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CBD Durban with special emphasis on Warwick Junction

Trends come and go so fast that we are always on the back foot trying to understand; but how can we manage without being destructive?

Health official

The ghetto grew as the poor and illiterate from the African and Indian countryside poured into the city and began to live cheek by jowl with Bombay merchants. Now, at the beginning of the 21st century, the city and its new ghettos lay awake, ill prepared and stubborn in its dealing with the newly arrived peasant, the economic and political refugees from the African countryside. Each create their own narratives of their journeys, hopefully throwing up their own bards and foot soldiers to champion the cause of the underdogs and heal the faultlines of race, ignorance and poverty.

Omar Badsha

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INTRODUCTION

This study examines the CBD area with special emphasis on the Warwick Avenue Junction, the site of most informal trading in the eThekweni municipality. The city has launched the iTRUMP (Inner Thekweni Renewal and Urban Management Program) which includes the Point, Victoria Embankment, Albert Part, the Core CBD, the North Eastern CBD, the Beachfront, Warwick Junction, Umgeni Corridor, the Greater Kings Park area and the Umgeni Estuary. ITRUMP has arisen out of the success of a smaller and earlier initiative, the Warwick Junction Project, and is still based on its premises and personnel.

The inner city is accessed by about 500 000 people a day as users and residents. There has been rapid growth in population without an increase in housing stock, which implies an increase in population density from 32.5 to 36.7 p/ha. The ITRUMP Gross Geographic Product (GGP) has increased sluggishly, by a mere 1.8% per annum between 1996 and 2001. Despite this the Durban Metropolitan Area provides for almost 60% of the GGP of KwaZulu-Natal, which amounts to 15% of South Africa's GDP.

The iTRUMP area is visibly the site of stagnation and decay of much of the central city. In a number of districts there are gatherings of street children, dilapidated buildings, and a pervasive atmosphere of decline. Along with an increase in population density has come a considerable proportion of the population living in poverty. A number of office buildings have been abandoned for business and taken over for residential purposes by poor people. In a number of blocks of flats the levies are not paid by many residents and maintenance and renovation is not taking place. The decline is most noticeable in areas such as the Point in which there has been the proliferation of escort agencies and visible decay in a number of flats. Street children have recently taken over an abandoned building, stimulating a debate about what response to make (Jubasi, May 2003). The nearby Wheel commercial centre is in sharp decline.

This is one of the trends which has been taking place over the past two decades. The other trend is the response of urban reconstruction which has focused initially on the International Conference Centre and later on the much delayed investment in projects which are now under construction or nearing completion: the Sun Coast Casino, ICC Extension, Wilsons Wharf and Point District Development. These are projects largely aiming to attract tourists and the middle class of all races back to the city. The question is whether this rising tide of investment in the recreational and commercial sector will also raise the character of districts, the quality of housing, and incomes of the people of the inner city.

Within the ITRUMP area accompanying sluggish economic growth there has also been an increase in micro-enterprises from an estimated 7 500 in 1996 to 12 000 in 2001. Although there has been an increase in unemployment and micro-enterprises there has also been an increase in actual employment to 123 000 despite the general economic conditions with formal employment rising about 10 000 between 1996-2001.

The informal sector is, however, the main generator of jobs, but is largely 'survivalist' in nature. Most individuals are pushed into this activity as they find themselves unable to get formal employment rather than pulled by its attractions. These trends have been associated with urban decay leading to negative perceptions of the city and the exodus of large-scale commerce to the suburbs.

The Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Project, which has officially been in existence since July 1997, has located itself within the area in a renovated warehouse which was previously near derelict. The building serves as a project office, community hall, and the backbone of the consultation process with a number of stakeholders. The Project serves three districts: the residential Warwick Triangle, the Trade and Transport, and the Grey Street areas. The Project has had some notable successes, including the cleaning up of the streets with the cooperation of street

traders, good consultation with trading stakeholders, an extension of market facilities. Its relationship with local residents in the Warwick Triangle is, however, not warm.

Its greatest success has been to replace the images of urban blight, with smouldering fires and shebeens on the streets, with that of the street mural of Nomkhubulwane, the open handed Big Mama, which has become an important icon of the Durban as an African city working in peace to reconstruct the inequities of the past.

This study is one of a series of case studies of service delivery over the past ten years and will focus on the conversion of relations between the city administration and informal traders from one of antagonism to one of negotiated citizenship in a centre of exchange. Its orientation is towards the marketplace and to the forms of 'delivery' which have made a better life possible for thousands of informal traders while stabilising land use and renewing marketplaces and the market environment.

But the Warwick Junction is not only a place of trade, it is also a residential area. The needs and aspirations of residents have also been surveyed and recorded and, hopefully, there is some balance between trade and residence in the analysis.

GLOSSARY

iTRUMP	Inner Thekwini Renewal and Urban Management Project
DIT	Durban Institute of Technology
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
ITMB	Informal Traders Management Board
SEWU	Self Employed Women's Union

1 AREA DESCRIPTION

Warwick Avenue is the entrepot for commuters to the city centre and for traders wanting to meet their needs. Every day hundreds of buses, taxis, and trains enter and leave the area bringing and taking many workers to the centre, as well as thousands of visitors, shoppers, and informal traders. It serves a particular segment of commuters; those living in the rural areas, the townships, and informal settlements. In its environs there are types of fast food outlets rather different to those in the commercial sector; bovine head sellers, mealie cookers, and vendors of thick sandwiches with meat or fish available as packaged snacks from stalls. The place is very noisy with music outlets blasting the latest competing hits, the blare of taxi horns, the piercing whistles of barrow boys and the roar of buses accelerating past the markets.

From the nearby flyover the Warwick Junction looks like a patchwork of unrelated adjoining structures: the Berea Road Station, disparate markets, unfinished flyovers, ad hoc bridges, and bus shelters; but when walking through the area there are a series of raised walkways and open concourses which provide shelter and a variety of approaches to informal trading areas. This is the place of trades and occupations not found elsewhere in the city. Here are gold 'tooth fairies', cigarette sellers, traditional herbalists, isangoma, children's pinafore sellers, lime and mphempe traders. Live chickens, fruit, vegetables and other items for sale. There is a buzz but also quieter spots where people can meet and talk.

Most of these traders come from outside the city, trading and maintaining links to the countryside in a circulation of people and commodities which makes the survival of the rural and urban poor possible. New trading activities have sprung up, served the immediate needs of commuters and traders, and challenged the previous use of space. Warwick Junction itself has become the site of urban reconstruction with many unusual developments; the creation in one sense of the African bazaar.

The area has another side; a picture of inner city residence and urban decay. In the Warwick Avenue Triangle there are buildings which have become utterly derelict and houses and flats in reasonable condition. The existing residents, just a small block away from the teeming streets, have a contradictory attitude to the progress towards the huge urban market. There is some resentment that their community needs are not being met and expressions of conflict over the project facilities, but most of all a feeling of being politically abandoned. Some of these residents, however, also own shops which have a very active wholesale trade and shebeens which serve hundreds of men who stop over during their travel in and out of the city. But there is a social distance, at times a gulf, between the two social settings often only a few metres away from each other.

The area is well served with health facilities and educational institutions. The Lancers Road clinics, the Prince Zulu Communicable Disease Centre and TB clinic, with dedicated STI and TB diagnostic facilities serves a large number of patients. Adjacent to it is the ambulance depot. Just across the freeway is the sprawling DIT (Durban Institute of Technology) which has assembled the previous two Technical Colleges, and students seek accommodation within the Warwick Junction area. There are a number of schools and churches nearby.

1.1 POPULATION PROFILE

It is extremely difficult to give a clear picture of the exceedingly mobile population passing through the area daily. There are estimated to be 12 000 informal traders within the ITRUMP area and probably the largest proportion is within the Warwick Junction precinct. In addition to these fairly permanent occupants, many of whom sleep over in the area, there are hundreds of thousands who use the public transport facilities of the railway and bus stations, and the taxi ranks. It is

difficult to estimate what precise proportion of the half a million users of the ITRUMP area make use of Warwick Junction but it is likely to be in the range of 70-80 per cent as the nodes of the mass forms of public transport, as opposed to cars and other forms of public transport, is concentrated here. There is a huge press of people on the streets, at times shuffling between the spread of pavement traders' displays.

The permanent residents of the area have a somewhat different profile to the traders and commuters. There have been decided changes over the past two decades: the Black population has more than doubled, the Coloured population increased, Indian population decreased, and the White population declined drastically.

POPULATION STATISTICS: WARWICK AVENUE

	Pop 1996	% change 1985-96
Black	2563	116.1
Coloured	359	23.8
Indian	1932	-22.5
White	108	-66.0
	4962	

Sources: 1985 and 1996 censuses.

1.2 OVERVIEW OF RECENT HISTORY

In the late 1800s the area is reported by municipal officials to be beyond its control and a source of 'nuisances'; this appears to be a reference to the colonial responses to the growth of inter-racial commerce and housing. It has been the market centre for the city; the English market, was followed by the Early Morning Market in 1934 to provide a place for Indian market gardeners to sell their produce. The Victoria Street Market near to the Roman Catholic Cathedral provides a range of spices, foodstuffs, curios, and an adjacent fish and meat market has fresh supplies of both. The English and Early Morning Market have changed substantially over the past two decades with the majority of traders in both being Black although the fresh produce offered is similar.

The Warwick Triangle has been the site of an important contestation against the Group Areas Act and some of the explanation for the problems of urban renewal relate to a number of claims which still have to be settled. It has been home to a number of political activists, including the late George Poonan, M.D. Naidoo, and Cassim Amrah. Judge Hassan Moll was born here and lived in Alfred Avenue; the renowned artist Dumile Feni stayed here, and the well-known photographer Omar Badsha had a family residence. Many a Congress activist made use of the flats in and around the Triangle as hiding places during apartheid repression. The history and life of the nearby Grey Street has been chronicled in a number of books, one of the most recent being "Imperial Ghetto" by Omar Badsha. Another photographer, Rafiq Mayet has chronicled the history and moods of the Warwick Triangle itself.¹

The development of the area as a transport hub for the working poor became established as, during the period of segregation and apartheid, Indian and African-owned buses were denied access to the inner city. Warwick Avenue thus developed on the early fringe of the city and a wide range of otherwise unauthorised trading opportunities has proliferated around the junction.

¹ At the time of writing he had an exhibition running entitled 'Chillaxing in the Districts'.

2. DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING OBJECTIVES

The area falls within the general planning strategy of the IDP 2002 which has been discussed above and the ITRUMP strategy for urban renewal which is discussed below. The latter provides the general context for the Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Project. The Project itself is described in the following terms:

The aim of the project is holistic and integrated redevelopment of the area in order to improve the overall quality of the urban environment in terms of safety, security, cleanliness, functionality, efficient public transport usage and facilitation of economic and housing opportunities (Project: Contextual Analysis).

2.1 RECENT CONTEXT OF DELIVERY

The most important question in delivery here has been defined not so much in terms of the residential beneficiaries but the provision of services and facilities applicable to a major marketplace and the support for trading livelihoods. This has caused some resentment among the local residents but it is anticipated that these concerns should be solved when the plans for housing development come into operation.

The Warwick Junction has moved beyond being a centre of health hazards and difficult problems of social control to being a positive feature on the inner city landscape, providing livelihoods to many of the poorest (particularly women) of society who often have rural homes, a source of cheap food and other products, and a tourist attraction.

The focus on delivery in this context is wider than that of an assessment of services to residential areas and includes the conditions for livelihoods, innovations with different trading groups and their regulation and self-regulation, and the improvements made to public facilities insofar as these relate to the living conditions of traders and commuters.

In addition to this there are plans for the regeneration of the residential Warwick Triangle which have been approved and which are reportedly only delayed by difficulties in the council securing parts of the land. There are high expectations for improved accommodation and currently real disappointment that there has been nothing achieved to date. The residents complain that they suffered under apartheid, particularly from the Group Areas Act, and have yet to see any tangible benefits from the new South Africa.

2.2 FINANCING OF DEVELOPMENT

The Warwick Junction Project has had to start on the basis of working to help direct the existing line departments towards the Projects' specific objectives. It has only been considerably after its launch, in the 2001/2 financial year, that there has been a relatively modest capital budget dedicated to the Project which has been followed by a larger budget of R16m for overheads and capital expenditure in 2003/4. It is anticipated that there will be some R12-15m available in 2003/4.

The Project has been fortunate in winning support from the EU for capital expenditure on the basis of an 80/20 funding formula with the EU providing the lesser part. This will, however, encourage the council to provide increasing capital funds. In the municipality, as probably all municipalities undergoing rapid social change under financial constraints, there is keen competition for funds and arguments that resources should not be skewed to the central areas, and this assistance will certainly encourage continued financial support for the Project.

2.3 DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVES REPORTED FROM STUDY AREA

The Warwick Junction functions within the general context of urban renewal project, but its antecedents are claimed to have formed prior to its formal launch. The project has arisen in its early stages from the initiative of individuals in the Health Department and in Planning responding to the rapidly changing conditions on the roads and streets of the area; both the sharp increase in taxis and in informal trading. Operation Jumpstart, a private sector initiative largely led by the Tongaat-Hulett's group, gave an additional impetus for its creation, and a report was prepared on the Triangle in 1993.

The early undertakings by leading individual officials in health and other line departments involved strategies around practical questions:

- to relocate squatter communities (in Brooke Street)
- to improve the conditions around mealie cooking, and
- to protect the market area from 'invasion' by taxis by placing bollards on pavements.

From these immediate responses the Project was launched and an Operations Team was formed as an inter-departmental, multi-disciplinary group to coordinate area management, maintenance, service delivery and enforcement.

Much of the original initiative rested on individuals, 'working friendships', and internal alliances among officials within the Council, as a leading official put it: "iTRUMP works purely by characters". Over time this has become more formalised, particularly with dedicated funding and the growth of Area Based Management strategies which set out routines and lines of authority. Its origins and present modus operandi still rest on the successful and willing coordination of key officials, the ordering of line department funds to Project priorities, and a sense of common purpose.

THE TASKS OF URBAN REGENERATION

The immediate impulse came from key individual officials, but the ITRUMP project resulted from a realisation of the transitional council in 1995 that the city centre was approaching a look of decay.

The real push started as a major scrub up. Durban Solid Waste took over for the first three months, sweeping, cleaning, and removing illegal posters. This snowballed, for example, after removing posters poles needed fixing then painting etc. To start with, this was all operations-driven, but iTRUMP is now strategic. We are given funds that are allocated specifically.

The initiatives towards urban regeneration have been taken directly by council rather than an agency.

We are in-house rather than an agency like Johannesburg, which we feel improves the way council delivers. Accountability and responsibility lies with ITRUMP, an 18-person team.

The Operations Team of the Warwick Project now involves a very wide range of departments including the obvious City Health, Informal Trade, Durban Solid Waste, as well as Urban Design, Architectural Services, Real Estate and Licensing. There are some 32 task teams which involve the vital activities and concerns, the crucial which are listed here:

- Cardboard collectors
- Mealie cookers
- Taxi washing
- Fencing of reserves
- Underground services
- Kerb-side wash-ups
- Repairs and maintenance
- Pavement sleeping
- Hairdressers
- Bovine head cooking
- Formalising shebeens
- Driving schools
- City police satellite station
- “Big blitz” operations

These Task Teams and the Project as a whole interact closely with organised informal trading which include the Informal Traders Management Board (ITMB), which represents the overwhelming majority of informal traders within the city, Traders Against Crime, and the Traditional Healers Umbrella Body among others.

The interface with organised groupings is facilitated most actively and enthusiastically by Patrick Mncube from the Metro Informal Trade Department. Here is a person who walks briskly through the precinct being warmly greeted and offering light banter in return, humourously admonishing the street children who have established a camp on the island on the freeway between decorative succulent plants, and warmly engaging with an old isangoma who complains of thick potato bag paper being used and blocking the toilets.

Through this interface the Project identifies increasing evidence of ‘bottom up momentum’ in which the traders themselves are involved in decision making about their lives.

The Project encourages traders to make use of its facilities for meetings among themselves and to access officials.

2.4 ACHIEVEMENTS AND OUTLOOK

The Project started from a series of ad hoc engagements with transport and trading issues as described above and many of these have been carried over as solutions into the launch in 1997 and beyond. The first issues had to do with the maintenance of elementary health standards through a kind of negotiated enforcement of these standards in relation to informal urban settlements within the area and in mealie cooking. Later the Project has taken on a range of issues from driving schools to pavement sleeping, again through consulting and arriving at negotiated conclusions.

The explorative period of the Project was in 1992/3, the formative period in 1995/7 when projects took shape, and the Project was effectively launched in 1997 when the Project Building was opened.

- As with the Cato Manor Development Association there was a relatively long lead-in phase and then an implementation push. This is now moving to on-going programs and an injection of capital projects.
- The success of the Warwick Junction Project has led on to the inclusion of the five other districts of the CBD with the launch of ITRUMP on 22 October 2001. The regeneration of the Southern Basin has also become associated with ITRUMP although this is more an economic regeneration project.

Over time the traders have moved from being relatively passive in the consultation process to taking a more active part in putting forward traders’ grievances and proposals.

- Through consultation the Project has undoubtedly stimulated a higher level of organisation among the traders and greater experience and ability in policy matters.

- The leadership of informal traders is now increasingly committed to the Project and sees partly as a platform and even more as an agency which will help them secure solutions in their interests.
- As Emmanuel Dlamini, leader of the largest traders organisation, the ITMB (Informal Traders Management Board) has enthusiastically observed:

“ITRUMP is the vehicle for development and building and will give the people what they want in this area. This is their parliament; whatever is the problem, whether it is water or light, this must be reported here. The traders accept this will deliver but communication can still be a problem.”

With only the latter slight reservation, the traders leadership sees the Project as a problem-solving enterprise which is helping to build a better future. The ITMB has even developed its own planning committee to work in direct coordination with the Project planning committee and increasingly to take up its own initiatives.

2.5 OBSTACLES AND PROBLEMS

There are a number of key policy areas which are being keenly debated. Foremost among these is the policy towards informal trading, to the implementation of existing by-laws, and to the maintenance of essential public health standards. All of these issues come together in the discussion of the appropriate form of regulation of informal trading and a new policy, which is keenly anticipated, will be presented mid-year.

There are a number of dilemmas:

- Under apartheid there was no real provision for African businesses in the CBD, let alone tolerance of informal trading. The basket and beadwork sellers on the beachfront were regularly attacked by the police, and although they returned, the council made it clear that this was an illegal activity.
- The city by-laws prohibit trading in a street or public place within a ‘Prohibited Area’ which includes the core and peripheral areas of the CBD.
- Although informal trading has now spread throughout the city centre it is still not legal in terms of the by-laws and actual policy has moved from rigorous enforcement of the law, to tolerance, to the extension of facilities on the high streets.

There is still no clear idea of a strategy towards the large scale informal trading which has moved from gradual extension through the city centre to entrenched rights. The legal vacuum is being filled by new thinking and policy making largely by city officials rather than politicians. A city health official expresses his perspective on the dilemma:

We look at the standards and development. We accept that street trading is here to stay. We try to make it attractive to tourists but keep health standards to protect the consumer.

The policy is now one of engagement with the traders to get cooperation for better outcomes rather than enforcement.

We run free weekly lectures, for example today we had a traditional healer here to show how street traders should be doing things.

The strategy is to build a cooperative attitude between officials and traders to improve conditions on the street, “Although it is tedious, we need consultation.”

2.6 DEVELOPMENT ACTORS

The development actors include a wide range of highly organised stakeholders such as ITMB (the Informal Traders Management Board) which represents the majority of the informal traders and stall marketers in the city centre. Every activity in informal trading in the city is organised, partly to provide access as nobody feels they can just arrive and trade without 'permission' from the existing traders and to improve the existing conditions of trade. Ultimately being part of an organisation provides protection against any change in council policy which could jeopardize their activities.

On the side of the residents there is the Warwick Avenue Triangle Ratepayers' Association (WATRA) which is closely linked to the local councillor and which is in a state of decay.

2.7 INTERVIEWS AND SURVEY

In this section there are two aspects; firstly an examination of the lives and livelihoods of the traders and their attitude towards the provision of services, and secondly a reflection on the lives and attitudes of local residents. There is a fairly definite divide between the two groups of people living and working in the same area.

There are signs of increasing prosperity among a section of the traders and there a segment (some 20 per cent of the traders as estimated by a leader among the traders)² also owning taxis which involves a considerable investment. But the overwhelming majority of the traders are engaged in survivalist activities and there does not appear to be any definite prospect of progression from their current activities to higher levels of income.

Many of the segments of the markets they provide for are well supplied and even over-supplied and the margins of surplus over costs very narrow. Many of the traders are migrants from distant rural areas, and it appears that those who live within the Metro have homes in the informal settlements. This is overwhelmingly a community of the poor, with the poorest sleeping next to their stock and their youngest children beside them. In these conditions there is an elementary solidarity: "There are no misgivings or jealousy amongst us", is the way it was put by one of the women traders.

In the somewhat unusual official interaction with the informal traders, municipal service delivery needs to be set within context. An examination has been made of the following trading activities:

1 Mpempe selling

This plant is used extensively in umsebenzi and other traditional ceremonies; it is an incense which burns slowly giving off a pungent aroma and is regarded as essential aspect of traditional practices. There are two varieties; one which smoulders and the other which is regarded as inferior, which starts to burn brightly after being lit and which has to be dampened down.

The mpempe sellers, all women, come almost exclusively from Lusikisiki, a deeply rural area in the Eastern Cape. The economics of the trade bear examination. The women pay R20 to the chief (others say to a white farmer) to collect as much as required within two to three days. Some 200 small bundles are accumulated in a bag and brought into town and sold at R2 each. A typical trip to town involves two bags and the return should be R800.

The bus ticket costs R150 and the costs of collection are estimated by one trader at R50, but an allowance has also to be made for living expenses in town. A number of the women bring their

² This appears something of an over-estimation but the subject has yet to be researched.

young children with them. The stock could be sold after 3 weeks but occasionally the seller is lucky and goes home to fetch more mpempe. The proceeds from each cycle of activity would appear to be about R3-400 (possibly R500 a month) which are sent to the children at home.

There is a high level of trust both amongst the women and the people with whom they network.

We have no banking facilities. Whenever we need to send money home we write a letter and enclose the money and give it to whoever is going home or to the driver who will drop it off with the children. We telephone our neighbours and ask them to tell the children to go and wait for the bus to collect the letter.

In their home area the women grow mealies, potatoes and beans. The seller who provided this information said: "It is hard to earn a living this way, but we are forced to because we have our families to look after."

The conditions of life in the passage which is part of an unfinished aspect of the road system are daunting. It is a place to work but not shelter as it is open to the sky.

We stay in the dark, there is no electricity, there used to be lights but suddenly they were switched off. The gates are locked after 5pm and we are safe. But they are short and thugs jump over them when they run from the police and terrify us. The Metro promised to put razor wire over the gates but it has not been done.

When it rains the manhole overflows, floods the area and damages our stock. We do our own cleaning and disposing of refuse. The Metro has done nothing for us, maybe because we do not pay anything.

The women are also asking for cubicles from which to trade. This is a tightknit community which has to share everything as they trade, eat and sleep together.

2 Lime sellers

In the same passage as the mpempe sellers are those who sell lime. There are two types of earthen product; the lime itself (an alkaline earth derived from calcium) and reddish soil (which in other countries would be termed ochre). The former is used especially by isangomas and their trainees, women eat it (and taste it before buying). The ochre (the two colours, red and yellow, are result from impure forms of iron ore in the soil) is used by boys for circumcision and more popularly now by women as protection for the skin against the sun (possibly now that skin lighteners have been banned for damaging facial skin). Apart from colour the main quality of both is whether it adheres to the skin.

Mrs Msomi, a member of the development committee of the lime sellers, comes from Ndwedwe where she and the fellow traders dig for lime and ochre. Conditions are apparently highly dangerous during the rainy season as pits collapse and fall in on the diggers. Mrs Msomi spends one week here on Warwick Avenue and at night she sleeps under the bridge with her fellow lime and mpempe sellers.

They had decided to trade under the bridge to avoid the rain but they still get wet (with conditions described above) which is disastrous for the sellers as the cannonball-like spheres break up into and the mess has to be carried home to be remoulded.

The Ndwedwe sellers have a high level of internal cooperation and because there is not enough space to work in because there are a number of them, they take turns, and every week another group of traders occupies the space.

We have a good working relationship with our fellow sellers, we are like sisters.

They state they do not have access to toilets and clean water, but are not required to pay a monthly rental. The returns are not great.

We do make a little bit of profit even though we are only charging R2 per lime ball but the bus fares are a killer.

The conditions they are trading under are unhygienic and there are large rats about (which were noticed by this researcher).

3 Herbalists

During the field work Mrs Zodwa Khumalo Chairperson of the herbalist's development committee was interviewed. She lives in the KwaMakhutha informal settlement after staying in Malukazi. As many in these settlements she had to flee from her original residence because of political violence and she feels very strong she should be compensated for her loss. She is not happy with the condition of her current accommodation.

Unusually she is a female leader among a profession which is largely male and has been re-elected twice and has been serving as the chair of the herbalists' organisation for the past three years. She is a leading member of SEWU, the Self Employed Women's Union. The herbalists are happy with the location for their trading as it is close to the city centre and customers from other countries can visit them without difficulty. She feels that conditions are gradually improving:

There has been a little progress in the trading area because now there are flushing toilets as well as clean water.

Security has improved with the introduction of security guards ('police' which are not distinguished from the SAPS).

Accommodation, however, is a key issue for the traders as most are not from around Durban and need a place to stay in Durban. As their leader she has voiced their concerns to the council and she was told that because of budgetary constraints their grievances will not be addressed soon.

Mrs Khumalo is one of a number of traders who were located on an access road to the freeway which, like the one in Cape Town, never had a purpose. But she is not impressed with the shelter which has been provided to them for trading because her stock gets damaged by rain and the heat, and it is even worse for traders opposite them (on the northern side of the bridge) because they do not even have shelter. There are other traders which remain along Russel Street (at the entrance to the Warwick market area) as they do not have toilets or access to clean water.

There are also no lockers available to the traditional healers which compels them to sleep on their trading plots to guard their stock.

Since they are enduring these unsatisfactory conditions they are not happy with the R30 monthly rental they pay to the Metro. She acknowledges that the council has responded to their request by allocating a building in which they could be accommodated but due to lack of furniture they have been told not to move into the building.

But that is not a problem for us, we can organize sponges to sleep on ourselves.

Although they are happy to see the security guards they do have security issues on their minds. She complains that some plastic bag sellers are always on the look out for their customers who spend a lot of money and follow them as if to offer assistance and then rob them.

For her life is improving gradually although she is not prepared to say how much she earns, “There are good days and bad days.” The real problem, which is faced by all traders, is that they cannot open bank accounts because they do not have a physical address for their businesses, “I suppose that’s why we are called informal traders”.

She hopes that eventually their issues will be sorted out by the government increasing its budget to accommodate their needs.

4 Gold tooth fitters

The ‘tooth fairies’ fix gold to customers’ teeth and fit earnings. A representative of the group was extremely reluctant to say anything about their earnings; they regard themselves as doing a ‘doctor’s job’ and charge their customers R150 a full golden tooth while the dentist charges R2000. This individual started trading in the area from 1986-7 and the demand for the golden tooth is now declining “not like the olden days when we used to make a lot of money”. At times when they don’t make much money they sleep under the bridge.

They are enthusiastic about the Working Forum which works to solve disputes between hawkers.

You cannot just come in and sell anyhow, you have to be known by the Forum to sell in this place. If you don’t you will be confronted and chased away.

There is suspicion and misunderstandings between the fitters, particularly about passing on information to outsiders. The fitters feel their life would be much improved if they had rooms to work from and an electricity socket, but they feel the Metro has turned a deaf ear to their cause.

SUMMARY OF ISSUES RAISED BY TRADERS

The traders interviewed raise the following points:

- Need access banks for financial security and transmission of funds but bank fees are too high
- Shelter at night and where they can look after their products
- Trading facilities which would provide shelter for themselves and their goods from sun and rain
- Water for personal use and toilets close to the trading areas
- Lighting to allow trading to continue into the night
- Secure facilities with good policing
- Access to electricity

3 DELIVERY FOCUS SECTORS

As has been mentioned above, the focus on delivery for traders is in relation to in the markets as well as their personal security and the security of their goods. Under each heading there will also be reports on the setting for the local residents.

Although a number of issues in connection with informal trading are general (such as policing, access, storage of goods, etc) most of the issues are local and specific. The three case studies of intervention below give some idea of the notion of delivery in municipal responses to perceived health and ‘urban decay’ issues.

MEALIE COOKERS

A prominent traditional 'fast food' activity within the Warwick Junction is that of mealie cooking. The most popular preparation is that of boiled mealies with the outer sheath providing some hygienic wrapping and eventually a handle with which to grasp a hot meal.

The spread of mealie cooking has been viewed with alarm by health and other officials; here is an activity which generates some 26-28 tonnes of wet and dry waste a day which is both a challenge to the municipal waste disposal teams and a problem to nearby shop keepers who find rubbish piling up on the streets. The fierce fires need to boil water in large drums has generated smoke could potentially spread in an area of concentrated population.

The matter was researched; it was found that the fires generated a temperature of 140 degrees centigrade, and that alternative gas stoves could not approach the same capacity and had to be abandoned.

Eventually, again after extensive negotiations both with the cookers and among council officials, it was agreed to set up a dedicated facility for cooking away from the shops and throngs of people. The officials compromised on the matter of the fires (the women make ample use of the dunnage and pallets from the harbour), prohibited the burning of car tyres, and spent R60 000 on a new facility which meant there were no longer fires on the pavements and a threat to local businesses.

The number of mealie cookers expanded from an original 40 to 140 and the success of the operation provided an entry point for other interventions by the Project.

CARDBOARD COLLECTORS

One of the most visible informal economic activity in Durban is that of cardboard collectors, often mature women, carrying large bundles of used cardboard on their heads while heading towards the recycling depot. In the Warwick Junction there have been spreading piles of cardboard, with the lovers of the women collectors gathered nearby drinking beer and making fires. This scene was regarded as unsightly and unsanitary and providing an image of urban decay.

The Warwick Junction Project managers regarded this as an essential survivalist activity with potential for improving livelihoods for some 450 collectors if there was beneficial intervention. With the agreement of the women, the Project has provided a buy-back service which eliminates a 'middle-man' and accepts cardboard bundles directly from the women within the precinct. There has also been pressure on the men not to hang around on the pavements.

The women were receiving between 16-20 cents a kilogram on the previous system and now get 40 cents a kilogram with an average income of R32 a day. They and the Project feel they were previously exploited and are happy with the new arrangement.

The Project managers feel there is a huge potential to further formalise arrangements between retailers which are generating a large volume of cardboard and the collectors and want to organise shifts to minimise the impact of their activity on the streets and maximize the possibilities of security networks operating at night within the inner city.

BOVINE HEADS

A traditional delicacy has been provided by bovine head cookers to commuters within the area, but with open fires, large drums, and much rotting wastage this activity has been widely regarded as unhygienic and dangerous. The officials within the Warwick Junction Project acknowledge that this is an essential livelihood for the women who undertake the activity and through negotiations

have developed a sheltered area with basic facilities near the Early Morning Market and relocated them.

There is now a sheltered facility with drainage and regular refuse removal where it is possible for customers to sit and eat. The open fires are more controlled. The scene is not entirely pleasant though; a sewer runs through the premises.

Richard Dobson of the Project says that with the provision of facilities there has been an increase in the number of bovine head cookers, although without rising conflict among the cookers. Better facilities have certainly improved livelihoods and there is a regular flow of customers throughout the day not only for the meat of the famed heads, but also for other meats and dishes.

3.1 SOCIAL SECURITY

No social security facilities are located in the area, but the facilities are available in the inner city a taxi drive away. A fairly high proportion of members of the families of women street traders are accessing the child support grant (over 70% in the small survey), old age pensions (66%) or disability grants (33%).

Among the Warwick Triangle residents there are much the same access of old age pensions, lower levels of access to child support grants, and the same level of access to disability grants.

3.2 WATER

Previously traders accessed water from the toilets and were reported to have damaged the facilities, now there are locked taps and the traders pay for the use of water.

Among the Warwick Triangle residents water and sanitation provision is not a significant problem except for those who occupy an abandoned block of flats.

3.3 ELECTRICITY

A number of the traders complain that their area is not illuminated at night. They have two matters of interest; firstly to extend the hours of operation (at present the markets are closed at 5pm) and secondly to have a greater sense of security where they sleep.

Among the Warwick Triangle residents there is a high level of electricity connections and extensive use of appliances. Again the occupants of abandoned flats report a lack of service.

3.4 SANITATION

There has been an substantial increase in the number public toilets in the trading area. There are problems as, for instance, some commuters use heavy duty paper as toilet paper and there are frequent blockages. The Project team is proposing that toilets be allocated to agents in trading groups to control use and maintain them in good working order.

3.5 HOUSING

The shelter for traders who are visiting the city for a period, often with children, is a burning question. There are facilities where people can wash and sleep, but the women report these cost R10 and that they cannot afford this. There are still considerable numbers of people sleeping in the

protected trading areas and the numbers sleeping directly on the streets have declined considerably from that experienced some years ago.

3.5 EDUCATION

As mentioned, the area is well served with schools and institutions of higher education. These are accessed to some extent by the Warwick Triangle residents, but are remote to the traders and the young children who often are with their mothers. The trade union of women traders, SEWU, provides forms of education for their members and is taking up the question of day care for young children (Morgenrath, n.d.).

There is a surprisingly high interest among the traders in public education and training and the Project premises are used for these purposes. Much more should be possible, particularly for the younger traders.

Among the Triangle residents there is a sense that the education of their children has worsened, although some acknowledge renovation in the local schools.

3.6 HEALTH

The Prince Zulu Communicable Disease Centre operates from University Road and provides comprehensive health services from trauma to sexually transmitted infections. The existing clinic facilities have been considerably improved and the new name adopted for the clinic. The Health Department has set a target of reducing the incidence of tuberculosis to less than 300 cases per 100 000 in three years in response to the steady increase which is attributable to the high levels of HIV infection in the area. There is some stigma attached to attendance at the clinic with youths in the street making remarks about women attending as it has a dedicated sexually transmitted infections centre and this is probably one of the reasons for the name change.

The clinic is available to people from any part of the metropolitan area as it was found that people give false information about their residence if asked. Despite this local residents still feel that they are not allowed to access services here and attend Addington Hospital out-patient facility.

Despite this the staff report very high levels of attendance, and the clinics in the area are widely used by commuters:

	Headcount	Antenatal	Diarrhoea<5Yrs	STDs
1998	54000	7400	70	33000
1999	57725	7637	75	35700
2000	64000	7100	105	39200
2001	58000	7200	125	41100
2002	64000	8000	90	42300

The statistics indicate a sharp increase in treatment of STDs between 1999-2000 (of about 10%) and since then an increasing high use of the facility.

The TB clinic in the same complex is regarded as having excellent diagnostic facilities and is well used.

3.7 TELECOMMUNICATIONS

The informal traders within the area make extensive use of the street vendor telephone services

which operate throughout the trading area. The mphempho trader who rang a neighbour to tell her children to expect a remittance by bus provides such an example, these are crucial communications in the survival of rural households. A small proportion of traders have cellphones.

As in the case of Inanda residents there is a higher proportion of Triangle residents with cellphones than Telkom connections and in roughly the same proportion, here 50/50.

There are no fax and internet centres within the area.

3.8 ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The development of facilities for traders is closely linked to the articulation of a local economic development strategy within the area. The Project has at any one time more than 100 projects on its book, although these are not all directly managed by its personnel, and all have some contribution to make towards the social and economic development of the area.

3.9 COMMUNITY SAFETY

According to Richard Dobson, Project leader, there is reported to have been a rapid decline in crime since the mid-1990s. In 1997 there were about 50 violent deaths within Warwick Junction, mostly as a result of economic tension, over the fight for space. In 2002, however, there were only about six, largely, he reasons, because the previously mentioned tensions had been sorted out.

This substantial improvement in the crime situation, which is partially reflected in the figures below, is widely agreed to be the achievement of the traders who have formed an organisation, Traders Against Crime, which is a frontline organisation in conflict resolution. At the time of research (just before the Easter weekend) one of its leaders, however, was shot dead during one of these interventions and leading traders were in a state of shock as this incident went against the general trend and directly affected one of their own. A memorial service was held at the Project hall and tributes were paid to the deceased.

There are widespread complaints among officials and the traders ITMB about the level of policing. A leading official states:

The police stations are a problem. Although there is decades there is over R2-3m a day being turned over in the markets what kind of service is here? There are 12 members in the station but they are not all here at one time; actually usually there 3-4. There is no police visibility.

There is a satellite station in Wills Road near the Project centre and another in the centre of the Warwick Junction; both come under the direction of C.R. Swart station, now termed Durban Central. One is regarded as accessible, the other in the bus station complex no physical accessibility at all (although there is a large sign denoting the place as a police station).

There are also complaints that the Metro police also do not have a significant presence as only two policemen in a centre in which there is multiple lane parking and considerable congestion are involved in traffic control. Neither were visible during the period of field work, although subsequently an official from the Corporate Communications division visited the researcher and provided information on the difficulties of policing the Warwick Junction.

CRIME IN THE DURBAN CBD, JANUARY TO DECEMBER 1996 TO 2002

Crime Category	January to December					
	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
Murder	122	123	106	79	95	80
Attempted murder	117	85	94	92	96	94
Culpable homicide	43	64	37	59	61	61
Robbery with aggravating circumstances	969	809	1,212	1,261	1,431	1,655
Other robbery	1,098	930	961	1,205	1,452	1,488
Public violence	8	8	5	7	5	8
Rape	173	139	168	156	156	165
Indecent assault	37	33	32	27	52	46
Crimen Injuria	147	146	146	179	183	183
Child abuse	3	8	4	3	3	9
Kidnapping	25	38	44	34	51	43
Abduction	10	9	16	17	22	14
Assault with the intent to inflict grievous bodily harm	502	385	397	447	511	510
Common assault	1,022	1,062	965	983	1,058	973
Burglary at non-residential premises	1,186	1,178	1,292	1,145	1,009	1,105
Burglary at residential premises	302	216	369	361	342	347
Stock theft	0	0	1	0	0	0
Shoplifting	2,327	2,623	2,672	2,469	2,469	2,383
Theft of motor vehicle and motorcycle	1,888	1,816	1,782	1,756	1,822	2,123
Theft out of or from motor vehicle	4,116	2,633	2,635	2,532	2,433	2,382
All theft not mentioned elsewhere	3,684	4,611	5,625	7,090	8,422	8,056
Arson	9	7	8	11	13	9
Malicious damage to property	738	642	832	824	896	830
Fraud	1,525	1,600	2,156	2,140	2,784	2,110
Drug related crime	305	466	234	219	273	214
Driving under the influence of alcohol or drugs	96	232	175	331	311	278
Illegal possession of firearms and ammunition	75	71	75	71	72	63
These crimes have already been accounted for under robbery with aggravating circumstances						
Carjacking	114	87	79	63	68	71
Truck hijacking	17	31	31	38	33	25
Robbery of cash in transit	0	1	0	3	2	2
Bank robbery	3	6	4	3	6	2

The Warwick Triangle residents widely support the view that there is an exceptionally low level of personal safety in the neighbourhood and most supported the view that the crime situation is 'very bad' and people can be easily robbed, hurt or killed. Despite the improved statistics, the majority of traders (although a smaller percentage) also support this view.

The residents (who are mostly less than a block away from the satellite station) report a recent call for police assistance, but disagreed that they had been assisted as required and that the police had taken details, even though just under 50% reported the police had come to the scene of the problem. An overwhelming majority feel the level of policing has worsened.

The traders report better policing as details were taken, but the majority reported that they had not had the help needed.

4 COMMUNITY PERCEPTIONS

Among the residents (who are mostly Coloured and Indian) there is a deep sense of political alienation, they feel abandoned by their councillor, the ratepayers association is in a state of decline, and the long-promised redevelopment project seems as distant as ever. Despite this feeling of dislocation from the world of policy-makers, planners, and representatives there is a keen sense of community.

Despite the feeling of insecurity many homes are not locked during the day and the older men like to take their seats out on the street, discuss among themselves and watch the passing scene. The residents know the families in the area and there is a kind of sociability and often a sense of humour, rough though it may be. The moods and social occasions of the community are richly captured in the photographs of a long established resident, Rafs Mayet.

Among the residents there is currently a relationship of indifference and scepticism towards the Warwick Junction Project, and the management is keenly aware of this side of the situation.

There is a very different attitude from the traders who see, possibly with some exaggerated hope, that the Project is an essential platform from which their interests can be pursued. The list of users of the Project facilities shows that there is good use made of these by a wide variety of trading and professional groups.

Regular users:

Informal Traders Management Board Executive members' weekly meeting- every Monday to discuss issues related to their trading.

Traditional Healers Board from all over the country for example the United Traditional Practitioners Organization meet on the monthly basis to discuss new medicines as well as improved ways of healing.

Health Education lectures conducted by City Health department for fruit and vegetables hawkers, prepared foodstuff hawkers and traditional healers. The lectures are conducted every Wednesday for each group.

Street Traders Women's Development Project- women helping and teaching each other to make hand craft.

Street Traders Forum- street committee

Other users:

CSIR- Traders Against Crime training

Centre for Community and Labour Studies- informal economy policy

Self-Employed Women's Union monthly meetings

Standard Bank: walk about

Local Authority: business support

Logi Naidoo: deputy mayor

Informal Trade: business workshop

Umgeni Corridors: monthly meetings

Warwick Junction Project: monthly meetings

Carol Hogh: Arts and Culture (PTA)

Driving school: monthly meetings

Partick Mncube (special operations): clean up

ABET: three times a week

Keep Durban Beautiful (KDB): community developers

Barrow Boys: monthly meetings

iTrump forum and better buildings: meetings twice a month

Tertiary students: monthly walk about and AIDS Awareness campaign from 12-15 and 19-22 May 2003.

5 SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

The question of delivery in the Warwick Junction area is a complex one; there are essentially two 'communities'—those of the residents of the Triangle and the growing numbers of informal traders who occupy the adjoining markets. The former see their situation worsening and declining and look to delivery in terms of improved policing and the promised 'cottage' housing which seems as a distant dream. The latter are the informal traders operating in a changing regulatory environment in which compromises and ad hoc solutions are wrought to their trading activities and the council's problems.

In the first case delivery can be readily calculated in terms of established government programs, in the latter delivery is concrete, local, and illusive in terms of indicators. How do you measure the delivery involved in the installation of a covered market which provides shade and some facilities for cooking bovine heads? Yet this kind of delivery is crucial to the survival of thousands of households who directly and indirectly are dependent on these markets. The description of the delivery to the residents can be measured in percentages, that in relation to traders can only be described in concrete terms.

Delivery to the Warwick Triangle residents is in a state of suspension, the terrain is one of dereliction with bleak open spaces, buildings in utter decay, and aging flats. The fundamental issue is that of improved housing which has been long promised and seems about to be initiated. Planners admit, however, that this point has been reached on several occasions, only to fade away again. The local residents are cynical about renewed housing and feel abandoned by the politicians representing them.

The Warwick Junction Project appears to be working very successfully in:

- expanding markets and reorganising space to meet the demands of greater numbers and a widening range of trading activities
- being continually open to the traders organisations and
- building an interface between the demands of traders and the objectives of health, security and an orderly appearance to the city
- serving as an incubator for area based management and wider city initiatives.

Presently there is an atmosphere of general deregulation in relation to informal trading and an anticipation among those involved in overseeing health and development issues that the new policy would be very hard put to be markedly different from current experience. There is reluctance among officials to become involved in enforcement of the current bylaws and an expectation that there is unlikely to be a new set of enforceable bylaws.

Despite these very evident contradictions there is a good morale and a sense that there are cutting edge issues germane to a developing city at stake. The solutions which have been arrived at have won respect among their contemporaries, although neither applause nor condemnation from political representatives.

In a number of negotiated compromises important ad hoc resolutions have been found to pressing problems in relation to the mealie cookers, cardboard collectors, and to the thousands of other informal traders living on the edge of survival in the city.

There is an air of dynamism and hope about the place, of meetings between African and Indian traders, of ceremony and occasion, and of calculated planning of outcomes.

The impact of the Project and municipal services on the lives of the traders is appreciable but it has not changed the fundamental conditions of their existence on the margins of a modern economy.

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OFFICIALS, INFORMAL TRADERS, AND OTHER INTERVIEWS

OFFICIALS INTERVIEWED

Name	Position	Date
Richard Dobson	Project leader of Warwick Junction and iTRUMP	14 April 2003
Julie Ellingson	ITRUMP Economist	14 April 2003
Dave Johnston	Health Officer	14 April 2003
Patrick Mncube	Metro Special project (clean up)	16 April 2003
Emmanuel Dlamini	President ITMB	30 April 2003
Mrs Khumalo	Chairperson of the Herbalists Committee	02 May 2003
Fixon Mkhize	Chairperson of the ITMB board	23 May 2003
Mrs Bixi	Chairperson of the fruit and vegetables committee	23 May 2003
Mrs Ndlovu	Chairperson of the bovine heads traders	23 May 2003
Kevin Bennett	Health Officer	5 May 2003

INFORMAL TRADERS INTERVIEWED

Name	Category	Position	Date
Zinsizwa Mbotho	Fruit & vegetables	Trader	23 May 2003
Samuel Ndlovu	Herbalist	Trader	23 May 2003
MaCele and MaMkhize	Mpepho	Trader	02 & 23 May 2003
Dumisani Shangase	Golden tooth	Trader	02 May 2003
Fikile Ndabayena	Barrow boy	Trader	23 May 2003
Mrs Msomi	Lime	Trader	02 & 23 May 2003
Mrs Ndlovu	Bovine heads	As a trader	23 May 2003
Mrs Mncwane	Sweet potatoes & yams	Trader	23 May 2003

OTHER INTERVIEWS

Name	Position	Date
Rafs Mayet	Photographer	2 May 2003
Omar Badsha	Author, photographer, cultural activist	9 May 2003

And also eight (8) *residents* were *interviewed* from Wills Road and surroundings.