the explicit intention of enhancing service delivery, addressing spatial and social inequalities, driving developmental strategies, in an interdisciplinary way, through innovations and building a developmentally-based democracy
<i>Coloured</i>	is a term used in South Africa, including on the national census, for persons of mixed race ancestry
<i>Favela</i>	is the term for an informal settlement, slum or shanty town that is located in Brazilian urban areas
<i>Formal sector</i>	consists of the businesses, enterprises and economic activities that are monitored, protected and taxed by the government
<i>Gini coefficient</i>	is a measure of statistical dispersion intended to represent the income distribution of a nation's residents, and is the most commonly used measure of inequality
<i>Informal sector</i>	(or <i>informal economy</i> , or <i>grey economy</i>) is comprised of the workers and enterprises that are not under government regulation
<i>Mealie</i>	South African word for corn
<i>Slum</i>	is a heavily populated urban informal settlement characterized by substandard housing and in many cases squalor
<i>Vlei</i>	is a shallow minor lake

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