

**ECONOMIC AND SPATIAL IMPACTS OF  
STREET TRADING ON RETAIL: A CASE  
STUDY OF WEST STREET**

by

DEOLINDA M. D. O. R. DO REGO

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for  
the degree of Masters in Town and Regional Planning, in  
the Department of Town and Regional Planning,  
University of Natal, Durban.

11 December 1995



## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I thank everyone who directly or indirectly encouraged, helped and advised me in the preparation of this dissertation. In particular I would like to especially acknowledge the following people, without whom this study would have been virtually impossible to complete:-

- My supervisor, Alison Todes for her continuous support, guidance, patience and encouragement;
- All the staff of the Town Planning Department;
- The staff of the Statutory Department of the Physical Environment Service Unit for giving me lots of support and encouragement throughout my studies;
- Keith Hardie, for all his computer help and ensuring my computer did not die before the end of this long planning journey;
- The staff of the Drawing Office of the Physical Environment Service Unit for always helping me out with maps, diagrams and presentation. A special thank you to Natalie Raw;
- Nick Webb and Mmantsipo Kabi for their guidance;
- Thomas Ferreira for his assistance with maps and diagrams;
- All those who participated in the study, for their time and valuable input;
- The financial assistance of the Physical Environment Service Unit: Assisted Education Scheme,
- To my mom, sister and friends for always being there for me;
- To my loving husband Julio, for loving and supporting me, listening to my complaints and for always assisting me when I asked for help, thank you.

## **TABLE OF CONTENTS**

List of Maps, Figures, Tables and Plates

### **Chapter 1: Introduction**

1.1.	Motivation, aims and objectives and the scope of the dissertation	2
1.2.	Chapter Outline	3

### **Chapter 2: Research Problem and Methodology**

2.1.	Research Problem.	5
2.2.	Methodology	10
2.2.1.	Introduction	10
2.2.2.	Research Considerations	11
2.2.3.	Data Collection	11

### **Chapter 3: Conceptualisation of the Informal and Formal Sectors**

3.1.	Introduction	14
3.2.	Definitions of the Informal and Formal Sectors	14
3.3.	Integrated Definition of the Informal and Formal Sectors	19
3.4.	Changing Attitudes and State Legislation towards Street Trading	21
3.5.	Conclusion	28



## **Chapter 4: Towards an Understanding of CBD's and Retail in the CBD**

4.1.	Introduction	29
4.2.	Traditional Theories on the Position of CBD's within the Urban Space Economy	29
4.2.1.	Understanding Durban's CBD	32
4.2.2.	A Discussion on the Changing CBD	38
4.3.	Understanding Retail within the Urban Space Economy	39
4.3.1.	Defining Urban Retail	39
4.3.2.	Discussion on Urban Retail Location	42
4.3.3.	Adapting to the Changing Urban Retail Sector	47
4.4.	Overall Conclusion	48

## **Chapter 5: The case of West Street: Dynamics and Perceptions**

5.1.	Introduction	49
5.2.	Observational Survey and Land Use Survey	49
5.2.1.	Pedestrian Movements	50
5.2.2.	Retail Sector	52
5.2.3.	Street Traders	56
5.3.	Dynamics and Perceptions of the Retail Sector and Pedestrians	59
5.3.1.	Retail Sector	59
5.3.1.1.	Introduction	59
5.3.1.2.	Independent Retailers	61
5.3.1.3.	Chains	67
5.3.1.4.	Franchises	73
5.3.2.	Attitude Survey	74
5.3.3.	Conclusion	78

## **Chapter 6: The case of West Street: Key Informants: Dynamics, Perceptions and Discussions around Policy**

6.1.	Introduction	80
6.2.	Public Sector: Key Informants	80
6.2.1.	Conclusion	86
6.3.	Private Sector: Key Informants	86
6.3.1.	Conclusion	93
6.4.	Synthesis and Conclusion	93

## **Chapter 7: Conclusion: Guidelines and Recommendations**

7.1.	Introduction	95
7.2.	Guidelines and Recommendations	95
7.3.	Conclusion	98

<b>Bibliography</b>	100
---------------------	-----

<b>Appendices</b>	112
-------------------	-----

## LIST OF MAPS

Map 1: The Relative Location of Durban's CBD in the Metropolitan Context	34
Map 2: Type of Retail Activity and Location of Street Traders	A1
Map 3: Land-use	A2
Map 4: Location of Demarcated Sites in West Street	A4

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Number of People involved in the Informal Sector in KwaZulu/Natal	6
Figure 2: Amount and Percentage Contribution to GGP in KwaZulu/Natal	7
Figure 3: Value of Output and Growth Rates in the Informal Sector	7
Figure 4: Concentration of Street Traders	18
Figure 5: Locating the Informal and Formal Sectors	19
Figure 6: Locality of CBD's Designated Areas	26
Figure 7: Burgess' Concentric Zone Model	30
Figure 8: Sector Model and Multiple Nuclei Model	31
Figure 9: South African Apartheid City Model	33
Figure 10: Durban's CBD Employment Figures	36
Figure 11: Employment in Durban's CBD by Major Use, Race and Sex	37
Figure 12: The Changing Urban Retail Environment	43
Figure 13: Shopping Centre Types	46
Figure 14: ITSOB's three-prong approach to street trading	83
Figure 15: Operation Thunderbolt	85

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Participants of the Retail Sector Interview	60
Table 2: Participants of the Attitude Survey	74
Table 3: Monthly Crime Statistics from January 1995-October 1995	84

## LIST OF PLATES

Plate 1: Pedestrian Movement within the Broad and Field Streets Block	50
Plate 2: Pedestrian Movement near the new Old Mutual development	51
Plates 3 and 4: Independent Retailers 'using' the pavements	53
Plate 5: Obstructed Window Displays	54
Plates 6 and 7: Two types of lanes in West Street	55
Plates 8 and 9: Goods being dropped off	57
Plate 10: Large stocks and a disorganised Street Trader	58
Plate 11: An organised Street Trader	59
Plate 12: New types of Retail in West Street	64
Plate 13: Umbrellas provided by Jet	72
Plate 14: Mobile police station	86

## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

*"There are too many vendors in West Street  
"I will keep out of the city centre in future...because the pavements are crowded!"  
(City Beat: March 1995)*

*→ "Give us back our pavements "  
"The pavements in our city centre are occupied by far too many street vendors and  
restricting hazards" (City Beat: July 1995)*

*"Help the traders  
Hawkers trading on the pavements cause inconvenience to pedestrians, motorists and shop  
owners.*

*These hawkers take up half of the pavement with their tables and stocks. To avoid the  
cramped pavements and pick-pockets, many of us take to walking on the roads"  
(City Beat: July 1995)*

*"White people no longer want to go to CBD's because of the dangers"  
(Natal Mercury: 09-03-1995)*

*"You will NEVER get me back to a CBD situation again. The way I see it is they are  
finished forever" (Natal Mercury: 09-03-1995)*

*→ "Disgusting' West Street  
Just take a drive down West Street after 7pm and the most disgusting sight can be seen.  
There are papers, food, plastic bags, cold drink cans, cardboard boxes and general filth  
lying everywhere" (Natal Mercury: 14-03-1995)*

*"It used to be a pleasure to meander in the city centre. It has turned into a dirty, smelly,  
noisy, slum-with-tall-buildings, where people feel free to urinate on the street, as I saw  
outside the former Garlicks" (Daily News: 11-11-1994)*

*"I do not need litter everywhere, hawkers, defecators, beggars, and taxis pumping out  
loud rap music, spoiling what is left of quality in my life. So all Durban business people,  
take note: my wife and I will not be seeing you again until you bring the enjoyment back"  
(Daily News: 11-11-1994)*

*"GARLICKS, the grand old lady of Durban stores, closes its doors...ending an era in city-  
centre shopping" (Natal Mercury: 17-10-1994)*

*"...the decline and demise of the CBD...will ultimately lead to declining revenues for the  
city as a whole" (Daily News: 26-08-1994)*

*"WEST STREET BLUES  
The deterioration of the Central Business District has become a serious problem for many  
businesses - causing many reputable firms and shopowners to leave the city centre"  
(Daily News: 08-03-1995)*

## 1.1. MOTIVATION, AIMS AND OBJECTIVES AND THE SCOPE OF THE DISSERTATION

① This dissertation investigates the economic and spatial impacts of street trading on a specific economic sector and spatial context. The research explores the impact of street trading on the retail sector in the city centre. West Street has been selected as a case study as it is a relevant, exciting and challenging example. There is also a lack of research on street trading in this area. This is due to the fairly recent occurrence of street trading in West Street, unlike Warwick Avenue Triangle which has been extensively documented (Pentz: 1992; Naidoo: 1993; Fadane: 1993).

② It is a study that is motivated and prompted by the growing concern in recent newspaper articles, reports and workshops concerning street traders; retail sector; key informants; the City Council, and the future of the CBD. The media argues that as increasing numbers of street traders occupy this area, visual and trading conditions are deteriorating (Natal Mercury: 14-03-1995; Daily News: 11-11-1994; Daily News: 24-11-1995) causing many "reputable firms and shopowners to leave the city centre" (Daily News: 08-03-1995; Daily News: 24-11-1995). It is contested that if this trend continues the CBD will deteriorate and die, the remaining firms are those "depended on banks and other such facilities based in the area" (Daily News: 08-03-1995). There is also a strong argument that "...the presence of street hawkers" (Daily News: 08-03-1995; Daily News: 26-08-1994) are the main cause for the decline in retail trade and the CBD (ibid).

Various key informants are currently attempting to develop a policy framework that responds to the needs of both the retail sector and street traders, within West Street. This has largely been unsuccessful for numerous reasons: ad-hoc and lack of consultation with all key informants; the dynamics of West Street are not fully understood; forthcoming local government elections and so on. Understanding the dynamics of the study area is a prerequisite before developing a 'city wide development framework'. In addition, it is imperative that such a policy be implemented as the CBD embodies large amounts of private and public investment and social and economic value, thus requiring appropriate development and planning.

Aims ✓  
The primary aims of this dissertation is to understand the economic and spatial impacts of street trading on retailing and on West Street. Secondly to explore how these dynamics can be controlled and managed in a specific spatial context. The focus up to now has been on the City Council solely addressing street trading, this has proven unsuccessful. In future **partnerships** with the retail sector; informal sector; City Council and various key informants are required.

object

The associated objectives of this study are firstly, to provide a localised understanding of the study area and prevailing attitudes of the retail sector; pedestrians and key informants towards street trading. Secondly, to determine current perceptions of West Street. In terms of whether it is seen as declining or restructuring. Thirdly, this study investigates certain policies and their implications concerning the accommodation of street trading in West Street. Finally, this dissertation proposes certain policy guidelines and recommendations to ensure the appropriate accommodation of the retail sector and street trading in West Street.

The scope of this dissertation is firstly, to understand the perceptions and dynamics of the economic and spatial impacts of street trading on retailing and the city centre. Secondly, to explore and critically evaluate current planning proposals for the controlling and managing of this phenomena. Finally, from the above findings the study proposes certain policy guidelines and recommendations to ensure the appropriate accommodation of retail and street trading in West Street. In an effort to understand the impact and the required planning intervention, West Street has been chosen as a case study. The study needs to be seen as a pilot study for a more comprehensive and encompassing investigation on the subject.

This study does not attempt to firstly, understand all possible impacts of street trading on retail and the city centre. Rather the focus is on understanding the economic and spatial impacts of street trading on the retail sector in West Street. Secondly, it does not attempt to investigate all human and natural dynamics that are impacting on retail activities and the city centre, rather the focus is on one dynamic, namely street trading.

## 1.2. CHAPTER OUTLINE

In **Chapter 2** the nature of the research problem is expanded as well as a broad discussion of the theoretical and conceptual debates that are central to the research problem. The key concepts and terms are also outlined and discussed.

The latter half of **Chapter 2** considers the key elements of the methodological approach that this study adopts. This is linked to the nature and interpretation of the research problem.

The study then focuses on a series of discussions around the conceptualisation of the informal sector and formal sector. Followed by a discussion on the changing role of retail and CBD's. **Chapter 3** examines various conceptualisation and definitional debates concerning both the informal and formal sectors in various contexts. The alternative conceptual framework of defining these two sectors

that is proposed by Nattrass (1987) is then given. This approach forms part of the conceptual framework informing the study.

The latter half of **Chapter 3** provides a brief overview on changing attitudes and state legislation towards the urban informal sector, and the implication these changes have for cities. A brief historical overview of the Durban situation is discussed, namely how retail and City Council have started to participate and address street trading in West Street (and in Durban).

**Chapter 4** explores theoretical debates around the evolution and restructuring of cities, CBD's and retail in an international, South African and Durban context.

**Chapter 5** entails the first part of the in-depth investigation of the research problem, through the use of a case study. This chapter entails examining the observational survey and land-use survey. Secondly, an analysis of the retail sector interviews. The attitude survey will also be evaluated.

**Chapter 6** mainly considers the various key informants' policy recommendations for both street trading and the city centre. This chapter concludes with a summary of the key findings of **Chapters 5** and **6**.

**Chapter 7** concludes the dissertation. Future guidelines and recommendations required in order to control and manage street trading and CBD's are discussed. Future research is also identified.



## CHAPTER 2: RESEARCH PROBLEM AND METHODOLOGY

### 2.1. RESEARCH PROBLEM

There has recently been an increasing concern in newspapers and reports over the future of CBD's; the problems raised by the reality of street trading (see page 1); and how these areas can be developed so as to promote a comparative urban advantage.

CBD's have historically been perceived as representing a vital and dynamic feature of a city, ensuring that the various distinctive parts of the city are integrated into a functioning whole. In developed countries (United States and Europe) since the 1940's and 1950's, Third World cities and more recently in South African cities there has been an increasing concern that CBD's are in fact "loosing their edge" particularly concerning retailing and office development. Some of the reasons include: decentralisation of shopping to suburbs and shopping centres; improved technological and informational systems; perceived perceptions of the CBD. In recent years there has been a particular focus on investigating inner city decline and the implementation of inner city revitalisation schemes in order to give CBD's a comparative advantage over other urban retail and office precincts, and to ensure that users are attracted to CBD's.

In the Durban CBD context the above mentioned factors are applicable, but recently there has been a growing concern regarding the presence of street trading locating in prime central retail space. It must be noted that, street trading is one of the most visible and important occupations in most developed and developing African, Asian, Middle Eastern and Latin American cities. This has historically been depicted as a "manifestation of massive underemployment or disused unemployment, and of the excessive growth of unsophisticated tertiary occupations in Third World cities" (Bromley: 1979: 1161). Increasingly, communities of street traders have become a persistent element in the retail environment of less developed countries. In South African cities (including Durban) "...retail outlets...seem to coexist uneasily alongside 'informal traders', who generate clustered street scenes" (Paddison, Findlay and Dawson: 1990). In South Africa the struggle of informal traders seeking to invade and occupy urban central spaces in major urban areas, forms part of the broader "struggle for the city" (Cooper: 1983; Mabin: 1988).

Recently in South Africa there has been an interest in informal retail environments in the wake of deregulatory steps and a "notable policy shift from the underdevelopment to the limited development or promotion of informal

retailing" (Rogerson: 1990: 133). This trend is seen in other developing countries where there is an emphasis on the potential role of the informal-sector in alleviating poverty and unemployment, and a growing call to stimulate this type of activity. Street traders are thus seen as enterprising victims due to the shortage of productive employment opportunities in the city and the increasing urbanisation process.

Looking specifically at KwaZulu/Natal it is estimated that approximately 970 000 people are involved in the informal sector, illustrated in Figure 1.

**Figure 1: Number of People involved in the Informal Sector in KwaZulu/Natal**

Area	'Coloureds'	Indians	Blacks	Total
Cities	0	38267	101471	139738
Towns	3014	13282	251410	267706
Non-Urban	234	11243	551078	562555
Total	903959	3248	62792	969999

Source: MacMenamin (1995)

Figure 1 illustrates the although the greatest proportion of informal sector employment are 'Blacks', the sector is not confined to the 'Black' population. Some 65 000 'Coloureds' and 'Indians' are estimated to be employed in the informal sector. It is estimated that the number of people involved in the informal sector on a full time basis has increased by some 20 % between 1990-1991 (ibid).

The percentage contribution made by the informal sector to KwaZulu/Natal's GGP is a matter of speculation. MacMenamin (1995) estimates amounts between R1,5 billion and R2,2 billion in 1985. These 1985 figures of the informal sector activities in KwaZulu/Natal are illustrated in proportion to sub-sectors in Figure 2.

Figure 2: Amount and Percentage Contribution to GGP in KwaZulu/Natal

Sector	Low Estimate (R1000)	High Estimate (R1000)	Percentage
Trade	487.4	714.9	0.32
Services	46.4	68.1	0.03
Crafts	378.9	555.8	0.25
Home Crafts	143.6	210.6	0.10
Transport	305.2	447.6	0.20
Scavenging	16.3	23.9	0.01
Accommodation	9.5	13.9	0.01
Other Activities	112.6	165.2	0.08

Source: MacMenamin (1995)

Figure 2 illustrates that retail activities account for about one third of informal sector activities, and for approximately 40 percent employment in the sector.

It has been stated above and will be discussed in Chapter 3 that the growth of the informal sector is linked to the growth of unemployment. Figure 3 indicates forecast growth in the informal sector and uses the high estimate of the value of GGP in a magisterial district (MacMenamin: 1995).

Figure 3: Value of Output and Growth Rates in the Informal Sector

Magisterial District	GGP (Rm in 1985 prices)			GGP Growth Rates p/a	
	1993	1998	2013	1993-1998	1998-2013
ALFRED	3.0	3.0	3.2	0.2	0.4
AMMERSPOORT	3.3	4.2	5.8	2.5	2.2
BABANANGO	0.7	0.8	1.4	3.6	3.8
BERGVILLE	5.4	6.0	8.7	2.3	2.5
CAMPERDOWN	32.7	38.4	66.1	3.2	3.7
DANNHAUSER	5.9	6.1	6.3	0.6	0.2
DUNDEE	15.8	16.3	18.3	0.6	0.8
DURBAN	981.3	1062.9	1397.3	1.6	1.8
EMBUMBULU	15.0	18.8	38.3	4.6	4.9
EMNAMBITHI	6.0	7.6	16.5	5.0	5.3

Source: MacMenamin (1995)

**Figure 3** illustrates that Durban has the largest share of GGP, the informal sector in this magisterial district is also the largest. The growth rates of the informal sector in KwaZulu/Natal is in excess of 5 % per annum.

Given the above evidence and recognising that CBD retailing is changing and that street trading is continuing to locate and increase within this central urban space, the research problem that is being investigated is *the economic and spatial impacts of street trading on retail in West Street*.

It is important that these concepts are defined, clarified and “stated in unison with the objectives of the research” (Abedian and Desmidt: 1989: 14 cited in Rogerson and Preston-Whyte: 1991), the purposes of investigation and upon the approach and ideological stance adopted (Kirsten: 1991; Chandovarkar: 1988).

For the purposes of this dissertation *street trading* is defined as the most visible form of the informal sector and is characterised by street traders who are involved in small scale, unenumerated, irregular entrepreneurial activities. This usually involves selling small quantities of fruit and vegetables, cassettes, food and other small goods, usually on a cash basis (Fadane: 1993: 16). The success of this type of trading depends “upon the traders efforts and ability to attract clientele” (Bromley: 1978: 1165).

The *CBD* is a defined area “within an urban region...centrally disposed with very high land valuation and traffic flow and in which the dominant land use is for intensive business activity” (Department of Transport: 1982). The focus of this study is West Street which is part of Durban’s CBD hard core of retailing and financial uses (Wilkinson: 1994).

*Retailing* is defined as including “all business activities associated with selling goods and services to an ultimate consumer or final user for personal consumption” (Redinbaugh: 1976: 6-7). It also includes the “capacity for storage and display of goods, higher-order goods and services, and greater security for goods” (McGee and Yeung: 1979: 23).

*Impact* for the purposes of this study is the manner in which street trading affects retail. This is differentiated along economic and spatial lines:-

- 1) Economic Aspects: Possible modifications to business activities, namely:  
changing customer targets and base; types/quality of goods sold;  
increase/decrease in turnover; using street traders to sell goods;
- 2) Spatial Aspects: Retail’s spatial orientation due to changing circumstances and the presence of street traders in West Street. This includes future

spatial plans of the retail sector, for example: plans to move out of the area, or to a different part of West Street or locating elsewhere within the CBD;

As stated in **Chapter 1** a case study method is adopted and the area of West Street provides a relevant and suitable example to explore the economic and spatial impacts of street trading on retail. **Map 1** indicates **The Relative Location of the CBD in the Metropolitan Context**.

Having outlined the Research Problem, the principal Research Question of this study is:-

*What are the economic and spatial impacts of street trading on current and future retail activities in West Street?*

Subsidiary questions that are considered are:-

- How has street trading contributed to the changing economic and spatial structure of retail in West Street?
- How do these impacts vary according to the type of retail?
- How is retail adapting (if at all) to the presence of street trading in West Street? This includes both:-
  - 1) Economic Aspects: Possible modifications to business activities, namely: changing customer targets and base; types/quality of goods sold; increase/decrease in turnover; using street traders to sell goods;
  - 2) Spatial Aspects: Retail's spatial orientation due to changing circumstances and the presence of street traders in West Street. This includes future spatial plans of the retail sector, for example: plans to move out of the area, or to a different part of West Street or locating elsewhere within the CBD;
- Is the CBD declining or just restructuring?
- Is the growth of street trading underpinning the decline or restructuring in CBD?
- What can be done to accommodate the two sectors in West Street?
- How can the CBD be made more attractive, facilitating formal and informal activities to grow effectively and efficiently?

These questions arise from the following assumptions namely:-

1. Economic and spatial impacts of street trading on retail activities are location specific;
2. Retail activities have adapted to the presence of street trading in West Street, eg: goods sold; customer target etc;
3. Street trading will continue to impact on retail, as the presence of street trading is here to stay and increase. Although recent newspaper articles argue that the street traders must be removed, it is highly unlikely that this will occur;

In light of the above research problem, aims and objectives and research questions, the following research hypotheses apply to this dissertation:-

1. Economic and spatial impacts of street trading on the retail sector depend on the location, size and type of retailing;
2. The increased presence of street trading has economic and spatial impacts on the retail sector locating in West Street;
3. Certain types of retail are tied to their West Street location and will continue to locate in West Street;
4. The changing customer base, that is, the predominance of 'Black' buying power is partially linked to an increase of street trading in West Street;
5. Street trading and retail are integrated in the urban economy (Nattrass: 1987), policies should thus accommodate these two activities in the same central place;

## 2.2. METHODOLOGY

### 2.2.1. Introduction

The research methodology of this dissertation draws on both primary and secondary sources as well as qualitative methods. The research question of this study outlined in the previous section brings the 'what' question to the fore. This type of question necessitates an explanatory and exploratory investigation into what the impact of street trading is on the retail sector in West Street. It is imperative that a qualification by the retail sector; pedestrians; and public and private key informants is undertaken and analysed. Impact is neither uniform nor static.

For this reason the researcher used the semi-structured interview technique the most as it allowed the researcher to be both systematic and flexibility in addressing the specifics of the research question. Respondents were guided though the interview session, but were still able to identify and elaborate on issues (Runcie: 1980). The researcher on the other hand was able to decide when and how to ask questions, when to probe the respondents further, and if the need arose to insert new questions. At the same time the researcher was able to stay within the framework imposed by the areas to be covered during the interview session.

The researcher feels that by utilising a case study method it was possible to identify and investigate the impact of street trading on a specific economic sector and spatial location, and thus recommend appropriate planning intervention for the study area.

### 2.2.2. Research Considerations

This dissertation must be seen as a pilot study, although the sample size is fairly high.

Research was not constrained by the socio-economic characteristics of the researcher, namely the English language, university origin and the researcher being a 'white female'. Dress was at all times neat, smart and neutral.

Finally, the essence of the research problem makes it unnecessary to interview the street traders, it is also beyond the stated scope of this dissertation. Yet, it is imperative that future research be carried out on the specific characteristics of the street traders within the study area.

### 2.2.3. Data Collection

#### Primary Data Collection

Five types of primary data have been collected for this study.

#### 1. *Observational survey*

Observation of West Street was made and photographs taken between the 16th of October 1995 to the 10th of November 1995.

Observation of the area was undertaken by the author whilst walking through the area at various times of the day and week, making notes of interesting formal and informal activities and other related features. This process provided useful insights into:- the everyday practices of the informal traders in relation to formal retail activities; how different retail activities are affected and how pedestrians relate to these two sectors and the CBD.

This observational survey helped to identify the study area, which lies between Broad and Gardiner Streets, illustrated in Appendix 1 contains Map 2: Type of Retail Activity and Location of Street Traders. This area was chosen as it is here that most of the West Street street traders are located. Secondly, these two city blocks represent a dynamic 'hard-core' of retail activities, namely: independent retailers, chains and franchisors, depicted in Map 2.

## 2. *Land-use survey*

The aim of this survey was to identify only the ground floor retail uses of the study area. Secondly, to identify the location of street traders. The identification of retail uses and street traders contributed to a more realistic understanding of retail location and street trading relationships within the study area. This survey was an addition to the study undertaken by Wilkinson (1994), and illustrated that dynamic shifts and changes have occurred since his study. It is thus evident that the CBD is in a constant state of flux and restructuring, requiring constant monitoring and planning. **Appendix 2** contains **Map 3** illustrates the current **Land-use** in West Street.

## 3. *Retail Sector interviews*

Forty-three retail sector interviews were conducted in a semi-structured manner. This represents 53 % of the total retailers (78) located within the study area. Two of the interviews were conducted by telephone. Interviews lasted 45 minutes to an hour and interviewees responded to prepared questions. **Table 1** illustrates the **Participants of the Retail Sector Interviews**.

The retail sector interviews were selected firstly, in terms of the location of street traders to their stores, and secondly, in ensure a range of retail types were analysed. The main types of retailing include: chains: targeting high to middle income customers and those that target middle to low income customers; independent retailers; food franchises; sports/shoes and accessories, jewellery; fabric; furniture; stationery and other. Retail sector interviews were conducted with individuals in high managerial positions or owners. The author contends that this sample was sufficient to answer the research question. **Appendix 4** contains the **Retail Sector Interview Questionnaire**.

## 4. *Attitude Survey*

Forty-two attitude surveys were conducted in a semi-structured manner. **Table 2** illustrates the **Participants of the Attitude Survey**. Interviews lasted 15 to 30 minutes and interviewees responded to prepared questions.

The interviewees were defined and selected to ensure that a broad sense of attitudes would be attained. The main objective of this survey was to obtain a sense of why people were in West Street; which retailers are used and why; and various views on street trading and West Street. The survey was designed as a pilot study as a start for a more comprehensive pedestrian survey of the entire CBD. **Appendix 5** contains the **Attitude Survey Questionnaire**.



## 5. *Key Informant Interviews*

Seventeen key informant interviews were conducted in a semi-structured manner. Interviews lasted 30 minutes to an hour and interviewees responded to prepared questions. **Appendix 7** lists the **Key Informants**.

Interviews were conducted with key informants in the public and private sectors that are involved either in CBD or street trading planning, and thus have an understanding of the changing spatial, political and socio-economic dynamics within the study area. **Appendix 6** contains the **Key Informant Interview Questionnaire**.

### Secondary Data Collection

Various secondary sources were utilised in this dissertation. This involved the perusal of letters written by businesses or organisations, as a means to record events in the area; minutes, memoranda; reports; speeches and files.

Other sources of data used were:-

- a) library sources (catalogues, other dissertations and theses);
- b) Durban City Council records: office files, mayors minutes, annual research reports, by-laws and gazetted material referring to the formal-informal sector **and the** CBD;
- c) recent newspaper articles on informal **sector** trading in the CBD;
- d) Chamber of Business: articles and documents;

Critical reading of both published and unpublished data was essential in assessing the historical trajectory of attitudes and state legislative changes towards street traders.

## CHAPTER 3: CONCEPTUALISATION OF THE INFORMAL AND FORMAL SECTORS

### 3.1. INTRODUCTION

The essence of this research problem is the economic and spatial impacts of street trading on the retail sector in West Street. In order to understand the dynamics of this impact prevalent in the case study, a reflection on theoretical debates over the informal and formal sectors is critical. This is done in order to define a position in relation to the broad theoretical debate for the purposes of this study.

The literature review reveals that previous literature is inadequate, and that a theoretical gap is present. Firstly, existing informal sector literature is generally of a descriptive nature looking at demographics, nature of activities etc (Pentz: 1992; Naidoo: 1993 etc). Secondly, the literature assumes that the informal sector is generally subordinate to the formal sector. This dissertation illustrates that the impact of the informal sector, in particular street trading on retail is determined by factors such as the location, nature, size and goods sold by particular retailers. Thirdly, a gap that is pertinent to this dissertation is that the existing literature views the formal sector as being fairly impermeable. Resulting in a literature gap on the impact of the informal sector on formal sector. Paddison, Findlay and Dawson (1990: 41) state this gap in literature arises from the "complexity of social phenomena...a lack of theoretical concepts available for their analysis". The debate below will provide an alternative "explanation of the order that one sees in otherwise unrelated events" (Lasson, Weigand and Wright: 1976: xi).

Furthermore, an overview of changing attitudes and state legislation towards street trading is discussed.

### 3.2. DEFINITIONS OF THE INFORMAL AND FORMAL SECTORS

The exact nature and definitions of the informal and formal sectors in both developed, developing and Third World countries have varied depending on criterion used. These sectors have been viewed as: "two juxtaposed *systems of production*, one derived from capitalist forms of production, the other from the peasant system; as *two types of economy*, 'a firm centred economy' and 'a bazaar type economy'; as *two circuits*, 'the upper and lower circuits'; and as *two sectors*, 'a high profit/high wage international oligopolistic sector and a low profit/low wage competitive capitalistic sector' (Moser: 1978: 1052).

The informal sector concept is also referred to as the "black market", the "black economy", the "under-ground economy", the "parallel market" (Yulo: 1987: 22). The informal sector's heterogeneous and polymorphic nature in respect to the "type of activity, mode of organization and general social acceptability" (May and Stavrou: 1989: 1; Latouche: 1993) makes it inappropriate to define this sector with one universal definition. Latouche (1993: 134) states that this sector includes a "fuzzy set" of activities possessing its own coherence and specificity. Kirsten (1991) and Yulo (1987) argue that defining the informal sector is a complex and value-ridden exercise, that depends on cultural perspectives. Latouche (1993) contends that to form a coherent theoretical view of the concrete heterogeneity of the informal sector is only possible if one has already understood the theoretical role played by the formal sector. The informal sector is defined as the *other* of society (ibid).

Dewar and Watson (1990) add to this argument by stating that definitions depend whether the focus of attention is on business or activity, or on the household unit. This dissertation focuses on the former, the business or activity as the research problem is to investigate the economic and spatial impacts of street trading on the retail sector in West Street. By concentrating on activity or enterprise as the basic unit for dichotomisation, the assumption is that the urban economy incorporates a continuum of enterprises engaged in the production of goods and services (Sethuraman: 1981). Thus, recommendations can be made to ensure that the informal sector improve income and employment conditions (Sethuraman: 1981). Such efforts must not ignore the over-all spatial, economic, social and political context.

Although the dissertation focuses on activities or enterprises, the importance of the approach based on individuals or households must be noted, as the two complement each other. Future research on identifying and investigating the particular people involved in street trading in West Street is critical. This will provide insight into the particular problems of this specific group (Sethuraman: 1981).

One of the earliest conceptualisations of the informal and formal sectors was put forward by Hart (1973 cited in May and Stavrou: 1989) who used the formal/informal sector distinction to differentiate between wage earning and self-employment. Hart's list of informal sector activities included: productive and secondary activities; distribution activities (street hawking; catering in food and drink) and service activities (van der Waal and Sharp: 1988). This illustrates the income generating ability/potential of the informal sector outside the urban formal sector.

The International Labour Organisation (ILO) (1972) Kenyan report utilised the two-sector dichotomy, but enumerated detailed and specific economic characteristics of the two sectors as a means to identify 'target groups'. The informal sector is described as consisting only economic activities which are "marginally productive such as small-scale trading and household and personal services" (May and Stavrou: 1989: 5). The informal sector is characterised by:-

- (a) ease of entry;
- (b) reliance on indigenous resources;
- (c) family ownership of enterprises;
- (d) small scale of operation;
- (e) labour-intensive and adapted technology;
- (f) skills acquired outside the formal school system and
- (g) unregulated and competitive markets (Moser: 1978: 1053).

The formal sector's economic activities on the other hand are characterised by:-

- (a) difficult entry;
- (b) frequent reliance on overseas resources;
- (c) corporate ownership;
- (d) large scale of operation;
- (e) capital-intensive and often imported technology;
- (f) formally acquired skills, often expatriate; and
- (g) protected markets (through tariffs, quotas and trade licenses) (ibid).

World Bank and Portes and Walton (in Trage: 1987: 239 cited in May and Stavrou: 1989) argue for a different approach to the informal/formal sector concept. One that is based on a dichotomy within the urban labour market, rather than between enterprises is contested. The informal sector is seen as 'unprotected' whilst the formal sector is seen as 'protected' (World Bank cited in Moser: 1978; Hemmer and Mannel: 1989) as it provides "better fringe benefits, working conditions, social security provisions and job security than those in open sectors, where the converse conditions exist" (ibid).

Portes, Castells and Brenton (1989) argue that one of the central features of the informal sector is that it is unregulated by the institutions of society, in a legal and social environment in which similar activities are regulated. Informal sector generally operates outside the official rules of regulation and taxation for licenses (Fadane: 1993). Weeks (1975) in his conceptualisation of the formal/informal sector distinction stresses "factors external to the character of the enterprise, but lays specific emphasis on the role of the state" (cited in Moser: 1978: 1054). The formal sector is officially recognised, nurtured and regulated by the state, whilst the informal sector operates outside this system of benefits.

The above definitions focus on the characteristics of, rather than the dynamic and flexible relationships between the two sectors (Pentz: 1992; Naidoo: 1993; Hemmer and Mannel: 1989). Relationships between the two sectors are seen as benign. The informal sector is seen as serving a generally poor market, thus complementing the formal sector (Tokman: 1978; Weeks: 1975; Sethurman: 1981; Moser: 1978). The informal sector is seen as playing a crucial role in the circulation process by being located near "customers, by providing credit, by selling in units as required, and by targeting products specifically at the needs of the low-income market" (Dewar and Watson: 1990: 4; Tokman: 1978). This sector will only generate surplus if they are not repressed by the law (Dewar and Watson: 1990).

These arguments have been criticised and questioned on a number of grounds (see Bromley and Gerry: 1979; Wellings and Sutcliffe: 1984; Pentz: 1992; Rogerson: 1988). Critics emphasise a "continuum of productive activities in the cities of developing countries and the empirical descriptions of complex structural linkages and dependent relationships between production and distribution systems" (Moser: 1978: 1055). The informal sector is seen as a mode of production that exists at the margins of the capitalist mode of production but is nevertheless integrated with it (Moser: 1978; Rogerson: 1988; Rogerson and Beavon: 1980).

According to Nattrass (1987); Tokman (1978) and Livingstone (1991) the informal sector acts as a "reserve army of labour" (Rogerson: 1988: 134) involved in activities that act as an indirect transfer, benefitting the urban capitalist sector. This is achieved through the provision of cheap goods and services, which in turn controls the overall cost of living and workers' wage demands, ensuring larger profits to the capitalist sector. The informal economy is seen as highly dependent on the cyclical nature of capitalist economic development. Economic crises and recession cause a movement from the formal to the informal economy (Portes, Castells and Brenton: 1989).

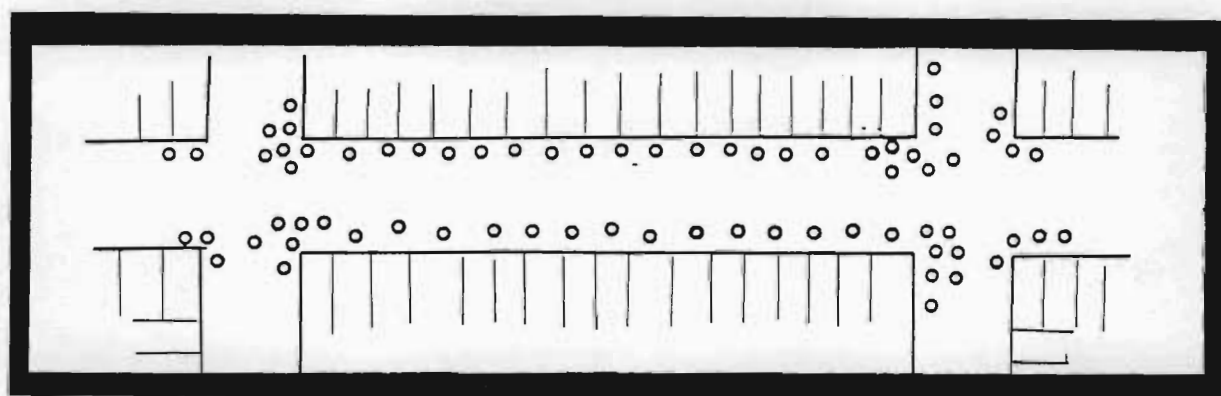
The informal sector is seen as targeting the domestic market primarily low cost, cheap, marginally profitable goods and services, protecting and facilitating the formal sector to concentrate on distributing more profitable goods and services for both the domestic and export market. Portes, Castells and Brenton (1989) argue that the informal economy is often tapped by the profit-seeking formal enterprises and can be viewed as an indirect exploitation of the people involved.

Significant accumulation, as surplus by the informal sector is dictated by the accumulation process in the formal sector (Tokman: 1978; Moser: 1984; Bromley and Gerry: 1979). This sector lacks access to basic resources of

production as resources are monopolised by the formal sector. It is thus forced to pay higher prices for purchases, forcing this sector into occupying segments of the economy where "minimum size or stability conditions are not attractive for oligopolistic firms, this is to ensure the realisation of economies of scale and to guarantee an adequate capital **utilization**" (Tokman: 1978: 1069). Hemmer and Mannel (1989) add to this argument by writing that the formal sector sometimes uses the informal sector to sell its products, as long as the sales expenses in the latter sector is lower than those of the formal sector. An exploitative relationship is argued.

The simplicity and generalisation of the benign and exploitative argument has been questioned and criticised (Dewar and Watson: 1990; Tokman: 1978). It is contended that while both prices **and markets may** be determined outside the informal sector, "Location, owner-customer **personal** relationships, credit, infinite possibilities of product sub-division, permanent presence because of the non-existent "business hours" etc" (Tokman: 1978: 1073), enables the informal retail sector to maintain a share of the market. Dewar and Watson (1990) add that the informal sector generally locate in interceptor positions between pedestrian flows and formal shops. Figure 4 illustrates **Concentration of Street Traders**.

Figure 4: Concentration of Street Traders



Source: McGee and Yeung (1977)

This type of concentration consciously or unconsciously seals or blocks the entrances to shops, ensuring a share of the market.

The above discussion illustrates that although informal and formal sector concepts are widely used, they have remained vague and slippery, leading to widely differing if not contradictory interpretation of the findings about this sector. One can not generalise or use a single criteria to classify the formal and informal sectors, conceptualisation of these sectors is a **process** with constantly

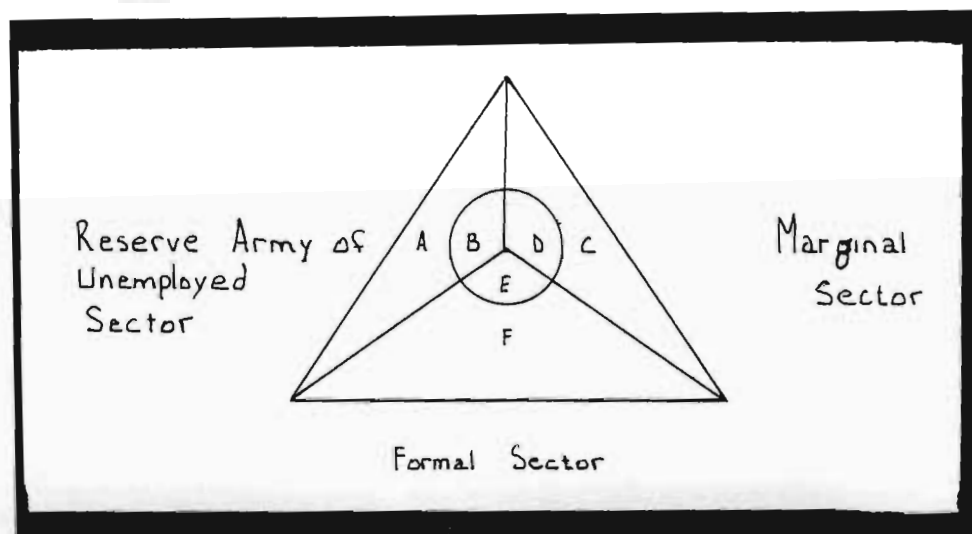
changing boundaries and definitions which have economic and spatial implications.

The author affirms that an alternative integrated definition is required to ensure an appropriate location of the formal and informal sectors in the wider urban space economy, for the purposes of this study.

### 3.3. INTEGRATED DEFINITION OF THE INFORMAL AND FORMAL SECTORS

The author believes that the integrated definition proposed by Nattrass (1987) is the most useful in locating the two sectors for the purposes of this dissertation.

Figure 5: Locating the Informal and Formal Sectors



Source: Nattrass (1987)

Figure 5 consists of three triangles representing the reserve army of unemployed sector, the marginal sector and the formal sector of the economy. A circle overlapping the apex of all three circles comprises the informal sector (Nattrass: 1987; May and Stavrou: 1989; Pentz: 1992).

According to these authors the reserve army of unemployed are those individuals that with macroeconomic expansion are most likely to be employed as they have either the skills or experience that the formal sector require. Two sub-sectors are present. Section 'a' consists of individuals that do not form part of the informal sector as they are full-time job seekers living off accumulated savings, state welfare or family support.



Individuals in Section 'b' are very similar to those found in section 'a', but differ in that they have ceased looking for full-time employment and have entered the informal sector as a 'temporary measure' (May and Stavrou: 1989). This temporary measure may become a permanent one if full-time employment is not found.

The marginal pole triangle represented by the 'c' in Figure 5 includes those individuals (recent migrants, housewives, unskilled workseekers, school leavers, invalids etc) that have little hope in finding employment in the formal sector due to low levels of education, lack of skills, inexperience etc. This triangle is also divided further into part 'd' which encompasses those individuals working in the informal sector for a living. Part 'e' represents the 'dregs' within the marginal pole who survive through handouts, scavenging, begging and thieving, in other words non-productive informal activities (Nattrass: 1987; May and Stavrou: 1989; Pentz: 1992).

Lastly, the formal sector comprising of two parts. Part 'f' encompasses those that work in the formal sector on a full-time basis, and part 'c' involves those earning mainly low incomes; no long term prospects for formal sector promotion; individuals that occupy employment in the formal sector yet supplement their incomes through informal activities.

This approach has several implications for this study. Firstly, the informal sector is seen as a composite structure that has complex spatial and socio-economic links with the surrounding urban economy. The range of informal sector activities operated by individuals in various sectors, including sections of the formal sector, makes it problematic to differentiate between the formal and informal sector activities (Nattrass: 1987; May and Stavrou: 1989; Pentz: 1992). This approach is seen as being pertinent to this study as the integrated approach notes that changes in one sector will affect all other sectors as they are "interdependent upon the other" (May and Stavrou: 1989). These authors further argue that this high level of inter-sector linkage and dependence makes it difficult to measure the extent and impacts of the informal sector (Nattrass: 1987). This study attempts to address this gap by investigating the economic and spatial impacts of street trading on the retail sector in West Street.

May and Stavrou (1989) argue that due to increasing levels of unemployment and underemployment there is an increasing number of potentially economically active individuals that are being pushed or pulled, or both, into the informal sector, this is illustrated in Figure 1. This arises out of firstly, the informal sector acting as a refuge from the formal sector, resulting in the former's continual persistence and expansion. Secondly, these authors contend that the formal sector depends on the informal sector to act both as a source of



goods and services and provide a market for its own produce. As was noted during the observational survey and interviews, formal retailers utilise the street traders to sell goods, rejects and second grade goods.

Nattrass (1987: 11) concludes that the best option for the informal sector is to serve the poor market as "large firms cannot displace petty producers from markets restricted to the poor alone". This is seen in West Street where street traders sale small quantities of goods that are targeted to low-income individuals. Dewar and Watson (1990) explain that the purchase price of goods are generally higher for the informal sector, as smaller quantities of goods are brought, and access to credit facilities is unavailable.

Bienefeld (1975) provides a counter argument, by stating that once the market served by street traders goes beyond a certain size, the formal sector will invest and capture this market via the "growth destruction impasse" technique. The informal sector is thus seen as only operating in nooks and crannies which are deemed unprofitable by large capitalist enterprises (ibid).

In this study, the location of street traders in West Street must also be seen as a manifestation of changing attitudes and state legislation towards street trading.

### **3.4. CHANGING ATTITUDES AND STATE LEGISLATION TOWARDS STREET TRADING**

The legal standing of street traders in the developing world, South Africa and Durban can be seen as a continuum linked to political and economic developments.

Under the apartheid era, South African urban authorities refined some of the anti-hawker measures found in other developing countries (Rogerson and Hart: 1989) to ensure that very little street vending was allowed (see Naidoo: 1993 for a discussion on anti-street measures). Until the early 1980's street traders in South African urban areas were subject to a well-entrenched tradition of repression, persecution and prosecution (Rogerson and Beavon: 1980; Nattrass: 1987).

Firstly, South African State and municipal officials, like their counterparts in many cities of the developing world viewed the common street trader in a negative vein: as 'anti-developmental', illegal and a blot on the urban landscape, the antithesis of a 'modern' urban environment (McGee and Yeung: 1977; Bromley: 1978; Biesheuvel: 1979). Street traders were stereotyped as unsightly, unsanitary and dangerous, their activities were viewed as an affront to

bourgeois conceptions of civilised 'western' behaviour (Rogerson and Hart: 1989; Tomaselli: 1985; Wellings and Sutcliffe: 1984).

Secondly, negative public objections stressed the threat of economic competition posed to established formal business enterprise (Rogerson and Hart: 1989). Rogerson and Beavon (1990) argue that the claim of 'unfair trading' in the South African context appears somewhat paradoxical in view of the existence of a symbiotic set of relationships that marry the fortunes of many informal hawkers and formal retail or wholesale outlets. Street trading in South Africa's leading urban areas is intimately bound by relationships of dependent or disguised wage-work to the formal retail or trading sector (Rogerson and Hart: 1989; Rogerson and Beavon: 1980). This was clearly evident in the study area, but an in-depth investigation falls out of the scope of this study.

Thirdly, anti-street trader legislation resulted from the creation within South Africa of 'Blacks' as mere 'birds of passage' or 'temporary sojourners' within the ostensibly 'White' urban space. Until the 1986 removal of influx control the ideological construction of 'temporary sojourners' gave a thin veneer of legitimacy to policies which discriminated against 'Black' hawkers whilst conveniently protecting other interest groups, such as the commercial bourgeoisie (Rogerson and Hart: 1989; Rogerson: 1988; Tomaselli: 1985).

Fourthly, in a manner characteristic of South Africa's racial obsession, the 'Black' hawker has been construed as a threat to public health and order (Rogerson and Hart: 1989). The imprint of the age-old notion of the 'sanitation syndrome' upon the minds of the guardians of civic order strengthened a policy trajectory towards the increasingly strict control of especially 'Black' street traders (Rogerson: 1988). Sanitation concerns exerted an indisputably powerful influence on South African urban spatial policy. The power of the sanitation syndrome in hawking was shown in the destruction of the livelihood of the community of 2 000 Black coffee-cart traders in Johannesburg during the early 1960's (Rogerson: 1990).

A final significant indigenous source of maintaining negative street trading measures is rooted in the "security syndrome" (Rogerson and Hart: 1989). In a worsening climate of urban terrorism during the 1980's, objections were raised by security forces to the expansion of hawker communities within the environs of the national seats of government. The grounds for such paranoia stems from the perception of hawkers as potential conduits for the planting of bombs and other explosive devices (Rogerson and Hart: 1989).

In South Africa, this repressive environment started to shift by the early 1980's when the State acknowledged, the growing numbers of street traders, the ineffectiveness of the influx control legislation to curb the massive influx of 'Black' people into the city, and the growing urban unemployment and poverty (Rogerson: 1990; Nattrass: 1987; Rogerson and Beavon: 1980). The continued perseverance of street traders was also instrumental in forcing the state to re-evaluate street trading policies.

The State impressed with the economic policies of Reagan and Thatcher, started to talk about economic liberalisation, privatisation and deregulation. Under the Botha economic reform one saw, the state redefining street traders as potential dynamic entrepreneurs and a vehicle for addressing the pressing problems of urban unemployment and poverty (Rogerson and Hart: 1989; Booth: 1987).

The 1984 White Paper on the Strategy for the Creation of Employment Opportunities, was one of the first **accommodationist** strategies promoting small and informal business ventures in a bid to ease the growing levels of unemployment (Pentz: 1992; Fadane: 1993; SEWU<sup>1</sup>: 1995). An outcome of this White Paper amongst other things was the establishment of the Small Business Development Corporation (SBDC).

In Durban, the 1984 Hawker Report recognised the need to address the problem and examined the extent, location and policy options for street trading (City of Durban: 1984). The report concluded that to plan for the inevitable growth of street-trading in Durban, the illegal status<sup>2</sup> of the street trader had to be critically re-evaluated (ibid). Various ordinances, acts and by-laws operating at the levels of central, provincial and municipal government would also require amendment. For example the Natal Ordinances 11/1973, aimed to:-

*prevent competition between formal fixed businesses and hawkers by restricting the hawking of goods within 100 metres of a fixed business. Hawkers were not allowed to take up fixed stands. Hawkers were to occupy a site for fifteen minutes and then move onto another spot twenty-five meters away. No sales point could be occupied on the same day. The legislation served to limit the number of hawkers by clearly stipulating that all hawkers were to be in possession of a suitable license to hawk sell or trade* (Rogerson and Hart: 1989).

---

<sup>1</sup> Self-Employed Women's Union (SEWU).

<sup>2</sup> The 1945 Black (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act and the 1950 group Areas Act were seen as the main pieces of legislation which contained clauses that restricted street traders (see Naidoo: 1993 for a discussion of these acts).

Durban's, city street-trading By-laws (Section J6) also spatially out-lawed street-trading in both in the CBD and in outlying peripheral zones (Naidoo: 1993). Street-trading along the major transport routes, outside of demarcated areas were also prohibited.

In order to integrate the informal sector into Durban's broader urban economy, the Hawker Report argued for the introduction of *vending licenses*, which required the prospective street trader to promise not to obstruct traffic nor litter (Naidoo: 1993). Durban was thus seen as moving towards a more 'flexible' approach towards the regulation of street trading. Naidoo (1993) argues that this system has been unsuccessful, as street traders in her study did not possess vending licenses. This situation is also reflected in this case study, as the street traders do not have any form of licencing permits (stated during the City Council interviews).

A set of spatial and structural complementary policies were introduced on recommendation of the 1984 Hawker Report. The hall-mark of deregulation in Durban's CBD was the introduction of a number of 'immune zones'. This facilitated hawkers to trade on a 'free-for-all' or 'first-come, first-served basis' (Rogerson and Hart: 1989). These zones were designated in areas where traders were currently trading and on the periphery of the CBD. See Naidoo (1993) for a discussion of the success of these immune zones.

The 1987 White Paper on Privatisation and Deregulation represented the first commitment to deregulation at the national state level (South Africa: 1987). This paper defined activities that were previously defined as illegal and threatening to urban control, but were now seen as important in resolving urban problems through the creation of employment (Fadane: 1993). The importance of 'encouraging entrepreneurship' through deregulation and the dismantling of socio-economic apartheid was stressed (Rogerson and Hart: 1989).

Deregulation was an economic reform measure that would be left to the initiative of municipal authorities to ensure a "comprehensive urban formal-informal sector development strategy" (Geyer: 1989). In Durban, this resulted in certain central areas, with the greatest market potential being opened up for trading opportunities (Rogerson: 1988).

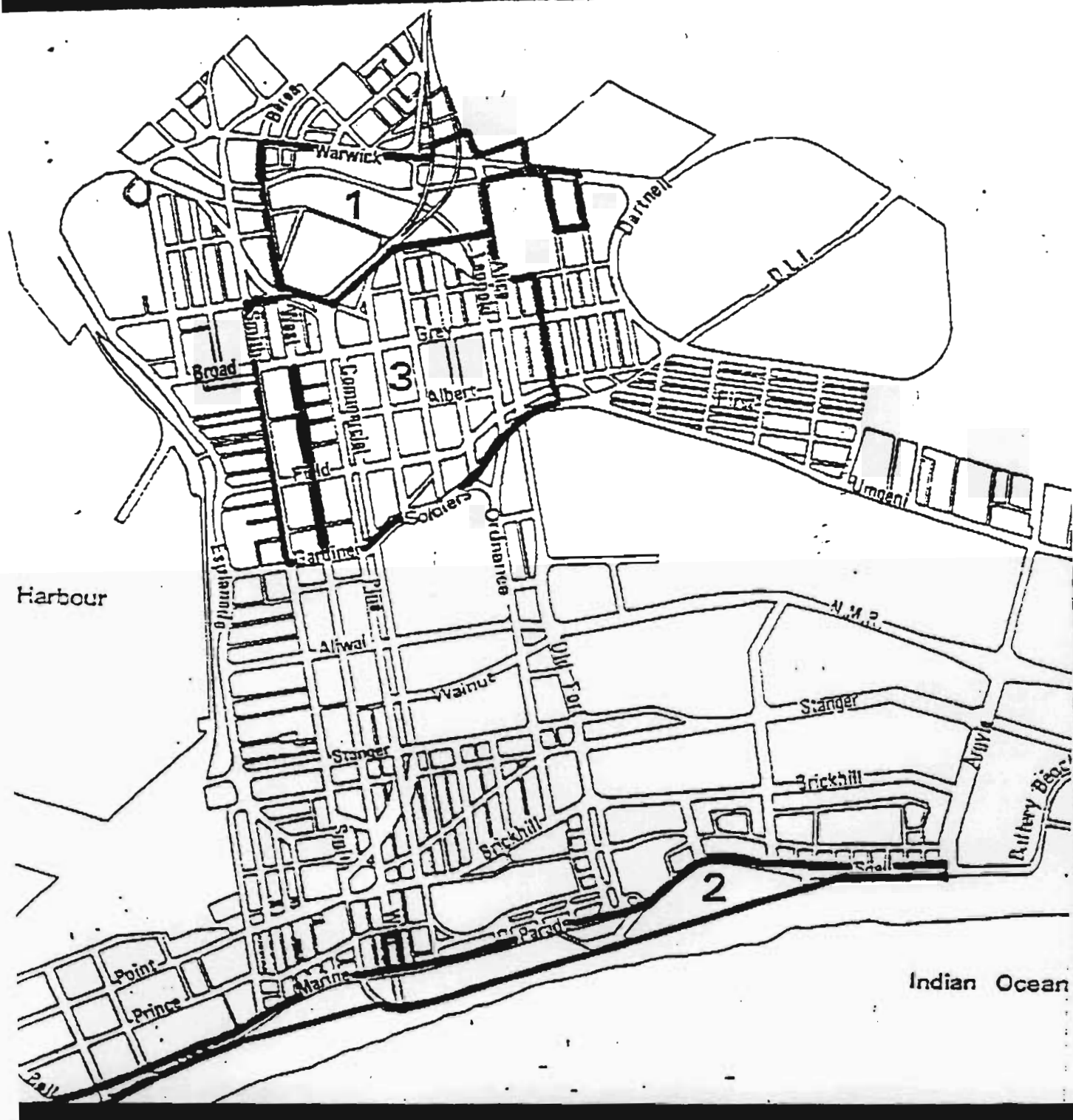
The Licencing Act gave way to the Businesses Act 71/1991 and the Businesses Amendment Act 1993, which deregulated street trading activities, but ensured the retainment of certain restrictions on the siting of vendors. In effect, with the exception of street traders dealing with food and perishable items, a vendor licence was no longer required (Pentz: 1992; Fadane: 1993).

The liberalisation of these laws has proved not to be the answer to all trading problems. As was noted during the interviews, traders who had campaigned for free market rights and deregulation (mainly independent retailers), were not at all happy to find that the deregulated free market also applied to the informal street traders. The immediate reaction by the formal sector was to demand the re-introduction of regulation, and the removal of street traders from the vicinity of formal stores.

During the retail sector interviews, it was strongly argued that this Act has resulted in the CBD becoming a 'Third World' environment. The author notes that street traders have also suffered from the absence of any regulation or control, as all sorts of informal control mechanisms are operating. In West Street this includes informal "take-overs" of areas, the extortion of money for the use of public space (African Council of Hawkers and Informal Business (ACHIB) was accused of this), the emergence of informal supply cartels with their own means of preventing street traders from obtaining their supplies elsewhere, informal price controls, protection rackets and so on (SEWU: 1995).

Section 6A of the Businesses Act 71/1991 allowed local authorities to restrict or prohibit the activities of street traders in areas and places defined in the resolution. On the 4th of October 1993, the Durban City Council passed a resolution to work in conjunction with representatives of both formal and informal sectors in the CBD to designate suitable areas. The aim was to control street trading in this area, Figure 6 illustrates the **Locality of CBD's Designated Areas**, the study area is coloured.

Figure 6: Locality of CBD's Designated Areas



Source: City of Durban (1995 b)

Looking specifically, at the study area, the following criterion were used in the demarcation of the 114 designated sites, illustrated in **Appendix 3** contains **Map 4:-**

1. A clear sidewalk width of 2m must be maintained;
2. Where possible use will be made of existing physical barriers, for example: next to columns, flower beds etc;
3. Sites will be demarcated on the outer edge of the sidewalk;
4. Pedestrian crossings must be kept clear at all times;
5. Major intersections must be kept clear;
6. Reasonable access to parking meters, loading areas, fire hydrants, telephone booths;
7. Bus stops and reasonable queuing areas must be kept clear at all times;
8. Formal businesses will be advised of the location of sites outside their premises (it was noted that this did not take place);
9. Each site area will be marked and numbered.

Considering the available width of the pavements in West Street, the trading area has been restricted to a stall space of 1m x 1.8m with an interference area of 0,3m all round. Maximum width of a table is to be 1m.

The newly promulgated by-laws on the 28th of September 1995, re-iterates and authorises the above-mentioned resolution. This **pro-active** measure identifies areas where street trading is prohibited and restricted within the CBD (and the beachfront). The aim of these by-laws are to:-

1. Reduce conflict between pedestrian movement and street traders. The demarcated sites attempts to separate the two activities. Trading is restricted to demarcated sites, which are away from entrances or exits and fire hydrants;
2. Reduce conflict between formal and informal business by ensuring goods of the same or similar nature are not sold contiguous to each other, without the owners' consent. The by-laws also prohibit street trading contiguous to: a building belonging to, or occupied solely by, the State or the Council; a church or other place of worship; or a building declared to be a national monument under the National Monuments Act, 1969;
3. Maintain a high level of services, for example litter removal;

The by-laws and literature acknowledge that street trading is here to stay and grow as discussed and illustrated in **Chapter 2**. Proper facilitative control and management is thus required (Tokman: 1981; Dewar and Watson: 1981; Dewar and Watson: 1990). **Chapters 5, 6 and 7** discuss this further in relation to the study area. For the past two months the City Council has come under increasing pressure from organised business to begin enforcing the promulgated by-laws, otherwise "hawkers will drive out big business" (Daily News. 24-11-1995).

Although there have been recent arguments that the West Street traders are to be removed from this area. Mr Botha in a telephone interview stated that this was not an option.

### 3.5. CONCLUSION

Considerable attention and support in the literature has illustrated that informal sector activities are diverse, heterogeneous and must be seen as a legitimate part of an urban space economy. Relationship between the formal and informal sectors are not neutral but dynamic and occasionally even problematic (Hemmer and Mannel: 1989: 1545). No single criterion can adequately describe and explain these sectors, rather an integrated analysis on specific spatial contexts is required. It is imperative that studies such as this dissertation be undertaken, this ensures a better understanding of informal sector's dynamics, functions and impacts on the formal sector (in this study the focus is on the retail sector). This is also important for policy formulation attempting to accommodate both sectors in an urban space economy.

In Durban (and elsewhere) the perseverance of street traders has been instrumental in forcing the state to re-evaluate street trading policies in order to ensure appropriate planning control and management of this sector. The result has been the opening of urban enclaves, allowing informal activities to be 'legally' pursue. The study area is an enclave where informal sector activities have started to re-construct the urban space environment, despite police harassment and losses of goods through confiscation and fines.



## **CHAPTER 4: TOWARDS AN UNDERSTANDING OF CBD'S AND RETAIL IN THE CBD**

### **4.1. INTRODUCTION**

The focus of this research is on the impact of street trading on retail within a specific spatial location. The focus is on West Street, which is located within Durban's CBD. Literature on CBD's and retail provide a useful theoretical and practical framework within which the interpretation of Durban's CBD and CBD retail can be developed. Durban, like other South African cities is unique as it is an outcome of the Apartheid planning system which has produced spatial divisions. In terms of CBD's, it has produced a strongly divided 'white' and 'black' CBD, which impact strongly upon urban policy.

### **4.2. TRADITIONAL THEORIES ON THE POSITION OF CBD'S WITHIN THE URBAN SPACE ECONOMY**

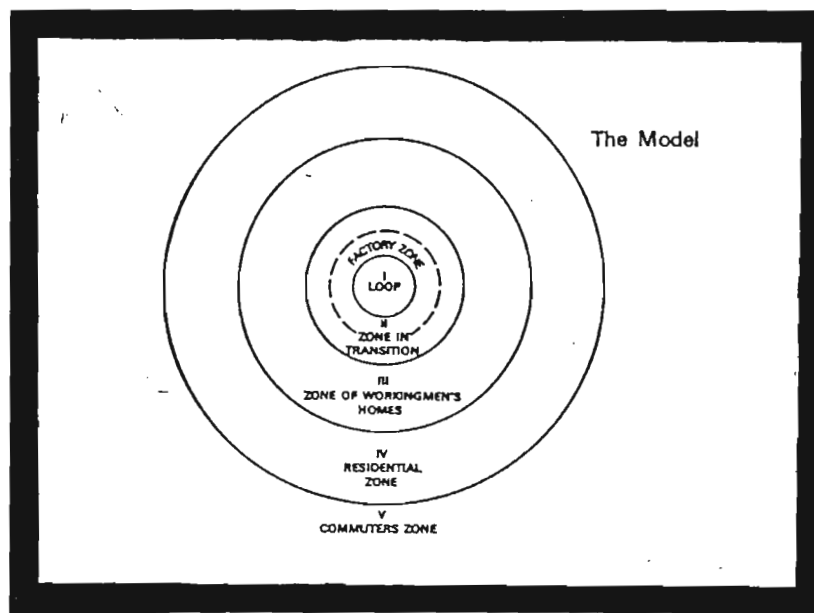
One of the earliest theory investigating the position of CBD's within the urban space structure is associated with a group of urban sociologists who flourished in Chicago in the 1920's and 1930's. These sociologists investigated the interplay of the urban environment and urban society within the various regions of a city. The most famous of these models was devised by Burgess in 1923 and has become known as the Zonal or Concentric Theory (Johnson: 1972).

This model is based upon the notion that the development of a city takes place outwards from its central area, known as the CBD to form a series of concentric zones<sup>3</sup>, illustrated in Figure 7.

---

<sup>3</sup> See Johnson (1972) for an explanation of the other zones.

Figure 7: Burgess' Concentric Zone Model



Source: Johnson (1972)

Burgess argues that the CBD is the centre of the city where the city's commercial, social and civic life locate. Wilkinson (1994) writes that the heart of this district is the downtown retail district with its department stores, smart shops, office buildings, banks, theatres and its headquarters of economic, social, civic and political life.

Kahn (1984) explains that the concentric zone model investigates the competition between land uses, functions, institutions and people competing in the urban arena through a number of processes such as invasion and succession, segregation and decentralisation. This model has been severely criticised as being too descriptive in nature, and not considering other dynamic factors that alter the urban spatial form.

Yet, it must be viewed as a useful starting point in locating the central role and nature of the CBD for the purposes of this study. McCarthy and Smit (1984) state that although the focus of this model is on Chicago, the generalised patterns of the urban form found in America, provides useful generalisations for South Africa's spatial structure.

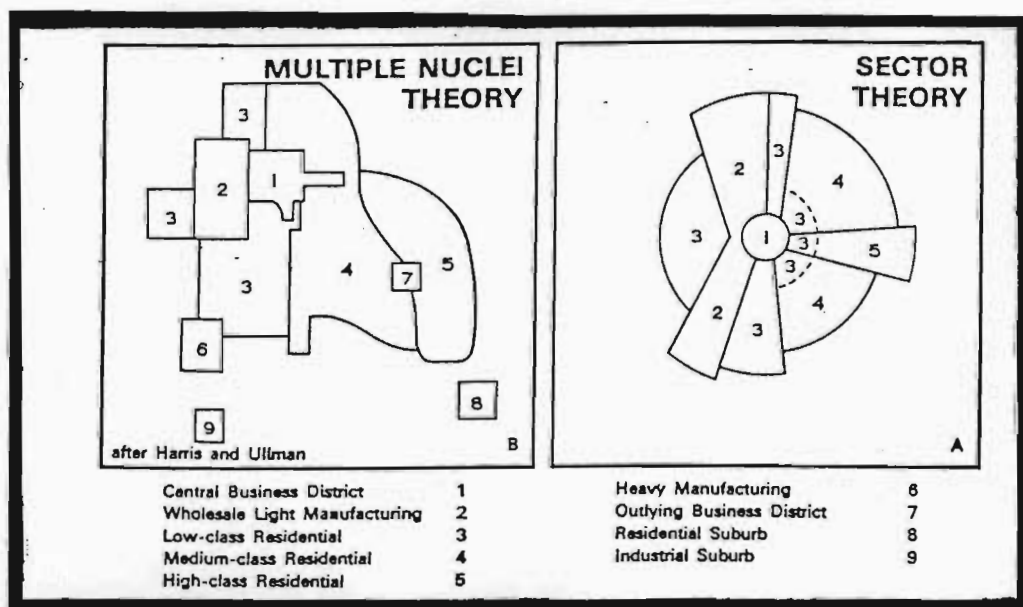
The Sector Theory first advanced in 1939 by Homer Hoyt, is seen as an improvement and refinement of the Concentric Zone Model. It postulates that once contrasts in land use arise near the city centre, such contrasts will be perpetuated as the city expands. Distinctive land use sectors are likely to grow

out from the centre, often focusing on major transportation routeways, as illustrated in Figure 8 below.

This model notes that transportation is important in the functioning of a city, and results in wedge-like expansion of urban areas. Both the concentric zone and sector theories have the advantage of attractive simplicity, but have been criticised for not capturing urban complexities (Johnson: 1972). Other dynamics such as industrial and commercial location are not accounted for in these two models.

The Multiple Nuclei Theory first advanced by Harris and Ullman in 1945, suggest that cities have essentially a cellular structure in which distinctive types of land use have developed around certain growing focal points, or 'nuclei' within the urban area, see Figure 8.

Figure 8: Sector Model and Multiple Nuclei Model



Source: Johnson (1972)

These theorists argue that the grouping of specialist land uses around these nuclei has been encouraged by factors, which influence the distribution of human activities within a city in various ways. Certain activities require specialised facilities, either those found in the natural endowment of their sites, or later provided by human endeavour. The CBD is seen as the most important agglomerative nuclei attracting those activities which desire the maximum accessibility to the widest number of people (Wilkinson: 1994).

Johnson (1972) and McCarthy and Smit (1984) argue that the multi nuclei model is useful as it recognises the historical growth and development of a city. Economic and social factors are also seen as important factors shaping urban development.

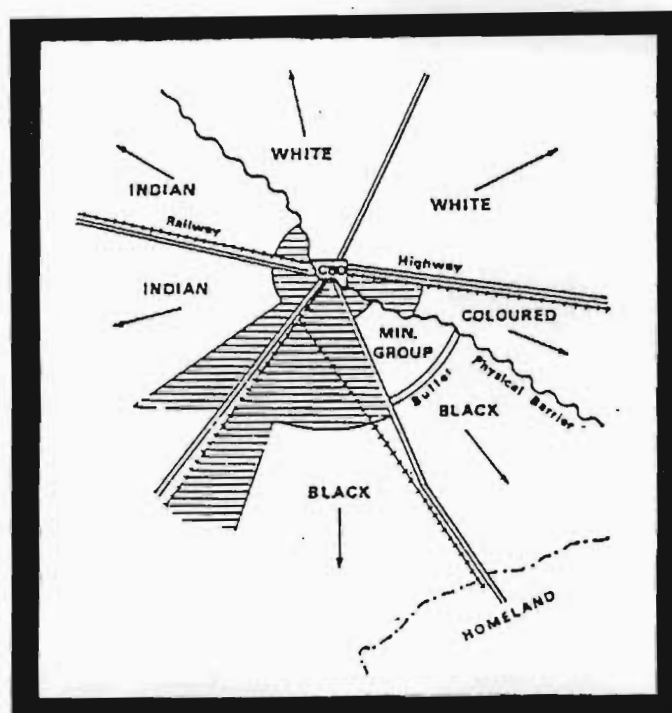
Although for the purposes of this dissertation these urban spatial theories are generally of a descriptive nature, politically naive, abstract and rigid in their concern with the process of city growth, they must be seen as developing a basic understanding of the urban spatial form in which to locate the CBD. Furthermore, they facilitate the undertaking of further analysis of the CBD.

#### **4.2.1. Understanding Durban's CBD**

Although the theories discussed in 4.2. have limited validity for the Durban context they must be seen as providing a general overview of CBD's. It is important to note that the "retail activity system in Durban reflects the historical nature of the social, economic and political systems as well as the consequent residential structure of the city" (Kahn: 1984: 48). **Map 1 indicates The Relative Location of Durban's CBD in the Metropolitan Context.**

Durban like other South African cities have been characterised by racial segregation due to Apartheid spatial engineering and legislation. The underlying concern from the 1930's was to maintain and promote the status quo. The Group Areas Act of 1950 was the first legal instrument to racially divide the city. **Figure 9 illustrates the South African Apartheid City Model.**

Figure 9: South African Apartheid City Model



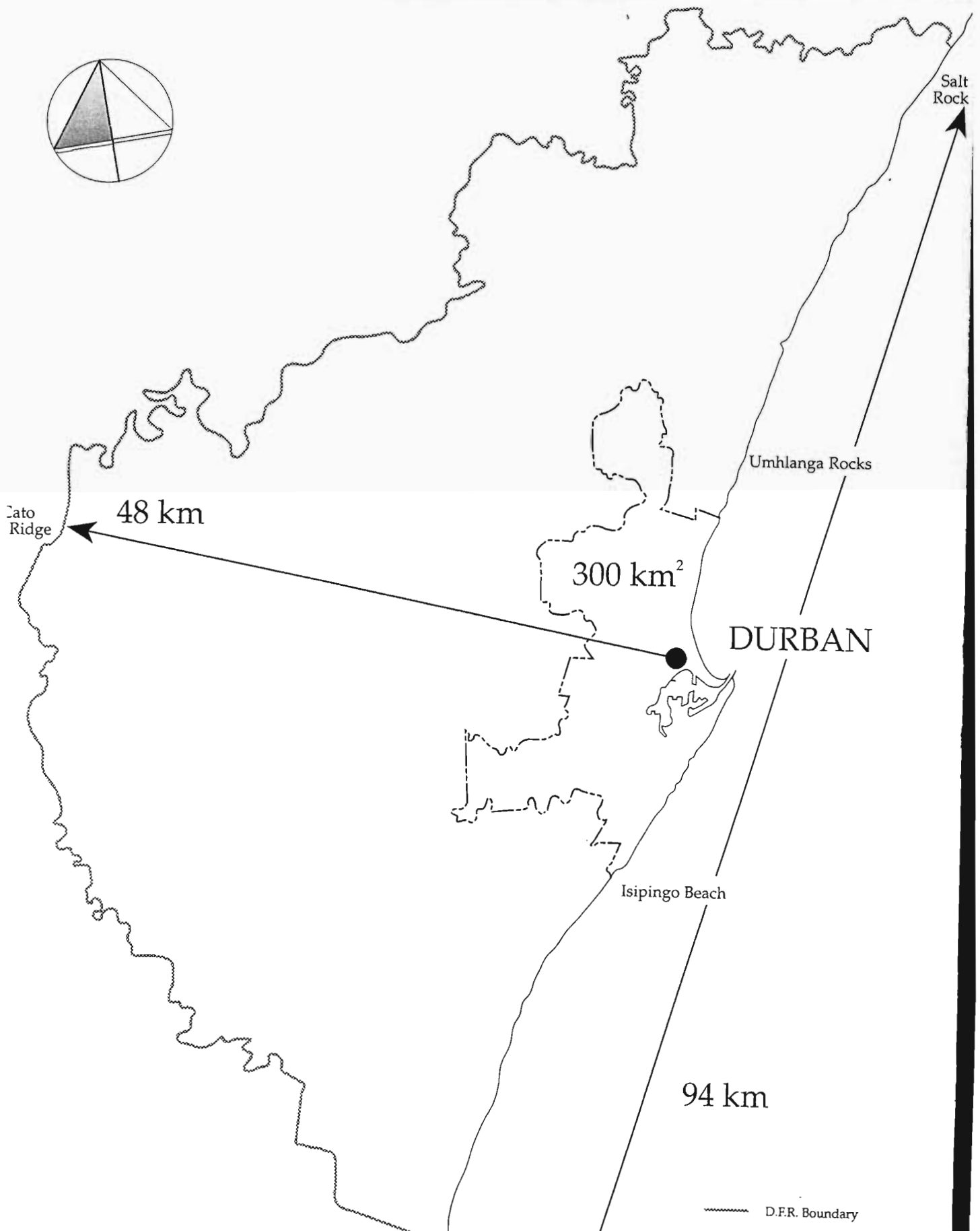
Source: McCarthy and Smit (1988)

This resulted in Durban's CBD being controlled by two racially, economically and socially distinct population groups: Whites and Indians (Murphy: 1971). Durban's CBD services thus became spatially segregated resulting in a dual trading community. White ownership, occupation and patronage concentrated chiefly in the city blocks south of Pine Street, with a focus on West Street for retailing purchasing. On the other hand, the Indian CBD is located essentially north of Pine Street and west of Albert Street (ibid). With a focus on Indian ownership, occupation and patronage.

Changes in patronage in South African CBD's was evident by the 1970's, when it became obvious that a gradual shift towards 'Black' patronage was occurring. A Rand Afrikaans University (RAU) survey estimated that in 1978<sup>4</sup> white shoppers contributed 70 % of the retail turnover in the Johannesburg municipal area but only 52 % of this was spent in the CBD. Since then the purchasing power of non-whites has increased substantially so that whites now probably account for less than half of Johannesburg's CBD trade. UNISA's Bureau of Market Research has estimated that in 1960 expenditure of Blacks represented only 30 % of all personal spending in South Africa. By 1970 this had grown slightly to 31 % and since then it has soared. By the year 2000 it is expected that blacks will control 60 % of the personal spending power of all South Africans.

<sup>4</sup> Recent figures unavailable.

Map 1: The Relative Location of Durban's CBD in the Metropolitan Context



This shift in patronage is also due to the noticeable and increasing decentralisation of traditional 'white' custom from CBD's to suburban shopping centres and regional hypermarkets. Dawson (1980: 136-137) writes this can be attributed to five main reasons:-

(1) The decentralisation of population/consumer demand.

Evidence illustrates that population has been decentralising from major Western cities since the 1920's. It is logical that retail will follow its market by moving to the suburbs (Hughes: 1974). Suburban retail is seen as highly biased towards the wealthier, consumer-orientated middle classes.

In South Africa one sees that the higher income areas, because of higher levels of mobility and higher incomes, require fewer of the lower order centres. Majority of retailing is done in community centres or regional centres. This is also applicable to middle income areas;

(2) Increased personal mobility.

Transport improvements have resulted in locational changes of urban activities and retail, as well as suburban growth. Increased car ownership has not simply given suburban locations an advantage, they are seen as acting to the detriment of the CBD (Masotti: 1973). Activities such as manufacturing, service industry, and office work (Masotti: 1973; Maseko: 1994) have decentralised. Suburbs have tended to provide for, office complexes, major retail (shopping) centres or combinations of these, which some would classify as to the 'detriment' of the CBD;

(3) Unsuitable city centres.

Dawson (1980) argues that changing transport patterns have altered the accessibility of the city centre, thus contributing to making the city centre a less attractive retailing environment, resulting in drops in retail sales. McDonald (1975 cited in Rajah: 1981) in a study of the causes of the decline of CBD retail sales in Detroit established that the probability of shopping in the CBD declines at a rate of 5,8 per cent per mile for car owners while no such change occurs among non-car owners. Figures for South Africa and Durban are unavailable. What this illustrates is that due to an increase in mobility the 'wealthier' income groups do not generally shop in the CBD, but the 'poorer' groups do, resulting in a drop in overall retail sales. This trend is changing as the 'poorer' groups are settling in and improving their financial standing;

(4) Land availability and cheaper land in non-central sites have changed the pattern of retail location.

(5) Institutional factors.

Dawson (1980) argues that the pattern of suburban and out-of-town shopping centres and their performance relative to city centres and to each other relates to a range of broad and various institutional factors, these include local planning policies, the rateable or taxable value of different locations, the outcome of redevelopment schemes, the cost and changing pattern of investment and liquidations among retailers.

The above factors have generally been applicable to 'white' custom. By contrast; the less mobile non-whites, especially 'Blacks' with few competitive retail outlets in their own townships have increasingly become attracted to CBD's with its rail and bus termini, wide range of goods and lower prices

(City Engineer's Department: 1978; Mandy: 1984: 265). South African CBD's (including Durban) have increasingly becoming the "locus of a large number of job opportunities for Black people and is a focus for a large volume of Black spending" (Thomson: 1973: 411). Figure 10 illustrates Durban's CBD Employment Figures.

Figure 10: Durban's CBD Employment Figures

		1976	1985	1991	%CHANGE 1976-1991
WHITES	M	20156	15420	14895	-26.10
	F	18874	17892	16689	-11.58
	TOTAL	39030	33312	31584	-19.08
COLOURED	M	607	930	986	+62.44
	F	2337	2227	2821	+20.71
	TOTAL	2944	3157	3807	+29.31
INDIANS	M	17645	16931	16875	-4.36
	F	7591	10935	12676	+66.99
	TOTAL	25236	27866	29551	+17.10
BLACKS	M	16896	16237	17028	+0.78
	F	3899	9445	10109	+159.27
	TOTAL	20795	25682	27137	+30.50
TOTALS	M	55304	49518	49784	-9.98
	F	32701	40499	42295	+29.34
TOTALS		88005	90017	92079	+4.63

Source: City Engineer's Department (1991)



Figure 10 illustrates that although 'Whites' form the major employee group in the CBD, their numbers are steadily decreasing. 'Black' on the other hand show the greatest increase. Lastly, male workers are decreasing in numbers and female workers are increasing.

Looking specifically at the employment within Durban's CBD in terms of major use, race and sex. It is evident that almost half of the workforce in the CBD is employed in offices, this is followed by retail. Figure 11 illustrates the breakdown.

Figure 11: Employment in Durban's CBD by Major Use, Race and Sex

MAJOR USE	UNITS	WHITES		COLOURED		INDIANS	
		M	F	M	F	M	F
OFFICES	2900	10077	11426	544	755	6874	5182
RETAIL	2357	1406	1498	147	1020	4378	3129
SERVICES	1611	1927	1380	182	283	2836	1033
RESIDENTIAL	175	478	1313	59	483	1082	441
INDUSTRIES	452	264	170	26	226	1301	2737
GOVERNMENT	33	639	720	26	45	346	55
EDUCATION	33	87	167	2	6	49	98
RELIGIOUS	12	17	15	0	3	9	1
TOTALS	7573	14895	16689	986	2821	16875	12676

Source: City Engineer's Department (1991)

Besides, a shift in patronage, and employment Durban's CBD has been placed under pressure due to:-

- \* a mushrooming of uncontrolled street trading (with the concomitant disamenity of poor hygiene, litter, pedestrian blockages);
- \* the development of the decentralised (and highly competitive) retail centres in Westville, La Lucia, Hillcrest, Phoenix and the Bluff (to name a few) resulting in an adjustment in trading patterns and a "downward" trend in consumer type;
- \* the decentralisation of office accommodation westwards and northwards has impacted on commercial property;
- \* an increase in political marches, crime (SAPOA: 1994).

It must be noted that concerted efforts are being made to strengthen Durban's CBD by the City Council, large property interests and capital. To mention a few of these initiatives (SAPOA: 1994; Daley: 1994):-

- The R220 million International Convention Centre in Walnut Road
- The new international hotel development adjacent to ICC Durban
- The Embassy building in Smith Street
- Metlife's new development in Smith Street
- New Durban Solid Waste HQ in Ordinance Road
- Old Mutual's new development in West Street
- New NBS HQ in Old Fort Road
- New Health and Racquet Club in Soldiers Way
- The development of the Centrum site
- The R120 million Point Development project<sup>5</sup>
- Proposed redevelopment of the Victoria Embankment
- New freeway arterial to the south-west of the city
- The reassessment of the Beachfront area

#### **4.2.2. A Discussion on the Changing CBD**

The above-mentioned developments: suburbanisation, increased car ownership, increased black patronage etc have impacted on CBD's traditional role. This has occurred both internationally and in South Africa. The CBD now has to compete with other newer and more specialised decentralised centres.

Yet, CBD's have certain characteristics that will generally remain (Murphy and Vance cited in Department of Transport : 1982):-

- the primary land uses typical of the CBD, is still commercial "both in terms of the range of retail facilities available and the image among urban residents" (ibid);
- serving an entire community and not a segment. Retailing in the CBD is currently undergoing a distinctly complex and transitional shift. On the one hand it focuses on the needs of those living and working in or near the city. On the other hand, it caters for the needs of commuters coming to shop in the CBD. CBD's thus have a dual role to play;

The city centre still retains its magnetism for specialised activities in business, professional, and governmental services. It is still the workplace of lawyers, consultants and financiers (Wilkinson: 1994). In future retail trade and personal services will be performed both in the city centre and in the suburbs, to ensure a well spread market share of customers.

---

<sup>5</sup> An upmarket fleamarket was launched on the 2nd and 3rd of December 1995 in this area, and was noted as being successful.

### 4.3. UNDERSTANDING RETAIL WITHIN THE URBAN SPACE ECONOMY

This section will firstly define urban retailing, concentrating on the type of retailers that have a direct bearing on the research problem and study area, discussed in Chapters 2 and 5. The latter half of this section will concentrate particularly on retailing within the CBD context. The historical evolution of retail location and CBD's will be discussed.

#### 4.3.1. Defining Urban Retail

Sethuraman (1981) argues that retailing normally performs two essential functions. One is the satisfaction of consumer needs and wants, the other is providing an outlet for production. Both functions are complementary and reciprocal, as goods produced have no value in themselves, it is only when they are made available to consumers who want them, and are able and willing to buy them that goods assume any value. Distribution therefore is the final act in, and part of, production.

Retailing is thus an interdependent system, as the retailer and the consumer depend on each other. Rogerson (1990) explains that retailers depend on customers for sales, and customers depend on retailers to supply goods and services at the right time, place, price, and quantity. The emphasis in this relationship has changed dramatically through the years (discussed in 4.3.2.).

Golden and Zimmerman (1986) argue that the most common way of retail classification is based on type of ownership. This includes independent retailers, retail chains, franchise and shopping center developers<sup>6</sup>. The discussion below will focus on the first three, as this has direct bearing on the dissertation.

Firstly, an independent retailer is usually defined as a small, one-store operation run by an individual, a family, or partners. Some independents may become rather large and open branch operations (Golden and Zimmerman: 1986). These types of stores usually compete against chains or others with greater buying power, who can purchase in much larger volume, share advertising expenses, pool management talent, and cooperate in the hiring, training, and promoting of personnel.

Independent retailing is said to have the advantage of a greater flexibility in deciding on store location, store hours, advertising campaigns, and so on (ibid). Jones and Simmons (1990) argue that these retailers operate within a retail

<sup>6</sup> See Jones and Simmons (1990) for explanation.

environment shaped by the larger firms, who determine the standards for price, product mix and service.

These authors state that increasingly independent retailers have diminished in importance to consumers and the distribution system, due to factors illustrated in **Figure 12**. Jones and Simmons (1990) argue that for independent retailers to succeed in the current retail system they require to seek out: (1) the vacant niche - a small market isolated by location or market segments from competition by larger chains, (2) a specialist role for certain product lines or customer segments, or (3) a quality image.

Secondly, chains involve the operation of two or more fully owned and controlled outlets by a centralised corporation, all carrying similar products and store layouts, exteriors, and services (Jones and Simmons: 1990; Golden and Zimmerman: 1986). Currently this type of retailing "controls a big piece of the retailing pie" (Jones and Simmons: 1990: 245). Golden and Zimmerman (1986) write that the success of the retail chain is not accidental. Compared to independent retailers chains have many advantages: enormous leverage in negotiating prices, as they serve larger markets they are able to use different kinds of media for different types of customers (Jones and Simmons: 1990). Another factor that needs to be considered is that due to their greater financial resources, chains are able to 'carry' an unproductive store until the market grows.

Golden and Zimmerman (1986) state that chains are disadvantaged as they are inflexible, resulting in them not being able to respond to specialised local markets such as racial or language groups. Independent retailers on the other hand are able to cater for such niches. Chains may also have greater difficulty in changing their image or product mix rapidly because of the enormous investment in existing locations, images and facilities. Jones and Simmons (1990) provide a counter argument by stating that chains are in fact better equipped to adapt to changing conditions, this includes choosing new locations in growth areas, relinquishing those that are no longer suitable, developing new product lines, or altering the scale of operations. Another strategy, known as the 'market share' strategy will also be used to ensure that chains stay ahead and that survival is ensured. This can be accomplished by: (1) staying on the offensive by attempting to control the pace and direction of innovation, and improving their sources of information; (2) maintaining a share by emphasising brand names, developing new locations, and reducing prices to make entry and growth by competitors difficult; or (3) competing aggressively, this includes the use of retaliatory pricing and predatory location (Jones and Simmons: 1990: 402).

Lastly, franchising involves a contractual agreement between a parent company (the franchisor) and an independent business person (the franchisee). The franchisee has the right to do business if the guidelines and restrictions established by the franchisor are followed (Jones and Simmons: 1990; Golden and Zimmerman: 1986). Franchisees can also be defined as retail chains if they operate more than one outlet offering: standardised products, locations, decor, and merchandising techniques (Jones and Simmons: 1990).

The franchise arrangement found in the study area forms part of the trademark/trade-name license program. This entails the franchisor providing a common trade name and standardised methods of operating their individual franchise units.

Franchising has the advantages of economies of scale in purchasing, marketing, and the distribution of activities, for example fast-food outlets requiring high levels of advertising and sophisticated location analysis benefit from this organisation. The parent corporation enjoys several advantages in that expansion can occur rapidly throughout a wide area. Yet, tight control is maintained, as the franchisee pays for goods upon delivery rather than when they are sold. The fact that franchisees are highly motivated because they are owners rather than mere employees (Golden and Zimmerman: 1986) is also seen as an advantage. Other advantages include the relatively little capital investment and low administrative overheads, and the fact that barriers to expansion lie chiefly on the demand side. How big is the market? Who are the competitors?

Chains and franchises are comparatively newcomers to the retail sector, they have emerged in the last hundred years.

Retail can also be defined by the variety<sup>7</sup> and assortment<sup>8</sup> of merchandise handled. For the purposes of this study the following will be discussed: department stores, discount stores, supermarkets, speciality stores and boutique stores.

Firstly, department stores group and display related products together in departments for better management control and more customer convenience. Generally three prominent types of merchandise are offered: apparel for women, men and children; housewares; and home furnishings and appliances. Most department stores are, in fact, chains (Golden and Zimmerman: 1986).

<sup>7</sup> Refers to the number of types of products carried (Golden and Zimmerman: 1986).

<sup>8</sup> Refers to the choice of products offered within a specific product line (Golden and Zimmerman: 1986).

**Figure 12** illustrates certain important socio-economic trends which impact on the urban retail structure. Jones and Simmons (1990) and Simmons (1973 cited in Dawson: 1980) explain that as the city grows outwards, rings of retail centres mature and decline as the pattern of residential succession moves outwards. Suburban residential tracts are served by malls and automobile-orientated strips while the inner-city neighbourhoods still retain pedestrian-scale retail strips along the main arterial streets and early rapid-transit routes (ibid).

Changes in household composition is cited as another reason for altering the relative importance of different segments of the market, and modifying the mix of store types. It also affects consumer behaviour by changing mobility and personal schedules, resulting in an alteration of preferred shopping environments.

Differences in real income occurring across a whole metropolitan area is another factor in retail change, this may be intensified in certain neighbourhoods when one social class replaces another (Jones and Simmons: 1990; Simmons: 1973 cited in Dawson: 1980). Jones and Simmons (1990) explain that if the average household income rises or drops by 30 %, the nearby retail strip will be immediately affected. The mix of products and stores will also change. These authors contest that while the replacement of one lifestyle group by another may not alter the income level, the type of goods and services required may be drastically affected. This is seen in the study area, as there has been a shift towards 'Black' buying power.

Improvement in accessibility within the city also impacts on the urban retail structure, contributing to greater specialisation of retail centres. Rapid increases in the level of automobile ownership (in South Africa especially for 'Whites') and investments in roads and transit systems have greatly increased the spatial range of stores and shopping centres within the metropolis (Jones and Simmons: 1990; Dawson: 1980).

Similar approaches to the one provided by Simmons (1973) and Jones and Simmons (1990) have been adopted using different terminology, for example, Hood and Yamey (1951) use 'supply' and 'demand' factors. Agergard, Olsen and Allpass (1970) argue that the two forces that induce the formation of new retail patterns are termed 'external' and 'internal'. Dawson (1980) explains that external factors include population, income, levels of consumption and purchasing power, urban growth, transport and retail competition. The internal factors describe the various competitive parameters available to the retailer, for example, price, goods assortment, service and location. These authors contest that the emphasis on one of the parameters of action by the retailer can result in the creation of a special retail structure and consequent locational demands.

These authors like Simmons (1973) argue that the internal and external factors are interlinked producing changes in retail locational behaviour. Illustrated in Figure 12.

It is important to briefly discuss the central place theory. Murphy (1971) and Kahn (1984) argue that central place theory is significant when investigating the commercial structure of a particular urban context. This theory is useful as it offers a conceptual framework within which to view the retail and service dominance and locational primacy of the study area.

This framework was developed by Christaller in the 1930's and allows one to "analyse and describe the size, number and distribution of towns as service centres,...also has extended to help explain the location of service centres within urban areas" (Dawson: 1980: 107). This study does not cover the contents of central place theory, this is covered extensively by (Berry and Cohen: 1973 etc).

For the purposes of this study the relevance of this theory is in the explanation provided on retail patterns through the notion of a hierarchy of centres. This model assumes that centres are spatially distributed in a specific manner, thus ensuring that catchment areas are complementary and do not compete with each other. The assumption is that consumers will visit the closest centres that provides the goods or services they require.

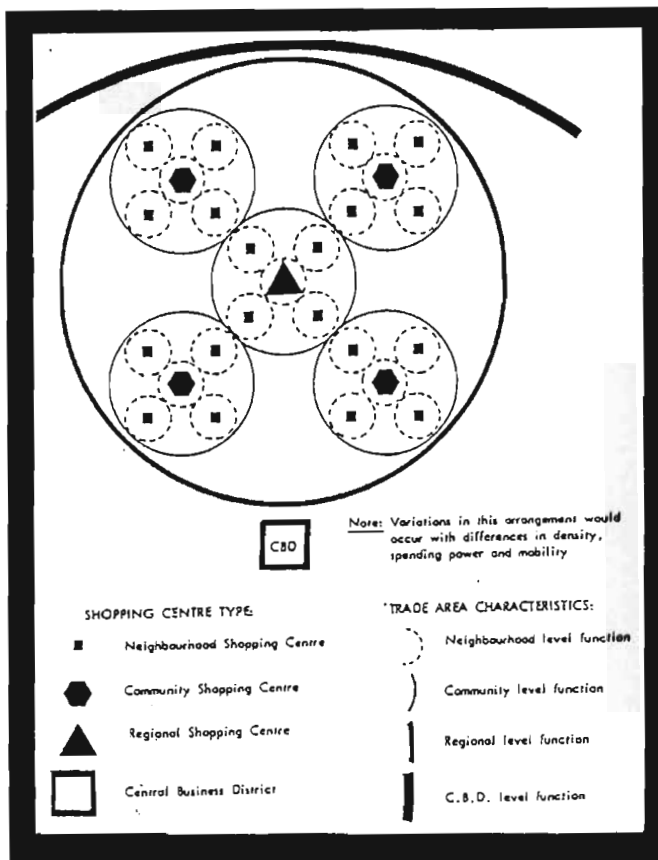
The central place model has been criticised for being too economic and not considering the contribution of historical or cultural factors in the process of urban growth (Dawson: 1980). Secondly the determinism in this theory is unrealistic in terms of retailers' behaviour over time, their locational policy in space, and the consumers' behaviour in time and space (ibid). Dawson (1980) asks how rational are human beings? and do consumers always follow the exact precepts of central place theory?

Dawson (1980) concludes that the dynamic nature of the modern city presents a considerable challenge to central place theory. This author writes that factors such as improvement in mobility and the growth and dispersal of large metropolitan areas, new locational forces and specialisation now require consideration.

Kahn (1993) looking at the South African context argues that retail structure can be understood in a hierarchical system. Figure 13 illustrates **Shopping Centre Types**.



Figure 13: Shopping Centre Types



Source: Kahn (1984)

Figure 13 illustrates a spatial structure of the hierarchical shopping system, namely the:-

- 1) CONVENIENCE CENTRE - sells convenience goods and usually serves a walking distance threshold;
- 2) NEIGHBOURHOOD CENTRE - sells convenience goods as well as clothing stores. Usually possess a chain supermarket and a range of line shops;
- 3) COMMUNITY CENTRE - transitional centre between a convenience centre and comparison goods centre. Will contain a chain supermarket and at least one junior department/variety store and a larger number of line shops;
- 4) REGIONAL CENTRE - specialise in comparison goods;
- 5) METROPOLITAN CBD - full range of merchandise (Wilkinson: 1994).

Kahn (1993) argues that each of these centres has a catchment area that is limited by competition. He notes that an increasing number of centres occur in successively lower levels. The local nature of the catchment areas of the lower levels results in these centres concentrating on convenience goods. On the other hand, the regional nature of the catchment areas of the **upper** levels, due to the distance, facilitates these centres to focus on durable and comparison goods. There has thus been an increasingly "move from the historically central-city functions" (Masotti: 1973: 16) to other spatial localities and centres.



The South African retailing situation, like other Third World countries incorporates a fixed shop unit, that coexists alongside informal traders, as discussed in Chapters 2 and 3. A result of this changing retail situation, is the international evidence of various mechanisms utilised by different retailers as they adapt to changing retail and consumer bases.

#### 4.3.3. Adapting to the Changing Urban Retail Sector

Various retailers modify their markets in a variety of ways in order to extend spatially, or to modify the levels of penetration into various market segments (Jones and Simmons: 1990). These include advertising, price changes, and product mix. Jones and Simmons (1990) write that the simplest of these is advertising. It is argued that as time and distance and intervening opportunities (competitors) increase, households are less and less aware of a store's existence, or what it has to offer. Looking at shopping goods, which rely on customers knowing the distinctive characteristics of the store as a prerequisite to attract shoppers, the solution is to increase the "awareness" range of the store.

Another alternative, which is frequently used is an alteration to the mix of products sold in the store. Jones and Simmons (1990) argue that the size of the market depends on the proportion of household income that can be spent in the store. In an effort to increase this proportion, for example, food stores carry non-food items, pharmacies stock stationery, etc. These changes, even in retail chains, are incremental and experimental. Success is thus determined by a match between customers and product mix. Successful retailers continuously explore these options and adjust their own markets as the market itself evolves.

Jones and Simmons (1990) write that this bewildering variety of retail systems are indicative of the diversity of lifestyles within a large metropolitan area stratified by social class, race and ethnicity and the spatial distribution between consumers and shopping facilities. The economics of retailing do not restrict retail activity to a single optimum size, location, or mix of products. To understand this variation one must look at different participants in the retail system, their diverse goals, and the ways they specialise and compete with each other.

Retailing is thus a constantly changing process. Historical and contemporary developments of an area, and the attempt to achieve a delicate balance between demand and supply or both (Jones and Simmons: 1990) is imperative for retail success. To remain profitable, retailers must anticipate socio-economic changes, illustrated in Figure 12 and react accordingly. The 'survival of the fittest' theory

applies in that the retailers that have adapted quickly and most effectively to changes in the market place are the ones most likely to survive and grow (Golden and Zimmerman: 1986).

#### 4.4. OVERALL CONCLUSION

An intricate, dynamic and complex relationship exists between CBD's and retail that differs from city to city. In essence, the structure and nature of retailing and CBD's are found to be dynamic and complex in character constantly evolving in response to a plethora of external and internal factors.

In terms of the research problem, the CBD is by no means dying! Recent newspaper articles stating that Durban's CBD is dying (see page 1), are referring to the death of the 'White' shopper. It is evident that future South African CBD's cannot cater for the "customer who wishes to park her car outside the shop" (Mandy: 1984: 274). As has been discussed in 4.2.1. Durban's CBD trade will remain strong due to the increase of 'Black' patronage, who currently lack proper shopping facilities near their homes. CBD retailers that are adapting to changing spatial, political, social, economic circumstances and demographical changes (Dawson: 1980) are prospering. As Chapter 5 illustrates, successful West Street retailers are those who are most perceptive to changes and act accordingly.

In South Africa and Durban, this means adapting to a predominantly 'Black' purchasing culture, as this is seen as one of the current strengths and future potential for CBD growth. Today 72 % of all South Africans and 69 % of adult South Africans are 'Black'. By the year 2000, 78 % of all South Africans and 75 % of adults will be 'Black' (Mandy: 1984: 273). The process of Black urbanisation will accelerate so that by the year 2000 at least two thirds of all urban dwellers will be 'Black'. He concludes that "there is no such thing as 'the Black market'. It is the market"!

What is clearly evident and will be discussed in Chapters 6 and 7 is that future development in CBD's (in particular Durban) need to be designed and planned in conjunction with the surrounding areas and facilities, in order to ensure the overall development of the city. Planning intervention will need to ensure that orderly, efficient and balanced development occurs, with a clear focus on the specific socio-economic, political and spatial realities of the area.

As Chapter 6 illustrates, Durban City Council needs to play a **pro-active** role in: developing a policy on the desired future for Durban; create and enable various supporting mechanisms to ensure that both the formal and informal sector trade in the urban economy; facilitate **partnerships** for the planning of the city.

## **CHAPTER 5: THE CASE OF WEST STREET: DYNAMICS AND PERCEPTIONS**

### **5.1. INTRODUCTION**

**Chapter 5** is the first of two chapters that presents a case study of the theoretical and practical issues that have emerged and developed in the preceding chapters. The purpose and relevance of this case study is to provide an insight into the economic and spatial impacts of street trading on the retail sector. West Street is a relevant case study, as discussed in **Chapter 2**. The methodological approach to researching West Street is discussed in detail in **Chapter 2: Research Problem and Methodology**. It is essential that a conceptual link between the two chapters is maintained.

The first section of **Chapter 5** describes the observational survey of the study area, undertaken by the author, in order to develop a basic understanding of the retailing and street trading dynamics within the study area. The land-use survey will also be discussed.

The second section of **Chapter 5** will analyse the dynamics and perceptions of the retailer sector, this is directly linked to the research question. The results of the attitude survey will also be discussed.

**Chapter 6** will analyse the Key Informant Interviews. This will incorporate perceptions on street trading as well as a discussion on current policy initiatives to firstly, accommodate street trading in West Street and secondly, on a broader level what is required to make the CBD more attractive.

### **5.2. OBSERVATIONAL SURVEY AND LAND USE SURVEY**

This was undertaken between the 16th of October 1995 to the 10th of November 1995 at various times of the day and week focusing on characteristics of: pedestrian movement, the retailer sector, and street traders. **Maps 2 and 3** illustrate these dynamics within the study area. This survey must be seen in conjunction with the study undertaken by Wilkinson (1994), as West Street formed part of his study. The observational study provides useful insights into: everyday practices of pedestrians and the relative location of street traders to the retail sector and other central activities.

### 5.2.1. Pedestrian Movements

It was important to begin the observational study, by examining pedestrian movement within the study area, as this is a vital factor for the success of both street trading and the retail sector. Two clear and distinct pedestrian movement patterns were evident in the study area.

The first pedestrian movement pattern incorporates the city block between Broad and Field Streets. The length of this block is approximately 380 m (Wilkinson: 1994). Within this block it was observed that a greater concentration of pedestrian movement occurred than the second city block, discussed below. It was observed that this block has fewer 'White' pedestrians and a greater concentration of 'Black' pedestrians.

The second pedestrian movement pattern incorporates the city block between Field and Gardiner Streets. The length of this block is approximately 250 m (Wilkinson: 1994). Pedestrian movement in this city block was predominately 'White'. This may be due to a greater concentration of professional office employment and other related services found in this city block.

The nature and magnitude of pedestrian movement was highly evident during the various peak times of the day, namely early morning, lunch times and late afternoon. Between these three peaks, one saw a higher concentration of pedestrian movement within the Broad and Field Streets block, along both sides of West Street. Plate 1 illustrates the high concentration of pedestrian movement within the Broad and Field Streets block.

Plate 1: Pedestrian Movement within the Broad and Field Streets Block



On the other hand, within the Field and Gardiner Streets block the pedestrian movement is less concentrated, with very little pedestrian movement near the New Old Mutual building at the corner of Gardiner street. This construction has had a major impact both on pedestrian movement and the retail sector (discussed later). Plate 2 illustrates pedestrian movement near the new Old Mutual development.

Plate 2: Pedestrian Movement near the new Old Mutual development



Pedestrian movement in West Street at times was seen as problematic and difficult. This resulted in pedestrians walking along the street rather than on pavements. This was due to other activities taking place on pavements namely street trading, as illustrated in Plate 1. There was thus competition between pedestrians, street traders and the location of other street furniture, such as the locations of telephones, bus stops and pot plants. The area near Game was identified as the most congested part of the study area.

Observing pedestrians moving along West Street, it was noted that 'Black' pedestrians, tended to be young (early 20's) and tended to treat the study area as a **social** environment. These pedestrians tended to browse and chat either amongst themselves or with the street traders. 'Black' pedestrians were also more inclined to buy from the street traders. Goods bought included 'luxury' goods such as toys and hair accessories.

On the other hand, pedestrians from other race groups: 'White', 'Coloured' and 'Indian', tended to be either elderly or fell into the working age group. The



youth that was observed were predominately 'Indian'. Pedestrians in these race groups tended to 'march' along West Street 'with a mission'. As a white, female observer the general observation was that West Street is a place to do 'a job' and not a street to enjoy oneself and relax. West Street for these race groups was not seen as a social environment. The lack of 'green' places available to stop and relax tends to contribute to this atmosphere. Wilkinson (1994) notes that the nearest public open spaces are: Francis Farewell Park opposite the new Old Mutual development; a small section opposite 320 West Street between Pine Street and Commercial Road; and Albert Park.

Pedestrians from these race groups tended to cling onto handbags and shopping bags. It was observed that 'White' pedestrians did not generally buy from street traders. If goods were brought from street traders, these could be classified as 'essentials' such as fruit and vegetables. Noticeable features missing from West Street are young children and families.

#### 5.2.2. Retail Sector

The observational survey and land-use survey focused on the ground floor, street fronting<sup>10</sup>, retail sector. The study area comprises two city blocks, namely Broad to Field Streets and Field to Gardiner Streets.

The observational survey defined the various types of retailers found within the study area, as discussed in 4.3.1., namely: independent; chains or franchises. This is depicted in Map 2. The land-use survey identified the various types of retailing, and is illustrated in Map 3.

The Broad to Field Streets block is the main retail block of the study area<sup>11</sup>. Within this block there is a greater variety of retailers and related land uses than the second block (discussed below). The main retail focus is on clothing and shoes/accessories. A larger number of independent retailers locate within this block, than the second block. During the observational survey it was noted that some of these independent retailers either use street traders to sell their merchandise, or display wares outside the store, as illustrated in Plates 3 and 4.

---

<sup>10</sup> Due to time constraints retailers in lanes and arcade was not undertaken. It was also felt that it does directly relate to the research question.

<sup>11</sup> See Wilkinson (1994) for an examination on retailing within the whole of the CBD.

Plates 3 and 4: Independent Retailers 'using' the pavements



It was also observed that large and national chain stores for example, Edgars, Foschini, OK Bazaars are located within this block. No franchises locate in this city block.

It was clearly evident that the retail sector within this block is committed to development. Examples of such developments include the recent revamp and painting of: Broadwalk Arcade; Hub; Prefcor House, Milady's, Playboys; Randles, Revival and PEP.

Many of the retail stores have large window frontages, that are used for advertising purposes. It was noted during the interviews with the retail sector that this traditionally formed a major part of their advertising campaign. It was stated that congestion and the location of street traders obstruct displays. Resulting in window displays no longer playing a major part in advertising merchandise. Plate 5 illustrates obstructed window displays.

Plate 5: Obstructed Window Displays



Within this city block several lanes and arcades are to be found: Broadwalk Arcade; Foundry Lane; Chancery Lane; Plowright Lane; Greenacre's Pass; School Lane; West Walk Arcade and Hooper Lane. See Map 3 for location of lanes and arcades. High vacancies were observed in these spaces. Lanes and arcades are generally narrow, drab, cold and 'old fashion', as seen in Plate 6. Many have blank walls or covered windows, increasing the perception of



unfriendliness and insecurity. Yet, there are exceptions as seen in **Plate 7** where an effort has been made to brighten Hooper Lane. Current retailers locating in lanes and arcades are fast-foods stores, camera and photograph shops, heel bars, chemists and jewellery stores.

**Plates 6 and 7: Two types of lanes in West Street**



The Field to Gardiner Streets block<sup>12</sup> has been affected by both renovation and restructuring. Within this city block a concentration of chains such as: Woolworths; Jet (currently relocating into the first block); Milady's were observed. Franchises are also located in this city block, namely: Nando's, Steers, King Pie. Fewer independent retailers are located within this city block than in the former city block, discussed above. A large number of jewellery stores are located within this city block. At present Natal Wholesale Jewellers is the main stakeholder, this is as a result of these jewellers buying out Durban Wholesale Jewellers.

The main development within this block is the new Old Mutual Development, on the corner of West and Gardiner Streets. This 32-storey office block, has approximately 2 300 m<sup>2</sup> of retail space. It will be interesting to see how this new development will impact on West Street's retail activity. It was stated during the interview with Old Mutual that all retail space is almost all let at R150-R200 pm<sup>2</sup>. This needs to be compared to other retail rentals in West Street, illustrated in Appendix 8. It illustrates that rentals in this new retail space is fairly affordable.

The lanes and arcades in this block are: The Arcade on Field Street; Murchies Passage; London House Arcade; Salisbury Centre Arcade; Sanlam Arcade; Mark Lane; Mercury Lane; 320 West Street Arcade and Mutual Arcade, indicated on Map 3. Although the lanes have similar characteristics to those located within the first city block, the three arcades found in this city block: The Arcade on Field Street; Salisbury Arcade and 320 West Street Arcade are well maintained and frequented. The most interesting of the arcades is Salisbury Arcade which has a clean, airy atmosphere with a pleasant mix of generally higher income retail goods and activities. One is also able to relax and have something to eat and drink inside the arcade. This arcade is generally well frequented by both pedestrians and employees during the day. The Arcade on West on the other hand has a cold and stark atmosphere this is combined with a strange mix of lower income retail outlets. The 320 West Street Arcade has a wide variety of retail activity and restaurants. The stores within this arcade do not benefit from passing trade, but rather cater for employees working in the above offices. It was noted that the first floor of this arcade has many vacant shops (Daley interview).

### 5.2.3. Street Traders

The total number of street traders in the study area vary during week days, week ends and towards month ends. During month ends a peak in street trading occurs. It must be noted that it is difficult to accurately project the number of

<sup>12</sup> It was stated that this block accounts for approximately 25 % of Durban's rates base (Old Mutual interview).

street traders in West Street. During the observational survey, it is estimated that during the month there are between 150 to 200 street traders in the study area. This figure increases to approximately 220 street traders during week ends and 250 street traders during month ends. The location of street traders is depicted on Map 2.

During the observational survey, it was clear that many street traders operating in the study area are 'fronts' for formal retailers. This was clearly evident with goods being dropped off early in the morning (and collected later in the afternoon). Most goods are dropped off by 'Indian' drivers, but one or two 'White' drivers were sighted. Plates 8 and 9 illustrate this point.

Plates 8 and 9: Goods being dropped off





The similarity and large quantities of stock sold by street traders also illustrate that they are not 'genuine' street traders, as they can not possibly afford such large quantities of stock, as Plate 10 illustrates. Wilkinson (1994) adds to this by stating that during his study street traders were seen giving change to a number of other nearby street traders.

**Plate 10: Large stocks and a disorganised Street Trader**



Looking specifically at goods sold by street traders. A wide variation of small type food and non-food goods are sold by the street traders in West Street. This includes fruit and vegetables, toys, clothes, plastics, shoes, cosmetics, underwear, cassettes etc. Goods are presented in a variety of ways as Plates 10 and 11 illustrate. Either in an organised, clean and presentable manner, or utilising any form of structure to display wares.

**Plate 11: An organised Street Trader**



It was clearly evident that although the City Council in consultation with various key informants have demarcated 114 trading sites, as illustrated on Map 4, these sites are at present not been adhered to. The general lack of control and management of sites and street trading in West Street by the City Council has resulted in an untidy and disorderly city centre environment. Traders are locating and selling in an unorganised manner, as illustrated in Map 2, resulting in negative perceptions of this sector and West Street. This will be discussed below.

### **5.3. DYNAMICS AND PERCEPTIONS OF THE RETAIL SECTOR AND PEDESTRIANS**

#### **5.3.1. Retail Sector**

##### **5.3.1.1. Introduction**

The range of retailers interviewed is intricately linked to the research question, discussed in Chapter 2. The retailers interviewed needs to be conceptually linked to 4.3.1. The aim of the retail sector interviews is to gain a range of qualitative information concerning changes in urban retailing (customer profile, product mix and so on); perceptions on the changing West Street (problems experienced) and more importantly the impact of street trading on particular retailers. Table 1 illustrates the Retail Type Interviewed. Appendix 4 contains the Retail Sector Interview Questionnaire.

**Table 1: Participants of the Retail Sector Interviews**

RETAILER TYPE	CLOTH.	JEWEL.	SHOES SPORTS ACCESS.	FABRIC	FOOD	FURN.	STATION.	OTHER
<b>INDEPENDENTS:</b>								
Cards Galore							*	
Playboy	*							
Explosion 5	*							
Mia			*					
Regent Howard								*
The Nu-Shop	*							
Bettique Molliere	*							
Shoes-On-West			*					
Caney's		*						
Mix-n-Match				*				
Gopals			*					
Caress Jewellers		*						
Curtain Interiors				*				
Revival	*							
Adams							*	
Go East	*							
Fabric Warehouse				*				
Hyper Jewellers		*						
Multi Gift								*
Sneakers			*					
<b>CHAINS:-</b>								
Hub	*							
Mr. Price	*							
Game								*
Markhams	*							
Bradlows						*		
Koko			*					
Bee-Gee Fashion	*					*		
Sales House	*							
Scotts	*							
Edgars	*							
Milday's	*							
Woolworths	*							
Foschini's	*							
American Swiss		*						
OK Bazaars					*			
Swanks			*					
Total Sports			*					
Jet	*							
Beares						*		
Natal Wholesale		*						
<b>FRANCHISES:-</b>								
King Pie					*			
Nando's					*			
Steers					*			
<b>TOTAL</b>	17	5	7	2	4	2	2	4



Although the study investigates the economic and spatial impacts of street trading on a range of retailers, the emphasis is to interview as many independent retailers as possible. The rationale for this is that these independent retailers due to smaller store size, either managed by owners or managers 'have more to lose' than the bigger concerns, as the store is their 'bread and butter'. Secondly, they have been in West Street for a long time and have a clearer picture and understanding of 'small' retailing. Thirdly, by focusing on independent retailers, this study would be adding onto the research undertaken by Wilkinson (1994). He focuses on the major national and/or regional chains within the CBD. A range of chains were also interviewed, Chapter 2 discusses the methodology used. Food franchises, a fairly new phenomena in West Street were also interviewed.

Although time and budgetary constraints were present, the author feels that the range of retailers interviewed is adequate as an initial pilot study to understand the dynamics and perceptions within the study area, and to answer the research question.

#### 5.3.1.2. Independent Retailers

Twenty independent retailers were interviewed. Table 1 indicates the independent retailers interviewed. Map 2 indicates the location of the independent retailers. Map 3 indicates the type of goods sold. The interviews focused on the following issues: changing business activities; changes in West Street; impact of street trading on independent retailers; future business plans; views on accommodating street trading in West Street; views on making West Street more attractive. Appendix 4 contains the Retail Sector Interview Questionnaire.

##### 1) Changing business activities

The longest trading independent retailer in the study area was Adams, since 1865. The newest independent retailer was Sneakers, who has only been trading in West Street for 8 weeks. The study thus managed to capture a wide range of dynamics and perceptions by independent retailers. All the retailers had located in West Street as it 'is the place to be'. With the exception of one independent retailer, all the others had other branches. It was stated that the West Street branch is still the 'flagship'. Despite grievances and concerns, discussed below, the general feeling was that there is "still plenty of money to be made in West Street".

The older trading independent retailers noted that a shift towards a predominant 'Black' customer profile, begun approximately 15 years ago. These retailers noted

that customer profiles vary between branches. In West Street the customer orientation is mainly 'Black'. A higher 'Black' customer profile percentage was noted in the Broad to Field Streets city block. The block between Field to Gardiner Streets portrayed a wider range of customers. The independent retailers noted that this is attributed to a greater concentration of office buildings within this city block.

All retailers noted that the busiest periods are during lunch-times from Monday to Friday, with weekends being very busy, and with a greater predominance of 'Black' customers. Most of the retailers noted that customers coming into their store on weekdays are generally divided between those that work in the area and those that come specially into the area to shop. This trend shifts drastically during weekends, as customers come into the area, to fulfill shopping needs.

All the retailers are modifying their business activities to cater for the shift in customer profiles. The first adaption was merchandise type and mix. This adaption varied amongst the retailers. As discussed in 4.3.1., most retailers felt they need to find a niche in the market. This has been achieved by stocking and marketing expensive articles and brand names. This was evident in the retailers selling clothing, shoes and accessories. These retailers noted that the 'Black' customer is extremely brand conscious and does not mind paying high prices for quality merchandise and good service. Within the clothing retailers it was noted that merchandise had to be modified, namely styling: bigger sizes (42-44) and curvier cuts were more profitable. Colour ranges are concentrated on more autumn and earth tones. Exclusive shoe retailers are now stocking african leather shoes (rather than imported leather shoes) in bright colours, but at the same time not compromising on quality. Other successful retailers have shifted their merchandise mix to include: 'Black' hair products (shampoos, conditioners, hair extensions). Concentrating on the 'Black' student, this involves focusing on promoting books for UNISA and RSA Technikon. Catering for soccer team kits (this is a big seller for both independent and chain sports stores).

On the other hand, independent jewellers that have used a similar strategy are battling as they have noticed that the 'Black' customer, although interested in gold does not really understand the high cost of gold items. This has resulted in these retailers adapting their merchandise to include: twin wedding sets with cubic zirconia; watch brands that are cheaper (R149-R199), 'dressy' and flashy'; cheaper earrings (R20-R40). It was stated that heavy gold chains are very popular amongst 'Black' male customers. Home improvement stores are also struggling to find a new niche in the market. These retailers previously catered for affluent income groups which no longer shop in the area. These retailers have shifted



towards selling goods such as duvet sets and sheeting, rather than just curtaining and exclusive interior design merchandise.

The second modification, involves a shift in marketing and promotion of stores. Most independent retailers make extensive use of the 'Black' media be it radio, newspaper (Ilanga) or magazine (Bona). Caney's Jewellers, was the only independent retailer catering exclusively for the upper income group and tourist bracket. Advertising by this particular retailer is only of exclusive watch brands, for example Rolex. This retailer noted that he is "battling to stay afloat as the target customers are not coming into the store".

Other innovative modifications include employing more 'Black' and 'Indian' employees, this was seen as contributing to increased sale figures. Another modification is for example, Regent Pharmacy widely advertising free health advice. It was stated that it is imperative to educate the 'Black' customer on the importance of health, hygiene etc. The owner noted that since the provision of this free service, sales of vitamins and body products have increased.

Consultation and delivery of goods was also noted as a modification. Gopals and Curtain Interiors provide this facility and state that this has certainly helped them to keep their more affluent customer. Hand in hand with this are the personal telephone calls and catalogues sent to long standing customers.

## 2) Changes in West Street (CBD)

All retailers felt that West Street has changed. There was a mixed reaction when asked if the CBD was declining or restructuring. Thirteen of the retailers argued that the CBD was declining in terms of the traditional West Street image. Examples cited included the closure of Garlicks, and the location of McNamers and Bradlows into this retail space; the recent closure of Randles Jewellers and the opening up of Info-Med and a surgery; the relocation of Kings and Reggies was also stated. The CBD was seen as declining in terms of standards of cleanliness, security and crime. Decline in sale figures was also cited by a few of the independent retailers.

It was stated that crime is high on the pavements, yet recently there has been an increase in shoplifting, a great concern for the safety of the staff and customers was also noted. This concern was reflected in the high visibility of security in these stores, this included security guards at the entrances of the stores; alarm systems and closed circuit cameras.

It was stated that the CBD is dying for the 'White' customer. Although the retailers felt that the CBD was declining they did not feel it is "too late to save West Street", and that there was still "plenty of money to be made".

Although most of the independent retailers argued that the presence of street trading was a direct link to the decline of the CBD, profit sales and littering, a study undertaken by KDBA concluded that 70 % of litter in West Street occurred during lunch time. This was caused by formal business and customers.

Six of the independent retailers viewed the CBD as restructuring, firstly, in terms of the shift in customer profile which is now predominantly 'Black'. New types of stores moving into the area, was seen as a 'downgrading' of the CBD. This was in reference to the fast-food outlets: Nando's; King Pie, the casino and the lower price clothing stalls. Plate 12 illustrates some of the new types of retail in West Street.

Plate 12: New types of Retail in West Street



### 3) Impact of Street Trading on Independent Retailers

Most of the retailers argued that the impact of street trading was negative. It was noted that street traders do not generally compete in terms of goods sold (although some do). The main concern was the manner in which street traders locate, blocking store entrances and display windows especially when it rains. As illustrated in Plates 1 and 5.

Some retailers argued that street traders were 'unfair competition'. The main reason cited was the fact that street traders are located in prime retail space without any overheads and controls.

Independent retailers argue that street trading cluttering and littering pavements is the main cause that the affluent customer no longer shops in West Street. Shopping in West Street is now a "rushed chore", resulting in window displays not being appreciated and read by passing potential customers.

Street traders are also viewed as exacerbating the crime element, as these traders are seen as working with muggers and shoplifters. This includes the keeping of stolen goods and not identifying culprits. It was noted that street traders do this as they are threatened by these criminals and fear for their lives.

Very few retailers noted any positive impacts of street traders. Positive impacts were the fact that street trading has resulted in more people coming into West Street to shop, thus increasing sales figures. One retailer stated that street trading has had a major positive impact on profits as goods are sold in bulk to street traders.

#### **4) Future Business Plans**

Despite grievances and concerns, fourteen of the independent retailers stated they will remain and even expand in West Street as "they would never move out", as it is the "place to be". Two of these retailers would like to move into the Field and Gardiner Streets city block, particularly into the new Old Mutual development. This block was seen as more up-market.

Three retailers, selling shoes and accessories, have a "look-n-see" attitude, and will decide on future business plans when leases expire. It was stated that future plans may include moving out of West Street, although they would prefer to remain.

Two independent retailers, Interior Concepts and Caney's Jewellers, want to leave the study area as soon as possible. Current lease agreements are tying these retailers to West Street. These retailers felt that the CBD was truly dying, and it is "no longer fun to trade in West Street".

Most of the independent retailers interviewed stated that future business plans would not include changing their target customer, merchandise mix etc.

#### **5) Views on accommodating street trading in West Street**

Varying views were stated regarding the above issue. Thirteen retailers argued that street traders are here to stay and should remain in West Street. This needs



to be controlled and managed appropriately in negotiation with the retail sector and other key informants. Throughout all the interviews the general lack of control over street trading was a pressing concern.

It was also strongly stated that only the genuine street trader should remain in West Street, and not those that are 'fronts' for the formal sector. Retailers felt that the number of demarcated trading sites should be limited and should have adequate spacing between them. Uniform structures, should be in place these could include: identical folding tables with colourful table cloths and umbrellas; permanent kiosks etc. It was also strongly stated that street traders should be paying towards the city coffers, the amount should be decided on and paid direct to the City Council.

These retailers felt that storage and toilet facilities need to be provided to ensure that hygienic trading conditions prevail. Appropriate space within West Street was seen as problematic, yet it would be up to City Council to provide and administer these facilities. Three of the retailers were willing to store goods and tables overnight, as this would be a form of control over traders outside their store. One of these retailers was willing to provide umbrellas to traders outside his store.

It was also noted that goods sold by street traders would have to be controlled so as not to directly compete with goods sold in formal stores. Two retailers felt that 'ethnic' goods should be sold in West Street, so as to add to the shopping experience in the area. The problem of enforcing was noted.

On the other hand, six of the retailers felt that in order to "save West Street", street traders would have to be relocated. Concrete ideas where such areas should be within the CBD was not cited. Yet, it was thought that it should be a high traffic area, such as major bus and taxi ranks in Soldiers Way; near Medwood Gardens; or have a building provided/converted for this purpose (such as the Indian Market).

#### **6) Views on making West Street more attractive**

Making West Street more attractive and safe was cited the most by these retailers. It was stated that this should be done with the notion of not trying to bring back 'White' customers, as it was felt that they "were gone forever".

It was strongly stated that crime and parking problems would have to be the primary concern. Table 3 illustrates the crime figures for the study area. To combat crime it was argued that a stronger presence of police; mobile police stations and safe kiosks to report crimes; telephones every 50m could be some of

the measures utilised. Two of the retailers argued that a start would be removing all street traders out of the area.

It was felt that the key informants would have to be the City Council, retailers, hawker associations, organisations and property developers. It was argued that property developers have a lot to loose within the CBD, and in future must make use of their power and make a stand if they want to continue collecting rents.

Other ideas that were stated was that West Street must be part of an open mall, to ensure a 'vibe' and a 'sparkle' was regained. Other ideas include carnivals and Mardi Gras on weekends; promotion of West Street in newspapers; ensuring that more specialised stores locate here; and that the Field to Broad Streets city block be pedestrianised (this will be discussed in Chapter 6).

#### 5.3.1.3. Chains

A range of twenty major chains selling: to higher to middle income groups; to middle to lower income groups; sports, shoes and accessories; jewellery; furniture and stationery were interviewed. Table 1 states the chains interviewed. Map 2 indicates the location of chains. Map 3 indicates the type of goods sold. Interviews focused on the following issues: changing business activities; changes in West Street; impact of street trading on chains; future business plans; views on accommodating street trading in West Street; views on making West Street more attractive. Appendix 4 contains the Retail Sector Interview Questionnaire.

##### 1) Changing business activities

The longest trading chain retailer in the study area was OK Bazaars, since 1929. The newest chain retailer was Bradlows, who has only been trading in West Street for 6 months. Reasons given for locating in West Street was to ensure a "piece of the retail pie".

Most of the chains with other branches in Durban stated that the West Street branch was the 'flagship'. Chains that are currently battling, are those that are changing merchandise mix, image and identifying the 'new customer'. For example Scotts, is currently shifting merchandise mix to include brand sport shoes. The target image is one that is more up-market and youth orientated<sup>13</sup>. Despite grievances and concerns all the chains interviewed will not move out of West Street.

---

<sup>13</sup> Scotts previously targeted the lower income group and the working female. The merchandise was thus generally cheap and unsophisticated.

The chains reiterated the point that there has been a progressive shift towards a predominately 'Black' customer profile. Chains also noted that customer profiles do vary between branches, but in West Street the dominant customer is mainly 'Black'.

All the chains noted that the busy periods are during lunch-times from Monday to Friday. It was stated that customers coming into chains on weekdays was generally equally divided between those that work in the area and those that come into the area specifically to shop. Weekends and month ends are extremely busy trading periods with a greater predominance of 'Black' customers, coming specially into West Street to shop. The chains argued that 'Black' customers coming into West Street live in Umlazi, Lamontville, Chesterville, KwaMashu and Inanda (in this order of importance).

The chains interviewed had all modified and adapted their business activities to cater for shifting customer profiles, this was achieved in a variety of ways. Firstly, the type and mix of merchandise/products sold had shifted. All the chains are targeting quality and up-market products. Expensive articles, brand names and the SABS mark are highly marketed and advertised. This was especially seen in the chains selling clothing, shoes and accessories/jewellery. The 'Black' customer was said to be extremely brand conscious and will pay high prices for quality, branded merchandise and service.

Within the clothing chains it was stated that stocked merchandise included: bigger sizes (42-44), curvier and flared cuts. Colour ranges now include more autumn, spicy and earth tones. Darker suits are now stocked. Shoe chains focus on well-known bright leather shoes and handbags of high quality ('White' customers on the other hand buy neutral coloured shoes).

Other successful chains have shifted their merchandise mix to include products that caters for the youth, for example, Mr Prices now stocks environmentally friendly body products (shampoos, cleansers etc). Sport chains' market and stock soccer team kits, soccer boots, brand tee-shirts (Reebok) and brand track-suits. Furniture chains have shifted towards more exclusive expensive lines. Jewellers, especially Natal Wholesale Jewellers are doing extremely well. A reason given is the large market share of this chain in West Street. This includes 3 branches and the recent buying of Durban Wholesale Jewellers. These retailers stated that the merchandise that is currently popular include: chains; twin wedding sets with cubic zirconias; Lanco watch brands; big and bold earrings with fairly cheap diamonds. These jewellers also advertise their all year round 35 % discount and that all products have the SABS mark (this is extremely important to the 'Black' customer). Food chains have modified their stock to



smaller items, as their customers only do 'basket spending' or 'pick-up-lines', that can be carried on public transport.

The second modification involves a shift in marketing and promotion of chains. Most chains make extensive use of the 'Black' media be it television (Zama-Zama Show); radio; newspaper (Ilanga, Post) or magazine (Bona). This was stated to have increased sale figures. All the chains interviewed have store/club credit schemes, which have been extremely popular in widening the customer profile. The range of facilities offered include:-

- 6 to 12 months to pay.
- death and funeral benefit (in the case of the cardholder dying, the account is paid up and the family receives R 2 000 in cash)
- club magazine
- bursaries (3 million for university studies and 2 million for adult education)
- lucky draws: for houses; vehicles
- cash draws
- free alterations
- club social days in-store
- personal telephone calls
- sending of advertisements and catalogues

The employment of more 'Black' and 'Indian' employees has also taken place, and was argued as having resulted in increased sale figures.

## 2) Changes in West Street (CBD)

All chains interviewed saw the CBD restructuring towards a predominate 'Black' market, and an almost non-existent 'White' and 'Indian' customer market. It was noted that West Street has a greater 'volume' of people than ever before.

It was strongly stated that the CBD was not 'dying'. The chains were concerned with the decline in the standards of cleanliness, security and crime in the CBD. See Table 3 for crime figures. This was reflected in the high visibility of security (security guards; the searching of customers coming in and leaving the store; alarm systems and closed circuit cameras).

All chains interviewed argued that the presence of street trading was a possible cause to the decline of the standards (littering) in West street, but other wider socio-economic factors (suburbanisation and shopping centres) were the main factors for a changing West Street.

### 3) Impact of Street Trading on Chains

All the chains argued that street trading has a positive impact in bringing more of the 'target Black' customer into West Street. The reason cited for this perception was that the new customer profile coming into West Street 'relates' to street trading, and generally "feels comfortable in this crowded shopping environment". This is contrary to the results of the attitude survey discussed in 5.2.3.

All the chains also noted negative impacts of street trading. This included the manner they locate blocking chain entrances; loading zones and display windows; inconveniencing customers and creating a 'Third World image' in West Street (CBD). This is illustrated in Plates 1 and 5.

The jeweller chains stated that street traders were 'unfair competition' as they sell watches directly outside the chains. Most chains thought it unfair that street traders are trading in prime retail space without overheads and regulations, and the fact that trading areas are dirty and unsightly. The cluttering and littering of pavements was thus seen as a major problem, as it results in customers not relaxing, enjoying the shopping experience and appreciating window displays.

### 4) Future Business Plans

All the chains will continue to locate in West Street, to ensure a share of the retail market. The prevailing high profit levels was also noted.

Three future spatial strategies (besides the strategy of just continuing as present) were stated. The first strategy cited by Sales House and Edgars is to expand within the existing building. OK Bazaars plan to rearrange the present store layout, this would involve moving the grocery department to the ground floor. Other future plans for this store would be a major drive in advertising electrical and aspirational items: light bulbs, television sets etc, as it was felt that with the present electrification programme in townships, these items would become profitable. Checkers and Scotts on the other hand will in future be aiming for a 'self-help' store display.

The second strategy is expansion elsewhere within the CBD. Woolworths cited the future possibility of expanding into the space presently occupied by Jet<sup>14</sup> (this store has relocated into the Broad to Field Streets block). Homeleights are at present looking for bigger premises within West Street. Foschini's noted that if the Waterfront is developed, this would be a possible relocation option.

<sup>14</sup> Reasons given for relocation was that the lease had expired in the current premises. The building that they have moved into to is their original premises. It was also stated that the move was to be closer to other similar retailers.



Lastly, to relocate within West Street. One of the chains that will be relocating is Total Sports, possibly into the new Old Mutual Building. Reasons given for this move is that the current premises requires revamping; they would be moving away from their main competitor, Edgars and lastly, the more upper to middle income city worker is employed within this block.

Only one chain interviewed is decreasing in size. Scotts will be closing the 320 West Street branch in February 1996 (they will still keep their Broadwalk branch). The reasons given were that profits are continuing to decline in this particular store; the rents<sup>15</sup> in this city block are high and the fact that the store operates on two floors is problematic (it is argued that two floor stores are less profitable). Appendix 8 states the current retail rentals in the study area.

#### **5) Views on accommodating street trading in West Street**

All the chains felt that street traders will continue to trade in West Street, but that numbers and goods have to be appropriately controlled and managed. It was strongly stated that a full survey is required to identify who the traders are in West Street, where they get/buy their goods<sup>16</sup>, and if they are entrepreneurs or 'salesperson' for formal business. The chains argued that this 'fronting' for the formal sector must be stopped, and only the true entrepreneur should be allowed to trade in West Street.

Most of the chains stated that the demarcated sites strategy if properly controlled and managed is an appropriate strategy for accommodating street traders in West Street. It was noted that it is imperative that uniform trading structures be used. It was contested that special market areas to cater for surplus street traders would need to be identified and developed. Possible areas identified was the car park area near The Workshop; a quieter street within the CBD; sites closer to the station or bus and taxi ranks.

Sales House and Jet stated they were willing to provide tables, table clothes and umbrellas to street traders outside their stores, as this was seen as a form of control on: the number of street traders, littering and goods sold outside the store. Game stated they currently allow certain traders, who keep trading sites clean the use of Game's toilet facilities. Jet currently provides umbrellas to street traders, illustrated in Plate 13.

---

<sup>15</sup> It was stated that rentals increase at a 12 % p.a. rate (RMS).

<sup>16</sup> It was noted that the goods sold are possibly stolen as they as being sold at below cost.

Plate 13: Umbrellas provided by Jet



Game and Woolworths showed an interest in the 'Adopt-A-Trader' programme (will be discussed in Chapter 6). These chains felt that it is important that street traders get educated, in trading skills, hygiene, litter collection etc. None of the other chains stores were interested in such programmes.

#### 6) Views on making West Street more attractive

All the chains argued that in order to make West Street more attractive all the k had to work together.

The chains identified priority issues: crime (most mentioned), parking and littering. It was also stated that more police and cleaning staff presence is required in West Street, to reassure customers that West Street is "cleaning up its' act". Some of the chains felt that once these factors were sorted out, the 'new' West Street would need to be promoted.

It was also noted that West Street needs to be made more vibrant especially at night. Cinemas and restaurants thus need to locate within the area. It was stated that in order to accommodate the street traders in the study area space needs to be 'given' to these traders. This could involve closing traffic on Sunday's for fleamarket purposes.

One chain suggested that a toll into the CBD would help to decrease traffic congestion into the area. Very few chains were interested in permanently closing West Street to traffic, as this would result in additional traffic congestion within the CBD. Chains that were interested in this idea, suggested that the Broad to Gardiner Streets block could be a pedestrianised walk-way, yet it was noted that for this to take place parking facilities need to be drastically improved and the Park-N-Ride systems need to be increased and promoted. The author feels that these suggestions require future in-depth research. Most of the chains were interested in the BID (discussed in Chapter 6) programme, but only if all retailers participate in this programme.

All the chains argued that before one starts thinking and planning to make West Street more attractive, the City must ensure that a overall plan/vision for Durban is decided and agreed on!

#### 5.3.1.4. Franchises

Three franchises were interviewed. Table 1 states the franchises interviewed. Map 2 indicates the location of the franchises. Map 3 indicates the type of goods sold. In this case all the franchises trade in food. Appendix 4 contains the Retail Sector Interview Questionnaire.

Two of the franchises interviewed have been trading in West Street for a few months, they did not have a historical understanding of trading changes in this area. The reasons cited for locating in this block was that it is "where the people are".

Although the target customer is 'Black', the franchises felt that by locating in the Field and Gardiner Streets block the 'White', 'Indian' and 'Coloured' office employees would also be targeted. The franchises noted that the busy periods are from lunch-time onwards and week-ends.

Steers, has been trading in West Street the longest. It was stated that the recent revamp was to ensure they are "in line with the new franchises coming into the same city block". This franchise noted that crime and litter has increased in West Street, and that this needs to be addressed. It was stated that these factors do not affect their trade (the other two franchises did not mention the problems of crime and litter), but it does affect other retailers and the perception of the area.

The franchises all stated that if trade increases they would expand. All the franchises noted that more branches within West Street was a likely expansion option.

Two franchises did not see that anything had to be done to make West Street a more attractive trading area, as "it is great as it is!". Steers mentioned that cleaning up crime and littering would help to make the area even more attractive.

### 5.3.2. Attitude Survey

This survey is a pilot study, and the author acknowledges that the results obtained are not representative of attitudes towards street trading and West Street. The author contends that future research needs to be undertaken for a realistic and wider understanding of attitudes and pedestrians of the CBD area. This survey compliments the study by Wilkinson (1994), who focuses on: 'why' consumers shop in the city centre; 'who' was shopping and where they came from.

The survey was undertaken between the 20th of October to the 8th of November 1995, to ensure that a range of attitudes, pedestrians, and various trends occurring throughout the week, week-ends and month ends were identified and analysed. This survey involved the author walking along West Street and either stopping people coming out of various retailers; buying from street traders; waiting for a bus or coming out of an office block. Appendix 5 contains the Attitude Survey Questionnaire.

Due to time and budgetary constraints, 42 randomly selected pedestrians based on race, age and sex were interviewed. This is illustrated in Table 2: Participants of the Attitude Survey.

**Table 2: Participants of the Attitude Survey**

RACE	No.	% of TOTAL	FEMALE	MALE
Black	25	60	18	7
White	9	22	7	2
Indian	5	11	3	2
Coloured	3	7	2	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>12</b>

It was decided that this was an adequate number to answer the research question, as discussed in Chapter 2. The objective of the survey was to ascertain a general feeling of why pedestrians are in the study area; how they feel the CBD has changed; if they buy from street traders, and if so why and what; lastly, some views on what needs to be done to accommodate street traders in West Street

and to make the CBD more attractive. The findings are analysed in the following order race, sex and age. The reason for analysing the findings in this manner is to more clearly illustrate the range of attitudes by pedestrians.

### 1) 'Black' Respondents

25 'Black' respondents were interviewed. Table 2 illustrates the gender breakdown. Most of the respondents (18) were females, in their early twenty's. Both sexes were in West Street shopping. Most of the respondents do all their shopping in CBD, but not all of it in West Street. The most frequented retailers by females were: Edgars, Truworths, Milady's, Sales House, Jet and Foschini's. Goods bought include the purchasing of jewellery, clothes, perfume and shoes. Hub, was the most mentioned retailer for the buying of household goods such as duvet covers and towels.

Male respondents fell into an older age group category, mainly late twenty's. Although some of the frequently used retailers were similar to those used by 'Black' females, the following were also noted: Markhams, Woolfsons and Cuthberts.

Reasons for using the above mentioned retailers was: excellent quality merchandise and brand names at reasonable prices. The respondents stated that it was convenient to shop in West Street as combi taxis bring them into town and then take them back home. The easy access of transportation into West Street is an additional attraction for these respondents.

All the respondents bought from street traders. The most mentioned merchandise was fruit and vegetables, as they were seen as being cleaner, fresher and cheaper than the formal retailers. Two of the females mentioned that they also buy jeans, hair accessories and toys from the street traders, as the merchandise is cheaper. Other reasons cited for buying these above mentioned articles from street traders and not from formal retailers were: that they were easily accessible to passer-bys; street traders need support as they are trying to make a living; convenience as one does not have to stand in long queues.

Most of these respondents felt that West Street has changed drastically from "a neat, sophisticated and classy" street to a "filthy and congested" street, it was stated that street trading has caused this environment.

Most of the respondents felt that street trading needs to be legalised and regularised but not in West Street<sup>17</sup>. It was stated that a site needs to be

<sup>17</sup> This differs from the perception that chains have, where it was thought that 'Black' customers enjoy this type of environment.



identified, and a street market with small stalls needs to be developed on this site. The few respondents that argued that street traders could be accommodated in West Street felt that attractive stalls; folding tables and other necessities should be provided and enforced.

Ideas on how to make West Street more attractive were divided. Most respondents felt that street traders had to be removed for the area. Others argued that the proper treatment of street traders would ensure that West Street becomes more attractive. All respondents stated that more cleaners need to be employed in West Street and litterers have to be prosecuted. One respondent felt that West Street needs to become more "human friendly", this would require some form of pedestrianisation.

All the respondents contested that the implementation of the above mentioned improvements would involve an integrated effort between the City Council, City Police and the Department of Health in negotiation with other key participants to "set the rules". It would then be up to actors using West Street: the retailers (formal and informal) and community to abide to these rules.

## 2) 'White' Respondents

9 'White' respondents were interviewed. Table 2 illustrates the gender breakdown. Most of the respondents were females. Many of the respondents fell into the 22-50 age group category and worked in the CBD. They were in West Street either for work purposes or doing lunch time shopping. On the other hand, the respondents that fell into the 60 and older age group category had come into West Street mainly to shop: grocery shopping, to buy "special" articles or to pay accounts. All these respondents noted that all shopping is not done in West Street. Nearby suburban shopping centres are used for bulk shopping.

The most frequented retailers by both sexes were: Woolworths (mainly for vegetables), Jet and Foschini's, Edgars and Hub. Retailers used for "special articles" included Adams and Computer Stores in London Arcade. The main reasons for using these retailers is the fact that they are clean, have a wide choice of merchandise and are reasonably priced.

Most of the female respondents did not buy from street traders. Only the elderly respondents admitted buying from street traders. Goods bought include toys and fruit and vegetables. The main reason cited for buying from street traders was the fact they are cheaper than the formal retailers. These respondents also felt that they were actually helping the street traders, who were there to "make a living". All the male respondents stated that they did not buy from street traders, as this only "encourages street trading".

Most of the respondents disliked street trading, as it makes the main thoroughfare look dirty and untidy, it was seen as encouraging the crime element in West Street.

All the respondents felt that West Street had changed for the worse. This has occurred as planning of the city centre has not "kept apace with the changing customer profile". The prevailing situation of: crime, lack of parking, congested pavements, and general dirtiness of the area was seen as a direct outcome of the lack of city planning. The respondents argued that the existing situation in West Street is "part and parcel of the new South Africa". It was stated that this situation will progressively get worse, if drastic measures are not taken.

The respondents that fell into the 22-50 age group category argued that street trading should not be allowed in West Street. Street trading should be allowed in "special regulated areas", where sites are allocated and paid for. The respondents that fell into the older age group category stated they "had no idea on what needs to be done concerning street trading in West Street". It was strongly stated that this "was not their problem".

The overall response, on ideas to make the CBD more attractive was that the City Council have to **take control** and start planning ahead. There was also a feeling that in future, businesses within the study area need to be more involved in the environment that they trade in.

### 3) 'Indian' Respondents

5 'Indian' respondents were interviewed. Table 2 illustrates the gender breakdown. Most of the respondents were female and fell into the 18-30 age group category. Respondents of both sexes were in West Street for shopping purposes. No elderly Indian females were interviewed. The male respondents interviewed fell into the 25-40 age group category. Male respondents stated they shop in the study area, as the work in the CBD.

It was noted that 'Indian' respondents buy from the same retailers frequented by 'Black' and 'White' respondents. These respondents also buy similar merchandise as 'Black' and 'White' respondents. All the respondents interviewed buy from street traders. Goods bought are mainly fruit and vegetables. Reasons given was that merchandise was cheaper and one does not have to stand in queues. Female respondents that fell into the 18-30 age group category stated that the most bought merchandise from street traders was, hair accessories.

All the Indian respondents felt that street trading should not be allowed in West Street. It was argued that a demarcated area should be identified and



development by the City Council. All the respondents stated that West Street has changed into a dirty and untidy shopping environment. It is up to the City Council to sort out this unattractive shopping environment. One of the respondents stated that West Street should have strung up decorations throughout the year. It was argued that this would make West Street more colourful and vibrant.

#### 4) 'Coloured' Respondents

3 'Coloured' respondents were interviewed. Two of the respondents were female and fell into the 50-70 age group category. These respondents were in West Street to shop and pay accounts. One of the female respondents stated that all shopping is done in West Street, whilst the other noted that she mainly comes into the area to pay accounts. The male respondent fell into the 25-35 age group category, and was in the study area as he works in the CBD.

The most frequented retailers by the female respondents were: OK Bazaars, Clicks; Milady's and Foschini's. Reasons cited was the reasonably priced merchandise, and the fact that these retailers generally always have sales. The male respondent noted that he frequents Markhams (clothing for himself) and OK Bazaars for "odds and ends".

Out of the three respondents, the female that fell into the 50-70 age group category, stated that she buys from street traders. Reasons given are the fact: they are cheap; enjoys to bargain with the traders and she feels sorry for them. The most popular goods brought are toys, earrings and pantihose. The other two respondents noted that it is "too dangerous to buy from street traders".

All the respondents stated that West Street is looking too overcrowded, dirty and untidy. To rectify the situation all respondents argued that street traders have to relocate. It was felt that an alternative trading site had to be found. The respondents had no idea of the location of such a site. It was argued that it is up to government to find appropriate locations and develop them accordingly.

#### 5.3.3. Conclusion

In conclusion, to answer the research question discussed in Chapter 2. The observational survey and the attitude survey, as well as the retail sector interviews tentously suggest the economic and spatial impacts of street trading on retail in West Street.

Most of the individuals interviewed note that the spatial restructuring in retail and West Street must be seen as a function of other forms of socio-economic

restructuring. This was highlighted in Chapter 4. It can be concluded that spatial restructuring must be viewed as an uneven process, impacting on certain sectors and areas far more than others.

To comment on the recent newspaper articles stating West Street is 'dying', on page 1, the author avers that the observational survey confirmed that the area is alive, but is in the process of restructuring. The traditional West Street boasting cleanly swept streets and wide uncongested pavements is there no longer. Walking through West Street it was observed that litter is a problem, but one cannot solely blame this on the presence of street traders (although they do exacerbate the situation).

It is imperative that appropriate planning of both street trading and West Street be discussed, negotiated and implemented.

## **CHAPTER 6: THE CASE OF WEST STREET: KEY INFORMANTS: DYNAMICS, PERCEPTIONS AND DISCUSSIONS AROUND POLICY**

### **6.1. INTRODUCTION**

Chapter 6 forms the latter of two chapters that present a case study of the theoretical and practical issues that have emerged and developed in the preceding chapters.

This chapter analyses the Key Informant Interviews from both the public and private sectors. Appendix 7 contains the Key Informants. This will incorporate perceptions on street trading as well as discussion on current policy initiatives to firstly, accommodate street trading in West Street and secondly, on a broader level what is required to make the CBD more attractive. Appendix 6 contains the Key Informant Interview Questionnaire.

### **6.2. PUBLIC SECTOR: KEY INFORMANTS**

Current policy discussions on street trading have emerged out of the discussion in 3.4., which considers changing attitudes and state legislation towards street trading. Numerous public departments were interviewed: Informal Trading and Small Business Opportunities Department (ITSOB); Legal Section; Keep Durban Beautiful Association (KDBA) and City Police.

ITSOB has been in operation since 1992<sup>18</sup> to deal specifically with the persistent presence of street trading. The main function of this department has been to control, enforce laws, monitor and manage street trading in the City. During the interview, it was stated that this departments' "hands and feet are tied due to the promulgation of the Businesses Act (Act 71 of 1991)". This Act was noted to have effectively reduced this departments' ability to enforce the laws and controls that were previously applicable to controlling street trading<sup>18</sup>. Various departments and Councillors stated that this Act left the City Council almost powerless to control street trading.

What this Act did make provision for was firstly, the current demarcation of 114 trading sites in West Street (and in other areas within the CBD). Map 4 illustrates the demarcated trading sites within the study area. These sites have been criticised by ACHIB who argues that up to 250 sites could be demarcated in

---

<sup>18</sup> For an analysis of the previous legislation controlling street trading in Durban see 3.4.

West Street. Secondly, the Act also facilitates the allocation of trading licenses. This would contain the traders name, photograph and goods to be sold.

On the 29th of September 1995 the street trading by-laws<sup>19</sup> were promulgated, which allows ITSOB to control and enforce these by-laws, to ensure a pleasant and unhampered shopping experience in the CBD. Currently these by-laws are not being implemented. This department states it intends to *fully* enforce the by-laws in 1996.

A ITSOB report to Management Committee, dated 24-10-1995 (City of Durban: 1995 a), argues that before one can begin to enforce the by-laws successfully, the following items are required:-

1. Erection of signs, completion of demarcation near Churches and City Hall;
2. Explanation to council officials and enforcement officers (has been done);
3. Meetings/workshops with key informants, Chamber of Commerce;
4. Formation of a co-ordinating Committee of relevant officials;
5. Publication of implications in circulating newspapers, Erection of Notices;
6. Setting of fines;
7. Set lease or allocation fee (R25pm/annum);
8. Issue letters of allocation;
9. Create open air markets (possible site Soldiers Way Bus Rank or vicinity).

The Report argues that after the implementation date, ITSOB would need to:-

1. Enforce the by-laws;
2. Administer leases;
3. Develop and implement upgrading programmes.

ITSOB argues that the main stumbling block in going ahead with the implementation programme is **how does one enforce the street trading by-laws?** Mr Paley from Legal Section contends that **sentencing** is a major problem facing law enforcement, particularly in regards to petty offenses which are rife in the CBD. He argued that fines are meaningless, particularly when an offender has no money and, secondly, where offenders cannot be sent to an appropriate jail or place of safety, due to the pettiness of the offense. He noted that BID's, which will be discussed in 6.3., could contribute to the funding and management of proper lock up facilities for CBD offenders awaiting trial. Proper "alternatives to imprisonment" programmes are required, for example, sentencing people to pick up litter, sweep streets etc, under the supervision of appropriate Council officers. He stated that RDP funding would also be required for such imprisonment alternatives.

---

<sup>19</sup> Discussed in 3.4.

ITSOB stated other issues which require agreement before enforcement of the by-laws can take place, include:-

1. How much should street traders pay for sites?
2. How should this payment be made: weekly, monthly, etc?
3. Should a renewable permit be given to the street traders?
4. Which street traders should remain in West Street, who should move?<sup>20</sup>

ITSOB stated that at the beginning of 1996 the allocation of demarcated sites to specific traders is to begin. Once these allocations have been completed, decision on goods to be sold in West Street will be finalised. It was noted that this would for example, involve insuring that a street trader could not sell clothing outside a clothing retailer. 3.4. discusses these controls.

Clarification on appropriate trading structures also needs to be discussed and decided on. ITSOB argued that if a fixed trading structure was decided on the department would be prepared to supply and rent out these structures to street traders. On the other hand if a moveable structure is decided on the department would not be involved in the management of such structures "as it is too hard to police and control such structures". Appendix 9 illustrates Potential Street Trading Structures.

What was evident during the interview was the fact that ITSOB has given very little thought to the provision of storage, water and garbage removal services in West Street. The focus at present is on the allocation of the demarcated sites.

Although ITSOB stated that **accommodating** street trading involves both the informal sector and key informants in the area, this has not taking place. 6.3. discusses the lack of negotiation between the private and public sectors and informal organisations.

ITSOB is currently discussing other possible sites/options to accommodate surplus/displaced West, Grey and Victoria street traders, namely:-

- \* A pedestrianised bridge from the station in Warwick Triangle, over the West Street Cemetery which finally links into West Street. It was stated that this could accommodate approximately 400 street traders. A feasibility and a costing exercise regarding this option is currently being undertaken;
- \* At a recent meeting, serious consideration was given to the possible pedestrianisation of Albert Street, to allow for a mall development and the accommodation of West Street traders;
- \* Barrows outside The Workshop;

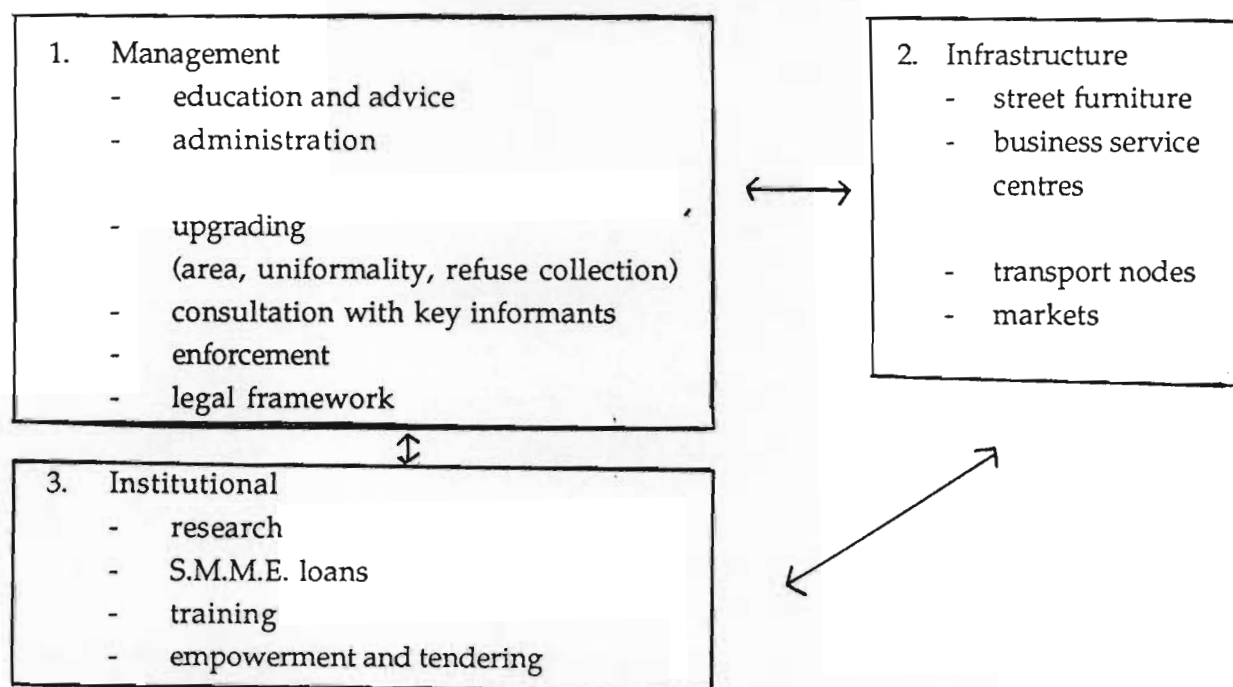
<sup>20</sup> ITSOB felt that they knew who the genuine street traders in West Street were. Permits would only be given to these traders.



- \* West Street Sunday Market;
- \* Esplanade Gardens Market (near the Vasco da Gama statue);
- \* Soldiers Way Bus Rank;

The widening of pavements in West Street by 0,5 m to increase access and free movement is also being discussed. ITSOB noted that this option would not involve demarcating additional sites. Total pedestrianisation of West Street was stated as not being a viable option, as this would increase congestion and access problems in the area. It must be noted that although there have been recent newspaper arguments that street trading is to be totally removed from West Street, ITSOB contested that this will not take place. It was argued that key informants should be discussing the following **three-prong approach** to street trading in the CBD. This would be a five year programme<sup>21</sup>.

Figure 14: ITSOB's three-prong approach to street trading



KDBA has been in operation since 1993 with a focus on environmental issues, litter being the main concern. It was noted that if litter was placed in bins the cost of collecting rubbish would cost the City approximate R7 million per annum. At present it costs the City roughly R30 million per annum.

One of the programmes this association proposes to combat litter is the 'Adopt-A-Spot'<sup>22</sup> programme which entails ensuring an adopted spot is well maintained, no illegal dumping or vandalism occurs, plants and trees are taken

<sup>21</sup> Long-term planning of street trading has not been thought of.

<sup>22</sup> This programme has been successfully implemented in the United States of America.

care of, and regular clean-ups take place (City Beat: July 1995). Some of the businesses in the study area are involved in this programme namely: Woolworths; Allied Bank and United Bank.

A follow up programme to the 'Adopt-A-Spot' programme is the 'Adopt-A-Trader' programme which involves "businesses in the area providing storage space and awning for stalls - which the hawkers could not afford on their own - pavement stalls could be seen as an asset rather than a problem" (City Beat: July 1995)<sup>23</sup>. If a business does 'adopt a trader', the association goes out and speaks to the traders on various street trading issues. This is a free service provided by KDBA.

During the City Police interviews the focus of this department is to combat the high crime and congestion found in the city centre. Table 3 contains the **Monthly Crime Statistics From January 1995-October 1995**. Figures that relate only to West Street were unavailable. Statistics contained in Table 3 include Broad, Field, Gardiner, Aliwal, Smith and West Streets.

**Table 3: Monthly Crime Statistics from January 1995-October 1995**

<u>TYPE OF CRIME</u>	<u>NUMBER</u>
Theft out of Motor Vehicle	442
Theft of Motor Vehicle	404
Robbery	77
Armed Robbery	79
Snatching and Pickpocket	48
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1 050</b>

Source: SAP (1995)

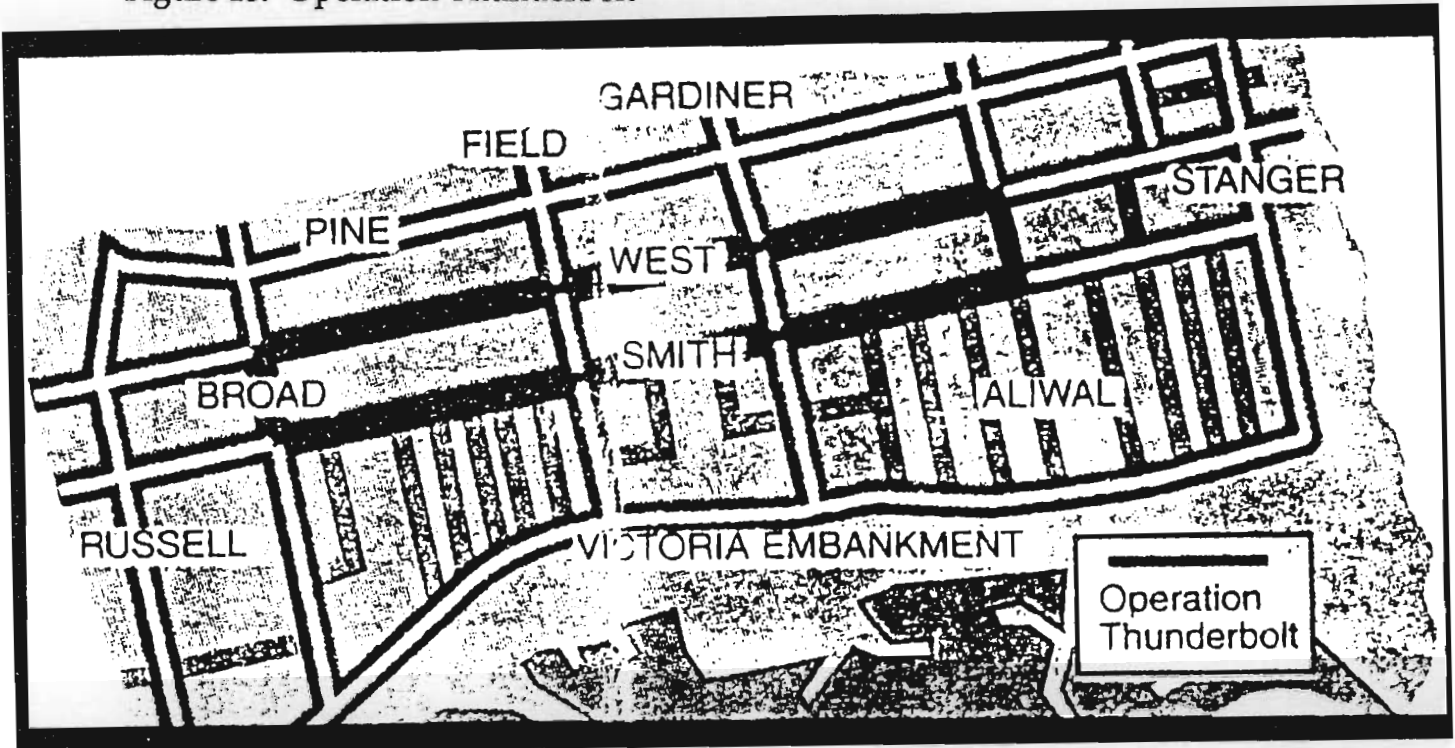
These figures illustrate that there is a high rate of theft of motor vehicles and theft out of motor vehicles in the city centre. Wilkinson (1994) writes that the area in which the greatest number of crimes are reported are the Field and Broad Streets block. What is not represented in crime figures are the theft and/or switching of bank cards, which currently is a major concern.

The City Police on the 23th of October 1995 implemented 'Operation Thunderbolt'. This involves the deployment of more than 60 men and women,



six cars fitted with loud hailers and three tow trucks in the area bordered by West Street, Aliwal Street, Smith Street and Broad Street. Figure 15 depicts the area.

Figure 15: Operation Thunderbolt



Source: Natal Mercury (18-10-1995)

In addition to 'Operation Thunderbolt', the City Police have resolved to place hi-tech cameras as an anti-crime measure, and the formation of a strategic group (inter alias, the SAP and business community) to address crime (City of Durban: 1995 c). It was stated that a short-term strategy is being implemented which involves adequate 24-hour, 7 days a week police coverage both motorised and foot patrol policing. Both operations will work simultaneously. Recent anti-crime measures in the study area include a mobile police station and an increase presence in traffic wardens. Plate 14 illustrates the mobile police station.

Plate 14: Mobile Police Station



#### 6.2.1. Conclusion

The public sector is clearly lacking in a CBD/Durban Vision Framework Plan, Chapter 7 will discuss what parameters this plan should include. This void, results in current policy towards street trading being implemented in an ad-hoc and uncoordinated manner, by various departments. A reason for this kind of planning and lack of an overall policy towards street trading is due to the public sectors' fragmented decision making mechanism.

Throughout the public sector interviews it was evident that various departments: ITSOB, legal section, town planning and city police are all pursuing different agendas and objectives in respect to controlling and managing street trading. Different agendas and a lack of co-ordination between the departments have resulted in conflicting policy decisions, and interpretations of policy, resulting in frustration and lack of co-operation. This was re-iterated in the private sector interviews, in 6.3.

#### 6.3. PRIVATE SECTOR: KEY INFORMANTS

Numerous private sector key informants were interviewed: CBD Merchants Association (CBDMA); Chamber of Commerce; ACHIB; SEWU and Property developers. The rationale for interviewing a range of private sector key

informants, was to begin analysing current policy discussions on street trading and West Street. The key informants represent the retail sector; street traders and property developers.

CBDMA was formed in 1992, to represent the interests of retailers and other key informants in the central Durban area. This Association helped to identify the concerns of the various key respondents. **Appendix 10** summarises the **Concerns and Issues of the Various Key Respondents**. The main accomplishment of the CBDMA was the introduction of the Sunday West Street Market<sup>24</sup>. This market utilised approximately 6 000 m<sup>2</sup> and accommodated between 700 to 1 000 street traders. This was relocated on the 6th of October 1993 to the Church Street Plaza. The main concern of the CBDMA was that the City Council decided to "close down this weekly event...without any form of consultation".

CBDMA's main concern at present is to have the Sunday market re-opened. This will ensure that the city center does not close from 13h30 on Saturday afternoon until Monday morning. This is seen as an enormous under-utilisation of existing resources. It was noted that CBDMA is willing to pay a maximum of R1 500 per week towards the operating costs of a Sunday market. CBDMA stated that it would also ensure that the key informants in the City Council, commerce and industry, socio-political groups, promoters of development and the media sectors are brought together to decide on city centre issues.

The Chamber of Commerce stated that their policy towards street trading within the CBD is "a very strongly directed approach". The Chamber's role would include: advisory and technical expertise; mediate conflict and negotiations; catalyst to ensure that all actors are brought together in the managing of street traders.

The Chamber's policy firstly, recognises that informal trading is a form of employment. Figures 1, 2 and 3 illustrate the growth of informal trading in KwaZulu/Natal and its contribution to the economy. Although the Chamber, stated it would encourage and contribute towards a process that enables "informal traders to move into the formal sector" (discussed below). Its primary concern is to protect the interests of the city at large, the formal business sector and the residents of the city.

Strategies to support the informal sector include the right to limit areas of the city as "hawker free zones"; no informal trader should carry on a business on a

<sup>24</sup> Although this market is no longer operational, it must be noted that this idea is currently being re-discussed.



sidewalk fronting shop or business premises upon which goods of a similar nature are sold. The author notes that the Chamber's policy towards street trading is somewhat contradictory, idealistic and unattainable. Firstly, individuals involve themselves in street trading due to a lack of formal sector skills. Secondly, genuine street trading is a small scale operation, that can not afford formal overheads. Thirdly, the "hawker free zones" may be away from high pedestrian traffic, resulting in street traders not abiding to these zones, as it is unprofitable.

The Chamber argues that street trading must be managed and controlled in a manner that improves pedestrian movement and enhances the city. The strategies proposed are similar to ITSOB's current strategy, discussed in 6.2.. It was stated that the demarcated sites should be occupied on a daily 'first come first served basis'. The author argues, that this is problematic, as control and management of traders would be difficult. It would also result in traders resorting to sleeping on pavements at night so as to secure a site.

The last policy the Chamber proposes is the enforcement of council policies and by-laws. This will ensure the co-operation and support of the majority of citizens including the street traders. The chamber argues that this could be accomplished by the following strategies: informal traders should only be permitted to trade if in possession of a valid licence which bears a current photograph of the licence holder. Secondly, the City Council must have the means to make it financially unviable to trade without a licence. This includes the right to impound goods, which would be returned, after payment of a substantial fine. 6.2. discusses public sectors' current approach towards the enforcement of the by-laws.

The Chamber noted that the diversity within street trading, calls for a set of differentiated policies. Street traders that show potential to grow should be offered training through various organisations such as the SBDC and other developmental agencies. It was seen as imperative that various mechanisms are created that bar formal traders using 'fronts' under the guise of informal trading, as this is prejudicial to both embryonic and established traders.

The following two non-governmental organisations to be discussed represent street trading concerns and issues, illustrated in **Appendix 10**. Similar concerns to the other key informants were stated during the interviews, and will not be re-iterate. The author will focus on points that are specific to these two organisations.

ACHIB argued strongly that trading is a right, but needs to be appropriately controlled. The designated areas, as discussed in 3.4. and 6.2. were supported by this organisation as "people should not trade everywhere they like"

(Daily News: 15-08-1995), rather agreement should be decided on "the areas where people can trade and have proper stalls" (ibid).

ACHIB's main criticisms of the current designated sites specifically to the study area was firstly, there should be 250 designed sites, from Russell to Aliwal Streets. Map 4 depicts West Streets' current demarcated sites. Secondly, it was argued that it should be up to ACHIB to decide which traders should be allocated sites. It was strongly argued that it should be up to this organisation to control, educate and train street traders to run sites effectively and efficiently. This was seen as highly problematic by other key informants. It was seen that designated sites would only be given to ACHIB members, resulting in a 'mafia-type' trading area. During the interviews with other key informants it was stated that ACHIB is too one-sided and uses bullying tactics to get member support<sup>25</sup>.

This organisation stated that lockable stalls for street traders is an appropriate trading structure. This would have to be provided simultaneously with other necessary facilities (toilet and water) within the study area. As discussed in 6.2., ITSOB has not planned for such facilities. ACHIB stated that office and retail space within West Street need to be modified for such facilities and uses. The author contends that this is a highly debatable and unrealistic suggestion considering the high rentals that are paid in this area, as illustrated in Appendix 8.

ACHIB strongly argued that traders must be allowed to trade free within demarcated sites, this was both in terms of goods sold and payment of sites. Payment by street traders to the City Council should only be considered and decided on when the above mentioned facilities are provided. Such provision would be by the City Council and retail sector. The retail sector was viewed as having "lots of money" and had to provide services as it was felt that it is about "time they gave something back to the City". ACHIB stated that the retail sector has an important role in:-

- providing credit to street traders;
- donating funds for business skills training;
- contributing towards the building of trading stalls.

ACHIB argued that besides the demarcated sites in West street, flea-market sites must be identified. Possible sites identified by this organisation include the Alice Street site (has been identified as a Service Centre) and the Stable theatre site. ACHIB stated that the West Street situation has not been resolved due to "City

<sup>25</sup> It was noted during the CBDMA interview that some of the street traders along West Street have been bullied to join ACHIB, and if they refuse their goods have been destroyed and the traders have been hurt.

Council's uncoordinated management style". This organisation was very critical of ITSOB and viewed this department as "not listening to the people, they just wanting to **impose** ideas on traders". It was stated that the ITSOB must be **closed** as they are **dictators**, and are "full of apartheid". New members should be **elected** to work in ITSOB, as it should be up to business to "work out what is best for traders and all the users of the city".

The second organisation, SEWU was formed in Durban in July 1994 to represent women street traders and their **constitutional right** to trade. The union argues for **re-regulation** (appropriate regulation as opposed to de-regulation) in a decentralised/localised manner.

SEWU argue that the adoption of both productive and welfare assistance policies need to be decided on and implemented in order to manage and develop the informal economy. These assistance policies have been divided into locational, structural and educational suggestions which include:-

- ° training and assistant packages to improve the street trader's production, this includes the provision of business skills; credit;
- ° the local authorities, and other key informants providing welfare type assistance measures, such as stalls, toilet facilities. SEWU notes that members are prepared to pay between R10-20/pm, for a demarcated site in West Street, and approximately R50/pm if lockable stalls and other services are provided. SEWU argues that if a Council owned building exists within West Street this should be converted into toilet and storage facilities. The author notes that this may not be possible, as most of the buildings in this area are owned by institutions;
- ° assistance should be given to the true street trader/entrepreneur and not 'fronts' for the formal sector;
- ° gender-sensitivity in future planning and policy formulation is imperative. SEWU argues that this is currently lacking due to City Council's and ITSOB's lack of consultation skills and gender-sensitivity approaches. ITSOB's area managers and supervisors are male, and ex-policemen. It is imperative that in future more women are employed within the City Council and ITSOB, to ensure that the dynamics, concerns and needs of women street traders are considered at policy and implementation level;
- ° the informal sector represents a "heterogeneous universe" of diverse situations and activities which need to be considered;

These policies have been discussed by Tokman (1981); Dewar and Watson (1981) and Rogerson (1990) in **Chapter 3**. SEWU argued that such policies would only become a reality if the City Council negotiates **all** decisions with the key informants and ensures that decisions and plans are **carried through** and not



stopped half-way. It was argued that progress at present is frustrated by the political uncertainty of local government due to the forthcoming local elections. Yet, every effort should be made to address the street trading situation.

The final section of the private sector key informants are the various property developers within the study area. **Appendix 7** identifies the property developers interviewed. Similar concerns and issues were cited as the other key informants and will thus not be re-discussed. **Appendix 10** identifies these concerns and issues.

The discussion below must thus be understood and linked to the discussion with the other key informants, stated above. The main focus of this discussion is the BID<sup>26</sup> programme, which falls within the study area. Proposed BID's are:-

1. Gardiner to Broad including **West**, Smith and Pine Streets;
2. **West Street** Mall/Point/Gillespie/Bell/Brickhill and Old Fort Roads.

BID's aim to firstly, accommodate street trading and secondly, to make the study area more attractive. This is to be achieved by a **multi-faceted** programme with the objectives, to:-

1. create a shopping centre in the city centre which is capable of drawing suburban shoppers back to the city;
2. create an clean, open air, friendly, comfortable and exciting shopping experience. BID's provide two initial services, namely security and pavement cleaning, which is linked to existing Council services. This is to be followed by improved lighting, signage, street furniture and festive displays;
3. utilise existing cultural activities in the City as a unique selling point, for example, the City Hall for concerts both inside and on the steps; libraries and museums; art gallery and local history museum; the opera house to bring the theatre and cultural activities into the street;
4. utilise the parks such as Medwood Gardens for special events and Christmas;
5. introduce easy transport. A Victorian/Edwardian transport theme is proposed to incorporate existing historical buildings (Daley: 1993).

It was stated during the interviews that street trading must be incorporated into BID as it "provides an important service to the city and would thus have to be involved in the BID area to ensure that they become a positive factor in the district" (ibid).

---

<sup>26</sup> This is defined as "a geographic area in which property owners agree to contribute to the provision of services which will **uplift and revitalise the area**" (Central BID Newsbrief No: 1).

The implementation of the BID would involve:-

1. Naming the project, for example, West Street Boulevard;
2. City Council paving West Street between Field and Gardiner Streets;
3. Planting large trees down the centre of the paved area in order to create an outdoor shady environment;
4. Two street cafes to be created in the centre of the pedestrianised area at Field Street and Gardiner Streets ends. These would have to fit in with the chosen theme, for example, a pavilion/gazebo/bank stand structure;
5. Informal trading to be accommodated down the centre of the boulevard in properly constructed kiosks, that provide both shelter and storage facilities. It would also create an organised and viable street trading market;
6. PRO to be employed full-time to promote the city centre;
7. CBDMA structure within the BID to fund promotions etc;
8. Tram system to be installed (by the City Council), initially running down West Street, along Field Street, down Commercial Road past the Workshop and back to West Street via Aliwal Street<sup>27</sup>. Shoppers would be able to buy one ticket which would be valid for the whole day. This would ensure shoppers could get on and off the tram as many times as desired. The tram would also take shoppers back to the main parking areas;

The property developers argued that the BID was an excellent idea to combat the major obstacles in the CBD:-

1. Safety:- The tram system would take shoppers to their destinations in safety. The extra policing paid by the association would also combat crime.
2. Parking:- The inconvenience of parking could be resolved as trams would transfer parkers right into the shopping centre.
3. Traffic:- This would be removed from the shopping centre, resulting in a more pleasant and cleaner environment.
4. Informal trading:- Could become a positive aspect as it would be attractively set out and litter/cleanliness would be attended in an organised basis.

The property developers argued that the focus needs to be on cultural activities, this includes bands in the streets; short plays etc. It would be imperative that West Street be widely advertised and promoted to ensure people would be attracted into the area. It was acknowledged that although there has been a change in customer profiles within the city centre, efforts as those discussed above could be instrumental in bringing the **white youth** back into West Street (Daley: 1994).

---

<sup>27</sup> It was argued that this system could in future be extended as the various connecting nodes were included, for example, the Exhibition Centre, the Beach, the Esplanade etc (Daley: 1993).

Property developers concluded by stating that such a programme could only be implemented and be successful if it was part of **Durban's Future Framework**. **Chapter 7** discusses what this framework should include.

#### 6.3.1. Conclusion

The private sector interviews illustrate that there are current initiatives and commitment towards resolving the street trading issue and to make West Street a more pleasant retailing environment. It is evident that the private sector has started to initiate future spatial restructuring within the study area of the dissertation.

It is imperative that such programmes as the BID be investigated and discussed between the private and public sectors. At present there are serious communication breakdowns and suspicion between the key informants. It is imperative that these breakdowns and suspicions are resolved to ensure appropriate planning and development in the City.

### 6.4. SYNTHESIS AND CONCLUSION

This represents the critical findings of **Chapter 5** and **Chapter 6**.

**Chapter 5 : The Case of West Street: Dynamics and Perceptions**, the findings were from: an observational survey; a land-use survey; retail sector interviews and an attitude survey. **Chapter 6 : The Case of West Street: Key Informants: Dynamics, Perceptions and Discussions around Policy**, discusses current policy initiatives to firstly, accommodate street trading in West Street and secondly, on a broader level what is required to make the CBD more attractive.

Very generally, both chapters illustrated that both retailing and West Street is restructuring, due to both internal and external factors. Retailing in West Street is viewed as part of a constantly evolving environment due to wider socio-economic factors, illustrated in **Figure 12**; expansion and development of suburban shopping centres, and the natural decay of central areas.

Secondly, West Street, was seen as a product of 'apartheid spatial engineering', as discussed in **Chapter 4**. This has resulted in 'Black' residents travelling into the study area to fulfill shopping needs. Suburban shopping centres due to their spatial locations cater for the higher income groups and individuals that are mobile. Most of the respondents argued that the study area will remain the main focal point for retailing and social activities, but this will be mainly for 'Black' consumers, those in the lower income groups and local employees.

Thirdly, changes in attitudes and state legislation, discussed in **Chapters 3 and 6** were seen as facilitating the 'opening up of urban spaces', in which all individuals have the right to participate in. In the West Street case, this is clearly evident in the increasing numbers of street traders.

The result, has been a shift and decline in the traditional ideology of what the city centre means, and who it serves. Throughout the interviews it was stated that the traditional West Street is gone. This is in reference to current congested pavements due to a chaotic influx of informal trading and the general public perception that the city centre is unsafe, dirty and lacks parking. The city centre has evolved into the financial and commercial engine and the work place for the working class, as illustrated in **Figure 11**.

Successful retailers in the city centre are those that have acknowledged these shifts and have modified their merchandise mix, store layouts, products etc accordingly.

Recent and current developments within the city centre illustrate that property developers are optimistic about the CBD, discussed in **Chapter 4**. Local initiatives, such as BID, illustrate that various key informants are taking the initiative to ensure that the city centre is appropriately looked after and developed.

The findings illustrate that key concerns and issues, illustrated in **Appendix 10** need to be discussed and resolved to ensure an holistic and integrated city plan is implemented. Such a plan is required and is critical to ensure an efficient, effective and sustainable city centre, that incorporates the formal and informal sectors.

## **CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION: GUIDELINES AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **7.1. INTRODUCTION**

This concluding chapter is concerned with linking the relevant concerns and issues raised in earlier chapters to the case-study material, discussed in **Chapters 5 and 6**. It is acknowledged that theory informs practise. This in turn informs the policy guidelines and recommendations that are appropriate and possible for the case-study and are discussed below.

### **7.2. GUIDELINES AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

It is clear that the study area and Durban are in transition. Current planning initiatives are dealing **reactively** with problems, in an **ad-hoc** and **uncoordinated** fashion.

It is imperative that a new **holistic and integrated** planning process utilising **partnerships** be implemented to ensure that **all** of Durban's residents and visitors, are able to enjoy working, living, trading, shopping and visiting the City. A **viable, vibrant, safe and clean** City needs to be created. The following guidelines and recommendations begin to identify what needs to be done:-

- \* A set of principles and criterion need to be discussed and decided on by public and private **partnerships**. This would be informed by the alternative integrated approach by Natrass (1987), discussed in **Chapter 3**. For the purposes of this study this would ensure that the formal and informal sectors are integrated into the urban space economy;
- \* It is critical that a '**city wide development framework**' be developed. This would need to ensure a **unified city vision** that harnesses the changing economic, social, spatial and political patterns building on strengths and opportunities. A unified City requires that areas are linked to reinforce the heart of the City;
- \* Within this framework West Street would need to be considered. Some of these considerations include:
  - recognising the city centre as an important resource for all citizens;
  - inviting public participation and partnerships;
  - connecting the city centre with all other attractions. At present attractions such as the Beachfront, the Victoria Embankment are seen as separate elements of the City ;



- making the city centre as accessible as possible;
  - creating a tourist focus. This will ensure that diversity and complexity located within this area is preserved and enhanced;
  - creating an urban shopping expedition experience;
  - providing parking;
  - providing specialised public transport;
  - encouraging outdoor restaurants;
  - promoting our vibrant cultural mix;
  - celebrating festivals;
  - promoting museum displays and cultural events;
  - promoting street theatre and parades;
  - 'greening' the city centre with trees and plants;
- \* On a wider city scale, this integrated plan would ensure an efficient, effective and sustainable future growth path for Durban. This plan would require to be integrative but also incorporate compact city and RDP principles and criterion;
- \* The street trader who at present fights for pavement space in West Street must be integrated into urban design, and add to the vitality of the shopping experience. This is a long-term strategy.
- \* A short-term policy, is to *accommodate* existing street traders in West Street in an appropriately controlled manner, and secondly, to find alternative urban locations which are near passing flows of pedestrians, as discussed in **Chapter 3**;
- \* Although the by-laws are a start to enforce some control and management in the study area, they are far from holistic and completed. It is imperative that street traders that are acting as 'fronts' for formal business be identified and removed;
- \* It is imperative that the by-laws or any other form of enforcement be implemented and abided. The present lack of control and enforcement adds to the negative perception of the CBD;
- \* The idea that petty criminals should be made to clean up the city is a likely option. It would have to be discussed and a decision would have to be taken on who would manage such an activity: City Council, BID or metropolitan government?;



- \* More demarcated sites should be allocated in West Street. New sites need to be demarcated along the whole of West Street. It is imperative that once these sites are demarcated that the by-laws be enforced. It is critical that the City Council establish a proper and appropriate law enforcing department, that deals specifically with street trading and related issues;
- \* A decision needs to be made on the type of structures appropriate for street trading purposes by the various key informants. A permanent structure with storage facilities is imperative. This would need to be brightly coloured and kept clean at all times. This would facilitate the trader taking pride in his/her "shop" as there is a sense of ownership;
- \* Departments such as ITSOB need to be taught consultation and gender-sensitivity. It is important that more females are employed. It is imperative that the public sector becomes the 'force' in ensuring that appropriate planning of street trading and West Street takes place. The public sector needs to be both the driver, enforcer and facilitator once policy has been decided on. In sum, the City Council in future needs to be **pro-active** through **partnerships**;
- \* It is imperative that a working relationship between the formal and informal sectors be established. As was stated during the interviews some retailers are willing to help street traders outside their stores. ITSOB and other departments should negotiate with the retail sector, listen to what this sector is willing to do to accommodate street traders. Retail sector initiatives, be they small or big should be encouraged and promoted to ensure that other retailers follow suit;
- \* It is imperative that operations such as "Operation Thunderbolt" be continued. Visible policing helps to decrease both crime and congestion problems. Mobile police stations as seen in the study area is a positive initiative and should be expanded;
- \* Some form of pedestrianisation within the study area is required. Total removal of motor vehicles out of the area is problematic and would add to congestion. It is imperative that an improved, effective and efficient traffic management and internal public transport system be implemented. The BID transport idea would be ideal in both providing transport and adding to the shopping experience of the city centre;

- \* Pedestrianisation is a possible measure that would facilitate the development of a mall shopping experience, as discussed in 6.3. It is imperative that feasibility studies be carried out on various pedestrianisation options. Once a decision is taken on what is to be done in West Street it must be promoted and marketed;
- \* In line with the compact city approach the promotion of increased residential development in the city is vital. This would ensure that the city does not 'die' after hours;
- \* Lanes and Arcades need to be fully integrated into the study area. Social activities should locate in these areas, for example coffee shops, casinos or small scale fleamarkets;
- \* Lanes and Arcades if properly planned could allow for the building of toilet and storage facilities for street traders;
- \* Future research on street trading in West Street is critical. It is vital that research be done on who are the street traders in West Street? Where do they purchase/obtain their stock from? Where do they live? What are their ideas on street trading in West Street?etc. This will ensure that planning is appropriate and addresses street traders within West Street;

### 7.3. CONCLUSION

The primary aims of this dissertation has been to understand the economic and spatial impacts of street trading on retailing and on West Street. Secondly to explore how these dynamics can be controlled and managed. The aims and the research questions have been nurtured within the context of a research methodology, discussed in **Chapter 2**. The findings were discussed and analysed in **Chapters 5** and **6**.

The study has ultimately proved that one should not over-emphasise the economic and spatial impacts of street trading on the retail sector located in West Street. It has been illustrated that retail change has occurred as a product of broader historical, economic, social and political changes, such as:-

- changes in social structure, income levels, mobility levels, settlement patterns;
- restructuring of the retail sector and the introduction of shopping centres;
- attitudes of local government to retail and informal sectors;

The discussion on guidelines and recommendations is intended to develop both broad and specific initiatives, and to illustrate the need for lengthy in-depth research before programmes and projects are formulated and implemented. Such research will identify and analyse the specific needs and dynamics of an area or sector, thus ensuring successful integrated planning.

In sum it will be up to local government through a **partnership** approach with various public and private sectors to make planning and development happen in the City!

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abedian, I. and Desmidt, M. (1989) "The myths and truths about the informal sector in South Africa: an economic analysis", in Rogerson and Preston-Whyte (1991) South Africa's Informal Economy.

Alchian, A. A. (1950) "Uncertainty, evolution and economic theory" in Dawson, J. A. (1980) Retail Geography, Billing and Sons Limited.

Agergard, E. Olsen, P. A. and Allpass, J. (1970) "The interaction between retailing and the urban centre structure: a theory of spiral movement" in Dawson, J. A. (1980) Retail Geography, Billing and Sons Limited.

Alexander, I. (1974) "City centre redevelopment" in Dawson, J. A. (1980) Retail Geography, Billing and Sons Limited.

Al-Otaibi, O. (1990) "The development of planned shopping centres in Kuwait" in Findlay A. M. Paddison R. and Dawson, J. A. (1990) Retailing environments in developing countries, Routledge, London.

Beavon, K. and Rogerson, C. (1990) "Temporary trading for temporary people: the making of hawking in Soweto" in Drakakis-smith, D. (1990) Economic Growth and Urbanization in Developing Areas, Mackays, Kent.

Berry, B. J. L. and Garrison, W.L. (1958) "Studies of highway development and geographic change" in Dawson, J. A. (1980) Retail Geography, Billing and Sons Limited.

Berry, B. J. L. and Cohen, Y. S. (1973) "Decentralization of Commerce and Industry: The Restructuring of Metropolitan America" in Masotti, L. H. and Hadden, J. K. (1973) The Urbanisation of the Suburbs, Urban Affairs Annual Reviews, Vol. 7, Sage Publications, California.

Berry, B. J. L. *et al* (1988) Market Centers and Retail Location: Theory and Application cited in Jones, K. and Simmons, J. (1990) The Retail Environment, Routledge, London.

Bienefeld, M. (1975) "The informal sector and peripheral capitalism: The case of Tanzania", Bulletin of Development Studies, 6 (31).



Biesheuvel, S. E. (1979) Planning for the Informal Sector: Hawking in Johannesburg, M.Sc Town and Regional Planning Thesis, University of Witwatersrand.

Booth, D. (1987) Measuring the 'success' of employment creation strategies in the apartheid state, unpublished paper, University of Natal.

Bozzoli, B. (ed.) (1987) Class, Community and Conflict: South African Perspectives, Johannesburg: Ravan.

Bromley, R. (1978) "Organisation, regulation and exploitation in the so-called urban informal sector: the case of Cali" in World Development, 6.

Bromley, R. (1979) The Urban Informal Sector: Critical Perspectives on Employment and Housing Policies, Pergamon Press Ltd, England.

Bromley, R. and Gerry, C. (eds) (1979) Casual Work and Poverty in Third World Cities, Chichester, John Wiley.

Burns, W. (1959) British Shopping Centres, London, Leonard Hill Books.

Burt, M. (1987) cited in Building Constituencies for Economic Change, Report on the International Conference on The Informal Sector. Sponsored by The Center for International Private Enterprise and The United States Agency for International Development, Held at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, Washington, D.C. October 26-27, 1987.

Carol, H. (1960) "The hierarchy of central functions within the city" Annals of the Association of American Geographers 50.

CBDMA (1993) Presentation to the Mayor of Durban by the Durban CBD Merchants Association, 27 September.

Central BID Newsbrief No: 1.

Chamber of Commerce (1993) Informal Trade: A Chamber Viewpoint, Trader Diversity Workshop, 22 October 1993.

Chandavarkar, A. (1988) "The Informal Sector: Empty box or Portmanteau Concept? (A Comment)" in World Development, Vol. 16, No. 10.



Chapman, B. (1984) "Streetfoods in Indonesia", Equity Policy Centre Discussion Paper, Washington DC: EPC.

Christaller, W. (1933) Central Places in Southern Germany cited in Jones, K. and Simmons, J. (1990) The Retail Environment, Routledge, London.

City Beat (1995), July.

City Engineer's Department (1978) Central District Planning Issues, Town Planning Branch, June.

City Engineer's Department (1991) Employment in Municipal Durban: A Preview, Research Section, Town Planning, May.

City of Durban (1983) The Market Survey, Durban, City Engineers Department Town Planning Branch.

City of Durban (1984) The Hawker Report: A Geography of Street Trading in Central Durban, Durban, City Engineers Department Town Planning Branch.

City of Durban (1995 a) Street Trading By-Laws : Implementation Procedure, Report to Committee, 24-10-1995.

City of Durban (1995 b) Declaration in terms of sections 6A(2)(a) of the Businesses Act 71/1991 : Prohibited and Restricted Areas for Hawkers, Vendors and Pedlars.

City of Durban (1995 c) Crime in the CBD, Report to Committee, 14 September 1995.

Coetzee, G. (1990) "Sidewalk Boom" in South African Panorama, January/February 1990.

Cooper, F. (1983) "Urban space, industrial time, and wage labor in Africa" in F. Cooper (ed.) Struggle for the City: Migrant Labor, Capital and the State in Urban Africa, Beverly Hills, Sage.

Cornwell, J. (1980) Hard-earned lives: accounts of health and illness from East London, Tavistock, London.

Daley, P. (1993) The Future of shopping in Durban's CBD, Anglo American, November.

Daley, P. (1994) Durban City Centre Revitalisation Vision Scenario Proposal, Anglo American, November.

Dallago, B. (1990) The Irregular Economy: The 'Underground' Economy and the 'Black' Labour Market, Dartmouth Publishing Company, England.

Dannhauser, D. (1990) "A new face for Durban" in South African Panorama, January/February 1990.

Davies, R. L. and Kirby, D. A. (1980) "Retail Organisation" in Dawson, J. A. (1980) Retail Geography, Billing and Sons Limited.

Davies, R. (1994) "Retail Planning policy" in McGoldrick, P. (1994) Cases in Retail Management, Longman, London.

Dawson, J. A. (1980) Retail Geography, Billing and Sons Limited.

de Soto, H. (1987) cited in Building Constituencies for Economic Change, Report on the International Conference on The Informal Sector. Sponsored by The Center for International Private Enterprise and The United States Agency for International Development, Held at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, Washington, D.C. October 26-27, 1987.

de Soto, H. (1989) The Other Path: The Invisible revolution in the Third World, Harper & Row Publishers, New York.

Department of Transport (1982) Definition of a Central Business District, Urban Transport Branch, October.

Dewar, D. and Watson, V. (1981) Unemployment and the Informal Sector: Some Proposals, The Urban Problems Research Unit, University of Cape Town.

Dewar, D. and Watson, V. (1990) Urban Markets: Developing Informal Retailing, Routledge, London.

Downing, P. B. (1973) "Factors affecting commercial land values" in Dawson, J. A. (1980) Retail Geography, Billing and Sons Limited.

Drakakis-Smith, D. (1987) The Third World City, Methuen, London.

Drakakis-Smith, D. (1992) Urban and Regional Change in Southern Africa, Routledge, London.

Epstein, B. and Schell, E. (1982) "Marketing geography: problems and prospects" cited in Jones, K. and Simmons, J. (1990) The Retail Environment, Routledge, London.

Fadane, N. S. (1993) Gendered housing needs for informal traders: A case study of Warwick Avenue Area,

Findlay, A. M. and Paddison, R. (1986) Planning the Arab City: The Cases of Tunis and Rabat, Oxford, Pergamon.

Findlay A. M. Paddison R. and Dawson, J. A. (1990) Retailing environments in Developing Countries, Routledge, London.

Findlay, A. M. and Paddison, R. (1990) "Towards a research agenda on retailing in developing countries", cited in Paddison, Findlay and Dawson (1990) Retailing environments in developing countries, Routledge, London.

Garner, B. J. (1966) "The internal structure of retail nucleations" in Dawson, J. A. (1980) Retail Geography, Billing and Sons Limited.

Gerry, C. (1975) "Petty production and Capitalist Production in Dakar: The Crisis of the Self-Employed", in World Development.

Geyer, H. S. (1989) "The integration of the formal and informal sectors in South Africa" in Development Southern Africa, 6 (1) 29-42.

Golden, L. G. and Zimmerman, D. A. (1986) Effective Retailing, Second Edition, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston.

Hemmer, H. R. and Mannel, C. (1989) "On the Economic Analysis of the urban Informal Sector" in World Development, Vol. 17, No. 10.

Hood, J. and Yamey, B. S. (1951) "Imperfect competition in retail trades" in Dawson, J. A. (1980) Retail Geography, Billing and Sons Limited.

Hudgins, E. Dr (1987) cited in Building Constituencies for Economic Change, Report on the International Conference on The Informal Sector. Sponsored by The Center for International Private Enterprise and The United States Agency for International Development, Held at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, Washington, D.C. October 26-27, 1987.

Hughes, J. W. (1974) "Suburbanisation dynamics" in Dawson, J. A. (1980) Retail Geography, Billing and Sons Limited.

Hugon, P. (1983) "Les petites activites marchandes dans les espaces urbains" Revue Tiers Monde, No. 82 cited in Latouche, S. (1993) In the Wake of the Affluent Society: An Exploration of Post-development, Zed Books, Ltd, London.

ILO (1972) Employment, Incomes and Equality: A strategy for increasing productive employment in Kenya, ILO Office, Geneva.

Johnson, J. H. (1972) Urban Geography: an Introductory Analysis, Second Edition, Pergamon Press, Great Britain.

Jones, K. and Simmons, J. (1990) The Retail Environment, Routledge, London.

Khan, A. R. (1980) The effect of external physical changes since 1970 on the retail trade of the Durban Indian Central Business District, unpublished dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of a Masters degree in Business Administration, University of Natal, Durban.

Khan, M. (1984) Planning for Change in the Shopping Structure of Metropolitan Durban, Ph. D. Thesis, University of Natal.

Khan, M. *et al* (1993) Metropolitan Pietermaritzburg Retail Study. Report prepared for the Department of the City Planner and Physical Planning Directorate, Natal Provincial Administration.

Kirsten, M. (1991) A quantitative assessment of the informal economy, in Rogerson and Preston-Whyte (1991) South Africa's Informal Economy.

Kish, L. (1965) Survey Sampling, John Wiley and Sons Inc, U.S.A.

Kivell, P. T. and Shaw, G. (1980) "The study of Retail location" in Dawson, J. A. (1980) Retail Geography, Billing and Sons Limited.

Kottis, G. C. and Kottis, A. (1972) "A statistical exploration of some factors responsible for decline of the Central Business District" in Dawson, J. A. (1980) Retail Geography, Billing and Sons Limited.

Lasson, C. M., Weigand, R. E. and Wright, J. S. (1976) Basic Retailing, Prentice-Hall, Inc. London.

Latouche, S. (1993) In the Wake of the Affluent Society: An Exploration of Post-development, Zed Books, Ltd, London.

Livingstone, I. (1991) "Reassessment of Kenya's rural and urban informal sector" in World Development, Vol. 19, No. 6.

Losche, A. (1939) The Economics of Location cited in Jones, K. and Simmons, J. (1990) The Retail Environment, Routledge, London.

Mabin, A. (1988) Struggle for the city: Urbanisation and political struggle of the South African State, unpublished discussion paper presented at the Spring Workshop, Southern African Research Programme.

MacMenamin, V. (1995) The Informal Sector and SME'S, Economic Unit, City of Durban.

Mandy, N. (1984) A City Divided: Johannesburg and Soweto, MacMillan, Johannesburg.

May, J. D. and Stavrou, S. E. (1989) "The Informal Sector: Socio-economic dynamics and growth in the Greater Durban Metropolitan Region" Working Paper No. 18, Centre for Social Development Studies.

McCarthy, J. J. and Smit, D. (1984) South African City: Theory in Analysis and Planning, Juta, Cape Town.

McCarthy, J. J. and Smit, D. (1988) The history of the urban landuse process, urban planning and urban social movements in South Africa, University of Natal, Durban, unpublished report submitted to the HSRC, Pretoria.

McDonald (1975) in Rajah, D. S. (1968) The Durban Indian Central Business District. A study in Urban Geography, University of Natal Press, Durban.

McGee, T. G. and Yeung, Y. M. (1977) Hawkers in Southeast Asian Cities Planning for the Bazaar Economy.

McGoldrick, P. (1994) Cases in Retail Management, Longman, London.

McLaughlin, S. (1982) Retailing Economic Policies for Retail Strips, City of Toronto Planning and Development Department, October.



Maseko, S. M. (1994) Growth of Suburban Office Space in Durban: The case of Westville, unpublished dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of a Masters degree in Town and Regional Planning, University of Natal, Durban.

Masotti, L. H. (1973) "Prologue: Suburbia Reconsidered-Myth and-Counter-Myth" in Masotti, L. H. and Hadden, J. K. (1973) The Urbanisation of the Suburbs, Urban Affairs Annual Reviews, Vol. 7, Sage Publications, California.

Mitchell, J. C. (1966) "Theoretical orientations in African urban studies" in M. Banton (ed.) The Social Anthropology of Complex Societies, London: Tavistock.

Moser, C. C. (1978) "Informal sector or petty commodity production: Dualism or Dependence in Urban Development?" in World Development, 6 (9-10).

Moser, C. O. N. (1984) "The Informal Sector Reworked: Viability and vulnerability in Urban Development" Regional Development Dialogue (5).

Mtshizyna, V. (1982) "The hawking problem in Umtata" Paper presented at a University of Transkei Workshop on Hawkers, Mimeo.

Murphy, R. E. (1971) The Central Business District. A Study in Urban Geography, Longman Group, Limited, London.

Naidoo, K. (1993) Work and life of women in the Informal Sector: A case study of the Warwick Avenue Triangle, unpublished dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of a Masters degree in Geographical and Environmental Science, University of Natal, Durban.

Nattrass, N. (1987) "Street trading in Transkei - a struggle against poverty, persecution and prosecution" in World Development (15).

Nattrass, N. J. and Nattrass, J. (1988) Small Formal Business in Durban, Natal Town and Regional Supplementary Report, Volume 31, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa.

Old Mutual Properties (1995) Retail Rentals as at 30-08-1995.

Owens, N. and Hussain, N. (1984) "Streetfoods in Bangladesh", Equity Policy Centre Discussion Paper, Washington, DC: EPC.

Paley, J. M. (1995) Proposed Business Improvement District, Legal Services Department, Corporate Services, 21 September.

Pentz, D. C. (1992) Informal Sector Trading: A case study of Warwick Avenue unpublished dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of a Masters degree in Town and Regional Planning, University of Natal, Durban.

Portes, A., Castells, M. and Brenton, L. (eds) (1989) The Informal Economy: Studies in Advanced and Less Developed Countries, John Hopkins Varsity Press.

Preston-Whyte, E. and Rogerson, C. (1991) South Africa's Informal Economy, Oxford University Press, Cape Town.

Rajah, D. S. (1968) The Durban Indian Central Business District. A study in Urban Geography, University of Natal Press, Durban.

Redinbaugh, L. D. (1976) Retailing Management: A Planning Approach, Kingsport Press Inc, U.S.A.

Rogerson, C. M. (1988) "Late Apartheid and the Urban Informal Sector" in Suckling, J. and White, L. (1988) After Apartheid: Renewal of the South African Economy, The Centre for Southern African Studies, Villiers Publications, Britain.

Rogerson, C. (1990) "Informal sector retailing in the South African city: The case of Johannesburg" in Findlay A. M. Paddison R. and Dawson, J. A. (1990) Retailing environments in developing countries, Routledge, London.

Rogerson, C. M. and Beavon, K. S. O. (1980) "The awakening of "informal sector" studies in Southern Africa" in South African Geographical Journal, 62.

Rogerson, C. M. and Hart, D. M. (1989) "The Struggle for the Streets: Deregulation and Hawking in South Africa's Major Urban Areas" in Social Dynamics, A Journal of the Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town, 15 (1), 29-45.

Rogerson, C. M. and Hart, D. M. (1989) "Towards Accommodationist planning in South Africa's secondary centres: The case of hawker deregulation" in Development Southern Africa 6 (2), 161-172.

Rogerson, C. M. and Hart, D. M. (1989) "Hawkers in South Africa's small urban centres: Planning and policy" in Development Southern Africa 6 (3), 295-310.

Runcie, J. F. (1980) "The 'New' Regional Geography and Problems of Narrative", Environment and Planning, Society, and Space, (7).

Sacasa, W. (1987) cited in Building Constituencies for Economic Change, Report on the International Conference on The Informal Sector. Sponsored by The Center for International Private Enterprise and The United States Agency for International Development, Held at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, Washington, D.C. October 26-27, 1987.

SAP (1995) Statistics on Crime, South African Police.

SAPOA (1994) Durban CBD Upliftment Initiatives, 14 January.

Savitt, R. (1990) "Regional change and economic development" cited in Paddison, Findlay and Dawson (1990) Retailing environments in developing countries, Routledge, London.

Sayer, A. (1984) Method in Social Science: A Realist Perspective, London, Hutchinson.

Sethuraman, S. V. (1981) The Urban Informal Sector in Developing Countries. Employment, poverty and environment, Geneva, ILO.

SEWU (1995) Legal situation of Street Vendors in Durban, South Africa, Paper to be presented at the Bellagio Centre, Italy on 20-24 November 1995.

Sibley (1972) in Dawson, J. A. (1980) Retail Geography, Billing and Sons Limited.

Simmons, P. L. (1973) "The shape of suburban retail markets" in Dawson, J. A. (1980) Retail Geography, Billing and Sons Limited.

Smith, A. (1972) "The future of downtown retailing" in Dawson, J. A. (1980) Retail Geography, Billing and Sons Limited.

Smith, R. D. P. (1968) "The changing urban hierarchy" in Dawson, J. A. (1980) Retail Geography, Billing and Sons Limited.

South Africa (1984) Report of the National Manpower Commission on Investigations into the Small Business Sector in the Republic of South Africa, with specific reference to the factors that might retard the growth and development thereof, Pretoria, Government Printer.

South Africa (1987) White Paper on Privatisation and Deregulation in the Republic of South Africa, Pretoria, Government Printer.

Thomson, W. R. (1973) "A Preface to Suburban Economics" in Masotti, L. H. and Hadden, J. K. (1973) The Urbanisation of the Suburbs, Urban Affairs Annual Reviews, Vol. 7, Sage Publications, California.

Tokman (1978) "An exploration into the nature of informal-formal sector relationships" World Development, 6 (9/10).

Tomaselli, R. E. (1985) "On the peripheries of the defended space: Hawkers in Johannesburg" in Haines, R. and Buijs, G. (1985) The Struggle for social and economic space: Urbanization in Twentieth Century South Africa, The Institute for social and economic research, Number 3, University of Durban-Westville.

Troin, J. (1990) New Trends in commercial locations in Morocco, in Findlay A. M. Paddison R. and Dawson, J. A. (1990) Retailing environments in developing countries, Routledge, London.

Sinclair, S. W. (1978) Urbanisation and Labour Markets in Developing Countries, Croom Helm, London.

van der Waal, K. and Sharp, J. (1988) "The informal sector: A new resource" in Boonzier, E. and Sharp, J. (1988) South African keywords: the uses and abuses of political concepts, David Philip, Cape Town.

Victoria, M. (1987) cited in Building Constituencies for Economic Change, Report on the International Conference on The Informal Sector. Sponsored by The Center for International Private Enterprise and The United States Agency for International Development, Held at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, Washington, D.C. October 26-27, 1987.

Weeks, J. (1975) "Does employment matter?" in Tolley, R., de Kadt, Weeks, J. (1975) "Policies for expanding employment in the informal urban sector of developing countries", International Labour Review, Vol. 111.



Wellings, P. and Sutcliffe, M. (1984) "Developing the urban informal sector in South Africa: The reformist paradigm and its fallacies" in Development and Change, 15.

Wilkinson, R. E. (1994) Planning for change in the Hard Core Central Business District of Durban: A retail Perspective, unpublished dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment for the Degree of Master of Town and Regional Planning, University of Natal, Durban.

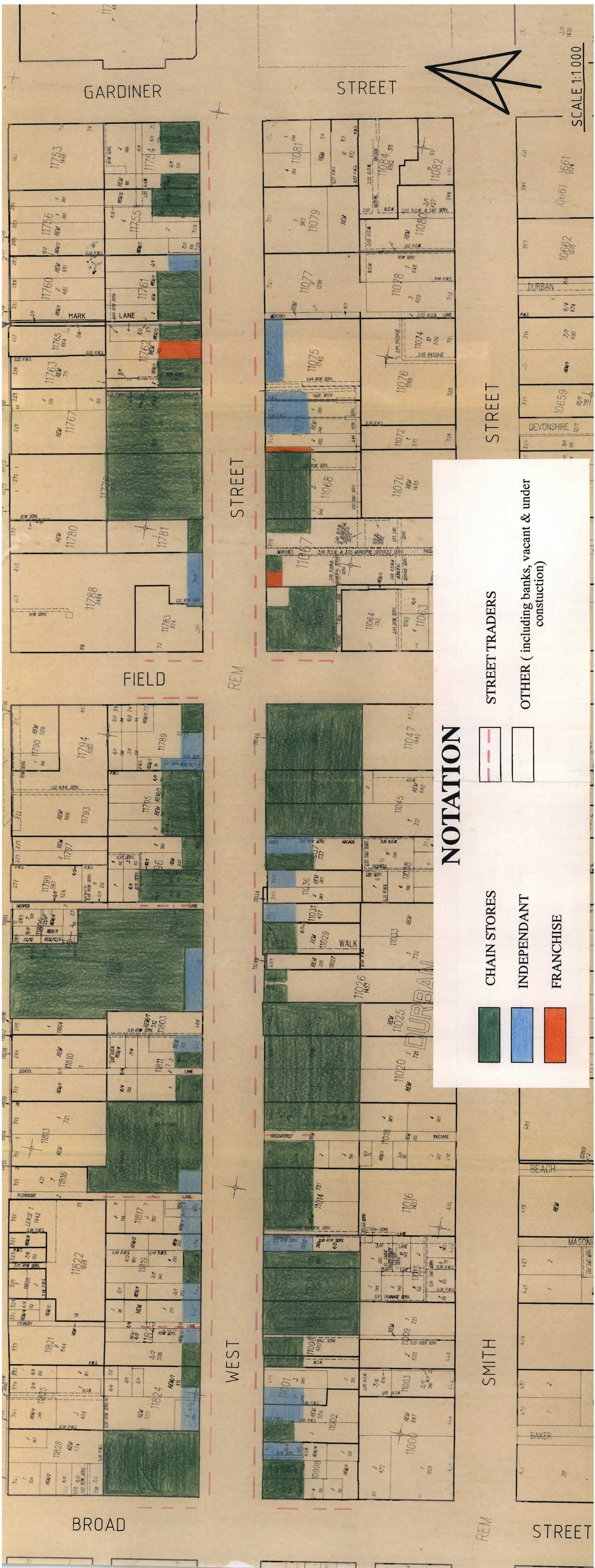
Wilkinson, P. and Webster, D. (1985) "Living in the interstices of capitalism: Towards a reformulation of the 'informal sector' concept" in Haines, R. and Buijs, G. (1985) The Struggle for social and economic space: Urbanization in Twentieth Century South Africa, The Institute for social and economic research, Number 3, University of Durban-Westville.

Yulo, J. L. (1987) cited in Building Constituencies for Economic Change, Report on the International Conference on The Informal Sector. Sponsored by The Center for International Private Enterprise and The United States Agency for International Development, Held at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, Washington, D.C. October 26-27, 1987.

#### PRESS PUBLICATIONS

City Beat:	March 1995
	July 1995
Daily News:	26-08-1994
	11-11-1994
	08-03-1995
	15-08-1995
	24-11-1995
Natal Mercury:	17-10-1994
	09-03-1995
	14-03-1995
	18-10-1995
Financial Mail:	23-10-1994





BROAD

WEST

SMITH

GARDINER

STREET

STREET

STREET

# NOTATION



CHAIN STORES



INDEPENDANT



FRANCHISE



STREET TRADERS

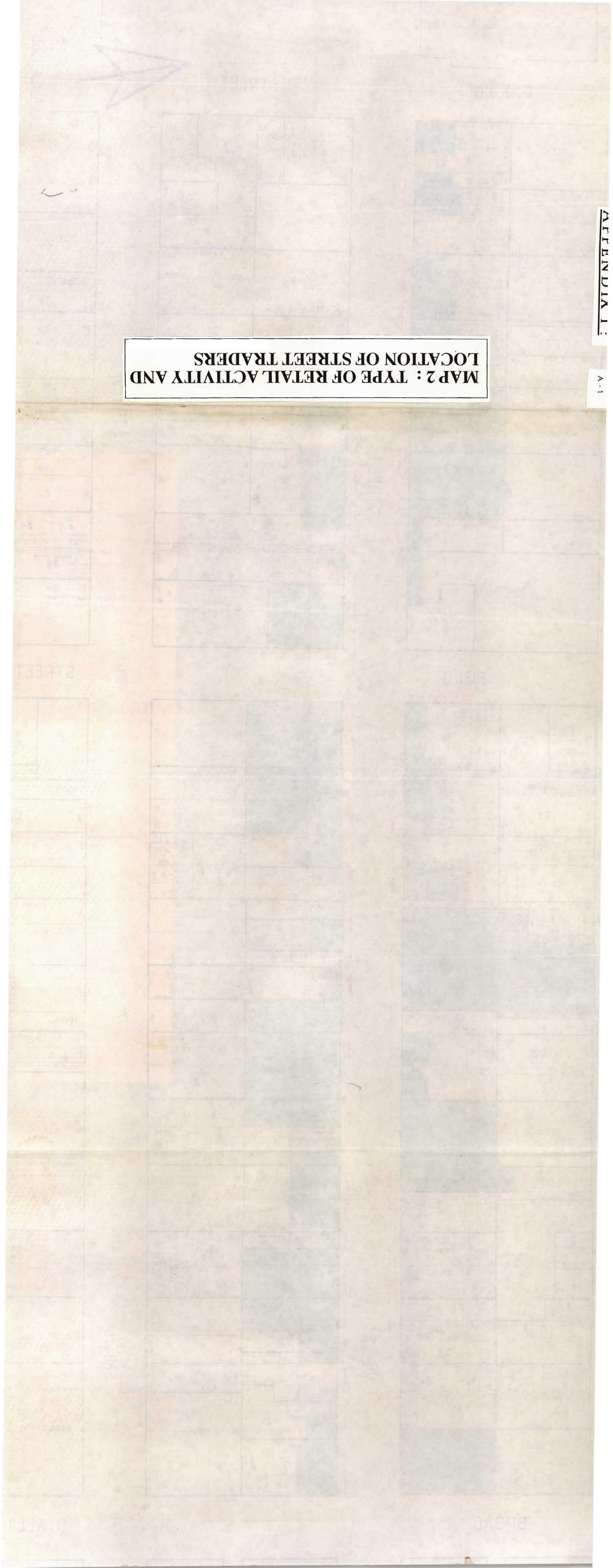


OTHER ( including banks, vacant & under constuction)

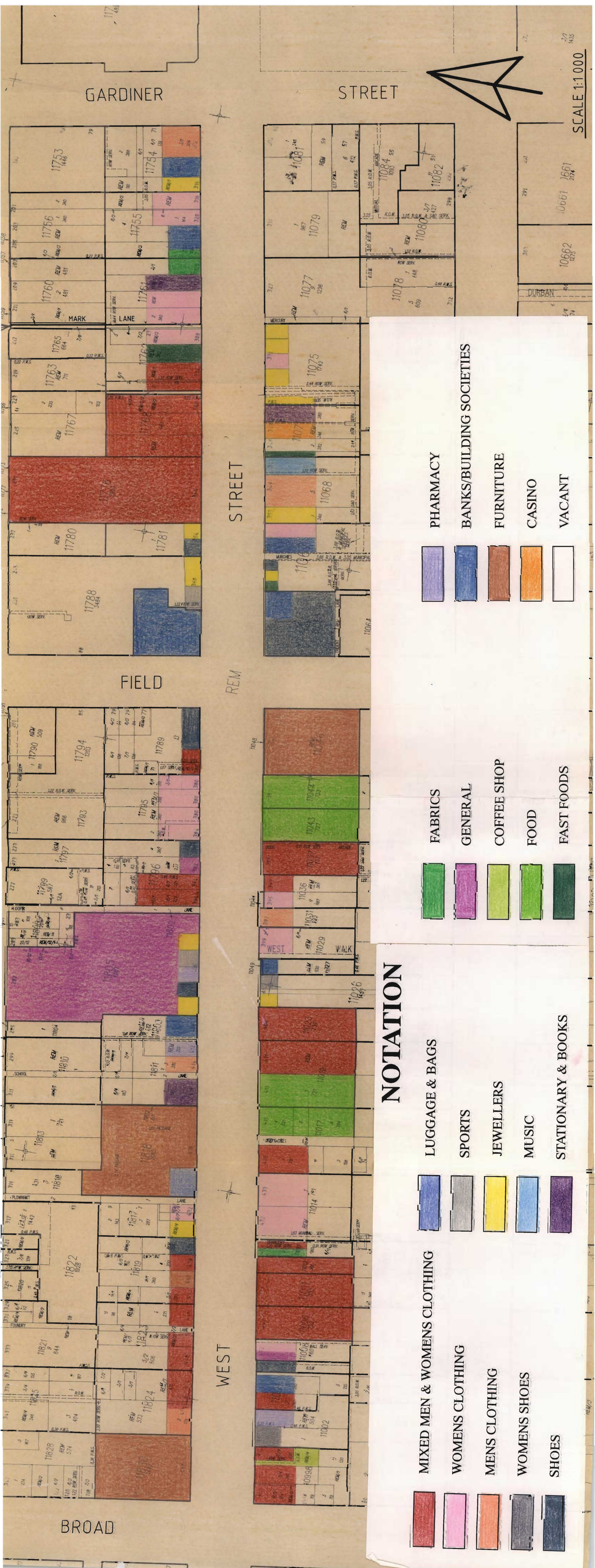
SCALE 1:1000























MAP 2 : TYPE OF RETAIL ACTIVITY AND  
LOCATION OF STREET TRADERS







# NOTATION

- |   |                             |   |   |   |                          |
|---|-----------------------------|---|---|---|--------------------------|
|  | MIXED MEN & WOMENS CLOTHING |  | LUGGAGE & BAGS  |  | PHARMACY                 |
|  | WOMENS CLOTHING             |  | SPORTS  |  | BANKS/BUILDING SOCIETIES |
|  | MENS CLOTHING               |  | JEWELLERS   |  | FURNITURE                |
|  | WOMENS SHOES                |  | MUSIC   |  | CASINO                   |
|  | SHOES                       |  | STATIONARY & BOOKS  |  | VACANT                   |
|   |                             |   |  | FABRICS   |                          |
|   |                             |   |  | GENERAL   |                          |
|   |                             |   |  | COFFEE SHOP   |                          |
|   |                             |   |  | FOOD  |                          |
|   |                             |   |  | FAST FOODS  |                          |

SCALE 1:1000



MAP 3 : LAND USE



13912

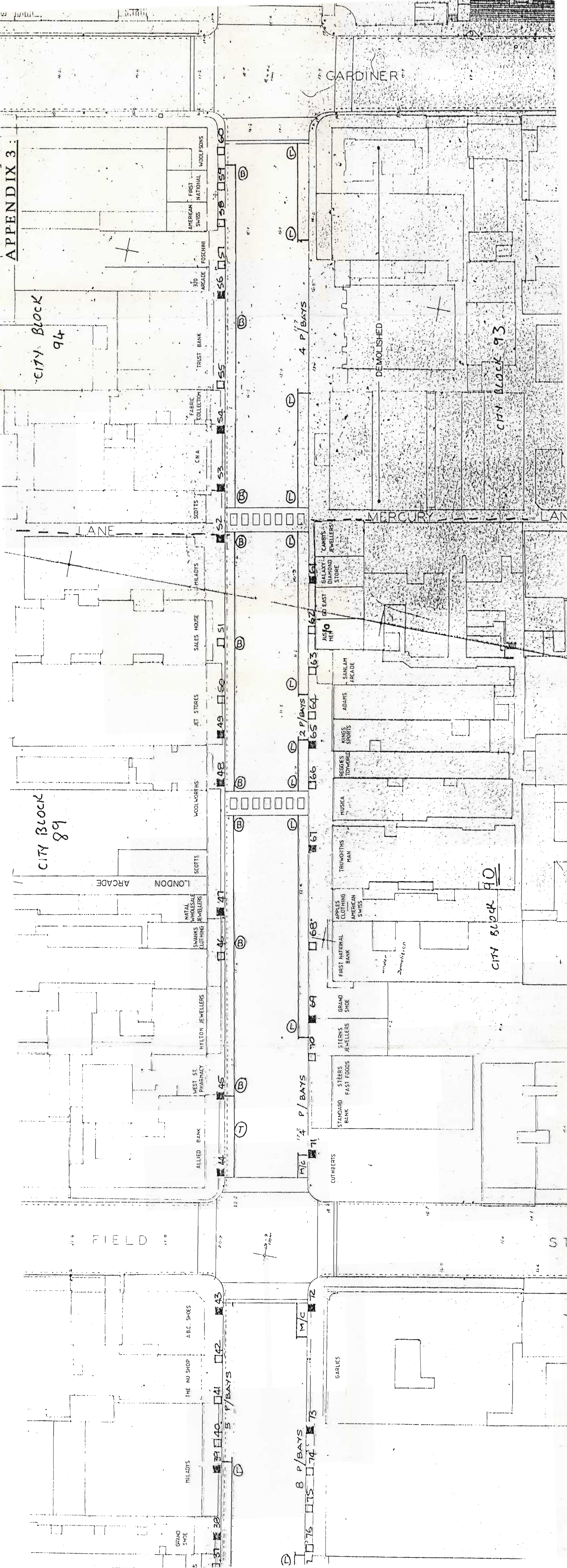
STREET

13912

STREET



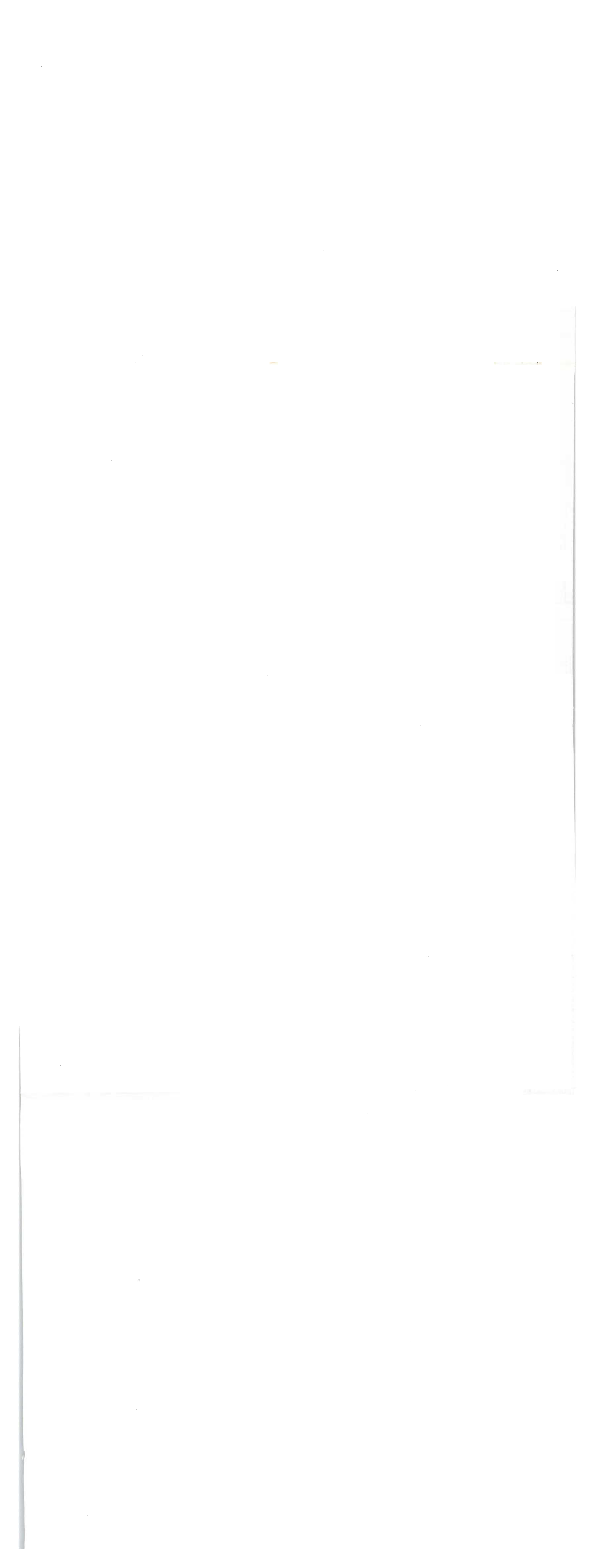
APPENDIX 3





**MAP 4 : LOCATION OF WEST STREET  
DEMARCATED SITES**





**APPENDIX 4 : RETAIL SECTOR INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE**

1. Name of Retailer:
2. Name of Interviewee:
3. Position of Interviewee:
4. Nature of retail (single shop, chain store etc)
5. How long has this store been trading in West Street?
6. Why did the store originally locate in West Street?
7. Who are your target customer income group? Has this changed over time?
8. Do you find that the CBD has changed economically and spatially? How has the CBD changed?
9. Is the CBD declining or restructuring? Is the growth of street trading underpinning this?
10. How has this affected your trade/clientele?
11. How does this branch compare/differ to other branches?
12. When are the busiest periods? How has this changed?
13. How, if at all has street trading contributed to changes in West Street?
14. How does street trading affect the store?
15. What are the future plans of the store? Moving out of the CBD or a different location within the CBD?
16. How have goods and business activities been modified/changed?
17. How can street traders be accommodated in West Street?
18. How can West Street be made more attractive?

THANK YOU!



**APPENDIX 5 : ATTITUDE SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE**

Sex:

Age:

Race:

1. Why are you in West Street? Are you shopping or do you work in the CBD?
2. If you shop in West Street. Do you do all your shopping here? If not, where else do you shop?
3. Which retailers do you buy from? What do you buy? Why do you buy from these retailers?
4. How has West Street changed? Are the street traders a cause?
5. Do you buy from street traders? What do buy from them? Why do you buy from street traders?
6. What do you like about street traders? What do you dislike about street traders?
7. How should street traders be accommodated in West Street?
8. How can West Street be made more attractive?
9. Which actors should be involved?

THANK YOU!



**APPENDIX 6 : KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE**

1. Name of Key Informant:
2. Name of Organisation:
3. Position of Key Informant:
4. What is your perception of street traders? Has this changed over time?
5. What are the main problems concerning street traders? (Numbers, goods sold etc)
6. How have policies towards street traders changed over time?
7. What are the future plans to accommodate traders?
8. What plans are foreseen to make West Street more attractive?

THANK YOU!

## **APPENDIX 7 : KEY INFORMANTS**

### **City Council**

1. Mr. Botha - Director of Informal Markets
2. Mr. Wheeler - Manager: Informal Markets
3. Mr. Paley - Senior Legal Advisor
4. Lorna Emmanuel - Councillor on the Informal Sector Committee
5. Arthur Gammage - Manager: Urban Design
6. Mrs Gaisford and Mr. Muthwa - KBDA
7. Mr. Dellis - Transportation Planning Branch

### **Property Developers**

1. Sanlam - Mr. Reed
2. Old Mutual - Mr. Briate
3. Anglo America - Peggy Daley
4. Colliers RMS - Mr Smith
5. RMBT - Mr. Lesley

### **Others**

1. Chamber of Commerce - Mr. Cohen; Mr. McLauren-Kennedy, Mr. Dean
2. CBD Merchants Organisation - Mr. Clements
3. Regional Economic Forum - Mr. Coleman
4. African Council of Hawkers and Informal Business (ACHIB) - Mr. Mngonyama
5. Self-Employed Women's Union (SEWU) - Pat Horn

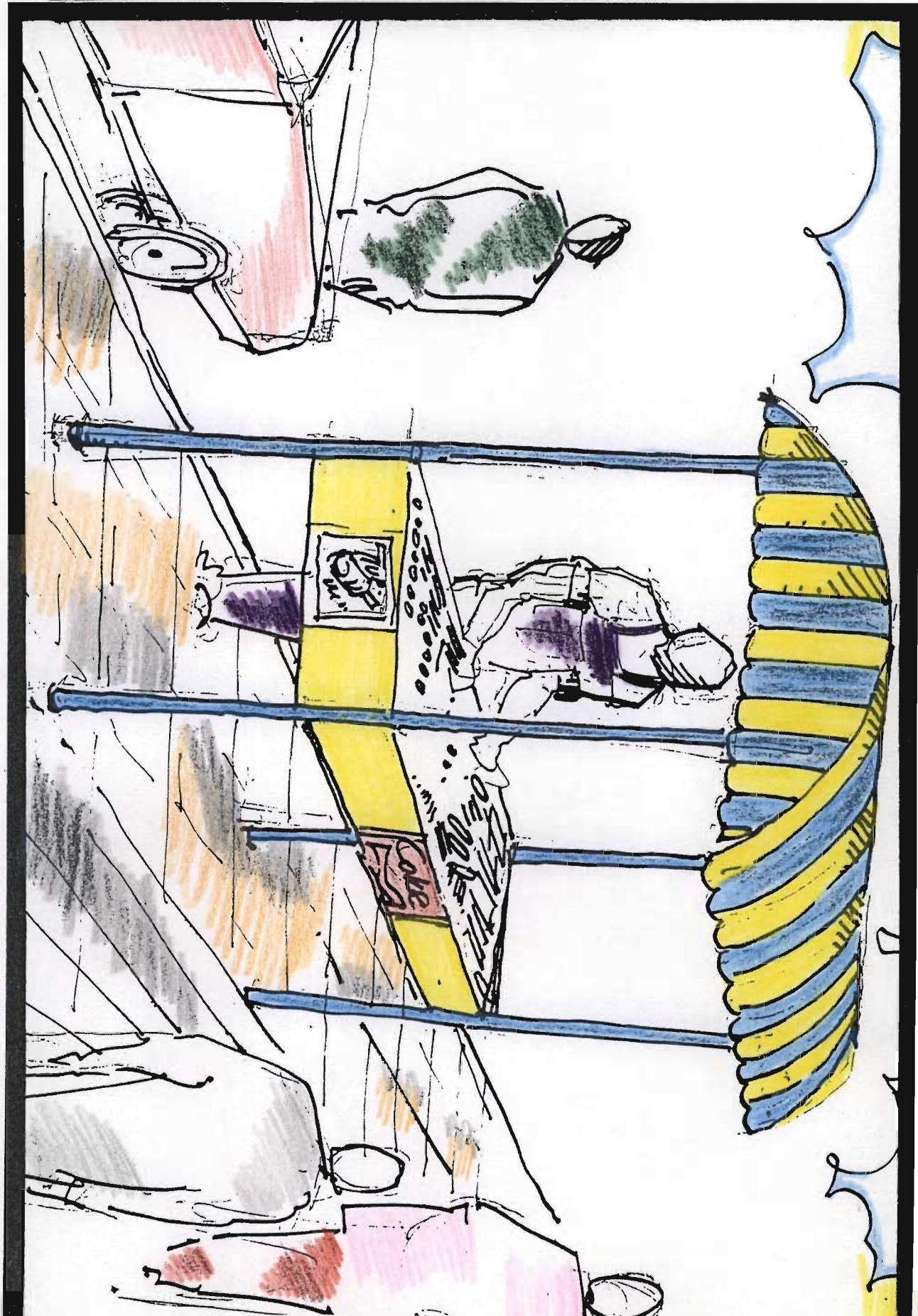
**APPENDIX 8 : RETAIL RENTALS IN WEST STREET AS AT 30-08-1995**

All rentals for about 100 m<sup>2</sup> and for street frontages

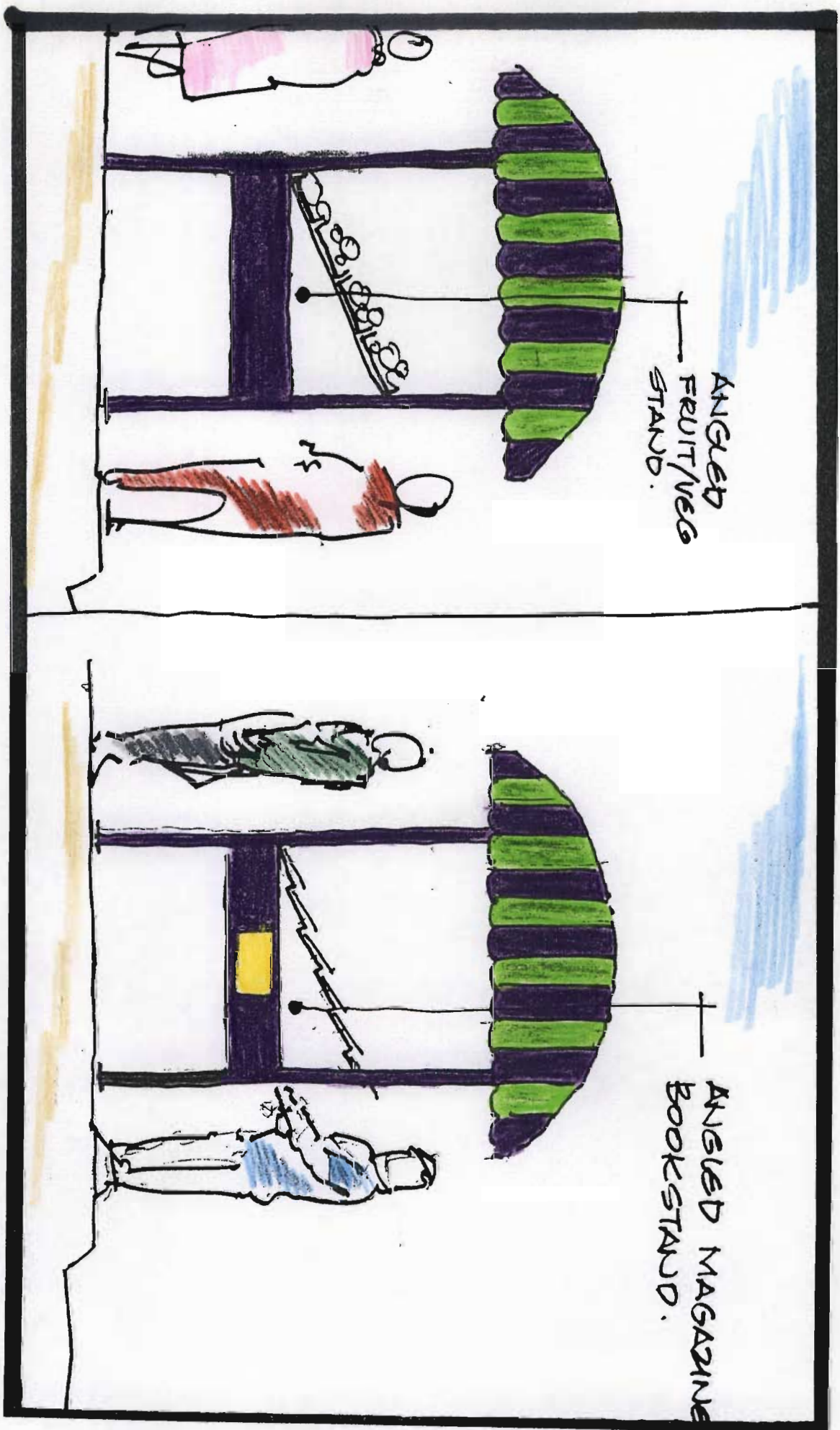
BROAD TO FIELD STREETS	R80-135/m <sup>2</sup>
BROAD STREET TO WEST WALK	R80-85/m <sup>2</sup>
FIELD TO GARDINER STREETS	R125-133/m <sup>2</sup>
BROAD TO FIELD STREETS (ARCADES)	R45-50/m <sup>2</sup>

Source: Old Mutual (1995)

APPENDIX 9 : POTENTIAL STREET TRADING STRUCTURES









APPENDIX 10: CONCERNS AND ISSUES OF THE VARIOUS KEY RESPONDENTS

HAWKERS	MUNICIPALITY	OTHERS (VISITORS/PUBLIC AND RATE PAYERS)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- lack of storage facilities to keep commodities overnight</li> <li>- lack of facilities eg. toilets, water, shelter, security</li> <li>- overtrading</li> <li>- limited product mix</li> <li>- inferior/damaged stock</li> <li>- poor/inadequate communication with authorities and vice versa</li> <li>- lack of accommodation for informal sector from hinterland visiting Durban to purchase stock</li> <li>- harassment by police and inspectors</li> <li>- Observe structures</li> <li>- infighting among traders</li> <li>- political interference</li> <li>- lack of finance</li> <li>- no training</li> <li>- a degree of co-existence with formal sector</li> <li>- no opportunities for upliftment</li> <li>- purchase at retail prices to resell</li> <li>- crime incidence</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- complaints from formal traders &amp; rate payers</li> <li>- damage to environment</li> <li>- excessive littering</li> <li>- disregard for byelaws</li> <li>- abuse of toilets where these exist and non-use of such facilities</li> <li>- overtrading</li> <li>- non adherence to trading zones / areas</li> <li>- traders sleeping on site</li> <li>- antisocial behaviour where liquor consumed</li> <li>- concern at increased crime rate</li> <li>- communication process difficult</li> <li>- exploitation of deregulation laws</li> <li>- degrading of city centres</li> <li>- decline in property values resulting in erosion of rate base</li> <li>- political interference</li> <li>- difficult to control</li> <li>- excessive use of pavements</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- lack of security</li> <li>- unsafe</li> <li>- intimidation by hawkers</li> <li>- excessive littering</li> <li>- unhygienic</li> <li>- poor product (soiled-damage by weather)</li> <li>- lack of ambience</li> <li>- new ideas concepts needed</li> <li>- crime rate</li> <li>- overtrading</li> <li>- lack of control</li> <li>- decline in property values resulting in erosion of rate base</li> <li>- inconsistencies in interpretation of byelaws</li> <li>- perceived double standards</li> <li>- no contribution to municipal coffers</li> <li>- deteriorating image of Durban as a holiday resort</li> <li>- abuse of toilets where they exist or non use</li> <li>- abuse of pavements &amp; shopfronts abutting pavements</li> <li>- perception that council comprised &amp; toothless</li> <li>- co-existence with informal sector</li> </ul>

Source: CBDMA (1993)