TRAVEL REPORT FROM KENYA AND TANZANIA
22 SEPTEMBER TO 29 SEPTEMBER 2009

HANS LINDGREN
The travel was accomplished as part of the work within the SIDA program grant no. SWE-2009-P018 to Associate Professor Hans Lindgren and Professor Maria Nyström, Department of Architecture, Chalmers University of Technology.

18 to 21 September 2009:
**Preparing the visits to UN Habitat, Kisumu, Maseno University, Mount Kenya, Dar es Salaam (Ardhi University). Maria Nyström**

The preparation work included contacts with amongst others Jean Daragon, Cecilia Andersson, Laura Petrella, Mohamed el Sioufi, Brian Williams, Inga Klevby, Erik Bergh (Norska UD).

**Wednesday 23 September 2009. Visit at UN Habitat**

*Safer Cities. Laura Petrella, Teckla Muhoro, Claude Albert Meutchehe Ngomsi*

Laura Petrella and the group is active in research on Safer Cities with substantial results to present. They have been working on markets which they regard as sensitive to security. It is about crime, security of the goods, and issues related to bad management of the market place. Petrella mentioned that there is an interesting example in Durban where one has made a change of the market in order to strengthen the security. This is an example of good practice!

The following text is downloaded from a Website and is included mainly to provide a description of the measures taken at Warwick Junction, Durban, see appendix 1, and some references for further research.

Petrella considered our program to be of interest since they can get specific issues to study and also get help with systematization and methodology.

Teckla Muhoro told us about some experiences from Kamerun where they have identified two interventions that make a change.

- Cleaning around the market
- Take care of the children living at the market—creating a kindergarten.

Also, an important observation is that over time, the market place is a market place, a cultural place, and a parking place to mention a few functions that are likely to become part of the market.

A conclusion that has been drawn from the work on safer cities is that security is an important part of the food security chain linked to cities. Also, women are very important actors related to safer cities and food security. Teckla also mentioned that as part of the safer cities work they have studied urban lighting. One of the results was that high mast lighting in slum, parks etc really improved life conditions and is considered to be a critical issue.

A special question was about the Young Urban Network which was established during the conference *Life in the Urban Landscape* at Chalmers in the spring 2005. It seems that the network
is about to die and how do we get it going?

_Human Settlements. Jean dÁragon, Christoffe Laland_

Jean d’Aragon is working with housing issues and talked about market places and economy. Christoffe Laland talked a lot about low cost housing and low cost building materials. He is also interested in issues related to training of people within the field of this team at UN Habitat i.e. low cost housing, and is looking at the possibilities of establishing such activities in Kisumu. He also refered to UNEP (United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) - Home page). He also refered to examples of market place studies carried out in Ecuador. Finally Jean d’Aragon refered to Jacob Kibabwo who builds two houses made of bamboo in Kisumu.

**Wednesday 23 September 2009, 16:00:**

_Visit at IDRC_

_Dr Francois Gasengayire, Prof Maria Nyström, Dr Hans Lindgren,_

We met Francois Gasengayire, senior program officer at IDRC Eastern and Southern Africa Regional Office. Francois pointed to the funds that are available in Kenya to support projects identified by communities i.e. people who use a market. It is a good idea to ask the mayor in Kisumu about these funds and also if it is possible for Kisumu Action Team to use this kind of funding.

IDRC is moving to a five year program cycle. Agriculture and Food Security and the adaption to climate change are prioritised. Examples of issues of interest are energy matters, possibilities to lower the stress on forests as energy resources, health and the environment, and environmental economies.

Directions for the applications are available on the IDRC homepage (http://www.idrc.ca). The application should include

- Program statement
- Relevance
- Research issues
- Objectives
- Methodology
- Stakeholders
- Monitoring of the implementation
- Capacity building

It is good to have or look for shared financing of the proposed project. Of course we have to check to website to get the exact information and also dates for application.

In Canada, it seems that McGill University is close to our interests although their program do not exist anymore. They have been doing studies of system programs for Urban Agriculture and Urban Harvest. In Angola, they have done studies of informal economies and markets and a report is just published. Important in this research has been the aim to catch all stakeholders, to create a kind of food market scenario. When looking at the methodology they have tried to scale up from one project to other projects in other contexts. A very important strategic issue is that students are encouraged to take part of the work carried out in the research programs. This is especially important in the projects aiming at capacity building where IDRC identifies three key groups of
The day started with a visit to the Mayor and it is obvious that he and his team have a very strong commitment to the development of the city. Kisumu is the third-largest city in Kenya, app. 320,000 inhabitants, and the principal city of western Kenya. The city also has a strategic role to play in the Lake Victoria area. It seems that especially the Chinese have done a lot of investments. A figure that was mentioned was 12 [vilken sort?]. It was also mentioned that professor Wang [?], Tongji University recently visited the Mayor.

The main impression of the meeting is that the Mayor and the city of Kisumu is very dedicated to promote actions that will position Kisumu in the front line of African cities. It seems that there is a broad network of different companies, organizations and countries that has been established as part of a strategy saying that success will follow as a result of cooperation. Amongst the actions that has been taken are:

The Chinese are present and will commit themselves to the development of lake transports. This is interesting since the road infrastructure around Lake Victoria at many places is in bad condition which hampers the development of the region.

A high rated French school of architecture has been on visit with professors and students indicating a wide spread interest in the planning of Kisumu and its architecture.

Representatives from Kisumu have visited Nacka which is now a twin town. This means that they are now discussing future cooperation.

An important part of the meeting was about the East African Urban Academy. It seems that we share the same expectations on the school. Obviously it will be very important to emphasize a holistic (a word used by the mayor to describe his visions) view of the school. My interpretation is that this vision is close to the goals that have guided Chalmers’ work so far and means that the Urban Academy should be well integrated in the city, open, and part of an international network.

An important part of the discussions was that the mayor asked for a document stating the goals of Chalmers. Without this kind of letter it is not possible for the mayor to get the idea of an Urban Academy accepted by the local politicians and without this acceptance it will not be possible to start the concrete planning.

An important part of the Urban Academy project is to build a strong relation to universities in East Africa. In the Kisumu region we have established contacts with Maseno University as well as the newly started Bondo University.

It seems that our proposal to put Sustainable Urban Planning, Design, Entrepreneurship and Innovation on the agenda for the Urban Academy is considered fruitful. Within these fields, master programs, Ph.D. programs and continuing education should be the means for action. A draft of a document stating our visions should be finished and brought to Kisumu for discussions. An important part of this discussion should also include Chalmers view on the issue of the ownership of the Urban Academy.
Thursday 24 September 2009,
Visits to market places, Kisumu

With excellent guiding by Everlyne Auma Otieno, Municipal Council of Kisumu, we visited several markets.

The tour aimed at getting an overview of markets in Kisumu and to get an idea of the work that is being done in order to plan for the development of the markets. The visited markets represented five markets of a rather common type but never the less they had different characters. Of course, you can look at different things to describe a market place.

A market place is in most senses a very complex organization that has developed over time, influenced by the people who are managing the market, working at the market and doing their shopping at the market. Properties like location of the site with respect to i.e. housing areas and infrastructure, the water and sanitation facilities available, hygiene facilities for the people working at the market, and, not at least, the management of the market place are crucial for the function of the market. Also, the rapid growth of cities put a high stress on these matters.

It is obvious that formal and informal strategies meet at the market and as of today it seems that there is not possible to change the balance between the two. You will need methods for planning that can handle the growing complexity as well as sustainable technology that can prove its advantage over the present solutions. It is very much a matter of leap-frogging—to take a huge step from the past into the future—in order to make a change for sustainability.

Friday 25 September 2009.
Mwea-Emburu road corridor

Mwea-Emburu road Corridor- KENDAT: Mr Aston Peter Njenga, Hans Lindgren, Lotta Melin, Maria Nyström

This tour was done together with Mr. Peter Njenga, who is Regional Coordinator – East
and Southern Africa within the International Forum for Rural Transport and Development, Nairobi, Kenya. To summarize, we can say that the important part of the work they were involved in was to find ways of keeping the raise of value of the agricultural products as close as possible to the farmers. Two ways of working are worth mentioning. One is to use the market place as a place where you repack the rice coming from the farmers into larger packages that can be exported and to see that there is an organization that can establish a network of international customers that buy the rice. This method is also used for the export of vegetables such as the sweet peas that we find in Swedish shops. The goal is the same, to keep as much of the value added to the vegetables as close as possible to the farmers.

**KENDAT** – Kenya Network for Dissemination of Agricultural Technologies is today, according to the information put on their website a “credible farmers, transport services providers development and empowerment partner and development catalyst as well as animal welfare promoters with much experience to build upon and a mandate of project implementation in broad transport and agricultural development”. Close to the market at Mwea, KENDAT has one of their learning centres described as a centre for information, a hub, linking people to information. Examples of information that farmers need is which products, like e.g. seeds, to buy and at this centre also how to take care of the donkeys. These animals are very important for farmers and KENDAT has shown the rather complex patterns in which the donkeys are an important part and the knowledge generated by this view on breeding, care, use, and health of the animals.

An important part of the work at this center was the organized use of donkeys as a means for transportation from the farmers to the market place and thus to support the strategy for the economic development of the area. The donkeys were also used for transports to serve the market place e.g. with water taken from a nearby stream. To help with the different issues related to the use of these animals a support center has been established.

In all, this was an important study that showed different ways of developing a farming area with the strategic use of a market place.

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**Figure 4.** The rice is locally repacked for export. This process helps the farmers to keep more of the profit.

**Figure 5.** The donkeys are used for all means of transportation at the market. However, it is undesirable that people have to use water coming from open streams for hygienic purposes at the market.
Saturday 26 September 2009.
Ardhi University, Dar es Salaam.

Prof. Wilbard Kombe, Prof. Maria Nyström, Dr. Moses Mkony, Dr. Hans Lindgren. Overall info: Urban Futures/Mistra, Markets, Reality Studio, Mkony’s thesis

We have stressed the importance to cooperate with Kisumu and Maseno University in our plans for the Market Place project. However, it has also been important to broaden the network and since we already had a cooperation with Ardhi University in Dar es Salaam regarding a Ph.D. student we thought it would be important to pay a visit to Ardhi. Part of the meeting was to exchange information on our respective plans regarding research and postgraduate training. We also took the opportunity to inform of the start of the Mistra Urban Futures program, and our master programs running in Kisumu called the Reality Studio.

An important part of the discussion was about the finalizing of the thesis of Dr. Moses Mkony who successfully presented his work at Chalmers University of Technology in December 2009.

Sunday 27 September 2009.
Visit to Bagamoyo, Swahili architecture.

Mr Ulimwengu, William Lucas Kadelya, Dept of Antiquities

The visit to Bagamoyo included two areas of focus. One of them was the world known Swahili architecture which gives the city its character. Of great interest is the refurbishment going on including some infill projects which seems to be inevitable in any city. However, bearing in mind the values of this unique architecture and its need for transformation and conservation before it is beyond rescue we believe that there is a need for even more research and other studies regarding these issues. There is also a need for substantial funding to allow for immediate actions like repairing the roofs.

There is also a fish market in Bagamoyo. This market is rather similar to other fish markets that we have seen although it is quite small. Compared to other markets this one has some qualities like a separate building where you can find restrooms for people working at the market. Still, you will find all the problems that you normally find in market places like lack of water, open fires used for cooking, and no means of keeping fresh food cool.

Monday 28 September 2009.
Ardhi University, Dar es Salaam

Prof. M. E. Kaseva, Prof. W. Kombe, PhD students Ardhi/Chalmers: Daniel Mbisso (present) and Joel Msami

This meeting concluded discussions regarding Ph.D. student cooperation program and the practical matters regarding the candidates and conditions for their admission to Chalmers and time to start the studies. Ardhi University has received funding for the cooperation program from SIDA which means that Ardhi sets the agenda for the program within the terms given by the fund. There are two main things to do within the program, one is to take on a number of Ph.D. students who will spend part of their time at a Swedish university and part of the time at Ardhi and the other is to develop Ph.D. courses together. KTH Royal Institute of Technology is the coordinating Swedish university and The Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences at Uppsala and Chalmers University of Technology at Gothenburg are the other participating universities in Sweden.

The studies are organized in two main parts the first to a large extent carried through in Sweden and ending with an licentiate degree and the second mainly carried through at Ardhi University
ending with a Ph.D. degree.

At the time of this meeting the final budget for the project was not concluded and the plans were to send two students to Chalmers. They started their studies January 2010. However, it turned out that it was possible to send a third student to Chalmers and she will start in the beginning of the autumn 2010. We agreed that it would be of mutual interest to engage a Ph.D. student in the Market Place project since this project points to a number of issues of interest for both of our universities.

Tuesday 29 September 2009.

Summing up

Professor Maria Nyström, Dr. Hans Lindgren

In the morning we did some individual work including meetings attended by Nyström. In the afternoon we did a summing up including identification of actions to take as a result of our work.

I. Cooperation regarding Ph.D. program development and Ph.D. students

The discussions at Ardhi University regarding the PhD program development were very encouraging. It was not finalized at the time which number of students that where supposed to come to Chalmers. However, two students where mentioned, one in the field of marketplaces and one in the field of planning of health care facilities. When looking at the resources at Chalmers like available courses and the work environment for PhD students we decided at our summing up that we would argue for the students mentioned and also promote a third student working in construction management.

We also discussed briefly on the common development of courses and we believe that there are great possibilities to put a number of important ideas into discussion.

II. Market places

We have made a number of notes regarding our observations. It is important to understand that the observations are made from the original intention of the proposal for this project that the overall area of focus is the food security chain. This means that we stress observations that point to situations that have influence on the possibilities of securing the food chain. If we broaden our view it will most certainly mean that also other situations are to be mentioned.

- We believe that the deficiencies in electricity supply cause great problems for food markets. As a consequence it is difficult to arrange with proper lighting, which is a security issue not at least for the many women who works at market places. Also, it is difficult, rather impossible, to arrange with proper cooling for the food that is being sold at the market. There are certainly systems that allow for cooling without the use of electricity but most likely it is very difficult to keep the temperature at an appropriate temperature without too much variation.

- We believe that it would be an interesting idea to study the use of the new grid technology to build electricity supply systems. They are designed to allow the use of different kinds of systems to generate electricity and also, they are more robust than the hierarchical systems that dominate. The research at Chalmers in this field should be interesting to connect to a market place research program.

- This tour was primarily intended for the study of food market places but the way the East African city grows means that it is rather common that health care facilities are close to market places. This goes especially with the dispensers, that is an often very small place for the primary ward. It seems that it should be an interesting idea to allow these fields of
research to come closer to each other.

- To be able to study the growth of cities it should possibly be a very good idea to study the extensive development taking place along to road from Dar es Salaam to Bagamoyo and further north along the coast. Along this road it is possible to see all stages of development from the suburban areas of Dar to the peri-urban areas in the north. The traffic situation is severe and will most certainly become even more problematic. Further on, it is hard to get a view of the standard of water and sanitation without further studies.

- Water and sanitation is a huge problem for most market places in East Africa. There are large market places where you have only one water tap and where you distribute and sell the water in cans. There are also market places where you take the water from a stream for distribution to the market. When the water is used there are in almost all cases no place to pour the used water. It is obvious that this is a brake in the food security chain and it also means that a lot of food is being wasted.

- During this tour we talked to some of the managers of the market places. It seems that it due to many reasons is quite a difficult task to organize and develop a market place. There are e.g very common with only informal agreements with the vendors on a day to day basis, the market places in itself can reside on an informal site, the manager has no money to invest, and the funding that comes from the local authority is unreliable. On a tour to Dar es Salaam in September 2010 this very difficult situation for the market place managers was confirmed. We believe that a study of management issues and infrastructure related to the singel vendors situation would be of great importance. It seems that market places, when they become parts of the rapidly growing large cities show problems related to these matters.

III. Application to IDRC

As mentioned in this report we were encouraged to send an application regarding our project to IDRC. However, this would obviously need other parties to join the project. In our summing up of this study tour we listed a number of contacts to take in order to learn more about the IDRC research program including available fundin and find parners for the application like other universities and/or institutes. In spite of the prolonged time need for an application to be finalized we still believe that the information we got from the visit to IDRC in Nairobi showed that be a lot of benefits in this direction.
The creative use of public space in Warwick Junction, Durban

Peter Robinson and Richard Dobson report on a grassroots-led approach to making places for people in South Africa

**INTRODUCTION**

At all levels of society, people use urban space creatively and often such creativity is brought about by adversity or necessity. Warwick Junction, which is situated on the fringe of Durban’s inner city, provides some interesting examples of how the city’s poor and disenfranchised people have used public spaces and infrastructure in ingenious ways to establish informal trading activities. In response to these, the local municipality (eThekwini) has adopted a number of innovative approaches over the past ten years to engage with and support these informal activities. Today, Warwick Junction is a thriving informal business centre contributing significantly to the city’s economy, and has been the subject of several best practice awards. The twin themes of this paper are therefore the indigenous transformation of several public spaces by poor people driven by sheer necessity and innovative urban management approaches to this informal economy.

**WARWICK JUNCTION BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT**

Historically the area around Warwick Junction was occupied by mixed mainly business and residential uses. As the city’s trade and transport networks expanded it became an important point in the local space economy and a natural market place. Although informal trading had been harshly controlled during the apartheid era, by the early 1990s nearly 4,000 traders were working along its congested sidewalks. The area had been badly neglected and was so rundown that it was described in a local newspaper as a ‘cesspit’. Yet its locational advantages meant that Warwick Junction became the hub of the city’s informal economy and offering a means of survival and a form of employment for many of the city’s poor. It also provided services for the vast majority of Durban’s population who lived (and still live) in distant townships and informal settlements lacking adequate services. It was these circumstances that forced informal traders to convert spaces such as pavements and street corners into places to trade.

In 1996 the city council launched an urban renewal initiative – the Warwick Junction Project. The project was mandated to focus on safety, cleanliness, trading and employment opportunities, and the efficiency of public transport among other issues. An area-based team, eventually headed by Richard Dobson dealt with issues as diverse as curbside cleaning, ablution facilities, childcare, pavement sleeping and a community forum against crime. Investigations into these issues resulted in a number of sub-projects involving substantial capital works. Within three years, the project had achieved dramatic improvements to the urban environment that still remain today, while at the same time supporting the informal traders.

Today, Warwick Junction is the city’s primary transport node with the confluence of rail, minibus taxi and bus services. Berea Road Station is the busiest commuter interchange in metropolitan Durban with 460,000 daily commuters; 2,000 minibus taxis operating from 22 taxi ranks; 130,000 daily taxi departures; and 70,000 bus and 70,000 train commuters pass through Warwick Junction daily. The annual turnover of the 8,000 market and kerb-side traders is estimated to be in the region of Rand 1-billion. The context in which this activity occurs is important in understanding the driving forces of this bustling informal economy. Many of the commuters live in under-served residential areas with no refrigeration, so that perishable goods have to be purchased daily. Many also receive ad-hoc incomes, thus reinforcing a daily pattern of shopping. Furthermore, the minibus
taxis which many depend upon to reach their homes, limit the amount and size of commuter packages. The daily informal economy is therefore responding to the large numbers of commuters with goods and services, being available near to the bus and mini-bus taxi ranks, with rapid transactions to avoid delaying customers en route.

A recent assessment of the Warwick Junction Project identified five specific interventions exemplifying the innovative approach taken to management of the informal economy. These are the:

- Traditional herb and medicine market
- Mealie cookers facility
- Buy-back centre for cardboard salvagers
- Brook Street central market
- Bovine head cookers facility and food court.

This article will focus on the first and the most catalytic of these interventions.

**TRADITIONAL HERB AND MEDICINE MARKET**

The use of traditional herbs and medicines is an integral part of contemporary urban African custom and diet. Since the 1980s, traditional herb and medicine traders had recognised that the vibrant Warwick Junction offered an obvious market place. They began operating illegally and dangerously on the sidewalks alongside busy public roads. The trade was unregulated and no facilities were provided. Despite these inauspicious circumstances, the traders made effective use of the spaces, and many of the traders (mostly women) lived on the sidewalks in order to keep their products secure at night (the sheer quantity of goods making it impractical to move on a daily basis). These traders and the Izinyanga (traditional doctors) are the point-of-sale in a complex supply chain, which involves harvesting and transporting herbs and medicinal products to Durban from various parts of the province.

In the early 1990s, when there were approximately 500 traditional herb and medicine traders, the municipal Health Department began work to manage the health and safety challenges. This resulted in the formation of a street committee with elected representation, documentation of the traders’ needs and aspirations, and the establishment of a Self Employed Women’s Union. This preparatory work was to provide the Warwick Junction Project team with a sound basis for other interventions.

At the inception of the urban renewal project in 1996, the traditional herb and medicine traders were a major concern as the area that they occupied had become overcrowded - suggesting that additional space was needed. Furthermore it had been tacitly accepted by the traders and municipal officials, that although Warwick Junction was the right part of the city for this trade, the sidewalks were not appropriate for traders, as they were narrow (too small for trading and passing pedestrians) and the adjacent roads very busy.

Of equal concern at the time was the management of two redundant freeway spur roads that crossed the railway corridor adjacent to the Berea Road commuter station. As open, unused space, the spurs were continually being occupied opportunistically for informal dwellings. Valuable urban management resources were being spent preventing wholesale occupation of the spurs. The creative response to these two concerns was to establish a central Market for the traditional herb and medicine traders on the unused freeway spurs. The informal traders could then acquire much needed, better and safer spaces, and prevented opportunistic invasions.

The Market provides space for about 700 traders. It consists of off-street open roofed stalls with 6 sqm per trader and twelve semi-enclosed Izinyanga kiosks, which could be secured with metal roll-
down doors facing onto the pedestrian routes. The Market also has roofed stalls on the outer edges of the freeway configuration, creating a contained space with a measure of tranquility within the busy transport and pedestrian hub. There are individually metered water points throughout the Market, each shared by about 10 traders, and two public toilet blocks.

In order for the Market to operate optimally, it was necessary to connect the end of the freeway to an adjacent pedestrian bridge to provide a new route over the rail corridor. In December 1999, the Market Bridge was identified by the (South African) Sunday Times as one of the architectural ‘Best in the Century’: ‘This is one of the first South African structures which addresses – and celebrates – the informal traders who have come to dominate our city centres. The building, which is not much more than a pedestrian bridge with some shady pergolas, is located at the city’s commercial centre, where hawkers, shacks and shabeens cluster around a busy transport intersection. Lightweight structures with shading devices made of wattle branches announce the entrance to the market. The transient quality expresses the informal trading patterns of the hawkers who ply their wares on the bridge.’

Associated with the off-street Market and located in an underpass are the ‘lime sellers’, selling kaolin, a high quality white or brown clay, used for medicinal purposes because of its high calcium content, or as traditional sunscreen. Subsequent phases of the Market have seen the addition of forty more kiosks for Izinyanga, a herb processing facility and landscaping. This landscaping included trees which continue to be protected by the local Traders Against Crime. Another innovative piece of urban space management was achieved through the planting of indigenous aloes along the road verges. The dead, dried leaves around the base, which the local authority would normally have had to remove, are harvested by the herbalists for snuff.

**INNOVATION**

What was particularly innovative about the use of space in Warwick Junction? At the outset, the herb and traditional medicine traders seized the opportunity of using the sidewalks for trading, storage and living. Secondly, the City Health department acknowledged the significance of this cultural and social activity, and decided to engage with rather than try to exclude the informal traders. This has had wider and local benefits, namely the use of public space as a developmental tool, coupled with the value of having an area-based team was innovative. The consultation process around the herb and traditional medicine traders (and other interventions mentioned above) was qualitatively different and better than previous approaches. This resulted in a seamless transfer from the sidewalks to still affordable premises in the new Market. A leader of the traders noted that the project ‘afforded the opportunity to participate on a sustained and continuous basis in negotiations about their needs and priorities and the Council’s concerns in a low-key way, often on an issue-by-issue basis.’ Finally the spatial response, recognising the freeway spurs as an untapped resource, relieved previous congestion and dangers, and unlocked what was to become a catalytic project around which others were built.

**CONCLUSIONS**

Creativity in the design of urban spaces is not confined to forms of large squares and boulevards, up-market residential developments, or shopping malls and office parks, but can occur in poor areas of a city, and often in small spaces. Nor are creative design and the transformation of urban space the preserve of built environment professionals. The evidence from Warwick Junction shows how different groups in the city have used the spaces in and around disused infrastructure to set up a number of informal economic activities. Furthermore this case study offers a model for urban managers faced with the dilemma of whether to exclude or to work with the informal sector. The experience of Warwick Junction stands in stark contrast to how the informal economy is approached by most local authorities; the approach developed through the project is a model of what is possible in developing country cities. According to Hart ‘Durban has provided exhilarating
proof of how poor people, in sensitive collaboration with urban planners, can enliven a city centre, generate employment for themselves and expand services for the population at large.’

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