

PREFACE

The research work described in this dissertation was carried out in the Department of Geographical and Environmental Sciences, University of Natal Durban under the supervision of Ms. D. Scott and Professor E.M. Preston-Whyte.

This study represents the original work of the author and has not been submitted in any form to another university. Where use was made of the work of others, it has been duly acknowledged in the text.

**WORK AND LIFE OF WOMEN IN THE INFORMAL SECTOR : A
CASE STUDY OF THE WARWICK AVENUE TRIANGLE**

by

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The opinions expressed in this thesis, or conclusions arrived at are those of the author alone and are not to be attributed to the IRD, DAAD or the Urbanisation Programme.

ABSTRACT

This thesis presents a case study of women ~~working~~ in the informal sector in the Warwick Avenue Triangle of Durban. It documents and analyses the ways in which twenty women experience and contribute to recent changes in the urban informal sector. The women in this study are seen as knowledgeable agents who actively participate in their changing social and spatial worlds. In order to do this structuration theory, as a general philosophy of society, has been drawn on and linked to substantiative bodies of theory on the informal sector and feminist theory in geography.

Field methods, appropriate to the investigation of meanings the informal sector were employed. The data collected was qualitatively interpreted in the light of the theory. The thesis concludes with a summary of the main findings and suggestions are made for policy and areas of future research on women in the informal sector.

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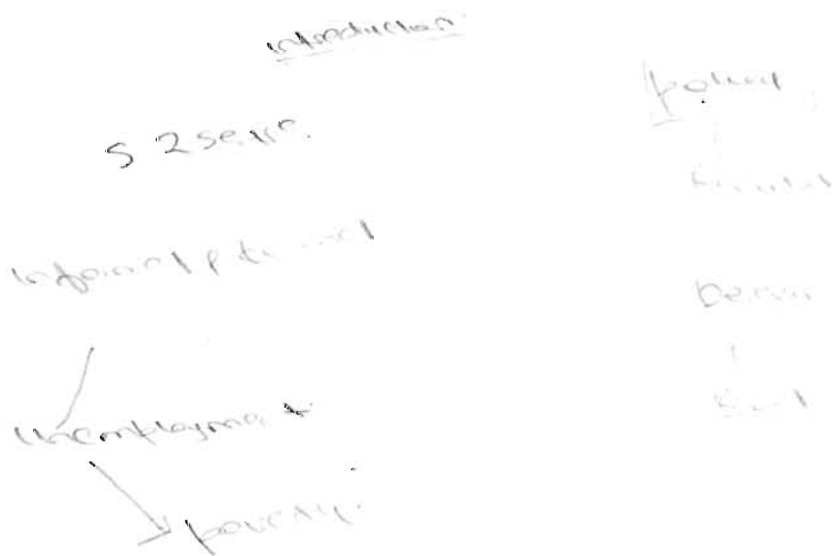
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

"My home is in Umzinto. My children (9) live there with my daughter-in-law. I am 80 years old. I have been working here (informal sector) for 30 years. My husband was sick when we had only four children, then two (children) died. I had to think quickly to keep life going on. Mamkheze told me to come and sell goods here and this helps me when there is no pension. My daughter-in-law and some people that work for me plant beans and amadumbe which I bring here to sell. I have to work because my son (he is a tractor driver) has four (of his own) children to look after. I have to look after my two sons who are not healthy - one has asthma and the other was just mentally retarded from birth. All my daughters are married. When we worked here before the police used to chase us... Also the Indians in the market thought we get a lot of money and we had to go to Clairwood market but there is little money there so we came back. Now they (police) do not chase us. I live in the streets and when I am here my daughter-in-law looks after my sons. I go home once a week when I have enough money and when my goods are finished. I have a lot of friends here but I worry about the tsotsies. I can only do this work, I am too old to do anything else".

(Mrs. Y. informal sector trader in the Warwick Avenue Triangle; interview, 11:90)

1.1. THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

1.1.1. Contemporary Changes in the Urban Informal Sector in South Africa

Since the nineteenth century the life of the urban informal sector worker in South Africa has been marred by constant prosecution and harassment. Street traders were not regarded by local authorities as workers, but as idle people bound to introduce unruliness and squalor into the modern urban environment. The presence of unsightly street traders peddling their wares on the pavements did not conform to the accepted image of a modern 'first world' city (Rogerson, 1988; Wellings and Sutcliffe, 1984). As a result, numerous urbanisation controls and anti-hawker policies were introduced at both the national and municipal level, which aimed to bar 'idle' black¹ people, in general, and street traders, in particular, from urban areas.

Despite the constant threat of eviction, men and women continued to appropriate spaces in the inner city in order to pursue informal business activities. The ineffectiveness of the urbanisation controls, as well as the resilience of the urban informal sector workers, forced the local and national authorities to acknowledge the impossibility of forcefully eliminating the informal sector from the urban milieu. This was expressed, at a national level, by the introduction of the policies of orderly urbanisation and deregulation in 1985 and 1988 respectively.

In Durban initiatives to incorporate and spatially contain the growth of the urban informal sector began as early as 1983, with the commissioning of an investigation into the 'hawker problem', by the Durban City Engineers Research Department, (Durban, 1984). An outcome of this was that spaces previously defined as 'illegal' in terms of sections of municipal, provincial and national legislation, were redefined as 'legal' for informal trading. The results of this redefinition of space are

conspicuous in the urban landscape in the form of inner city enclaves where informal sector activities predominate over formal business.

The importance of informal trading spaces for the survival of the poor is apparent by the large numbers of people who appear to rely on this sector for income. A detailed study of these spaces reveals that a large percentage of the traders are women. The women conceptualise these spaces not only as 'work' spaces but in some cases as 'home' as well. This contrasts drastically with the view of the local authority.

1.1.2. Specific Research Objectives

The thesis considers the ways in which recent changes in the urban informal sector are being experienced by women who trade and live in the Warwick Avenue Triangle of Durban. The main concern is to examine *the ways in which the social constructs of gender and apartheid, and the changing conceptualisation of the informal sector create spaces.*

Changes in social process - gender being identified as an important social process - have spatial impacts and vice versa. This is analysed at two levels:

At the first level the ways in which changing policies towards the urban informal sector have altered the space of Durban are examined. Previously informal and illegal spaces have now been both legalised and formalised. But these spaces, in which women predominate, are still on the peripheries of the Central Business District (CBD).

At the second level a detailed examination of the everyday lives of women in the informal sector indicates that women are capable of actively transforming spaces through their actions (Foord and Gregson, 1986; Mackenzie, 1986).

How the women interpret the changes is central to the

transformations which their actions make to the appropriation of space. The notion of sexual division of labour and a refinement of the concepts of production and reproduction, derived from feminist theory, facilitates an understanding of the local context within which women work and live and in which their knowledge of their social and spatial worlds are constructed.

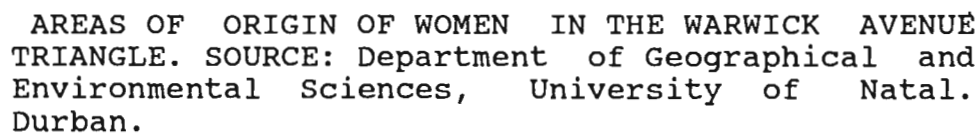
The intensive study of women within a specific locality, allows an entry point into the investigation of how general processes work themselves out in time and space. In order to do this the field methods employed in the thesis consisted of observation of the daily lives of women in a specific locality and in-depth interviewing of the twenty women. This approach involves placing women as active agents at the centre of research both as the subjects of research and as constructors of knowledge (Dyck, 1990).

The aim of the thesis is threefold.

- (i) An historical examination of the development of the urban informal sector in Durban will provide a context within which to situate the study of women in the informal sector in the 1990's.
- (ii) The changes and contradictions between official conceptions of the urban informal sector and that of the women who work there will be appraised.
- (iii) Spatial impacts of changing social processes in the context of women working in the urban informal sector will be examined.

1.2. Background to the Study

The women who work in the Warwick Avenue Triangle came into the area from a number of areas, some coming from as far as Zululand (see Figures 1.1 and 1.2). The majority have homes in the rural areas of Kwa Zulu but spend long periods in the urban areas, either sleeping on the pavements or boarding with a friend or relative in the townships.



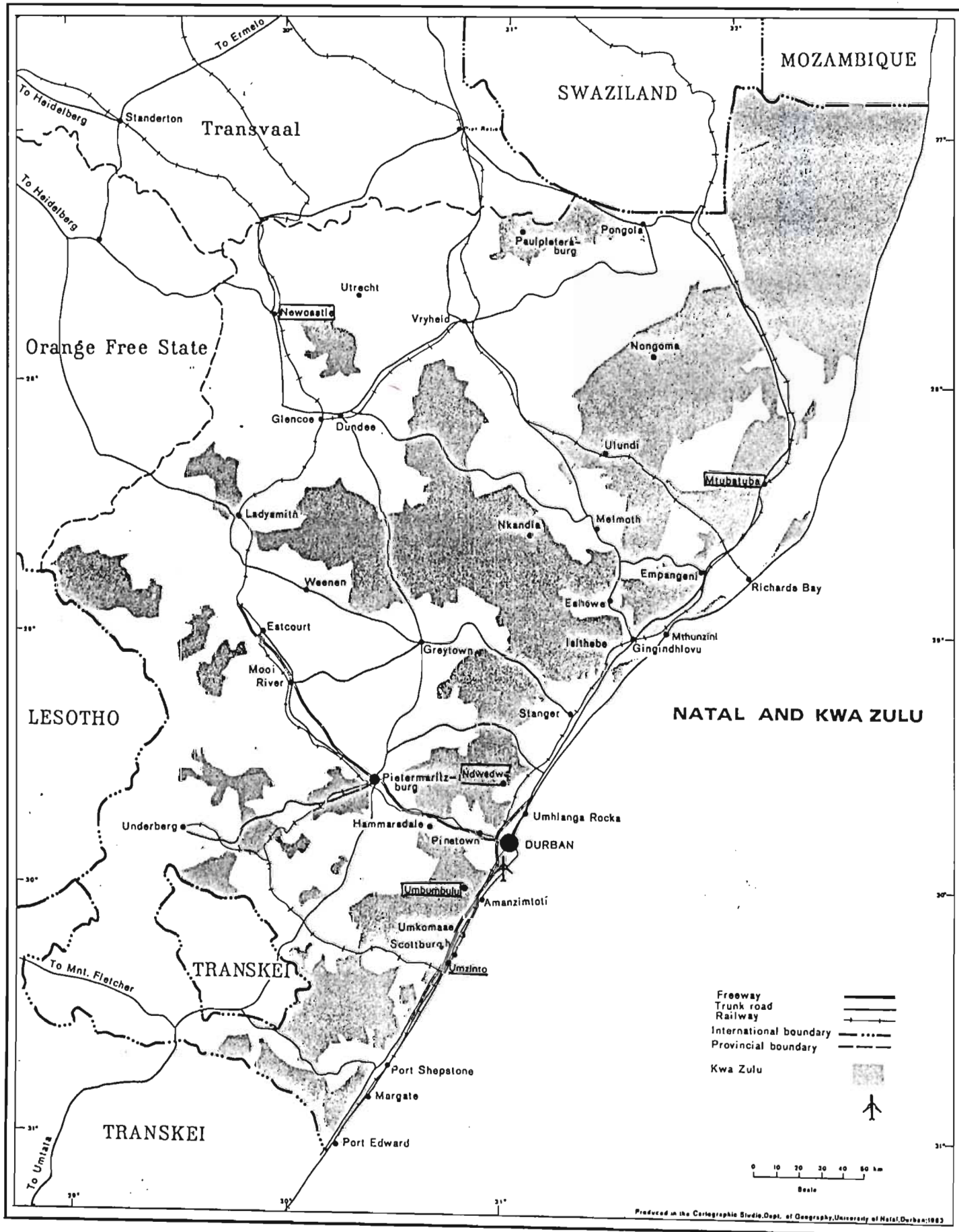


Figure 1.2. AREAS OF ORIGIN OF WOMEN IN THE WARWICK AVENUE TRIANGLE. SOURCE: department of Geographical and Environmental Sciences, University of Natal, Durban.

Although the women have unique life histories, their concrete experiences are underpinned by three factors:

First, their need to make money in order to ensure their subsistence and that of their families, second by the particular geographical and historical circumstances which pattern their lives; and third, by the local context in which they work.

The local context in this study is understood as the "work" place, that is the Warwick Avenue Triangle. As outlined in figure 1.3, it comprises of the area around the Early Morning Market, the Eilat Viaduct (including the Berea Station), Brook Street and part of the bus terminal area. The viability of the area for informal trading is related to it being an important 'gateway' to the city. Approximately 80 000 people pass through the area daily (Financial Mail, 1987). This area was chosen as the study area because it is an extensive area on the periphery of the Central Business District where large numbers of people trade (and have made their 'home').

The area has been the focus of the media since the mid 1980's. Initial reports were centred around the conflict between street-traders and stall holders in the market (see *Post*, 5:10:1986; 26:11:1986; *Daily News*, 30:01:1987; *Sunday Tribune*, 7:09:1986; 15:11:1987). As the numbers of people trading in the area increased, reports expressed concern about the unsanitary conditions which prevailed in the area (see *Daily News*, 27:01:1989; 10:08:1989; *Natal Mercury*, 27:05:1989; *Sunday Tribune* 28:05:1989).

The Warwick Avenue Triangle has also come under scrutiny by the Durban Municipality, after their recognition of the fact that the burgeoning informal sector is not a temporary feature in the built environment. As a result of this a number of restrictions and concessions have been introduced (see chapter four) to limit the numbers of traders and to minimize conflict between the street traders and the stall holders.

Women predominate in the Warwick Avenue Triangle. Women

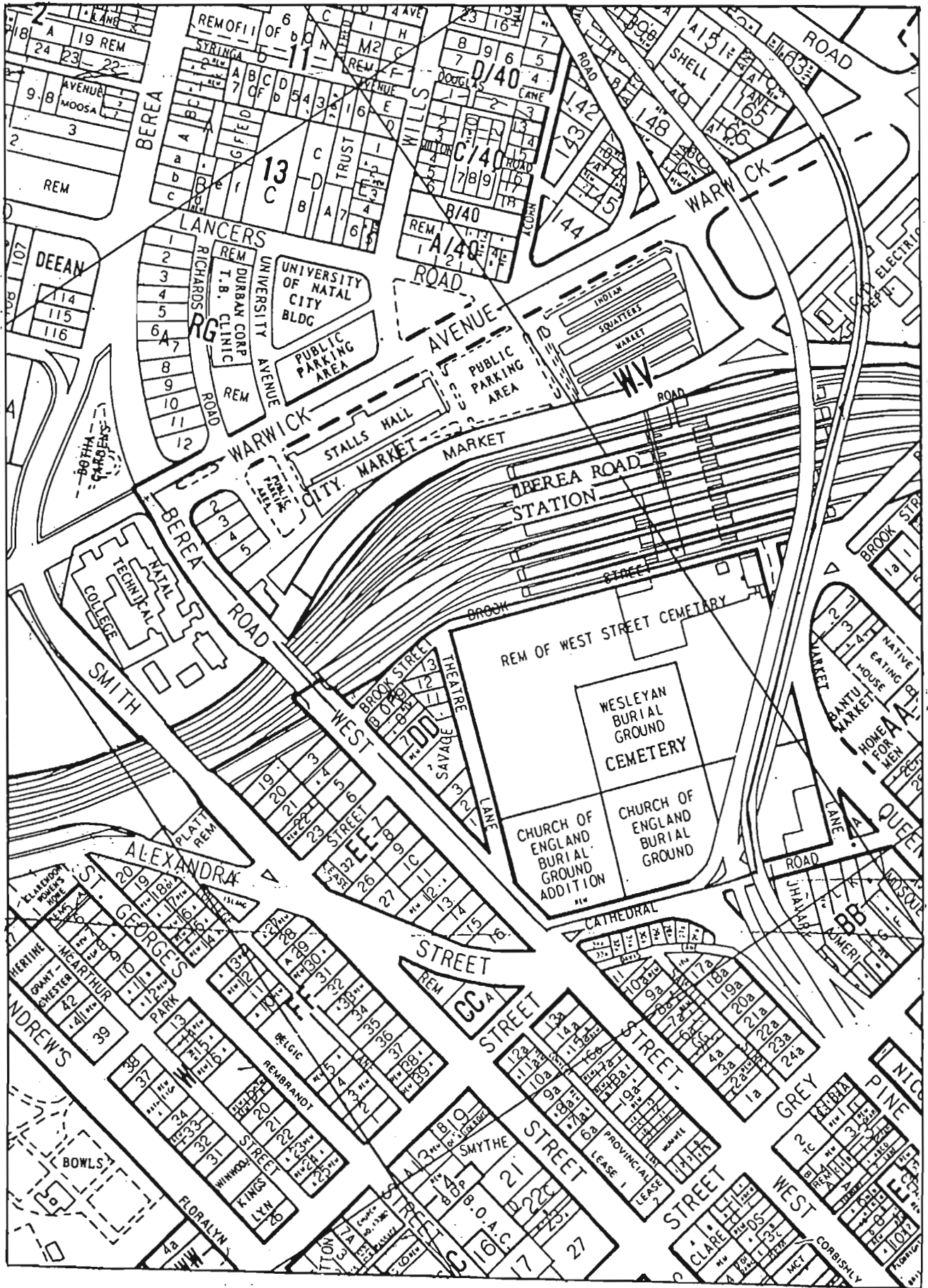


Figure 1.3.

THE WARWICK AVENUE TRIANGLE (1982). SOURCE: 1:6000 Series Sheet 25, Durban City Engineers Department.

constitute between 60 and 65 percent of the traders in the area. Although it is difficult to provide accurate figures of the numbers of people trading in this area, from regular visits to the area, during the study period of 1990 to 1991, it was estimated that there were between 450 and 500 people trading in the area during the week. This figure increases to approximately 700 people during the week ends.

This study is particularly concerned with the social and economic contradictions that many women who work in the Warwick Avenue Triangle face. Special focus is on the way in which women manage their lives as informal sector workers in the face of extensive change in their work environment. Comparisons are drawn between men and women but these are sketchy and in the form of footnotes.

1.3. CHAPTER OUTLINE

The thesis comprises of seven chapters.

Chapter one provides a brief overview of the research question and an introduction into the background of the study area.

Chapter two offers a theoretical framework for the analysis of women in the informal sector. With a few exceptions, women's participation in the informal sector has not as yet been a central object of discussion in theoretical analysis in South African literature on the informal sector². An attempt is made to address this lacuna by critically reviewing ongoing debates in the informal sector literature. A review of a selection of South African informal sector studies that have been sensitive to changes in gender relations is provided. The contribution that structuration theory and a feminist geographical analysis can make to an enhanced understanding of women in the urban informal sector is also examined in chapter two.

In order to examine the meanings of the informal sector, methodologies which facilitate a detailed examination of the

lives of the women were employed. Questions of methodology are discussed in chapter three. Furthermore, the strategies of empirical research suited to the elaboration of this specific research problem are outlined and the problems experienced during fieldwork are discussed.

The form of women's participation in the urban informal sector exhibits facets of both continuity and change in response to the changing economic, political, cultural and social fabric of South Africa. Chapter four examines the historical tendencies that have shaped the participation of women in the urban informal sector in order to contextualise women in the informal sector in the 1990's.

An analysis of the changing structures of South African society in terms of the way they are experienced by women is made throughout this thesis. The core of the thesis (chapters five and six) examines ways in which changing structures have impacted on the lives of women and the meaning of the informal sector to them. Chapter five examines the changing policy on the informal sector in Durban, and the implication these changes have for the women who work in the Warwick Avenue Triangle.

Chapter six presents an analysis of the way in which meanings are constructed in the everyday practices and communications of women in the informal sector. The constraining and enabling factors which operate on the lives of the women interviewed are discussed in chapter six. Particular attention is paid to the inherent conflict between their reproductive and productive work and the ways in which they resolve these conflicts experientially.

In chapter seven a brief discussion of the findings of the thesis is presented. The links between the theoretical underpinnings of the study and its empirical findings are elucidated.

Notes

1. The term 'black' is used to include all those who were disenfranchised and were not classified as 'white' before the Population Registration Act was repealed in August 1991. It includes all people who black\African; coloured and Indian.

2. Women in the informal sector have received more attention recently as their importance within the urban economy has become more conspicuous in the South African landscape, and academics have become more interested in 'non-standardized' forms of work and new forms of flexibility (See Beavon and Rogerson, 1986; Bozzoli, 1991; Friedman and Hambridge, 1991). However the general assumption that informal sector work and more specifically women's work is marginal work has been reflected, often by the total omission of consideration of women, in most discourses on the informal sector.

CHAPTER TWO

TOWARDS A CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

During the course of the interviews with informal traders in the Warwick Avenue Triangle the complexities in the lives of the women who worked there were very striking. An examination of the daily life of most of the woman in the Warwick Avenue Triangle indicates the hardships, anguish and the incredible schedules that they experience. A typical scenario of one woman, for example, would read as follows:

Mrs. Nene ,who lives in an informal settlement on the periphery of Durban, gets up at four in the morning, walks about a kilometre or two to fetch a supply of water, wash the clothes, prepares breakfast and lunch, dress and feed the children, packs their lunches, packs the goods that are to be sold during the day, and leaves home with instructions to the older daughters to clean up the home and the yard after school. The journey to work from the townships usually includes a long walk to the nearest bus/train station, en route she drops off the younger child at the neighbours home which serves as a creche in the absence of adequate day care facilities. This is followed by a long ride - often travelling for about an hour- to arrive at the Warwick Avenue Triangle - hopefully early enough to secure an accessible spot on which to trade for the day. When business is slow she would leave the stand to be watched by a friend, so as to replenish the supplies - this involves shopping around in search of the cheapest goods - and to buy something for dinner if she has the money. She comes back to the Warwick Avenue Triangle at 4 o'clock when business is most likely to pick up as a result of increased commuter traffic in the area. At 6 o'clock in the evening she leaves work for home - having earned an average of 15 rands. She works flexible hours. When Mrs. Nene gets home, often after 7 o'clock, - having picked up her child from the neighbour's house - she prepares the evening meal, cleans the home because the eight year old daughter chose to play with her friends and did not clean the house, and serves supper. When the children and her husband falls asleep she prepares the goods that are to be sold the next day - all this in their leisure time. (Cameo of the life of Mrs.Nene, 11:1990)

Many of the other women carry additional burdens. Some are sole income earners, or in addition have grandchildren or have disabled children to look after. Other women are forced to combine their work in the informal sector with child care. Some do not even bring home enough food to feed all the family, and yet others do not have homes in the townships and have made homes for themselves and their children on the pavements in the cities (see Appendix 1). During the course of the interviews many of the women paused and questioned how and why things "turned out this way".

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a theoretical framework which will facilitate an examination of the work and lives of women who work in the urban informal sector. The literature review indicates that previous conceptualisations of the informal sector are inadequate. They do not facilitate an examination of the meaning of the informal sector for the women who work there, or the ways in which women as agents act to alter the social and geographic worlds in which they work and live. This chapter attempts to address the lacunae in the literature.

The chapter is divided into three sections. The first section attempts to provide a working definition of the informal sector that is sensitive to both spatial and social change. The literature on the development of informal sector studies in South Africa has been extensively reviewed on a number of occasions (see Rogerson, 1985; 1988). The development of informal sector studies will be examined in the second section, through a critical appraisal of some pertinent texts which specifically examine women's participation in the informal sector. Thereafter the relevant literature on structuration theory and feminist theory will be reviewed. Feminist work in geography points to the inherent spatiality in the constitution of gender relations (Mackenzie, 1984). Structuration theory, on the other hand,

provides a means whereby the constitution of the human subject in society and the everyday and local processes underlying this can be understood (Dyck, 1990; Scott, 1986). The chapter concludes by specifically examining the ways in which the theories reviewed can advance our understanding of women in the informal sector.

2.2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.2.1 Towards a Working Definition of the Informal Sector

This chapter begins by defining the term 'informal sector'. Since the inception of studies on the informal sector, in the 1970's, there has been confusion and numerous debates about what the term actually means (Hart, 1973; Moser, 1978). The purpose of reviewing these debates is to illustrate that the way in which the informal sector is conceptualized has important implications for what is regarded as 'women's work', in general, and what women's work in the informal sector, in particular, encompasses.

Heyzer (1981) identifies three early interpretations of the informal sector. Firstly, academics, following Hart (1973) use the formal/informal sector distinction to differentiate wage-employment from self-employment. The focus of this literature is on the income generating ability of the informal sector. Thus activities that were traditionally classified as "underemployment" are being regarded as productive and supplying many of the essential services on which life depends.

The International Labour Organisation (ILO) (1972), following the Kenyan report used the terms formal/informal sector to differentiate between economic enterprises. The informal sector is therefore defined as small-scale enterprises which rely on indigenous resources, family ownership, skills acquired outside the school system. Enterprises in the formal sector, are by contrast, defined as those which rely on international resources which are corporately owned and operate on a large scale in

markets protected by tariffs, quotas and trade licenses (Heyzer, 1981: 3).

The third interpretation that Heyzer (1981) discusses is that which has been developed by the World Bank. The World Bank makes the distinction within urban labour markets where the informal sector is seen as the 'unprotected' labour market as opposed to the formal 'protected' market. The central argument is that employment in the formal sector is in some sense protected so that the wage level and working conditions are not available to job seekers unless they manage to cross the barriers of this highly fragmented market (Heyzer, 1981).

All three of the above interpretations have adopted a dualistic approach to the informal sector. However, it is dangerous to depict complex relations as simple polarisations. Indeed, most evidence suggests that the relationship between the formal and the informal sector is dynamic and flexible.

The distinctions between the formal and informal sector economic activities discussed above are based on the *characteristics* of, rather than *relationships* between, the two sectors¹. The theoretical adequacy of this approach has been questioned on a number of grounds (see for example Sethuraman, 1976; 1981). For the purpose of this study the obvious absence of a specific concern for women is important. The ILO's (1972) definition of the informal sector recognises the importance of the role of family economic activities. However, the approach is purely descriptive and no attempt is made to understand and explain household labour relations, that is, how family labour is organised and how work tasks are allocated.

The lack of concern for women is also due to the fact that much of the work that women do - especially that which is an extension of domestic labour and confined to the household - is overlooked. It is often difficult to separate household responsibilities directed at the family members from market orientated tasks.

A further criticism of the dualistic approach arises from the fact that a number of informal sector workers operate at the intersection of the two economies. May and Stavrou (1989) refer to this as the marginal sector. Marginal participants include

"those who cannot find jobs, the apparently unemployable, recent migrants, housewives, unskilled school leavers and, those who, in the eyes of the employers and welfare bodies are the unproductive 'dregs' of society" (cited in Friedman and Hambridge, 1991: 163).

According to May and Stavrou (1989) the gender bias which exists among people in the marginal sector means that housewives and other female members of households are often more likely to be members of the marginal sector than males. It is therefore difficult to distinguish between the formal and informal income-generating activities of women².

The strong evidence of the systematic linkages between the formal and the informal sectors can not be ignored. This led to the introduction of the concept of petty commodity production to describe the informal sector - a mode of production that exists at the margins of the capitalist mode of production but is nevertheless integrated with it (Moser, 1978; Rogerson, 1985; Rogerson and Beavon, 1980).

Proponents of the concept of petty commodity production agree that the ability of the small-scale operators to reduce input costs of goods and services is strongly related to the large amount of unpaid domestic labour and cheap labour provided by women, children and other kin and friend. They further argue that the ability of men to sell their commodities cheaply under competitive conditions depends on the cheap or free labour of women and children. However, the reasons for this unaccountability of women's work is not explained.

It is evident in the studies which advocate the use of the term

petty commodity production that the man is often regarded as the head of the household and assumed to be the breadwinner, while women are defined as "housewives and breeders". The problem with this as pointed out by Mies (1986: 188), is that

"by defining women as housewives and breeders, it is possible to obfuscate the fact that they are subsidizing, as unpaid family workers and as low paid production workers, the modernizing process."

In response to Mies' (1986) critique, Friedman and Hambridge (1991) propose that women who produce household services and engage in child care and child rearing be included in the definition of the informal sector³.

For many women the informal sector is a transitory set of activities which they engage in periodically as need and opportunity arises. The income earning activities of women are more circumscribed than that of men as a result of their domestic responsibilities. Furthermore, it is often difficult to separate a woman's domestic responsibilities from her income earning activities and her formal activities from informal ones. As a result of the changing nature of women's work, it is important to conceptualise their work in the informal sector as a *process* rather than as a reified 'thing' (Bozzoli, 1991a; Castells and Portes, 1989). Indeed, by thinking of the informal sector as a process it is possible to acknowledge that its facets change with different historical and geographical contexts.

Castells and Portes (1989: 12) in their definition add another important feature of the informal sector. They define the informal economy as an income-earning process characterised by one central feature: *it is unregulated by the institutions of society, in a legal and social environment in which similar activities are regulated*. It is precisely the fact that the informal sector is unregulated which results in it being an area where exploitative relations of production predominate. Firstly labour may be undeclared, lack social benefits to which it is

entitled, or paid a wage which is below minimum (Castells and Portes, 1989). Secondly, conditions of work under which labour is employed may be socially unacceptable in that public hygiene standards, health conditions, safety precautions and land-use zoning may be ignored. Thirdly, lack of regulation facilitates fraudulent forms of management by some firms (Castells and Portes, 1989). Castells and Portes (1989) extend their conceptualisation of the informal economy to include the unrecorded practices of large corporations.

In addition, the definition of the informal sector includes activities that are regarded as illegal by social institutions. However, categories such as legal/illegal are not static. In South Africa, for example, the pursuit of informal sector activities in the urban areas was once regarded as illegal but that has subsequently changed (see chapter five). This further illustrates the importance of conceptualizing the informal sector as a process with constantly changing boundaries and definitions which have both spatial and social implications. Evidently the reconstruction and (re)definition of space in South African cities has provided women with opportunities that were previously denied to them. The emergence of spaces in the urban areas where informal sector activities predominate cannot be understood independently of social processes (that is, informal sector and gender). The meanings of the informal spaces are socially constructed. It is only through an investigation of gender relations that concepts of space can properly be grounded.

Having provided a definition of the informal sector, a brief review of South African informal sector studies follows. Particular attention is paid to those studies which specifically examine women's participation in the informal sector⁴. Although the number of studies which fall within this genre of research is very limited, a number of important lessons can be learnt from these seminal works.

2.2.2 Women in Informal Sector Studies: A critical review of South African literature

There is now a growing body of literature on feminist issues relating to gender and the informal sector (Beavon and Rogerson, 1986; Bozzoli, 1991a; Friedman and Hambridge, 1991; Krige, 1987). These studies represent an important step towards elucidating the lives of women in the informal sector. However, studies on women in the informal sector are far from exhaustive. There is a need, from a geographical perspective, to theorize the relation between the changes in the lives of women and changes in the urban environment. This has been implicitly dealt with by Beavon and Rogerson (1986) in their chapter on the 'Changing role of women in the urban informal sector of Johannesburg'. This work will be discussed later in the section.

The literature on women in the informal sector is generally premised on the following underlying assumptions:

- i. Many women participate in informal sector activities as a preferred alternative to the low wages offered to blacks in the circumstances of South Africa's labour repressive economy.
- ii. The role of women in the informal sector is significantly different -in some respects- from that of men.
- iii. Related to the previous point, women concentrate in areas of economic activity that are compatible with their reproductive role.

The aim of most of this research has been to define the nature and the parameters of these differences and to study their implications. Both the works by Bozzoli (1991a) and Friedman and Hambridge (1991) argue for the need to (re)conceptualise the term informal sector. In her attempt to explore the relationship between the life experience of women during the period 1910-1980, and the changes that occurred within the informal sector Bozzoli (1991a: 15) recognises the importance of thinking of the informal sector as a process - "a transient loosely-defined set

of activities which pass in and out of the lives of people". This definition allows her to effectively draw out the connections between the informal sector and other processes which affect a society in transition to capitalism.

- . One of the important points that Bozzoli (1991a; 1991b) makes is that women resort to informal sector work as a means to resist proletarianisation. The choice may not always exist. To many women participation in informal sector work may be essential to their survival. From the case studies it is evident that while for some women the informal sector is necessary for survival, for others it is a means of making money when it is needed. In her study conducted in Kwa Mashu, Krige (1987: 1) found that the role of the informal sector is

"predominantly a supplement to formal wages in township households rather than an independent generator of income".

Despite these differences all the writers agree that it is because the choices open to women in the formal sector are so limited that more women are forced to look to the informal sector as a means of survival. This is elaborated on in the next chapter.

The differences in the reasons women have for participating in informal sector activities illustrate the importance of understanding the consciousness of the woman - to know what the informal sector means to her. From Bozzoli's (1991a) study it is evident that the informal sector is not merely an economic issue. An examination of the informal sector should include an analysis of social relationships and cultural meanings as well. This is one of the strengths of Bozzoli's (1991a) work. She effectively examines the ways in which individual women of Phokeng experience the broader social and economic changes that occurred during the twentieth century in South Africa. Implicit in this argument is the notion that one cannot understand why women respond to the changing structures around them in the ways they do without

attempting to understand their subjective experiences. In addition this article lends support to the contention in this thesis that the ways in which individuals or groups experience and contribute to broader societal changes are important. This has profound implications for an analysis of policies towards that informal sector.

Friedman and Hambridge (1991), argue that a gender-sensitive perspective is crucial for the planning of informed policy recommendations and choices for the future. Following Moser (1989), they suggest that men and women play different roles in society and as a result of this have different needs.

According to Friedman and Hambridge (1991) it is crucial that services be delivered in a way that accommodates the underlying relationship between women's participation in the economy, their contribution in the household and to the community, the national income as well as their involvement in organisations. In their policy proposals for the development of the informal sector they stress that women articulate different needs that arise as a result of gender differences⁵.

However, Friedman and Hambridge's (1991) policy proposals should not be aimed at the informal sector in isolation from the rest of the politico-economy of South Africa. That the informal sector is integrated with the rest of the economy is widely acknowledged. However, it is not as widely accepted that the formal economy determines the *spaces* in which the informal sector can develop. This, too, should be included in policies for the development of the informal sector.

In response to Monk and Hanson's (1982) criticism that human geographers have failed to account for half the human in human geography, Beavon and Rogerson (1986) historically document the changing occupational mix of women's involvement in the urban informal sector of Johannesburg⁶. They argue that changes in women's participation in the informal sector occurred in response

to opportunities that presented themselves as a result of changes in the settlement history of Johannesburg. The importance of space is implicitly dealt with in Beavon and Rogerson's (1986) article. They relate the changes in women's roles and their location to changes in the urban political economy of Johannesburg.

Beavon and Rogerson (1986) implicitly acknowledge that women's environments are an important context of their oppression. But the environment remains, by and large, a background feature which passively responds to or fails to respond to changes in women's roles. Instead the environment is an element which interacts to create such changes, or in other instances institutionalises women's oppression (Mackenzie, 1984). Thus, rather than seeing women as merely responding to changes in the urban environment, it is important to recognise that environments have been actively and politically created in such a way as to increase their oppression⁷.

The significance of Beavon and Rogerson's (1986) study lies in the implications of the sexual change in the composition of the washer folk and the coffee-cart traders in the city. These occupational categories were traditionally seen as women's work but when viewed historically a reversal of the traditional ideology of sex roles is evident. During certain periods men pre-empted what might be viewed as spheres of women's work in the light of prospects for capital accumulation, and moved into these spheres (Beavon and Rogerson, 1986: 220)⁸.

In their conclusion Beavon and Rogerson (1986) recognise the importance of an historical perspective to understanding women's participation in the urban informal sector. They argue that whilst, it may be true that women participate in informal sector activities that are extensions of their domestic roles (Heyzer, 1981), an historical analysis sometimes belies this illusory notion (Beavon and Rogerson, 1986). The lesson from their analysis of washer folk and coffee-cart trading in Johannesburg,

is that in addition to examining ideology regarding sex roles, it also is important to examine the effect of male dominated patriarchal structures in South African society. It is the latter which results in men annexing and dominating informal sector pursuits with higher potential for accumulation of capital from women.

From the literature review it is possible to expand on the points made at the beginning of this section. First, women move in and out of the informal sector at different stages in their life-cycle, depending on their material circumstances. Secondly, while the type of activities that women engage in, in the informal sector take on very specific forms, these should not be explained merely in terms of being extensions of their domestic work. Finally, in order to plan for the development of the informal sector it is important to acknowledge that men and women experience the informal sector differently and consequently have different needs.

The literature review above has been useful in defining and delineating important aspects of women's participation in the informal sector. However, there is a need to examine in greater detail how women as agents and local processes contribute to change the urban informal sector. In order to do this the ontology of structuration theory, which is linked to substantive bodies of theory on the informal sector and women, is drawn on in the next section. Thereafter the contribution that feminist geography can make towards an enhanced our understanding of human geography in general, and the informal sector in particular, will be discussed.

2.3 TOWARDS AN UNDERSTANDING OF GENDER AND GEOGRAPHY IN THE INFORMAL SECTOR

2.3.1. Structuration Theory

Structuration theory, developed by Giddens (1979, 1982; 1984; 1989), suggests that social life is inherently spatial⁹. It enables context to be placed at the centre of analysis. According to this body of theory, structure and agency are understood to act in a recursive manner in the reproduction and transformation of individuals and society. Hence, society and human activity are interdependent. Giddens (1984: 363) argues that in essence

"a recovery of time and space means theorizing agency, structure and contextuality as the focus for research problems in both".

Dyck (1990) points out that structuration concepts attempt to sensitize empirical research through emphasizing the knowledgeability of the individual agent in the reproduction of social practice, the time-space contextuality of social life and the interpretative nature of analysis. Structuration theory differs from other contemporary social theory in that it provides an explicit theorisation of space and time (Scott, 1986).

The core of structuration theory is built around the concept of the *duality of structure*. Giddens (1979: 5) views this concept as being a process in which "structure is both the medium for and the outcome of the reproduction of practices". Structure is understood as consisting of 'rules and resources' which only exist temporally in the presence of human agents. Thus structures only exist through the concrete actions of human agents who reproduce social life through their daily routine encounters. However, not all action is routine and intended. An important notion of structuration is the role played by unintended outcomes of human activity in society. Both intended and unintended action influence structure and this in turn influences daily activities

as the "unacknowledged conditions of further acts" (Giddens, 1984: 8). The structural components of society that are "embedded in an enduring way in institutions are both enabling and constraining" (Giddens, 1983: 8). Consequently, constraints are not externally imposed on the flow of action.

According to Giddens (1983) agency refers to the fact that people are capable of doing things in the first place. Agency is based on the idea that the individual is a perpetrator of events and that he or she could have acted differently depending on the rules and resources that are available. Human agency has a transformative capacity involving active negotiation among actors. These negotiations are centred around meanings which are

"produced and reproduced via the practical application and continued reformulation in practice of 'what everyone knows'" (Giddens, 1987: 65)

Dyck (1990) argues that structure can only exist through the knowledge that informs agents about their day to day activities. Hence the mutual knowledge that people possess is crucial to structure. Giddens distinguishes between human agents being knowledgeable in respect to both discursive and practical consciousness. Discursive consciousness refers to what actors verbalise about their actions, whereas practical consciousness is what actors know about how to do things in a variety of contexts in social life but may not be able to put into words. Giddens contends that most mutual knowledge is non-discursive and is routinely and reflexively applied in the chronic constitution and reconstitution of social life. Human beings are seen as skilled practitioners who have taken-for-granted knowledge who know the meanings of rules and use them in interaction. At the same time, human beings can, mainly at the level of practical consciousness, reflexively monitor their actions (Giddens, 1987).

Giddens cautions that the actions of human beings are not self determined. Circumstances constrain them, both as individuals and

as groups. Hence in order to know how human beings are constrained we need to know about the nature of the specific contexts. To quote Giddens (1984: 363)

"the settings and circumstances within which action occurs do not come out of thin air, they themselves have to be explained within the very same logical framework as that which whatever action described and 'understood' has also to be explained. It is exactly this phenomenon with which I take structuration theory to be concerned".

Structure and agency are linked by contextualising human action in time and space. The context delimits and shapes the parameters of social action. Giddens uses the concept of locale or setting for interaction to develop an understanding of the spatial configuration of context. A locale occurs at any physical scale and may range from a room in a house to a territory in a nation state. Such locales are routinely drawn upon to guide action and constitute shared meanings about this action. Locales are important to the knowledgeability of agents in that common awareness of the settings of actions form an anchoring element in the "mutual knowledge" whereby individuals make sense of what other say or do (Giddens, 1987: 99)¹⁰.

According to Giddens, the particular significance of locales in constituting contexts of interaction lies in the fact that they are often regionalised. Regionalisation refers to the spatial and temporal differentiation that occurs in society. This occurs as a result of the fact that regular social practices in a given location may be zoned through legislation or informally shared understandings, in time and space (Dyck, 1990). For example the separation of the home from the workplace is a form of regionalisation. Similarly, attempts to separate the informal sector from the formal sector, an attempt to zone space according to its use, is a form of regionalisation.

The concept of regionalisation provides an important link to feminist literature in geography. Dyck (1990), in her case study

of women in Vancouver, points out that the extending of gender relations over time and space, in the form of institutions of the family and the zoning in the family home, is significant to gender differences. Gender relations are evident in both the type of locales that are available or may be generated for action, and the particular rules and resources that will be present or absent¹¹.

2.3.2 Feminist Theory in Geography

Feminist geography is concerned with understanding the interrelations between socially constructed gender relations and socially constructed spaces. The definition of feminist geography that is appropriate to this study is

"the examination of the ways in which socio-economic, political, and environmental processes create, reproduce and transform not only the place in which we live but also the social relations between men and women in these places and how, in turn gender relations also have an impact on these processes and their manifestations" (Little, et al, 1988:2).

Initial research on women and the environment concentrated on proving that women were an important subgroup of the population that was sufficiently different to warrant specific attention in geography. In order to achieve this, writers illustrated ways in which women as a group suffered specific spatial constraints as a result of the division between the 'private' sphere of the home and reproduction, and the 'public' site of power and production. Feminists' concern with the relationship between production and reproduction at the structural, community and household levels has been important in elucidating the inherent tensions in the lives of women.

Studies on gender and geography see women's domestic roles in the home as being the main factor that restricted their access to and

use of resources provided in the city (see Matrix, 1984; IBG, 1984). This work is invaluable in dissecting the unidimensional model of 'man' in geographic models, as well as in focusing attention on the dichotomy of 'public' and 'private' spaces which had become an unexamined parameter in these models (Mackenzie, 1989). However, it tended to present women as environmental 'victims' who passively suffer restricted activity spaces or frantically scamper between the 'public' and the 'private' spheres of their lives.

It is only recently that geographers are beginning to see women as environmental actors, contributing to the restructuring of the social environments in which they live. Acknowledgement of the human agency is important. This involves a questioning of the wholesale acceptance of the cultural notions in social life, which assume that men are the major providers and that women's natural position is in the home. It also raises the issue of the relationship of dominant ideas to everyday action (Dyck, 1990). An acceptance of the naturalness of the division of labour, Giddens points out, is integral to power differentials. As he comments, the notion that structure is always both constraining and enabling does not compromise

"the possibility that actors own theories of the social systems which they help to constitute and reconstitute in their activities may reify those social systems. The reification of social relations, or the discursive 'naturalisation' of the historical contingent circumstances and products of human action, is one of the main dimensions of ideology in social life" (Giddens, 1984: 25)

This conception of ideology is important because the acceptance or otherwise of cultural ideas as being natural is not separate from the actions of either dominant groups or those over whom they exercise social power. Sayer (1983: 15) accepts this idea when he comments,

"Feminine behaviour both confirms and reinforces, and is informed by everyday concepts of what it is to be feminine."

Thus if these concepts are accepted as constitutive of "masculine and feminine" practices existing relations will be upheld and reproduced.

By revealing the importance of gender relations in everyday activities over time and space, a feminist analysis challenges geography

"to examine how the environments we create reflect or relate to gender relations and how, in turn those environments reinforce or (re)create existing or new forms of gender relations" (McDowell and Bowlby, 1983: 97).

The way in which women interpret their identity is therefore central to the practice and the possible transformation of the ways in which social life is organised and space is appropriated. In order to provide an adequate account of the ways in which local contexts shapes the meaning of human actions, the means by which understandings, rules, and stocks of knowledge about women's identity and gender practices are both modified and reaffirmed become important (Dyck, 1990). While the local context shapes human action, it is also true that the discursive meanings of places determine the ways in which the places are appropriated.

As Gregory (cited in Dyck, 1990) argues that, while Giddens acknowledges that locales are not "given" he does not point out that conceptions of space are also socially constructed and this has important implications for the appropriation of space. Particular spaces have different meanings for different individuals. Furthermore, it is important to realise that conceptions of space are not immutable. They vary in time and space. For example cultural definitions and racial stereotypes have important implications for the conceptualisation and appropriation of spaces and these need to be considered in research.

In the concluding section the ways in which structuration theory and feminist theory in geography contribute to a better understanding of women in the informal sector in the South African city will be elucidated.

2.4. CONCLUDING COMMENTS

In the preceding discussion, a definition of the informal sector that is sensitive to social and spatial change is provided. The literature on the informal sector is found to be inadequate in addressing the specific research question. This led to an examination of structuration and feminist theory in geography.

Structuration and feminist theory in geography provides a framework which facilitate an examination of the ways in which the actions of women create and re-create urban spaces in the context of the urban informal sector. The major implication of structuration theory for this thesis is that it facilitates an examination of the intended and unintended actions of people in a particular locale and how these actions have helped create space. Feminist geography offers a way whereby the specific organisation of productive and reproductive work in space and time can be analysed. From feminist geography, the notion of sexual division of labour is used as an heuristic device through which the material and social conditions and meanings of the different aspects of the work women do at the levels of the home, community and workplace may be examined. However, these change over time and the meanings and social conditions of work women engage in vary, cross-culturally and at different stages in women's lives.

Closer attention to women as active agents in the process of social and spatial change calls for detailed investigation of how the activities of the women within a specific locale cause and respond to the changes in their lives.

In the following chapter, the methodologies that were adopted during the research process will be discussed.

NOTES

1. Similarly South African studies on the informal sector merely described the characteristics of the informal sector (see for example, Suchard, 1979). Nevertheless, they have yielded fascinating insights into the virtually unknown and hidden lives of those people who work in the backyards of the townships, and other nooks and crannies of the South African city (Beavon and Rogerson, 1986; 1987; Rogerson, 1985, 1991)

2. The discussion validates Peattie's (1987) assertion that the 'informal sector' is an 'utterly fuzzy' concept which can beguile and engulf innocent researchers into a 'conceptual swamp' (cited in Preston-Whyte and Rogerson, 1991: 1). Despite the problems associated with the use of the term informal sector I do not heed Peattie's (cited in Preston-Whyte and Rogerson, 1991) advice that the use of the term be barred. Despite the problems with terminology, it is not possible to abandon the use of the term, given its extensive use by policy makers and academics.

3. It is, however difficult to quantify unpaid family labour. As a result little progress has been made in operationalising this perspective.

4. For a detailed review of studies on the informal sector in South Africa refer to Preston-Whyte and Rogerson (1991), Rogerson (1985) and Rogerson (1988).

5. Following Moser (1989), Friedman and Hambridge (1991) stress the importance of distinguishing between practical gender needs and strategic gender needs. Practical gender needs deal with the immediate problems facing women whereas strategic gender needs are articulated from an analysis of women's subordination to men.

6. Despite the fact that women form a large proportion of informal sector workers, studies on the informal sector have tended to be androcentric. In this regard Beavon and Rogerson (1986 :205) observed that:

"with the progressive accretion of our knowledge concerning poverty and the informal sector, it is evident that in the euphoria of debating the sharpest theoretical concepts for analysis ...several vital research areas were left untouched."

7. For example the creation of an urban form which spatially separates the home environment from public life is one of the major obstacles in women's access to wider opportunities of the city.

8. Similarly, at present there are increasing numbers of men who prepare and sell cooked meals in the Warwick Avenue Triangle because the sale of food is more lucrative than shoe-repairs or the sale of plastic toys.

9. As a result geographers have drawn extensively on structuration theory in an attempt to examine the relationship between society and space in analysis (see Moos and Dear, 1986; Pred, 1984).

10. Localities are seen as formed from a matrix of locales or settings for encounters.

11. Although Giddens recognises the importance of the separation of the home and the workplace to the patterning of activities, he does not specifically address gender relations in his structuration theory.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

"I am afraid of speaking too quickly in academic situations about the women, the tribal subaltern, the urban sub-proletariat, the unorganised peasant - to whom I have not learnt to make myself acceptable other than as a concerned benevolent person who is free to come and go" (Gayatri Spivak, 1990: 70).

3.1. INTRODUCTION

The dilemma¹ that Spivak (1990) expresses in the quote above was one that I was forced to think about when I started fieldwork. During one of my first visits to the Warwick Avenue Triangle, I was asked by Mrs. Zuma, what I, 'a mere child',² could offer the women who worked in the area and why I wanted to study them. I do not think that I convinced her that my motives were not entirely selfish. But this question made me reflect on my research and question my right to study women in the informal sector; given the fact that I could not help them improve their material circumstances. These question and reflections have important implications with regards to *what* and *how* one researches.

Conventional social enquiry frequently assumes that knowledge influences action but not vice versa. It has been traditionally argued that scientific research produces knowledge and politics acts on that knowledge; knowledge and action are envisaged as being sequential and split. This notion has been refuted by most feminist researchers (see Mackenzie, 1984; 1989). They argue that knowledge and action are indeed interrelated - the one affecting the nature of the other but neither taking precedence.

In addition, feminist methods broach the conventional split between subject and objects in the process of social enquiry. Social science research methods have traditionally posited this subject/object split in order to claim objectivity in research findings. Feminist and other social scientists, however, argue that criteria other than objectivity are important to understand phenomena. For women who are studying gender relations, this has a further implication. They often find that to some extent they are investigating themselves, and in so doing have to directly confront the issue posed in conventional research of determining an object for the researching subject. In particular the value shifts from being able to make detached statements about a group of people to being able to participate with them in speaking. By adopting these methods researchers hope not only to heighten their own understanding but that of the people who are the centre of the research as well. Hence both the researcher and the researched are subjects. However, it is not always possible to be the subject one studies. There are a number of dilemmas of knowing, speaking and representation during the research process. Some of these dilemmas are addressed in this chapter, by examining the research methods adopted in this study.

3.2. RESEARCHING WOMEN IN THE INFORMAL SECTOR

Gramsci (1971: 438) points out that

"...every research has its own specific method ... and ...the method has developed and been elaborated together with the development and elaboration of this specific research..."

This thesis examines recent changes in the urban informal sector and the ways in which the women who trade in the Warwick Avenue Triangle³ contribute to and experience these changes. In order to examine both general processes and the impacts of these processes on the lives of individual women within a specific locality, it

is necessary to construct a methodological bridge over the chasm between intensive qualitative research methods and extensive indirect research methods (Sayer, 1984) .

The intensive research method employed during the course of the study, which predominantly involved interviews with women working in the Warwick Avenue Triangle, produced the major type of data source in this thesis. The extensive indirect research methods, on the other hand encompassed an analysis of the media and related documentary material. In addition, a host of secondary material⁴ on the informal sector, and gender and geography were consulted. Both sets of data are crucial in providing a holistic account of the experiences of women interviewed.

3.2.1. Extensive Research Methods : Documentary material

Documentary materials include primary documents, or eyewitness accounts written by people who experience a particular event or behaviour, and secondary documents which are accounts written by people who were not present on the scene but who receive the information necessary to compile the document by interviewing eyewitnesses or by reading primary documents (Olson ;1976). In addition to the primary-secondary distinction documents vary substantially in terms of degree of structure and of purpose for which they were originally written. Bailey (1987) points out that most documents are written for reasons other than for social research. These are either personal - diaries, autobiographies - or non-personal documents - letters written by businesses or organisations to keep a record of important events. The latter category includes minutes of meetings, memoranda, financial records, reports, speeches and files containing other material relevant to the maintaining of an organisation. In addition to the above Bailey (1987) identifies a third major documentary source as consisting of magazines, journals, and newsletters, and books of fiction and non-fiction.

According to Smith (1975: 116) document study may offer much observational material on "Who?" "What?" and "How?", but used singularly, they often fail to answer "Why?" questions. Thus this study has found it more useful to use documentary material in conjunction with other materials.

Most of the documentary material collected in this research project was primarily non-personal type. Initially, in an attempt to develop background material on the development and growth of the informal sector in Durban the following data sources were used:

- a) library resources ,as far as these were available,
- b) records of the Durban City council, the mayors minutes, annual research reports ,by-laws and gazetted material which referred to the informal sector,
- c) archival records , consisting primarily of tape recorded interviews housed at the Killie Campbell Library, and
- d) an INCH⁵ (Institute for Contemporary History) computer search which referred me to relevant newspaper articles on the informal sector and related policies during the 1980's.

In order to access the relevant articles the researcher identifies keywords pertaining to the subject⁶. The computerised search of the articles is carried out at the University of Orange Free State. Once the search is completed the researcher is provided with a printout of all the references to the identified keywords. While the INCH computer search dates back to 1978, the search began in 1983⁷ and ended in March 1990 - the date when the search was requested.

While the INCH search produced a number of relevant articles none of the articles specifically dealt with the area of study. In order to get information on the Warwick Avenue Triangle I had to

consult the files (specifically the file on "Markets") housed in the Natal Newspaper's library. The articles dated back much further (1950). The press reports (although not a major data source in the research) were useful in filling in some of the 'gaps' I found particularly in the historical data.

3.2.2. People - Place Specific Research Methods

The most important research strategy adopted in the thesis is the case study which is the basis of the theoretical analysis as well as an experiential account of the lives of twenty women who work in the informal sector. The women on whom the study is based were not randomly selected and cannot therefore be regarded as representative in the statistical sense. As the object of the interviews was to build a detailed perspective on women's experiences in the informal sector ; or to quote Garvon (cited in Mackenzie, 1984) "... to build a picture of the lives of the women studied" - and not to establish a representative sample of a particular population; the relatively limited number of detailed interviews⁸ and the fact that the interviewees were not randomly selected⁹ was not perceived as a problem.

The case study approach is particularly suited to the purpose of enquiry because it permits a level of detail and thoroughness in the observation of cases which are unique (Cornwell, 1984). The researcher is able to get to know the people in the study individually in terms of what determines and shapes their choices, and their relationships. This does not mean that the people in the study have a great deal of choices about the conditions in which they work and live. The interviews have suggested that there are a number of factors which limit the choices that the women have. However, the women should not be reduced to figures whose lives are socially determined. Instead, this method facilitates the investigation of women as social actors who take an active part in the process of their own lives. Thus the task of the research is to uncover the nature of the

social worlds through an understanding of how the women act in and give meanings to their own lives (Eyles, 1988). Furthermore, the way in which the women interpret their identity is central to practice and possible transformation of the organisation of their social life and the use of space (Dyck, 1990).

All the interviews were conducted in the Warwick Avenue Triangle¹⁰ - the "workplace" - although to some women this area was where they had made their homes, either permanently or temporarily. The place-specific nature of the research facilitates a theoretically informed analysis of the relationship between people and place. In other words it facilitates an examination of the ways in which the actions of the women who work in the Warwick Avenue Triangle, contribute to the changes that are occurring in that place, and the impacts that the changes have on the work and lives of the women.

Fieldwork in the Warwick Avenue Triangle began by walking through the area several times, at different times of the day, making notes of visible characteristics of informal trading and other activities that people engaged in. Through the process of observation useful insights into the everyday practices of the traders were gleaned. However, in order to establish what the informal sector means to the women who trade there detailed interviews were necessary. After a number of visits to the area and a number of informal discussions with traders, I was able to convince twenty women to take part in the study.

The interviews were conducted between October 1990 and February 1991¹¹. The interviews were semi-structured.

[A] Semi-structured Interviews

As an alternative to the structured or standardised interview using a combination of open and close-ended questions, semi-structured interviews can be used. The most common of these semi-

structured interviews is the focused interview which uses topics and hypotheses that are selected in advance. According to Runcie (1980) this method is one whereby several pre-identified topics, which are necessary to address the specificities of the research question, guide the respondent. But the respondent is not limited, and has the opportunity to identify and elaborate on areas that might not have been covered. The strength of this method lies in the belief that:

Qualitative analysis of a limited number of crucial communications may often yield better clues to a particular speaker at one moment in time than more standardised techniques" (George cited in Holsti, 1969: 7)

Bailey (1987) points out that a crucial element in the focused interview is the structure provided by interviewing people all of whom experience a particular event¹². Researchers study the event in advance, decide which aspect of it to probe and construct hypotheses. In this way even though the actual questions are not prepared in advance, the question content is.

* [B] The Research Process, Questions and Analysis

In order to address the specific research questions in this thesis the questions that the twenty women were asked fell into 4 general categories:

Firstly, women were asked a series of general questions on their family size and structure (for both nuclear and extended families), on their birthplace and their time of residence in Durban, on the amount and source of family income including their own wages, and on their educational background;

Secondly, all women were questioned on their wage work/ formal work history (if they were employed in the formal sector), about the type of work engaged in, hours of work and satisfaction with past jobs, and why they "left" their previous jobs.

Thirdly, I asked women about their work in the informal sector, length of time trading in the urban informal sector, satisfaction with the work, reason for opting for informal trading, hours of work, distances and time spent travelling to and from work daily, their incomes, their knowledge of changes in previously restrictive trading legislations, problems experienced and their employment preferences.

Finally, the women were asked questions on their living environment, child care facilities, domestic work, and their community life.

In accordance with most semi-structured interviews most of these tended to be in the form of conversations¹³ - rather than question and answer sessions. Although some of the interviews were in the form of question and answer sessions, especially if the interviews were being conducted during a busy period. Their length varied from half an hour to two hours and second interviews were conducted in some cases. Interviews were often stopped and continued at a later stage, often on another day, when the interviewees were less busy¹⁴.

The array of responses to the series of probes were qualitatively interpreted in the light of the research questions. In the first analysis of the data, following Cornwell (1984), I distinguished between *public* and *private* accounts. In the context of the interviews with women in the informal sector, public accounts refers to the information that the women freely provided. This included information about their work in the informal sector and the problems that they experienced. Private accounts refers to that information which the women were initially reluctant to provide and included information about children and relationships with spouses. At the beginning of the interviews the accounts were primarily public accounts. It was only later in the interview, often during the second interview, when the women were more comfortable with the interviewing process, that they gave

private accounts. It was also evident that the accounts that the women gave varied according to whether they were asked a direct question, which results in a public account, or asked to relay a story or describe an event, which was when they were likely to provide a private account¹⁵.

Cornwell (1984) provides a good explanation for the variation in the accounts. She argues that a subtle shift in power takes place in the relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee according to whether the interviewer is asking a question or encouraging the interviewee to tell a story or describe an event. In the first instance the relationship between the two is controlled by the interviewer, while in the second it is more controlled by the story-teller (Cornwell, 1984). When the interviewee was asked a series of questions she was constantly reminded of the unnaturalness of what she was doing, talking about herself to a stranger who was studying her. But when she was telling a story, her attention was more likely to be focussed on the story and the events that it contained rather than the audience. Hence, in the latter instance, they often shifted into a different and less self-conscious way of talking about the thoughts and feelings associated with their experience (Cornwell, 1984).

All the interviews in the case study contain both private and public accounts. As a result of the fact that public accounts were easier to access, they tended to predominate. However, the private accounts that were gleaned were crucial in elucidating the subtle changes in the appropriation of space and the ways in which the spatial and temporal boundaries between the productive and reproductive work that women engaged became less distinct. The discussion above suggests that the relationship between the researcher and the people that are being researched influences the type of account that is produced.

Interviews, like most other social encounters, invariably involve elements of "self presentation" and impression management for

both parties (Mackenzie, 1984). Awareness that the interview is a social relation is essential, as is awareness of one's own social position. During the interview with Mrs. Zuma, she constantly stopped me to ask me about my work, where I came from, and most importantly what I was going to do with the information that I collected. These questions made me very conscious of my own social position¹⁶.

Mackenzie (1984), when faced with a similar problem argued that constant consciousness of how we react to the fact that the people we interview have problems and make choices about their solutions which are similar to or different from our own is necessary to a sensitive interview. The problems of "representation" in relation to the entire research process is addressed in the last section.

3.3. CONCLUDING COMMENTS : the "problem" of 'representation'

The awareness of our social position (middle-class, Indian, post-graduate student) and the ways in which it affects our understanding of the worlds is important throughout the research process and not just when conducting interviews. Clifford (1986) makes the point that when we write we do so from a necessarily local setting. The worlds that we represent are stamped with our own particular sets of local interests, views and standards. Hence, in order to understand critically our own representations, and also those of others, it is important to know the kinds of factors that bear upon an author and that makes an account come out the way it does¹⁷ (Barnes and Duncan, 1992).

Clifford (1986: 6) provides a partial check for ethnographers that is also useful for geographers attempting to "represent" people: the social context from which the piece was written, the genre of which it is part (text book, scholarly article, newspaper piece), the institutional setting (audience, intellectual tradition, school of thought), the political

position that sustains the authority of the author (colonial administrator, Third World academic) and finally historical context that makes all the above factors contingent on particular times and places (Barnes and Duncan, 1992). Although there are no clear answers for answering the questions of how we may best represent the "other" there is value in approaching the problem by being conscious of and clearly articulating the position from which you speak.

It is now generally recognised that academics can never have access to or re-tell the 'truth' of other people's lives. To admit this is not to denigrate ethnographic data or this study for that matter. As Cloke et al (1991) point out it enables us to engage honestly with both the enchantment and the problems associated with researchers trying to gain access to insights into the worlds of "other peoples" in other places. However, it is important that the insights that emerge should not be collapsed into an account of how a group of people are different from us or are actually the same as us. Rather we should try and "let" them and their version of humanity be different. In so doing geography will celebrate the complexity and openness of the everyday lives of particular people in particular places (Gregory cited in Barnes and Duncan, 1992).

While I could not improve the material circumstances of the women in the case study, I hope that through my engagement with them, and in my attempts to "let them speak" in the text their needs and problems become more public and through this process have the potential to become realised. Mrs. Zuma points to a possible value of the study when she said:

"Maybe somebody will read what you write...you must write what we say so they will know how me and my friends live...maybe they will help us" (interview, 11:90).

In subsequent empirical chapters an attempt is made to follow Mrs. Zuma's suggestion. Chapter four traces the history of

women's participation in the urban informal sector as a context within which to situate the empirical findings presented in the chapters that follow. Where possible historical tendencies are traced through an examination of the ways in which the women in the Warwick Avenue Triangle experience the developments which occurred in the urban informal sector.

Notes

1. Questions similar to these re-emerged at a Conference on women and gender at the University of Natal in January 1990 when a group of (predominantly Black) activists questioned the right of academics with the vocabulary of the profession on behalf of black working class women. As Spivak (1990:121) points out there is always the tendency to say "I am only a white male I cannot speak for blacks" or I am only an Indian middle-class woman I cannot speak as a working-class woman. Spivak (1990:121) cautions that this sort of breast-beating stops the possibility of social change and she too stresses that it is important to overcome the subject object dichotomy.
2. She questioned my knowledge and assumed (perhaps justifiably), that as a result of my youth I lacked both the means and experience to be of any assistance to the women whom I was studying.
3. Although the experiences of the women interviewed may be similar to that of women in the informal sector in other areas, this thesis is sensitive to the differences and does not attempt to generalise and make "totalising" claims about women in the informal sector in general.
4. Although I thought I had "covered" the secondary sources when I began the research process. As I started the interviews I found that "new" questions continued to surface, and I had to continually return to the secondary sources for more data and to re-evaluate the framework I was building.
5. The INCH newspaper search is a service offered by the University of Orange Free State. At the University newspaper articles from all South Africa's national newspapers are categorised and coded by reference to a range of possible keywords pertaining to the article and stored on microfiche.
6. In this study the key words searched were informal sector, Durban, Deregulation, street-trading.
7. I began the search in 1983 because that was when the Durban's local authorities first began to recognise that a rethink on its policy towards the informal sector was necessary.
8. A number of short interviews were conducted with both men and women working in the Warwick Avenue Triangle. In addition I was given access to interviews schedules conducted a third year student. Twenty detailed semi structured interviews were conducted and a further 10 short interviews that were conducted in 1989 for my honours thesis were also used.
9. Since the success of the interview depended entirely on the willingness of the interviewee to participate, normal random sampling was regarded as not being appropriate in this study.
10. The women who trade in the Warwick Avenue Triangle come in to the areas from a number of places and it was practically impossible to interview the women in their homes as well. Information on their homes and their families were gleaned from detailed questions and a series of probes during the interviews.
11. I did not conduct many interviews in December because the women were very

busy in December and often did not have time to talk to me. In addition, the women told me that crime increases during the Christmas and that it was not safe. They suggested that I return in January. In fact the interviewing process was very difficult as a result of the high incidence of crime in the area. I was never comfortable and was always uneasy in the area.

12. It is, however, important to note that the way in which each individual experiences that particular event may differ.

13. According to Sayer (1984:18) knowledge concerns not only "what is the case" or "knowing that" but "know how", that is knowing how to do something, communicating successfully with others". I this regard rather than bias my study by interviewing only English-speaking women (my limited knowledge of Zulu being inadequate in) most of the interviews were conducted with the help of an interpreter.

14. As a result of the dynamic nature of the informal sector people often move around in search of trading spots where they are likely to earn more money. During the initial stages of fieldwork, I started ten interviews which I was going to include in the case study. However, these interviews were incomplete and I could not find the interviewees to complete the interview. Some of the information gleaned from these initial interviews have nevertheless, been included in the thesis.

15. Cornwell (1984) made a similar finding in her case study of lay health beliefs of people living in East London.

16. At the time I did not realise that I was grappling with a problem that most social scientists, particularly anthropologists and feminist authors, were grappling with (see Clifford and Marcus, 1986; Geertz, 1988; hooks, 1990; Jackson; 1991).

17. Also see hooks (1990) for an elaboration of the question of the politics of representation.

CHAPTER FOUR

WOMEN IN THE URBAN INFORMAL SECTOR IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY : THE CASE OF DURBAN¹

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter traces the history of women's participation in the informal sector in Durban² in order to situate the women in their historical and political context. During this process a number of contingent factors which affect the relation between the productive and reproductive activities of women, through time, will be identified. An attempt will be made to illustrate the ways in which the changing policies towards the informal sector, since the early twentieth century, have impacted on the lives of women in the informal sector.

While many of the social and economic processes examined occurred in all cities in South Africa, general processes were experienced in specific ways in specific localities. In addition the ways in which particular people contribute to and experience changing social and economic processes within the locality needs to be elucidated. In Durban, therefore, the nature of the work that women engaged in, in the informal sector, and the spaces that they appropriated for informal trading are integrally related to the local conditions and opportunities that prevailed during the twentieth century.

This chapter provides an overview of the development of the urban informal sector in Durban. The growth of the informal sector in the urban areas is related to the urbanisation process. Since the research question examines women in the informal sector, the specific impacts of urbanisation policy³ and other repressive policies on women, and their consequent location in the city will be highlighted. Thereafter it examines the specificities of the

work women do in the formal sector and the particular constraints on female-headed households as being important factors affecting the participation of women in the informal sector.

4.2 A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF FACTORS INFLUENCING WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN THE URBAN INFORMAL SECTOR

4.2.1 The First Decades of African Urbanisation : Informal trading - an anomaly in urbanisation policy

The period prior to 1925, saw the development of industrial capitalism in South Africa, with the role of the state being to provide for industrial development, through the provision of infrastructure, and labour by the means of the coercive migratory system. However, prior to 1910 there was no uniform policy with regards to Africans in urban areas and the management of African people was left in the hands of local authorities. The role of Durban's local authority during this period can be best defined as that of the "grand inhibitor" with essentially restrictive and policing functions as opposed to that of an instrument of social construction.

During the 1870's attitudes of the whites towards the increasing presence of African and Indian people in Durban were based on a sense of insecurity. Threats by Zulu 'social pests' and Indian traders or 'Asiatic menace' found expression in the introduction of systematic policies of separation, location pass systems and other restrictions. In 1904 approximately 28 percent of Durban's urban population were classified African - only 5 percent of which were women (Maylam, 1985).

The main form of labour during this period was *togt* labour on the docks. The '*togt*' labour system, instigated by Theophilus Shepstone, aimed to control the 'natives' in the towns and to check their freedom to come and go and demand wages as they pleased. A penal code was introduced to prevent disorderliness,

provocative language and 'indecent conduct'. The Vagrant Law (No. 15 of 1869) provided a legal mechanism which was used against Africans who remained out after 9 pm. without a pass. In addition the Identification of Native Servants Act of 1888 was amended in 1901 to allow for the increased control of Africans moving into the town (La Hausse, 1984).

The controls over urban African people, particularly the control extended through the passes were not as effective as envisaged. The five-day passes for 'visitors' were used by African work-seekers and a number of women and children. This pass frequently provided a means of permanent entry into towns - a consequence that was unintended by the authorities. Pass forgery, the swapping of passes and outright evasion led to the system being described as being 'useless' (La Hausse, 1984: 26). Attempts to relegate unemployed black people and women to the rural areas were therefore unsuccessful.

The African informal sector during the early period of African urbanisation represented a further anomaly that did not mesh with the official conception of the South African city. La Hausse (1984) reports that by 1902, between 300 and 400 Africans were taking out free five-day passes daily. The majority of those people who entered the town on a five-day pass brought in produce from the countryside for the purpose of sale in Durban. These traders hawked fowls, eggs, sticks, dagga, and to quote the Superintendent of Police, "anything to lead an idle life or to sponge upon their friends" (cited in La Hausse, 1984: 33). However, of all the informal traders it was beer brewers and prostitutes, that attracted the most attention from the local authority.

Between 1903 and 1910 there were numerous official reports on the 'very large number'⁴ of African women who entered the town on five-day passes who were not formally employed. For those people with no or little remaining ties with the land, the informal sector provided them with a means of earning a living. Apart from

beer brewing, prostitution provided urban African women with a means of subsistence. Since access to jobs in the urban areas were limited, many of the women who moved into the Durban were forced to brew beer in order to survive. Bradford (1984) contends that beer brewing was an attractive option for the newly urbanised women for a number of reasons:

Firstly, *utshwala*, was important to the men. It was "a core component of working class culture amongst Zulu speaking men" (Bradford, 1984: 10). They were the wage labourers with money to spend and the women were assured of a market for their commodity. Secondly, the sexual division of labour within the pre-colonial Zulu homestead had, traditionally allocated beer brewing to the women as a result it continued to be a familiar skill. Thirdly, beer brewing was relatively well remunerated and, finally, women were able to combine, spatially and temporally, their reproductive activity with a remunerative 'home-industry' in beer production.

Thus by brewing and selling beer the women were redefining the sets of 'natural' skills which they considered worthy of payment. Among Zulu-speaking people in Natal, the sexual division of labour allotted beer brewing to women. As a consequence of this the consumption of beer was frequently intertwined with the illicit enjoyment of sex.

The beer brewers, prostitutes and other casual workers such as those women who lived off trading in used clothes, home-sewn clothes, cooked food or laundry work (Wells, 1982; La Hausse, 1984) were described by the local authority as being "too footloose to discipline properly" (Cooper, 1983: 22). Cooper points out that, it was precisely because they were not engaged in formal capital-labour wage relations and did not live in municipally provided and controlled barracks, that they were more difficult to control. Many lived in stables, rickshaw sheds, backyards and rented rooms and in so doing avoided the time-space discipline imposed on waged labour (La Hausse, 1984).

'Home', for many of the brewers was the same space that accommodated living, working and selling: that is productive and reproductive activity. This involved an adjustment of their organisation of time to include the provision of goods and services to their families as well as work in the home for pay. In addition, resources and skills available in the 'private' sphere of the 'home' were now used to carry out remunerative activities.

Although these women were often forced into a peripheral position spatially as well as in terms of their visibility, they were not insignificant in either moral or economic terms as far as the local authority was concerned (Friedman, 1987). As the urbanisation of Africans increased, in the context of the dominant ideology which affirmed the *temporary* status of Africans in the towns, the issue of female urbanisation and that of a burgeoning beer trade were seen by Durban's white population as being increasingly interconnected (Bradford, 1984). This meant that those women who persisted in beer brewing risked harassment by male police and bore the brunt of intrusive raids on their 'living space'. Nevertheless, women through their informal sector activities, though illegal, were contributing to the creation of a new urban resource.

The introduction of the Native Beer Act of 1908 - the 'Durban System' - was the first formal legislation by the Natal Parliament with the expressed aim of providing for a more 'positive' measure to control urban 'native' affairs⁵. This act attempted to suppress informal brewing by introducing a municipal trading monopoly on the sale and production of 'kaffir beer'. Beer revenues, paid into a municipal Native Administration Fund, became the key financial support of a comprehensive programme of control. The local authorities' monopoly on beer brewing, through the creation of beer halls, served to reinforce male domination. The supply of alcohol was now divorced from sex thus adversely affecting the incomes of prostitutes. In addition

women's position in the economy was minimised, and their dependence on waged labour intensified. The Durban System further served to extend the coercive and influx control provisions of the old togt system and made possible the cheapening of social costs of African labour in the towns, particularly by providing barrack and hostel accommodation for African workers.

In 1916 the local authority in Durban introduced the Native Affairs By-laws - which laid down precise procedures for work registration, passes and contracts of services - to enhance the control measures evident in the Act of 1908. The enforcement of strict influx control measures were particularly harsh on African women. There were few other job opportunities besides beer brewing available to African women. Thus many women and young girls faced deportment. In official terms the status of African women was clear. If they wore European clothes they were prostitutes and had no right in Durban (DCL. No. 647, cited in La Hausse, 1984). The categorisation of these women's activities as illegal by the dominant ideology made them extremely susceptible to police enforcement of 'the law'. However, despite attempts by the local state to eliminate these unsavoury elements from the towns (see La Hausse, 1984; Edwards, 1989), beer brewing and prostitution by African women remained a fact of urban African life for at least the following two decades.

Despite the limitations of the Durban System in preventing large-scale African urbanisation⁶, the control measures operating in Durban since the early 1900's were used as a model on which National policy on African urbanisation was based. The first attempt to systematise and regulate the influx of African people on a national basis was provided by the Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923, on the recommendation of the Stallard Commission Report. The infamous dictum of this commission's report is that the African is required in the cities for the sole purpose of administering to the needs of the Whites and once they cease to do so they should depart therefrom. The act aimed to limit the size of the African population in the urban areas according to

the labour needs of the particular area - hence attempting to curb the illegal production and sale of beer and prostitution within the urban areas. Control mechanisms included the registration of service contracts, temporary permits to seek work, the expulsion of the unemployed 'idle or disorderly' people, and the medical examination of urban Africans (La Hausse, 1984).

Through the introduction of the 1923 Native Urban Areas Act, other municipalities were now empowered to follow the Durban example and establish Native Revenue Accounts and restrict the domestic manufacture and consumption of liquor by Africans. The act also required the municipalities to make provision for mass housing and for the segregation and regulation of the lives of African people (Bradford, 1984).

As the size of the African population in Durban increased, and the nature of the population changed from a predominantly male to a more family based composition, the need for accommodation in the urban areas became apparent. Although beer revenues earned through the Durban System facilitated the construction of townships and therefore could represent the first reconstructive effort of the part of the local authority, the sphere of reproduction for African people was largely neglected. The state, both local and national, had never been in favour of spontaneous African urbanisation and believed that the provision of housing would further encourage African urbanisation. Consequently, the provision of housing had to be restricted. This too was in accordance with the recommendations of the Stallard Commission which stated that in the urban areas the African people should be mere objects of administration, subject to the arbitrary powers of the state. Despite attempts to control African urbanisation, African people continued to enter the urban areas in fairly large numbers (Friedman, 1987) .

During the 1940's and 1950's there was a massive influx of Africans, particularly women into Durban. These women left the

rural areas for a number of reasons:

The main category of migrants were second wives, who were not supported, and younger daughters of farm workers and labour tenants who did not have work and wanted to escape the authority of fathers and farmers (Yawitch, 1984). Inadequate health and medical facilities in rural areas encouraged women to remain in the urban areas where health-care facilities were available. Male spouses often failed to send money to a rural home, or women on hearing of their husband's infidelity would move into the urban areas with their children. Finally, women were often tragically dislocated from the country-side and were forced into the towns in the hope of making a new life for themselves. Edwards (1989) notes that many of these women did not move as part of a family but as individuals. The local authorities continued to associate the presence of single African women in the city with increasing unruliness. The reasons women migrate to the city indicate that the migration of women to the urban areas is not merely related to factors of production but that social relations of gender are equally important.

Mrs. Y's.⁷ case is illustrative of the processes cited above. She used to come to Durban from Umzinto during the early 1950's. Initially the primary purpose of her trips was to visit her husband who worked for a construction company. "I used to visit him if he did not send money for a long time" (interview, 11:1990). She used these visits as an opportunity to earn "some extra money" by selling beans and *amadumbe*⁸ which she grew on the farm. But unlike many of the other women Mrs. Y. always returned to the farm after a week.

However, when her husband fell ill and lost his job the visits to the city became more frequent and the duration of each trip was much longer "until I sold all the goods". The frequent trips to the city, to sell beans and *amadumbe*, became crucial to the subsistence of the family. Mrs. Y. could no longer rely on the income of her husband. To her the city represented "the place

where people had money. People did not have money in the farms." (interview; 11:1990). In order to survive she came to Durban regularly despite the threat of fines and imprisonment.

Despite the illegal status of women in the urban areas and the numerous constraints on their mobility, they devised a number of ingenious methods utilizing their limited resources in order to subsist. Hence the roots of a viable urban informal sector were firmly sown in the Durban areas. The type of activities that these women were engaged in was not very different from that in the earlier years. Petty trading, beer brewing, laundry and domestic work continued to be prominent income earning activities. The *Ilanga lase Natal* reports that there was also a predominance of prostitution:

"an expert in morals revealed that Africans are the worst in morals. The expert said that there are 700 prostitutes in Durban, a ratio of 1 white: 17 African prostitutes" (*Ilanga Lase Natal*, 22/3/1947, cited in Friedman, 1987)

This "expert's" opinion does not take cognisance of the fact that the main factor forcing women into illegal and informal means of subsistence during this period was the lack of casual work and the difficulties experienced by African women in obtaining trading licenses.

Edwards (1989) quotes a persistent and well-established informal operation run by women from the Umbumbulu region during the 1940's. They would set up stalls outside the men's hostel in Dalton Road bartering poultry, goats, fruit and vegetables and woven baskets. They were reported to trade these goods for anything. Mrs. Y. also sometimes traded in Dalton Road:

"It was not easy to sell there, we were tired of the police chasing us all the time... we moved around all the time. I used to sell door-to-door in Malvern so that (the police) would not take our goods away and fine us...They (the police) want to take away our

only means to live. We had to work very hard for our children." (interview, 11:1990)

But, by the mid 1950's, Edwards points out, the operation in Dalton Road had virtually disappeared. Mrs. Zuma who also traded in Dalton Road for a short while, attributes this to the fact that it was too dangerous to work there during that time. She stopped working there because "the police knew we were there and we always lost money through fines" (Mrs. Zuma, 11:1990). Mrs. Zuma stressed that even though she stopped working in Dalton Road she did not stop trading in the city. She and many of her friends moved around Durban trading in different places so as to avoid being fined. For most of the women work in the informal sector was a means to an end. Its importance is evident in the numerous struggles they waged against the authorities who tried to repress their activities.

To many women, particularly those whose children were with them in the urban areas⁹, work in the informal sector involved working from home, thus facilitating a combination of reproductive and productive work in time and space. According to the ideologue of the local authority, the presence of "unruly" women in the urban area decreased the productivity of the male African labour force, and women neglected their "ordinary" duties and left their huts to go routing about the country, drinking beer. It was believed that they even used beer to wean their children (cited in Bradford 1987). Clearly the authorities objected strongly to the social consumption and production of beer by women because it undermined their patriarchal imaginative geography which situated women firmly in the home in the rural areas. Thus while the women experienced their activities as being complementary with their roles as mothers, the municipal authority conceptualised their two roles as being contradictory.

Despite continuous repression and harassment the informal sector became an important urban resource and women had etched out their place as prominent informal sector workers in the South African city. In the next section, which examines the development of the

urban informal sector in the era of Verwoedian apartheid, the persistence of some, and the emergence of further considerations, that shape women's participation in the informal sector are identified.

4.2.2 Verwoedian Apartheid : Lack of accommodation and employment for women

This section examines women's participation in the urban informal sector in Durban from 1950 onwards. Lack of accommodation and employment for women became more prevalent as contributing factors. The effects of these problems were particularly burdensome on women who were the heads of their households.

It was during this period when the relationship between the productive and reproductive lives of women was altered most. The 1950's and 1960's were characterised by the building of massive public housing schemes for black people and the mass removal of large numbers of people as a result of the introduction of the Group Areas Act in 1960. The fact that "housing policy emphasised a direct relationship between employment and residence and the direct authority of managers and bureaucrats over residential space" (Cooper, 1983: 29) was reflected in the housing schemes of the 1950's. It is ironic that despite the fact that women, in their roles as wives and mothers are the primary users of space both in the local community and in their homes, their particular needs were ignored in the planning of public housing for black people.

The productive and reproductive lives of women in the urban areas were severely affected by a combination of factors. Important amongst these factors were the lack of jobs for African people in the urban areas, the drastic shortage of housing particularly for women, influx control measures, and the marriage pre-requisite for moving into 'family'¹⁰ accommodation in public housing, for example as in Kwa Mashu. More specifically the fact that more

African men than women were in legal employment together with the fact that more accommodation was made available to men, either in the form of family accommodation or single-sexed hostels, meant that many single women with children and extended families did not qualify for family accommodation. Thus women's tenuous position in the urban areas as "illegal aliens" was exacerbated by the gender biases of housing policy.

Those women who did not have access to any form of accommodation were deported. As a last resort a large number of women lived as lodgers in the townships or in informal shack settlements. Bourquin, an ex-director of Bantu Administration in Natal, was opposed to this practice and argued that the tenuous position of these women encouraged prostitution (6/11/80). This contention is reinforced by Preston-Whyte (1978) who argued that the paucity of either family or hostel accommodation for women in the urban areas forced women into the shack settlement where they devised ingenious, often illegal, strategies, both economic and social, to survive. In the shack settlements which were far less controlled than the townships, illegal informal sector activities thrived. Yawich (1984) points out, in her study of Cato Manor, that it was precisely because these areas were unplanned and uncontrolled, that they served as havens for all those who were illegally in the urban areas or whose livelihood contravened the multitude of rules and regulations that governed the lives of African people. Cato Manor, a large informal settlement on the periphery of the city of Durban, was home to a large number of "shebeen queens". Thus there seemed to be a link between the nature of the accommodation and the nature of the work engaged in. 'Illegal' informal sector activities were reported to thrive in the informal shack settlements (Edwards, 1990; Friedman, 1987; Preston-Whyte, 1978).

The late 1950's was characterised by extremely strict controls on the activities and movement of African people. This was particularly harsh for women who were for the first time subject to the full impacts of the national policy of influx control.

This meant that their tenuous position in the city was exacerbated by the fact that they faced eviction unless they were in registered employment or had achieved 'urban rights'¹¹. For women, resident domestic service was the one of a few options available to them. Preston-Whyte (1991) points out that as resident domestic workers they were able to solve two of the major problems facing urban migrants - lack of housing and the scarcity of formal employment for women

Prior to the late 1950's domestic workers in most South African cities were male (see Gaitskell, 1983). This was so despite gender stereotypes which suggests that domestic work is 'naturally' women's work. In the colonial city African men were regarded as being racially inferior, hence suitable for domestic labour. It was only once men moved into better-paid occupations in industry, that women moved into this realm of work (Preston-Whyte, 1991).

Many women who illegally brewed beer, relied on domestic work. As independent and single women these shebeen queens, as a result of the prohibition on domestic brewing combined with the prioritisation of 'family' housing, were forced to become domestic workers in order to remain in Durban's 'legal' space (Friedman, 1987; Preston-Whyte, 1991). However, the relative haven offered by domestic work was accompanied by new kinds of controls and dependence. For instance, the spouses of married domestic servants were not allowed to reside in servants quarters (Bourquin 6/11/1980). There was also strict rules pertaining to friends' entertainment and curfew hours (Wells, 1982).

As a result of the exploitative nature of domestic work and the extremely low wages, many women were forced to devise other means - often from the informal sector - to supplement their meager incomes (see Preston-Whyte, 1991). They used their time while employed in domestic service to learn new skills such as sewing, crocheting and knitting by copying patterns of employers' goods. Bozzoli (1991a) illustrates how women, who were cut off from the

rural economy and the raw materials for weaving and potting (for example, clay, reeds), utilised local sources of raw materials in order to supplement their meager wages. For many women the importance of the skills that they developed during their lives as domestic workers were realised later in their life-cycle, when they were unable to find employment. As Mrs. B. who sells clothing in the Warwick Avenue Triangle said

"...thank God we can sew ...when we had no job we could sew and sell here (in the informal sector)..." (interview, 01:1991).

Other women used the "contacts" that they made while in domestic service in their present informal sector work. Ellah is one of those women who relies on the contacts that she made with "madams" who help her out:

"I could not get more work. But I know a lot of the madams where I worked and when I go there they have a lot of old clothes for me...they keep it for me. I sell it here and make money" (Ellah, 01:1991)

Single women, and women who avoided full proletarianisation, seemed to be among those who suffered most as a result of influx and urbanisation controls. These women were forced to move from 'illegal' shack to illegal shack - resorting to beer brewing and selling and/or prostitution in order to subsist. These were the people who were unaccounted for; the people who had disappeared. Bourquin (18/10/79) noted that 12 000 to 15 000 people who did not qualify to live in Kwa Mashu were unaccounted for. Some of these women moved around continuously to evade deportment and are now the women who now live 'openly' on the streets in the cities.

In summary, the Stallard doctrine which emphasised the temporary status of African people in the urban areas and the lack of casual work for women played an important role in shaping women's participation in the urban informal sector during the initial years of African urbanisation in Durban.

Since the early 1970's, an increasing proportion of African women did find work in the formal waged labour. In the next section I will examine the types of waged labour that women were employed in, in order to understand why some women prefer informal sector employment. This next section deviates from the narrative and chronological format adopted thus far in this chapter to examine the particularities of women and wage work and female-headed households in greater detail.

4.3 SPECIFIC CHARACTERISTICS OF URBAN AFRICAN WOMEN

4.3.1. Women and Waged Work

Between 1970 and 1985 the proportion of women employed in formal wage employment in South Africa has increased from 33% to 36% (Budlender, 1991). Despite this increase women have remained disadvantaged. They have tended to congregate within certain sectors of the economy and have occupied certain positions within these sectors. Women have generally been confined to those sectors involved in the production of food, clothing and services - often doing a waged version of the same type of work that they do in the home. That this small group of manufacturing activities should constitute particularly 'women's work' is commonly attributed to their 'low-wage' and 'unskilled' character or to sex stereotypes which depict women as having 'nimble fingers', visual acuity, and to be 'naturally' more suited to tedious, repetitive or monotonous work (Martin and Rogerson, 1984). When this interpretation is set against the fact that skill categories are not determined objectively, but are rather based on fixed predetermined notions of the constitution of the gender category woman, one finds that women do 'unskilled' jobs purely because they enter the labour market as a predetermined reserve army of labour.

The fact that women concentrate in unskilled and semi-skilled categories of work means that women have had little or no "on-

the-job" training. Heyzer (1981) points out that in the garment industry, where women predominate as employees, it is possible to master the skills required in six weeks. This short training period overlooks an important aspect of women's labour. The skills that women have that are necessary in the garment industry, like the often quoted 'nimble fingers', is not a natural attribute. On the contrary these are skills that women acquire within the household over many years and are necessary skills that they require to perform tasks that are socially appropriate to women's role (Heyzer, 1981). The manual dexterity that women possess require years of training which is invisible because it is carried out within the confines of the household. Women are able to easily transfer these skills to assembly operations, but because they are treated as innate qualities, the jobs that make use of them are classified as unskilled or semi-skilled (Heyzer, 1981).

In addition, the availability of economic opportunities for women has varied spatially as well. Budlender's (1991) figures illustrate that generally the lack of opportunities for women relative to men is greatest in the rural areas and bantustans - areas where women predominate. A study conducted in the mid 1980's by May and Rankin (1990) in Kwa Mashu illustrates the effects of gender on the economic status of men and women in the Bantustan area. This study indicates that generally a larger percentage of men than women were employed in the formal economy. The situation for women worsened the further they lived from the metropolitan areas, whereas the situation for men remained virtually unchanged. Many women leave the rural areas and bantutans and squat in or near the urban areas in the hope of finding employment. In the absence of formal employment the informal sector is often an alternative. For many women the informal sector is 'the only alternative' as a result of the lack of opportunities in the formal sector.

However, it is the contention here that the decision of women to move into the urban informal sector is based on a combination of

circumstances and beliefs. The disadvantages of women in formal employment are well known. Women often receive lower wages than men do, despite doing the same job¹². Even when they do different jobs, the jobs women engage in are accorded lower value. Furthermore, for African women promotion and training opportunities are restricted compared to that offered to men (Budlender, 1991).¹³

In addition to discrimination in relation to wages, discrimination also occurs in relation to other benefits such as pensions, long service bonuses and promotion. Women are also more likely than men to be employed in areas that fall outside the normal contract governing other workers, for example when they are employed as temporary, casual, or menial workers (Budlender, 1991). As a result women are more likely to be retrenched than their male counterparts.

The employment of women is often interrupted for varying periods by marriage, pregnancy and childbearing. Zandile, a Durban women explains how her productive work was affected by her reproductive work:

"I used to work in the factory as a cleaner, but when I married my husband did not want me to work. He said that I must take care of the children. Now he has left and I have to find money to feed and clothe my three children. I worked for a few months but I was retrenched" (interview, 01:1991).

A further factor that results in many women being unable to secure good jobs in the formal sector is education. During the course of the interviews a number of the women expressed their dismay over their lack of education¹⁴ and attributed their inability to obtain a well-paying job to this fact. Anastasia who left school when she was in standard six said that she tried unsuccessfully to get a job:

"nobody will hire you if you do not have an education. Even if you have a matric it is

hard to get a good job" (interview. 11:1990)

From the interviews with women working in the Warwick Avenue Triangle, it was evident that some women believed that the informal sector an opportunity to "make a lot of money during hard times". Others enjoyed working in the informal sector because it offers them "the opportunity to be their own boss", to be "independent", to "come and go" as they please, or more importantly to combine child care with earning an income (interviews). However, many women particularly those who are sole providers in the household, are unlikely to prosper from these activities. Since the majority of the women interviewed were heads of their households and sole breadwinners of the family, the factors that affect the participation of these women in the informal sector will now be examined.

4.3.2. Women-Headed Households

Information on women-headed households in South Africa is scarce and the numbers of female-headed households are under-estimated. This is primarily because the head is considered to be a male responsible for the family. Women are only considered to be heads of the household if they are widowed or single. In this study a woman is also defined as the head of the household if she is the primary income generator.

One of the main reason for women getting involved in informal sector activities deals with the poverty of female-headed households, the need for supplementary incomes and the flexibility of informal sector work. Cross and Preston-Whyte (1983) have suggested that members of female-headed households are more likely to work in the informal sector than as waged earners. Regardless of whether they live with a spouse or partner women who are the head of the household, experience additional constraints on their work and life. Dingeni's situation is not unique:

"Only I work. I look after my in-laws and my children. I have to make a lot of money to feed everyone and to send the children to school. I cannot work in the factory..I do not have education and I am unhealthy. But when I work here I can do other things to make money too" (interview 01:1991).

Members of female-headed households become involved in the informal sector as a long term survival strategy and as a means of survival on a daily basis. In this study the majority of the women interviewed were the sole providers of their households. As single breadwinners with child care responsibilities, and few formal employment opportunities, women's work in the informal sector is an important source of economic survival (Friedman and Hambridge, 1991).

While for some women informal sector work is necessary for survival, for others it is a way of making money when needed. Hence women move in and out of the informal sector depending on specific goals and the stage they have reached in the household domestic and reproductive cycle (see Bozzoli, 1991). To quote Preston-Whyte and Nene (1984: 27)

"It is as women grow older and are no longer living in the extended family that they face economic crisis and move into outside money making. The burden of motherhood tends also to increase as children reach school-going age and a number of informants, in fact, noted that it was a desire to educate their children which lay behind their money making".

For other women who have been forced to live in extended families because of the housing policy which discriminated against single women, the desire to have a home is another need which drives them into the informal sector. Dingeni explains:

"I do many things here. I sell food, vegetables which I grow in the farm. I want to make enough money to build my house in Kwa Mashu. I want to bring my children from the

farm to live with me" (interview, 12:1990)

4.4. CONCLUDING COMMENTS

A brief overview of the historical development of women's participation in the urban informal sector in Durban was the subject of this chapter. The underlying objective of the chapter was to identify significant tendencies and possible causal connections among contingent events. This endeavour began by arguing that in order to understand women and their work in the informal sector historically and contemporarily it was necessary to examine the relationship between their productive and reproductive activities. By historically tracing the development of the urban informal sector and women's participation therein, the processes of change in this relationship were examined. The process of change was in part as a result of women's actions.

In Durban and indeed in other cities in South Africa the racial ideologies together with the discriminatory race laws which define black men as cheap waged workers and women as supplementary workers and housewives has been a key factor in determining both the availability of economic opportunities open to black women and the activities that they engage in. In addition to the productive and reproductive activities and their time-space patterns of black women, they were restricted by a host of urbanisation and labour controls which forced them into hidden and illegal spheres in order to survive.

The ideology of sex roles which define women in terms of their being house wives assumes that women must be dependent on their husband's income. This belief has additional implications for those women who are not wives, that is the single, separated divorced or widowed women. As a result of the absurdity of this ideology, these women as primary earners, are forced to operate in a labour market that assumes a secondary status for them, and treats them as such in terms of wages, access to pension and

other welfare benefits. In order to cope they have had to devise imaginative ways to earn a living, that enable them to combine their child care responsibilities with money-making strategies. The case of beer brewing illustrates this.

Throughout the twentieth century, women have been coming into the city to trade informally and illegally. Despite strict urbanisation controls particularly on African women, the threat of fines, deportment and imprisonment, this did not curb the growth of an urban informal sector. It is not surprising that as illegal occupants of the city, they resort to illegal practices in order to survive. During this early period - pre 1985 - as a result of the illegal¹⁵ definition of informal sector activities street-selling, although being evident as part of the urban informal sector, was relegated to the peripheries and squatter settlements. In Durban the area around the Dalton Road hostel and the back streets of the "Indian" central business district were popular trading areas since the 1940's - spaces that were "hidden". It has been only in recent years that this activity has become a visible feature of the built environment.

Having provided a brief history of women's participation in the urban informal sector, the next chapter examines the recent changes in the informal sector in Durban. The ways in which women contributed to and experienced the changes in policy towards the urban informal sector is the specific focus in chapter five.

Notes

1. A thorough analysis of the multifaceted complexities of African social life in Durban is beyond the scope of this thesis. My primary intention here is to raise crucial issues which are important to understanding the development of the urban informal sector and women's position therein.
2. The chapter examines general trends in the development of the urban informal in Durban. However, where possible I use case study material to elucidate the changes as experienced by particular women.
3. The subject of African urbanisation has been extensively dealt with by social scientists (see Maylam, 1983; La Hausse, 1984; 1982; McCarthy and Smit, 1984; 1988; Mabin, 1989). Thus this chapter does not repeat the exercise by providing a thorough analysis of African urbanisation. It does, however provide a brief overview of the states urbanisation policy in order to provide a context within which the central issues of the chapter are located.
4. However, one must note that there were relatively few African women in Durban in the early 1900's. Those women who did move into the towns did so to escape poverty, or the burden of agricultural labour, or on five day passes.
5. These controls generated their own contradictions and there were many protests and boycotts in 1913, 1929, 1956. See Bradford, (1987) for a detailed account of the 1929 beer protest in the Natal countryside and Yawich (1984) for an account of the 1956 beer protest in Natal.
6. In 1918 the African population of Durban was estimated at over 20 000, by 1921 it had risen to 29 011 (Natal Regional Survey, The Durban Housing Survey)
7. The names used in the text are the names by which the women wanted to be known. As a result there is no consistency.
8. *Amadumbe* is a Zulu word for yams.
9. Friedman (1987) points out that it is unclear whether many of the women cared for their own children or whether the children were sent 'home' to the rural areas.
10. In their discussion of housing policy both Bourquin 6/11/80 and Cooper (1983) appear to relate a specific 'family' form (that is, monogamous, 'nuclear' couple with one or more children) with a certain household structure. In South Africa in the 1950's as a result of polygamous unions and the impact of migrant labour system meant that by the 1950's the reality of many African women's and men's lives was a far cry from the nuclear family model.
11. Urban rights were only granted to people who could prove that they were born in the city or have lived in the city for a long period of time. This excluded many of the women who were recent migrants in Durban.
12. An example of this is the male:female differential for tea-makers, where women earned on average less than three quarters the male wage. This occurs despite the fact that there are 433 women employed as tea-makers and only 138 men (Budlender, 1991)

13. Budlender (1991) in her report on Women and the economy, provides a more comprehensive account of the discriminatory practices against women in different sectors of the economy.

14. For those women who were lucky to receive an education, the policy of mission education that trained young African girls in domestic skills such as sewing, and cooking limit their "choice" of formal employment to low paying jobs that are semi-skilled or unskilled.

15. In South Africa the division between legal and illegal activities has been crucial in both the shaping of and appropriation of spaces. The definition of spaces - either legal or illegal - continually changes. This reveals the uncertainty of who actually defines urban society and how.

CHAPTER FIVE

EFFECTS OF LOCAL POLICY CHANGES TOWARDS THE URBAN INFORMAL SECTOR ON WOMEN WORKING IN THE WARWICK AVENUE TRIANGLE¹

Natal had a history of playing the role of a catalyst for South African change..." (*Daily News*, 2:08:1986).

Durban is one city which has sensibly shown tolerance (towards the informal sector) (*Natal Mercury*, 20:02:1986).

5.1. INTRODUCTION

The dramatic growth of the urban informal sector since the early 1980's has forced local authorities to re-evaluate this sector in the light of the contribution it can make to solving the problems of unemployment and poverty. This reappraisal is conveyed in the following optimistic statement by the Research Officer of the Durban Municipality Town Planning Branch, Mr. Peter Bendheim:

".... small business such as street-trading are among an archipelago of economic opportunities within the city; one stage in a continuum which leads from the pavements to the boardroom of multinational companies" (Quoted in *Financial Mail*, 20:11:1987)

Durban's planners hoped that street-traders, would add colour and vitality to the 'streetscape' as part of their proposed plans to enhance the city's appeal to tourists. Mr. Bendheim's viewpoint represents a far-cry from previous attitudes held by national state and municipal authorities, who regarded the street-trader as 'anti-developmental', a blot on the urban landscape and the antithesis of a modern urban environment (Rogerson, 1988).

The change in official policy towards the informal sector is

evident in most South African cities². There are now many enclaves in parts of these cities where increasing numbers of people, many of whom are women, openly and now 'legally' pursue informal sector activities³. The Warwick Avenue Triangle is an example of such an enclave where people's informal sector activities have helped re-construct the urban landscape beyond recognition.

This chapter is divided into two broad sections. The first section examines the changing policies towards street-trading in Durban since the early 1980's. In the second section the implications of these policy changes on the lives of women in the informal sector in the Warwick Avenue Triangle⁴ will be discussed. To a great extent traders, through their perseverance, were instrumental in forcing the local authority of Durban to rethink their policy towards informal sector trading in the city. Particular attention is paid to the ways in which the actions of the people trading in the city have contributed to the policy changes.

5.2 CHANGING POLICY TOWARDS THE URBAN INFORMAL SECTOR IN DURBAN

5.2.1. Reasons for Policy Changes : Resilience of women who traded in the city in the early 1980's

The meaning of places and spaces is often bound into specific forms of power and resistance. This is especially true of those spaces in the South African city where informal sector activities predominate. The significance of these spaces are intricately related to both violent attempts by the local authority to control and restrict the emergence of the urban informal sector, and the painful struggles of the people who work there for a place of their own.

The experience of the street-trader in Durban prior to 1983 was

similar to that of traders elsewhere in South African urban areas. Harassment by city officials, regular arrests and fines were common experiences of street-traders. Mrs. Kamala Pillay described hawking in the early 1980's as follows:

"Its like being on the run...When they (the police) come we leave our merchandise and run. Every time the police make a swoop we lose a lot of money" (*Daily News*, 5:4:1981).

Despite losses through confiscated goods and fines, the abuse assault and continual police harassment, the street-traders were defiant and resisted removals. It was often women who individually or collectively resisted attempts by the police to remove informal traders. Mrs. Zuma (see Appendix 1) who traded for about thirty years, outside the market, explains:

"Our livelihoods were at stake. The men could find other jobs. It was harder for us women. We could not let the police push us out of business" (interview, 11:1990) .

This suggests that while street-trading is marginal to the 'general' economy of Durban, it was crucial to the survival of the women, especially if they were sole income earners. To these women who had no means of survival in the urban areas, the constant threat of prosecution was regarded as less of a burden than the threat of starvation. Irene's attitude towards the frequent police raids on street-traders is representative of that of many of the women interviewed:

"...if the police caught us that's too bad. They took our goods away and fined us. But we come back the next day. We have to sell otherwise we starve...anything is better than starving" (interview, 11:1990).

Mrs. Mathombi was more forceful in her attempt to defend her right to trade in the informal sector and was reported as promising to "... match the police with action" if they tried to force her to stop trading in the urban area (*Daily News*, 5:4:1981).

As a result of determination by street-traders to continue trading and the increasing cost of policing areas where informal traders work, Durban's authorities and planners realised that it was simply not possible to bring a forceful end to informal trading. The presence of street-traders in the urban areas did not conform to the authority's conception of what the city should look like. Nevertheless, the need to include street-traders in the proposed renewal plans of the city had to be acknowledged. To some extent the women were able to make a difference to their lives by continuing to trade in the area and by resisting attempts to have them removed.

The move towards a new dispensation for street-trading in Durban commenced early in the 1980's when the local authority realised that there was a need to control and spatially contain the fast growing informal sector. By this period the influx control legislation were proving to be ineffective in curbing the massive influx of African people to the city. As a result of escalating urban unemployment, the droves of job-seekers who entered the city daily were forced to look towards the informal sector for their daily subsistence. Informal trading became a visible feature along the major commuting routes or "gateways" of the city⁵. The increasing numbers of street-traders in the early 1980's in these areas changed the urban landscape to such a great extent that a newspaper reporter describe the Berea Station as "A whole new world" (*Daily News*, 9:4:1981). Fears by the local authority that this "new world" was going to penetrate into other parts of the city resulted in the initiation of a new policy towards the urban informal sector.

The next section examines the changes in national policy towards the urban informal sector, as a context within which to examine local changes.

5.2.2. From 'Social Pests' to Urban Entrepreneurs

It was three years after Durban had initiated a reconceptualisation of informal trading in the urban areas before central government began to reconceptualise the role of the informal sector at a national level. The 1987 White Paper on Privatisation and Deregulation represented the first attempt to 'relax' previous restrictions imposed on informal trading by the national government (South Africa, 1987). It is ironic that according to this policy it was precisely those 'informal' illegal activities that were once seen as threatening to urban control that now were defined as being important to resolving urban problems through the creation of employment.

The White Paper on Privatisation and Deregulation stressed the importance of 'encouraging entrepreneurship' amongst South Africa's informal sector operators. According to this policy, one way in which this was to be achieved was through the removal of certain rules and regulations governing various areas of the economy. Deregulation was seen as an economic reform measure that will "maximise the process for stability rather than undermine it" (Morris and Padayachee, 1988: 7). Hence the White Paper stressed that:

"... the approach to deregulation must emphasise the promotion of economic activities and be less directed towards their control" (South Africa, 1987: 13).

The ways in which this was to be achieved has been left to the initiative of municipal authorities with the role of the national government being confined to removing some of the pieces of restrictive national legislation. In this regard, It became evident that central areas of the city - those zones of greatest market potential - had to be opened up for trading opportunities for members of the poorest urban population (Rogerson, 1989). This meant that it was up to the local authorities to eliminate the range of well-established controls and regulations that had persecuted street-traders throughout the country for decades. The

next section examines the process of deregulation in Durban.

5.2.3. From Illegal Street-trading to Legal Street-trading in Designated 'Immune Zones'

In Durban the move towards a new definition of the "hawker problem" commenced in 1983, even before the introduction of the policies of Orderly Urbanisation and Deregulation, when the City Engineers Department launched an investigation into informal trading in the city. According to Bendheim (interview, 11:90) the impetus for this report was provided by the increased visibility of unemployment in the city in the form of a booming informal sector and consequent increased police harassment of street-traders. Thus recognition of the need to address the problem resulted in the production of the 1984 Hawker Report on the extent, location and policy options for street-trading in Durban. (Durban, 1984).

The Hawker Report points out that there were a number of ordinances, acts and by-laws operating at the levels of central, provincial and municipal government that restricted street-traders and rendered their activities illegal. One of the most important conclusions of this report was its acknowledgement that in order to plan for what was now recognised as the inevitable growth of street-trading in Durban, the illegal status of the street-trader had to be re-evaluated.

At the level of national government the 1945 Black (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act (as amended) and the 1950 Group Areas Act (as amended) were the main pieces of legislation which contained clauses that restricted street-traders. Both these acts ensured that neither black street-traders nor black small scale manufacturers were allowed access to the more viable trading or manufacturing points in the city. The 1945 Black (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act ensured that Black people who wished to operate small businesses in their "own urban areas" were also

subject to a number of restrictions. This included the need for a license issued by the local authority or ministerial consent to hawk. These licenses were reportedly difficult to obtain (Rogerson and Hart, 1989).

The Natal Ordinance 11/1973 further restricted street-traders. The aim of this provincial legislation which related to hawkers could be summarised as follows:

It attempted to prevent competition between formal fixed businesses and hawkers by restricting the hawking of goods within 100 metres of a fixed business. In addition hawkers were not allowed to take up fixed stands. Hawkers were to occupy a site for fifteen minutes and then move on to another spot twenty-five meters away. No sales point could be occupied on the same day. Furthermore, the legislation served to limit the numbers of hawkers by clearly stipulating that all hawkers were to be in possession of a suitable license to hawk sell or trade.

While the above two pieces of legislation generally restricted street-traders, it was the Durban City Street-trading By-laws (Section J6) that were the most specific comprehensive legislative statutes that totally outlawed street-trading in the city. These by-laws spatially prohibited any form of trading in both the Central Business District and in the outlying peripheral zones of Durban. In addition, street-trading along the major transport routes - areas that are most lucrative for street-trading- outside of this demarcated area (see Figure 5.1) were also prohibited.

Under the combined weight of the above restrictions street-traders were defined as illegal intruders in the city and this made their presence in the city perilous. In South Africa the distinction between legal and illegal has been central to both the shaping and the appropriation of spaces. Despite being well immersed within urban spaces and very dependent on the formal economy for their survival, illegal practices are less integrated into state-run structures. As a result of this they are unregulated (Cooper, 1983). In order to integrate the informal

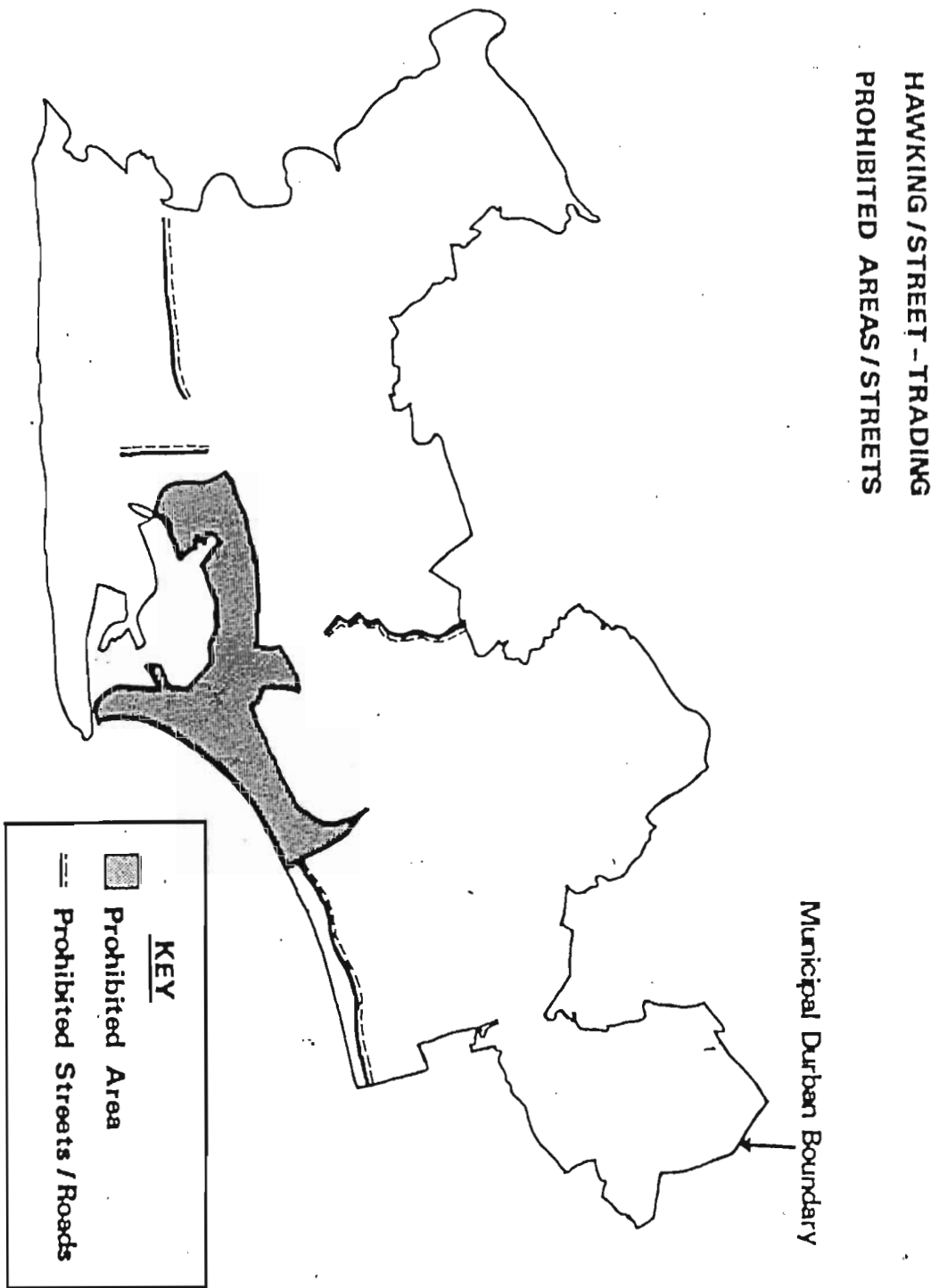


FIGURE 5.1. PROHIBITED STREET-TRADING AREAS. SOURCE: Durban, Hawker Report.

sector into the broader urban economy of Durban, street-trading had to be reconceptualised by the city's authorities and planners as a legally practiced set of economic activities.

In an attempt to re-define the legal status of the street-trader, negotiations between the Durban City Council and the Natal Provincial Authorities were initiated. These negotiations culminated with the decision to introduce the *vending license* which was considered to be a more appropriate licensing system for hawkers. According to the 1984 Hawker Report unlike the *hawker license*, obtaining a *vending license* involved a much simpler procedure. All that is required of the prospective street-trader is the promise of observance of traffic obstructions and littering. The introduction of the vending license seems to have been in accordance with Durban's move towards a more 'flexible' approach towards the regulation of the urban informal sector.

In many respects the introduction of the vending license can be seen as a response to the failure of the archaic hawker license to restrain the growth of the informal sector (Rogerson and Hart, 1989). The extent to which the introduction of a vending license achieves this is questionable. The study conducted in the Warwick Avenue Triangle revealed that most of the interviewees did not possess a vending license. Ironically one of the commonly stated reasons for vendors not being in possession of a vending license is that "it is hard to get a license and even if you do try to get one it usually takes months before one is given..." (Ellah, 11:90). This seems to be in contrast with the notion of expediency embodied in procurement of the new vending license.

In addition to the structural policies adopted by the Durban City Council, on recommendation of the 1984 Hawker Report, a complementary set of locational policies were also introduced. These policies sought to shape the spatial pattern of the urban informal sector. The hall-mark of deregulation in the Durban Central Business District was the introduction of a number of

*immune zones*⁶ (see Appendix 2) where hawkers could operate on 'free-for-all' or 'first-come, first-served basis' (Bendheim, 11:90). In addition, the amendment to the Natal Ordinance 11/1973 proposed that a number of pitches in certain areas be marked off, on which traders could buy the right to trade for a fee of ten rands (Mayors Minutes, 1987)⁷.

According to Bendheim (interview ,14:11:90) it was those areas occupied by street-traders prior to 1984 that were designated "immune zones". The Leopold Street area and the Eilat Viaduct/Brook Street areas which have for years been a popular vending areas where women sold second-hand clothes and traditional herbs and medicines respectively, are examples of immune zones.

The Durban City Council's approach to street-trading has been one of minimal intervention. Mr. Bendheim explains:

"Our approach has been to cut back on red tape and provide only the most basic services. To establish clean, watered, serviced areas and then allow the traders to move in" (Financial Mail, 20:11:1987)

According to the Hawker Report immune zones were to be designated in areas where there were already traders. This stipulation restricts street-trading to the peripheries of the city. The viability of hawking as an income generating activity depends on its visibility to potential customers. But, in the South African city where street traders were historically constantly threatened with the prospect of prosecution, 'illegal' vendors sought out areas on the peripheries of the city, which offered them relative protection from the law. If there was a threat of possible police raids on the area, the traders would pack their belongings and move to another part of the city that was equally "hidden" from the police and local authorities. This often resulted in a substantial loss of income⁸. It is not surprising therefore that most of the areas designated 'immune zones' are less visible and on the periphery of the Central Business District (see Appendix 2).

The creation of an immune zone around the Early Morning market in the Warwick Avenue Triangle was resisted by the stall holders⁹ who objected strongly to the presence of large numbers of traders around the market.

5.2.4. Resistance to the Policy Changes : Disputes between the stall holders and informal sector traders

For many years since the early 1940's the Morning market in Warwick Avenue has been a "top tourist attraction". The Early Morning Market is a municipally run market where people lease sites to trade. According to Mr. Naidoo (interview, 05:91) who used to help run a family stall there

"Many people from overseas used to visit the market and in the 1950's and 1960's business was very good. The area around the market was very attractive - there were trees along the pavements, the air was fresh - very different from the conditions we see now" .
(see Plate 5.1)

This sentiment was echoed by Mr. Maharaj (the chairperson of the Early Market Association) who stated that

"Ever since the Durban City Council allowed informal traders to sell their wares freely on its fringes, Durban's "Early Morning Market" has been turned into what some may describe as an 'overpopulated squatter camp'" (cited in *Daily News*, 10:06:1989)

Since the Durban City Council adopted what is best described as a *laissez faire* attitude towards street-trading, there have been a number of complaints by stall holders in the market who have objected to deteriorating conditions around the market and to what they regard as unfair competition between themselves and the informal traders (see Plate 5.2). They argue that as the street-traders do not pay for the right to trade, whereas they had to pay twenty four rands per square metre for a premises in the



PLATE 5.1. AERIAL PHOTOGRAPH OF THE WARWICK AVENUE TRIANGLE:
1956. SOURCE: Durban Local History Museum, Market
File.

market, and this was a "travesty of justice" (see *Post*, 5:10:1986; 26:11:1986; *Daily News*, 10:8:1989).



PLATE 5.2. STREET-TRADING IMMEDIATELY OUTSIDE THE EARLY MORNING MARKET (circa 1990).

In October 1986 Mr. Maharaj, described the tension between the two groups as a "time bomb" and predicted that a clash between the two groups was imminent if the Durban City Council did not act (*Post*, 5:10:86). In response to this and despite their expressed greater tolerance of street-trading in the Central Business District the Durban city police continued to control street-trading and subject hawkers who trade around the Early Morning in Warwick Avenue, to relatively stringent controls and continual persecution.

The climax of the ongoing dispute between the street-traders and the stall holders consisted of attempts by the city police to evict hawkers from outside the market in November 1987. However, this was unsuccessful as approximately 100 hawkers, many of whom

were women, staged a sit down demonstration in a bid to resist eviction. The demonstrators are quoted to have explained to a police officer that they had no other means of livelihood:

"We have no other means of making a living. Our children need to be fed and educated" (A demonstrator quoted in the *Post*, 25:11:1987)

Mrs. Mkezi (see Appendix 1) recalled the event:

"The Indians in the market thought that we were making a lot of money and we steal customers from them. They told the police to chase us. Some of the people moved out ...I do not know where they went...We stayed here and did not move and the police did not know what to do. They could not put us all in jail" (interview, 11:1990).

In March 1988 the Durban Corporation restricted trading in some areas of the Warwick Avenue Triangle between the hours of 8 am. and 2 pm. Traders were only allowed to trade in the immediate vicinity on the market after the market had closed. Attempts to limit the competition between stall holders and informal traders was unsuccessful. One woman¹⁰ who sold vegetables along Warwick Avenue close to the entrance of the market describes how she used to evade the police:

"When we see the police coming we pack our things and leave and come back when the police move to the other side. This carried on all the time. Everybody who trades here does that. Now the police are tired...they do not even tell us anything" (interview, 10:1990).

This women attributed her success to the location of her stall:

"People see that my goods are cheaper before they go into the market. They just buy from me and do not have to go into the market" (interview, 10:1990)

During the discussions with the stall holders many of them complained that they did lose customers to the women who traded

outside the market. They said that some of the people who had previously run stalls in the market now prefer to trade in the informal sector, where they do not have to pay a rent and the possibility of making a profit is greater (see Plate 5.3).



PLATE 5.3. VEGETABLES BEING SOLD OUTSIDE THE EARLY MORNING MARKET. SOURCE: Daily News, 10:06:1989

Despite opposition from the stall holders, and attempts to restrict the trading hours, informal traders continue to appropriate spaces in the immediate vicinity of the Early Morning Market during the restrictive hours. Durban's attempts to deregulate street trading does seem to impose costs on both the stall holders and on the women in the study.

According to Rogerson and Hart (1989: 37) Durban's record on deregulation is one of "brave experimentation" with new locational and structural policies for accommodating street-traders. However, evidence in the next section suggests that while Durban's authority's attempts to open parts of the city to street-traders seems to be ahead of other major urban centres in the country¹¹, the concept of immune zones situated away from the heart of the Central Business District does not constitute locational freedom.

5.3. POLICY CHANGES TOWARDS THE URBAN INFORMAL SECTOR IN PRACTICE¹²

According to Garth Williamson, the Chief Town Planner of Durban, successful cities are those which have understood and catered for 'movement corridors' (cited in *Financial Mail*, 20:11:1987). The Warwick Avenue Triangle of Durban is one of these movement corridors (see Plates 5.4 and 5.5). The volume of pedestrian traffic as well as the area's location on the periphery of the Central Business District has attracted a sprawl of informal traders to the area. The changes in policy towards the informal sector has most definitely contributed towards the opening up of this space where people can now legally pursue informal sector activities without the constant threat of police harassment.

The Durban City Council had hoped that by incorporating street-trading into the plans for the proposed "renewal" of Durban, street-trading would be less chaotic and form a vital attraction to the city's tourists by adding "colour and character to the streetscape" (cited in *Financial Mail*, 20:11:87). However, the extent to which this has been achieved has been rather limited and there is a vast discrepancy between the "colour and character" contributed by informal trading in different parts of the city. For example, street-trading along the beach tourist area of the Marine Parade is very controlled in terms of the



PLATE 5.4. AERIAL PHOTOGRAPH OF THE WARWICK AVENUE TRIANGLE:
1990. SOURCE: Durban City Engineers Department.

numbers of traders that are allowed to trade there and in terms of the goods that are sold¹³. In the Warwick Avenue Triangle, on the other hand, there is great diversity in the goods sold which range from cosmetics and toys to cooked and uncooked food.



PLATE 5.5. TRADERS ALONG THE CORRIDOR TO THE BEREA STATION.
SOURCE: Durban City Council, Durban Focus, May 1990.

Despite the urbanisation controls which sought to limit the numbers of traders in the city, the numbers of traders trading in the Warwick Avenue Triangle increases daily.

During the period July 1990 to July 1991 there were between 450 and 500 people who traded daily in the Warwick Avenue Triangle. This figure increases substantially towards the end of the week. The majority of the traders in the Warwick Avenue Triangle are women¹⁴ who earn very marginal amounts of money. Many of the women interviewed began selling in the area in 1985¹⁵. Most of

them had been informed by relatives and friends, who were already established in the Warwick Avenue Triangle, that they could earn a living by hawking in the area (See Appendix 1). The majority of the women interviewed believed that the Warwick Avenue Triangle was the *only* area in the city where they could make money.

To the women who had been trading in the area since the 1970's the Warwick Avenue Triangle is a familiar place. It is a place that they knew well and a place where they had established a clientele. Mrs. B. said that she is assured of getting customers when she sells in the area:

"When I come here I know that I will sell. The customers know me, they know my work because I have been selling to them for a long time" (interview, 01:1991).

To many women the attraction to the Warwick Avenue Triangle is more than merely a place where they can trade and a busy place where there are people to sell to. When the women were asked whether they would like to trade elsewhere in the city, all the older women responded indignantly. Mrs. Zuma pointed out that the question was stupid:

"What for? Why must I leave this place and go somewhere where nobody knows me. That is stupid...here I know I have friends who will buy my things" (interview, 11:1990).

The leaflet on the rules of street-trading circulated by the Durban Corporation (see Appendix 2) in the Warwick Avenue Triangle in 1990 represents a further attempt by the local authority to control the growth of the urban informal sector. This leaflet stresses that the street-traders must adhere to the following 'rules' :

1. You must have a license to trade in the areas designated for trading.

Very few of the women interviewed were aware of the policy

changes with regards to street-trading - although some did recall the days when they had to move about constantly so as to avoid police harassment. Mrs. Zuma was the an exception. She said that the only difference that the policy change has made in her life is that it allows her to trade in the Warwick Avenue Triangle and she does not have to move to other parts of the city. Mrs.. Zuma, however, does not have a license or a designated square on which to trade. She was at home when squares were allocated in the immune zone where she trades. She is aware that she is contravening the 'rules' of street trading, by sharing spaces with her friends and using those of traders who did not come in for the day. But this does not concern her.

Another group of "illegal" traders who do not have licenses are those who trade within the station building. One of these traders, Nsomi was vigilant for the police during the interviews. Although Nsomi has never been fined, she did know of other women who were fined for trading in the building:

"The police just chase me away. Then I do not come back for a long time. The other ladies cheek with the police, then they fine them. I am too scared to cheek" (interview, 11:1990)

Nsomi prefers to sell within the building because:

"the ice-cream does not melt fast if we are in the shade. In the sun it melts quickly and we lose, the people do not like to buy soft ice-cream...if there were shelters outside then I will trade there" (interview, 11:1990).

While attempts are made to contain the informal sector very little is done to provide facilities for the informal sector traders.

The second rule of street-trading states:

2. You must stay within a painted square in an area which has the same number as on your

license.

The success of street-trading is very dependent on the accessibility of the operation to passers-by. In order to satisfy this need, many of the women interviewed defied the rules. During the interviews the women frequently complained that they did not earn well because their trading spots were not easily visible. As a result of their domestic responsibilities, women cannot come in early to secure well accessed trading spots. Mrs. Nene who is in this position explains (interview, 01:1991):

" When I come at 9 o'clock all the good spots are taken. I cannot come early because I have to cook and clean my house. The children must have food when they come from school. The men get the best spot because they do not have to clean, and cook and look after children".¹⁶

To access a good trading spot some of the women ask a friend who comes to work early to reserve a trading spot for them. However, the third rule of street trading states that

3. You must occupy only one square and not reserve a square for friends or family.

Mrs. Nene (interview, 01:1991) has the following to say about reserving a site:

"I know that it is not right to do this and other traders can report me and my friend if they know that she is keeping a place for me. But the most of the other traders do not know about this and I have not been caught, but I cannot do this all the time".

Thembi who has a stand at the back of the other seller tables also stressed the importance of having a stand that is easily accessible and visible:

"...I hope that people who are selling in front of me do not come. Then I can use their place and only then I make a lot of money...on other days people do not see me and I do not sell a lot" (interview,

02:1991).

The combination of their domestic and productive responsibilities restricts many of the women who work in the Warwick Avenue Triangle. Women do not benefit from the creation of "immune zones" where people can trade on a first-come-first served basis.

According to the fourth rule of street trading:

4. You must not sleep on the sidewalk, cook or make fires, leave goods or tables on the sidewalk.

Despite the apparent *laissez-faire* attitude of both central and local authorities, street-traders are still subject to stringent controls at the local level. The women who sell cooked food stated that they are not in possession of a vending license because the Durban Corporation does not issue licenses for the sale of cooked food unless very strict storage and sanitation requirements are met. The women, who earn minimal incomes in the informal sector, cannot afford to meet these requirements. As a consequence of this these women have to occupy spaces that are less visible. Some women said that they were forced to sell other goods which acted as a smokescreen to the sale of food. Beauty sells cigarettes and sweets to disguise the fact that she actually derives most of her income by selling fat cakes:

"I do not make money selling cigarettes. I just keep them on top so that if the police come they do not see that I sell food... I keep (the food) under the stand" (interview, 01:1991).

Vendors who sell meat and the roadside "restaurateurs" are still harassed because the authorities argue that they are a health hazard in the urban areas. The sale of meat which is not always fresh and which has been lying in the sun for a while, and the re-use of plates and spoons, are cited as being the main reasons for deteriorating health conditions in the urban areas. In May 1989 there were a number of reports on the seriousness of the "health disaster" which loomed in the city (see *Sunday Tribune*,

21:5:1989; 28:5:1989; *Natal Mercury*, 27:5:1989). It is evident that these conditions will prevail as a result of the lack of adequate storage facilities for traders. Despite fears of health problems of crisis proportions, very little has been done to improve the conditions under which vendors, particularly those who sell processed and unprocessed food, work:

"We sell (fruit and vegetable) in the sun and rain. Sometimes if we do not sell these things they go rotten. We do not have anywhere to store it. We lose a lot of money like that" (Mrs. Mnguni, 02:91).

Further instructions contained in the leaflet on rules of street trading pertain to littering and stress the imperative to keep the sidewalk clean. The local authority had very fixed ideas with regards to the form that street-trading in the city should take. However, the actual form that street trading does take is very different from that envisaged by the planners. The meaning that the women attached to the Warwick Avenue Triangle and their work in the informal sector has contributed to this discrepancy.

Despite the fact that most of the people who have been directly affected by the relaxation of restrictions are women they were never the immediate objects of the policy revisions. In fact, for a number of reasons, the new deregulatory policies have often been to their disadvantage.

The role of the central government with regards to the informal sector has been limited to the removal of restrictive legislation and to the establishment of Development Corporations which promote entrepreneurship¹⁷ and small business development. The Small Business Development Corporation (SBDC) is an example of such a corporation. With the introduction of deregulation the SBDC has offered loans and financial aid to informal sector operators but the level of literacy and collateral demanded prohibit the majority of African women in the informal sector from benefiting. It seems that in order to reap substantial benefit from the deregulation policy, requirements in terms of

capital, skills and literacy have to be met by the women. Most of the women who trade in the informal sector are extremely poor and illiterate and consequently cannot meet the conditions stipulated in order to secure financial aid (Gender Policy Group, 1991).

The policy also fails to prevent exploitation of the urban informal sector by formal business. The 1984 Hawker Report draws attention to the existence of two different circuits of hawking within Durban - on the one hand the vulnerable niche occupied mainly by unlicensed black workers and on the other hand a community of large-scale often licensed Indian traders (Durban, 1984). The flexible approach towards street-trading adopted by the Durban City Council has facilitated the process of exploitation of poorer traders by larger-scale businesses. In the Warwick Avenue Triangle for example, Indian businessmen have, to borrow a phrase from Rogerson and Hart (1989: 37) "hi-jacked" the policy and have squeezed out the group of poorer traders targeted to benefit from the new policy. These businessmen employ people to work in the informal sector. Many of those who suffer as a result of this are women. Women who sold hand-made goods found themselves having to compete with businessmen who sold commercially mass-produced goods. Mrs. Maharaj (interview, 11:1990) who sells underwear for women complained that

"The businessmen who sell here sell their goods at a cheaper price because are they mass-produced. I cannot afford to compete with them - my goods are hand-made and I have to cover the costs of the materials I use. If I sell for any cheaper I will not make any profit at all".

It is evident that with the introduction of "deregulation" the informal sector is vulnerable to being exploited by formal sector operators. This results in great inequalities within the street-trading community.

For those people who are employed by formal business to sell

their goods in the informal sector, the insecurities and unregulated nature of the work results in gross exploitation and extremely low wages. To a large extent these workers are "invisible" workers who are often not registered with municipal or other official bodies and are not enumerated in the official census as employees in the formal sector.

Informal discussions with some of the women working in the Warwick Avenue Triangle revealed that they were not self-employed. They often did not immediately admit to being employed by a formal business. Some would inadvertently mention that were employed by an "Indian Businessman" during the course of the conversation:

"I make the same amount of money
everyday...he pays me very little"
(interview, 10:1990)

Another woman accidentally expressed the hope that:

"When I get enough money I will start trading
on my own...then I'll make more money"
(interview, 10:1990).

Durban does seem to be ahead of other South African cities in its implementation of licensing and locational policies (Rogerson and Hart, 1989). These are, however, inadequate - especially for women. On the contrary, the Durban City Council continues to deploy policies that seek to geographically contain the invasion of the urban areas by successive hawker communities. The provision of immune zones and pitches on the peripheries of the Central Business District does not give hawkers locational freedom.

By contrast hawkers who locate along the beachfront - an area that is highly visible to both tourists and the local authority - are subject to stricter controls with regards to the goods they sell than hawkers elsewhere in the city. These people are only allowed to sell goods that are "tourist orientated" (Bendheim,

11:90). The presence of hawkers along the beach front selling hand-woven baskets, bead works, and pottery are necessary to the creation of Durban's image as a tourist city. By confining the type of goods sold to tourist orientated goods, such as beadwork, pottery and weaving which are activities that are regarded as woman's work, the authorities have unintentionally limited street trading along the beach front to predominantly women, thus creating a gendered space. This stipulation has benefited a handful of women - those who have the skills and resources to produce or access goods for the tourist industry. Despite the fact that these women gain by having economic and geographical spaces being created for them, their work is restricted temporally and spatially by the demands of the tourist industry.

For the women who work along the beachfront their work is most remunerative after "normal" working hours and during the vacations - those times when other women are having fun or dealing with domestic responsibilities. This restricts the amount of time these women can spend with their families. In addition many of the women have to travel long distances from their place of residence to work. This together with their unconventional working hours often means that they are forced to spend the night on the side-walks which has resulted in them losing control of their households.

While changes in policy towards street-trading in Durban in general, may have benefited some women by providing them with spaces that allow them to earn a subsistence wage, these gains have not been achieved without substantial losses in other areas, and are restrictive in terms of the scope for the future development of the informal sector.

5.4 CONCLUDING COMMENTS

Three general themes may be teased from this chapter.

The ways in which the actions of the women contributed to a change in the attitudes of the local authorities towards informal trading in the city was elucidated. To some extent, by resisting attempts to remove them from the city, the women forced the local authorities to exercise greater tolerance of informal trading. This has resulted in the growth of the informal sector. Despite the apparent attitude of the local authorities street trading is still spatially restricted to the peripheries of the city.

An outline of the locational and structural policies introduced in Durban was examined. It was argued that while the introduction of "immune zones" and "vending licenses" represented an important step towards accommodating informal trading in the urban areas, these measures were inadequate.

Related to the previous finding, an examination of the ways in which individual women experienced the changes in the policy revealed that the policy did not cater to the specific needs of women. In fact aspects of the policy, for example the creation of "immune zones" where people trade on a first-come first-served basis, were disadvantageous to women. Many women cannot come in to work early because their routines are often restricted by their reproductive work in the home. As a result they were forced to contravene the rules and regulations of street-trading in order to survive.

The potential consequences of the actions of people to reproduce or transform the conditions for further action is central to the notion of structuration. This is evident in the empirical findings of this chapter.

In addition to the above three points the chapter revealed other interesting features of informal trading in Durban. Durban can be regarded as a "gilded garment with a fraying fringe"¹⁸. This metaphor with its contrasting images is reflected geographically in the contrast between the affluent major streets in the heart

of the Central Business District and along the beachfront - the gilded garment - and the "appalling slum-like" conditions (*Daily News*, 10:7:1987) of the streets on the city's edges - the fraying fringe. Durban is simultaneously an apparently affluent resort, a commuter and commercial centre, and a city where a large number of people experience the effects of low wages and high unemployment. This continuity of opposites is also woven into people's lives, in the places they live and work in as well as in the types of work they are engaged in.

The importance of this continuity of opposites in the context of the urban informal sector was illustrated by contrasting the urban informal sector in the Warwick Avenue Triangle and along the beachfront. The ways in which street-trading has been "accommodated" on the "fringes" of the Warwick Avenue Triangle and in the "garment" of the beach front vary substantially. Street-traders in these different areas have been subject to different restrictions and codes of conduct. The development of informal street-trading, which has been both planned and spontaneous, has been shaped by its geographic location. Furthermore, an unpacking of the contrasting images of different places in the city has revealed that these images are woven into the lives of people in the informal sector and have important implications in terms of what women do, where and how they do it.

In the light of the theoretical framework outlined in chapter two the policy of the Durban City Council towards the urban informal sector is regarded as another important contingent factor affecting the participation of women in the informal sector. Further contingent factors affecting women's participation in the informal sector are discussed in chapter six.

NOTES

1. A version of this chapter was presented as a poster paper at the South African Geographical Society Conference in July 1991 at the University of Potchefstroom.

2. Although urbanisation and deregulation policies changed at a national level in 1986 and 1987 respectively, in Durban a re-think on street-traders began in 1983.

3. It is not surprising that, given the previously illegal nature of street-trading in the urban areas, that most of the areas that have been designated immune zones are on the peripheries of the city away from the highly controlled central areas.

4. Although this thesis focuses on women in the Warwick Avenue Triangle, frequent reference is made to the informal sector in other areas as well. This enables one to draw comparisons and highlight the specificities of the Warwick Avenue Triangle.

5. The Warwick Avenue area, one of the gateways to Durban had been identified as one of six priority areas for improvement by planners in 1985.

6. These are areas in the city where people allowed to trade on a free-for-all basis. In these areas there are no stands or demarcated area that is allocated to one specific person.

7. This represented an attempt to restrict the numbers of hawkers in a specific area. The Natal Mercury (6:6:85) reported on another proposed attempt to restrict the numbers of street traders. This involved the installation of two ticket machines in a designated area from which hawkers would be able to purchase a ticket for fifty cents on a daily rate. These tickets were to be numbered and the number of tickets issued daily was to be limited to fifty. However, in the Warwick Avenue Triangle attempts to limit the numbers of street-traders have thus far been resisted by Durban's authorities.

8. However, many traders, especially those in the Leopold Street area, as a result of the fact that they had been selling second-hand goods and vegetables for decades, had a regular clientele who knew where they could be found if they were forced to move from their "regular spot":

I have been hawking for thirty years here (Brook Street) and in Clairwood. The clients always knew where to find me...even when the police and the Indian Businessmen told me to move. They (the clients) have been buying (beans and mudumbis) from me for a long time. But now I do not have to hide so much." (Mrs. Y, 12:90)

9. Stall holders are those , predominantly Indian, people who own and run stalls in the Early Morning Market.

10. This interview was conducted when I first began my field work. The woman is not one of the twenty women in the case study.

11. See Rogerson and Hart; 1989 for an account of attempts at deregulation in other urban centres.

12. The empirical data presented in this section is based on interviews conducted in the Warwick Avenue Triangle between September 1990 and March 1991. See Appendix 1 for profiles of the women interviewed.

13. The bead and curio sellers along the beach front are subject to much stricter licensing controls.

14. ~~Empirical~~ findings in the Warwick Avenue Triangle indicated that between 65 - 70 % of informal sector workers were women. This figure varies depending on the time of day and day of the week. There are more women in the Warwick Avenue Triangle on a Saturday morning than there are on a weekday morning.

15. One has to note that a fair number of the people interviewed had been trading in the Warwick Avenue Triangle for a number of years. But they were forced to move around constantly so as to avoid being harassed by the police and returned to the area once restrictions were relaxed.

16. Many women complained that their spots were not very accessible. The women who were able to come in early were often women who either slept on the streets close to their trading spots or women who had daughters or daughters-in law who helped with the household chores.

17. The image of an entrepreneur which underpins the deregulation policy is usually one of a "get-ahead young man, using the informal sector as a stepping stone for a career in business. the widow struggling to survive has no place in this scenario.

18. Mackensie (1984) uses this metaphor in her study of Brighton.

CHAPTER SIX

WORK, SURVIVAL AND FAMILY LIFE: CONSTRAINING AND ENABLING FACTORS IN THE LIVES OF WOMEN IN THE WARWICK AVENUE TRIANGLE

"Work here is easy now. When I first started here we were harassed by the police. I remember them throwing our things down and tramping it. Now we are at peace...But the problem now is, the *tsotsies*¹ steal our things ... sometimes I worry about food, when things go rotten after six days I do not make money. There are so many of us here (it is hard to sell with so many people here)...We are all friends we help each other" (Dingeni, interview 02:91)

"The police are a threat to us. We do not have licenses because we sell cooked food. They say our food is not healthy because it is prepared in the open space...The problem is people eat our food and do not pay us. We are all women so they take advantage of us. We sometimes have to call the police to help us" (Mrs. Hadebe, interview, 02:91)

6.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores the changes in the lives of women in the Warwick Avenue Triangle. It examines how they overcome the constraints placed upon them as a result of their need to combine productive and reproductive work, and what resources they have available enabling them to cope. The factors discussed in this chapter illustrate the point discussed in chapter two that the informal sector is not merely concerned with economics but with social relationships and cultural definitions as well (Preston-Whyte and Rogerson, 1991).

The experiences of Dingeni and Mrs. Hadebe are not unlike that of the other women investigated. The quotes suggest two things about the nature of work in the urban informal sector in the 1990's.

First, that the lives of the women exhibit elements of both continuity and change. New relationships were established and old ones were either sustained or altered and old threatening situations were replaced by new ones.

Second, the position that women found themselves in was fraught with contradictions. While there was strength in the increasing numbers of informal sector workers this was accompanied by an increase in competition for customers. Ironically while the police were a threat to their livelihoods they were often forced to call on them to avoid being exploited by people who tried to steal meals from them.

All the women agreed that changes had occurred in the conditions of work in which they engaged. Some of these changes were positive - particularly the policy changes which allowed them to "trade in peace" (interviews). But, as hinted in the quotes above, the women were also experiencing new problems. In the process of making strategic decisions for their survival, they are forced to overcome a number of constraints. In so doing, they often challenged the existing rules and resources which structure contemporary South African society. In addition, the chapter illustrates that in the process of overcoming the constraints on their work and lives the women are changing urban spaces.

This chapter begins by examining the numerous constraints on the work and lives of women in the informal sector in the Warwick Avenue Triangle and the strategies that they adopt in order to survive. Particular attention is paid to their resourcefulness in resolving the inherent tension between their productive and reproductive work. Thereafter, the ways in which women alter the boundaries between productive and reproductive space and thereby change the meaning of space is illustrated. A number of the women interviewed believed that they had greater control over their lives as a result of their work in the informal sector. Hence the second section in the chapter examines the ways in which the women in the informal sector see themselves as having "more

power" than women working in the formal sector (interviews) than women who work in the formal sector. The chapter concludes by commenting on the theoretical implications of the empirical findings discussed in the chapter.

6.2. SURVIVAL STRATEGIES, DECISION-MAKING AND WORK IN THE INFORMAL SECTOR

6.2.1. The Influence of Stage in Domestic and Household Cycle as Determining Factors

The decision of the women interviewed to move into the urban informal sector was based on a combination of circumstance and perceptions of what it had to offer. As indicated in chapter four high rates of unemployment, flexibility of working conditions, together with the expectation of 'making lots of money during hard times' propelled women towards the informal sector. Two further household factors were important, that of the stage they had reached in their domestic and household cycles.

Moser (1981) points out that rather than seeing women as moving in and out of the labour force, it is useful to recognise that *women always work*, but at different stages in their life-cycles move along this continuum based on the extent to which work is remunerated. Studies on women and employment in Latin America (see Brydon and Chant, 1989) show that the rates of employment for women are highest when they are young. The reason for this, they argue, is that women are likely to be married in their twenties and once married are less likely and less able to be employed. A number of the women in this study could not find formal employment, but the experiences of Thembi, and Zandile, who worked as factory workers before marriage, supports the findings of the studies conducted in Latin America. A further examination of Thembi's life from the time when she commenced factory work, reveals that she went through stages in her life

when the proportion of her work for which she was paid fluctuated substantially.

At the age of sixteen after the birth of her first child Thembi worked in a factory in Tongaat. During this time she was unmarried and lived with her mother. Since the major proportion of the domestic work, including child care, was done by her mother, with Thembi helping in the evenings, on the weekends and when she was on leave, almost all of the work that Thembi engaged in was remunerated. However, this situation was reversed when she married at the age of nineteen and her husband asked her to leave work. Child care and domestic work occupied most of her time and was largely unremunerated. Neither was she directly paid for the work that she did at her husband's tuckshop. When her husband died she began working in the informal sector, and the proportion of work for which she earned money increased once again. However, the proportion of work for which she earns money is not as great as it was when she was younger. Her domestic responsibilities, cooking, cleaning, caring for her children and her mother when they are ill, are now greater. Thembi pointed out during the interview that she would make more money if she did not have to go home every week to see to the needs of her family.

This account illustrates Moser's (1981) point that women always work, but the proportion of work that is remunerative fluctuates through time. A similar pattern emerges when examining the history of Zandile. She worked in a factory for three years as a cleaner before she married. As the oldest of many children she was forced to seek formal employment when she was young, to help support the family. "Because I was working I did not do any housework. There were many other girls (daughters) to do that work" (Zandile, 01:91).

The research suggests that once the women married and had children, their lives were directed towards constructing and maintaining a household. It was only when their husbands had died, became ill, or lost their jobs, and the need for an

additional income became urgent, that the women considered working in the productive sphere. Zandile, for example, was forced into the productive sphere when her husband deserted her and her children. She could not find formal employment and decided to trade in the informal sector. The account of the work that Thembi and Zandile engaged in illustrates that in most low income households women's work includes domestic (cooking, cleaning) and reproductive work (the childbearing and the child rearing responsibilities) as well as productive work as primary or secondary income-earners².

As a result of the number of different activities that women engage in they often find themselves in the position where they have to juggle their time-space patterns to accommodate these different sets of activities which often conflict temporally and spatially (Mackenzie, 1984). Heyzer (1981) pointed out that the amount of money that women earn from trading in the informal sector is often largely dependent on the extent to which they are free from domestic work. The majority of the women interviewed agreed that if there was another woman in the household who helped them with domestic tasks they would be able to devote more time to trading. Those women who did have assistance with their domestic and child care responsibilities stressed that such help was essential to their working away from their homes, in the informal sector.

A general trend was that the older women were freer from domestic work than their younger counterparts. This finding is similar to that of Church (cited in Heyzer, 1981: 29) whose study of Akan families in Ghana revealed that:

"the pattern of sharing household chores and child rearing responsibilities ...leave the older women greatest freedom to devote her energies to trade".

In addition, all of the older women interviewed believed that their work in the informal sector was less demanding than both

domestic and reproductive work and factory work. They recalled that when they were young, working at home involved fetching water twice, cleaning the home, cooking, feeding the baby, and working in the fields with the baby tied to their backs. Washing the clothes was a task many older women found extremely tiresome and they all expressed relief that they did not have to perform all those tasks now that they were older³. Mrs. Mkhezi explains:

"When I go home now I can relax if I have enough stock, my daughters-in-law (there are three of them) do the housework and cook the supper. Now that I am old and not healthy I cannot do all the hard work I used to do when I was young. [By] doing this work (street trading) I sit and relax and I do not get tired". (interview, 11:90)

For many of the older women interviewed, the demands of work in the informal sector and their domestic responsibilities were less conflictual and burdensome because they had adult daughters or daughters-in-law who tended to the home and domestic duties while they traded in the Warwick Avenue Triangle. This indicates that while stage in domestic cycle is important in determining the extent to which women are free to trade this is intricately linked with the second determining factor, that of phase in household cycle (Preston-Whyte, 1974) .

The extended family structure, a phase in the household cycle whereby women share their homes with their kin and their families, offers women like Mrs. Mkhezi opportunities to earn money outside the home. Virtually all the domestic and child-care work is done by women but in extended families, because housework and child-care responsibilities are shared and because there is more support, the women in the informal sector are able to devote more time to their trade. Many women wondered how they would have coped had they not had such help. Mrs. Mnguni is one of those women:

"I am lucky to have my daughters helping me. They do all the house work, look after the

babies. When I go home I do not have to do the house work I just do the planting and selling. Without them (two daughters) I could not do these things. My sons who are working live on their own but they do not give me one cent of the money they make".
(interview, 01:91)

Chris (interview 01:91) lives with her mother who looks after her two children. She said that she would "not manage without (her) mother". She has to get to work at 6 o'clock in the morning and has no time to do anything else because she has to pick up the pinafores from Zandile Zonde in the morning. Chris is forced to work long hours. She is paid a commission for the pinafores that she sells. She stressed that "the longer I work, the more I sell...I earn more money". When she gets home in the evening all she has time to do is wash the children's clothes. Her "mother is sickly she cannot do washing, but she does all the other house work". Chris's experience also indicates that living in an extended family liberates many women from some of their domestic chores and allows them more time to devote to their work in the informal sector outside the home.

Anastasia too had help with child care and domestic work. She works in the informal sector from six in the morning to six thirty in the evening from Monday to Friday and until half past two on a Saturday. She believes that she could not work such long hours if she did not live with her mother-in-law who "sees to the children when they are not at school" (interviews). Anastasia stressed that if you want to make money in the informal sector you have to work very long hours and said that she is able to do this only because she has assistance from another woman in the home⁴.

Anastasia's understanding of the means by which she is able to cope with her work in the informal sector and her work in the home illustrates an important point made earlier in the thesis regarding sexual division within the household. It is important to note that it is always women or older children who perform

domestic and child care work within the household. In most cases care of younger children is devolved upon either young girls or older women in the family. If the women can not rely on either of these family members they seek help from a neighbour or devise other means to combine child care and their work in the informal sector. Despite the fact that a number of the women interviewed had husbands who were at home, they did not assist with domestic work and were seldom able to assist with child care⁵.

In nuclear households women find it more difficult to balance their two work roles. This problem is compounded, when the women do not have daughters to whom they can delegate some of the domestic work and if they are rearing young children.

However, there are exceptions where maturity and an extended family structure did not imply an easing of domestic responsibilities. Ellah, for example, lives with her two sons and their wives. But she has to raise her sons' 'illegitimate' children:

"My sons have 'illegitimate' children. Their mothers do not look after them. My sons and their wives are working but they do not give me one half cent. They have other children to look after. I have to look after the grandchildren, feed them and clothe them. When they go to school I have to pay. This adds to my troubles...In the morning I get up early to prepare food and the school things for the grandchildren. In the evening I have a lot of cooking and cleaning to do. I sometimes do not even have time to sew."
(interviews, 12:90)

In Ellah's case the extended family added pressure on her, both financially and socially. Her responsibility to her grandchildren places further restrictions on the amount of time that she has available for remunerative work. She indicated that on some evenings she did not have time to sew and was forced to sell second-hand clothes for which she is paid less than she would if she sold new clothes. Ellah explained that "people like my things

(clothes)...I only sell second hand clothes when I do not have time to sew" (interview, 12:90). For Ellah, having to look after her grandchildren is hard work. But she feels comforted by her belief that "one day they will look after" her (interview, 12:90).

Women who are more involved with child rearing have to devise other means to cope. Some of these women trade intermittently when they do not have child care responsibilities. Mrs. Hlongwa who is now a grandmother recalled that when she was unmarried, she used to work in the informal sector by selling vegetables "door-to-door" in the suburbs around Umzinto. But when she had her children she had to stop because there was nobody to take care of them. "There is just no time to do other work when you have small children to look after"(Mrs. Hlongwa, 02:91). Despite the fact that she would have liked to earn some money of her own she could only go out to sell vegetables when her sister came to visit from the farm. It was only once her children were in high school that she began working in the informal sector continually (interview, 01:91). Mrs. Hlongwa also pointed out that she could stop working when her children were born because her husband was employed and his income was sufficient for the subsistence of the family.

However, stopping work until the children are older is not an option for most of the women interviewed. This was not an option for Mrs. B. who recalled the urgency with which she searched for a job which would enable her to earn some money and "be there for the kids" (Mrs. B. 02:91). This desire to bring the children up themselves limited the number of job options for many of the women. Mrs. B. was offered a number of jobs as a domestic worker. But she could not accept these because these posts required her to live in her employers' residence.

As indicated in chapter two, and illustrated by the life of Mrs. Nene the combination of reproductive and productive work constrains the amount of time women have available for productive

work in the informal sector. As wives and mothers women often do what is required of them. This entails intricately linking and fitting these roles with their productive work. The ways in which women link the activities associated with domestic and child care work involve them making a number of decisions and choices in attempting to adjust the time and space for taking care of children, domestic tasks, sexuality and leisure, with their work in the informal sector.

A number of the women expressed anguish about the welfare of their children. The minimal incomes earned by the women in the informal sector does not always ensure that the needs of the family are met. Mrs. Maharaj explains:

"There is always things to buy because something has got old or too small and has to be replaced. There school clothes and shoes to buy...there is just no end" (interview, 11:90)

Mrs. Nene's greatest concern is that she would not have enough money to buy food for the children:

"On some days I only make two rands. What can you buy for two rands...only bread. We have to dip the bread in water. The children are always hungry.

This anguish that a mother feels when her children are hungry is eloquently expressed by Maria Carolina De Jesus (1990:25) in her diary:

"How horrible it is to see your children eat and then ask: 'Is there more?' This word 'more' bounces inside a mother's head as she searches the cooking pot knowing there isn't anymore."

Sexual division within the household designates domestic and child care work to the women. The stage in the household cycle and the stage in the domestic cycle are, therefore, important factors which determine the extent to which women are free from

domestic and child care work⁶. The examination of the life experiences and opportunities of women suggest that the category woman is situationally defined. However, the category woman is also entrenched in dominant ideological definition of woman as primarily housewives and domestic workers. While the interviews suggest that their actions are often cast within dominant ideologies, these are not fixed. Women are prepared to transcend these dominant beliefs, albeit to a small degree, at different stages in their domestic cycles. By moving into the economic sphere as sole income earners, for example, many of the women are indeed transcending dominant beliefs of women as domestic workers. However, the findings indicate that domestic and reproductive work is still gender specific.

The interviews have indicated that becoming a wife and a mother is an important change in the lives of the women in the informal sector. The arrangements that women have to make in order to care for their children constitute the most pervasive constraint on their use of time and space. In an attempt to cope with their dual role, women have created networks which cut across and actively alter the boundaries between the home and the workplace. The following discussion examines the way women attempt to combine child care with their work in the informal sector and the ways in which this further constrains them.

6.2.2 The Pull of the Home : Child care as a constraint on women with younger children

Social, economic and cultural norms are important in determining women's ability to participate in productive work. When women are seen primarily as housewives and when child care is seen as being women's primary responsibility (Friedman and Hambridge, 1991) their mobility and ability to work in the productive sphere is restricted. In order to make money from work in the informal sector women have to work long hours. This is particularly burdensome for women who have young children to look after⁷. The

inadequacy and inaccessibility of child care services for women living in the townships and in the informal settlements has meant that women have had to create a range of informal child care networks.

Most of the women interviewed who had young children relied on various forms of child care. At home these varied from a neighbour who watched over the children, a grandmother who took care of the children or an older child who took care of the younger children. At work the women relied on other traders in the neighbouring stall to keep an eye on the child while the mother was serving a customer. None of the women had continuous and regular help with the children. Most stated that they did not earn enough money to pay for a child minder. As such, they were forced to rely on a complex arrangement based on mutual exchange of services with relatives and friends which often entailed them "swapping" minding for an evening meal, of "a piece of meat and some vegetables" (Mrs. Nene, 11:90).



PLATE 6.1. WOMEN BRING THEIR CHILDREN TO WORK WITH THEM.

As illustrated in the life of Mrs. Nene almost all arrangements were characterised by feats of juggling time, work and transportation. For a number of women an attractive feature of

work in the informal sector was the fact that they could take their child to work if alternative child care was unavailable (Plate 6.1. illustrates this). Sylverina's child was one of many who came to the Warwick Avenue Triangle with her mother. During the first interview with Sylverina she had her baby with her. She said that she was forced bring the baby in to town because her husband was ill and there was nobody available to take care of the child when the older children were at school:

"Bringing the baby in to work with me is a problem but I cannot do anything else. This job is the only job where I can bring her in to work with me. Other women who work in the factory have to pay someone to take care of the children" (Sylverina, 01:91)

Mrs. Nene and Mrs. Mnguni were also often forced to bring their children in to work if alternative arrangements for child care could not be made. They too indicated that as they are self-employed and independent, they can bring the child in to work without being afraid of having to answer to a boss. Mrs. Nene pointed out that her friends in the Warwick Avenue Triangle assist her with looking after the baby when she is very busy.

"The other ladies around here are very helpful. When I am busy or when I have to go to the shop to buy more supplies they take care of the baby for me" (interview, 11:90)

The unhygienic conditions that prevail in the area can be detrimental to the child's health. Sylverina was quick to caution:

"When I bring the baby here (to work) I have to always watch her. Sometimes when I am busy she crawls away, puts things in her mouth. It is not very clean here and it is not good for the baby to sleep on the streets. If it rains then the baby can get sick..." (Sylverina; 01:91)

She adds that having her child with her sometimes affects her business and causes her to lose customers:

"Sometimes the customers come and I have to leave them to chase after the baby. Then the customer gets irritated and goes away. I lose money" (interview, 01:91).

Mrs. Nene expressed a further disadvantage of having her baby at work with her: she has to carry all her goods and the baby on her back and "the baby is heavy ...I get very tired" (interview, 11:90).

Despite these problems, the fact that work in the informal sector offered women the opportunity to combine child care and their money making activities was an attraction that many pointed out. Some women have even managed to exploit the presence of their children to attract customers. On numerous occasions small children were observed attempting to steer passers-by to their mothers' stall. On one occasion a child approached me and told me that she was very hungry and that her mother had not sold anything for a long time in order to persuade me to buy some fruit from her mother. Other women would point to the child and plead to passers-by that they are only trying to support the children. This indicated that while being forced to bring their children in to work with them is often a burden to many of the women, children often help attract customers⁸.

The importance of the practice of combining child care with work in the informal sector is that it helped to blur the previously distinct spatial and temporal separation between their productive and reproductive activities. By combining their child care work of feeding, changing and clothing the young children and their informal money-making activities women were indeed restructuring the balance between these two sets of activities. The formerly "private" activities - like child care - which had been relegated to the home, have become workplace issues. This illustrates that locales are sites of changing activities and definitions. Through their daily activities the women have indeed extended the nature and content of the Warwick Avenue Triangle to include both

productive and reproductive activities. While women still see themselves as being primarily responsible for child care, they have changed the conditions and spaces where this activity takes place. The interviews indicate that this transition is not a smooth one and considerable conflicting situations arise as a result.

While the constraints relating to child care and domestic work reduced when children grew older, they never disappeared completely. The constraints on the time that women have available for work in the informal sector exists for most women.

6.2.3 "The Need to Make Money" Expressed as a Time Constraint

Many of the women cited their flexible working hours as being an attractive feature of work in the informal sector. However, a detailed examination of the daily patterns of women in the informal sector reveals that their activities are very routinised. Their daily routines are characterised by long working hours, and structured around times when they are likely to sell the most goods. The time constraints is illustrated by examining Beauty's and Mrs. Hadebe's schedules.

Beauty indicated that she makes the most money "early in the morning, at lunch time and after half past four in the evenings". As a result, she leaves her home in Inanda at five o'clock in the mornings to be at work at six. Once she gets to work she collects her utensils from her friend who stays in the Warwick Avenue Triangle, sets up her stall and begins preparing the fish and fat cakes. She has to have them ready by seven o'clock which is when the area becomes busy with commuters who pass by on their way to work. Her schedule conflicts with her domestic responsibilities. Since she spends very little time at home she is unable to bring her son from Newcastle to live with her. She said "I am working all the time...Who will look after him" (Beauty, 02:1991) .

Mrs. Hadebe has a similar schedule to that of Beauty's. She works for more than 12 hours a day and the times that she works are determined by the rate of flow of commuters through the area. Unlike Beauty, however, Mrs. Hadebe has three children and a husband to look after. She finds it easier to stick to her schedule now that her older daughter can look after and prepare the school clothes for her younger daughter. Mrs. Hadebe has to cook the meals in the morning before she goes to work and has to be very careful that she does not over sleep:

"If I do not get up at 4 o'clock I get late. By the time I cook the food for the day and go to work I lose many rands because I lose customers". (Mrs. Hadebe, 02:91)

In addition to daily routines, visits to their homes in the rural areas are also determined by when the women are least likely to lose income. MaZondi and Mrs. Hlongwa indicated that they would prefer to be away from the area between Sunday and Wednesday. They come back to the Warwick Avenue Triangle on a Thursday because that is when the area becomes busy once again. Fridays, Saturdays and the end of the month are the periods when women make the most money. Irene pointed out that "the workers get paid on a Friday or at the end of the month and they have money to spend" (interview, 02:91). Beauty added that another reason could be that

"many of the workers go to their homes during the weekends and they take things home to their families" (interview; 02:91).

The discussion above illustrates the ambivalent nature of women's work in the informal sector. Their hours of work are flexible and they do not fear that they "will be fired" (Mrs. Hadebe, 02:91) if they go to work late. However, the necessity to make money demands that they trade at specific times in the day, on specific days of the week and at the end of the month. It is the reliance on passers-by for customers which supplies the parameters around which other activities are scheduled. When they wake up in the

mornings, the amount of time they have available for domestic work, when they go out to replenish their stocks, and when they go home is scheduled around the times when the Warwick Avenue Triangle is busiest. As Mrs. Hadebe suggested, failure to adhere to these routines has a cost which many women cannot afford to pay - the loss of income.

The time constraints of women are intricately related to women's movements in space. The next section examines the spatial constraints on women in the informal sector.

6.2.4. Spatial Constraints and Women's Movements

Women frequently combine their journeys to and from work in the urban informal sector with dropping off a child at the neighbours house (Mrs. Nene), picking up clothes which have to be sold (Chris), stopping at the market or suburb to replenish depleted stock, or stopping at the store to pick something for supper. These tasks determine the routes and distances that women travel daily. The fact that most women live in the townships, which are long distances away from the city, and have to rely on expensive public transport, as a means of travel⁹ further constrains their movements in space. While most of the women would prefer to travel daily to work, their low wages do not make this possible. Many women are, therefore forced to spend the nights sleeping on the streets in or near the Warwick Avenue Triangle.

- The urban informal sector has been characterised by a growing penetration of domestic and reproductive processes into the productive public sphere. However, this is not a straight forward lineal process of moving the home into the city. It is rather a process of gradual, subtle alterations in where and when "life" and "work" occurred. A growing overlap of public and private space and time, and mutations in the boundaries which distinguish the "home" and "work" occurs (Mackenzie, 1984). This process is most evident in the lives of the women who live on the pavements

of the city. The next section examines the work and life of those women who have made their temporary "homes" in the Warwick Avenue Triangle so as to avoid incurring the costs, in terms of time and money, of travelling daily.

[A] Anomalies in the division between "work" and "home" : women who sleep on the streets in the Warwick Avenue Triangle

"Along the pavements which run past the market, under the Viaduct and behind the station, hundreds of women work, sleep, give birth and die...in full view of any passers-by" (Weekly Mail, 28:07:1989).

Although their presence in the urban landscape is fiercely contested the numbers of street dwellers continue to increase. Since the late 1980's hundreds of people are making the pavements their homes. In 1989 the Mayor of Durban, Mr. Derrick Watterson, described the situation as being "most undesirable and a very serious health risk to all" (Sunday Tribune, 28:05:1989). Nevertheless attempts to erase street dwellers from the urban landscape have been unsuccessful.

A number of Durban's street dwellers sleep under the Eilat Viaduct (see Plates 6.2 and 6.3)¹⁰. Mrs. Y. is one of seven women interviewed who intermittently sleeps "wherever there is shelter" (interviews). She said that most of the people who sleep in this area are women who trade in the Warwick Avenue Triangle during the day. As a result of the lack of affordable accommodation in the city, they are forced to sleep on the streets, under plastic sheets and cardboard. MaZondi explains:

"It is too far to travel everyday. I sometimes only make two rands... too little to pay for (transport). I stay here and go home when I have enough money or when I sell all the vegetable. Sometimes it (the vegetable) gets rotten and I do not have anything to sell and when it rains we get wet and the vegetable gets wet and goes bad. But we cannot do anything else. I have to borrow money to go home. I go home once a month. I

feel bad when I have to go home with nothing"
(interview MaZondi, 02:91)

This experience of meagerness and poverty are common amongst women in the informal sector. The pressing need to work and earn "as much as I can" controls all of the decisions that the women have to make. Most of the women were at some stage forced to return to their homes "empty handed". These women expressed a deep sense of failure when they return to their homes "without any food for the children" (Dingeni, 15:02:91). Irene stays on the streets until she can pay the taxi fare and has money to buy food, clothing and other necessities to take home to her children. She said that if she did not have enough money to travel home she would send what she did have to the children with a friend who was going to Mbumbulu. She did not want to use her limited income on travelling.



PLATE 6.2. WOMEN WHO SLEEP ALONG THE PAVEMENTS UNDER THE VIADUCT.
SOURCE: Weekly Mail, 28:07:1989.

Mrs. Hlongwa's story is not very different from MaZondi's. She came to the city hoping that she would be able to earn more money than she did in Umzinto. She too only goes home when she can afford to. She complained that her trips home are less frequent now that there are more people in the area:

"I was born in Umzinto...got married there. Now when I come to the city I sleep on the streets. I cannot afford to travel everyday. We only make twenty rands a day...thats if we are lucky... Now we go home less (often) because there are many of us here. I do not sell my stock quickly." (interview Mrs. Hlongwa, 2:91)

In order for the women to make any profit they have to work very long hours¹¹. The time lost travelling daily to work is a price that they cannot afford to pay. All these women work "until very late at night" (interviews). Mrs. Hlongwa said that by working late, after the other traders had gone to their homes, they are more likely to sell their goods to "people who work night shift". The women also get up early in the morning often before 5 o'clock so that they can lay out their goods and begin trading before other traders get to work. All the women who sleep on the streets indicated that they sell the most goods once "the other traders have gone home" (interviews).

While the schedules of the women who sleep in the Warwick Avenue Triangle does not seem to be as hectic as that of the women who travel to work daily, close examination of the work that these women engage in reveals that they do indeed lead busy lives. They do not spend time traversing the distance between their homes and their place of work. But they perform many of the other duties that the women who travel daily perform. They cook, clean up the area around which they sleep, and even rear children under much harsher conditions in the city. In so doing they are changing the urban environment.

Notions of regionalisation and zoning are also challenged. The practices of women challenge the "western" ideology of zoning

which defines the 'home', preferably away from the city, as the ideal locality for domestic and child-care activities. They are challenging the ideological definition of the urban work place. Activities that were previously associated with the private sphere and relegated to the home have indeed moved into the public sphere. The streets of the city are beginning to serve a wide variety of interrelated purposes: as axes of movement of people, goods and vehicles as areas of recreation, social interaction, as locations for economic activity and as areas for domestic activities. The streets are at once spheres of work, community and home.

The experiences of the women illustrate that while for many of them the city provides an opportunity to earn a living, it also presents them with many anxieties and fears, such as theft and exposure to the cold. These and the ways in which women deal with these fears is discussed in the next section.

[B] Coping with living and working on the streets

"... the black women had erected (temporary stalls) to display fruit and other wares. They were smiling and chatting with each other. They, too were alert, all the time keeping an eye on their merchandise - apples, pears, oranges, naartjies, peanuts... neatly arranged in attractive cone-shaped hillocks."
(Tlali, 1989: 29)

The ambience created by Tlali's description of women working on the concourse of a station in Johannesburg, is typical of the trading environment in the Warwick Avenue Triangle as well. However, the reason for the alertness of the Johannesburg women differs from that of the women in the Warwick Avenue Triangle, who fear having their goods stolen rather than police harassment.

The most frequently mentioned and greatest fear expressed by all the women who trade in the Warwick Avenue Triangle is of the possibility of having their belongings and stock stolen from

them.¹²MaZondi's experience indicates the harshness of the life of these women:

"... last week when I was working on the other side (along Warwick Avenue), the *tsotsies* stole all my money. I did not have anything and could not even go home to get more stuff. They stole everything I could not stop them" (interview, 02:91).

Indeed there is valid evidence that crime, such as theft is a common occurrence in the Warwick Avenue Triangle and the fears of the women are not unfounded. Mrs. Y. described her experience:

"When the *tsotsies* come the other people run to the hostels. I just cannot run away and leave all my things. The robbers think we are women and just steal our goods...this happens all the time (interview, 2:91)



PLATE 6.3. WOMEN TAKE TURNS TO STAY AWAKE TO KEEP WATCH. SOURCE Weekly Mail, 28:70:1989.

Mrs. Y. went on to describe how as a result of having her belongings with her she cannot escape the harsh realities of life in the city. Irene (interview, 01:90) points out that she is too

old to carry a heavy load. She adds "we cannot leave our things...we cannot even go to the toilet...robbers steal our things". The women who sleep on the streets often look after the goods and utensils of other women who travel daily to work. Although they make some money, this adds to their load and prevents them from "running away quickly when there is trouble" (Mrs. Hlongwa, 02:91) .



PLATE 6.4. THE MOBILITY OF THE WOMEN IS RESTRICTED BY THEM HAVING ALL THEIR BELONGINGS WITH THEM.

When the women were asked by a reporter where all the men were, one of the women replied:

"The only men stay across the road. They are unemployed hooligans and the only time they come here is to steal our food." (Weekly Mail, 28:07:1989)

Anastasia informed me that since she started working in the Warwick Avenue Triangle seven years ago they have had goods and money stolen from them on a number of occasions. As a result, Anastasia and her husband hire two men to guard the store so as to avoid incurring losses in profit through stolen goods.

Women who cannot afford to hire men to protect them have to rely on their strength as a group to protect themselves. Mrs. Hlongwa and MaZondi described how a group of women would sleep close together to protect themselves and their goods (see Plates 6.3. and 6.4.). MaZondi stresses that "it is not only dangerous at night. There are *tsotsies* here all the time (interview, 02:91). Her experience of having all her belongings stolen has made her very cautious and frustrated with her work in the informal sector. She is very discouraged and wants to "stop doing this unprofitable thing".

When some of the dresses that Chris is hired to sell were stolen she had to borrow money to pay Zandile Zondi for the dresses. She and Mrs. B. display their goods on plastic runners on the sidewalk and they expressed a further problem that women who trade on the streets have to endure. Mrs. B. explains:

"The other sellers with cars go over our goods and damage them. We cannot sell such goods. Some of these people do not even have licenses to sell here...they are rich. These people are chaotic" (interview, 01:91).

Women who sell food encounter different problems. Mrs. Hadebe, described two of the problems encountered by the women who sell cooked food. The first of these befalls them when people consume the food they sell but do not pay for it. Beauty, who also experienced this problem on numerous occasions, expressed her dismay and anger at these incidents but added that there was not much that could be done. She added that when they ask the customers to pay them before they eat, the customers get insulted.

"They say why don't you trust me, then we tell them to eat because we do not want them to take their business to someone else". (Beauty, 11:90)

Mrs. Hadebe believes that the people who steal from them take advantage of the fact that they are women¹³. Despite the fact

that they are being exploited, Mrs. Hadebe and Beauty cannot always enlist the help of the police. According to Mrs. Hadebe, the police do not always help them as they are unlicensed. Besides, they do not call on the police for assistance to avoid drawing attention to themselves.

The experiences of Slyverina and Dingeni also conveyed a sense of ambivalence. They were often forced to bring their young children in to Durban with them. While this was an attractive feature of their work in the informal sector, they expressed concern that having to subject their children to living in the streets is the "worst thing that can happen" to a mother. For them life in the city is harsh and children are not "safe here" (interviews). "The children sleep out in the open...they can get sick" (Slyverina, 01:91). It is not surprising therefore that the rain and cold is dreaded by all these women.

For women who rely on passers-by for their customers, bad weather also means that there will be fewer people who will be willing to stop to purchase their goods. Most women expressed concern that they did not sell goods when it rained and some of them complained about the loss of incomes when their vegetables and fruit rots as a result of exposure to the rain.

Many of the women described periods when everything seemed futile and hopeless. This sense of hopelessness is often conveyed when women do not make money for a few days. It is during these times that women complained that they were tired and want to stop work. On the other hand when the women are making money they are willing to work long hours.

In contrast to the sense of hopelessness there are stories of hope and support, when other people in the area rally to the cause of those less fortunate. MaZondi believes that the only good thing about her work is that she has made good friends who helped her when she was in need.

6.2.5. The Warwick Avenue Triangle as a "Supportive Community"

In this section the support networks which are crucial to the survival of many women is examined.

"We are all friends here...When the *tsotsies* stole my things my friends, the Pondos, gave me *imifino*¹⁴ to sell so I can make money to go home to get more things to sell"
(MaZondi, 02:91)

Friendship and support networks with other women is built on trust and reciprocity, and formed by a common understanding of what their work entails and the importance of their work to their families' survival. These networks, whether consisting of someone to chat to, to look after the goods when they have to go out to replenish depleted supplies, or someone who will help out with the evening meal when they do not sell anything, are particularly important to the women. As Irene pointed out "we watch out for each other. In this place we have to be friends...you cannot survive alone" (interview, 01:91). Apart from providing women with a place to work, the Warwick Avenue locale opens up a new world of friends and people who are in a similar position, people who have similar needs and expectations (see Plate 6.5.). It is therefore both an economic and social space.

Although often limited to the people who trade in the immediate vicinity, these social networks are important because they facilitate sharing and learning from the experiences of others (see Plate 6.5.). They are particularly important for new arrivals into the area. Family and friends who come from the same rural area help new women adjust to being in the urban area. When Mrs. Hadebe first came into the Warwick Avenue Triangle she did not have anywhere to trade. When she met an older relative who lived on a farm close to where she was born:

"She helped me adjust to life here...told me that I must sell fat cakes because there is money in selling fat cakes...I took over her space now that she is old" (Mrs. Hadebe,

01:91)

Mrs. Maharaj remembers that she was very apprehensive when she first decided to trade in the Warwick Avenue Triangle

"I read about how dangerous this place was in the newspapers. People were always getting robbed and I was very frightened...this was the only place that I could get a license to trade in...the first few weeks were bad. I did not have any friends. Then I made friends with the other women. They taught me how to identify the rogues so that I can take extra care. Now I feel better. I know they will look after me...they will come to my rescue if anything happens" (interview, 11:90)

Support networks are important in facilitating the exchange of information about where they can find the cheapest vegetable, fruit and material for their trade. In addition, they inform other women who sell similar products which stores offer discounts on the stock they would require.



PLATE 6.5. SOCIAL NETWORKS ARE CRUCIAL FOR THE EXCHANGE OF IDEAS

The women described how they would exchange goods with women who trade in other parts of the Warwick Avenue triangle. Mrs. B.

explains her relationship of mutual exchange with another woman who sells similar pinafores that she does:

"Sometimes we exchange pinafores if I have too many of the same colour. I will give her some of my reds and she gives me some black or white ones depending on what I need and what she has a lot of" (interview, 01:91)

Ellah also sells clothes in the Warwick Avenue Triangle and has helped the other women in the area:

"If we do not sell anything we help each other. If I do not have what the customers want I send them to my friend if I know that she did not sell anything for a long time" (interview, 02:91)¹⁵

It is surprising that this situation occurs in spite of there being so many traders in the Warwick Avenue Triangle. Competition between traders to sell their goods is very strong because potential customers who are unimpressed with what one trader has to offer simply move on to the next trader. The support between the women illustrates a contradiction in their life. Despite an increase in the numbers of traders and increasing competition, this does not result in hostility. Instead the desperate need to survive and earn a living seemed to strengthen the support and friendship networks. Sylverina offers an explanation:

"These are hard times. If we are in trouble our friends come to our rescue. They make sure we have food to eat...If we have no friends how will we survive?" (Sylverina, 01:91).

The emergence of a supportive community in the Warwick Avenue Triangle enables the women to extend the range of activities that they collectively engage in. The women described how they would buy more stock or food for the family while a friend in a neighbouring stall watched over their stall. Most of the women stressed that they could not leave their stalls or work as efficiently, if they did not have the support of their friends.

The features of a supportive community enable the women to cope with the harsh conditions under which they work and live.

All the women pointed out that without exchanging ideas, looking after each others children, helping with food, they could not hope to survive. Anastasia, who is one of the most successful traders interviewed, stated the importance of friendship networks which help her escape the monotony of informal sector work:

"When it is quiet, it (trading) can become very boring ...but the other women here are friendly we talk and enjoy each others company" (interview, 11:90)

Mrs. Zuma and Mrs. Mkezi, also pointed out that being friends makes work on the streets enjoyable. For Mrs. Zuma, her role as "mother" and guardian to the other women who trade close to her (along the Eilat Viaduct) is more important to her than trading. She believes that people take advantage of women and that she was there to protect the women from the *tsotsies*. "I also make sure that the people pay my friends" (Mrs. Zuma, 11:90). She explains what her work in the informal sector means to her:

"If I do not make money my friends look after me. I look after them. They provide me with what I need " (Mrs. Zuma; 11:90)

Mrs. Mkezi supported Mrs. Zuma's contention and stressed that Mrs. Zuma was not just a rambling old women and that she did help protect them: "...the *tsotsies* are afraid of her" (Mrs. Mkezi, 11:90).

The life of Mrs. Zuma suggested that the informal sector, in general and the Warwick Avenue Triangle in particular, is more than merely a place where the women are able to trade and earn a living. It is evident that the common socio-economic position of the women provides the setting for interaction in the Warwick Avenue Triangle. In addition, their experiences form the basis of the women's relationship with each other.

Through their discussions with each other the women learn from the concrete experiences of others. Local norms and values and practical examples of how to cope with the harsh conditions of work in the informal sector are actively drawn upon in the course of their everyday lives. Discourse within the locale is, therefore an important medium through which stocks of knowledge, including information on what resources are available, and the 'know-how' of informal trading is incorporated into personal meanings of the informal sector. It is through this form of discourse, and through acting together and pooling resources, that practical consciousness is articulated and becomes discursive.

The next section examines what the informal sector means to the women interviewed. The section concentrates on the extent to which, their work in the informal sector enables them to meet their different needs.

6.3. THE MEANING OF THE INFORMAL SECTOR

"I like working here because I can be my own boss. I am independent and do not have to report to anyone. Also I can come and go as I please. If the children are sick I can stay at home and look after them."

"We make very little money and there is no certainty that we will make a profit. We work long hours" (Mrs. Maharaj, 11:1990).

During the interviews all the women indicated that as a result of their work in the informal sector they are more independent and had "more power" than women working in the formal sector. Another frequently mentioned advantage was "we can stay at home if we need to". A third advantage was "we can get money whenever we need it and not wait until the end of the month (interviews).

(As a result of their need to balance roles, women are often attracted to informal sector work. Most women did not think that

wage work was a good option for them. Wage work has highly formalised spaces and times. The opportunities of combining productive and reproductive work under such formalised conditions are minimal:)

"I cannot get a job where I can bring the baby to work. I have power here. I can do what I like. Maybe when the children are all big I will look for a job where I can earn more money" (Mrs. Nene, 11:90).

While their work in the informal sector enabled them to balance their reproductive and productive work in time and space, such balancing is often achieved at a financial cost.

(The flexibility of work in the informal sector seemed to be particularly important to older women. As a result of recurring illnesses women are often forced to stay at home.) Although Mrs. Mkezi likes her work in the informal sector she is often forced to stay at home when she is ill:

"I have athiritis. By working here I do not come to work when my legs are painning ...I work when I need money. I am independent. I do not ask my son for money all the time" Mrs. Mkezi, 11:90)

(For the young women interviewed work in the informal sector was the only way through which they could earn a living. Both Chris and Nsomi indicated that they will only work in the informal sector until they "got a better job with better wages" (interviews). Chris's said that her work is not different from working in the factory:

"I work for Zandile Zondi. This is not my own business. I have to work too long hours. I will be better off in a factory. I will get a better wage" (Chris, 02:91).

Trading ice-creams and cigarettes in the Berea Station is also not Nsomi's idea of the best way to earn a living. She expressed the desire to go back to school to complete her matric so that

she can get a "good, permanent job":

"I only do this work part time. If I get casual work that will pay better the I stop doing this. When I do casual work I know they will pay me a wage. This work you make money one day and the next you do not even make two rands" (Nsomi, 11:90).

Zandile's work in the informal sector supplements the income that she makes brewing and selling beer. Despite being more lucrative than street trading, the illegal nature of beer-brewing makes it a very unstable source of income. Thus she cannot rely on only beer brewing for her survival. By trading in the informal sector she is not tied into space-time discipline imposed on formal sector workers. She can "come and go as (she) pleases" (Zandile, 01:91) and effectively combine her two jobs.

Many of the women initially saw their work in the informal sector as a means to an end. To Mrs. B., informal work enabled her to support and educate her children. She reflected on her work in the informal sector when she first started. Her only concern was to make money to support her children. Despite the threats of fines, prosecution, and continual harassment, she stayed on. She regarded her work as a burden then. The meaning of her work has subsequently changed.

Mrs. B. is very proud of her achievements. She points out that the best indicator of her success is "my children, especially my son who qualified as a teacher in 1990" (Mrs B., 02:1991). Despite assurance from her son that he will support her she does not want to stop work. She now works because she has established social ties with other women in the area. She attributes the change in personal meaning of the informal sector to two things: First, her main concern is no longer the desperate need for money, and second as a result of not being harassed and not having to constantly move around the city the women are able to establish lasting friendship networks.

6.4. CONCLUDING COMMENTS

(This chapter examined the constraints that operate, as a result of productive and reproductive roles of the women in the informal sector. In dealing with these constraints, the women have had to make a number of decisions and have had to create new resources.) However, as a result of the ambivalent nature of decisions that women made, new problems were created which called for further adjustments in their lives.

The arrangements that women have made have also affected the form of the city. By combining their reproductive and productive work in the Warwick Avenue Triangle they are transforming the city. The "old" structure of the city which was based on the spatial and temporal separation of activities associated with production and reproduction is being eroded and regionalisation practices are being challenged. Structuration theory posits that agents, in this case women, have the potential through their actions to transform the conditions of their work and life. Women in this study are able to make a difference to their lives by modifying their working conditions and renegotiating their ideas of what they can do to ensure their survival and that of their family. However, the power of women as active agents of change is limited and dependent on the resources that are available within a specific locale.

The examination of social networks in the locale illustrates that the Warwick Avenue Triangle is a supportive community which provides a number of resources that women can draw on in their every day lives. In addition the locale provide an important context for communication of understandings and exchange of ideas of how to best cope with the harsh realities of work in the informal sector.

Notes

1. *Tsotsies* are hooligans who, the women argue, are responsible for the increased incidents of theft in the area.
2. From informal discussions with men in the informal sector and the interviews with women it was clear that the very strict division along gender lines meant that the women and the young girls were solely responsible for domestic labour and the rearing of children. The men sometimes build and repair. While men indicated that they rested after a long day working in the informal sector, women cooked, cleaned, washed and looked after children.
3. It is important to note that some older women are still required to perform these tasks.
4. None of the men interviewed complained that they did not have time to trade. On average men tend to trade for approximately two hours more than women do.
5. Mrs. Maharaj (interview, 11:90) was the only woman interviewed who said that her husband "looked after the children when I worked" in the Warwick Avenue Triangle. This, was an exception and she did stress that this is not always the case. "If the children are sick...I have to stay at home".
6. It is important to stress that it is not always the older women who move into the informal sector. Nsomi's case is another exception, where a younger member of the family moved into the informal sector while the older women stayed at home.
7. In industrialised societies, in recent years, women with family responsibilities have sought a solution in part-time work (see Beechey and Perkins; 1987), but this is discouraged by employers in many Third World countries.
8. Women tend to resort to this practice when they are really desperate and have not sold any goods for a number of days.
9. The only interviewee who travelled daily to work by car was Annastasia.
10. See The Natal Mercury, 27:05:1989; The Sunday Tribune, 28:05:1989 for reports on the growth of street dwellers in Durban.
11. Many of the women only sleep for an average of four hours every evening. In addition to working long hours their sleep is often disturbed by people attempting to steal their goods or fights which occur on the streets. Mrs. Zuma related an incident that occurred one night when she stayed with her friend on the street: "There was a fight...we were very frightened we could not move...then they found a man killed." After this incident she did not want to stay on the streets anymore.
12. It is important to note that none of the men interviewed expressed this as being a major problem.
13. I subsequently spoke to an man in the Warwick Avenue Triangle who sells cooked food and asked him if people steal meals from him and he replied that

he personally did not experience this , but he knew that the women who sold food had this experience.

14. *Imifino* is herbs.

15. When we were interviewing women in the informal sector we observed incidents that Ellah described. Rosemary Matsepe who was assisting me with the interviews expressed interest in purchasing a pinafore from Mrs. Nene. But Mrs. Nene did not have the colour that Rosemary wanted. Mrs. Nene promptly sent Rosemary to her friend. She encouraged Rosemary to buy the dress from her friend because ,she alleged, her friend did not sell any pinafores for a long time.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

This thesis concludes with a brief discussion of the major findings, followed by some suggestions for policy and areas for future research.

* An historical examination of women's participation in the urban informal sector in South Africa, revealed that the concentration of black women in this sector is conditioned by a number of factors. The ideological and cultural assumptions which define women as supplementary workers and housewives, together with discriminatory race laws, have been the main factors. The authorities' definition of African women as "surplus appendages" and a host of legal statutes have historically restricted their presence in the urban areas. In addition, employment practices, which discriminated against women, have made it legally and practically impossible for them to find employment in the cities. Nevertheless the resilient spirit of the women, during times of increasing poverty, enabled them to devise strategies in the informal sector to survive. These included brewing and selling beer, prostitution and street trading in the 'nooks and crannies' of the city (Beavon and Rogerson, 1986; 1987).

[* Prior to 1983, in spite of increasing powerful state control over the urban informal sector in Durban, women were able to fight for and win spaces in the urban area where they could trade without continual harassment by the police. The Warwick Avenue Triangle is an example of one of these spaces.] The women rationalise their actions by stating that [their livelihoods are at stake and that they were merely doing what they have to, to ensure that their families' survive.] Yet, to a great extent their actions and persistence were important catalysts in forcing a re-conceptualisation of the urban informal sector, by Durban's

authorities.

* The ability of the women to initiate change is limited by a number of factors which derive from the organisation of the urban informal sector and the structuring of gender relations. Despite the introduction of more tolerant policies towards the urban informal sector, the experiences of the women reveal that they do not necessarily benefit. The introduction of immune zones, for example, where people could trade on a first-come first-served basis, adversely affect many women. As a result of domestic and child care responsibilities the women who travel daily to work, can not come in early enough to secure trading spots that are easily accessible. In order to overcome this constraint many women resort to adaptive practices, such as the reserving of trading spots, which contravened the authority's 'rules' of street-trading.

* Feminist geography stresses the importance of examining gender relations in everyday activities over time and space. This facilitates a sensitivity to the ways in which the urban environment re-inforces gender relations. The work and lives of women in this study were constrained by the separation in time and space of productive and reproductive activities. In order to cope many of them combine, spatially and temporally, their work in the informal sector with child care and domestic work.

* Through their activities they challenge the social meaning and function of the city. They utilise the limited local resources, primarily the shelter provided by the buildings in the Warwick Avenue Triangle, designed for the public use in the sphere of production, for reproductive private purposes. Consequently, the 'old' structure of the city which is based on the spatial separation between the spheres of production and reproduction is being eroded.

* The accounts of the women suggest that the coping strategies that they adopt often impose further difficulties. While their

work in the informal sector allows them to combine, spatially and temporally, child care and productive work, many of the women stated that this was not the ideal situation. Having to watch the children sometimes resulted in them losing customers. They were also adamant that the city is not a safe place for children.

* The examination of women within a specific locale suggests that what women do in their daily lives is situationally defined, with its meanings and content mutable (Mackenzie, 1989; Dyck, 1990). Space is important, in the lives of women in the informal sector, not only in the form of physical arrangements which add to the strategic problems that women experience in combining productive and reproductive work, but also as being central to how social interaction is constructed and understood.

* Shared meanings and common experiences are important in guiding the actions of the women. The actions of the women are explicable and rendered meaningful to them through a common understanding of the importance of their work to their families' survival. In addition, the accounts of the women suggest that their actions are cast within common experiences of poverty and insecurity in the Warwick Avenue Triangle.

* This study has shown that women are capable, through their actions, of reproducing or transforming the circumstances and spaces in which they work and live. They adopted a number of strategies in order to meet their needs. Whether they were persistently trading 'illegally' in the city, or overcoming spatial divisions between their productive and reproductive work, they were indeed changing the urban environment.

In the final analysis, the experiences of the women in the Warwick Avenue Triangle raises three important issues about the future women's participation in the urban informal sector in South Africa in general. First, existing macro-planning attempts to 'support' all people, and does not consider that different people have different needs which vary depending on their life

experiences. The significance of intensive studies of specific localities is that they facilitate an examination of work in the informal sector in relation to local processes and varied life experiences. This will enable projects to be planned which are in direct response to the actual situation of the women.

Second, it is apparent that the needs of women are diverse and their objectives differ widely (Grown and Sebstan, 1989). In order for policies which meet women's needs to be devised, a distinction must be made between the following groups of women:

- (i) those women for whom the informal sector is crucial to their survival and those who seek to maximise their profit and build a business,

- (ii) those who enter this sector temporarily and those who see it as a life long survival strategy, and

- (iii) those who have well-established 'businesses' and those who are just starting out.

Failure to make these distinctions will result in only some women benefiting from policy changes. For example, the needs of MaZondi are different from those of Annastasia. Annastasia and her husband own three stalls. While they seek to maximise their profit MaZondi's barely earns five rands a day.

* Anastasia may benefit from credit facilities which are currently offered by development agencies. However the majority of the women, like MaZondi, are very poor and do not have security to apply for loans. Credit facilities, similar to that offered by the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh and the Self Employed Women's Association in Gujarat, should be offered to the poorest of the population (Fuglestad and Chandler, 1982; Bhatt, 1989).

* Credit facilities to enable traders to move from subsistence selling to profit maximisation strategies should be combined with advice on matters such as, simple economics and business

management for those women who want to maximise profits in the informal sector, health and education (Brydon and Chant, 1989; Friedman and Hambridge, 1991).

- * Policies should also be directed to training and equipping women with a variety of skills. Chris and Nsomi, for example expressed the desire to be educated so that they could access other well paying jobs. Women do not only need education and training for traditionally 'feminine' occupations. Women should strive to equip themselves to enter non-traditional occupations, like manufacturing.

- * Information bureaus should be set up in the urban areas to inform women about lucrative areas of trading, sources of cheap goods and licensing requirements.

The third important issue that arises from this study is that the structure of the city, which is based on the spatial separation between the sphere of production and reproduction, is a major constraint on women. Future policies in urban centres should be directed at alleviating this. For example

- * Existing landuse zoning regulations should be amended to allow for the combination of living space with income earning activity (Dewar and Watson, 1991). This will reduce costs of travelling that women incur in terms of time and money.

- * Cheap accommodation and child care facilities should be provided in the city for women who come from the rural areas to trade.

- * 'Clip-on' kiosks, and other forms of small, cheap manufacturing and trading spaces around the dead edges of buildings should be provided (Dewar and Watson, 1991).

In order to devise policies that meet the needs of women, further

research on international developmental models on the informal sector need to be undertaken and their applicability to the South African context assessed.

In addition South African geographers should direct their research initiatives at women in different localities to ascertain their specific needs in relation specific geographical and historical settings. Studies need to extend beyond the urban informal sector to other economic spheres as well, for example part-time and home work. These studies will enable women to articulate their needs and more importantly sensitise planners to what women's capabilities are and areas where they require support.

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APPENDIX ONE

PROFILES OF WOMEN IN THE WARWICK AVENUE TRIANGLE

Ellah is 63 years old. She was born in Bulwer. In 1961 she and her husband bought a house in Kwa Mashu. She has six children between the ages of 45 and 25 years old. All her children are married and have families of their own to support. When the children were younger she did not work. Her husband died in 1975 after being ill for seven years. "After he died I had to work to survive". Ellah worked as a domestic worker for six years. She was fired in 1985 because she heeded a call for a stay-away. She could not get another job because she "was too old" and her "eye-sight was bad". In 1986 her friends who traded in Leopald Street told her that she could sell new and second-hand clothes in order to earn a living. She worked with them for a while but soon moved to the Warwick Avenue Triangle when the area around Leopald Street became over-crowded. Her work in the informal sector is important to her because "I need to look after my grandchildren and myself". The grandchildren whom she looks after are the illegitimate children of her sons. "My sons wives do not want to look after the children that they (her sons) had with other women". Ellah, like many of the other women, enjoys the companionship of the other women in the Warwick Avenue Triangle. "I make good money her and all my friends are in this place".

Beauty is 43 years old. She was born in Newcastle, but has lived in an informal settlement in Inanda for the past seven years. Her husband left her and her two children in 1982. After he left she had to begin to work to support herself and her family. Even though her older daughter, who is 28 years old, is employed as a domestic worker, her daughter's salary is not sufficient to support both Beauty's children and her grandchildren. She left her younger newborn baby and her grandchildren with her family in Newcastle and came to Durban too look for a job. She found a job as a domestic worker. She worked as a domestic worker for a year until she was involved in an accident. "I was forced to stop". Domestic work was too demanding and "I was too weak to do that hard work". She saw that other women were making money in the informal sector and decided to try it herself. She now sells fat cakes along Warwick Avenue. She stresses that she does not enjoy her work in the informal sector because "...this work is unprofitable but it is all I can do since the accident".

Thembi, a 33 year old widow had three children Her oldest child is 18 and her youngest is 13 years old. While her children live with her mother in Ndwedwe, she lives in Thokoza. When she was younger she worked in a factory in Tongaat. However, her husband stopped her from working when they married. "He told me that someone must look after the children". Thembi's husband used to run a tuck shop in Groutville. She helped him when her children were older. "When people killed him while he was working I stopped the tuck shop". She was forced to work in Durban as a

domestic to support the children who were in the farm with her mother. "I only worked as a maid for six months.." She did not enjoy domestic work as it was too demanding. "I felt irritated wishing the boss will chase me". Four years ago she dreamt that her husband wanted her to start selling again. "I started selling fruit and vegetable here". She does not earn a lot of money but feels secure in her belief that "this is the work my ancestors want me to do".

Mrs. Hadebe lives in Inanda with her husband and her three younger children. She is 32 years old and has eight children between the ages of 9 and 19. Her older children live with her mother in the farm. Her husband works as a labourer on a temporary basis "when ever he can get work". As a result of the intermittent nature of his work he does not earn well. Despite the fact that her husband did not want her to work Mrs. Hadebe realised early in her life that her family could not survive on the wages of her husband. She compromised by working from her home as a dressmaker. Her work was, however unprofitable because "people do not buy for cash". She complained that she spent more of her time "chasing people for the money" that was owed to her than actually sewing. In 1988 when an older relative offered her her space in the Warwick Avenue Triangle and told her to sell cakes and fish, she seized the opportunity. She argues that "it is not that I like this work, I cannot get a license because I sell cooked food, I pay fines... but I have no choice". Her greatest hope is that she will be able to get a job that is more secure.

Dingeni was born in Ndwedwe. She is 37 years old. When she is working in Durban she lives on the street along the Eilat Viaduct. She has six children between the ages of 19 and 2 years old who live with Dingeni's in-laws on the farm. Her husband died five years ago. Her in-laws forced her to live with her brother-in-law. When her husband was alive she did not work. She said that her husband took care of her and her children. "My brother-in-law is irresponsible, and he is lazy. I had to start working to take care of and educate my children". She cannot work in a factory because she is unhealthy. Her aunts who also sold vegetable in the informal sector in the Warwick Avenue Triangle told her that since she was ill hawking is the best way for her to earn some money for herself and her children. In 1985 Dingeni began selling mielies ,chillies and other vegetable that is in season in the along Warwick Avenue. She prefers to work in the informal sector rather than working "for a boss". "I want to come and go as I please. On some days I feel very weak and I do not work ...I could not do that if I was working for somebody else". She stresses however , "I do not like the city. I want to be with my children".

Mrs. Holongwa is 60 years old and has her home in Umzinto. When she is working in Durban she lives on the street in the Eilat Viaduct. She has four children between the ages of 32 and 16. Her eldest son is the only person in the family that is formally employed. He works as a labourer on a part time basis. Mrs.

Hlongwa's son contributes towards the household expenditure. However the education of her two younger children who are in "high school" are her sole responsibility. "My eldest son cannot pay for my children because he has his own children to look after". She used to plant mielies, and beans on the farm and sell it in Mzinto. Four years ago she decided to sell the beans and mielies, glycerine and jeyes fluid to "people in the city so that I can make more money". She prefers to work in the informal sector because she she has "more power...I can work if want, nobody forces me to come to work".

Mrs. Mnguni sells beans ,potatoes and other vegetable outside the market in Warwick Avenue. She is 52 years old and has 10 children between the ages of 25 years and three. Her husband and her eldest son are unemployed. Hence, she is the breadwinner in the family. She said "...my husband is sick and cannot find work, he cannot get a pension ... also my one son was working ...he was fired." Six years ago, she came to the market, saw other women trading in the area and decided to try trading to make money. She does not like the fact that she has to spend time away from home when she comes to town. But she adds "...I can stay here because my big daughters look after the small children , especially my second born who is mentally retarded." She cannot work in the formal sector because she does not have any working experience. Mrs. Mnguni explains, "when my second child was born I had to look after him all the time I could not go to work, only now that the girls are bigger I can work and stay away from home".

Irene has been working in the Warwick Avenue Triangle since the early 1980's. She sells *amadumbe*, beans, glycerine and jeyes fluid. Her husband has been unemployed since 1979. Despite, a number of attempts and the fact that he has a drivers license, he cannot get a job. During the weekends she stays in Mbumbulu with her family and during the week she spends the night in the street. She is 60 years old and has two children aged 21 and 25. Both the children live on the farm with their father. The oldest child was working but has gone back to work. When asked whether she still supports them, Irene said " they have gone back to school...I cannot tell what they are studying....but they are both irresponsible and do not contribute to the house". To Irene hawking is something for her to do to ensure that "there is food to eat". She is certain that she will only work until she gets a pension. "I'm too old to do this kind of work all the time ... I want to stay at home".

MaZondi, 53 sells glycerine, herbs and jeyes fluid for the past three years. She began working in the Warwick Avenue Triangle when her husband fell ill. Her Husband has asthma and is unable to work. When she is working in Durban she sleeps on the streets in the Eilat Viaduct. She goes home to Matabetula once a month, when she has "enough money". MaZondi's greatest concern is for her two daughters, aged 12 and 15, who live on their own on the farm. Her husband lives with his relatives because he is ill. MaZondi explains "...my daughters go to school, they cannot take care of my husband...he only comes home when I go to the farm at

the end of the month". Like many of the other women who stay in the Warwick Avenue Triangle at night MaZondi's greatest concern is that the "tsotsies will take my money". MaZondi hopes that she will get another job where she can earn more than an average of seven rands a day. Then maybe I'll be able to afford accommodation.

Silverina comes from Umzinto. She is 37 years old and had five children between the ages 12 years and eighteen months. She, like many of the other women in this study, stated working in the informal sector when her husband lost his job. "My husband could not find work. There was no food. I had to do something to help my children." She knew of some other women who were selling fruit and vegetable and mielies in the Warwick Avenue Triangle and decided to sell beans in order to "make some money". She has been working in the area for 4 years. She stopped for a while when her child was born a year and a half ago. She has no formal education, and since she has never worked in a factory "it was impossible to find work there." Furthermore "if my husband cannot find work how can I?" She enjoys the company of the other women who work and live with her in the Warwick Avenue Triangle. She also like the fact that she is in "control". "I can get money whenever I need it and do not have to wait until the end of the month. She smiles and states "...here I am boss - nobody tells me what to do". She does however wish that she made more money so that she can afford to travel daily...."then I would not have to sleep on the pavements...now I only go home once a week when the beans are finished".

Chris is 25 and travels daily from Klaarwater to the Warwick Avenue Trainagle. She is a single parent to 2 cnildren aged 7 and 5. They are cared for by their grandmother during the day. Her boyfriend is irresponsible and does not contribute towards the maintainence of the children. She has "only primary school education" and has "never worked in the formal sector". She said that her work in the informal sector is important because "I have to look after my children, I want them to have an education and get good jobs". She started selling pinafores two years ago. "I heard that Zandile Zondi needed someone to sell her pinafores for her and I needed that job." Chris would like to start her own business so that she can be independent but she cannot sew. In addition she does not have any "extra money" to buy initial stock needed. According to her "there is no difference between the work I do and work in the factory...I think maybe the money will be more in the factory". "Now I earn only 120 rands a month if no stock is stolen".

Mrs. B. is 43 years old. Her home is in Mbumbulu. While she is working in the city she rents a room in Claremont. She has four children between the ages of 25 and 19. She has been a widow since 1972. When her husband died her children were very young. She approached some welfare organisations - she could not remember the names of the organisations - for assistance but was unsuccessful. Immediately after the death of her husband she tried to get a job. "Nobody wanted to hire me , they said that I

did not have any education and skills". She then decided to sell fruit and second-hand clothes, but that was unprofitable. She worked briefly as a domestic worker until her employers emmigrated. She could not find another position as a domestic worker because "the madams wanted live-in maids" and she could not live-in because her children were very young. In 1975 she started to sew pinafores. "I sewed and sold pinafores for a short time by myself, then another lady started helping me. Now she does most of the sewing and I sell here". She has been fairly successful in her endeavour to make money to "care for and educate the kids". She is proud of herself and her children, especially her eldest son who qualified as a teacher in 1990. "All my children are doing well but I will not stop working. Even when all the children are working...all my friends are here".

Zandile has her home in Mthunzini. While she is working in the city she rents a room in Claremont. She is married but her husband left her 5 years ago. She has 5 children between the ages of 20 and 9 years old, all of whom she has to support. Her children live with her in Claremont. Prior to her marriage she worked as a cleaner in a factory in Tongaat. When she married her husband did not want her to work. "He supported the family". When he left she was forced to go out and look for formal employment. She worked in a factory as a cleaner, once again for a short period of time. However, less than a year after she began working she was retrenched. As a result of the uncertainty of the permanence of formal employment she decided "the best thing was to self-employ" Four years ago she decided to sell fruit and cakes in the Warwick Avenue Triangle. It is not surprising that as a result of her bad and limited experience in the formal sector she emphatically stated that "I have no desire to go back and work for someone else who can just fire me....I like being my own boss". She earns well. She also runs a profitable business from her rooms in Claremont,. She brews and sells beer. While her "home business" is important and preferable to her she cannot rely only on that for her subsistence. "If I cannot do one job there is always the other job that I can do so I have to keep both the jobs".

Mrs. Mkhezi is a 62 year old widow. She lives in Kwa Mashu and travels to the Warwick Avenue Triangle daily to sell *muti*. She has been working in the area for seven years "ever since my husband died". Prior to the death of her husband she worked on the farm, while her husband worked in "a factory in the city". When her husband died, she still had some of her children with her, whom she had to support. She could not support them on the meager income earned through farming. Mrs. Mkhezi believed that she was too old to get a job. She decided to sell *muti* because she wanted to help people. She is very proud of the fact that the *muti* she sells to her customer helps heal their ailments. This aspect of her job gives her the greatest satisfaction. As a result of her ill-health Mrs. Mkhezi cannot collect the herbs that she sells. She buys most of the items from the *muti* shops in town. Even though she is ill she likes to come in to work every day. "I can meet my friends, earn some money and I do not have to

ask my son for money."

Mrs. Zuma is about 70 years old and has assumed the position of guardian of a group of women who trade in the vicinity where she does. She is very protective of these women and is quick to chase away "drunk men and tsotsies". We met Mrs. Zuma while we were interviewing Mrs. Mkhezi. She thought that we were government workers and were harassing Mrs. Mkhezi. Once we explained that we were not government officials and that we were students interviewing women in the informal sector she told us that we must interview her as well. Her job as protector of the women who trade around her is important to her and she seems to enjoy it most. "I do not worry if I do not make a lot of money...I help the other women here...they come to me if they have trouble." All her children are grown up, married and working. She lives in Inanda with one of her sons. Mrs. Zuma sells muti and plastic containers in the Warwick Avenue Triangle and has been doing so for "a very long time - more than fifty years". Prior to the 1980's she used to trade in different places every day "...anywhere as long as the police did not see me." Her work was very demanding then. Her husband died when her children were very young. She had to work very hard so that she had enough money for their daily subsistence. Now she works to support herself. She pointed out that she comes in to work whenever she wants to. "There is no pressure to make money, I do not have to support anyone". She buys the muti from an Indian trader nearby and the containers she collects from another person who collects it from a factory in Merebank. She enjoys her work even though she earns very little money. "If I do not make money in a day it does not matter. I'll come back the next day if my son gives me money fare for the taxi".

Annastasia is 23 years old, married and lives in Phoenix. She has two children aged 8 and 6. She runs large a stall, one of three that her husband owns, outside the Berea Road Station. She sells toys, costume jewelry and watches. In addition to having a vending license which allows them to occupy a demarcated block outside the Berea Station, her husband has a hawkers license which enables them to vend from a motor vehicle. Annastasia's husband was retrenched seven years ago. He used the money that he earned to set up his business. While her husband buys the goods from the wholesaler, Annastasia manages the stall. They have employed two other men to help Annastasia run stall. She points out that it is not very safe in the Warwick Avenue Triangle..."...there are lots of robbers who steal when you are busy serving customers, we hire the men to keep watch". Annastasia married when she was 15 years old and has no secondary school education. "I do not have any education...I would not get a job that would pay me half as much as I earn here". While she is away at work her mother-in-law looks after her children. She complained that she did not get to spend much time with her children because she has to work long hours. "You have to work very long hours if you want to make money."

Nsomi is one many women who vend illegally within the station

building. She is 20 years old, single and lives with her parents in Kwa Mashu. Both her parents are old and unemployed. As the oldest of three children it is her responsibility to support the family. Ever since she left school four years ago after completing her standard eight she worked at a number of factories and shops as a casual worker "doing odd jobs". Her last job, which was in December, was at a hairdressing salon where she was employed to wash the clients hair and clean the salon. This job lasted until the Christmas period was over. Since then she has been vending ice-cream and cigarettes in the Warwick Avenue Triangle. When I asked her why she vends within the building when it is illegal to do so she replied that there are lots of people selling the same goods, "...here I am the only one. It is also hot outside, inside the building the ice-cream does not melt so fast". She hopes that she can one day complete her matric so that she can get a good job. Work in the informal sector is insecure. "Sometimes I make a bit extra money but I cannot spend it all. I do not always make a profit so I have to keep money for the next day".

Mrs. Maharaj is 32 years old. She has 2 children ages 12 and 4. She lives in Chatsworth. Her husband has been unemployed for the last three years as a result ill-health. He does not a unemployment benefits. Mrs. Maharaj had to think of a way that will enable her to earn enough money to pay her rent and buy food. Her older sister taught her how to sew and she decided to sew and sell clothing. She initially sewed children clothing and underwear by using off-cuts from her sisters dress-making business and sold them from her home. Gradually she began to earn enough money to buy material and as her sewing improved she extended her skill to include ladies underwear as well. Her sister who already had a stall in the Warwick Avenue Triangle asked her if she would like to share her vending license and sell her goods to passers-by in the area. Mrs. Maharaj prefers to stay at home while her husband sells the garments. Unfortunately she cannot do that all the time because "my husband is sickly and he cannot sit here and sell all the time". If she stays at home she is able to sew twice the number of garments than she does when she comes into town. When she does the hawking she is normally too tired to sew in the evenings once she has tended to the household chores. To Mrs. Maharaj even though her work in the Warwick Avenue Triangle keeps her away from her family, it ensures that they have "food and a roof over our heads and that's the important thing".

Mrs. Nene sells pinafores in the Warwick Avenue Triangle. She is one of many women who neatly lay out pinafores, all made out of a similar fabric, on a plastic runner along the pavement along the Eilat Viaduct. Mrs. X. is 35 years old and lives with her husband and her children in Kwa Mashu. She was very reluctant to talk about her children early in the conversation because she did not trust us. I did ascertain later on that she has five children and her youngest child was twenty months old. Mrs. X's husband used to work for the Durban Corporation and is now retrenched. He does not get unemployment benefits so the money that Mrs. Nene earns

through her work in the informal sector is vital to the subsistence of the family. Mrs. Nene always worked. Prior to working in the informal sector she worked as a shop assistance in Mistry's Supermarket. She worked as a shop assistant for many years before she was fired in 1989 when she requested for maternity leave. She used to sew the clothing that her family needed and decided to use this skill to earn some money. After working in at Mistry's where she was constantly supervised she enjoys the independence and "being my own boss" in the informal sector. "I can come into work late and not worry that I may be fired".

APPENDIX

**THE DURBAN CITY COUNCIL
WILL ALLOW YOU TO
TRADE IN THE STREET
PROVIDED YOU HAVE A
LICENCE AND STAY WITHIN
YOUR ALLOCATED AREA.**

UMKHANDLU WEDOLOBHA
LASE THEKWINI
UYOKUVUMELA UKUBA
UDAYISE EMGWAQENI
UMA UNAYO ILAYISENSE
FUTHI USENDAWENI
OBEKWE KUYONA.

**THIS LEAFLET EXPLAINS
THE RULES OF STREET
TRADING.**

LELIPHESHANA LICHAZA
NGEMIGOMO
YOKUDAYISELA
EMGWAQENI





YOU MUST...

- HAVE A LICENCE TO TRADE WITHIN A SQUARE.

KUMELE...

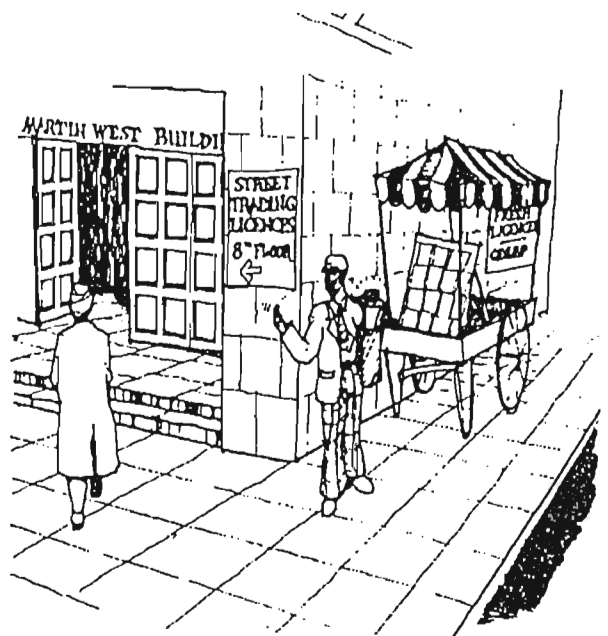
- UBE NELAYISENSE YOKUDAYISA ESIKWELENI.

- YOU CAN **ONLY** GET A LICENCE FROM THE LICENSING OFFICER 8TH FLOOR, MARTIN WEST BUILDING.

- YOU **CANNOT** BUY A LICENCE OR A SQUARE FROM AN ASSOCIATION.

- ILAYISENSE UYOYITHOLA **KUPHELA** KU THE LICENSING OFFICER 8TH FLOOR, MARTIN WEST BUILDING.

- NGEKE** UYITHOLE KUSOSESHE NI ILAYISENSE NOMA ISIKWELE. NIZOTSHELWA UMA INDAWO YENU ISIZOKHISHELWA AMALAYISENSE

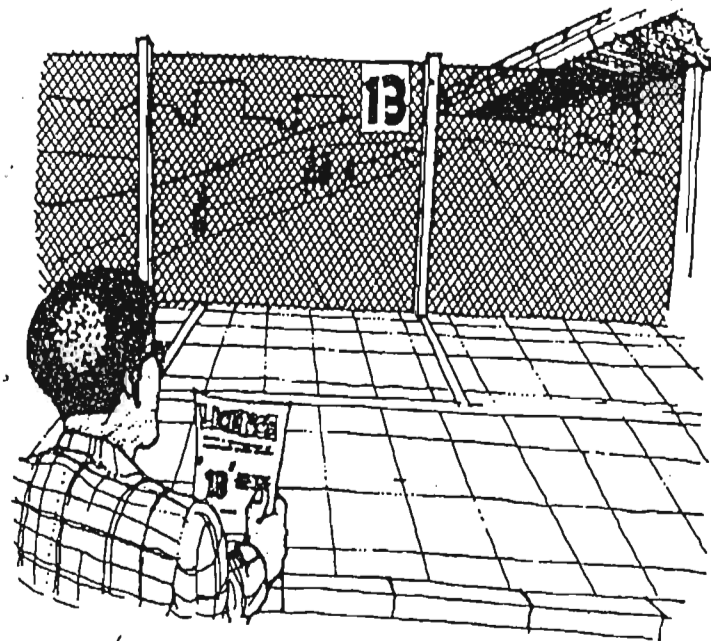


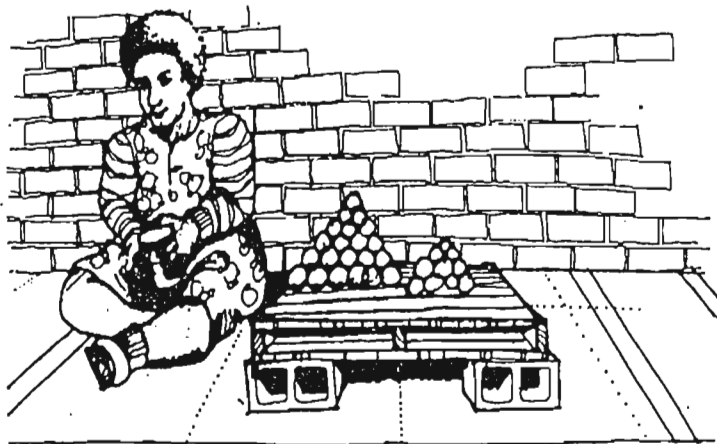
YOU MUST...

- STAY WITHIN A PAINTED SQUARE IN AN AREA WHICH HAS THE SAME NUMBER AS ON YOUR LICENCE

KUMELE...

- UHLALE ESIKWELENI ESIPENDIWE ENDAWENI ENENOMBOLO EHAMBISANA NALEYO ESELAYISENSINI YAKHO.





YOU MUST . . .

- ONLY OCCUPY ONE SQUARE.

YOU MUST NOT . . .

- RESERVE A SQUARE FOR FRIENDS OR YOUR FAMILY.

KUMELE . . .

- UBE NESIKWELE ESISODWA VO.

AKUMELE . . .

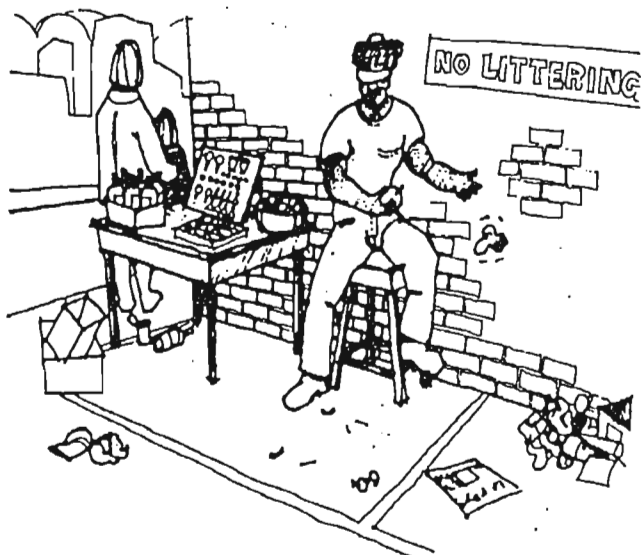
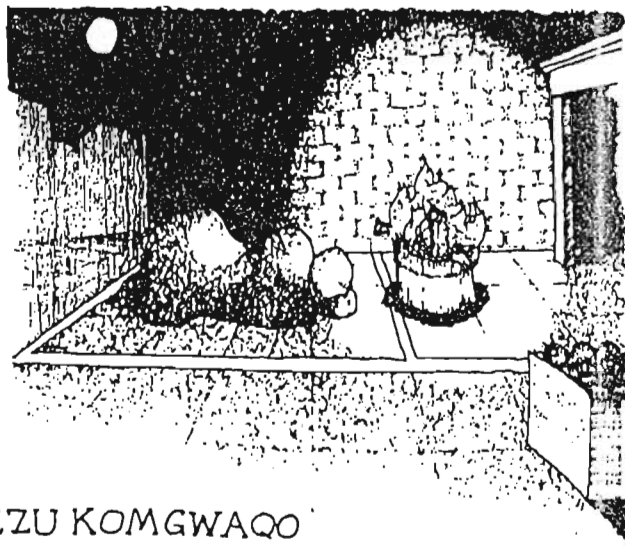
- UBEKELE UMNGANI NOMA UMHLOBO ISIKWELE.

YOU MUST NOT . . .

- SLEEP ON THE SIDEWALK
- COOK OR MAKE FIRES DIRECTLY ON THE SIDEWALK
- LEAVE GOODS OR TABLES ON THE SIDEWALK OVERNIGHT.

AKUMELE . . .

- ULALE EMGWAQENI
- UPHEKE NOMA UBASE UMLILO PHEZU KOMGWAQO
- USHIYE IZIMPAHLA/AMATAFULA EMGWAQENI KUZE KUBE NGAKUSASA.



- THE **COUNCIL** WILL HELP KEEP THE AREA CLEAN PROVIDED YOU PUT YOUR LITTER INTO THE BINS.

- SOMETIMES THE SIDEWALKS WILL BE HOSED-DOWN AND YOU MAY HAVE TO MOVE YOUR GOODS.

- **UMASIPALA** UZOKUSIZA NGOKUHLANZA INDAWO UMA UFAKA UDOTI EMGQOMENI, NIYOBUYE NICELWE UKUBA NIGUDLUKE UMA KUHLANZWA.

YOU MUST □ □ □

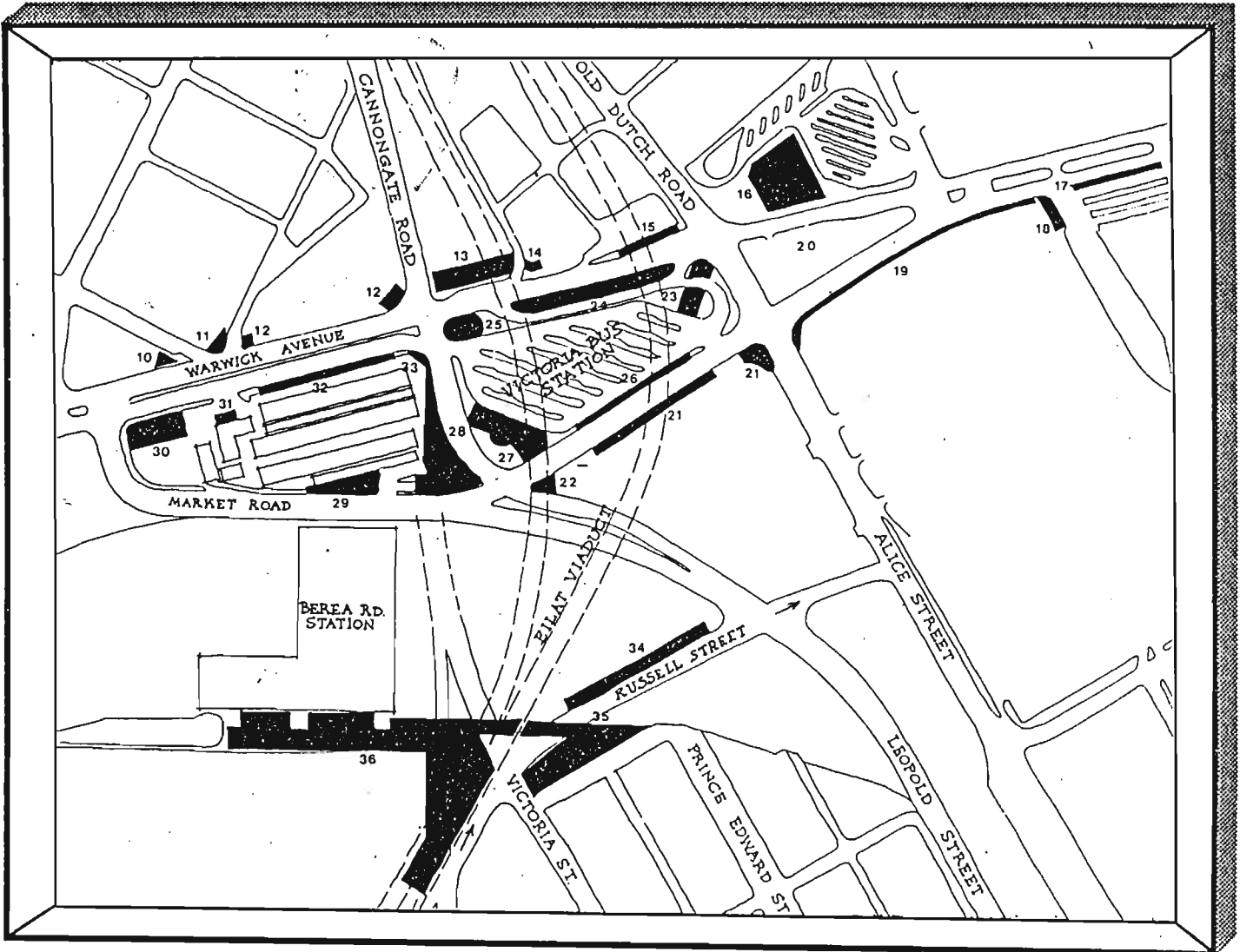
STAY WITHIN A PAINTED SQUARE
IN AN AREA WHICH HAS THE SAME
NUMBER AS ON YOUR LICENCE

KUMELE □ □ □

UHLALE ESIKWELENI ESIPENDIWE
ENDAWENI ENENOMBOLO
EHAMBISANA NALEYO
ESELAYISENSINI YAKHO.

THESE NUMBERED AREAS
ARE SHOWN ON THIS MAP

LEZIZINDAWO EZIBHALWE
NGEZINOMBOLO ZIBONISWA
KULEMEPHU



▣ YOU WILL BE ADVISED
WHEN YOUR AREA IS
GOING TO BE
LICENCED.

▣ YOU MUST BRING
YOUR I.D. BOOK

▣ STATE FULL NAME
AND TYPE OF GOODS
TO BE SOLD

▣ NIZOTSHELWA UMA
INDAWO YENU
ISIZOKHISHELWA
AMALAYISENSE.

▣ KUMELE UPHATHE
UMAZISI WAKHO

▣ YISHO AMAGAMA AKHO
APHELELE NOHLOBO
LWEMPAHLA
OZOYIDAYISA