



Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing

Inclusive Cities Project

August 2015

Empowering Market Traders in Warwick Junction, Durban, South Africa

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Introduction

Asiye eTafuleni (AeT) is a fairly young organization (founded in 2008) operating in Durban, South Africa. Under the Inclusive Cities project, AeT's activities have been centred on Warwick Junction: a thriving informal market hub in Durban's inner city. In the early 1990s, inclusive national legislation, together with a highly progressive municipal-level policy framework, meant that Durban was moving well ahead of other South African cities in terms of its approach to informal work. The Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Project received domestic and international acclaim for its active support of street traders. However, since that time, the city's approach to the informal economy has been piecemeal and without coordination between stakeholder departments and institutions or a consistent platform for negotiations between traders and officials. In response to this neglect, two former city workers formed AeT in concert with the launch of the Inclusive Cities project in order to assess, support, and champion the needs of informal economic development in the City of Durban.

The intention of this report is to assess the success of this project (including the formation and first five years of a new organization) including outcomes and achievements (as per original project plans), benefits to the city, underlying dynamics of success, and lessons learned. Research and

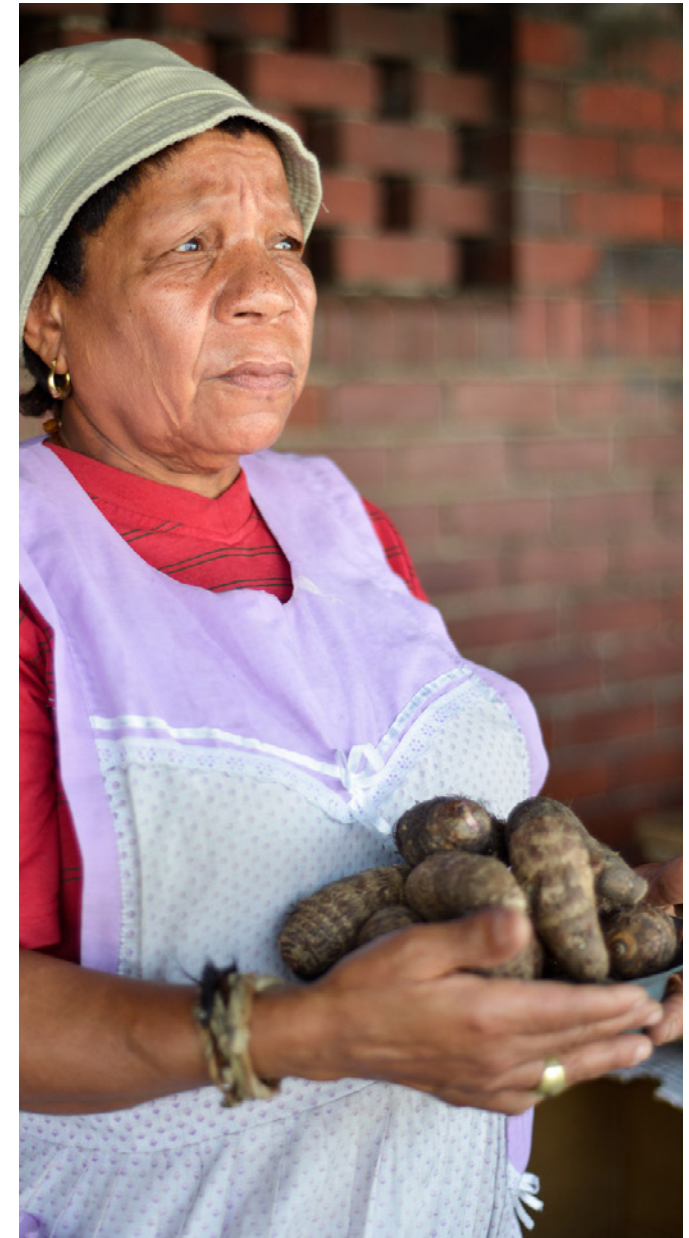
AeT was formed to assess, support, and champion the needs of informal economic development in Durban.

interviews were conducted in Durban. Consultation focused on AeT front-line staff and stakeholders. Prior research and consultation with the informal workers themselves was relied upon here rather than duplicating past initiatives (such as the IEMS study and Inclusive Cities reporting cited throughout).

City Context

Durban, KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa

Greater Durban, or the amalgamated eThekweni Municipality, is a port city located on the east coast of South Africa. It is the third largest city in the country, and the largest city in the province of KwaZulu-Natal. According to the 2011 census, the population of eThekweni Municipality was near 3.4 million people. The city lists its main economic sectors as manufacturing (23 per cent), financial and business services (22 per cent), community services (19 per cent), and wholesale and retail (15 per cent). Literacy (grade 7 and above) is reported at 64 per cent, and the unemployed make up approximately 30 per cent of the "economically active" citizens. Tourism is indicated as an economic driver (particularly as a result of the FIFA world cup in 2011) (Durban 2011).



A street vendor from Warwick Avenue, Durban holds her produce. Women comprise the majority of Warwick's vendors. Photo: A. Buckland.

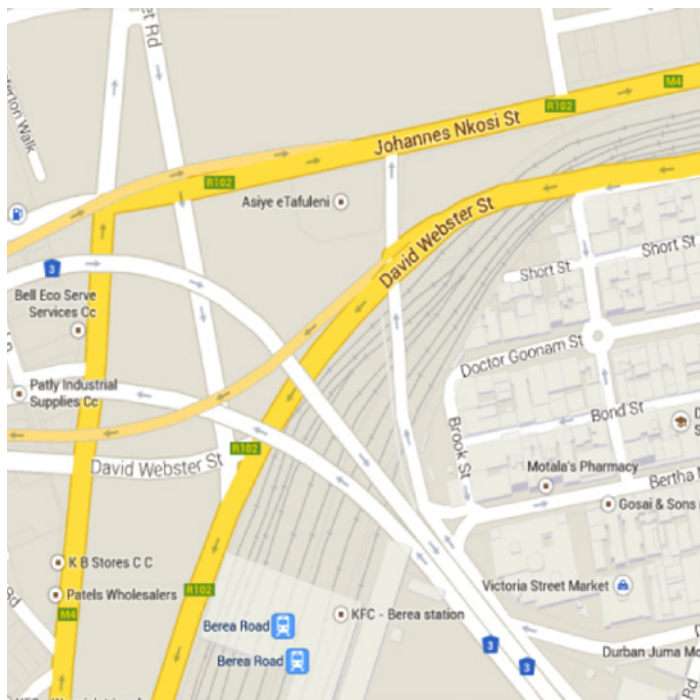


Fig. 1: Map of Warwick Junction.
Photo: AeT



campaign to replace the Early Morning Market at the centre of Warwick Junction with a mall development. These events inspired two city employees involved in the original urban renewal project—Richard Dobson and Patrick Ndlovu—to leave the city and form a new organization that would champion the needs of Durban’s informal workers and to support the maintenance of their natural market hubs. As such, the launch of *Working in Warwick* was a catalyst not only for the focus of public attention on campaigns to preserve the markets of Warwick Junction, but also on the formation of Asiye eTafuleni as an organization.

Asiye eTafuleni (AeT)

AeT is a non-profit organization based in Warwick Junction in the city of Durban, South Africa. It was established in 2008 in concert with the launch of the Inclusive Cities project. AeT’s founders first collaborated as employees of the City of Durban (as members of the iTrump project). The six-member AeT team hold expertise and professional experience in design, architecture, urban planning, law

Vision

AeT works to support informal workers’ sanctioned access to productive public space, infrastructure, and equipment by championing inclusive urban planning and design.

Mission

Asiye eTafuleni:

- Supports and empowers informal workers—particularly women—to participate in co-developing their work places through an integrated approach that includes applied design and research, facilitation, legal support, advocacy, organizing, and occupational health and safety;
- Equips relevant professionals and educators with the resources necessary to adopt and implement inclusive urban planning and design through developmental approaches, fostering an improved and strategic public awareness of the informal economy; and
- Strives for excellence in reshaping urban environments, while maintaining sensitivity to the local context.

enforcement, research, facilitation, and law. AeT is not an MBO, nor is organizing workers among its primary foci of objectives, but it has provided support for the formation and maintenance of informal workers’ groups.¹

¹ These groups included the Informal Trade Management Board (ITMB), the Masibambisane Traders Organisation (MATO), the South African Informal Workers Association (SAIWA, which operates only in the Warwick Junction area), the South African Self Employed Women’s Association (SASEWA), Traders Against Crime (TAC), and the Early Morning Market Traders Association (EMMTA). (Mkhize, Dube and Skinner 2013).

Organizational Profile

“Working in Warwick” and the establishment of AeT

The Warwick Junction urban renewal project received “domestic and international acclaim for its active support for street traders” (Skinner and Dobson 2009). Beginning in 1997, international interest in this project (through affiliations with groups such as WIEGO) pointed to the unique nature of what had taken place in Warwick Junction and the need to document the precedent. With the upcoming commitment of the city to host the FIFA World Cup in 2011, co-authors Richard Dobson and Caroline Skinner began work on the book *Working in Warwick*. Originally, the book was conceived of as a powerful tool for the dissemination of the precedents set in Warwick Junction. What could not have been anticipated was that the eventual launch of the book fell at the height of a city

AeT works to assist informal workers operating from public spaces and to legitimize the informal economy through innovative design interventions and programmes, direct consultations with the traders, and public and government engagement. In brief, AeT's activity falls under three main categories:²

1. Inclusive Design & Planning

- Infrastructure & equipment design for informal workers
- Securing informal workers participation in urban plans
- Consultancies for third parties to oversee informal workers' inclusion in new developments and upgrades

2. Advocacy

- Rights awareness training
- Market Tours
- Exposure Dialogues
- Curriculum Development/Education
- Law Programme

3. Mainstreaming Informality to Encourage Inclusive Planning

- Urban Design & Development Courses for informal workers/professionals/officials
- Research
- OHS programme for workers in informal market hubs
- International partnerships in support of this work

Worker Overview

Durban's Informal Workers and the Warwick Junction Vicinity³

There is considerable variation in the estimates of the total number of informal traders working across the eThekweni Municipality. In the immediate post-apartheid era, growth in the informal "sector" was outpacing growth in the formal sector by a considerable margin (Durban Unicity cited in Skinner 2005), and it is estimated that around one third of economically active adults worked in the informal sector by the late 1990s. More recent evidence from Statistics South Africa's bi-annual Labour Force Survey suggested that there

In the immediate post-apartheid era, growth in the informal sector was outpacing growth in the formal sector by a considerable margin ...

were roughly 24,000 street traders in the greater eThekweni area in 2007 (Rogan 2013). A 2010 survey of street traders commissioned by StreetNet International found that the majority of the city's street traders worked in the inner-city (71 per cent) and were self-employed (81.8 per cent). A majority of traders worked at a fixed site (66.7 per cent), and the most common good sold by both men and women was fresh produce (61.2 and 73.6 per cent, respectively).⁴ There is mixed evidence with regard to the gender composition of the city's traders, though most surveys have found that a majority of traders are women (Rogan 2013).

Sectors in Warwick Junction

Central to understanding the particular needs of the workers in Warwick Junction is a detailed knowledge of the sectors operating there, and this detailed knowledge has been the cornerstone of AeT's service provision. The market is constituted of nine distinct market areas: The Bovine Head Market, Early Morning Market, Music Bridge, Berea Station, Brook Street, Mpepho and Lime Market, Bead Market, Victoria Street Market, and the Herb Market. Workers in these nine markets belong to the following sectors: Bovine head meat, plated/fast food, fresh produce, traditional herbs and medicines, traditional and fashionable attire, music,

² For details please see www.aet.org.za

³ Section entitled "Durban Street Traders and the Warwick Junction Vicinity" excerpted from the draft report "Inclusive Cities Impact Case Study: Warwick Junction's Informal Traders, Asiyé Etafuleni, and the Markets of Warwick Project." Zoe Horn. 2014.

⁴ This gender difference is likely due, at least in part, to the fact that women are more likely to trade in products that are better suited to a fixed stall. Roughly 27 per cent of female traders, for example, sold fruit and vegetables as their main product or service (compared with about 22 per cent of male traders). Similarly, about 15 per cent of women sold cooked or prepared food compared with only 5 per cent of male traders (own calculations from the StreetNet data).



*Neglected washroom facilities in Warwick Junction.
Photo: AeT*



*Evidence of poor service (rubbish removal) in Warwick.
Photo: AeT*

Impepho (traditional herb), Lime (sunscreen and medicine), bead work, flowers, poultry, hardware and mealies (corn on the cob). While there are up to 8,000 traders working in Warwick Junction on any given day, support workers (such as barrow operators, storage assistants, water and paraffin suppliers, repair workers, etc.) can number in the tens of thousands⁵.

Legal and Policy Framework

By the 1990s, national legislation, together with a highly progressive municipal level policy framework meant that Durban was moving well ahead of other South African cities in terms of its approach to informal work (UN-HABITAT 2006).⁶ The Department for Informal Trade and Small Business Opportunities (later the Business Support Unit and then the Business Support and Market Unit or BS&MU) was created as a dedicated informal economy department to oversee the policy process and implementation of regulations affecting informal work. Durban's Informal Economy Policy (IEP) of 2000 made Durban the first municipality in South Africa to introduce a policy for the "informal economy" (Lund and Skinner 2003; Skinner 2008a, b). On the other hand, the city's approach to the informal economy has been piecemeal and without coordination between stakeholder departments and institutions and without a consistent platform for negotiations between traders and officials. It has generally treated informal traders as a "nuisance" (see Lund 2003: 5).

Situation Prior to Intervention

During the apartheid era, South Africa had some of "the most sophisticated anti-street trader measures anywhere in the developing world", and municipalities and local governments were often overtly hostile to informal workers (Rogerson, C. and Hart 1989). Until the early 1990s, Warwick

Junction's traders were largely considered illegal, few permits were issued, and traders were subject to the discretion of police officers and other officials enforcing so-called "move-on laws," which forced traders to move every half hour (Lund and Skinner 2003).

The city's contradictory approach to the informal economy is evidenced by its embrace of a "world class city" slogan in the 2000s. Under the auspices of the Inner Thekwini Regeneration and Urban Management Programme (iTRUMP), the city council adopted an area-based management approach and formed special teams to improve services and facilities in Warwick Junction, such as cleaning and rubbish removal, the provision of toilets, child care facilities, and the formalization of informal drinking outlets in the market (Skinner and Dobson 2007). Efforts, however, were implemented with mixed success. Many support services were not adequately resourced and have been overshadowed by the Metro police's heavy-handed tactics (Khosa and Kibbie 1998; Karumbidza 2011). As a result, the Warwick Junction area has continued to suffer neglect and marginalization by

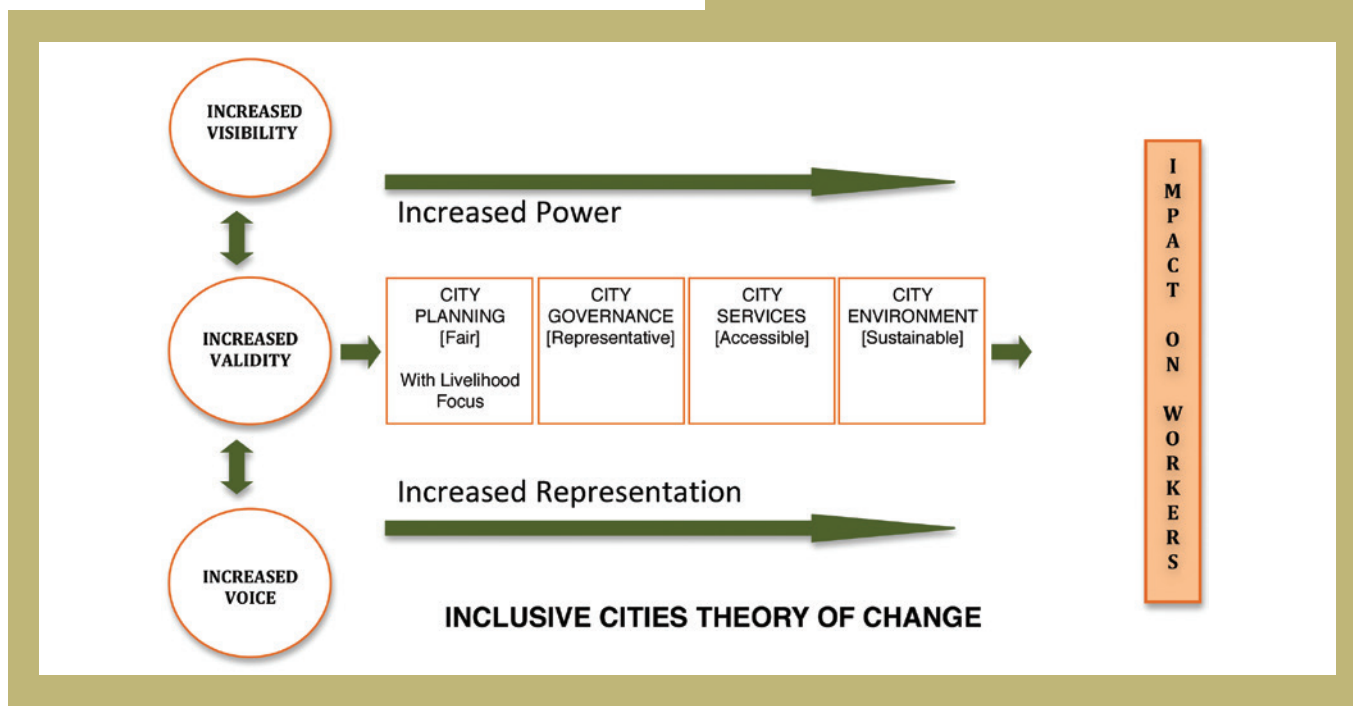
the city, with traders operating under conditions of harassment, poor infrastructure, and limited services.

Model of Intervention or Theory of Change

AeT's programming builds from the elemental concept that "voice, visibility, and validity" for informal workers will lead to more inclusive urban planning. However, the AeT schematic (as seen below) is further tailored to fit Durban and Warwick Junction. These changes reflect not only AeT's perception of countervailing influences, but their organizational curiosity regarding the correlation between how changes in cities affect changes in the lives of informal workers—all underscored with a focus on design-based interventions.

Most notable among the adaptations from one schematic to the other is the inclusion of "practitioners" as active and essential agents of change. This is reflected in AeT's focus on the education and sensitization of architecture, urban

Fig. 2: Inclusive Cities Theory of Change Schematic



⁵ See attached Appendix 2: *Fact Sheet for the Markets in Warwick Junction* for a detailed breakdown of workers and support needs on a sector by sector basis.

⁶ At the national level, there have been some efforts to legislate around informal work, e.g. the Business Act of 1991 and the Department of Trade and Industry's (DTI) White Paper on the Small Medium and Micro Enterprise (SMME) Sector.

planning, and built-environment professionals (or “practitioners”) to the realities and needs of informal workers in urban settings.

Intervention Details and Strategies/ Achievements and Outcomes

Activity 1: Dissemination

Milestone a): Implementation of a promotional campaign for the book *Working in Warwick* including book launches, gallery openings, presentations, educational programmes and workshops, and other related events (such as media releases and interviews) in Durban and Johannesburg.

Outcomes and Achievements for Activity 1, Milestone a): *Working in Warwick* was sold at events, various retail outlets, and as a pdf download from a dedicated Working in Warwick website. Distribution reached most international

centres. In South Africa, significant numbers have been distributed at various government and local government conferences. Copies of the book have also been placed in all planning schools throughout Africa and given to built-environment professionals and students.

Milestone b): National workshops to assess the potential for up-scaling Warwick Junction precedents to national scale projects, including identification of and communication with a broad spectrum of stakeholders, followed by workshops based on *Working in Warwick* in the South African cities of Johannesburg, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, and Bloemfontein.

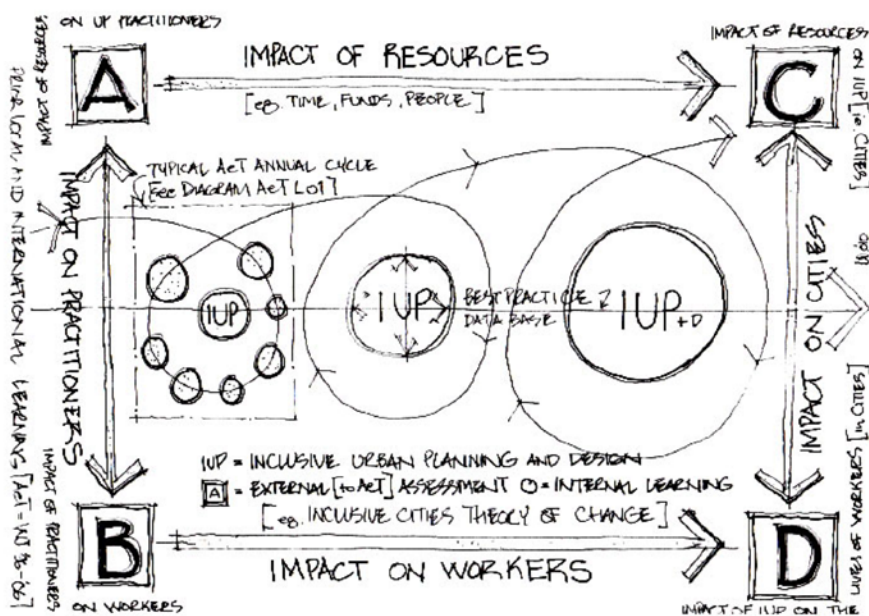
Outcomes and Achievements for Activity 1, Milestone b):

- The book was used as the primary reference for the South African Council of Architects accredited “Design with Informal Workers” continual professional training course.
- Workshops utilizing *Working in Warwick* as a resource material were held in the following cities: Durban; Johannesburg; Cape Town; Pretoria; Polokwane [Nelspruit];



Traders gather to sell their wares in the shelter of the Brook Street Market. Photo: AeT

Fig. 3: AeT Inclusive Cities Theory of Change Schematic



Nelson Mandela Bay [Port Elizabeth]; Belo Horizonte, Brazil; Lima, Peru; London; and at COP 17.

- The project architect for the renewal of Njoli Square, Nelson Mandela Bay [Port Elizabeth] requested a project consultation/site visit from AeT as the result of attending the local *Working in Warwick* presentation. *Working in Warwick* was utilized and made reference to for the redevelopment of a “township” transport node characterized by designing for retention of pre-existing informal retail activity.
- *Working in Warwick* was presented at the World Urban Forum, Naples and in Maputo and Mozambique. AeT was included in an inter-city peer exchange between Durban and Maputo to share best practices regarding informal trading in public spaces.
- AeT continues to be a sector specialist reference group, providing guidance and technical expertise to a number of built environment professionals, academics, and students.



A vendor in the Bead Market laying out her wares. All of the jewelry pictured here was made by hand. Photo: M. Chen

The branding of the Asiye eTafuleni model proved essential to building awareness among inner-city informal workers of this new service delivery vehicle.

Activity 2: Achieving a Fully Established and Operational AeT Presence

These activities supported a physical presence for the organization that was fully accessible to the population it serves while demonstrating the potential for well-designed productive space within the physical context of an inner-city informal hub.

Outcomes and Achievements for Activity 2:

- The presence of AeT amongst the Warwick Junction vendor community was fully established with a functioning board of directors (including representatives from the informal worker community), the creation of a meeting space, and the ability of vendor participants to meet (sometimes at arms-length from the AeT team). This success was achieved despite some resistance from the City of Durban in the wake of the Early Morning Market litigation. AeT has also completed a strategic planning process in preparation for its second five-year period of operation.
- The formation of the organization was marked with significant media presence through standard media releases and social media platforms. AeT also won several local and national awards (such as the 2011 Drivers of Change Award), and achieved direct association with built environment professional organizations. Much of this constant media attention was facilitated through a dedicated staff Research Officer position.
- The spectrum of awards and recognition given to AeT has been a significant indicator of a broad base of success. This recognition has come through an invitation to participate in a public exhibition stand (Boat Show) and from built environment professionals (SAIA / Afrisam Sustainable Architecture) and local authorities (Mayoral Award).

Activity 3: Communication & Branding

The branding of the Asiye eTafuleni model proved essential to building awareness among inner-city informal workers of this new service delivery vehicle and to reinforcing through practice the principal that design is integral to that service.

Outcomes and Achievements for Activity 3:

- Completed the Creative Communication Strategy and implementation plan with thorough incorporation of the branding into all communications emanating from AeT.
- Launched a website and blog at www.aet.org.za and created presence on social media platforms (Twitter and Facebook). Created a network of links to international sites, such as WIEGO's and those of other Inclusive Cities partners. There has also been successful branding realized for the Markets of Warwick (Activity 4) and the Know Your Rights campaign under the Street Law Programme.

Activity 4: The Markets of Warwick Tours

In creating this new tourism product, AeT sought to assist Warwick Junction's traders in bringing FIFA visitors to the market, in increasing public awareness of informal work in Durban, in increasing the voice and visibility of informal workers, and in validating their contribution to the cultural and economic life of the city. To achieve this, the "Markets of Warwick" (MoW), including associated website, brochures, and maps, was branded (as mentioned above). A tour design, which included local informal workers as guides, was created in consultation with a working committee of traders and with consultation from tourism professionals.

Outcomes and Achievements for Activity 4:

This list is not exhaustive, but highlights are as follows:

- During the project period, 5,311 visitors took the MoW tour (2,447 tourists and 2,864 students from school groups).
- Forty-two traders received tour training that included guiding, first aid, and public speaking. Three of these interns eventually completed one-year internships in the AeT office.

- The Markets of Warwick Working Committee matured from a body of nominated membership to an elected body, which oversees the tour project on an ongoing basis.
- A school learners' programme was developed, including a field manual developed in accordance with the school syllabus. The "school tour" aspect of MoW has continued to grow. For the first time (to AeT's knowledge), the school learners' final exam included an extensive question on the informal economy in South Africa,⁷ and a new school textbook illustrating the MoW was printed in July 2013.
- The South African Informal Workers Association (SAIWA) has emerged from the community facilitation processes associated with the implementation of the MoW, and it has now been registered as an MBO in accordance with national legislation. As a direct result of the MoW project, 259 Warwick Junction vendors have become registered members of SAIWA.
- The incomes of the Warwick Junction vendors directly exposed to the MoW tourists (Bead and Bovine Head Markets) increased by ZAR 100.00 per trader, per month as a result of the project.
- In addition to the exponential increase in tourist numbers, particularly among learners (schools and universities), the project is continuing to provide the means of negotiating improved urban maintenance within Warwick Junction. A marginal increase in the provision of city services in the quest to "showcase" the city provided an indirect benefit to vendors ranging from moderate to significant: e.g., defective public lighting reduces the effective trading hours in winter months, resulting in an average loss of income of approximately ZAR 345.00 or 10 per cent per month, per vendor.

Activity 5: Create Learning Hub

This set of activities was intended to ensure the dissemination of all prior learning and the demonstration of project streams emerging from AeT's local and national project port-

The Markets of Warwick Working Committee: traders who underwent training to become tour guides in the market. Photo: AeT



folios through the hosting of interns. Experiential learning would be available through exposure to theory and practice.

Outcomes and Achievements for Activity 5:

In 2011, the founding intention to set up a Learning Hub as a physical entity was deemed unsustainable given the demands of creating an academic institution in the face of the resources of AeT's small team (AeT IC Annual Report 2011: 8).

Instead, AeT focused the intervention more on "maximiz[ing] the inter-sectoral and partnership arrangements that can contribute added value to the intervention and in so doing increase the reach of the learning...e.g., the 'Know-your-rights' Project [a legal rights awareness programme for Warwick Junction street vendors] is a joint venture between the vendors, Legal Resource Centre, University Law Students and AeT."

Activity 6: Operationalize the Learning Hub

As mentioned above under Activity 5, the scope of the original plan for a learning hub was not possible with AeT's limited resources and was adjusted to focus on a few project-related collaborations with other sectors.

Activities and Outcomes Activity 7:

Under this adjusted objective framework, AeT was able to record the following outcomes:

- The AeT Law Programme: Developed under the direction of a law intern (and in partnership with the Legal Resource Centre), the project has three primary initiatives, namely:
 1. "Know-your-rights"
 2. Stopping confiscations
 3. Stopping physical abuse of vendors by enforcement agents (also see Activity 6), which has assumed an ongoing presence in AeT programming.⁸

⁷ See <http://www.aet.org.za/2013/02/the-emergent-importance-of-the-informal-economy-through-secondary-education/>

⁸ For more information on the AeT Law Programme please see: <http://aet.org.za/2012/08/aets-law-project-the-conceptual-framework/>

- **Advocacy:** Considerable success was achieved in representing the rights of informal workers through the SA Constitution Chapter 9 Institutions e.g., the Commission for Gender Equality [CGE] and the Public Protector. Both the CGE and the Legal Resources Centre addressed the ongoing gender discrimination (particularly with respect to mealie cooks) and inequity of confiscations.
- **Designing with Informal Workers Workshop:** Thirty registered architects attended this workshop, which represented an above average response for CPD training courses
- A wide spectrum of invitations to present have been received from various institutions, like the University, the Workers' College, and MILE, and from local authorities and international student exchange programmes.

Activity 7: Book 2

This was to be a technical companion book to *Working in Warwick*, including specifications, case studies, and data sheets around storage, tables, and shelters, etc. However, as the shift in the Learning Hub concept took place (re: activities 5 and 6), the plan shifted toward the creation of an electronic repository of teaching materials rather than a physical book.

Outcomes and Achievements for Activity 7:

Plans and groundwork for Book 2 became the basis for curriculum support materials for the professional development course “Designing with Informal Workers” as per activity 6.

Activity 8: National Project Portfolio

The original intention was to build on the *Working in Warwick* book launch, but our experience in Capetown (see Activity 1) taught AeT that there would not be enough resources to follow through with the original plan. This was due, in large part, to the realization that there were huge variations in the level of maturity in responding to inclusive planning from one city to the next. Resources from this project were diverted to the Learning Hub, with the exception of consultations in Underberg and Port Elizabeth (as a direct result of book launch events).

Activity 9: Learning Hub Replication in Other Countries

This wasn't achieved in the first five years of AeT's operations.

Considerable success was achieved in representing the rights of informal workers through the SA Constitution Chapter 9 Institutions.

Benefits to the City

Very little quantifiable data on the impact of AeT interventions to the City of Durban is available. As such, interviews were conducted with the following sample of individuals whose professional lives have overlapped with AeT and with the municipal government:

- **Bongamusa Zondo:** The Manager of the Imagine Durban project for the municipal government, tasked with overseeing the creation of a 2020 vision for the city, who has worked with AeT primarily on the inner-city Cardboard Recycling Programme (an AeT project not under the Inclusive Cities mandate).

- **Shannon Moffett:** A private economic development consultant specializing in tourism, who has done contract work for the City of Durban (most notably a recent needs-assessment of the Warwick Junction area) and has also consulted on the Markets of Warwick tours for AeT.
- **Glenn Robbins:** An AeT board member, Glenn is a researcher and development consultant with experience in national and international capacities and has worked for the City of Durban.
- **Joanne Lees:** An architect and vice president of the KZN Association of Architects (a professional organization), who, through a series of public tenders and consultations, has a long-standing affiliation with the City of Durban and with AeT.
- **Mahendra Chetty:** A lawyer with the Legal Resource Centre, who will be taking a seat on the high court's bench

*A trader sprinkles water over her vegetables to keep them fresh.
Photo: A. Buckland*



and who has worked closely with AeT through cooperative internships and in support of legal challenges between the Warwick Junction traders and the City of Durban.

- **Hoosen Moolla:** Director of the iTRUMP branch of the City of Durban, who has worked closely with the founders of AeT both in their current capacity and as co-workers for the city during the rejuvenation of Warwick Junction.
- **Caroline Skinner:** WIEGO Director and Senior Researcher at the African Centre for Cities at the University of Cape Town in South Africa. She assisted the Durban City Council in developing an informal economy policy, worked with the provinces of KwaZulu-Natal and the Western Cape, and advised a number of national government departments, including the Presidency and Department of Trade and Industry. She is also an AeT board member.

When asked to describe the benefits the city received as a result of the AeT intervention, responses fell into two basic categories: liaison benefits and social benefits.

Liaison Benefits

With respect to liaison benefits, those interviewed universally categorized AeT's detailed knowledge of and relationship with the traders of Warwick Junction as the greatest benefit to the city. Despite a mandate for participatory planning and consultation, city officials often "find the informal economy hard to deal with" and rely on AeT to bridge the gap (Skinner 2014). Though relationships with the city department responsible for overseeing economic activity in Warwick Junction, the Business Support Unit, are strained, officials from other departments have "no qualms about contacting AeT for advice and help. They struggle to do their work without tapping [AeT's] resources" (Skinner 2014). Further, AeT's input has the effect of "giving legitimacy to the city's programmes" through the reflected trust that the informal workers place in AeT (Robbins 2014). In many cases, AeT is supplementing the work of the city. Where the Business Support Unit "is not people-friendly in terms of interacting with the informal economy workers directly" and "does not communicate with traders or look at their needs or other opportunities", AeT remains accessible to traders and can functionally carry their expressed needs to decision makers (Hoosen 2014). Effectively, this representation of stake-

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holders on the ground gives a voice to informal workers, which allows built-environment professionals to "marshal supported technical arguments" by "giving [the traders] the ability to engage with power structures" (Hoosen 2014). Where technical information can be used to obfuscate, AeT gives all stakeholders the capacity enter the consultation process "with confidence that they're making themselves heard" (Lees 2014).

The benefits of increased consultation through liaison between informal workers and the city are myriad. In a recent example, AeT's was able to supply detailed information on the impact a proposed city plan to move a storage facility would have on traders: the move would mean more trips for barrow operators, costing traders an extra ZAR 30.00 per day from their profits (Dobson 2014). In another example, careful observation of market areas allowed AeT to make important recommendations on where to locate a taxi stand (the queuing area must have a gentle downhill slope so that drivers do not have to start their cars to move), which is an important consideration given that taxi stands are prominent determinants of market composition and flow. AeT's consultation methods have also highlighted a city tender process that undermines adequate consultation (Lees 2014). Finally, in the course of empowering workers through rights awareness training, AeT has significantly contributed (particularly through facilitating a decrease in confiscations) to strengthening the rule of law in Durban and to decreasing a tendency toward vigilantism, thus creating a more secure community for all (Chetty 2014).

On a social level, the benefits to the city created by AeT's interventions include an increase in the quality of life for some of Durban's poorest workers (Zondo 2014). Informal market trade also provide poorer consumers in Warwick Junction with goods that are, on average, 73 per cent less expensive than those from formal businesses in other parts of the city. This allows profits to stay in the hands of low-



This vendor has protected her face from the rays of the sun using lime clay as a sunscreen. Photo: M. Graves

Without exception, it was the trust of Warwick Junctions informal workers that allowed AeT to represent their interests so effectively.

income citizens rather than going to foreign investors as they would a shopping mall development (Skinner 2014). Generally, the active economy of Warwick Junction is of benefit to the city, and in this realm AeT acts as an arms-length agency—like a “chamber of commerce for informal workers,” fostering an economic partnership between informal workers and the city (Moffet 2014).

Critical Success Factors

At the close of the Inclusive Cities project, the AeT team was brought together to determine the contextual and organizational factors critical to their success.

Contextual factors

Without exception, it was the trust of Warwick Junctions informal workers that allowed AeT to represent their interests so effectively. While the founders of AeT had spent years building these relationships as city employees, some contextual factors also accelerated trust and credibility for the newly formed NGO. “There was a moment when the traders realized that FIFA was not going to deliver prosperity as promised, that it might actually have a negative impact. Harassment intensified as the city started to ‘clean up.’ Infrastructure upgrades began without consultation, which was having an adverse affect” (Richard Dobson, AeT staff interview 2014). When the city was threatening to withhold its support of the new Markets of Warwick tours project unless AeT agreed not to include the Early Morning Market (the site of a potential mall development) in the tour, AeT refused. “As a team, this was a moment when we chose to stand with the community. It made our operating environment more difficult, but the team really cemented as did the trust of the traders” (Patrick Ndlovu, AeT staff focus group session 2014).

Relationships with stakeholders were also among the most important contextual factors identified. AeT’s deep knowledge of Warwick’s informal traders meant stakeholders were able to get good information about an otherwise

inaccessible part of the community from a reliable source, which ultimately led to the recognition of the needs of informal workers in the development and planning process. The choice to nurture relationships with individual stakeholders rather than institutional relationships meant that blockages in certain areas could be overcome; obstacles created by an official in one city department, for example, could be side-stepped or overcome by maintaining as many good relations with city officials as possible. Strong historical relationships and association with built environment specialists and other community members/stakeholders strengthened advocacy campaigns when areas of Warwick Junction were threatened by development projects.

AeT staff also identified the partisan nature of the post-apartheid city government as another contextual factor worthy of note. City officials in a predominantly ANC slate have obligations not only to local constituents, but also in some cases, to a national agenda (Zondo).

Finally, the Inclusive Cities network itself was identified as an important contextual factor related to the success of the project because it encouraged AeT to set its work in a global perspective. This not only enabled sharing best practices with partner organizations, but it gave the work of AeT more authority with local stakeholders.

Organizational Factors

Of the underlying organizational factors identified as most crucial to success, team dynamics topped the list in terms of importance. The team’s integration in project work and the collaborative nature of progress was marked as the key to all of AeT’s successes. Further, having team members with architectural and design backgrounds was identified as an important ingredient in AeT’s success because it led to a more creative team perspective and to an organizational culture that, through a process of reimagining, allows its members to see a nuisance as an asset, a mess as beautiful, etc. This attention to design also helped brand the organization and each of its projects, which, to the team, gave the work identity and meaning. The team also identified that the accessible office location (in Warwick Junction) was important; the office also demonstrates the possibility that good design and inner-city informality can go hand-in-hand.



Vendors display their balls of lime clay in the Lime and Impepho Market. Photo: AeT

Challenges and Their Root Causes

The same AeT staff focus group session that noted critical success factors also considered challenges and their root causes. A portion of the problem statement from the original Inclusive Cities project proposal was presented:

“In developing countries, an estimated three quarters of the urban population lives in slums or squatter settlement and ekes out a livelihood in the urban informal economy. Yet cities, pre-occupied with competing for ‘world class city’ status, tend not to integrate informal workers and informal enterprises into their urban planning and economic development strategies.”⁹

Staff the identified the conditions underlying this problem at project’s outset. None of these underlying problems have been eliminated completely, but there is, in some cases, a perception of change. In the graph on the left, the underlying

⁹ Taken from the original Inclusive Cities project proposal submitted to the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, 2008.

conditions and changes to these conditions resulting from AeT's intervention came to the surface during this process.

General resources needed to address underlying conditions (as above):

- stronger communications function
- dedicated project managers
- better defined staff roles
- careful gap analysis re: human resources for better/more strategic placement of interns
- work outside Warwick Junction—community exchanges and testing through replication

Conclusion: Lessons Learned

The following quotes represent findings from the AeT staff focus group on Lessons Learned:

What would you do the same if you set up a similar project (or a similar collaboration with other groups) again?

- “I would use the same AeT approach, which is bottom up. This empowers informal workers with knowledge and skills to be able [to] challenge and question any development that might compromise their right to trade, e.g., mall development that will deprive traders of trading space. I would gather valuable information and knowledge of that sector ensuring that my intervention will add value. I would ensure that I hook up with likeminded organizations with different expertise to complement what we do.”
- “Replicate the team size and skill mix.”
- “I would try for a similar cohesive team with low overheads. People who are passionate about what they do and who they work with.”
- “Seek development practitioners with strong understanding/experience with both city government and informal workers and in urban design/planning and community development work.

Underlying Condition at Project Outset	Mitigation of Condition as Result of Project Intervention
Limited examples of how to integrate informal workers in urban planning.	Ongoing networking with Inclusive Cities partners and participation at international fora has helped collect precedents and establish AeT as an authority on how to integrate the informal economy into urban planning.
Political ambivalence	No mitigating factors save for relationship-building on a case-by-case basis.
Historical prejudice against informal hubs (association with crime and grime)	The Markets of Warwick tours has contributed to building a constituency of support around the informal economy in Durban and to encouraging more pro-active maintenance of the area.
Fragmentation within the community of informal workers	While there was some mobilization around organizing as a result of the Markets of Warwick tours (as mentioned above in the case of SAIWA), there is still no united voice and/or democratic workers organization serving the informal workers of Durban. ¹⁰ AeT will continue to facilitate the formation of workers' groups in their role as service provider, but organizing is not, nor has it been, at the centre of AeT's programmes. However, organization will likely happen on the back of existing and planned programming such as the “Safer Warwick” OHS project (now underway), much as it did with the MoW precedent.
Informal workers had limited or no access to decision-making forums	Through creating links between informal workers and city officials, AeT has increased the workers' access to decision-making dialogues, and this will continue as a focus for planned programming.
No on-the-ground recording of the informal economy contributions	Data collection, impact measurement, and general knowledge management remain as one of AeT's opportunities for improvement.
There is no perceived incentive for cities to consider inclusive planning. “World Class Cities” are flashier and generate more political capital.	No perceived or planned mitigation.
Progressive officials might leave office, causing projects to lose momentum, which creates vulnerability and risk	No perceived or planned mitigation.
Durban has some good policy, but it is not being implemented because of political turnover, loss of momentum	No perceived or planned mitigation.
Lack of interdepartmental coordination in the city.	No perceived or planned mitigation.

¹⁰ For details please see Mkhize, Dube, and Skinner. 2013: p. 9

- “Establishing relationship with the community and creating rapport with them.”
- Establish an inclusive process where the community became part of the strategy development process.”

What would you do differently?

- “It would be much better to focus more on what we know best, which is designing and social facilitation, and refer or outsource to other organizations what does not fall under our scope or specialty, i.e. organizing.”
- “Have a greater ability to implement projects, i.e., take capital works to the city on behalf of informal workers.”
- “An employee dedicated to ensuring buy-in from existing sponsors and initiating new sponsors to come on board.”
- Consider and act on funding/economic sustainability earlier in terms of preparations.”
- “Involve the relevant city department and officials to get full participation into the intervention.”

What would help you be more successful?

- “[Share knowledge and success stories] with sister organizations and replicate them, get media to publicize programmes, and report our success intervention stories of adding value to informal workers’ daily lives.”
- “Having a project management administrator and fundraiser.”
- “Appropriate support and participation by the local municipality.”

What is one wild idea you have for improving how you do this work?

- “If our city could afford informal workers to design their preferred trading infrastructure and thereafter city architects do the final adjustments before final plan approval. Traders will add value and appreciate the [infrastructure] provided.”
- Electronic applications for specific tasks—programmes to improve service delivery and monitor success of the community. We should have an interactive application

“Look at research opportunities: are [informal workers in public spaces in Durban] ... empowered? Are there social problems that could be dealt with in this venue by the city?”

with the schools that visit us and proper, informative feedback. The regular “we thoroughly enjoyed it” does not add to the actual improvement of what is on offer.”

- “The City Manager contracts AeT to do this work within the municipality!”

What have you learnt that you would share with others doing similar work?

- “That consultation is the key, that it takes time and patience to achieve positive results. Involve your client in whatever you do, value their inputs and advice and incorporate their ideas and appreciate.”

- “Grassroots urban design/planning and creative projects that transform the ambivalence/prejudice towards the informal economy by demonstrating creative possibilities is a key aspect to developing the informal economy—beyond advocacy and the usual approach of governments to dealing with the sector through enforcement, regulation, local economic development.”

- “Different communities generally know what works for them. Establishing an inclusive process for sustainable development is the key.”

- “We may become accustomed to our surroundings when taking tours and not see what a “new eye” may see. We may further need to conduct regular follow surveys with the surrounding stall holders to determine the value of educating students and the benefits they as holders achieve from such. We have to guard against

AeT often consults directly with the traders in their places of work in order to understand their needs. Photo: AeT



having the tours as a tourist attraction only. The impact to the stall holders and surrounding community have to be monitored to make positive changes thereby benefitting those in much need thereof.”

Professionals Give a Wish List for AeT

Professionals interviewed for the “Benefits to the City” section of this report were also asked to give a “Wish List for AeT.” The most prominent of those results are as follows (excluding funding related wishes):¹¹

- “Focus on getting Durban right before worrying about national or international programmes (do dissemination through professional development and education programmes).”
- “Better documentation and knowledge management.”

- “AeT works well with a small, fleet-footed team (could continue to make important gains if resources reach a plateau for a period of time).”
- “Cultivate more intersections between community groups to create a larger lobby/combined voice.”
- “Where replication is concerned, focus more on process than on product/outcome in order to eliminate contextual constraints.”
- “Look at opportunities in rural areas—is there a way to take the pressure off the city from that end of the value chain?”
- “Look at research opportunities: are [informal workers in public spaces in Durban] really making enough money? Are they empowered? Are there social problems

that could be dealt with in this venue by the city? The city would like to know these things. Also, some street traders working as fronts for big businesses, and the city would like to know who those people are.”

- “Create a more overt understanding from outside that the organization has backing with clout: that it is not a maverick lunatic fringe, but important internationally, valued internationally.”
- “Support from the Business Support Unit.”

A trader naps over her wares in the Herb Market near Warwick Junction. Photo: M. Graves



¹¹ Excerpted from transcripts of personal interviews conducted between 7 and 12 May 2014

Appendix: Fact Sheet for the Markets in Warwick Junction

Market	No. of stalls/ kiosks/ tables	Average # of traders	Gender split in % F/M	Average # of assistants	Main type of products sold	Source/ suppliers	Estimated input costs pa (per trader)	Estimated turnover pa (per trader)	Invisible supported activities (pay pa) * Data not available	Rental pa (per market)
Bovine Head Meat Market	40 tables	60	90/10	120	Bovine head meat Platted food Fresh produce	Local butcheries Formal shops Early M Market	R560 000 (R50 000 pm)	R720 000 (R65 000 pm) Profit income: R13 000 pm	Barrow operators : R64 800 Water suppliers: R31 200 Paraffin suppliers: R342 900 Paraffin stove repairer*	R33 552 (R69.90 per table pm)
Herb Market	40: Kiosks 660 stalls	700 - 1000	70/30	2000	Traditional herbs and medicines	Rural forests		R170 mil (R150 mil: Traditional healers and R20 mil: retailers) -1997 stats*	Rural herbs suppliers*	R434 808 (R69.90 per stall pm) R38 400 (R80 per kiosk pm)
Brook Street	76 Kiosks 300 tables 8 storages	500	90/10	200	Fresh fruits Traditional attire Music Fashion and accessories Pinafores' Arts and Craft Mixed/ General products Hardware Hair saloon	Formal shops Informal seamstress	R18 186 (R1600 pm)	R54 558 (R4500 pm) Profit income: R2900 pm	Storage assistants*	R72 000: Kiosks (R80 per kiosk pm) R251 640 (R69.90 per stall pm)
Impepho and Lime Markets	60 trading spots	300	100/0		Impepho Mineral lime balls	Rural mines and forests	R28 000 (R2500 pm)	R96 000 (R5000 pm) Profit income: R2 500 pm	Barrow operators Van owners Rural mine diggers	R143 640 (R39.90 per spot pm)
Bead Market		500	98/2	1000	Beaded products	Formal bead shops	R6000 (R550 pm)	R54 000 (R4 500 pm) Profit Income: R3 900 pm	Market cleaner: R18 186	None
Berea Station	Stalls: 295 Kiosks: 54	490	50/50	190	Fresh Produce Traditional attire Church garments Fast food Music Fashion and accessories	Formal shops Informal seamstress	R57 156 (R5 196 pm)	R171 468 (R15 500 pm) Profit income: R10 304	Barrow operators* Storage assistants*	R51 840 (R80 per kiosk pm)
Early Morning Market	670 stalls	1000	85/15	2000	Fresh produce Spices Fresh flowers poultry	Commercial farmers Small scale farmers Bulk market	R3 900 000 (R354 000)	R4 200 000 (R380 000 pm) Profit income: R26 000 pm	Barrow Operators*	R5 226 000 (R650 per stall pm)
Music Bridge	25 stalls	30	30/70		Music Fashion and accessories Hardware	Formal shops	R57 156 (R5 196 pm)	R171 468 (R15 500 pm) Profit income: R10 304		R20 970 (R69.90 per stall pm)
Mielie Cooks		64	95/5	200	Mielies/ Maize	Small scale farmers Own farms Commercial farmers	R795 000 (R72 000 pm)	R936 000 (R85 000 pm) Profit income: R13 000	Fire wood collectors* Water carries* Metal recyclers*	
Other:	Barrow operators	350								
	Taxi washers	250								
Total Traders:	6000 - 8000									
Total turnover:	R2.3 billion pa									

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About WIEGO: Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing is a global network focused on securing livelihoods for the working poor, especially women, in the informal economy. We believe all workers should have equal economic opportunities and rights. WIEGO creates change by building capacity among informal worker organizations, expanding the knowledge base about the informal economy and influencing local, national and international policies. Visit www.wiego.org.

