

The queue marshals and drivers at Faraday claimed they had not been informed of the process and did not know that the interviewers were coming. At Imzamayethu, however, officials met the interviewers who were told a group of drivers was ready. Only four drivers were needed so the remainder of the group – about ten – listened. Some were unwilling to be interviewed.

Although standardised questions were used in the interviews, the method was personal, short conversations. The Faraday drivers are mainly rural Zulu; all appeared to only speak Zulu and hence interviews were conducted in Zulu. There were comments such as, 'not satisfied with employers', 'there's no communication', 'all they want is the work', 'they don't care', 'he'd kill me if he heard me talk', 'sometimes I go months without pay'. An 'umlungu' driver works for a Faraday association owner. The Imzamayethu operators are more urban (possibly born in Gauteng) and didn't need interpreters as they could speak English. Their responses were, to put it mildly, diffident. Individual drivers appeared tense and defensive and it seems that issues exist between the associations (these were not, however, made known to the interviewers). They disliked the violence at Faraday – but they must be referring to violence within or between associations because of the commuters' response to the relative safety of the area.

Both Faraday and Imzamayethu drivers said that the positive aspects of the Faraday taxi rank were the following: there is work; access to the highway is good; and the muti market attracts tourists. This last point is surprising as tourists don't mean anything (other than photos!) for taxi drivers, and in any even the number of tourists is minimal – this would have to be tested. However, one Faraday driver said that he did not like the 'imikhukhu' (meaning the muti market).

Among the dislikes at Faraday are: lack of water and hence drivers have to buy their water somewhere in von Weilligh Street (perhaps the BP garage); the condition and situation of the rank are not favourable; and there are no 'waiting rooms' or showers for drivers and no facilities for commuters. The lack of lighting at night and the fact that the ranks are dirty were also mentioned. The taxi operators cited the tavern between the muti market and the taxi rank as a problem because it is frequented by some of their drivers who then drive drunk and have accidents.

Drivers from both associations said that the length of time spent waiting at Faraday varies, but that they are there for between one and three hours, for some during the morning and again in the afternoon, for some at midday through to mid-afternoon. They were observed gambling at two or three tables, sleeping in their taxis and socialising in groups. An interesting observation was made by one of the interviewers who at about 17h30 saw a police van cruising by to 'collect' but the runner said 'no business today' and the van drove off.

Whether taxi drivers shop or not was not canvassed in detail but the interviewers think small items such as cigarettes and sweets are purchased, as well as cooked food.

Improvements would include reversing the aspects at Faraday that the drivers disliked (as above) as well as vehicle repair facilities and a car wash; recreational facilities for holding periods, e.g., snooker; a filling station; shops, including fast food outlets; and proper facilities for the muti market.

As regards accommodation, four Imzamayethu drivers stay at Orange Farm, i.e., they probably have their own or family sites there; three live with their wife and children and one is single. One driver stays at the Mbatha squatter camp at the Denver Hostel. None of the Imzamayethu drivers would want to live in town.

Two Faraday drivers live in the Jeppe Hostel (with brothers/friends); two in Yeoville (one alone, one with friends); two in Zonkisiswe (one alone and one with brothers); one in Kibler Park; one alone in Soweto; one in Noord Street with his son; one in Steeledale; one in von Brandis Street with a friend; and one 'in the location'. Ten drivers from the Faraday association expressed an interest in moving to town, subject of course to expense and proximity to work. Two respondents (Steeledale and Kibler Park) would not move to town.

### Muti Market

Over 20 years ago squatters settled on vacant council land under the M2 east bridge. It became a 'muti centre' after people left Mai-Mai when it was formalised. By all accounts the muti market has decreased in numbers over recent years and there are now 52 Inyangas and an estimated 250 people working there (according to an interview conducted with Mr Mvubu, 'chairman' of the muti traders). The majority of people at the muti market are Zulu, traditionalist, averse to 'politics', and subsist under very hard circumstances. They have little home life and even less town life.

The sampling method as below (based on numbers advised by Mr Mvubu and the random selection of interviewees over the full extent of the muti market) increased the reliability of information obtained.

The interviewers, after talking to sellers at the muti market, were referred to Mr Mvubu. Contact with Mr Mvubu was made again in June at the briefing meetings of the taxi associations at the council offices. At a meeting with him at Faraday the procedure for the interviews was discussed and agreed upon, i.e. that Mr Mvubu would advise the sellers that interviewers would come to talk with some of them. Communication was excellent and all interviewers reported that every respondent who agreed to be interviewed confirmed that they had been informed of the process. At a 90-minute focus group meeting (programme attached), organised by Mr Mvubu, and attended by 15 representatives from the muti market, each respondent was given a letter in Zulu and English, and the purpose of the interviews was explained orally. The meeting took place in the sun with everyone sitting on logs and plastic drums adjacent to the municipal toilets and a shack – no-one wanted to talk about 'that shack' next to Mvubu's 'place'!

Twenty-seven interviews were conducted using the same method as with the taxi operators, ie an informal discussion based on set questions: eight Inyangas (five men and three women); four Sangomas (two men and two women); three prophets (three women) and 12 muti sellers (three men and nine women). No 'casual labour' – usually young men employed by the sellers – was interviewed. It was noted that some of these young men live in a large shack at the east end of the market. Sangomas (bone throwers, diagnosers/referrers), Inyangas (doctors) and prophets (use water/sand/animal fat to diagnose/prescribe) all sell muti. Of those interviewed: 11 had been there for between one and three years; four for between three and five years; and 12 for over five years. A number had been there for ten years, one for 20 and one for 23.

The interviewers observed that there is an apparent social organisation operating in the area: the sites are well designated, the stalls are tidy and well-kept; there is a process for entry into the market group (e.g., a woman hawking oranges is waiting for a chance to enter); the pavements are clean; people know each other; and newcomers are observed. The market is cohesive, the taxis are neighbours and gambling takes place on the periphery. Cooking takes place in the open and fires are lit for warmth. When it is warm, sellers sit on tins and on a big sofa in the sun amid their wares. The traffic noise from the M2 above is unbearable! The majority sell all year around, except December, Good Friday and the days when they go to procure supplies and/or visit their families; during these times neighbours look after the stall.

There are few facilities. At some time the council decided to build storage bins. The market people intervened and participated in a revised design for the bins. It is clear that a few people, mainly women, live in the bins with small children. Mr Mvubu's storage bin is his office (he lives in a flat in Turfontein). One woman has been living at the market for over 22 years; her 21-year old son was born under the bridge and now works for her as a seller. The council built some toilets for the muti market but these are only open from 07h00 to 18h00 – hence those living under the bridge have no ablution facilities from evening to morning! As with the Faraday taxi rank, there is no water. This vital commodity has to be bought from shops and garages nearby.

Those who do not sleep at the market rent rooms in Anderson Street and Eloff Street for which they pay rents of between R170 and R400 per month.

At Faraday there is a support system in place for the muti people, 'there's peace' and shelter. It is busy, there is transport nearby (station and taxi rank) and enough customers who are used to coming there. There were comments such as, 'I'm used to this place', 'Seeing the medicine – I love this job my ancestors gave to me, otherwise I'd be at home', and 'When taxis are working, people come'. However, there is crime and customers get hijacked at the corner of Faraday and Eloff Street, and one muti person said 'you can't say all is safe because some of your stuff can be burnt or stolen'. There are loiterers - people who are not working hang around the area, and also sleep there.

Although there is shelter after a fashion, accommodation is far from adequate. The market is exposed – cold during winter and wet during summer when it rains – products get damaged and medicines are exposed and unsafe when left overnight. There is no security at night and goods, as well as the people who sleep there, are vulnerable. Transport is also a problem because some people 'stay far from here'.

The muti market people feel that the following would improve their lives at Faraday: water; houses; equipped consultation/treatment rooms where they can consult 24 hours a day (with toilets, water, rest areas, steaming facilities); shelter for 'shops'/stalls; licenses and professional certification; a crèche; adult school for training purposes and HIV courses; toilets; shops in the vicinity for food; and an increase in income.

Two healers have built clay/daga rooms. One is a shrine for meditating, the other a consulting room. An iron boat (said to have been put there by the council!) is supposedly used as a consulting room but it appears that people are living in it – it stinks!

Although the initial appearance of the produce on sale is of a lot of dried vegetation and skins, there is great variety. Items are labelled, there are vegetable and herb products, birds, reptiles, animal fats, etc. The origins of the products are wide-spread – from KwaZulu-Natal, Lesotho, Bushbuckridge, Moçambique, Pretoria, Swaziland and the Eastern Cape (Transkei). Lesotho suppliers deliver on Fridays. In general, sellers go 'home' to procure supplies, and they combine the trip with a visit to see their families, etc: 21 sellers fetch muti by Putco bus; one in his own car (the father of 49 children!); one by bakkie; one by train; and three unanswered. The interviewers did not examine in detail who buys from whom and what they choose to sell; they were also unable to establish the selling price of products. One widow told how she learned from other women what plants to pick 'at home' and that she goes back and digs them up herself. A few people also sell Sorghum beer (made by the council) in plastic cartons.

When asked why they sell muti, the following answers were given: 'Because I'm struggling – seven kids, three grandchildren and one uncle... kids at school'; 'It's what I'm trained in'; 'I've never worked for white people. It's my job. I started the work when I was 15 years old'; 'from need. Before I worked in construction companies. I built this highway'; 'Because I know what muti heals. I am not a Sangoma. I sell for survival'; 'It's a calling for me' (a member of the Zionist Apostolic Holy Messenger under Bishop Gumede); 'I am selling the muti of healing only'; 'I only have this to sell'; 'My product is bought by Inyangas from different areas'; 'I tried to sell clothes and food to send children to school, but failed, so ... my father used to sell this stuff'; 'I am the breadwinner, husband has died, I have four children at home ... chose items by cost factor, stuff that sells well'; 'We love it!' (mothers and daughters are Sangomas and father, a churchgoer); one woman separated from husband with a family to care for, had a 'calling'; another person said that muti gets a good price; and another said she was trained to sell it.

The key observation is that the muti market is a wholesale depot for purchasers from all over the country. A wide range of produce comes to this market and is retailed, either by purchasers coming in themselves to fetch it (one man interviewed was from Dullstroom), or it is bought by people who have taken orders. For example, Sampie and Jan, two white men come and buy between ten and fifteen thousand Rand per week and deliver all over the country.

This wholesale informal pavement depot competes with two other muti sellers in the area. African Muti Land is the one, owned by Dr Mhlaba in the nearby old Grosvenor building on Wemmer/Jubille Road. Dr Mhlaba perceives his clientele as upmarket. They don't want to buy muti that 'lies around on the pavement where people walk'. According to Dr Mhlaba muti must be kept apart and clean, 'bad' people walking past the pavement market will make the muti lose its power. He referred to Mr Mvubu as that 'small boy next to the toilet there, selling muti'. Dr Pillay, an Indian shopkeeper next to Dorkay House, is the other competitor. His assistant said 'we thought they (the muti people) were going to go, now they've stayed!'

The muti market is isolated. They have no relationship with the commuters and little contact with the taxis. The nature of the relationship between the two is not based on customers or transport. The muti people may travel home by taxi (but not bringing their supplies to town, when they use hired bakkies and buses). It appears that the only basis for a relationship that can be fathomed is one of language and hence perhaps family ties. However, the Faraday taxi association brought and introduced Mr Mvubu to the consultative meeting. They buy vegetables, fruit, sweets and cooked food from the hawkers. Mr Mvubu has had contact with the council and he refers to 'talks' about water, lights and upgrading. There was, of course, previous contact about the bins and toilets. Mr Mvubu also has documents showing that the department of agriculture conducted some research with students regarding different types of muti.

Very little information was given about membership of other associations. One man reported membership of a Natal burial society, one of the IFP and there was one AME church member. Each time Mr Mvubu was spoken to he was emphatic that 'we don't want politics'!

## **FINANCIAL POSITION OF TRADITIONAL MEDICINE TRADERS AND TRADITIONAL HEALERS**

See attached Appendix 3<sup>1</sup> (Income/expenditure and needs survey of 'Muti' trading and traditional healer population) for more detail.

- 15-18% of the traditional medicine (healers and traders) population earn more than R1000 per month.
- Access to storage seems to correlate with higher levels of income.

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<sup>1</sup> This information has been provided by Vivienne Williams, PLANET agricultural consulting.

- Traditional healers are better off. Some employ assistants.
- Average travel expenses are higher among traditional healers - R 283 vs R 204 for traders but the median is about the same, between R 150 and R 160 per month.
- Difference in expenditure on accommodation between healers and non-healers is insignificant. The mean is around R 225 and the median R 200 per month.
- Those who do have employees (assistants) spend about R 100 per month on wages.
- There is a marked difference of expenditure on food. Healers spend nearly twice as much on food as do traders/non-healers. Healers spend on average a median of R 450 and traders R 240 per month.

Disposable income for housing is very low. There could, however, be a section of the traditional healers that could afford more formal shared accommodation. More detailed means testing would be required to verify this.

## **RETAIL AND BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES**

A survey of commuters at the taxi ranks and station was conducted to determine the retail brands that would be used and the general conclusion is that there is a demand for the usual brands (see survey results in Appendix 4). A total of 47 people were interviewed. The commuters were asked to select the top 5 shops in an order of priority that they would use if they were present. The selection was quantified and weighted and the list of brand shops that feature as possible tenants in the retail components of the development scheme are as follows (the number associated with each brand retailer is a weighted number indicating preference):

Shoprite Checkers (172)  
 Jet (96)  
 Supermart (83)  
 Chicken Licken (74)  
 Clicks (63)  
 Mr Price and Diskom (58)  
 Sales House (49)  
 Pie City (47)

## CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions, so far, are as follows:

1. The Faraday Precinct needs to accommodate a taxi rank for 200 taxis and an associated taxi holding area for 1 000 taxis, but with the possibility to accommodate an expansion.
2. The area should provide stalls and facilities for 100 general (informal) traders to start with and a further 120 traders later on, subject to demand. This includes traders of cooked food, fresh fruit and vegetables, small items of consumables, e.g., sweets and cigarettes, and other items.
3. The precinct should accommodate 50 Inyangas (traditional healers) with space for traditional medicine (muti) trading. It should include spaces for preparation and storage, consulting and treatment rooms and post-consultation rest rooms. A further 100 –120 spaces should be made available for traders/dispensers of traditional medicine who are not directly associated with Inyangas.
4. In the longer term, the special facilities should include hostel-type accommodation for traders and taxi drivers, and possibly temporary visitor accommodation.
5. It should also provide a visitor information centre, a training centre on health and environmental matters and a conservation inspector's office.

**APPENDIX 1**

**TAXI ASSOCIATIONS AND ROUTES  
COMMUTER MOVEMENT PATTERNS**