

AN ASSESSMENT OF HAWKING
ACTIVITIES IN FINGO VILLAGE

GRAHAMSTOWN

Submitted in Fulfilment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
MASTER OF ARTS
of Rhodes University

by

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December 1985

TABLE OF CONTENTS		PAGE
Preface		v
Acknowledgements		viii
List of Tables		x
List of Figures		xii
List of Plates		xiv
Chapter 1	INTRODUCTION	1
Chapter 2	THEORETICAL BACKGROUND	4
2.1	The Changing Nature of Human Geography.	6
2.2	Recent Changes in Understanding and Analysing Development.	11
2.3	Approaches to the Informal Sector.	18
2.3.1	The Dualist Interpretation of the Informal Sector.	18
2.3.2	The Structuralist Interpretation of the Informal Sector.	27
2.3.2.1	The Marxian Interpretation of the Informal Sector.	33
2.4	Towards a Definition of the Informal Sector.	37
2.4.1	A Working Definition of the Informal Sector for the Fingo Village Survey.	40
2.5	Modelling the Informal Sector.	42
2.5.1	The I.L.O.' Implicit Model'.	43
2.5.2	Informal Sector or Subordinate Mode of Production.	47
2.5.3	Modelling the Informal Sector Within a Marxist Framework.	53
2.6	Suggestions of Current Research Needs Within the Field of Informal Sector Studies.	57
2.7	Hawking as an Informal Sector Activity and its Characteristics.	60

2.8	Chapter Summary.	64
Chapter 3	THE STUDY AREA	66
3.1	Grahamstown in the Context of the Eastern Cape.	71
3.2	The Historical Background of Grahamstown.	78
3.3	Historical Sketch of Fingo Village.	80
3.4	Contemporary Development Problems in Grahamstown and Fingo Village, with Specific Reference to Unemployment.	85
3.5	The Role of the Informal Sector, Specifically Hawking.	92
3.6	Chapter Summary.	95
Chapter 4	METHODOLOGY	96
4.1	Human Geography and Positivism.	98
4.1.1	Positivism and the Fingo Village Survey.	105
4.2	Forms of Data Collection used in Previous Studies of the Informal Sector.	106
4.3	Data Requirements of the Project and Data Collection.	107
4.3.1	The Mapping Exercise : Description and Assessment.	107
4.3.2	The Questionnaire : Description and Assessment.	109
4.4	The Trial Run of the Questionnaire.	114
4.5	Sampling Techniques for the Main Survey.	115
4.6	Problems Encountered in the Field and Future Recommendations.	115
4.7	Analysis of Data.	116
4.8	Chapter Summary.	116

Chapter 5	THE SURVEY RESULTS	118
5.1	General Profile of the Hawkers and their Households.	118
5.1.1	Synopsis of Hawker Profile.	135
5.2	The Hawking Operation.	137
5.2.1	Synopsis of Hawking Operation.	152
5.3	The Location of Hawkers.	153
5.3.1	Per Capita Income From Hawking For Each Block.	169
5.3.2	Three Dimensional Plot Analysis of Income Earned From Hawking.	174
5.3.3	Synopsis of Location of Hawkers.	182
5.4	Chapter Summary.	183
Chapter 6	THE ASSESSMENT OF THE SURVEY RESULTS	184
6.1	Assessment of Whether Hawking is a Form of Employment or a Means of Survival.	184
6.2	Hawking Legislation and its Impact Upon Hawking.	189
6.3	The Locational Characteristics of Hawkers and Future Areas of Research.	191
6.4	Specific Hypotheses Arising from the Fingo Village Survey.	194
6.5	Chapter Summary.	195
Chapter 7	CONCLUSION	196
	REFERENCES	202
	APPENDIX 1	212
	APPENDIX 2	213

PREFACE

A number of issues in the thesis need to be clarified and will be discussed individually below.

- The term Third World, which is used in the thesis to describe developing countries in a disadvantageous economic position in relation to developed countries, is unsatisfactory. It is a collective term which combines countries with dissimilar cultures, ideologies and future prospects into one category (De Souza & Porter, 1974). Debate continues whether South Africa can be classified as a First or Third World country (Fair, 1982). Rogerson & Beavon (1980) indicate that South Africa can be described as dichotomous because it reflects characteristics of both First and Third World countries. In comparison De Souza & Porter (1974,1) include South Africa among the Third World countries, because four-fifths of the people have an income that is six times less than the income of the other fifth, and they live in a condition of underdevelopment". Conditions in Fingo Village resemble those described by De Souza & Porter (1974) and hence the results of the Fingo Village survey are compared with similar studies elsewhere in the Third World. However, it would be naive to assume that Fingo Village is unaffected by development within the core regions of South Africa, which in many instances epitomize the First World.

- The term informal sector, used throughout the thesis, is also unsatisfactory, and debate continues as theorists attempt to find a more appropriate term. Santos (1979) indicates that the term informal sector is contentious, by placing it in single quotation marks. From the literature survey it emerged that the majority of authors did not follow Santos' convention (1979) and thus it seemed acceptable to use the term, informal sector, without placing it in single quotation marks. Chapter Two deals in-depth

with the problem of defining the informal sector, and a working definition for the Fingo Village survey is presented in section 2.4.1.

- The informal sector embraces a wide diversity of economic activities. Due to the limited time and funds available, it was decided to isolate one aspect of this sector, namely, hawking. Sections 2.3 and 2.7 of Chapter Two indicate that hawking is an exemplary informal sector activity. All the different hawking types could not be given close attention and therefore, for practical purposes, it was decided to select one facet of hawking, namely, fruit and vegetable hawkers. Mobile fruit and vegetable hawkers were excluded from the study as it was impossible, during the mapping survey, to isolate a specific hawking site for each mobile hawker. Furthermore, a mobile hawker could easily be enumerated on more than one occasion, and hence a margin of error would automatically occur in the study. This was another reason for excluding mobile hawkers from the study and merely focusing upon static and semi-static fruit and vegetable hawkers.

- It is difficult to collect comprehensive quantitative data on informal sector activities (Preston-Whyte et al, 1984). The interviewer has to gain the confidence and trust of the subjects. The interviewer for the Fingo Village survey was a well known local personality and a man of some standing in the Black community. Daniel Sandi was the Secretary of the Grahamstown Association (GRACA), which was reputed to have the support of the majority of the Black residents in Grahamstown until it was banned under the State of Emergency in July 1985. Daniel Sandi was also known for his contribution in literary circles as an epic poet. His previous experience conducting socio-economic surveys, as a researcher for the Border Council of Churches and as the Teba Research Assistant for the Institute of Social and Economic Research, Rhodes University, was also helpful.

- Sporadic unrest in the study area, from September 1984 and throughout 1985, prevented further fieldwork from being conducted in Fingo Village.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My thanks and appreciation go to my supervisor, Dr. Rob Fincham for his guidance, advice and patience during the writing of the thesis. I would also like to thank Professor John Daniel for taking over the supervision whilst Dr. Fincham was on sabbatical leave.

Many colleagues have played a vital role in encouraging and helping me during the course of the research project. Among them, I wish to thank John Herald for his assistance in mastering the mysteries of SPSS and computer graphics. His ingenuity and patience were admirable and his sense of humour encouraged me to persevere. I am indebted to Wouter Holleman and Professor Bill Davies who, regardless of their busy schedules, made time to read the final draft. Their comments and criticism were both pertinent and much appreciated.

Several friends, unbeknown to themselves, through their moral support and interest, helped me to clarify certain aspects of theoretical fog and to keep going when the research blues set in. Non-geographers and family encouraged me to complete the task over innumerable cups of morning tea, their dinner tables and by clocking up their telephone accounts with long distance calls. Much of the philosophy of friends, family and fellow academics is encapsulated in an extract from T.S. Eliot, which seems most appropriate to a Geographer!

"We shall not cease from exploration
And the end of all our exploring
Will be to arrive where we started
And know the place for the first time."

(Four Quartets, Little Gidding V).

The credit for the cartography and photography must go to Oakley West, Johan van Wyk and John Keulder. I am much obliged to Dr. Denis Hughes for taking the aerial photographs of the White

residential areas in Grahamstown and Fingo Village, and to Richard Laing, the pilot of the aircraft. I am grateful to Trevor Loots, of the Rini Town Council, and Andries Luwes, of the Community Development Board Technical Services, Port Elizabeth, who provided the base map of Fingo Village, which was used for the mapping survey.

Thanks must also be extended to Daniel Sandi for his assistance with the fieldwork, mapping and questionnaire surveys; Margaret Tierney and Margaret Shephard for typing the thesis; and Karan Cox and Pierre Lombard for proof reading the final document.

I am also indebted to the H.S.R.C., Rhodes University and my parents for the financial assistance which made this study possible. It must be stated that they can in no way be held responsible for the views expressed in this work.

LIST OF TABLES	PAGE
1. Basic Features of Recent Changes in Development Studies.	17
2. Income Opportunities in a Third World City.	22
3. Characteristics of the Formal and Informal Sector.	24
4. The Characteristics of the Two-Circuit Urban Economy.	25
5. Basic Features of Approaches to the Informal Sector.	36
6. Characteristics of Hawking.	63
7. The Gross Geographic Product for Selected Regions, 1970 and 1975.	73
8. Breakdown of Grahamstown Black Population by Sex and Age, March, 1983.	87
9. Formal Sector Employment Opportunities in Grahamstown 1973 and 1977.	89
10. Adjusted Monthly Per Capita Income for Grahamstown.	91
11. Educational Level Achieved by Static and Semi- Static Hawkers, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.	120
12. Chi-Square Test of Significance, Effective Illiteracy of Static and Semi-Static Hawkers, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.	121
13. Number of Years Engaged in Hawking, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.	125
14. Previous Forms of Employment of Static and Semi- Static Hawkers, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.	128
15. Size of Household, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.	129
16. Earnings From Formal Sector Employment According to Hawking Type, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.	133
17. Assessment of Income Earned from Hawking According to Hawking Type, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.	134
18. Primary Reasons for Hawking Without a Licence, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.	138
19. Number of Customers Served Daily, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.	142
20. Six Most Important Goods Offered for Sale by Hawkers, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.	146
21. Diversity of Goods Offered for Sale, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.	147

22. Credit Relations with Customers, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.	151
23. Reason why Hawking Site was Chosen, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.	155
24. Reasons Why People Operate Small Businesses.	189

LIST OF FIGURES	PAGE
1. The Location of Environmentalism in a Geography Syllabus.	8
2. Paradigmatic Shifts in Geography.	10
3. The Continuum of Work Situations (Modified After Bromley and Gerry, 1979).	28
4. I.L.O. Report 'Implicit Model': Crude Representation.	46
5. Asymmetrical Symbiotic Relationship between the Formal and Informal Sector.	49
6. A Marxist Interpretation of the Informal Sector.	54
7. The Geographical Location of the Study Area.	67
8. Grahamstown: Land Use and Group Areas.	68
9. The Study Area: Fingo Village.	69
10. The Industrial Space Economy of South Africa, 1970.	71
11. Land Use Zoning for Fingo Village, 1965.	81
12. A Crude Diagrammatic Illustration of the Poverty Syndrome.	84
13. Black Wages in Grahamstown: November/December 1973.	90
14. Approaches to Geography.	101
15. The Relationship between Hypothesis Testing, Generalization and Prediction in the Scientific Approach to Geography.	102
16. Differences in Age of Static and Semi-Static Hawkers, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.	123
17. Primary Reasons For Becoming a Hawker, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.	126
18. Hawker Household Population by Sex and Age, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.	130
19. Best Time of Day to Hawk, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.	144
20. Grahamstown Land Use and Group Areas.	148
21. Location of Semi-Static Hawkers in Fingo Village, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.	161
22. Location of Static Hawkers in Fingo Village, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.	162

23.	Distribution of Hawkers According to Distance from the Mean Centre, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.	165
24.	Distribution of Semi-Static Hawkers by Monthly Income and Distance from the Mean Centre, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.	167
25.	Distribution of Static Hawkers by Monthly Income and Distance from the Mean Centre, Fingo Village Survey, July, 1984.	168
26.	Distribution of Per Capita Income From Hawking For Each Block, Fingo Village Survey, July, 1984.	171
27.	Distribution of Semi-Static Hawkers' Per Capita Income For Each Block, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.	172
28.	Distribution of Static Hawkers' Per Capita Income For Each Block, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.	173
29.	Distribution of Income Earned From Hawking By Location, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.	176
29.1	Distribution of Income Earned from Hawking By Location Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.	177
30.	Distribution of Income Earned From Static Hawking By Location, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.	178
30.1	Distribution of Income Earned From Static Hawking By Location, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.	179
31.	Distribution of Income Earned From Semi-Static Hawking By Location, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.	180
31.1	Distribution of Income Earned From Semi-Static Hawking By Location, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.	181
32.	Reasons for Involvement in Hawking in Fingo Village.	198

LIST OF PLATES	PAGE
1. Hawking is a Visible Feature of the Fingo Village Environment.	70
2. Conditions in Fingo Village.	75
3. Aerial View of Shanties in a Section of Fingo Village.	77
4. Aerial View of the White Sectors of Grahamstown.	77
5. Residential Conditions in Fingo Village.	85
6. A Communal Tap in a Fingo Village Street.	86
7. Semi-Static Hawkers Located on Fingo Village Commuter Route at the Intersection of Orsmond Terrace and Victoria Road.	157
8. Semi-Static Hawkers Operating on the Corner of Raglan Road and Albert Street Outside the GADRA Offices.	158
9. Semi-Static Hawkers Operating Twenty Metres From the Raglan Road/Albert Street Intersection Outside J. Chan Henry's Store.	158

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The problem of rising unemployment in South Africa stems from the slower rate of growth of the modern, formal sector of the economy, relative to the expansion experienced in the 1960s (Bell and Padayachee, 1984). The result is the creation of insufficient employment opportunities in the formal sector to meet demand. "Unemployment is the result of an imbalance between the demand for and the supply of labour" (De Klerk, 1979, 35). Recently there has been much discussion about creating jobs in small scale agriculture, small business and the informal sector, and of the need for increasing reliance upon these sectors (Financial Mail, 1978; De Klerk, 1979; Dewar and Watson, 1981; Bell and Padayachee, 1984). Whilst it is recognized that a growing proportion of the population will probably have to rely on jobs from these sectors, this trend is merely indicative of the severity of the unemployment problem in the formal sector.

Unemployment per se is a serious problem and it contributes to and exacerbates the problem of poverty. It is apparent that South Africa not only suffers from cyclical unemployment, but structural unemployment (Bell and Padayachee, 1984). Increasing capital intensification and a variance between skills and available jobs results in structural unemployment (Dewar and Watson, 1981). Skilled labour is scarce, a repercussion of the discriminatory education system and labour practices such as the industrial colour bar. According to De Klerk (1979) structural unemployment in South Africa also stems from market orientated capitalism and Apartheid.

Intervention aimed at facilitating long term structural change, to dismantle discriminatory labour practices and to increase the supply of jobs, is required. "However, the magnitude of the

(unemployment) problem is such that in the short term, at least, it is essential that additional forms of job creation be stimulated" (Dewar and Watson, 1981, 4). During the last couple of decades increasing attention has been focused upon the role of the informal sector in providing much needed employment opportunities (I.L.O., 1972; Rogerson and Beavon, 1980). Efforts to encourage the development and expansion of this sector are dependent upon a clear understanding of how it operates. Clearly, the informal sector is connected to the formal sector through a series of linkages. The structural relationship between the two sectors determines both the form of the informal sector and how it operates. Understanding the nature of the linkages is essential, if policies to promote the growth of the informal sector are to avoid destroying its fabric and character. In addition, the linkages have to be understood if attempts to promote the informal sector are to avoid merely benefitting the formal sector and thus further aggravating the problems of underdevelopment. Few empirical studies have attempted to unravel the complex network of linkages that exist between the two sectors. This is particularly true of the dependency relationship that exists between the informal sector hawker and formal sector retailing enterprises. The study outlined in the thesis is a preliminary conceptualization of how hawking activities operate in Fingo Village, Grahamstown, and where possible tries to identify links between the two sectors. The project outlined in the thesis is therefore a pilot study.

The main aim of the thesis is to establish a profile of fruit and vegetable hawkers in Fingo Village. Related to this aim are two objectives. The first is to describe the hawking operation per se and secondly to establish the location of semi-static and static hawking outlets in Fingo Village, and what determines access to these sites. Little is known about how hawking enterprises in Fingo Village operate. Without such information any urban planning strategy associated with promoting hawking, or similar informal activities, will lack substantiative background and verification.

The thesis is divided into five parts. Chapter Two sets the study within a theoretical context and describes how such studies form an integral part of human geography and development studies. Changes in both human geography and development studies have influenced the conception of the informal sector. Two schools of thought, the dualist and structuralist schools, have had a profound effect upon attempts to define this sector. The result has been a series of divergent definitions and models describing the informal sector, a selection of which are discussed in Chapter Two. Finally, a series of current research gaps identified during the literature survey are presented. They indicate the relevance of the hawking study outlined in the thesis.

The nature of the study area is outlined in Chapter Three and details of the methodology used to conduct the empirical research for the study are described in Chapter Four. The results of the hawking survey in Fingo Village are presented in Chapter Five and an assessment of these results is provided in Chapter Six. This latter chapter also includes suggestions for future research. Chapter Seven gives an overall perspective of the study presented in the thesis and briefly describes policy implications arising from the work.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

An accurate assessment of the level of open unemployment in Third World countries is difficult to gauge. Problems arise in classifying individuals as employed, underemployed or unemployed, due to inadequate census definitions for these terms. Many newcomers to the labour force become involved in the unenumerated informal sector (Bromberger, 1978; Maree, 1978; Davies in Bromley & Gerry, 1979; Beavon, 1981). Involvement in this sector can be viewed as a viable form of employment or as a strategy to cope with unemployment (Junghans, 1969; Sethuraman, 1977; Financial Mail, 1978; Beavon & Rogerson, 1980; Mabogunje, 1980). Much unemployment therefore takes the form of disguised employment.

Until recently, the importance of the informal sector as a potential form of employment was neglected. Official census terminology omitted to include this sector as a source of employment, regardless of the fact that through distinctive means of production and distribution it provided an income for the unenumerated and officially unemployed (Maasdorp and Humphreys, 1975; Souza and Tokman, 1976; Mabogunje, 1980). During the last fifteen years the situation has changed. Several authors have agreed that the promotion of the informal sector will have a positive effect upon urban development. It is envisaged that it will encourage individual self reliance; enable the poor to secure higher incomes; provide goods and services to the poorer consumer and, by implication, help to alleviate poverty (I.L.O., 1972; Hart, 1973; McGee, 1978; Bromley and Gerry, 1979; Rogerson and Beavon, 1980 and Sethuraman, 1981). Questions are now being raised as to whether the development of the informal sector could not provide a potential solution for ameliorating the problems of unemployment and poverty. Such problems are the result of increased urbanization and the associated dilemma of uneven economic development (Merrick, 1976; Todd and Shaw, 1980;

Dewar and Watson, 1981; Fair 1982).

The natural rate of urban growth in Third World countries is aggravated by the migration of large numbers of people from the rural areas. Urbanization, therefore, outstrips the concomitant rate of industrialization and infrastructural development. The inability of the industrial process to absorb new entrants into the urban productive labour force thus results in problems such as poverty, overcrowding, underemployment and unemployment (Mabogunje, 1980). The informal sector is seen as a form of economic survival, an initial source of employment for the new urban dweller or entrant to the labour market, and a viable alternative source of employment to that offered in the formal public or private sector (Dewar and Ellis, 1979).

The role of the informal sector in the economy, and its place in human geography, is best understood within a broad theoretical context. Hence, discussion in this chapter will focus upon the following themes:

1. A review of changes in the focus in human geography.
2. Recent changes in understanding and analysing the development process.
3. An assessment of the dualist and structuralist schools of thought in development studies, and their impact on conceptualising the informal sector.
4. A discussion of the divergent definitions of the informal sector.
5. A description of attempts to model the informal sector.
6. A listing of certain current research gaps in informal sector studies.
7. The characteristics of hawking as an informal sector activity.

The theoretical background concludes by focusing attention on hawking as the segment of the informal sector chosen for study in the thesis. An analysis of hawking as a facet of the informal

sector acts as a vehicle for looking at the problems and prospects of employment in this sector.

2.1 The Changing Nature of Human Geography.

Geographers have difficulty in clearly conceptualising the nature of their discipline and are faced with "an inability to agree (on) a simple definition of what geography is" (Paterson, 1979, 268). A definition would have to identify the context, methods, goals and spatial - temporal dimensions of the subject, and the incorporation of these four factors in a single definition is difficult (Paterson, 1979). In an attempt to describe what geography is, geographers have viewed their subject from varying standpoints and methodologies. These divergent standpoints and methods are depicted in Figure 2. Preston-Whyte (1983, 10) suggests that attempts to provide a definition of geography are also exacerbated by "the schism that has (developed) between the natural and social science components of (the subject)". A split would appear to exist within the discipline between physical and human geography. Disintegration of the subject is aggravated further by the creation of numerous sub-disciplines, such as climatology and urban studies, which can exist independently (Preston-Whyte, 1983). With regional geography no longer being in vogue, the common ground between the two major divisions of the discipline has been lost. Preston-Whyte

(1983,11) states that "the lack of a paradigm¹, to unify the discipline and thereby strengthen in the minds of all geographers a sense of common purpose irrespective of speciality", is part of the reason why the discipline faces the danger of academic erosion of territory and status. Possibly one method of re-establishing the link between human and physical geography is by seeing the prime concern of the discipline as man-environmental interaction, within a locational context termed environmentalism (Preston-Whyte, 1983). Environmentalism could therefore unify the discipline, as is depicted in Figure 1, whilst accommodating the approaches and ideologies adopted by both radical and conventional geographers.

Footnote:

1. The use of the term paradigm by Preston-Whyte (1983) could be confusing. Kuhn (in Johnston, 1979, 15) states that "a paradigm is what the members of a scientific community share and conversely a scientific community consists of men who share a paradigm". Using Kuhn's definition, environmentalism attempts to provide geographers with a framework and methodology for their analyses. The environmental paradigm is therefore an adaption of previous paradigms which incorporates both the tenets of positivism and Marxist structuralism. Preston-Whyte (1983), therefore, proposes one paradigm which embraces divergent interpretations and methods in a single framework.

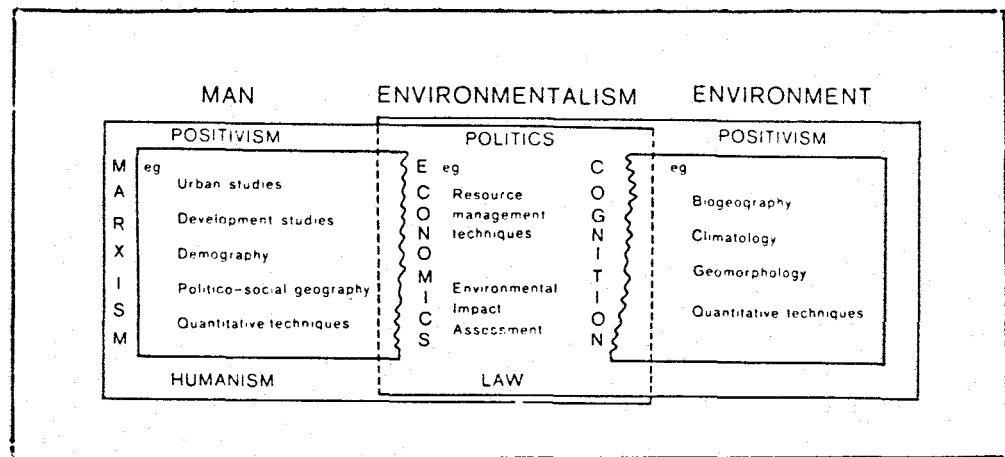


Figure 1: The Location of Environmentalism in a Geography Syllabus.
(Source : Preston-Whyte, 1983, 9).

With attempts being made to understand the nature of the discipline per se, human geography has also experienced several changes. The core of the discipline has continued to focus upon the interaction between man and his environment from a spatial perspective (Pattison, 1964; Haggett, 1965; Johnston, 1979). "Up until the 1960s human geographers ... essentially concerned themselves with attempts at (describing), interpreting and understanding the evolution of the human landscape in which they existed" (Beavon, 1981, 1). Such an approach can aptly be described as qualitative. The emphasis of research was cause-and-effect analysis based on the competing paradigms of possibilism and environmental determinism. Environmental determinism "identified the core of geography as the relationship between the physical environment, the control, and human behaviour, the response" (Johnston, 1979, 32). The counter-thesis to environmental determinism was possibilism which presented man "as the active rather than the passive agent" (Johnston, 1979, 32). Regardless of the paradigmatic stance adopted, geographic research was characterized by its tending to be descriptive and idiosyncratic (Smith, 1977; Johnston, 1979).

The sixties saw the inception of a period most succinctly described as the scientific era in geography, and which was the first major revolution in the discipline. The mode of inquiry altered greatly and much research concentrated on the formulation of models and the use of quantitative theory for analysis (Haggett 1965; King, 1976; Bunge in Smith, 1977). Geography therefore swung away from an essentially regional orientation towards an emphasis on locational analysis based predominantly on positivistic methods (Haggett, 1965; Amadeo and Golledge, 1975). Objectivity and nomotheticism emerged as priorities in research. Studies conducted during the sixties therefore fell into the spatial organization tradition of geography, but were not exempt from criticism (Pattison, 1964; Taaffe, 1974). "In far too few instances during this period was any significant concern expressed with the humanity that makes up the very substance of what is termed the (human geographical) system" (Beavon, 1981, 2). Whilst positivism remains a popular mode of research, the focus upon man by human geographers has sharpened.

In the early 1970s a reaction to the quantitative methodology of scientific human geography set in (Smith, 1977; Johnston, 1979). A second revolution in geographical analysis emerged concerned with tackling socially relevant problems, and trying to establish their causes and effects in society. As Beavon (1981, 3) notes : "In retrospect (relevance was) a rather unfortunate and emotive term, as it implied that all non-followers were concerned with research that was irrelevant, and that is patently not the case. The new relevance movement, with its stated aim of focusing attention on the problems of society in general, and the problems of the poor in particular ...was initially received with some scepticism". The scope of geographical analysis therefore broadened to encompass a welfare indicator. "The objective of welfare geography (entailed) the evaluation of the social desirability of alternative geographical states" (Henderson and Quandt in Smith, 1977, 6). Geographers also became increasingly interested in alternative philosophies and ideologies to positivism. Such alternatives included

phenomenology (Relph, 1970; King, 1976; Billinge, 1977) humanism (Ley, 1981; Preston-Whyte, 1983) and in more recent years Marxism (Harvey, 1969; Harvey, 1973; Peet, 1978; McCarthy, 1983).

The changing shifts in geography can best be summarized in diagrammatic form, as depicted in Figure 2. It is interesting to note that the first revolution in geography affected both physical and human geography. Physical geography has essentially remained within the positivistic framework. Human geographers have continued experimenting with alternative methodologies and ideologies.

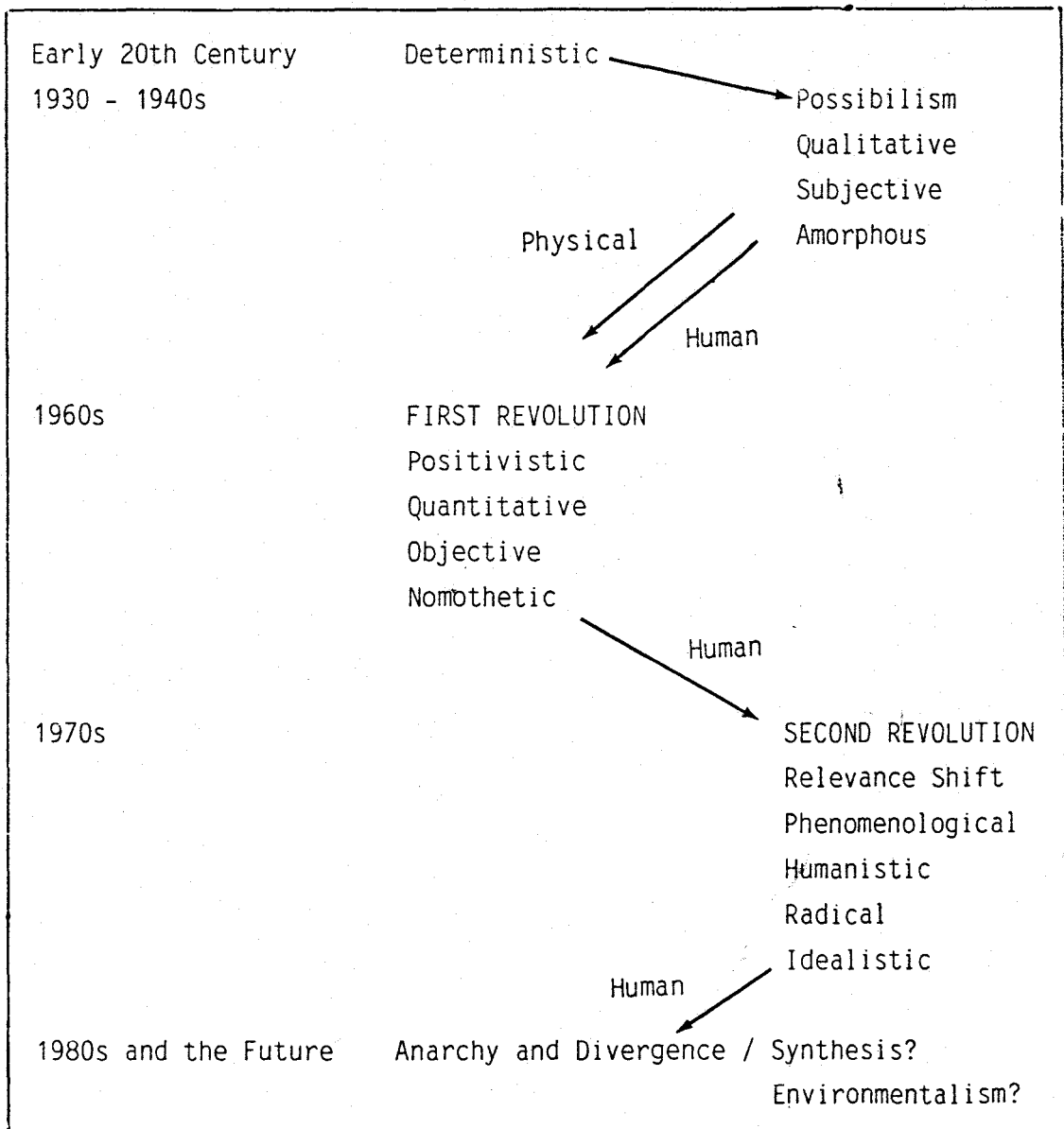


Figure 2: Paradigmatic Shifts in Geography.
 (After: Paterson, 1979, Figure 3, 275).

The second revolution in human geography, with its emphasis on relevance, focuses attention in Third World countries upon issues such as poverty (Bromley and Gerry, 1979; Lewis in Lloyd, 1979), inequality (Coates et al 1977; Roberts, 1978), unemployment and the informal sector (Seers, 1972; Beavon, 1981). Such issues are part of the development process, and hence a comprehensive understanding of the term informal sector, and its role, needs to be seen within the broad framework of development studies. Definitions of the informal sector have varied with changes in the theoretical perspective of the process of development (Dewar and Watson, 1981). It is therefore necessary to briefly review recent changes in understanding the development process.

2.2 Recent Changes in Understanding and Analysing Development.

During the 1940s and 1950s a dualistic interpretation of development in the Third World was posed. Two economic sectors were identifiable. There was a modern capital-intensive sector, which was generally the focus of modernization and maintained links with the developed world, and a traditional sector, characterized by indigenous labour-intensive methods (Bromley, 1979). The latter sector existed prior to the infiltration of modernization, and usually continues to exist in juxtaposition with development emanating from western capitalist penetration (Mabogunje, 1980; Dewar and Watson, 1981). Underdevelopment was attributed to the lack of modernization strategies similar to those used in the creation of the industrial economies in Western Europe and America. Development was seen to be "a type of social change in which new ideas are introduced into a social system in order to produce higher per capita incomes and levels of living through more modern production methods and improved social organization" (Ettema, 1979, 69). Development via modernization would therefore involve the total transformation of a traditional pre-modern society into a society on a par with advanced western capitalist economies (Moore, 1963). Development economists advocated the maximizing of a nation's growth rate, by concentrating investment in the

urban industrial sector, in the hope of generating resources to expand the economy (De Souza and Porter, 1974). The benefits from a higher Gross National Product (GNP) arising from this 'accelerated growth strategy' would then be diffused throughout the country.

However, the diffusion of the fruits of development from modernization does not always occur throughout society (Fair, 1982). Three major flaws are evident. The modernization theory fails to appreciate that eurocentric approaches to development are inappropriate in the Third World. Unless a Third World country is to undergo development by adopting Western ideas and using the Western model of development, it must design its own strategies suited to the particular needs of the country (De Souza and Porter, 1974). It is therefore necessary to formulate ethnocentric interpretations of development.

Secondly, it is naive to envisage that levels of development can be gauged by measures of national growth. An assessment of the extent of development based on G N P or Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and not social conditions is of limited significance. There is a fundamental distinction between growth, which is primarily an economic phenomenon measured in terms of G N P, and development, which has a greater social content embracing wealth, relief and welfare (Ettema, 1979). Access to a country's resources will vary according to their distribution and the ability of the individual to exploit specific resources (Smith, 1977). Contrasts in the contribution towards the G N P are apparent in the Third World between the inhabitants of the modern and traditional sectors. In some cases, attempts to encourage development through modernization merely focus attention "more sharply (on) the ... small minority of extremely wealthy individuals living off ... the backs of a large poverty stricken and destitute majority" (Mabogunje, 1980, 39).

Finally, the modernization theory stimulated consumer needs and desires for certain 'modern' goods and services.

Dissatisfaction with traditional methods and traditionally produced articles arose. Many needs and desires could only be satisfied through access to money and the ability to purchase goods produced in the modern sector. Increasing population pressure upon the limited resources in the rural areas caused subsistence farming to become untenable and unprofitable, if compared with remuneration from wage-labour in the industrial sector (Mabogunje, 1980; Dewar and Watson, 1981). The result was a breakdown in the traditional community structures with the movement of young able-bodied people from the rural to the urban areas in search of employment (Gilbert and Gugler, 1982; O'Conner, 1983). The rural exodus had far reaching consequences, the first of which was a shortage of agricultural manpower, which existed alongside increasing urban unemployment (Mabogunje, 1980).

By the mid-1960s it seemed that development through modernization and 'accelerated growth strategies' was not having the desired effect in the Third World (Singer, 1971). Although economic growth was occurring only a limited number of people were benefitting. The majority were still the victims of escalating unemployment, poverty and inequality. These factors were further exacerbated by unanticipated increases in the rates of population growth and migration (Junghans, 1969; Maasdorp and Humphreys, 1975; Dhamija, 1981).

Parallel with the dissatisfaction of the modernization theory came the realization that the modern and traditional sectors of the economy were not independent economic systems, but highly interconnected (Brookfield, 1975). Analysis of these interconnections helped to explain the continued existence of cores of development surrounded by poorer, underdeveloped peripheries. The focus therefore swung towards appraising the structural factors of society in an attempt to explain, within the context of neo-classical economics, the conditions which perpetuate underdevelopment. The proponents of the modernization theory had attributed underdevelopment to

attitudinal and societal blocks, specifically within the traditional societies. The neo-classical economists of the sixties ascribed the cause of underdevelopment to institutional blocks which supported the aspirations of the wealthy minority. Policy emphasis therefore changed to a structuralist approach of 'redistribution with growth'. This approach recognized the need for urban industrial investment and acknowledged that the benefits of growth would not automatically trickle down to the lower socio-economic groups (Browett, 1980; Mabogunje, 1980). It was clear that growth within the modern capital-intensive, essentially industrial sector, would not be able to generate sufficient job opportunities to meet the increasing demand (Dewar and Ellis, 1979). Intervention through government policy was therefore necessary to boost job provision and to distribute the benefits of economic growth more equitably throughout society.

By the end of the 1960s, the 'redistribution with growth' approach was deemed inadequate, because too much emphasis was being placed upon growth and insufficient on redistribution. The poor continued to be impoverished and the gap between rich and poor became increasingly marked. A modified approach therefore emerged in the early seventies in the form of the 'basic needs approach'. It was based on a 'bottom up' as opposed to a 'top down' development strategy, and concentrated on programmes which aimed at satisfying basic needs such as education, nutrition, health, sanitation, water supplies, housing and related services (Smith, 1977; Mabogunje, 1980; Fair, 1982). Dewar and Watson (1981) and Fair (1982) suggest that the 'basic needs approach' has several distinctive features. These can be briefly summarized as follows :

- (a) High priority is given to meeting the specific needs of the poorest people as an end in itself. (An indirect spinoff is the raising of productivity.) Such a priority could be criticised as being idealistically humanitarian.
- (b) The reduction of absolute deprivation is stressed. It is debatable whether the problem of poverty can effectively be

tackled by merely attempting to redress the situation within a society (Coates et al, 1977). The root of the problem may be the process of peripheral capitalism, and therefore effective change will include altering the political and economic framework of the society.

- (c) Government control of supply management, especially in the transitional periods, is accepted as being fundamental. Such controls ensure that increases in the incomes of the poor are not neutralized by increases in prices.
- (d) The approach stresses the need to ensure access and delivery of services to the poor. Although this last priority is laudable, it is debatable whether it can become a reality in the immediate future.

In the last decade the Marxist approach, based on socio-economic transformation, has come to the fore. It is important to note that this approach pre-dates both the dualist and neo-classical interpretations (Dewar and Watson, 1981). The Marxist interpretation points to the inherent conflict between labour and capital, which operates at both intra- and international levels to create and perpetuate conditions of poverty, inequality and unemployment. The existence of poverty is necessary, if capital accumulation is to continue, and is achieved by disciplining the labour force and keeping wages down. According to the Marxists the only real long term solution lies "in the socialisation of the means of production, worker control of the state and the economic, social and political reform which this requires. Short term strategies are primarily directed at strengthening the working class vis-a-vis capital" (Dewar and Watson, 1981, 32). Both the Marxists and the structuralist school subscribe to basic needs investment policies. However, the Marxists maintain that such policies can only be achieved if fundamental changes are made to the basic societal relations of the capitalist system.

The main features and the implications of the recent changes in development studies are summarized in Table 1. The understanding and conceptualization of the development process

has undergone several changes since the 1940s. It is evident that "development is essentially a human issue, a concern with the capacity of individuals, (having access to opportunities) to realize their inherent potential and effectively to cope with the changing circumstances of life" (Mabogunje, 1980, 45). Development therefore involves not only the individual but the wider society in which he lives. In addition "development or underdevelopment must be seen (on a national scale) within a 'world system' context... The contemporaneous existence of different modes of production, in the same geographical world, causes extraneous circumstances to affect the rate and success of development in a region" (Mabogunje, 1980, 46).

Table 1 : Basic Features of Recent Changes in Development Studies.

TEMPORAL CONTEXT AND DEVELOPMENT	BASIC FEATURES OF STRATEGY	RESULTS OF STRATEGY
<p>1940s to 1950s 'Accelerated growth strategy' through modernization in a dualistic society.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Based on premise that improvements to living standards lie in higher per capita incomes obtained through the adoption of modern production methods. -Industrialization and urban industrial investment encouraged. -Benefits of increased GNP should diffuse throughout society. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Dualistic economy comprised of traditional and modern sectors emerged. - Displacement of rural subsistence farmers due to a breakdown in traditional societies. Increasing rural-urban migration results. - Increase in economic growth results in urban polarisation and urban bias. - Escalation in poverty, inequality and unemployment.
<p>Mid 1960s 'Redistribution with growth' strategy</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Focus swings towards structural societal factors which cause underdevelopment. -The traditional and modern sectors are seen as being interconnected and part of one economy. -Realization that the industrial sector cannot provide sufficient jobs. -Realization that the economic benefits of industrialization do not trickle down to the whole of society. -Intervention by government to boost job provision and ensure a more equitable distribution of the benefits of economic growth. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Too much emphasis laid upon growth and insufficient on distribution. - Development gap between rich and poor widens. - Increasing tangible evidence of poverty. - Artificial / short-term stimulation of economic activity in the periphery by concessions/incentives.
<p>Early 1970s 'Basic need approach'.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 'Bottom up' development strategy proposed focusing on the provision of basic needs. -Increasing government control of the market. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To establish how society is to share the burden of development equally amongst the whole population is

Early 1970s
'Basic need approach!'

Mid-1970s to present day
By drawing on insight from the
Marxian interpretation the
strategy of socio-economic
transformation was proposed.

- 'Bottom up' development strategy proposed focusing on the provision of basic needs.
- Increasing government control of the market,
- Stress placed upon accessibility and delivery of services to all members of society.
- Importance of regional development underlined in an attempt to spread the benefits of development over a wider range.
- Development assessed in the light of mechanisms governing production and distribution (i.e. mode of production).
- Suggestion that the accumulation and distribution of surplus value by certain sectors of society control development.
- Basic needs investment policies advocated to promote development.
- Long term solution to underdevelopment problems assumed to lie in the socialization of the means of production.

- To establish how society is to share the burden of development equally amongst the whole population is problematic.
- Becomes increasingly apparent that equality of access to services especially for the poor is difficult.
- Inherent conflict between labour and capital recognized as a factor which perpetuates underdevelopment.

2.3 Approaches to the Informal Sector.

Along with changes in the conceptualization of development there have also been changes in attitude and approach towards the informal sector. The recognition and emergence of informal sector studies in Africa, and lately in South Africa, is a development of the mid-1970s. Research in the field attracted attention mainly as a result of the International Labour Office's Employment Policy Convention (No. 122) of 1964, which aimed at encouraging government commitment to implementing full employment policies. In 1969 the International Labour Office (I.L.O.) introduced a world employment programme. As a consequence a series of country studies were set up, which helped to recognize the chronic and intractable nature of unemployment apparent in virtually every Third World country, and the need for particular strategies to be designed to cope with the problem (I.L.O., 1972). Interest in the informal sector was based, not only on its intellectual ramifications but also its possible role in alleviating the ever-increasing problem of unemployment (I.L.O., 1972; Hart, 1973). The focus of attention on the informal sector stimulated debate about how this sector was integrated into the wider economy, and resulted in a series of different interpretations, two of which are discussed in this section; namely, the dualist and structuralist options.

2.3.1 The Dualist Interpretation of the Informal Sector.

Lewis (1954) described the economic system as being dualistic in character, and suggested that it was comprised of a capitalist and non-capitalist sector. Subsequently, Geertz (1963) reiterated the dualistic view by proposing that the economy consisted of a bazaar and a firm economy. The bazaar economy is made up of a series of highly competitive small enterprises, which rely on intensive use of labour (often drawn from the family), and seeking to minimize risks as opposed to striving for profit maximization (Dewar and Watson, 1981). The bazaar

economy is characterized by economic irrationality and ad hoc exchange, which may be strongly contrasted with the methods of rationalising production and capital accumulation for further investment and expansion practised by the firm economy (Geertz, 1963). Thus, two distinct components are recognizable within the economy and regardless of the kind of development strategies implemented in many Third World countries, the bazaar economy has continued to thrive and expand and has not been absorbed by the firm economy (Roberts, 1978).

The bazaar economy was subsequently renamed the informal sector by Hart (1973), whose research on urban employment in Ghana was an important milestone in informal sector studies. It resulted in a dualistic method of categorizing an economy into a formal and an informal sector. This was the first time that these terms were used. Hart (1973) expanded upon work by Lewis (1954), Geertz (1963) and Todaro (1969), and suggested that the economy was dichotomous, in that the formal sector embraced modern activities, whilst the informal sector was associated with traditional activities. Traditional activities are defined as those "which existed before, and continue to exist, in the face of western capitalist penetration, whilst modern activities are those which result directly from foreign influence and investment, the application of advanced technologies and the advent of sophisticated professional and governmental activities" (Bromley, 1979, 1033).

Research into the informal sector was not merely confined to describing its niche within the overall economy. The rôle of the informal sector in the life of recent rural-urban migrants was recognized by Todaro (1969), who suggested that migrants spent time in the so-called urban/traditional sector, described by Hart (1973) as the informal sector, and that this involvement was an interim phase prior to employment in a permanent modern sector job. The informal sector was perceived as a source of economic survival, and an initial source of employment for the new urban dweller or entrant to the labour market (Hart, 1973;

Moser, 1978). It offered an alternative form of employment to formal public and private sector jobs, which caused an about-face in attitudes and policy towards the informal sector, especially by the I.L.O..

The I.L.O. recognized unemployment as a manifestation of the broader problem of underdevelopment. The various I.L.O. Country Missions shifted the emphasis of development strategies away from growth per se and focused on employment as a major policy objective in its own right. Of all the Country Missions conducted by the I.L.O., that conducted in Kenya, in 1972, was foremost in recognizing and stipulating the "importance of the informal sector as an ... area of concern in employment studies" (Mazumdar, 1976, 658). The I.L.O. Kenya Mission Report argued that this sector provided a means by which people could earn a living of some kind on a regular or intermittent basis, even if the returns were low. Previously, the informal sector had been conceptualized merely as an inefficient extension of the traditional sector, but the Kenya Mission pointed out its potential in providing much needed employment opportunities. In Nairobi alone, an estimated 28 to 33 percent of the working population were engaged in informal activities, which were competitive, often family-based and which utilized local skills, resources and technology. Although it was recognized that the informal sector alone could not resolve the unemployment problem, it was felt that it played an important role in job provision, and in helping to satisfy the needs of the lower end of the consumer market. In addition, the sector did not place excessive demands on foreign exchange or imported capital goods (Dewar and Watson, 1981). Hence the role of the informal sector could be recognized as being twofold:

- (a) it provided individuals with a potential source of income, and
- (b) from a collective perspective it contributed to the total income and expenditure flows in the urban economy (Hart, 1973).

Up until the early 1970s, understanding of the parameters of the informal sector was based on two sources, which were essentially descriptive. These two sources were Hart's (1973) taxonomy of job opportunities and a list of the characteristics of the formal and informal sectors drawn up by the I.L.O. (1972). Hart's (1973) taxonomy of income opportunities is depicted in Table 2 and is based on a dualistic interpretation of the economy.

Table 2 : Income Opportunities in a Third World City.

(Source : Rogerson and Beavon, 1980, 16).

Formal income opportunities

- (a) Public sector wages
- (b) Private firms (wages, dividends, etc.)
- (c) Transfer payments - pensions, unemployment benefits.

Informal income opportunities : legitimate

- (a) Primary and secondary activities - farming, market gardening, building contractors and associated activities, self-employed artisans, shoemakers, tailors, household manufacturers of beer and spirits.
- (b) Tertiary enterprises with relatively large capital inputs - housing, transport, utilities, commodity speculation, rentier activities.
- (c) Small-scale distribution - market operatives, petty traders, street hawkers, caterers in food and drink, bar attendants, carriers, commission agents, and dealers.
- (d) Other services - musicians, launderers, shoeshiners, barbers, night-soil removers, photographers, vehicle repair and other maintenance workers, brokerage and middlemanship (the maigida system in markets, law courts, etc.), ritual services, magic and medicine.
- (e) Private transfer payments - gifts and similar flows of money and goods between persons, borrowing, begging.

Informal income opportunities : illegitimate

- (a) Services - hustlers and spivs in general, receivers of stolen goods, usury and pawnbroking (at illegal interest rates), drug-pushing, prostitution, poncing ('pilog boy'), smuggling, bribery, political corruption Tammany Hall-style, protection rackets.
- (b) Transfer - petty theft (e.g. pickpockets), larceny (e.g. burglary and armed robbery), speculation and embezzlement, confidence tricksters (e.g. money doublers), gambling.

Hart (1973, 68) suggested that "the distinction between formal and informal income opportunities, (as listed in Table 2), was based essentially on that between wage-earning and self-employment", and that the degree of regularity (or even professionalism) with which the individual was engaged in the informal activity was of importance. Only in the case of regular involvement could one speak of informal employment as opposed to casual income flows. Regardless of these qualifying statements of how to distinguish between the two sectors of the economy, Hart's (1973) taxonomy has been severely criticized. Whilst such criticism is valid, it should be noted that the work made a worthwhile contribution by attempting to design a typology of income opportunities for Third World cities. Three specific areas of criticism should be mentioned :

- (a) Hart's (1973) interpretation does not provide criteria by which the self-employed in the formal sector can be distinguished from those in the informal sector. There is an overlap between activities which have characteristics associated with both the formal and informal sectors. Hart (1973) lists under the heading informal income opportunities (legitimate) the following activities : farming, market gardening, building contractors, self-employed artisans, shoemakers, tailors, and manufacturers of beers and spirits. Each of these activities is also accepted as an integral part of the formal sector, and the distinction between the two sectors requires greater clarification.
- (b) A taxonomy, such as is presented in Table 2, is too inflexible to incorporate the changing functions of society and its employment needs. The nature of activities in which the informal sector is involved varies with changes in the society (King, 1974a). For example, in Johannesburg around the turn of the century the Amawasha Zulu Washerwoman's Guild was an integral part of the environment in the vicinity of the Braamfontein Spruit. Changes in society and the emergence of steam laundries post-1910, invalidated the need for washermen, and other functions took their place such as hawking (Rogerson and Beavon, 1980).

- (c) Finally, it is inaccurate to distinguish the formal from the informal sector on the basis that the former is associated with wage-earning activities and the latter with self-employment. Confusion arises in trying to distinguish a self-employed wage-earner from a formal sector one-man enterprise. Secondly, no allowance is made for workers employed by informal sector operators.

It is interesting to note that, regardless of the shortcomings of Hart's (1973) interpretation, "the task of modifying the classification of informal income opportunities, (presented in Table 2) so as to describe the specific characteristics of the contemporary informal sector in South African cities, (and elsewhere in the Third World), still awaits to be undertaken" (Beavon and Rogerson, 1980).

Table 3 : Characteristics of the Formal and Informal Sectors.

(Source : Modification of the I.L.O. Report (1972) by Bromley, 1979, 1033).

FORMAL	INFORMAL
Difficult entry	Ease of entry
Frequent reliance on overseas resources	Reliance on indigenous resources
Corporate ownership	Family ownership of enterprises
Large scale of operation	Small scale of operation
Capital-intensive and often imported technology	Labour-intensive and adapted technology
Formally acquired skills	Skills acquired outside the formal school system
Protected markets through tariffs, quotas and trade licences	Unregulated and competitive markets

The list of distinguishing characteristics of the formal and informal sectors drawn up by the I.L.O. World Employment Report on Kenya (1972), is depicted in Table 3. Subsequently Santos (1979) elaborated and expanded this list of characteristics (Table 4). Santos (1979) retained the dualistic interpretation

of the economy, but instead of referring to the two sectors he used the terms "upper and lower circuit". Just as Hart's (1973) taxonomy of job types pertaining to the two sectors was problematic, the specification of certain characteristics being attributable to a particular sector is debatable. The informal sector manifests characteristics which are associated with the formal sector, and thus a taxonomy of job types and characteristics merely acts as a descriptive yardstick for understanding different parts of the economy. It gives little indication of the means of production of each sector or its relationship with the wider economy.

Table 4 : The Characteristics of the Two-Circuit Urban Economy.
(Source : Santos, 1979, 22).

Characteristics	Upper Circuit('Formal')	Lower Circuit('Informal')
Technology	Capital-intensive	Labour-intensive
Organisation	Bureaucratic	Generally family-organised
Capital	Abundant	Scarce
Hours of work	Regular	Irregular
Regular wages	Normal	Not required
Inventories	Large quantities and/or quality	Small quantities, poor-quality
Prices	Generally fixed	Generally negotiable between buyer and seller
Credit	Banks and other institutions	Personal non-institutional
Relations with clientele	Impersonal and/or through documents	Direct, personal
Fixed costs	Important	Negligible
Publicity	Necessary	None
Re-use of goods	None, wasted	Frequent
Overhead capital	Indispensable	Not indispensable
Government capital	Important	None, or almost none
Direct dependence on foreign countries	Great, outward-oriented activity	Small, or none

As a result of the I.L.O. Kenya Mission, the role of the informal sector as a sector capable of contributing positively to the well-being and quality of life of the lower income groups, moved into the limelight. The I.L.O.'s recognition of the informal sector helped to initiate a change in attitude towards the role of this sector. Increasing interest in the field is evident by the large number of empirical and theoretical studies that have since been undertaken (McGee, 1973; Davies, 1974; Emmerij, 1974; King, 1974 a and b; Mazumdar, 1976; Merrick, 1976; Souza and Tokman, 1976; Sethuraman, 1977; McGee, 1978; Todd and Shaw, 1980; Sethuraman, 1981).

It is evident that the dualistic conceptualization of the economy into two sectors is inappropriate. The formal and informal sectors are not two separate and distinct sectors; they are dependent upon each other for their continued existence (Roberts, 1978). Several complex linkages between the two sectors exist of which three are identified here :

- (a) Formal sector enterprises can provide working capital and intermediate inputs for the informal sector (Suchard, 1979).
- (b) The informal sector may provide an important market for the raw materials of the formal sector, and thus make goods and services available to the consumer, who would otherwise not be in a position to obtain them (Souza and Tokman, 1976; Suchard, 1979).
- (c) The formal sector can act as a market for goods produced by the informal sector, although this is not a universal principle for all informal sector marketing.

An observation made by Matsetela et al (1980a, 8) is pertinent in concluding this brief assessment of the dualistic interpretation of the economy:

"What is required, instead of a conventional dualistic representation, is a continuum-type breakdown or analysis that would indicate how certain of the characteristics and

functions, as well as linkages, are more applicable than others, to the vast range of activities that are normally lumped together under the banner of the informal sector ... what is required is a more penetrating analysis and a move away from the typology implicit in polar-opposite models".

2.3.2. The Structuralist Interpretation of the Informal Sector.

The inability of the dualist interpretation to incorporate the question of linkages resulted in a series of alternative theoretical frameworks being advocated. The problem was tackled from two perspectives: one set of theorists attempted to formulate a model of the economy which counteracted the polar-opposite tendency of the dualist interpretation (Friedmann and Sullivan, 1974; Steel, 1976 and Bromley and Gerry, 1979), whilst a second group of theorists focused on the question of linkages and their nature (Moser, 1978; Tokman, 1978). This latter approach is essentially a structuralist interpretation of the informal sector, the fundamental hypothesis of which is that structural factors in the socio-economic system may constrain the level of capital accumulation of the informal sector, and force it to operate as a dependent and subordinate sector in the economy (Dewar and Watson, 1981). In the discussion that follows the work of Friedmann and Sullivan (1974), Steel (1976) and Bromley and Gerry (1979) are described, and the structuralist interpretation of linkages is considered.

Friedmann and Sullivan (1974) suggested dividing the economy into three sectors, whilst Steel (1976) proposed a four sector model. Such differentiation of the economy into specific sectors tends to obscure the linkages rather than clarify their existence. Bromley and Gerry (1979) attempt to portray the integral nature of the economy by viewing means of earning an income as a continuum, with the informal sector being catered for by the category: "Casual Work", which is defined as "any way of making a living which lacks a moderate degree of security of income and employment. Ways of making a living are considered simply as

income opportunities and include both working for others and self-employment by legal and illegal (means)" (Bromley and Gerry, 1979, 5) (Figure 3). Rogerson and Beavon (1980) state that casual workers often earn incomes which are very low and subject to fluctuations and insecurity. Bromley and Gerry (1979) suggest that it is more realistic to conceptualize a continuum of work situations ranging from stable wage-work to true self-employment. Such an approach recognizes the variety of transitional forms of employment between the two extremes (Figure 3).

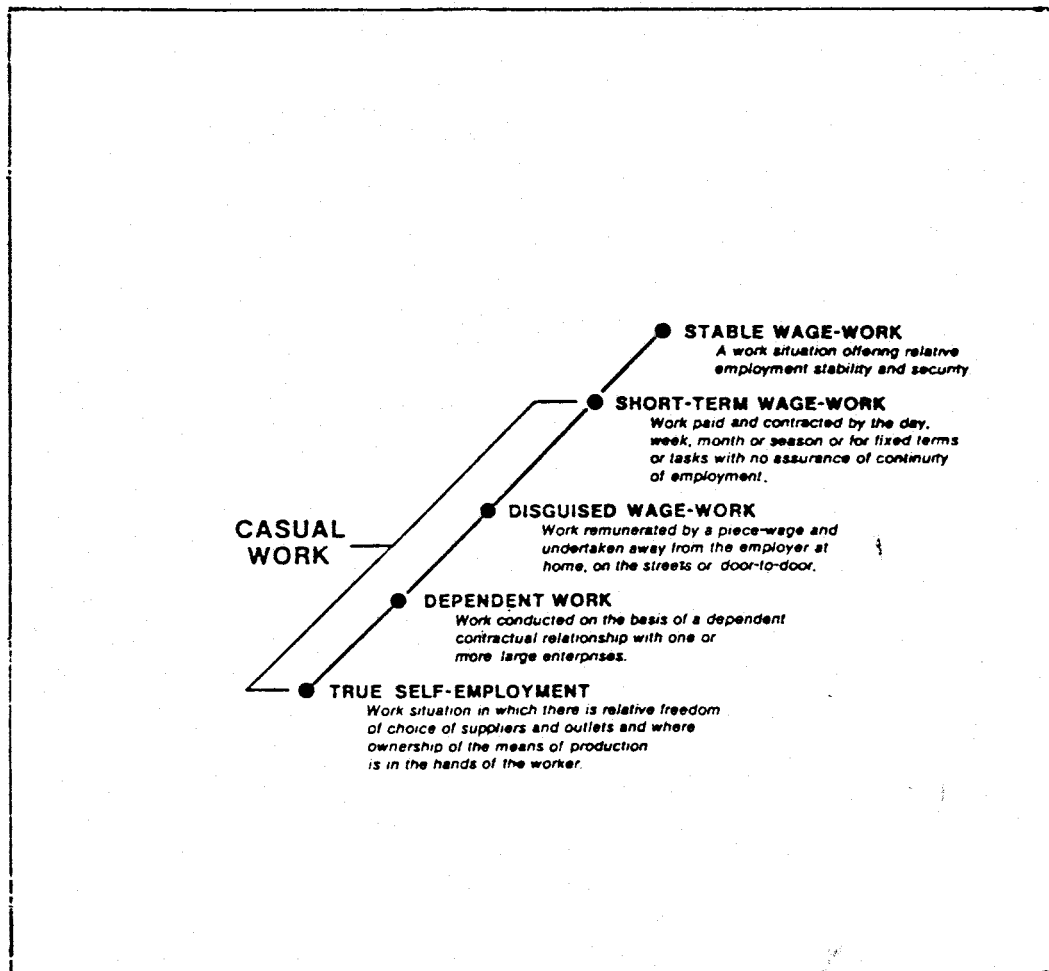


Figure 3 : The Continuum of Work Situations (Modified After Bromley and Gerry, 1979).

(Source : Rogerson and Beavon, 1980, 179).

The continuum illustrated in Figure 3, does not imply that an individual is assigned to one category for the remainder of his life. Casual work is associated with a high element of risk which may force the individual to change jobs frequently in order to survive. The importance of an income from casual work varies from being an unpredictable sole source of survival, to acting as a means of supplementing an inadequate income, to forming a lucrative source of employment. The last situation is not representative of the general trend.

"In general, poor casual workers are used to carrying much of the burden of risk in unstable and insecure situations, being incorporated into the economic system when extra labour and production is advantageous and being excluded from the same system when they are no longer needed. Thus, they tend to form a dependent lump, waiting and hoping for opportunities to appear, but unable to take significant initiatives to create opportunities because of their lack of resources and organization" (Bromley and Gerry, 1979, 11).

The continuum devised by Bromley and Gerry (1979) has provided theorists with a less rigid typology of work opportunities in the cities of the Third World, and attempts to conceptualize the economy as an integrated whole. However, it does not indicate how the informal sector actually operates, and whether its means and modes of production differ fundamentally from the formal sector. In addition, it merely alludes to, and does not clarify, the significance of the apparent linkages between the two sectors.

Stemming from the structuralist approach, important questions have been posed regarding the linkages between the formal and informal sectors. Tokman (1978, 1005) suggests that two approaches can be identified: "first, one which assumes that benign relationships between sectors prevail, and second, one which assumes that subordination is the main characteristic of informal activities. An additional distinction can be

introduced in each case according to the degree of integration of economic activities". A high degree of integration within the overall economy would suggest that the informal sector is in some way complementary to the formal sector, as opposed to being autonomous. For planners it is crucial to gauge the degree of integration, and to understand the type of relationship that exists. Both could influence an assessment of the value of promotional policies for the informal sector. It is not clear whether the informal sector is a result of evolutionary change, nor is it certain if it is capable of involutory change. Tokman (1978) notes that there is no agreement as to the degree of integration of the informal sector; the alternatives of autonomy or integration merely imply different modes of production, which affect the extent of capital accumulation. In order to appreciate the meaning of Tokman's (1978) observation it is necessary to review the question of benign and exploitative linkages under both integrated and autonomous conditions in greater depth.

It is argued that, unless repressed by law, informal activities play an important role in providing the unemployed with an income, and bringing services within the means of the poorer consumer (Souza and Tokman, 1976). In such a situation linkages are described as being benign. Tokman (1978, 1066) suggests that those in favour of the benign relationship hypothesis feel that :

"The informal sector is seen as highly integrated to the rest of the economy, exporting three quarters of its production and importing a similar proportion of its consumption ... such integration is benign since most of the exports are service activities - commerce and domestic services - which are complementary to formal production and are only affected by a gradual technological change. The capacity of accumulation of the sector is thus enhanced by its access through these trade flows to the expanding markets of the rest of the economy".

Hence the growth and development of the informal sector is classified as being evolutionary, and it is apparent that informal activities operate under integrated conditions with the remainder of the economy, and are not an autonomous segment within the economy, as postulated by the dualist approach (I.L.O., 1972; Hart, 1973; Sethuraman, 1976). The formal and informal sectors are, in fact, related to each other, and the question remains as to how dependent the one is upon the other. If a situation of dependency does exist, then it is debatable whether the 'dependent sector' has the potential of development through evolutionary change (Tokman, 1978).

"Those that agree that the relationship between 'formal' and 'informal' sectors is exploitative have generally taken as their point of departure the theory of unequal exchange as fundamental to an explanation of regional inequality" (Dewar and Watson, 1981, 38). The argument is based on the premise that the accumulation obtained from productivity, will be retained by the 'gate keepers', of the economy in the economic centres. At the same time, productivity gains stemming from activities in the periphery will be appropriated by the 'gate keeper', through various mechanisms such as market control (Tokman, 1978). Under such an analysis the informal sector is seen as a subcomponent of the economy, and any economic surplus that accumulates within the informal sector is transferred to the formal sector by two main mechanisms.

Firstly, the informal sector has inadequate access to the basic resources for production since these are monopolised and controlled by the formal sector. The ability to accumulate capital is limited, and the informal sector can therefore only operate around residual resources and is precluded from the possibility of technological development and improvement. Tokman (1978, 1069) spells out the situation as follows :

"The oligopolistic organization of product markets leaves

for informal activities those segments of the economy where minimum size and stability conditions are not attractive for oligopolistic firms to ensure the realization of economies of scale, and to guarantee an adequate capital utilization. The possibilities of expansion for the informal sector are then subordinated to product market access which, in turn, is determined by the oligopolistic firms operating in the formal sector. Under these conditions growth is limited and can only be of a temporary nature, since after a certain minimum market size is reached, oligopolistic firms will take over".

Secondly, the informal sector has to pay higher prices for the inputs it purchases. As the informal sector lacks capital it is forced to buy supplies in small quantities, which forces overall expenditure upwards, a situation which is aggravated by the lack of access to credit facilities. The losses incurred are not sufficiently offset by informal sector production, which is made up of services of low market value, with the market value being determined by the market it relies upon.

The consequences of the above mechanisms for the informal sector and its relationship with the formal sector are neatly summarized by Tokman (1978, 1069) who states :

"The outcome is that informal activities do not generate a surplus, and their expansion does not depend on the accumulation capacity within the sector, but rather on the size of the labour surplus, which cannot be absorbed in the rest of the economy, and on the market possibilities left out by the formal sector. In this sense subordination operates through lack of access and not through economic surplus extraction. This subordination is reinforced through different mechanisms when the informal sector is integrated with the rest of the economy".

The structuralist approach provides a useful insight into the

processes which cause a symbiotic relationship between the informal and formal sector. The extent to which this symbiotic link is weighted in favour of the formal sector is debatable. It would be untrue to suggest that the formal sector constantly has the upper hand. Dewar and Watson (1981) note that, although both prices and markets may be determined by the formal sector, there are ways by which the informal sector can maintain a share of the market. These include, in the case of small retail outlets, exploiting such advantages as : location, owner-customer personal relationships, credit, the many ways by which a product can be subdivided and redistributed, and the non-existent trading hours which enable the business to be permanently available to their clientele at all hours throughout the year.

An important offshoot of the structuralist contribution to informal sector studies is the Marxist interpretation. Prior to drawing any further conclusions about the structuralist understanding of the linkages between the formal and informal sectors, it is necessary to describe briefly the contribution of Marxian analysts to the debate.

2.3.2.1 The Marxian Interpretation of the Informal Sector.

Marxist theorists have debated whether exploitative linkages have caused the informal sector to be subordinate to the formal sector. Within the Marxist framework the term informal sector has been rejected in favour of the concept petty-commodity production (P.C.P.).² Just as confusion surrounds the meaning of the term informal sector so, too, is there uncertainty as to what the term petty-commodity production implies. The uncertainty stems from a misunderstanding of the term production.

Footnote:

2 . Within the context of this thesis the terms petty-commodity production and informal sector are synonymous and used interchangeably.

Considerable debate has arisen as to whether petty-commodity production forms a separate mode or form of production, which exists at the margins of the capitalist mode of production, whilst being integrated in and subordinate to it (Dewar and Watson, 1981).

The structuralist theorists have argued that the informal sector is linked to the formal sector through specific linkages, and its development is also controlled by the latter sector. The Marxist interpretation is similar, but stems from a critique of capitalism. Petty-commodity production is conceptualized as a part of the capitalist mode of production which controls its development and growth (Moser, 1978).

Matsetela et al (1980b) in a paper describing unemployment and informal income earning activities in Soweto, has criticised the narrow economic perspective used by Marxists when analysing petty-commodity production. Matsetela et al (1980b, 1) state that Marxist analysts have focused upon "the economic relations, the supply of raw materials and the means of labour, the mechanisms of surplus value transfer etc. which subordinate P.C.P. to the specifically capitalist process of production ... the structural determinants of the observed phenomena are reduced unproblematically to the functional requirements of capital accumulation". The processes which initiate change have therefore been allocated a material value to fall in line with the Marxist critique of capitalism.

The Marxian analysis of the informal sector sees it as being comprised of peripheral or marginal activities in the world system of capitalist production. The function of the informal sector is to supply the formal sector with cheap labour. Consequently the growth and development of the informal sector are the result of underdevelopment and exploitation, which are the outcome of an historical process. According to the Marxist interpretation, the informal sector occupies a subordinate or

dependent position in the economy vis-a-vis the dominating formal sector, which is frequently characterized by foreign-owned capital (Truu and Black, 1980). The Marxist interpretation points to the inherent conflict between labour and capital within a society which creates and perpetuates conditions of poverty, inequality and unemployment.

To identify the existence of petty-commodity production is not merely to identify a sequence of economic processes which have emerged as a result of the capitalist mode of production. The very presence of petty-commodity production points to more deep-seated unreconciled issues within society. Both the structuralist and Marxian interpretations have hinted that "employment problems are closely related to inequalities in income and opportunities, which are not merely among their consequences, but among their causes as well...thus social justice and a fair distribution of the benefits of growth are not only needed for their own sakes, but have become the conditions for eradicating unemployment" (I.L.O., 1972, xi). Hence both interpretations, especially that of the structuralists, call for a more holistic view of the processes which influence development within a society.

The basic features of the two methods of interpreting the informal sector are portrayed in Table 5, which attempts to clarify the connection between changes in development studies and subsequent shifts in perspective of the role of the informal sector in the urban economy, and should be studied in conjunction with Table 2. It is evident that the question of defining the informal sector is still unreconciled.

Table 5 : Basic Features of Approaches to the Informal Sector

Development Studies Strategy.	Parallel Informal Sector Approach.	Key Characteristics of period under review.	Problems arising from approaches to the informal sector
Accelerated growth strategy through modernization in a dualistic economy.	Dualistic interpretation.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Informal sector conceptualized as an extension of the traditional economy. -Informal sector identified as a source of survival for the unemployed. -Question of the informal sector being a viable source of urban employment raised post I.L.O. Country Missions focusing on unemployment. -Definition of informal sector activities based on Hart's (1973) taxonomy of job opportunities and a series of characteristics compiled by I.L.O. (1972) and modified by Santos (1979). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Understanding of the informal sector essentially descriptive and appraisal of the processes enabling the formal and informal economies to exist limited. -Differentiation between informal and formal sector employment unclear. <p>Linkages between the formal and informal sectors not discussed in depth.</p>
'Redistribution with growth strategy'.	Structuralist interpretation.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Attempts to incorporate the linkages between the informal and formal sectors in a single framework becomes important. -Movement away from a dualistic conception of employment opportunities to a 'continuum' approach 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Confusion arises over defining the informal sector and its role in future employment and development strategies.

<p>'Basic need approach'</p>	<p>Structuralist interpretation.</p>	<p>becomes important.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Movement away from a dualistic conception of employment opportunities to a 'continuum' approach (Bromley and Gerry, 1979). - Linkages between informal and formal sectors identified in terms of inputs, outputs and markets. - Relationship between the informal and formal sectors differentiated into benign and subordinate. - Debate hinges around whether the informal sector is an autonomous sector, a complementary sector or an exploited sector of the economy monopolized by the formal sector. - Informal sector workers described as wage-labourers-in-waiting or the reserve army of surplus labour unable to obtain employment because of repercussions of capital accumulation. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Unclear whether the informal sector is the result of involutory or evolutionary change. - Views of the value of promoting the informal sector divergent and dependent on theoretical frame of reference (ie. Capitalist vs Marxist). - Development of the informal sector hindered by repressive laws, legal harassment and control by oligopolistic firms in the formal sector. - Lack of capital and inadequate access to credit facilities hinders development.
<p>Socio economic transformation.</p>	<p>Structuralist interpretation including tenets of Marxian analysis.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Term informal sector rejected in favour of 'petty-commodity production' (p.c.p.). - Debate hinges around whether p.c.p. forms a separate <u>mode</u> of production or a <u>form</u> of production on the margins of the capitalist mode of production and incorporated into it by subordination. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Confusion still surrounds the meaning of the term p.c.p. - Development of the informal sector, which is seen merely as a survival strategy, hinges upon a holistic understanding of society, inequality, underdevelopment and the repercussions of the conflict of labour and capital in the market place. Other than socialization of the means of production few suggestions are made of how to resolve the unemployment problem in the short term.

2.4 Towards a Definition of the Informal Sector.

Changes in understanding development and the informal sector have resulted in varying and different definitions of this sector. A vast amount of research has been carried out in an attempt to accurately define the nature and function of the informal sector. Generally, it has been accepted that a precise definition of the informal sector is extremely difficult to formulate (Mosley, 1978). Possibly one of the reasons why the informal sector has been referred to as "the murky sector" or "the unenumerated sector" (Davies in Bromley and Gerry, 1979) is because of the lack of a clear cut definition. The confusion arising from this deficiency has been considerable (Dewar and Watson, 1981) and it would seem that attempts to define the informal sector have followed two schools of thought : the dualist and structuralist interpretations; the latter embracing the Marxian perspective. Examples of definitions from each school are described in this section of the chapter, which concludes with a working definition applicable to the study outlined in the thesis.

The I.L.O. (1972), Hart (1973), Sethuraman (1976) and Santos (1979) have tried to identify particular kinds of activities with specific characteristics and associated with particular target groups of people, such as the working poor, urban poor, casual poor and self employed, with the informal sector. Souza and Tokman's (1976, 356) definition is typical of many which align the informal sector with a particular urban target group :

"... the urban labour market is thus divided into two sectors. On the one hand there is the formal sector in which organised economic activities are concentrated, and on the other the informal sector consisting of workers who as a rule are not employed by organised enterprises and correspond in fact to the surplus labour force".

Maasdorp and Pillay's (1978, 13) definition is in a similar vein :

"The informal sector is frequently equated with the urban poor and/or squatter dwellers and/or rural-urban migrants. Because of the great variety of activities found in the sector, it has been suggested that the informal sector should be divided into two distinct categories. These are: (a) an irregular sector consisting of low status, but never the less legitimate fringe activities (such as car washing, casual gardening and begging) and illegal activities, and (b) the informal sector proper which would then refer to small scale economic activities as well as to non-wage and family concerns".

Disagreement has arisen as to the kinds of activities that can be identified as purely informal and the groups of people who are engaged in the informal sector. Confusion arises because formal and informal sector activities are irreconcilably intertwined within a single economy. McGee and Yeung (1977, 21) identify part of the problem of categorizing specific activities and people as being informal in suggesting that: "the informal sector encompasses features of occupations accessible to the poor, although it must not be identified only with the urban poor". (My emphasis).

Weeks (1975) and Mazumdar (1976) have adopted another method of attempting to define the informal sector. They suggest that the distinction between the formal and informal sectors is based upon the organizational characteristics of exchange relationships, and the position of economic activity vis-a-vis the State. The basic distinction between the two sectors is that employment in the formal sector is in some sense or senses protected. Only the job seekers able to cross the barrier of entry will reap the benefits of formal sector wages and working conditions. "This kind of protection may arise from the action of trade unions, of government, or of both acting together" (Mazumdar, 1976, 656). The informal sector operates outside the benefits of tariff and quota protection, low interest rates and rebates and has no

access to credit and financial institutions. However, Weeks (1975) and Mazumdar (1976) merely point to yet another facet of the informal sector and fail to provide an acceptable definition. Any plausible definition would have to recognize, not only the organizational characteristics of the two, but the existence of linkages between them. Included within the definition must be "the concept of a non-static continuum of activities or people to be both flexible and open-ended to be viable" (Mazumdar, 1976). The pursuit of such definitional criteria could verge on seeking the Utopian ideal. Perhaps all that theorists can hope to provide is a definition that would aid the study of a particular aspect of the economy. For example, Mazumdar (1976, 655) suggests that :

"The formal-informal sector distinction applied to the ... labour market is an aid to the study of income distribution in the ... economy. It ultimately boils down to a theory of personal income distribution which stresses structural factors in explaining earning differentials as against rival explanations in human capital terms".

Finally, "an adequate definition of the (informal) sector must recognize that it differs from the formal sector because it represents a different mode of production. Such differences pertain to the ownership of production factors, techniques of production, number of producers, degree of specialization, hierarchic relations between supervisor and worker, etc" (Davies in Truu and Black, 1980). A definition within the Marxian theoretical framework will focus upon the form of production, and conceptualize petty-commodity production as being subordinate to the dominant capitalist mode of production. Those involved in the informal sector will play the role of artisans "who have contact with the market only as purchasers of the means of production ... petty producers, who produce for the market as sellers of commodities and traditional petty producers who are now more or less subordinate to commercial capital" (Dewar and Watson, 1981, 42). A definition based within the Marxian

framework thus identifies the class position of those engaged in petty-commodity production and emphasizes the conflict inherent within the economy between labour and capital.

Clearly, a definition of the informal sector will be directly linked with the purpose of the study and the philosophical framework in which it is set. If the informal sector is envisaged as a strategy for development, the definition will have to dovetail into a specific policy approach. For example, the I.L.O. (1972), and other theorists ascribing to the dualist school, (Hart, 1973; Santos, 1979) have suggested that the promotion of the informal sector will resolve unemployment problems in the Third World. The structuralist school of thought (Moser, 1978; Tokman, 1978) suggests that such a solution is too simplistic and that the I.L.O.'s position is naive and merely likely to reinforce the status quo, by perpetuating domination and exploitation by the ruling class.

2.4.1 A Working Definition of the Informal Sector for the Fingo Village Survey.

At this point, it is necessary to indicate the position adopted in this thesis with regard to defining the informal sector. It is accepted that informal sector activities do not operate in a different sector of the economy from large businesses. Rather, they fall at the lower end of the employment continuum. The dualistic differentiation of the economy is misleading, and categorically rejected, apropos the critique of dualism outlined previously. Regardless of disagreement with the dualistic method of classifying the economy, the term informal sector will be used "because the widespread and popular use of the term ... conjures up an image of less stable, more oppressed and sometimes impermanent economic activity" (Dewar and Watson, 1981, 46). Clearly, the informal sector can be viewed from two perspectives; either it is a business or commercial activity, or it can be viewed as a survival strategy and should be considered within the context of the household unit. Bienefeld (in Dewar and Watson,

1981, 45) states: "if our interest is in growth then we need to try and understand the process of accumulation and technological change ... on the other hand, if we are primarily interested in welfare then the object of statistical investigation must be households, since this is the primary income-sharing mechanism." The approach to be taken in this thesis is to compile a profile of a particular facet of the informal sector, namely hawking, as a means of assessing the role of the informal sector in contributing to the household income; hence the household unit is an important variable in the exercise. The research will also consider how the hawking operation operates, and will analyse the location of hawkers in the environment. These last two components have been included as they may assist in a preliminary prognosis of the type of linkages which exist between informal sector hawkers and formal sector retail outlets.

In the context of this thesis the term informal will refer to "a very wide range of activities in both rural and urban areas, characterised by the small-scale, labour intensive provision of goods and services for a market largely made up on the demand side of people with low incomes The informal sector ... consists ... (largely) ... of casual and relatively unproductive employment ... many who are employed in this sector are very small commercial operators (but) a ... number are engaged in manufacturing and repair activities" (Emmerij, 1974, 200). The informal sector also constitutes a source of survival. Its existence is evidence of prevailing market imperfections in the formal sector, and the inability of public and private enterprise to supply sufficient job opportunities to meet demand. The co-existence of the formal and informal sectors in a single economy reflects a symbiotic relationship between the two sectors; a relationship which is weighted in favour of the formal sector. The informal sector relies on the formal sector as a source of supply for capital and resources, and is therefore subordinate to, and dependent upon, the formal sector. The informal sector provides an additional marketing outlet for goods produced by the formal sector for poorer

consumers, who would otherwise be unable to afford them (Truu and Black, 1980). Much of the organization of the informal sector, in terms of marketing processes, mimics that of the formal sector, and a dynamic approach is necessary if the processes which dictate the existence and functioning of the informal sector are to be understood.

Definitions are limited in terms of their having to be open-ended, and able to depict both the structural form of the informal sector, and the processes which create its structure. Hence, a model would possibly act as a more suitable means of defining the informal sector. A model could describe not only the form or structure of the sector, but also the processes which enable it to function and which dictate its structure. Several theorists (Green in Mosley, 1978; Davies in Bromley and Gerry, 1979; Nattrass, 1984) have proposed different models which assist our conceptualization of the informal sector. Three of these models are outlined and discussed in the following section of this chapter.

2.5 Modelling the Informal Sector.

Most of the models of the informal sector have an economic focus, which varies in scale from depicting the informal sector in the national context of less developed countries, to viewing particular sociological variables, such as age and education, and how these can influence wage differentials at the level of individual earnings (Guisinger and Irfan, 1980). Other models concentrate specifically on the input and output processes inherent within the economic organization of the informal sector (Weeks, 1975), or upon behavioural patterns of producers and consumers within the market and their impact upon the organization and functioning of this sector (Ghosh, 1982). Each model should be conceived as a partial model, which treats particular aspects of the labour market in isolation from the rest of the economic and political system (Mosley, 1978). The compilation of a broad interdisciplinary model could give a more

realistic picture of the character of the informal sector, and of the constraints which hinder the adoption of specific policy measures to relieve the unemployment problem. "But usually these more general models have been implicit rather than spelt out and (are) set in an historical vacuum ... as a consequence some concepts and relationships commonly used in such models remain vague, to the point where policy recommendations based on them risk having results opposite to those intended" (Mosley, 1978). An adequate model of the informal sector is as difficult to design as a realistic definition.

To outline every model relating to the informal sector would be impractical, but perhaps three in particular assist one's understanding of this sector. Green (in Mosley, 1978) illustrates how the informal sector can be depicted in model form within the dualist framework and at a national level. Davies (in Bromley and Gerry, 1979) provides a structuralist orientated model of the position of the informal sector in relation to the formal sector, based on research in Hartley, Rhodesia. Finally, Natrass (1984) provides a model of the informal sector set within a Marxian framework. In this section the basis of each model will be described to underscore the processes which enable the informal sector to operate within the economy.

2.5.1 The I.L.O. 'Implicit Model'.

As a result of the Kenya Mission the I.L.O. formulated policy recommendations for the promotion of the informal sector. The Kenya Mission suggested that the informal sector was an unexploited and potential source of productive employment opportunities. Green (in Mosley, 1978), in an attempt to understand the analytical assumptions of the recommendations outlined in the I.L.O. report, designed a model which is a crude representation of the genesis of the informal sector according to a dualistic framework. Green's interpretation (in Mosley, 1978) can be divided into eight phases, which are outlined below, and depicted in diagrammatic form in Figure 4.

Green (in Mosley 1978) suggests that :

- (a) The unequal distribution of income before and after taxation is a result of discrimination in the market. Discrimination is reflected in differences in access to land, employment and educational opportunities. The result is that a privileged class emerge who will continue to exist during the post-colonial period. A repercussion of the domination by the privileged class is the evolution of a consumption pattern of high quality goods, which are either imported or manufactured locally by capital -intensive techniques.
- (b) Local manufacturers require access to foreign technology and capital in order to develop the modern sector in line with Western standards.
- (c) Political and economic concessions are made by the Government to increase the incentive for private foreign investment, to supply finance and knowledge to the productive sector and public foreign aid to the infrastructural sector.
- (d) The resultant economic growth is indicative of a high growth rate in G D P which is conceived by some as a 'surplus'. However, the economy is adversely affected by high leakages into elite consumption, profits on sales of inputs by foreign firms and capital investment into a high cost/advanced technology and local subsidiaries (Green in Mosley, 1978).
- (e) Additional leakages out of the recently generated 'surplus' are perpetuated by the demands for political stability. Other foci to meet the economic aspirations of educated people are created. These take the form of the rapid creation of high wage 'Africanised' jobs in the modern sector, and income opportunities in trade and transport, which are protected by licence (Green in Mosley, 1978).
- (f) The stability of the economy is vulnerable to external shocks, such as the oil crises, or alterations to the

primary produce export markets.

- (g) In the long-term the economy is exceptionally vulnerable as the so-called 'easy phase' of job creation through Africanisation and the transfer of settler agricultural employment to the indigenous population soon ends.
- (h) An increased dependence on foreign aid will help to avoid the collapse of the economic system. Other measures taken to avoid an adverse effect on the economy include redirecting resources into the marginal informal sector. This sector is characterized by labour-intensive practices and a lower dependency on foreign investment and assistance. "... The informal sector's main market is likely to be the informal sector itself - the urban and rural working poor. There is thus a real chance that a shift of government patronage towards - or (at least) of government harassment away from - the informal sector might bring about a self-sustained growth process within it, which would, in turn, substantially alleviate internal income inequalities" (Mosley, 1978, 5).

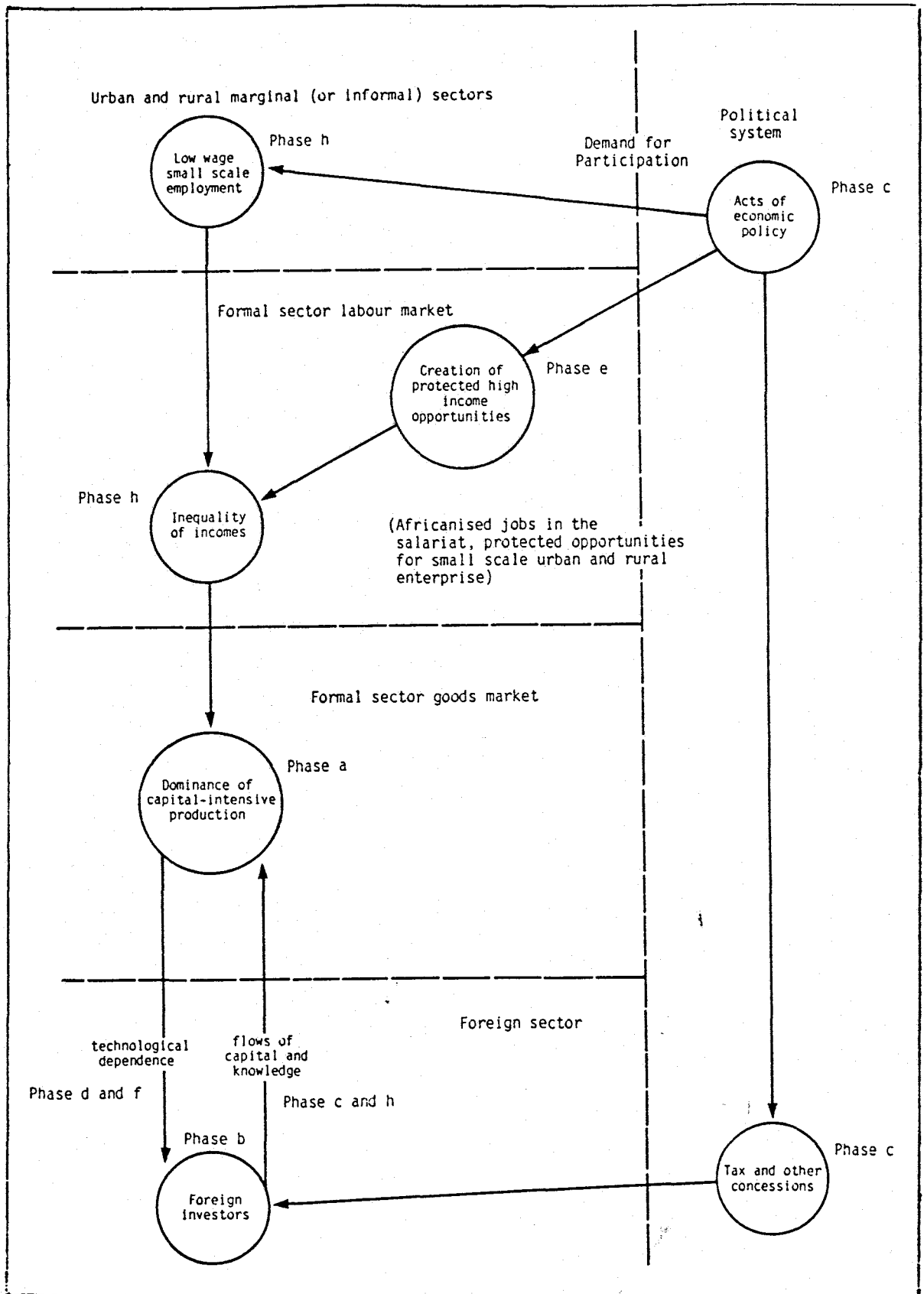


Figure 4 : I.L.O. Report 'Implicit Model' : Crude Representation
 (After : Green in Mosley, 1978, Figure 1, 4).

Green's model (in Mosley, 1978) provides one historical perspective of the various processes which encourage the development of the informal sector. The model seeks to illustrate the role of the informal sector as a source of alternative, viable full-time employment, and gives scant indication of the subordinate and dependent position of this sector vis-a-vis the formal sector. The definition to emerge from the model is far from adequate and suggests that: "informal sector incomes are lower, labour intensity higher and the product range less import-dependent and more attuned to the needs of low income consumers" (Mosley, 1978, 5). The informal sector's relationship with the remainder of the economy is excluded, and this is a major defect of Green's model (in Mosley, 1978). Davies' model (in Bromley and Gerry, 1979) overcomes some of the shortcomings of the I.L.O. Report 'Implicit Model'.

2.5.2 Informal Sector or Subordinate Mode of Production?

Davies (in Bromley and Gerry, 1979) suggests that an adequate definition of the informal sector will focus upon the mode of production. Using empirical evidence from a study of the informal sector in Hartley, Rhodesia, Davies outlines a theoretical model based on the premise that the difference between the formal and informal sector lies in the economic structure within which they operate. Three interrelated factors, namely the means, techniques and modes of production, provide clues about the structure of the economy and society in which the two sectors function. "The formal sector is based on highly developed social productive forces; the informal sector is not; both its means of production and its techniques of production are non-capital intensive" (Davies in Bromley and Gerry, 1979, 89). The means of production in the formal sector are privately owned by a dominant minority group, and are operated by workers for the benefit of that owning class. Within the informal sector the means of production are owned by those who operate them, and division of labour is very simple and tends to be horizontal as opposed to vertical. In the formal

sector, production relations are based on a highly developed division of labour, with hierarchical relations between supervisor and worker. The mode of production tends to be determined by the superstructure, and influences the formation of society. "The informal sector, on the other hand represents a subsidiary, peripheral and dependent mode of production, having to exist within a social formation it cannot directly influence" (Davies in Bromley and Gerry, 1979, 89).

Based on the observations about means, techniques and modes of production Davies, (in Bromley and Gerry, 1979) suggests that the formal and informal sectors co-exist. "The relationship between the two is asymmetrically symbiotic" (Davies in Bromley and Gerry, 1979, 89). Such a relationship implies that the informal sector depends on the formal sector for its supplies, capital and possibly the creation of demand for particular goods and services. In this situation, the formal superstructure defines the limits and boundaries of the informal sector.

"... The comparative scarcity and high prices resulting from prevailing market imperfections are the preconditions for the production of substitutes capable of satisfying a given want by informal sector entrepreneurs. In this sense the informal sector may indeed be said to depend on the formal sector, but the two sectors now also emerge in a largely complementary relationship with the informal sector filling a vacuum caused by formal sector imperfections. The net effect is that the informal sector supplies extra units of goods at comparatively low prices which would otherwise not have been available at all" (Truu and Black, 1980, 18).

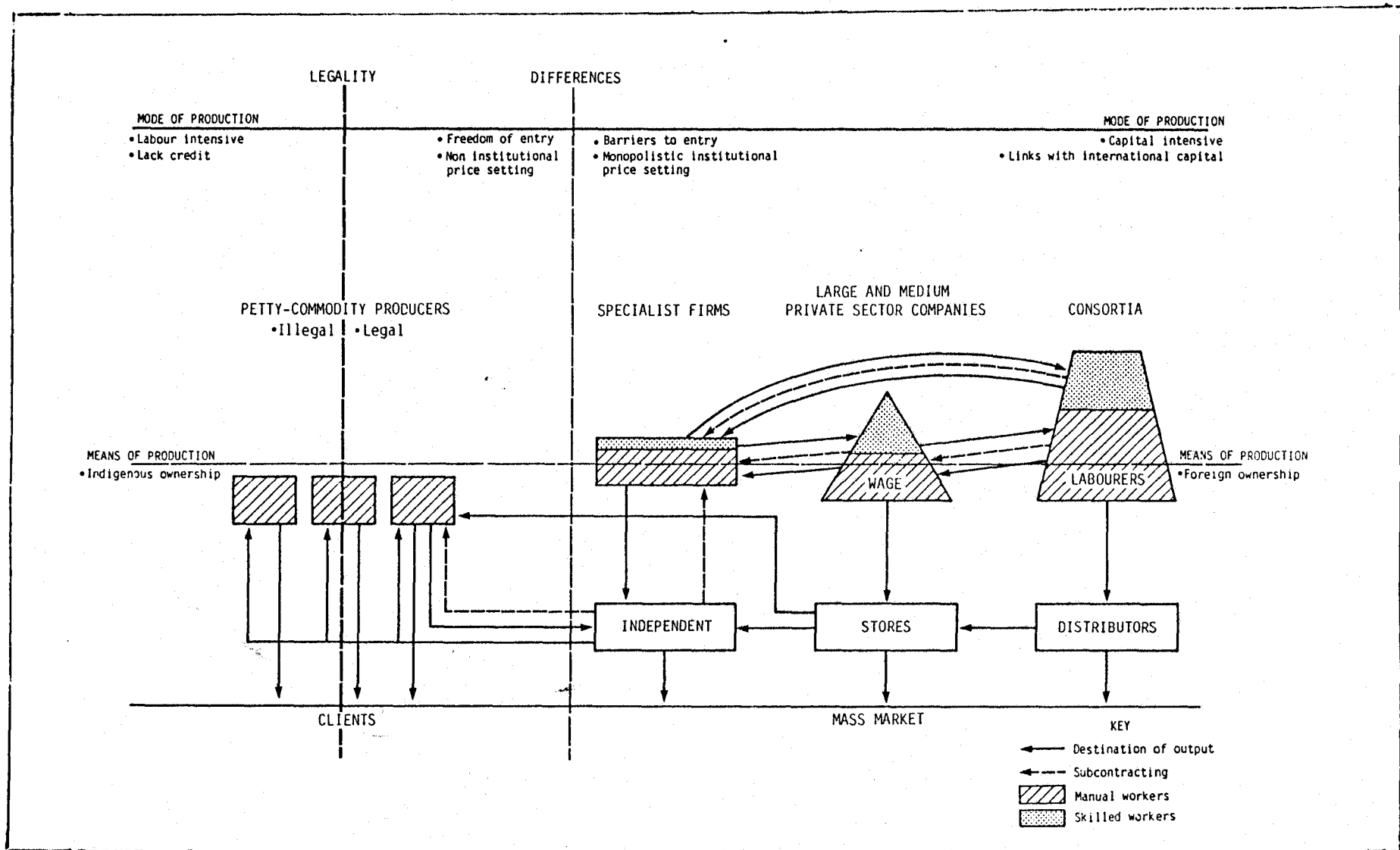


Figure 5 : Asymmetrical Symbiotic Relationship Between the Formal and Informal Sector.

(After : MacEwan Scott in Bromley and Gerry, 1979, Figures 6.1 and 6.2, 115)

Figure 5 is a diagrammatic representation of the asymmetrical symbiotic relationship that exists between the formal and informal sectors. The symbols in Figure 5 depict different enterprises and their variation in shape and size indicate differences in the scale and internal division of labour of the enterprise. The scale of informal sector activities is smaller than that of formal enterprises (Davies in Bromley and Gerry, 1979). "The continuous lines represent destination of output and reflect the fact that much of the output of workers in the intermediate area goes to other producing units as well as into the sphere of commerce" (MacEwan Scott in Bromley and Gerry, 1979, 115). The discontinuous lines are indicative of dependency ties, such as subcontracting. Petty-commodity producers rely heavily upon contact with intermediaries, who prevent them from having total control over the means of production.

By reviewing various factors the dependency of the informal sector upon the formal sector becomes apparent. These factors are : the ownership of the means of production, the barriers to entry, the question of monopolies, price setting mechanisms, scale of operation, production techniques and legal status. Each of these components and their role in creating a dependency linkage between the two sectors is discussed briefly.

(a) Ownership of the Means of Production .

The formal sector in Third World countries is characterized by a high degree of foreign control and ownership. This often stems from an historical process whereby the country's natural resources have been exploited during the colonial era under capitalist conditions. The informal sector forms a peripheral or marginal activity in the system of capitalist production. It is typified by indigenous ownership of the means of production, and its techniques of production are unlikely to attract large-scale foreign investment. The role of the informal sector therefore is to supply cheap labour to the formal sector, which

moulds the informal sector into a subordinate and dependent position in the economy.

(b) Barriers to Entry.

Returns from formal sector activities are retained by that sector through specific barriers to entry. The indirect barriers to entry are of the most importance: "... large initial capital requirements: limitations on the use of land; methods of allocating scarce resources such as ... foreign exchange quotas; economies of scale (which give a competitive advantage to those already in industry): patent rights ... all serve to protect those within an industry from competition by newcomers ... " (Davies in Bromley and Gerry, 1979, 90). In some instances, political and legal action by the State protects the interests of the industrialist, although these indirect barriers do not really apply to the informal sector, where other barriers, such as licensing regulations imposed by municipal authorities, can curtail informal activities. Barriers to entry therefore favour the advancement of formal sector activities.

(c) Monopolies.

The formal sector in many Third World countries reflects a situation found in most capitalist countries. The economy is dominated by a large number of monopolistic and oligopolistic industries, who are protected by institutional barriers to entry, and thrive on foreign technological expertise. "There also tends to be a high degree of (implicit) price collusion in the formal sector, partly through the effects of Government price controls and partly through cartel-type activities ... The few monopolies which do exist in the informal sector are also predominantly a result of the impact of the formal superstructure (in the same way as barriers to entry), but also to a lesser extent of technological factors" (Davies in Bromley and Gerry, 1979, 92). Informal sector operators do not resolutely attempt to create or protect monopolistic situations. Monopolies

therefore also tend to favour formal as opposed to informal sector expansion.

(d) Price Setting Mechanisms.

"Prices in the informal sector are generally set by bargaining between the individuals involved in the transaction; in the formal sector they are far more likely to be set institutionally, through impersonal, apparently independent market forces" (Davies in Bromley and Gerry, 1979, 92). This is the result of the differences between the two sectors in production and distribution relations and the scale of operation. The nature of production in the informal sector pre-empts closer and more personal contact between buyer and seller, and the relative bargaining positions of the buyer and seller play an important role in establishing the price setting mechanism. By comparison prices in the formal sector are set prior to the transaction. This does not imply that institutional prices have no effect upon the informal sector. The opposite is true. Institutional prices influence informal sector prices simply because many informal entrepreneurs rely on the formal sector as a source of supply. Thus, the informal sector dealer has to fix his price such that he recoups his expenses and makes a slight profit.

(e) Scale.

The scale of informal activities is limited by the lack of access to credit facilities and "growth within the sector must be financed by an internally generated surplus, while the formal sector has recourse to formal fund-raising institutions" (Davies in Bromley and Gerry, 1979, 93). In addition, the quasi-legality of many informal activities causes the risk of being involved to be high. In such circumstances, the incentive to expand on informal enterprises beyond a certain level is minimal, and overall expansion of the informal sector is therefore discouraged.

(f) Production Techniques.

The informal sector is characterized by labour-intensive methods, which stem from the mode of production with which this sector is associated. The lack of access to credit and the slow rate of capital accumulation encourage labour-intensive techniques. Conversely "the superstructure of the formal sector ... provides incentives for it to use capital-intensive techniques, as do its links with international capital : these incentives do not exist for the informal sector" (Davies in Bromley and Gerry, 1979, 93). The lack of access to capital-intensive techniques hinders the expansion of the informal sector.

(g) Legal Status.

Many informal activities involve an element of illegality. Legal ethics and codes are normally designed by the dominant class and serve their vested interests. As Davies (in Bromley and Gerry, 1979, 93) points out "the (illegal) nature of the informal sector is substantially determined by the superstructure of the capitalist mode of production". The relationship between the two sectors is therefore asymmetrically symbiotic.

The seven characteristics described above demonstrate the extent to which the informal sector is subordinated/dominated by the formal sector. The nature of the informal sector is to a large degree determined by the impact of the formal sector upon it. Davies' model (in Bromley and Gerry, 1979) of asymmetrical symbiosis makes this point clearly and indicates the importance of structural processes upon the form of the informal sector.

2.5.3 Modelling the Informal Sector Within a Marxist Framework.

The Marxist school also explores the question of the structural relationship between the formal and informal sectors in the context of the wider economy. Within this school there are two

divergent points of view. Marginality theorists perceive the informal sector as a marginal pole, which enables capital accumulation to occur within the formal sector. The informal sector acts as a reserve army of labour and produces cheap poor quality subsistence goods. (Obregon (in Natrass, 1984, 1) states that : "The marginal pole is that part of the economy characterized by a lack of stable access to basic resources and which operates around residual resources and for the most part residual activities). Alternatively, Marxists view the informal sector as petty-commodity production and a subordinate segment of the economy. Natrass (1984) suggests that both these approaches can be integrated into a single theory, which is depicted in Figure 6. Such an approach takes into consideration the insights of apparently divergent views.

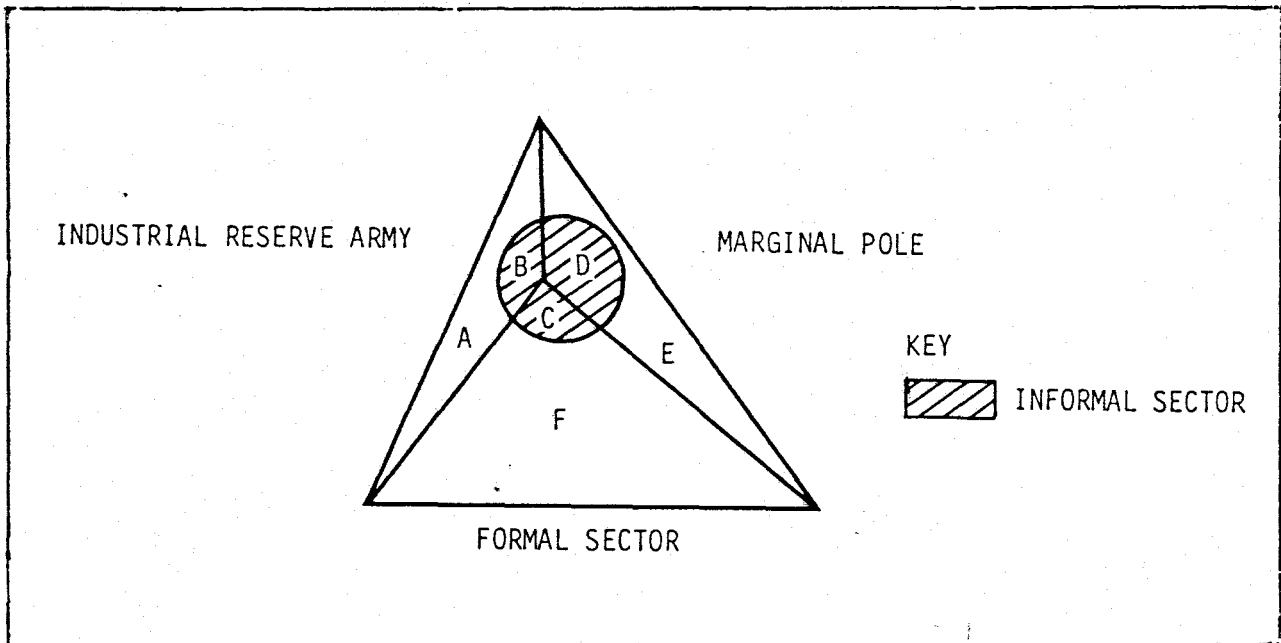


Figure 6 : A Marxist Interpretation of the Informal Sector.
(Source : Natrass, 1984, 2).

Triangles A, E and F represent, respectively, the industrial reserve army, the marginal pole and the formal sector of the economy. Sub-sections B, C and D, collectively demarcated by a circle, form the informal sector.

"The Industrial Reserve Army triangle (A) consists of those people who could get a job in the formal sector if some expansion took place" (Nattrass, 1984, 3). A future job is thus dependent on the individual's having obtained certain formal sector skills. The Industrial Reserve Army can be differentiated into two categories: sub-component A consists of people who are full-time job seekers and who are living off savings, or borrowing from friends and relatives, whilst they are unemployed. People falling into category A are not involved in the informal sector. B represents those people who, although capable of obtaining a job in the formal sector, have ceased to search for employment and are now temporarily employed in the informal sector. Nattrass (1984) suggests that people falling into category B will cut their ties with the informal sector as soon as employment becomes available in the formal sector. The informal sector thus becomes "a necessary substitute for the social security benefits that the State has failed to provide" (Wilkinson and Webster, 1982, 8).

The triangle depicting the marginal pole (E) represents those people who fall outside the industrial reserve army, and who are not employed in the formal sector. Such people have no experience of working in the formal sector and do not possess the requisite officially recognized skills. Component D embodies the people who work in the informal sector for a living, even though the remuneration may be low. Nattrass (1984) suggests that E depicts the dregs within the marginal pole - the truly marginalised people who are not even active in informal production. Examples of the truly marginalised include beggars and garbage pickers.

The third triangle depicts the sector of the population employed full-time in the formal sector (sub-category F). To illustrate how some people, engaged in the formal sector, supplement their incomes by involvement in the informal sector, part C is included

in Figure 6.

Implied within Figure 6 is the idea of categories B, C and D representing different income hierarchies within the informal sector. Natrass (1984) hypothesizes that those falling into category D are likely to be worst off because they lack both formal sector skills and experience. People in category B will probably occupy the next niche in the income hierarchy, and those individuals having access to an income from both the formal and informal sectors will probably, or are likely to be, on average, the best off of all three categories. In suggesting that a hierarchy of income opportunities exists, Natrass (1984) has attempted to classify a weakness in the Marxian interpretation of petty-commodity production. The subordinate role of the informal sector has been defined in terms of its structural position in the economy and not in terms of the characteristics of the sector. The ramifications of precisely what is implied by the term informal sector thus needs further clarification. "A distinction should be made between those working in informal employment primarily to accumulate money for re-investment, and those who work in the informal sector out of necessity. In the latter case the sector provides an indispensable means of subsistence. In other words, some informal operators may be legitimately regarded as small-scale capitalist producers while others may not" (Davies in Bromley and Gerry, 1979, 23). The major contribution of the structuralist and Marxist approaches is the observation that the formal sector can exploit the informal sector via its control of market conditions. Moreover, the formal sector is also able to control the supply sources of materials and machinery maintenance to the informal sector, as well as its output and subcontracting arrangements.

Just as attempts to define the informal sector have failed to successfully delimit its parameters, and to provide a satisfactory definition of the processes which determine its structure, so too have attempts to model the informal sector.

An integral picture of the various insights gleaned from the different attempts to model the informal sector is often difficult to compile. The very nature of the varying interpretations are often seemingly contradictory because of the divergent philosophical standpoints chosen. Whilst it is extremely problematic to compile an adequate model, which embraces both structural form and dynamic process, the exercise is not redundant. Models, inadequate though they may be, act as useful heuristic devices in seeking out research gaps in the field of informal sector studies.

2.6 Suggestions of Current Research Needs Within the Field of Informal Sector Studies.

In the course of any literature survey, various research gaps are likely to emerge. A listing of future research requirements cannot be exhaustive and may take the form of a series of apparently unrelated points. The research needs identified from the literature survey will therefore only be listed, and those specifically relevant to the thesis highlighted.

- (a) Beavon and Rogerson (1980, 6) note that: "the task of modifying the classification of informal income opportunities (presented in Table 2) so as to describe the specific characteristics of the contemporary informal sector in South African cities still awaits to be undertaken."
- (b) Many studies on the informal sector fail to include an historical perspective of the society in which the informal sector operates. This distorts both the understanding and the analysis of the nature and role of the sector (King, 1974a, Hart, 1982).
- (c) Relatively few studies focus upon the forces which enable particular informal income niches to survive through history, and such a perspective could provide clues to the nature and role of the informal sector.
- (d) Although much research has attempted to provide an adequate typology of informal sector employment opportunities, there

is a lack of information as to how particular enterprises actually operate in this sector (King, 1974a).

- (e) "There has been very little written in any detailed way so far on the structure of particular (informal) industries, the development and change in their technology, the patterns of employment and training involved and their profitability (King, 1974a).
- (f) Little research has concentrated on the extent to which exposure to, and involvement in the formal sector, affect the management and investment decisions taken by informal sector entrepreneurs (Hart, 1970).
- (g) Few studies have established whether the 'skill' practised by workers in the informal sector varies seasonally or from year to year. Does the level of skill alter with changes in aspiration, or is the individual only likely to adopt a more skilled approach if the opportunity of greater security of employment arises? (King, 1974a). With greater certainty of a regular income from informal activities the informal entrepreneur may be more enterprising in acquiring and practising new skills and more sophisticated techniques.
- (h) "... very little is known or has been written about the size, functioning and character of the contemporary rural informal sector ..." (Mini, 1982, 1).
- (i) The role of the informal sector in rural areas, specifically for women who are subject to particular role expectations and affected by certain (societal) structural limitations, is an area needing further research (Preston-Whyte et al, 1984.)
- (j) Future research should attempt to establish the linkages between agricultural development and formal sector growth, and growth of the informal sector (Guisinger and Irfan, 1980).
- (k) McGee and Yeung (1977) suggest that many organizations, such as the World Bank, have noted the positive developmental potential of the informal sector. More empirical information is, however, necessary to provide governments with sufficient evidence to justify the adoption of specific

policy measures in favour of the informal sector. There has been a tendency for policies to merely reflect the nature and role of the informal sector from a very narrow perspective. For example, much research, specifically by the I.L.O., has concentrated upon the role of the informal sector in providing an alternative source of employment to the formal sector.

- (l) To plan effectively for any sector of society, the planner must have access to the requisite information. All too often, research is based on a stereotyped view of micro-economic behaviour, foreign to less developed countries. The outcome is that the data collected are inadequate or fail to depict reality accurately. Sociological material is usually directed to those whose concerns are academic rather than practical, and often there exists a lack of liaison between universities and governments (Hart, 1970). The research gap is, therefore, one of application of results as opposed to collecting and collating information.
- (m) "Very little empirical evidence in fact exists on the pattern of variations in wage rates and earnings in different types of urban economy, without which theoretical work on those topics cannot go very far" (Mazumdar, 1976, 657).
- (n) Surveys focusing on the informal sector have tended to be area specific, or geared towards understanding a particular facet of the sector in a set area. "It would be very useful if surveys directed at gathering information on the informal sector could be carried out simultaneously in cities of different sizes in the same country or region" (Mazumdar, 1976, 657).

The research project in this thesis will attempt to shed some light on the deficiencies in current understanding described in points d and e above. The research focuses on a particular facet of informal sector activities, namely, hawking, and attempts to establish a profile of the hawker, details about the hawking operation, and how hawkers have access to the particular

locations from which they operate. By reviewing these criteria, something can be gleaned about how the hawking enterprise operates.

2.7 Hawking as an Informal Sector Activity and its Characteristics.

Whilst an explanation for the choice of hawking as the subject of this thesis has been dealt with earlier, it is necessary to provide a definition and brief profile of the characteristics of this part of the informal sector.

Hawking is a feature of the retailing and service distribution system of cities throughout the world, and particularly the Third World. Although it is relatively easy to identify a person as being a hawker, a satisfactory definition of the term "hawking" presents problems (McGee and Yeung, 1977; Beavon, 1981). Freedman (1962, 44) states :

"A hawker is a person who travels from place to place with goods on a horse-drawn or mechanically-driven vehicle. A pedlar is one who travels with goods from place to place on foot, either with or without a handcart or other vehicle propelled by himself ... In terms of the Licence Consolidation Act a person trading on pavements or at other places accessible to the public or from a moveable structure or stationary vehicle requires to be licenced as a hawker unless such trade or business is exempted from licensing".

McGee and Yeung (1977, 25) support Freedman (1962) and suggest that hawkers are "those people who offer goods and services for sale from public spaces, primarily streets and pavements". An additional proviso made by McGee and Yeung (1977, 24) when defining hawking is that "the goods must be carried to the buyer either by the hawker himself or in some form of conveyance."

Beavon (1981) indicates that the term hawker has legal

connotations. A hawker can only operate from a fixed site licensed by the municipal authorities, or as a mobile seller who must move 25 metres every 20 minutes. In addition, hawkers have to conform with specific public health requirements of the particular urban area (Freedman, 1961 and 1962). However, the public usually recognize the hawker per se even if he does not comply with the regulations. Beavon (1981) therefore suggests that a hawker is anyone who operates as a seller of goods, and who does not do so from premises used by the formal sector.

The problem of drawing up an adequate definition of hawking is further compounded because different types of hawking units can be identified. McGee and Yeung (1977) suggest that three types of hawking unit can be distinguished :

- (a) Mobile hawker units which represent various types of wheeled or easily carried hawker selling units, ranging from bicycles to carrying baskets. The chief feature is that the hawker moves about selling goods.
- (b) Semi-static hawker units in which the stall or selling unit is removed after a period of selling, such as at the end of each day.
- (c) Static hawker units which operate from stalls permanently located in a street or public place, or from their own homes.

McGee and Yeung (1977, 69) have also differentiated hawkers into four broad groups according to the particular activities and goods offered for sale. These groups can be summarized as follows :

- (a) Unprocessed and semi-processed foods including raw food, meat, fruit and rice.
- (b) Prepared foods including mainly cooked food and drink.
- (c) Non-food items such as the sale of miscellaneous commodities ranging from textiles to medicines.
- (d) Services such as shoe-shining or hair-cutting.

Regardless of the variations in definition, certain common characteristics associated with hawking practices have been identified. Such characteristics are more easily comprehensible in tabular form and are summarized in Table 6.

Table 6 : Characteristics of Hawking.

(Source : Compiled from McGee, 1973; McGee and Yeung 1977; Maasdorp and Pillay, 1978; Beavon 1981; Mtembu and Manzi, 1981; Rogerson and Beavon, 1982; Natrass, 1984).

Characteristics	Application to Hawking
Location of hawkers	Tendency to congregate at the terminal points of intra-city commuter lines, major intersections, or outside community services, such as schools, clinics or retail outlets.
Competition	Undercutting of prices occurs, and individual hawkers can set up competition with the formal sector by selling identical goods in smaller quantities.
Supply source	Frequent reliance upon resources from the formal sector.
Technology	Labour-intensive and usually manned by members of the family.
Ownership and organization	Family ownership. Different members of the family may man the business at different times of the day.
Capital	Scarce. Minimal outlay is required as overhead costs are negligible.
Hours	Irregular and long. Frequently hours tie in with commuting times, school break periods, and clinic and community services hours.
Inventories	Small quantities because storage space is limited or non-existent.
Scale of operation	Variable, but usually small.
Markets	Unregulated, although control is exerted by the formal sector through licensing and health requirements.
Regular wages	Not required.
Prices	Variable.
Profit	Variable daily and seasonally.
Relations with clientele	Direct, personal.
Publicity	None, except by word of mouth.
Government capital	None, or almost none.

The close correspondence between the hawking characteristics listed in Table 6 and those of the informal sector set out in Tables 3 and 4 is apparent. The choice of hawking as being exemplary of the informal sector is therefore considered to be self-evident.

2.8 Chapter Summary.

Since the 1960s, human geographers have been exposed to a number of ways of understanding the man/land relationship. During the same period, perceptions of the development process underwent change. The move away from understanding development in solely economic terms, within the neo-classical economic framework, towards a radical interpretation is the result of structuralist and Marxist thinking. These changes in emphasis within geography and development studies have had spin-off effects on the field of informal sector studies.

A clear cut definition of the informal sector is not available. Changes in understanding the informal sector have paralleled changes in conceptualising development. Two particular schools of thought, namely the dualist and structuralist schools (the latter embracing Marxist thinking), can be identified as underlying attempts to define and model the informal sector. It is evident that further research is necessary to establish precisely what the informal sector embodies. Suggestions are made in Section 6 of the chapter regarding specific areas needing research.

Finally, the chapter describes the niche in informal sector studies into which the thesis fits. The research is intended to elicit more about how a particular facet of the informal sector operates, namely hawking. If information related to the hawker, the hawking operation and the choice of location can be collated, perhaps more can be determined about the structure of the informal sector as a whole. The chapter ends with a brief profile of hawking characteristics to indicate how this

enterprise is exemplary of the informal sector.

CHAPTER THREE

THE STUDY AREA

The area selected for study is Fingo Village, a Black¹ residential area of Grahamstown, which is situated in the Albany district of the Eastern Cape (Figures 7, 8 and 9). The main reason for selecting Fingo Village was that it constitutes a geographically self-contained unit easily accessible for research to Rhodes University. In addition, Fingo Village provides a microcosm of Black Grahamstown's urban problems and is exemplary of many urban development issues experienced elsewhere in South Africa. Black unemployment in Grahamstown is a significant urban problem, with estimates ranging from 31 to 50 percent (Loots, 1984). An estimate of the extent of unemployment in Fingo Village is not available.

As Grahamstown has limited scope for increasing the number of job opportunities in the formal sector, the role of the informal sector, both as a source of employment and as a survival strategy, is important. In the Black residential areas there is evidence of several forms of informal sector activity, and in Fingo Village hawkers selling fruit and vegetables are clearly visible to the casual observer (Plate 1). However, the extent to which such activities influence the lives of individuals in Fingo Village, or affect the overall economy of the city, is unknown.

Footnote:

1. In the context of this thesis the terms Black, Native and African are synonymous and are used interchangeably.

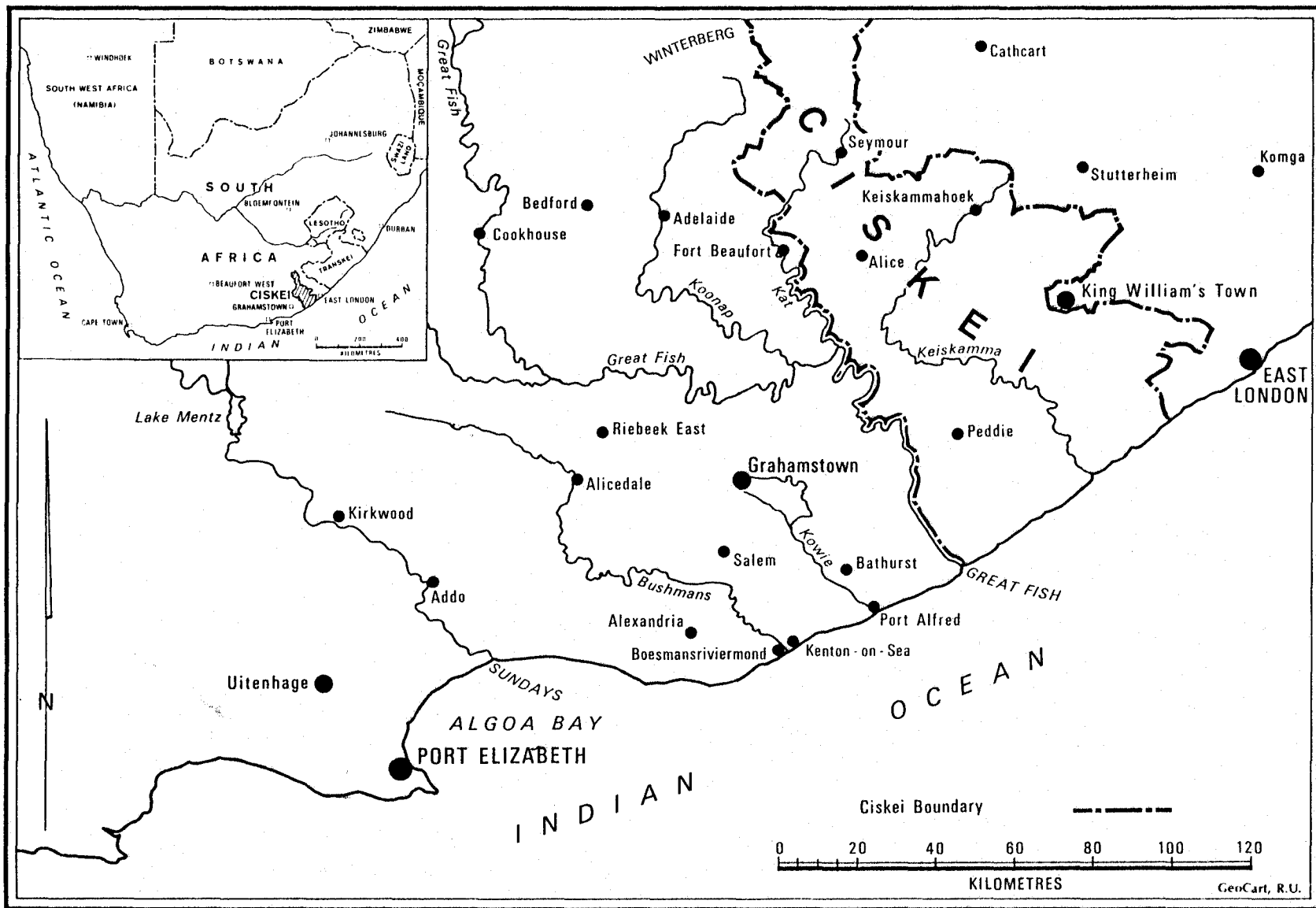
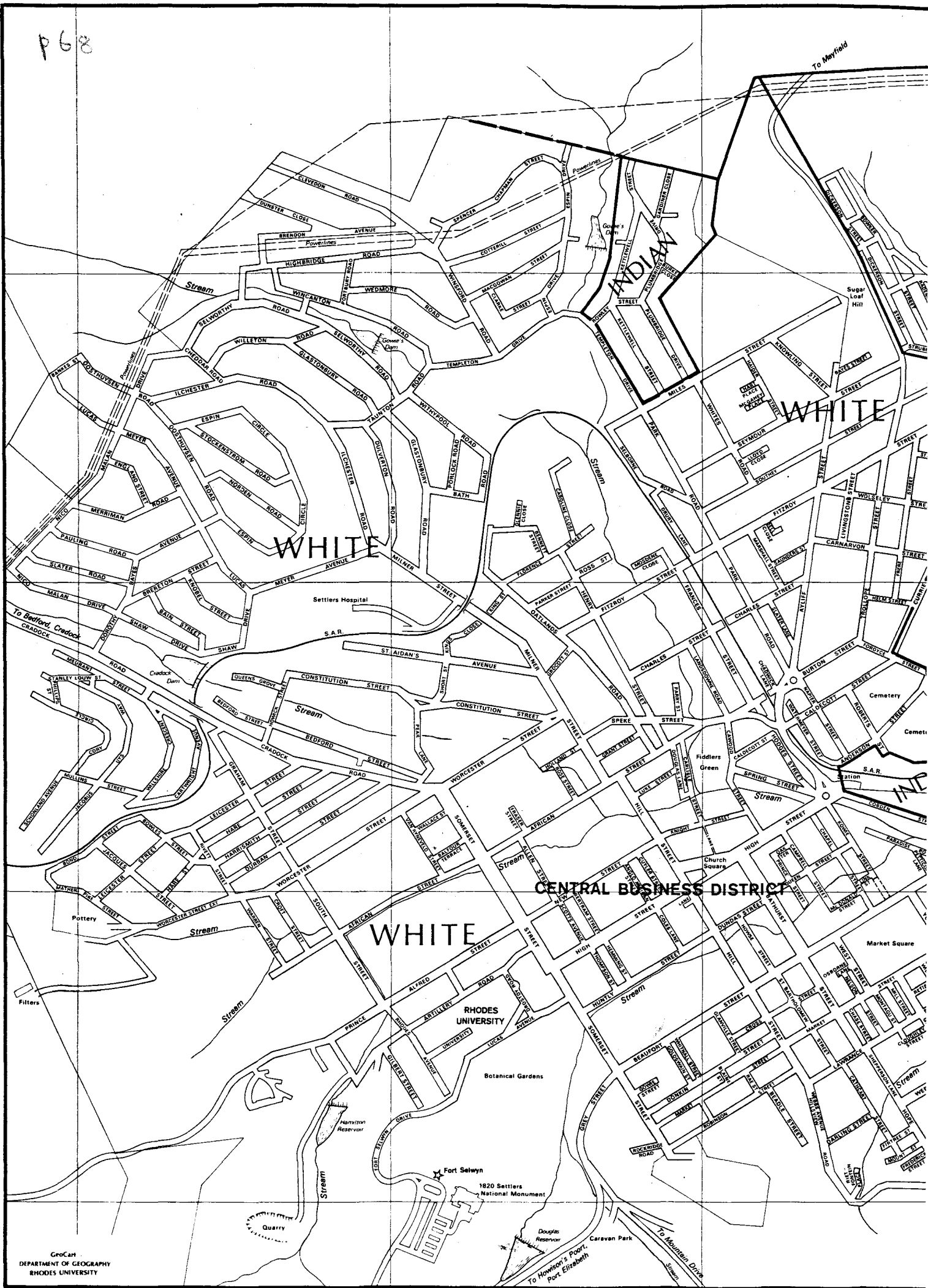


Figure 7: The Geographical Location of the Study Area.



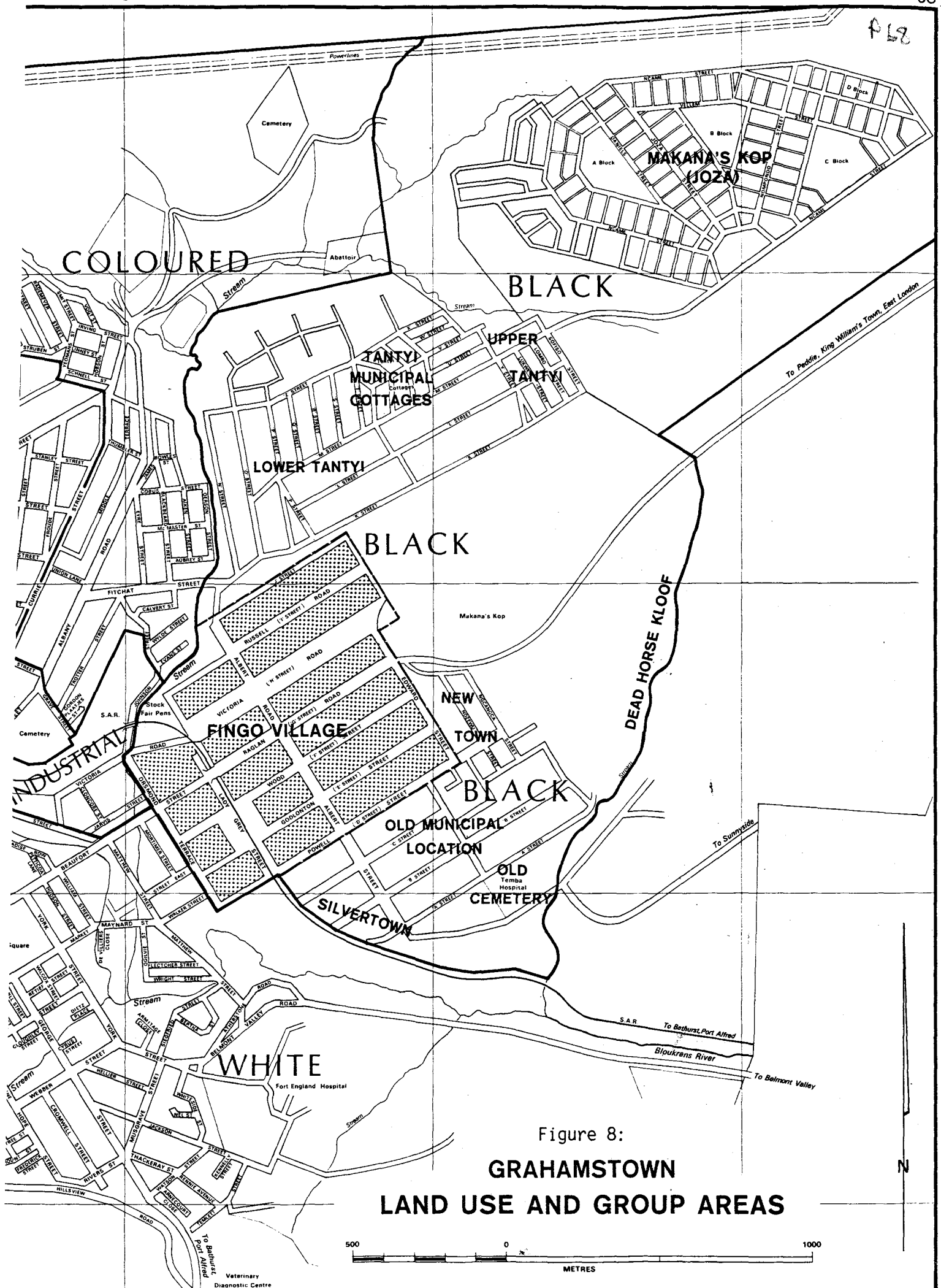
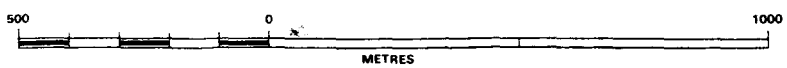
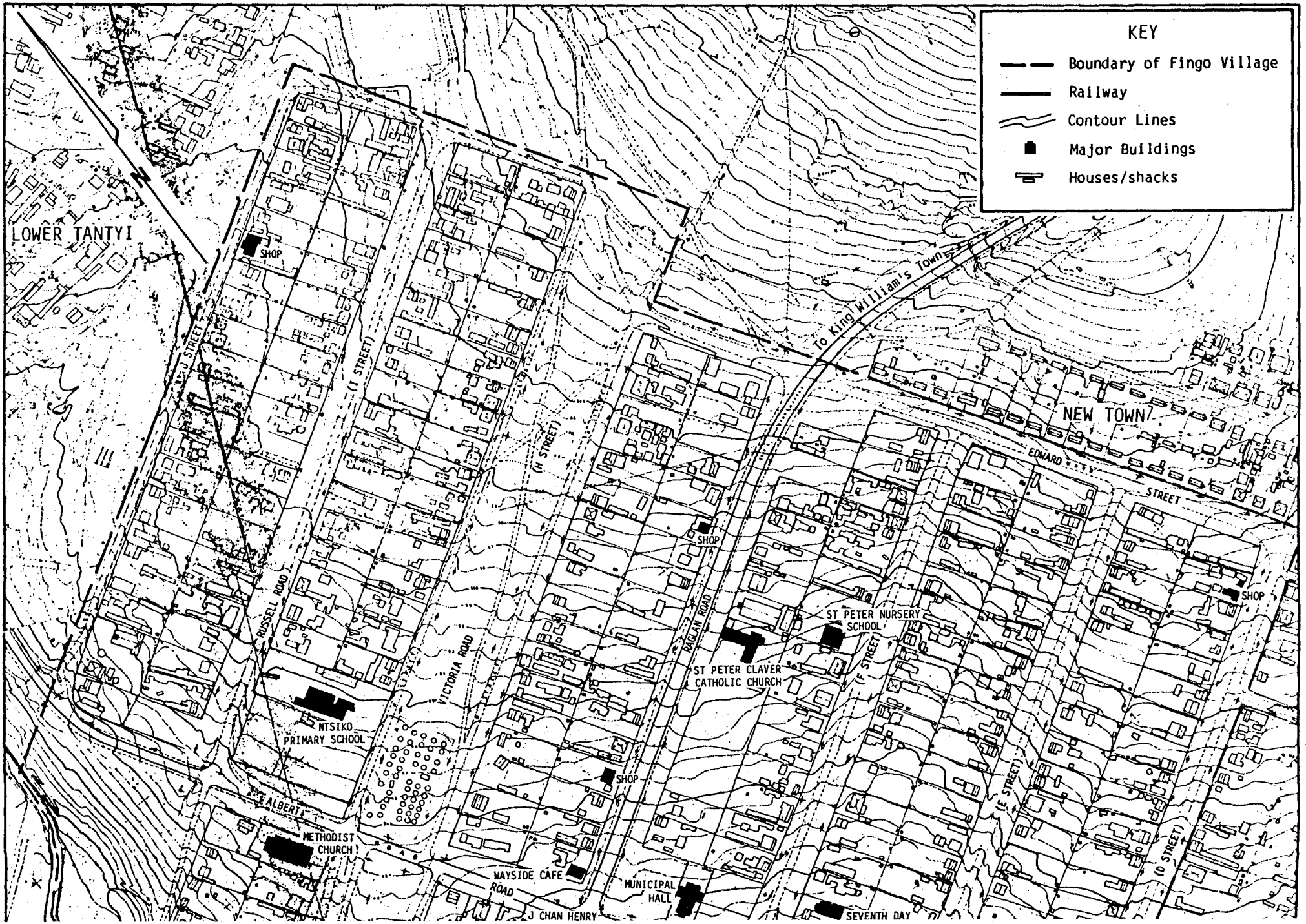


Figure 8:
GRAHAMSTOWN
LAND USE AND GROUP AREAS





KEY	
	Boundary of Fingo Village
	Railway
	Contour Lines
	Major Buildings
	Houses/shacks

LOWER TANTI

NEW TOWN

WTSIKO PRIMARY SCHOOL

ST PETER CLAVER CATHOLIC CHURCH

ST PETER NURSERY SCHOOL

METHODIST CHURCH

WAYSIDE CAFE

MUNICIPAL HALL

SEVENTH DAY

ALBERTI

J CHAN HENRY

(F STREET)

(E STREET)

(D STREET)

RUSSELL ROAD

VICTORIA ROAD

RAGLAN ROAD

EDWARD STREET

STREET

To King William's Town

(J STREET)

(I STREET)

(H STREET)

EDWARD STREET

STREET

(E STREET)

(D STREET)

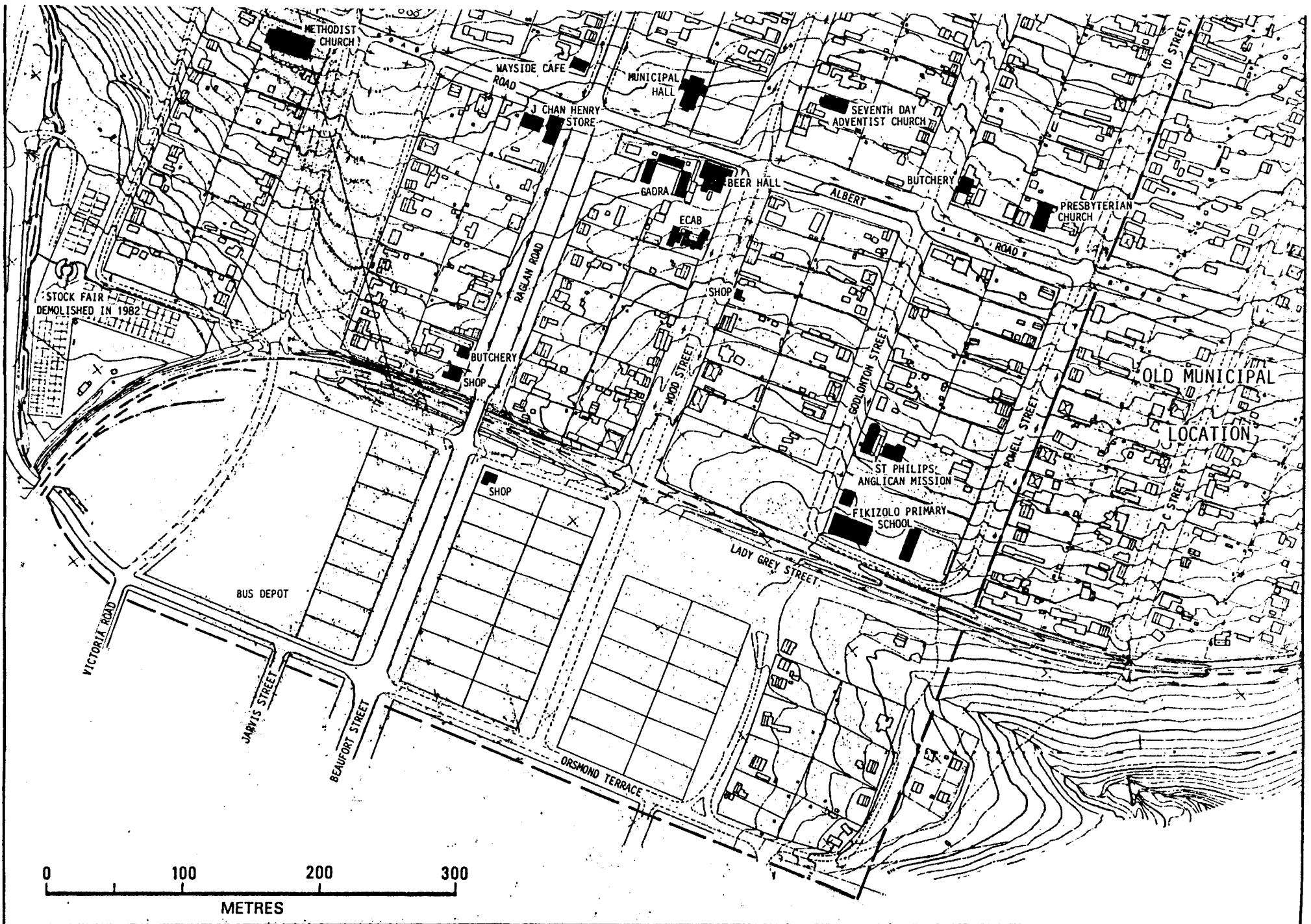


Figure 9: The Study Area : Fingo Village.

b9



Plate 1 : Hawking is a Visible Feature of the Fingo Village Environment.

To appreciate the current socio-economic conditions in Fingo Village and the problem of unemployment, it is necessary to assess Grahamstown's geographical location in the context of the Eastern Cape, and the contemporary situation within the city. Many of the city's present day problems are a consequence of history and hence an historical review of Grahamstown and Fingo

Village is necessary. The chapter will therefore focus upon the following topics :

1. Grahamstown in the context of the Eastern Cape.
2. The historical background of Grahamstown.
3. A review of the history of Fingo Village.
4. Contemporary development problems in Grahamstown and Fingo Village, with specific reference to unemployment.
5. The informal sector, and in particular, hawking practices in Fingo Village.

3.1 Grahamstown in the Context of the Eastern Cape.

The South African space economy reflects spatial disparities in its levels of economic development with economic activity being concentrated in four main metropolitan regions. The extent to which such spatial disparity exists is illustrated in Figure 10 and Table 7.

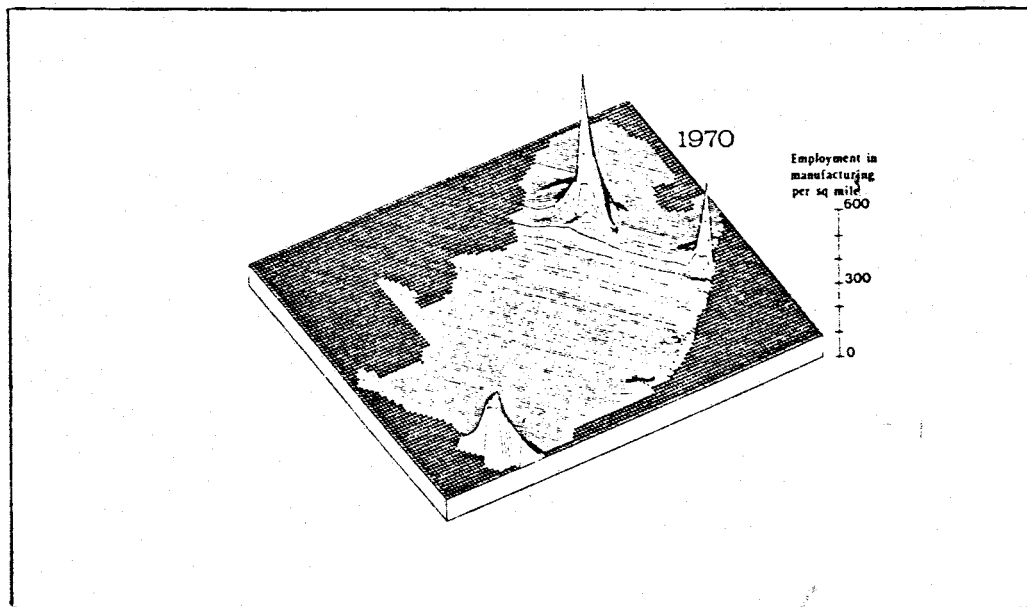


Figure 10 : The Industrial Space Economy of South Africa, 1970.
(Source :Rogerson, 1975, 19).

In an attempt to counter the trend towards the increasing

concentration of development in the PWV, Durban/Pinetown, Cape/Wynberg/ Simonstown/Bellville and Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage areas, the Government drew up a series of national decentralisation policies which can be divided into three phases. Decentralisation during the Verwoerd regime in the 1960s focused on the establishment of border industries, a move which was contrary to the proposed development strategy suggested by the Tomlinson Commission of 1955. In March 1975 the National Physical Development Plan (N P D P), which divided the country into thirty eight planning regions, was tabled in Parliament. (The N P D P was essentially concerned with inter-regional distribution and re-distribution of economic wealth). Finally, in 1982, the Good Hope Plan proposed that "South Africa should be divided into broad development regions for policy planning purposes on the basis of features such as development needs, development potential, functional relationships and physical characteristics" (Sieberhagen, 1982, 17). According to the Good Hope Plan, Grahamstown falls into Development Region D along with the remainder of the Eastern Cape, Ciskei and Southern Transkei, and has been identified as the region having the greatest development needs in South Africa.

Grahamstown is situated in an area characterized by white owned commercial farming and small service centres. Industrial development in the Eastern Cape is minimal and is basically confined to the Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage complex. "The region's depressed nature is apparent if the contribution of the Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage industrial complex to the country's Gross Geographic Product (GGP) is considered" (Fincham, 1984, 74). Figures of the Gross Geographic Product for select regions listed in Table 7 illustrate the economically depressed state of the region when compared with other core areas of the country. In 1970 the Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage complex contributed four percent of the national GGP, whilst by 1975 the figure had dropped to 3,6 percent. The contribution to the GGP by the Albany region between 1970 and 1975 has been minimal relative to the national GGP (Table 7). If the contributions of Albany and

Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage are compared with other core regions the extent of deprivation within the Eastern Cape becomes more apparent (Table 7). The economic and social consequences of this are felt throughout the Eastern Cape and can be analysed at a macro regional scale, or a micro-individual settlement level, or with reference to a particular section of a settlement's population.

Table 7 : The Gross Geographic Product for Selected Regions, 1970 and 1975.

(Source : Fincham, 1984, 75).

Region according to the Good Hope Plan Classification	Gross Geographic Product, R Millions (at current prices)			
	1970	%	1975	%
H:PWV ²	4698	41,0	10111	41,4 (41,3)
E:Durban/Pinetown	955	8,5	2026	8,3 (8,3)
A {Cape/Wynberg/ Simonstown/Bellville	1208	10,8	2416	9,9 (9,9)
Port Elizabeth/ Uitenhage	445	4,0	868	3,6 (3,5)
D {Albany	20	0,2	39	0,2 (0,2)
East London	147	1,3	308	1,3 (1,3)
Ciskei ³	-	-	55	- (0,2)
South Africa	11172		24843	

Footnote:

2. Pretoria, Witwatersrand and Vereeniging.

3. The figure given for the Ciskei is the Gross Domestic Product, which is likely to approximate the Gross Geographic Product (GGP) (Fair, 1982).

Within Grahamstown the repercussions of the depressed state of the Eastern Cape are tangible (Plate 2), particularly in the Black residential area which is perceived as :

"... a place of wandering dogs and other animals - including cattle and goats, of filth, of children. Its locations vary in their squalor from ramshackle buildings of dubious construction to modest homes with relatively neat yards. The overall impression is one of poverty; from genteel poverty to the most shocking and depressing forms, with ill-clothed, ill-fed, dirty children living in hovels surrounded by an odious variety of refuse ... The depressing physical nature of the locations is only partially offset by the teeming multitudes of Africans who crowd the location streets, particularly during the evening hours ... closer observation reveals the great number of sick; including many children, the sullen individuals who drink in barren rooms ... the tsotsis who neither hold jobs nor attend schools ... the staggering number of the very young who have no one to watch over them during daylight hours." (Wilsworth, 1980, 19).



Plate 2 : Conditions in Fingo Village.

Black residents are equally aware of the deprivation of their residential areas (Plate 3) which contrasts starkly with conditions associated with 'white' Grahamstown (Plate 4). Sizwe Mayoli (1982) cites a few examples of the poverty and related problems as seen from the perspective of a Black Grahamstonian in his poem Where I Live.

It's a small place
with a high population.
Families sharing a site
houses made of mud

waiting for the easterly winds.
Main road tarred
for the BAAB⁴ bosses
to drive pleasantly
but other roads stony.

There are no drains
no pavements for pedestrians
no adequate taps
no electrics but candles
no nursing homes
not enough schools for our children
no sport grounds in good condition
no buses in good condition
no employment for thousands.

But what's funny
the rent is increasing every day.

Footnote:

4. BAAB refers to the Bantu Affairs Administration Board.



Plate 3: Aerial View of Shanties in a Section of Fingo Village.



Plate 4: Aerial View of the White Sectors of Grahamstown.

Within Grahamstown the lack of industrial infrastructure has resulted in a shortage of employment opportunities for the Black labour force, and a low wage structure (Wilsworth, 1980). To avoid becoming totally enmeshed in poverty, members of the Black community have to create their own avenues of self-employment in order to survive. Wilsworth (1980, 121) states : "The township contains a thriving informal economic sector; namely that large body of men, women and children involved in 'scratching a living' through their own skilled or unskilled endeavours, but who are not given official recognition, and in fact, are frequently harassed and prosecuted because they are unlicensed or even illegal". The will to survive, regardless of not having a job, is also epitomized in the following anecdote :

"I haven't got a job but I can make a living selling vegetables and paraffin to just show people that I can do something and not just sit and say 'I'm not going out to work so how can I live?'"

(Wilsworth, 1980, 107)

However, the current problems associated with poverty and unemployment in Grahamstown are not merely the consequence of uneven economic development in the region. They have their origins in the historical development of the city. A review of the historical background of the city is therefore necessary to obtain a holistic perspective of the study area.

3.2 The Historical Background of Grahamstown.

In August 1812 the site of Grahamstown was chosen by Colonel John Graham because of its strategic position and the availability of water. The early growth of the city was slow. In 1822 Grahamstown became the capital of the Albany district and numbers in the city swelled as a result of rural-urban migration due to the failure of farming projects and bad floods in 1823. Rural-urban migrants included artisans, professional men and traders.

Within the following decade Grahamstown became the main town in the Eastern Cape and a market for trading ivory and skins (Daniel, 1974). By the mid-1850s, the military role of the city had declined and Grahamstown evolved into a service centre for the surrounding farming community. Subsequently, in 1864, it became the seat of the Eastern Districts Supreme Court and assumed an important legal function. Later the city became an educational centre.

"Grahamstown therefore grew up as a predominantly English-speaking market centre and frontier town, in which the European community developed a many-sided relationship with the coloured and Xhosa-speaking population of the area - a relationship shaped in the confrontation of frontier wars, in the rigours of master servant encounters, in the bargains of the market-place, and in the orderly routine of the mission stations "(Davenport, 1980, 4).

Today, the city consists of an industrial area, a predominantly white owned commercial centre and residential areas for White, Coloured, Indian and Black racial groups. The various land usages are depicted in Figure 8.

Of interest to the research project outlined in this thesis is the historical background to conditions in the Black residential areas and Fingo Village in particular. The majority of the Black residents in Grahamstown are Xhosa speaking and many are descendants of the original Mfengu ('Fingo') settlers who were refugees in the 1820s. The Mfengu were remnants of Natal tribes who had broken away from Dingiswayo Mtetwa and Shaka Zulu and who found refuge with Chief Hintsu before moving into the Cape Colony by agreement with Governor Sir Benjamin D'Urban, in 1835 (Maxwell, 1965; Davenport, 1980). In 1835 and 1847 the main migration to the Eastern districts was officially sponsored, and the Mfengu were employed as water carriers in Grahamstown and porters in Algoa Bay (Maxwell, 1965). The Fingoes were given land in the old Cape Colony in 1835, after Sir Benjamin D'Urban

had found many thousands of them living in slavery under Hintsá, paramount chief of the AmaXhosa, in the area now known as Transkei (Roux and St Leger, date unknown).

3.3 Historical Sketch of Fingo Village.

In 1835 17 000 Mfengu were settled on the colonial side of the Eastern Frontier and about some 20 years later, some of the Fingoes had obtained freehold tenure rights on 320 erven in a location in Grahamstown set aside for them. Nuttall (1972, 136) states: "Oral tradition holds that the land grants to Fingoes in Grahamstown were in recognition of their services on the Colonial side in the two frontier wars of 1846 - 47 and 1850 - 53 ... Rational town planning with a firm grasp of the principle that what was right for one (the colonists) was right for another (the Mfengu), seems to have lain behind the creation of the Fingo Village, as well as a desire to reward service given in a time of crisis." Therefore although the Mfengu experienced hardship the security existed for the establishment of a community in the future (Nuttall, 1972). Virtually a century later the security of Fingo Village was threatened.

"In 1941 the Town Clerk, Mr J. T. Yeomans, supported by the Public Prosecutor and the Location Superintendent, submitted a memorandum to the Native Affairs Commission, advocating the expropriation of all Fingo Village properties as the only satisfactory way of bringing the problems of the Village under proper control" (Nuttall, 1972, 137). A counter-memorandum by three African leaders quashed Yeomans' proposal and pointed out that the property owners of Fingo Village held freehold title deeds in perpetuity. The validity of the title deeds could not be disputed and attempts to expropriate the land without "some essential public purpose would therefore be (seen as) an unmoral act deeply resented by the Natives and one which ... could not rightly (be) supported" (Nuttall, 1972, 137). Fifteen years later Yeomans' proposal came to the fore again, but under the guise of the Group Areas Act.

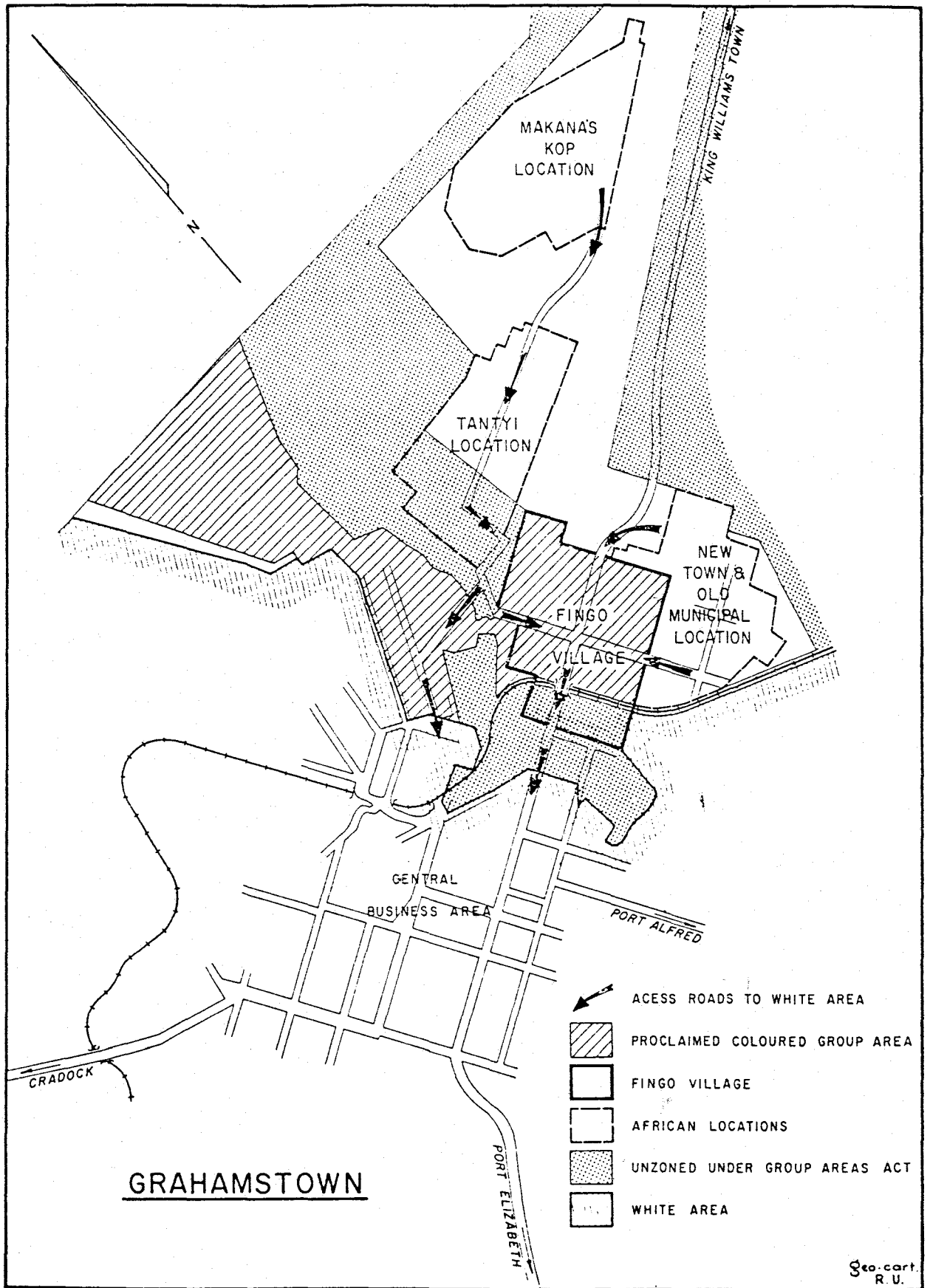


Figure 11: Land Use Zoning for Fingo Village, 1965.
(Source: Bell, 1972, 136).

In 1956, the Group Areas Board sought to implement the Group Areas Act No. 41 of 1950 in Grahamstown. By 1957 racial zoning for a large part of the city had been planned. Fingo Village was defined chiefly as a Coloured area and included small sections allocated to the Indian and Chinese people (Nuttall, 1972). Objections from the public were sent to the Board in Port Elizabeth, and the outcome was a public meeting on 22 May 1957, at which the plan was unanimously rejected and a call made for the status quo to be maintained (Roux and St Leger, date unknown). There was virtually no further action by the Group Areas Board until 3 February 1959 when a public hearing was advertised. Again there was opposition to the plans and by the end of 1959 news was received that the Board would leave Grahamstown alone for the time being. "In 1963 the Department of Community Development advised the Grahamstown City Council that Group Areas planning was to be started in the city. Again the City Council, on 25 July 1963, resolved that the status quo be maintained" (Roux and St Leger, date unknown, 4). Two years later, the plan was altered and it was proposed that part of Fingo Village be declared a Coloured Group Area, as depicted in Figure 11. On 18 October 1965 the City Council rejected the proposal as totally unsuitable. "In March 1970, the Fingo Village was proclaimed a Coloured Group Area. After initially refraining from objecting, the City Council again decided to protest about the Group Areas Plan" (Roux and St Leger, date unknown, 5). The implications of the 1970 proclamations were devastating for the Africans living in Fingo Village. They were to be drafted out of Grahamstown and resettled at Committees Drift, on the east bank of the Fish River, 45 kilometres from Grahamstown (Nuttall, 1972). Public pressure and protest ultimately led to the deproclamation of the 1970 proposals, and the inhabitants of Fingo Village have been allowed to stay (Henderson, 1980).

The Group Areas Act proclamation of 1970 had a profound effect upon development in Grahamstown and did little to foster good race relations between Africans and Whites. Sentiments about

the 1970 proposals elicited by Roux and St Leger (date unknown, 27) indicate the Mfengu's sense of betrayal :

"To me it is very strange that the Fingo Village was granted to our forefathers in honour of their services which they rendered for the interests of the whites who today deem it fit to forget our fathers' sacrifice and also tend to be dishonest to us and also to our future generations".

"The motive behind all this removal is nothing but discrimination and dispossessing us of our title deeds under the guise of declaring the area ColouredWe've born a lot from the white people and this will not be something new. It is quite clear that this is only a means of depriving the owners of their property rights. I hope at least we shall have a place we can call our own in heaven".

The uncertainty surrounding the future of Fingo Village dissuaded development within the area. Henderson (1983,3) states : "While all this negotiating was going on no houses or permanent structures were allowed to go up ..." Regardless of there being no accommodation available, people continued to migrate from the surrounding rural areas to Grahamstown. This caused the population of Black Grahamstown to increase at a percentage higher than that recorded in similar settlements where the employment rate and general living conditions were better (Henderson, 1983). "Shanties and shacks sprang up in backyards and families of up to 12 inhabited two-roomed lean-to accommodation ... not only were no permanent houses or facilities built for close on 15 years, but the actual township amenities like roads, electricity, sewerage and availability of water were almost totally neglected" (Henderson, 1983, 3). If anything, the prevailing uncertainty has exacerbated the poverty syndrome as is crudely depicted in Figure 12.

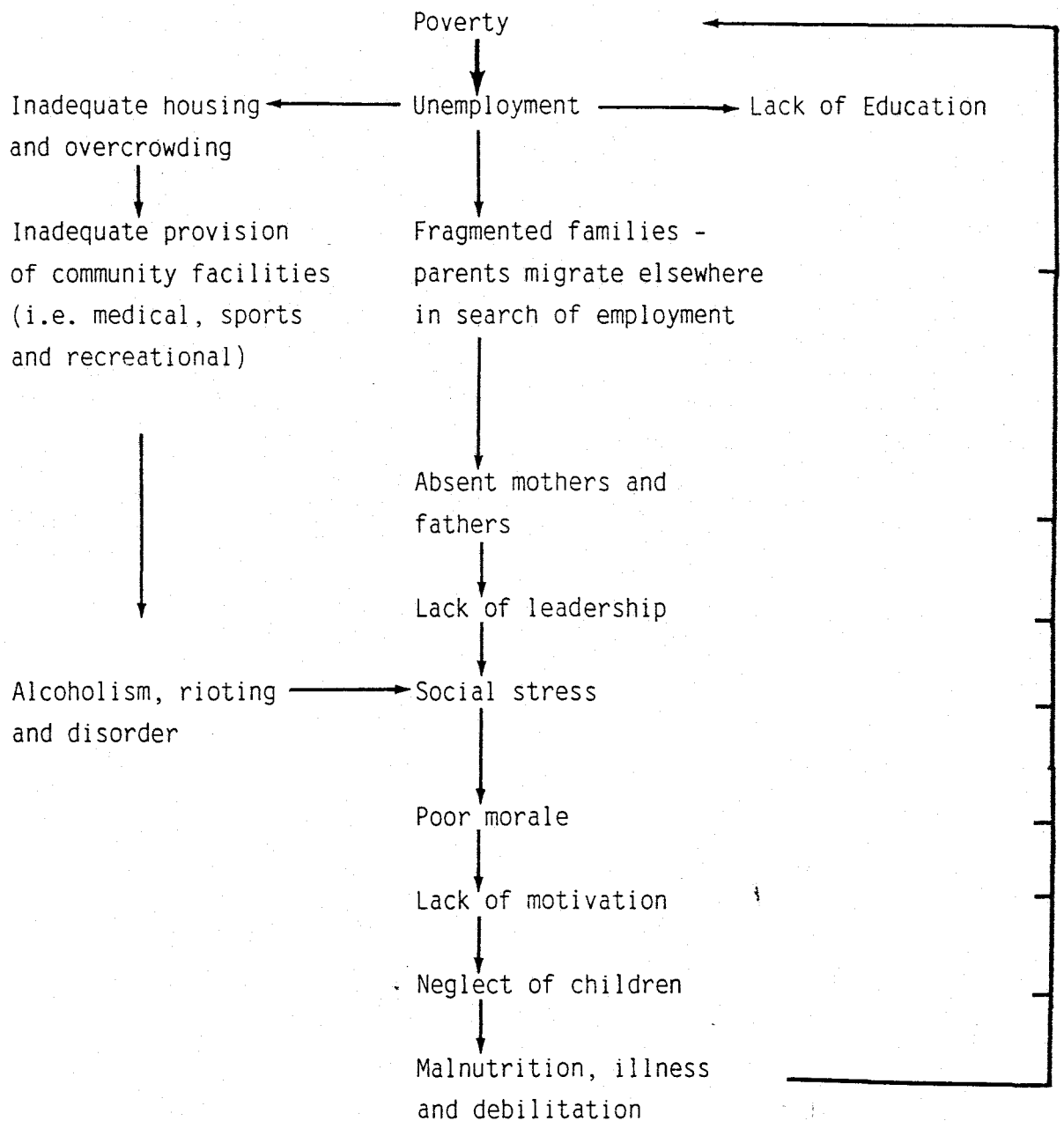


Figure 12 : A Crude Diagrammatic Illustration of the Poverty Syndrome.

(After: Schlemmer and Stopforth, 1975, 61).

The constant threat of removal and loss of their free-hold tenure rights dogged the residents of Fingo Village. It is only due to continued public pressure and protest that innumerable proposals to expropriate all, or part, of Fingo Village and re-zone it

coloured, have failed. Today, although Fingo Village remains a Black residential area, the constant uncertainty of the last twenty years has hindered and deterred community development in the area, the repercussions of which are now extremely evident.

3.4 Contemporary Development Problems in Grahamstown and Fingo Village, with Specific Reference to Unemployment.

Conditions in the township and particularly Fingo Village can best be described as medieval (Henderson, 1983). The poverty and deprivation of the Fingo residents is visibly apparent if seen against the backdrop of the 1820 Settler Monument and the white residential areas of Grahamstown (Plate 5). Very few individual homes in Fingo Village are provided with electricity, sewerage or water. "Communal bucket lavatories serving up to 60 people each, and communal water taps (Plate 6) in the streets serving an equal number make it almost impossible for families and individuals to maintain reasonable standards of hygiene and health" (Henderson, 1983, 6). The roads in Fingo Village are untarred and the lack of an adequate system of drains adds to the overall problems (Plate 5).

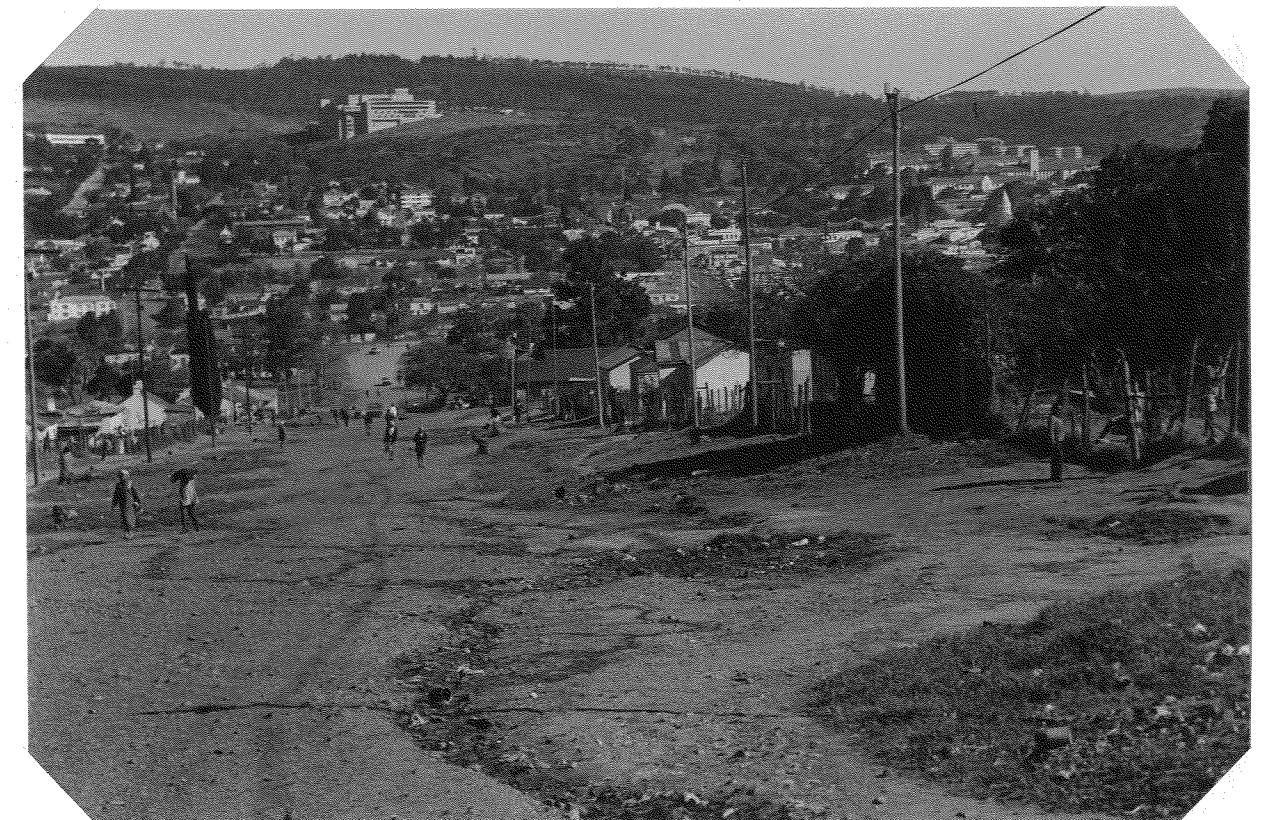


Plate 5 : Residential Conditions in Fingo Village.

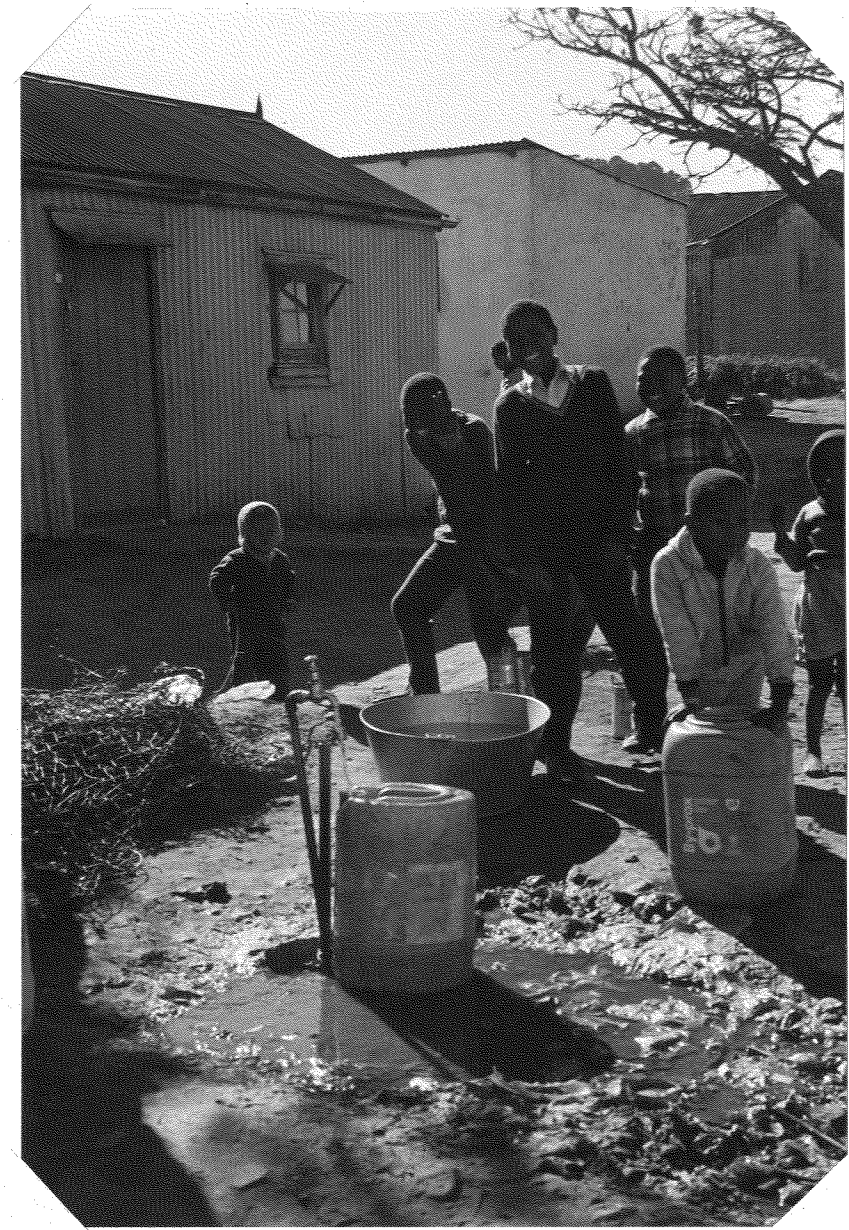


Plate 6 : A Communal Tap in a Fingo Village Street.

For Blacks in Grahamstown the major problem is having to live in generally overcrowded conditions with all the attendant social and psychological ills. According to the 1980 population census the total population of the city was 60 604, of which 71,7 percent were Black. The Black residential areas cover 22,5 percent of the city area in comparison with the white residential

and commercial areas, which occupy 60,7 percent. The total area of Grahamstown is approximately 11,2 square kilometres of which 2,64 square kilometres constitutes the Black residential area, giving an average population density of 12 731 per square kilometre. Whites in comparison constitute 21,6 percent of the total population and occupy an average density of 1748 per square kilometre.

Discrepancies in population statistics are evident. According to the 1980 census there were 43 461 Blacks living in Grahamstown. A survey conducted by the East Cape Administration Board in March 1983 put the total Black population at 42 345, whilst unofficial estimates ranged between 50 000 and 60 000 (Loots, 1984). If the figures of the 1983 survey are used, a breakdown of the population (Table 8) does not augur well for the future.

Table 8 : Breakdown of Grahamstown Black Population by Sex and Age, March 1983.

(Source : Loots, 1984, pers comm).

Residential Area	Males in years		Total Males	Females in years		Total Females	Grahamstown Total
	0-17	18 +		0-17	18+		
Makana's Kop (Joza)	2569	2263	4832	3382	2578	5960	10792
Tantyi	3642	2766	6408	4585	3163	7748	14156
Fingo Village	2119	2448	4567	2657	2986	5643	10210
Old Municipal Location and New Town	1688	1546	3234	2257	1701	3958	7192
TOTAL	10018	9023	19041	12881	10428	23309	42350

Two features are striking about the structure of the Black population in Grahamstown. The majority of the population is female (55 per cent) suggesting that present and future fertility rates, unless curbed, will be high. Secondly, the majority of the population (54 percent) is under the age of 18 and therefore the future demand for employment, access to housing and other community amenities will be increasingly high. Fingo Village is no exception to these patterns. The male/female breakdown in Fingo Village is exactly the same as that of Grahamstown : 45 percent male and 55 percent female. Virtually half of the Fingo residents (47 percent) are under the age of 18 and will be entering the job market in the not too distant future (if they have not already done so).

Most full time Black workers in Grahamstown are employed in unskilled jobs in the white sector, as there is no real market for skilled employment in the city (Wilsworth, 1980). Table 9 indicates that although education and tourism are theoretically Grahamstown's major industries, education, accommodation and catering as sources of employment specifically for Black males provide few job opportunities. The largest proportion of full time male workers are employed in construction, followed by the public administration sector and thirdly manufacturing. Of greater significance is the decline in the total number of jobs from 2957 in 1973 to 1792 in 1977, which adds up to a 39 percent depreciation in employment opportunities. With the current recession in the 1980s and the constant possibility of job vacancies being frozen and employees retrenched, the picture of the job market for the aspiring work seeker is one of gloom.

Table 9 : Formal Sector Employment Opportunities in Grahamstown 1973 and 1977.

(Source : Wilsworth, 1980, 109).

	1973				1977			
	Males		Females		Males		Females	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Manufacturing	197	11,64	126	9,97	111	9,3	40	6,65
Construction	577	34,08	0	0	416	34,96	72	11,96
Wholesale	51	3,01	0	0	61	5,13	1	0,16
Retail	128	7,56	6	0,47	95	7,98	31	5,15
Accommodation/ catering	39	2,30	71	5,62	79	6,64	63	10,47
Transport/ storage	33	1,95	0	0	58	4,87	0	0
Business/ financial	12	0,71	7	0,55	7	0,59	0	0
Domestic	85	5,02	929	73,50	58	4,87	356	59,14
Education	173	10,22	59	4,67	87	7,31	15	2,49
Public administr- ation	328	19,37	51	4,03	167	14,03	2	0,33
Health services	0	0	14	1,11	16	1,35	20	3,32
Motor Industry	70	4,14	1	0,08	35	2,94	2	0,33
SUB TOTALS:	1693	100	1264	100	1190	100	602	100
TOTALS			2957				1792	

As the current rates of Black unemployment and underemployment are high, with estimates ranging from 30 to 50 percent (Tomaselli and Bekker, 1981; Henderson, 1983; Loots, 1984) and incomes low, the existence of multiple bread winners in a family and involvement in the informal sector (especially by women) is common (Wilsworth, 1980). Results from a survey conducted by Delta in 1981 indicated that the average monthly income for a family of six was R174, whilst the estimated cost of feeding such a family was R229 per month (Rhodeo, 1982). Moolman (1984) states that 68 percent of Black households in Grahamstown depend on a monthly income of less than R60. If Moolman's (1984) figures are seen alongside Grest's findings (1973, in Wilsworth, 1980) of Black wages in 1973, depicted in Figure 13, the enormity of the problem of inadequate incomes over the last ten years becomes apparent.

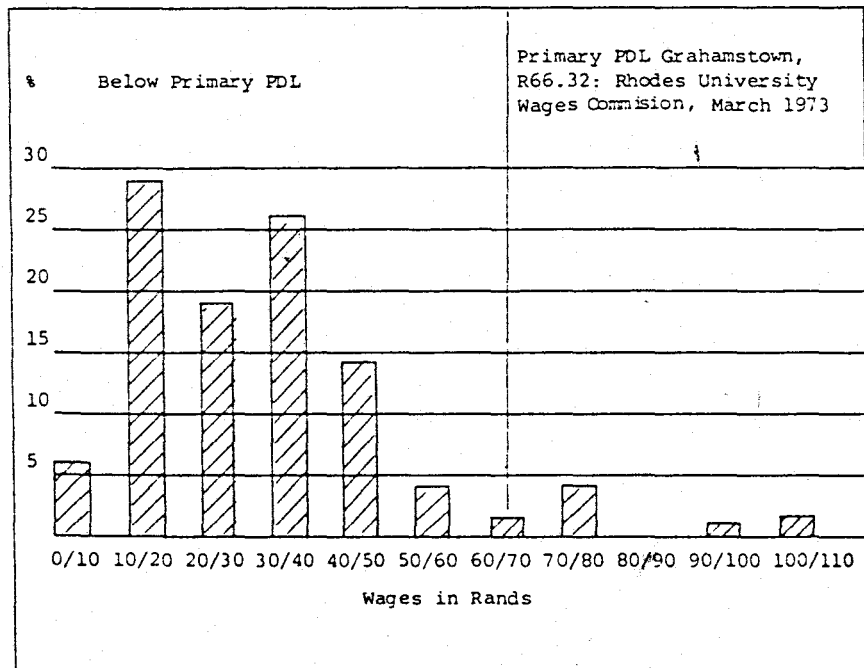


Figure 13 : Black Wages in Grahamstown : November/December 1973. (Source : Wilsworth, 1980, 14).

What is of greater concern are the results of a study by Gilmour and Roux (1984), which indicate that 54 percent of employed males and 68 percent of employed females earn less than R21 a month. A summary of adjusted monthly per capita incomes for Grahamstown compiled by Gilmour and Roux (1984), is listed in Table 10. According to this study, over 61 percent of the men and women enumerated by the survey as employed, earn a monthly income below R38 which was the individual poverty datum requirement estimated by Delta in 1981. Low incomes and unemployment are therefore a major problem amongst Grahamstown Blacks.

Table 10 : Adjusted Monthly Per Capita Income for Grahamstown.
(Source : Gilmour and Roux, 1984, 22).

Rands	Unemployed Male	Employed Male	Unemployed Female	Employed Female
0 - 20	27	54	33	68
21 - 40	46	18	29	12
41 - 60	20	13	17	10
61 - 80	7	10	15	-
81 - 100	-	-	-	5
101 +	-	5	6	5
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Moolman (1984) states that 22,2 percent of the Black labour force is unemployed. This figure only represents those registered as unemployed and the actual numbers are probably higher since many unemployed do not register as such with the Administration Board. According to Gilmour and Roux (1984) the rate of unemployment in Grahamstown is higher amongst females (49,5 percent) than males (24 percent) and the overall estimate of unemployment is in excess of 38 percent. It is important to note that figures for unemployment rates and income earning differentials of Fingo

Village are not available, as the Administration Board stopped keeping individual house records of Black residents in 1980 (Bush, 1981). General trends applying to the whole of the Black population must, therefore, be assumed to describe an approximation of the situation in Fingo Village.

Henderson (1980) suggests that the problem of unemployment in Grahamstown can only be remedied with the immediate creation of 8000 jobs. Such a suggestion is extremely difficult to put into practise. For example, many potential industrialists who could stimulate job creation do not regard Grahamstown as a viable proposition for major investment. A critical shortage of water, lack of housing, uncompetitively priced electricity, a branch railway line, a lack of natural resources and of markets are all major disincentives to industrial development (Bell, 1972). Job creation by the public sector is also unlikely to occur, especially since the Good Hope Plan for Regional Development has indicated that the government intends concentrating its efforts on the Port Elizabeth - Uitenhage and East London - King William's Town complexes. "Faced with this situation, some local opinion makers are beginning to argue that if the obstacles to industrial development are too great to be overcome, then an alternative non-industrial strategy must be worked out. Grahamstown should consolidate its position as the pre-eminent educational centre in the Eastern Cape ... and it should also concentrate attention upon expanding agriculture and such peripheral and informal sector activities as tourism and handicrafts" (Grocott's Mail, 1982, 1). Truu (in Grocott's Mail, 1982) points out that part of the unemployment problem lies in the fact that three-quarters of what Grahamstown produces is in the form of services rather than goods. Services do not generate economic growth and therefore expansion and future job creation is limited.

3.5 The Role of the Informal Sector, Specifically Hawking.

With the limitations on job creation in the public and private

sectors, the Black community has been forced to create various forms of self-employment, within the township itself, and the city as a whole (Wilsworth, 1980). Results from a study conducted in 1978 indicate that only approximately 20 percent of the estimated total monthly income of Black Grahamstonians was gained from involvement in the informal sector (Wilsworth, 1980). The Optima survey conducted two years later stated that 55,2 percent of the respondents depended entirely on earnings from the informal sector (Wilsworth and Fincham, 1980). The role of the informal sector as a source of income and a means of survival can therefore not be denied. Actual figures of the number of people involved in the informal sector and their estimated earnings for each of the Black residential areas are unknown, because an in-depth analysis of the role of the informal sector in the Black residential areas of Grahamstown still has to be undertaken.

Wilsworth (1980) maintains that the informal sector consists of a great many fruit and vegetable vendors. "The Black community accounts for no less than 80 percent of the buyers at the municipal fresh fruit and vegetable market ... (and) most buyers are hawkers who sell their purchases at a small profit in the township and in the White areas" (Wilsworth, 1980, 123). Virtually all hawkers operate illegally as the number of licenced hawkers is restricted to 30 by the Administration Board (Loots, 1984). The Grahamstown Municipality, which issues the licences, is opposed to the stringency of the regulations with which hawkers have to comply, and sees hawking as an important avenue of employment (Wilsworth, 1980). Changes to the hawking regulations still have to be promulgated (Emslie, 1985). (A list of the hawking regulations and store-room requirements stipulated by the Grahamstown Municipality appears in Appendix 1). Whilst the licencing procedure ensures that the requisite health and storage standards are maintained by individual hawkers, the limited access to licences is a bone of contention as is borne out by the following anecdotes :

"They make things difficult for us to get a licence although they do not make jobs available for us. I think of late they have realised they are depriving us of our right to live, because they do not harass us as they used to. Those who are licenced do not like us selling without licences. I think they sometimes inform against us" (Grahamstown Voice, 1981, 1).

"It is important to realise the way most vendors get their licences...I once applied for one. After having gone through the humiliation of being X-rayed and found to be fit, it was later found that I do not own land where I can build a store for my vegetables. So I was turned down for this reason." (Grahamstown Voice, 1981, 1)

Vegetable and fruit hawkers are an integral part of the township environment and operate on the traditional system of the peddler economy, which is characterized by personal controls as opposed to the legal controls of bureaucratic credit (Wilsworth, 1980). Credit facilities are offered by a few hawkers but only for articles which are considered to be necessities. The following extract is indicative of the personal relationship hawkers have with their clientele, and their awareness of all being enmeshed in the poverty syndrome :

"Child to vendor : 'Mama asks you to give her a cabbage on credit'.

Vendor : 'You tell your mother to go to hell. Today is only the fifth, she can't have credit on the fifth. On the fifteenth and after that, then I can give her credit - then I know that she's bankrot (bankrupt) by then.'

The message delivered, the neighbour herself arrives. 'But I've just paid you Sunday'.

Vendor : 'Well, then you must buy some more. Don't just take on credit from the beginning of the month'.

Vendor's mother : 'Here, take the cabbage - here's two - and come back and fight tomorrow. Meanwhile you must go and cook for your family'." (Wilsworth, 1980, 181).

The role of hawking, not merely as a source of employment, but also as an avenue for trying to cope with the situation of poverty in Grahamstown, is therefore clear.

3.6 Chapter Summary.

Grahamstown is situated in Region D, the most economically depressed region of South Africa. Deprivation within the Eastern Cape has hindered development in Grahamstown, but the situation has been exacerbated by the political uncertainty surrounding the future of Fingo Village. Investment in the community during the sixties and seventies was deterred by vacillating proposals to re-zone Fingo Village coloured and to relocate the Mfengu's to Committees Drift. This political wrangling has strained Black - White relations in the city and curbed urban development in the Black residential areas. Today poverty, overcrowding, unemployment and inadequate provision of housing and other facilities are rife, and Grahamstown has neither the capital and infrastructure nor the resources to rectify the situation. In lieu of being totally enmeshed in the poverty syndrome many Black residents become involved in the informal sector. The extent to which the informal sector provides an income or acts as a means of survival is unknown, but this study is intended to shed light on one facet : hawking in Fingo Village.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

Human geographers have a wide range of philosophical alternatives available to them. Until the early seventies positivism, which is characterized by quantification and nomotheticism, dominated geographical research and to an extent still does (Jackson and Smith, 1984). "During the 1970s the myth of geography as 'value-free science' was exploded and geographers began to shake themselves free from the implicit bonds of positivism. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, geographers began to engage more readily in philosophical discourse, exploring in particular a wide variety of 'radical' doctrines" (Jackson and Smith, 1984, 2). Interest in philosophy, and its influence over ways of analysing and explaining spatial distribution patterns and processes in human geography, has been stimulated recently by Peet (1977), Ley and Samuels (1978), Muir (1978), Gale and Olsson (1979), Gregory (1981) and Stoddard (1981), to mention but a few. No single philosophy emerges as an overriding geographical philosophy. Instead, human geography is essentially characterized by its eclecticism (Jackson and Smith, 1984). Philosophical discussion, within any area of the subdiscipline, relies on stating clearly what is believed to exist (ontology), as the basis for establishing that which is supposed to exist (epistemology) (Wainmsey, 1974).

Positivism, humanism, structuralism, existentialism, phenomenology and idealism represent a smattering of the philosophical frameworks within which the contemporary human geographer can explore the relationships between man and his environment, from a spatial perspective. However, implicit tensions between these philosophical frameworks exist. Jackson and Smith (1984, 5) in considering positivism, humanism and structuralism have identified three conflicting areas, namely :

- (a) "between the assumed objectivity of positivistic science and the inherent subjectivism of humanistic alternatives;
- (b) between the 'active' view of human agency implicit in humanism and the 'passive' view of man adopted in structuralist analyses; and
- (c) between the positivist's interest in externally observable 'social facts' and the structuralist's belief in their subordination to an underlying explanatory structure".

Each philosophical framework encapsulates a part of the whole picture of reality, and is a philosophical system per se and not a technique. It is not possible to select a convenient concept from one philosophy, a method from another and a particular perspective from a third. Human geographers can only "indulge in eclecticism provided that within any one philosophical framework their subject matter and analytical techniques are logically and consistently articulated" (Jackson and Smith, 1984, 4).

In the course of this chapter the choice of the philosophical backdrop of the thesis is discussed, along with a description of the data collection methods and analytical techniques employed. The chapter is divided into seven parts which will be dealt with under the following headings :

1. Human geography and positivism.
2. Forms of data collection used in previous studies of the informal sector.
3. Data requirements of the project and data collection.
4. The trial run of the questionnaire.
5. Sampling techniques for the main survey.
6. Problems encountered in the field and future recommendations.
7. Analysis of data.

4.1 Human Geography and Positivism.

Positivism is associated with empirical generalizations and making statements of a law-like character, which relate to the phenomena recognized through empiricism (Johnston, 1983). Comte, the forerunner of positivism, suggested that the methodology used by natural science was applicable to social science and would enable objective observation of social reality by the researcher. Positivism sees scientific knowledge as the only kind of factual knowledge and dismisses all other 'metaphysical' doctrines as meaningless (Johnston, 1983). The positivist basis of knowledge rests on experimental verification as opposed to personal experience, which is the basis of phenomenology. "It is realized, however, that complete verification may not be possible and that strong verification is not always immediately possible, because of the limits of empirical knowledge. Thus, science is cumulative" (Johnston, 1983, 16). The goals of analysis of positivistic research are nomothetic. Theory construction arises from the systemization and ordering of knowledge and laws. Amadeo and Golledge (1975, 31) define theory as "a deductively connected set of laws". Hence, the positivist stance in geography aims at establishing knowledge which is supposedly value-free and objective! Amadeo and Golledge (1975) summarize the purpose of positivistic geographical research as follows:

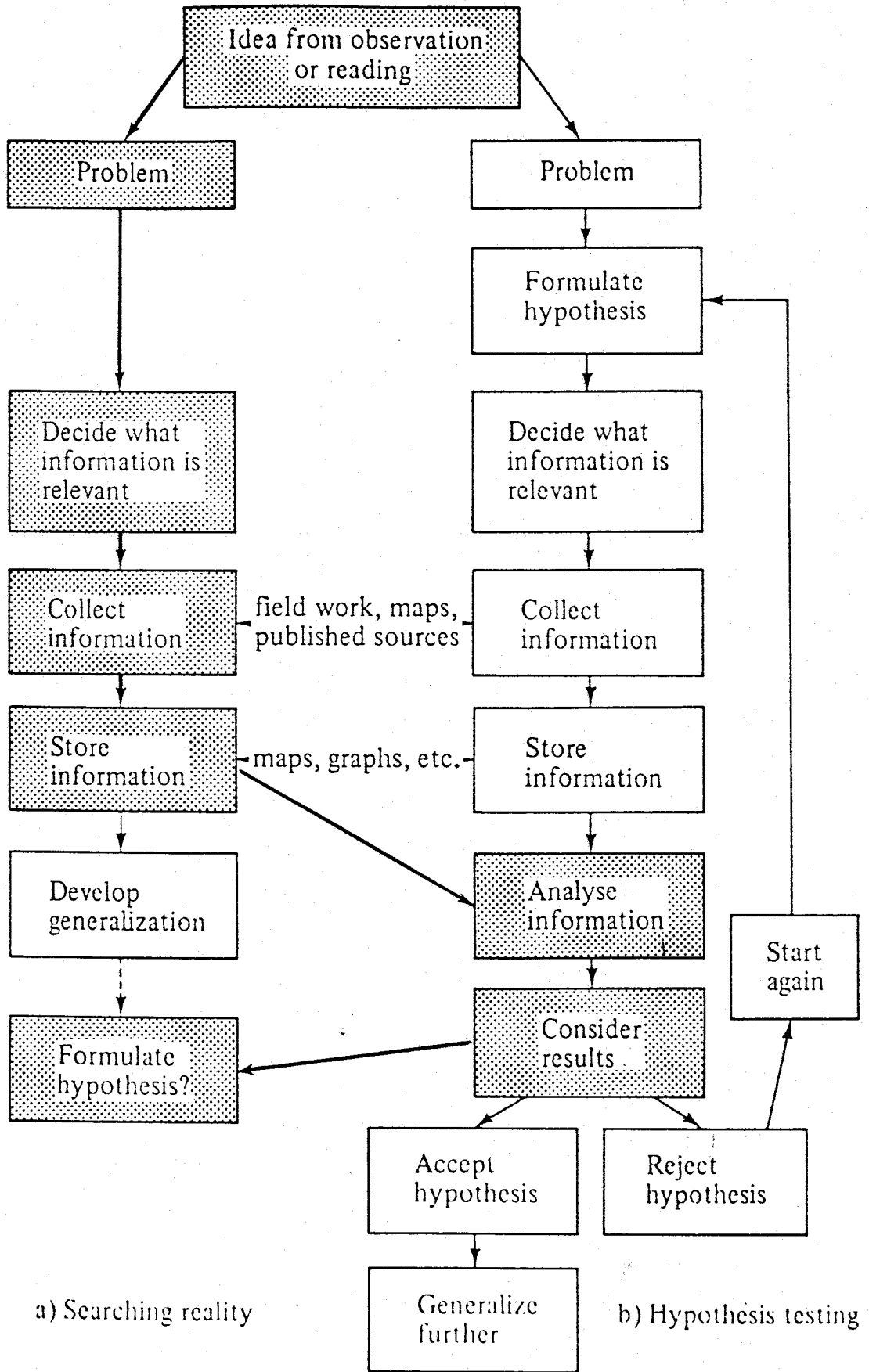
- | | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|------------------------------------------------|
| (a) A concern with telling why the facts are as they are. | } | Purpose of each individual problem researched. |
| (b) Accounting for a variation among the facts within a set. | | |
| (c) Finding the connections between sets of acts (or variables) by law formation. | | |
| (d) Connecting laws into systems or theories (i.e. objective patterns). | } | Long-term goal of the discipline |
| (e) The previous four points are all part of obtaining a comprehensive understanding of spatial problems. | | |

The positivist conception of science embodies a particular and accepted methodology, which has been described as the scientific method or the hypothetico-deductive method (Johnston, 1983). The scientific method is composed of two elements : "a set of initial propositions (or assumptions) and a set of deduced, or empirical propositions (hypotheses). The development of theory involves the deduction of new propositions" (Johnston, 1983, 19). If the theory is to be extended by the incorporation of deduced propositions as initial propositions, the validity of the deduced propositions must be verified by an accepted methodology (Johnston, 1983). The methodology used in positivism is hypothesis testing. The procedure followed by the geographer using the hypothetico-deductive method is diagrammatically depicted in Figure 14, and the relationship between hypothesis testing, generalization and prediction is illustrated in Figure 15.

Ultimately the positivist methodology aims at establishing laws, theories and models of reality. In formulating a model of reality the problem of realism is evident. The realism depicted

in a particular theory or model will vary according to the different choices made by the researcher, based on his own personal judgement and values. King (1976, 301) suggests that "what is of concern here is the possibility that the choices between different modelling approaches and between factors which are included and excluded, often are determined more by the requirements of mathematical tractability than by a concern for a closer correspondence with reality". It is evident that a tradeoff exists between reality and the easiest, most manageable methods of analysis, based on the judgement of the researcher. Mathematical wieldiness may provide an easily computed, apparently objective picture of reality, but the picture may be narrow and the parameters subjectively determined, thus raising the question of the validity of the objectivity of the results.

The key to objectivity is the separation of the observer from the observed. In order to pursue objectivity from a neutral standpoint, the researcher has to overcome the bias resulting from human consciousness and his ability to reason. Facts are warped by values stemming from human consciousness (King, 1976). The need to separate fact and value arises, which is problematic when studying man, as "people mentally structure their environment so that their spatial behaviour is more a function of how they perceive the environment, and less a function of the objective facts of that environment" (Amadeo and Golledge, 1975, 6). Fact and value are inextricably intertwined in man, as a result of human consciousness, and a separation of the two is based on subjective judgement.



KEY



Indicates the research approach used in the Fingo Village study.

Figure 14: Approaches to Geography.

(Source: Raugh, 1971, p. 7)

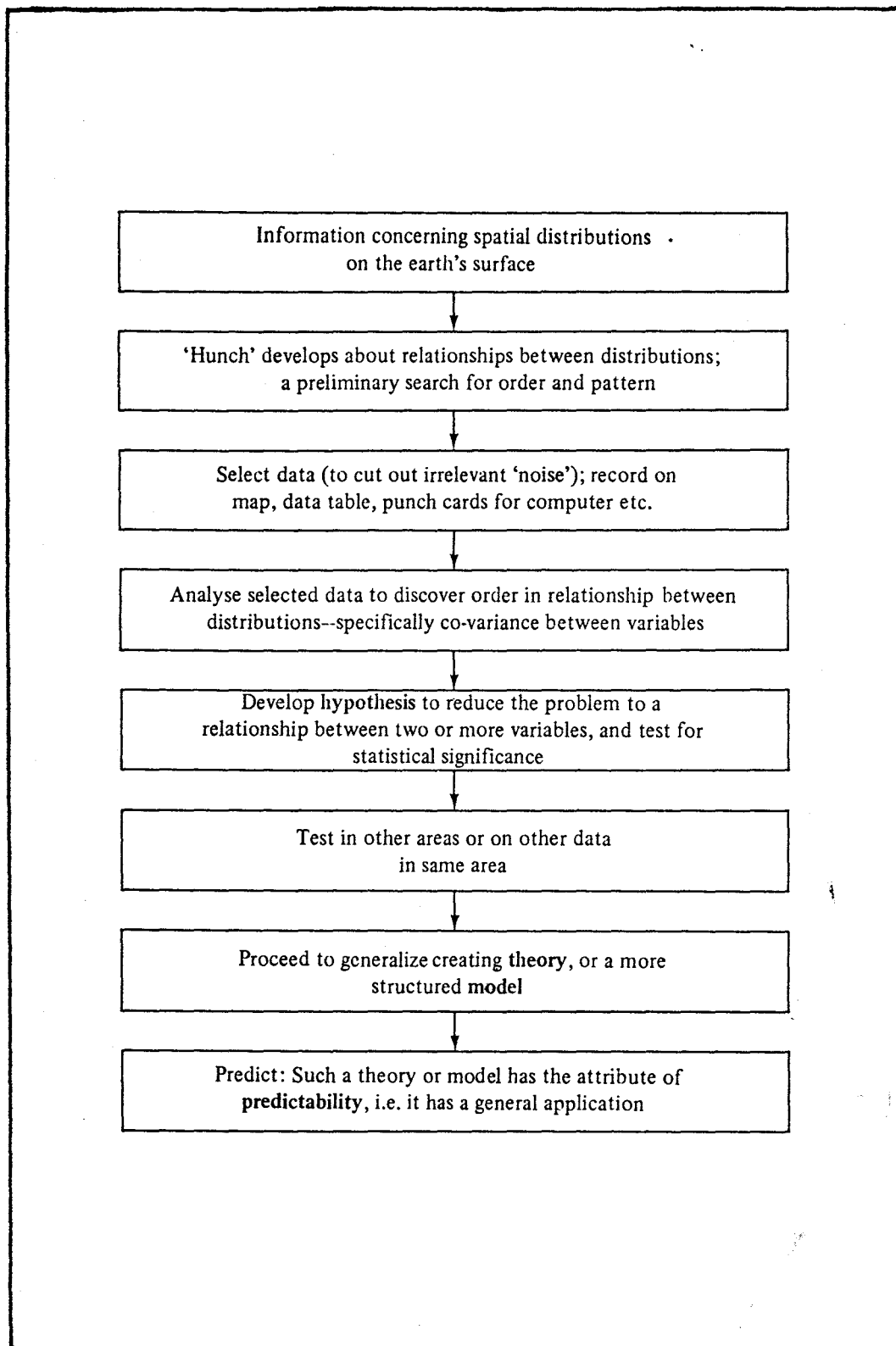


Figure 15: The Relationship between Hypothesis Testing, Generalization and Prediction in the Scientific Approach to Geography.

(Source: Daugherty, 1974, 8).

In adopting the positivist conception of science, human geographers have encountered problems. The theories formulated using positivism need not reflect the behaviouralism underlying the theory (Johnston, 1983). The use of the hypothetico-deductive approach can falsify reality, causing questions to be raised about the validity and applicability of results. If an inductive element were included in the research design, possibly the problem of depicting reality could be overcome. Golledge (1981, 1327) hints at the problem of giving inadequate attention to behaviouralism in positivistic research when he states :

"Researchers stressed that factors such as access to information, degree of risk aversion, images of environment, the stage of learning about stimulus situations, attitudes towards place, felt stress, place utility and revealed preferences were important in understanding spatial activity".

A further problem in using positivism in human geography stems from the point : what constitutes the verification of a geographical hypothesis? (Johnston, 1983). Most human geographers, using the positivistic approach, have relied on statistical probability in accepting or rejecting their hypotheses. This can be problematic as Johnston (1983, 39) points out :

"Whereas hypotheses in the natural sciences may be universal in their content, and can be tested in controlled conditions anywhere, many social scientific hypotheses are partial, and are set in contextual situations where proper experimentation is impossible".

Human geographers are dealing with a complex environment, whose nature is characterized by a systems orientation, and therefore have difficulty in establishing simple cause - effect hypotheses.

Five key problems facing human geographers who adopt the positivistic research method are:

- (a) Positivism creates ... "a false sense of objectivity which leads to an ability to manipulate society ... "(Bennett in Johnston,1983,47).
- (b) Man is dehumanized through quantification and computer analysis.
- (c) In being essentially descriptive of society, positivistic research automatically reinforces the status quo.
- (d) The positivist philosophy includes no suggestions as to how society should be organized, although it has the ability to predict likely future trends within society.
- (e) " ... Positivism seeks universal generalizations (which are) largely socially worthless (at the idiosyncratic local level)" (Bennett in Johnston, 1983, 47).

Regardless of the criticisms of positivism, specific aspects of the scientific method are useful to the human geographer. These include description, explanation and prediction (Eutrikin in Johnston, 1983). Johnston (1983, 50) suggests that the reason positivism has not been totally dismissed by human geographers, and is still the most popular methodology, is as follows :

"The attractions of this conception to the social sciences are that it can advance explanation, providing knowledge of society rather than accumulations of fact. It can predict, which gives society foresight about itself. ... it can provide the means for social control, for engineering society towards certain ends ... lesser features which appeal to social scientists, (include) the ability to make valid statements about behaviour".

4.1.1 Positivism and the Fingo Village Survey.

The tenets of the positivistic research method are used in the study of hawking outlined in the thesis (Figure 14). As previous research of hawking practices in Fingo Village is limited to one survey (Pearson, 1976), the current research project is essentially a pilot study. It will establish a profile of hawking characteristics and the hawking operation and it will identify general trends about the location of hawkers. The current study, could, therefore be used to provide direction for future research, and act as a basis for a more comprehensive study of hawking practices in Fingo Village.

The pilot study nature of the Fingo Village Survey required a descriptive explanation of hawking activities, and the hypothetico-deductive method, outlined in Figure 14, provided the framework for the research project. The shortcomings of positivism are recognized and no pretence is made of the research being value-free. All knowledge of the world is gained from a particular viewpoint and interpretation of knowledge is always sub-consciously clouded by the researcher's past experience of the world (Lowenthal, 1961; Walmsley, 1974; Ley, 1977). In the case of cross-cultural studies, the researcher is particularly aware of his values and subjectivity colouring his perception and interpretation of the research from the moment of conceptualising the research problem through to the final stage of analysing the data.

The study outlined in the thesis attempts to establish specific facts about hawking practices in Fingo Village, and to account for variations among the facts through a mapping and questionnaire survey and statistical analysis. A bid is made to overcome some of the researcher's preconceptions and bias by the inclusion of personal interviews with individual hawkers, in an attempt to understand the situation from the hawker's perspective. This last technique cannot be described as wholly phenomenological, but is based on the premise that "by putting

his (i.e. the hawker's) own perspective - to the best of his communicative ability - at the disposal of the ... (researcher, the subject) provides (the researcher) with a unique extension of his operating base. Now the (researcher) can really use the eyes of the (subject) ... Yet he must not be under the illusion that these eyes are his own eyes. They remain at best new mirrors, and by no means undistorted mirrors" (Spiegelberg in Johnston, 1983, 59). It was hoped that by using a questionnaire and communicating directly with individuals in the study group, some unification of object and subject would be achieved. Naturally, time constraints and language problems restricted personal interviews with every hawker studied.

4.2 Forms of Data Collection Used in Previous Studies of the Informal Sector.

The coupling of the scientific method with personal field observation and in-depth unstructured interviews with the subjects appear to be the methods used by other researchers in the field of informal sector studies, specifically hawking (McGee and Yeung, 1977; Maasdorp and Pillay, 1978; Beavon, 1981; Mtembu and Manzi, 1981; Nattrass, 1984; Preston-Whyte et al, 1984). Preston-Whyte et al (1984) note that it is difficult to collect comprehensive quantitative data on informal sector activities. The researcher has to obtain permission from the local government authorities to do the work, and has to gain the confidence and trust of the subjects. Certain information, such as illegal sources of money making, is often left undetermined, since to probe such issues could prejudice the researcher's chances of being accepted by the community. The type of data that can be obtained from administering a formal questionnaire are therefore limited. Preston-Whyte (1982) suggests that a formally administered questionnaire often discourages subjects from volunteering information, and thus interpretation of a situation is restricted. The problems of using a questionnaire will be discussed in greater depth in the following section of this chapter.

4.3 Data Requirements of the Project and Data Collection.

The type of data required, and the time and cost limitations of the project, determined the selection of specific data collection methods. The type of data needed for a particular project are determined by the aim and objectives of the study. The main aim of the Fingo Village study was to establish a profile of fruit and vegetable hawkers. Related to this aim were two specific objectives.

Objective 1 : To describe the hawking operation.

Objective 2 : To establish the location of semi-static and static hawking outlets in Fingo Village and what determines access to these sites.

Two methods of data collection were used : a mapping and questionnaire survey and a series of in-depth unstructured interviews. Due to time constraints, only 20 percent of those surveyed could be interviewed via the latter method.

4.3.1 The Mapping Exercise : Description and Assessment.

As the actual location of each hawker, in terms of the site from which they operated, was unknown, the entire study area was surveyed. Using maps drawn from aerial photographs, depicting every house and backyard shack, all dwellings were surveyed and each hawker's operation plotted on the map (See Figures 22 and 23). It was only possible to plot the static and semi-static hawkers with any degree of accuracy. If the mobile hawkers had been included in the study, a degree of error would have crept into the research, with individual mobile hawkers being enumerated on more than one occasion. The question of where to plot the actual hawking site of a mobile hawker is also contentious, subjective, and inaccuracy could bias the overall survey results.

The problem of which hawking types to include in the survey is not unique to the Fingo Village study. McGee and Yeung (1977)

describe how the choice of hawking types for inclusion in a study, be it the legal or illegal, static or mobile, those who operate in public spaces or those who operate from private property, is a data collection problem. The alternative to enumeration by type of hawking unit would have been to differentiate hawkers according to major categories of goods sold. Such enumeration would have been based on categorizing hawkers into sellers of : unprocessed food (such as vegetables), semi-processed and processed food (such as cooked food), non-food durables (such as mats), non-food non-durables intended for rapid consumption (such as toothpaste, medicine), and services (such as barbers and shoe menders) (McGee and Yeung, 1977). Categorizing hawkers according to the type of goods sold was not applicable in the Fingo survey as the research was only concerned with fruit and vegetable hawkers. It seemed more beneficial to stratify hawkers into static and semi-static fruit and vegetable sellers, thus facilitating comparison between the two groups.

Although an attempt was made to undertake a comprehensive and complete survey of all static and semi-static hawkers in the study area, there is no guarantee that the results include all hawkers. Hawkers operate on a 'flexi-time' schedule. Considerable variations in the number and type of commodities sold by hawkers at different times of the day, between days, and in different parts of an urban area occur (McGee and Yeung, 1977). McGee and Yeung (1977) state that the main hawking times are between 08h00 and 11h00 and 16h00 and 18h00. It is possible that hawkers were not enumerated during the mapping survey simply because they were not operating at the particular time of the day when the survey was conducted. Semi-static hawkers, in particular, may have been uncounted.

Two further reasons for possible error in the mapping survey are that if an individual, other than the hawker was questioned, the actual site of the hawking operation could have been inaccurately described, and plotted on the base map. Secondly, the concept of mapping and working with a three dimensional representation of

reality, depicted in two dimensions, was alien to the interviewer. Inaccuracy in mapping the site of the operation therefore stemmed from difficulty in orientating the map with reality.

4.3.2 The Questionnaire : Description and Assessment.

The questionnaire (Appendix 2) was divided into seven parts. The first section was concerned with general information about the hawker including the date, time and weather conditions at the time of the interview. As hawking practices vary according to the time of the day, and from day to day, it seemed logical to include such information in the questionnaire. Should any unusual trends emerge for the whole survey it would be possible to check if such irregularities were confined to a particular period of time. Variations in weather also affect hawking patterns. On wet, cold and windy days semi-static hawkers may decide not to operate, or to sell the remainder of the previous days stock and not replenish their stock. Question 6 aimed at ascertaining the area occupied by the hawking operation in square metres. It was assumed that the more established hawker, offering a wider range of goods, would occupy a larger area. It became evident after the trial run, and during the survey, that the interviewer had difficulty in accurately estimating area in square metres. This was especially the case with static hawkers operating from their homes, where the area of the room in which the hawker operated was noted, as opposed to the portion of the room utilized specifically for hawking.

The second section of the questionnaire focused upon the hawker as an individual, and attempted to build a brief pen sketch of the subject. Questions dealt with sex, age of subject, place of birth, length of residence in Grahamstown, educational level passed, past and present employment and income sources. To all these questions the respondent could only give an explicit response, such as 18 years of age, or had to select a particular option from a series of alternatives. The series of options

listed included the category 'other', in case the respondent's answer fell into none of the categories listed. The respondent was required to specify why his answer fell into this category. During the survey the interviewer pointed out that many respondents could well be stating that Grahamstown was their place of birth, regardless of whether this was true or not. Many hawkers born outside the city's municipal boundaries, and living in Grahamstown illegally, feared being convicted for contravening the influx control regulations. If respondents lied about their place of birth, it is likely that they would also lie about the length of time they had been living in Grahamstown. Question 11, which requests information on educational level achieved by the hawker was divided into six broad categories. In all cases, the interviewer was able to ascertain the actual standard passed, although respondents could obviously give inaccurate information. Question 12 was specifically designed as an open-ended question in an attempt to ascertain the real reasons why the respondent became a hawker, and not the researcher's perceived reasoning as to why hawking was the employment option selected. Prinsloo (1982, 40) points out the problems of using open-ended questions in ethnographic studies:

" ... open-ended inquiries may require greater thought on the part of respondents, greater effort and care in recording responses by interviewers, and considerably greater time and skill in categorizing and manipulating responses by the survey analyst ... the interview, itself, may be lengthier ... time required to process the results is immense, relative to that required for manipulation of pre-coded responses".

All Prinsloo's (1982) observations apply to the inclusion of Question 12, but it was still felt that an attempt to elicit the subject's own response was worthwhile, especially as differences in perception between the subject and the researcher are more marked in cross-cultural studies. During the survey it became

apparent that the perception and interpretation of the interviewer was evident in responses to question 12.

The next section of the questionnaire dealt with the hawker's family and living conditions, whilst the fourth section focused upon the choice of location and access to the hawking site. All the questions related to the choice of location (questions 19 - 24) were open-ended and the criticisms and problems mentioned in the discussion of question 12 are again relevant here.

The two sections pertaining to accessibility of the hawker to the customer and the specialization of the enterprise were included to elicit information pertinent to objective 1. The information required was essentially descriptive and questions could be categorized or set out in tabular form as opposed to being open-ended.

The final section of the questionnaire attempted to establish whether an element of competition existed between individual hawkers. A second survey was planned to investigate this issue in greater depth, but had to be scrapped because unrest in the study area curtailed any further research. Question 39 was a poorly structured question. It was misunderstood and misinterpreted by the respondents and is not included in the analysis of the results.

In assessing the value of the questionnaire several points are worth noting:

- (a) Hawkers selected to be interviewed were not obliged to cooperate, and could refuse outright to answer the questionnaire, or to answer specific more personal and confidential questions (Webb et al, 1970; Bailey, 1978). Only two hawkers refused to agree to being interviewed and it subsequently emerged that one of these ran a shebeen which had been raided recently by the police. Therefore suspicion and fear of retaliation were the reasons behind her refusal.

- (b) Respondents may have given dishonest or inaccurate answers. The answer the interviewee gives will to a certain extent be influenced by his perception of the interviewer. He may deliberately answer dishonestly in an attempt to impress the interviewer. Alternatively, the interviewee may give the answer he thinks the interviewer expects of him, especially if the interviewer asks leading questions (Webb et al, 1970; Smith, 1975; Georges, 1980). The interviewer for the Fingo Village survey was a high profile figure of the Grahamstown Civic Association (GRACA), which has the support of the majority of the Black residents in the city. He was, therefore, accepted and trusted by the hawkers. An attempt was made during the training of the interviewer to obviate the possibility of his views colouring the responses of the interviewees. This was largely successful, except for responses to Question 12, which tended to reflect the interviewer's opinion.
- (c) Poorly phrased and ambiguous questions result in misinterpretation and inaccuracy (Smith, 1975). Question 39 was the only question to which this criticism could be applied.
- (d) The quality of the interview may differ from one interview to the next, especially if the interviewer becomes tired or bored (Webb et al, 1970). The quality of the interview will automatically affect the quality of the information obtained and it is important to try to ensure the same standard of interviewing throughout the survey. The number of interviews conducted daily in Fingo Village was limited to eight. This was done in an attempt to ensure that the standard and quality of the interviewing did not deteriorate.
- (e) Prinsloo (1982) suggests that an hour is the upper limit to the length of a respondent's willingness/ability to answer questions. The questionnaire used in the Fingo Village

survey required 45 minutes and was therefore acceptable, given Prinsloo's (1982) criterion.

- (f) In the case of cross-cultural studies it is important that the interviewer be both experienced in the field, and able to listen and articulate the respondent's views. Inadequate knowledge of the field of study by the interviewer may have meant that not all answers were sufficiently probed, and information may have been lost. A concerted effort was made to continuously monitor all in-coming completed questionnaires in an attempt to maintain a consistent standard and to avoid inaccuracies.
- (g) Open-ended questions are extremely difficult and time-consuming to computerize. The researcher has to select a suitable number of categories, having reviewed every answer, which will represent all responses. In the Fingo Village survey open-ended questions were kept to a minimum and served a useful purpose.
- (h) "Questions seeking factual data can rarely be phrased in sufficiently specific terms. While one may try to anticipate possible responses before constructing a questionnaire, only actual administration of questionnaires reveals the embarrassingly large range of actual responses - by which time it is often too late to patch the questionnaire" (De Wet, 1982, 21). The trial run survey conducted in Tanti, prior to the Fingo Village survey, helped to overcome this problem.
- (i) If an interviewer is used the researcher loses an element of control and the project becomes dependent on the quality of the interviewer's work (Prinsloo, 1982). Close supervision minimized this problem.

The problems listed above can be overcome to a certain extent. If both the interviewee and the interviewer are aware of how the

research will benefit them personally, and the wider community, they will be more inclined to provide accurate and honest answers. Alternatively, check questions may be included in the questionnaire and, should any discrepancy arise, the subject can be recontacted and the situation rectified.

Despite the disadvantages associated with using a questionnaire there are several advantages. It is the only method available whereby a wide range of data regarding the individual hawker can be obtained. It is also an efficient, low-cost method of data collection and the data obtained is conducive to statistical analysis (Smith, 1975).

One method used by Preston-Whyte et al (1984) may have enhanced the Fingo Village study, and could be included in future research. As a means of assessing the income obtained from hawking, the expenditure on supplies and a tally of the diversity of goods on sale, hawkers could have been asked to keep diaries recording these details for a specific period of time. Such an experiment over a period of a month would provide useful insight into the mechanics of hawking, not readily available from a questionnaire.

4.4 The Trial Run of the Questionnaire.

A trial run of the questionnaire was conducted in Tanti, a separate Black residential area in Grahamstown. Specific problems with the questionnaire were identified and the questionnaire was modified. A second trial run of the questionnaire in its modified form was conducted in another section of Tanti. The trial run provided the opportunity of familiarising the interviewer with the field of study and the research requirements.

4.5 Sampling Techniques For the Main Survey.

Originally, it was hoped that a complete survey of all hawkers in Fingo Village could be conducted. Through the mapping survey it transpired that there were considerably more hawkers than anticipated. It would be impossible to interview the 115 hawkers identified, due to time and cost constraints. It was decided that 60 cases (52 percent of the hawkers enumerated) would be selected and interviewed. The survey included both static and semi-static hawkers. As comparisons between these two sub-sets of the target population would be interesting, the sample was stratified. Stratified sampling enables the evaluation of spatial and regional contrasts between different sectors of a population (Gregory, 1963). "The data product of (stratified) sampling can be summarized ... in a descriptive sense, and then used as the basis for inferring conditions in, and relationships between, the population from which they have been drawn" (Gregory, 1963, 14).

The target population was stratified and each case allocated a numeric value. Thirty cases were selected from each of the static and semi-static hawking categories. Toyne and Newby (1971) maintain that thirty cases constitute a sample which is suitable for making assumptions about the population being studied. In an attempt to obtain a representative unbiased sample, random sampling numbers were used as the means of selecting the cases for study.

4.6 Problems Encountered in the Field and Future Recommendations.

Two problems in particular were encountered, other than those pertaining to the questionnaire. Firstly, unrest in the study area prevented supplementary fieldwork being conducted, or the checking of apparent irregularities and errors incurred during the main survey. Secondly, future researchers in the field would benefit if they were fully conversant in Xhosa. Details

which could have shed additional light on the study were often lost, due to the language barrier.

4.7 Analysis of Data.

Once the survey had been completed the SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) which is "... an integrated system of computer programmes designed for the analysis of social science data" (Nie et al, 1975, 1) was used. Specific sub-routines were selected for descriptive statistical analysis. Simple descriptive statistics, such as measures of central tendency and dispersion, were used to bring order to the raw data and to enable the construction of tables and histograms to summarize the data. Initially, the data for the entire survey were considered. Subsequently the data were grouped according to each hawking type to enable comparison between the two sub-groups. In addition, the Crosstabulation option was used to assess the strength of association between specific variables. The Chi-square test was used to test whether a significant difference existed between the two hawking types in respect of any of the variables considered. In all of the statistical tests the five percent level of significance ($\alpha = 0,05$) was used. It is conventional practise in the social sciences to use the five percent level (Toyne and Newby, 1971).

Finally, the nearest neighbour analysis technique was used to assess the distributional patterns of static and semi-static hawkers. The nearest neighbour technique was initially used by Clark and Evans (1954) to measure spatial relationships between plant populations. Nearest neighbour analysis indicates the degree to which any observed pattern of points in an area deviates from the expected pattern, if the points are randomly distributed within the same area. The formula $R_n = 2d \sqrt{N/A}$ is used, where R_n denotes the nearest neighbour index and d is the mean of the series of distances to their nearest neighbour. N is the number of measurements of distance taken in the observed population. If a single population type is being investigated, N

is equal to the number of individuals used as centres of measurement (Clark and Evans, 1954). A refers to the area covered by the population being studied. Davis (1974) states that if the pattern is perfectly random then the nearest neighbour index will have a value of 1. The value 0 will indicate a perfectly clustered distribution, in which all points coincide (Davis, 1974). If the individuals are distributed in a perfectly regular pattern, equidistant from their nearest neighbour, then the R_n index will have a value of 2,15. The reliability of any R_n value has to be ascertained using a test of significance. The formula used is:

$$c = \frac{\bar{r}_A - \bar{r}_E}{\sigma \bar{r}_E}$$

"where c is the standard variate of the normal curve and $\sigma \bar{r}_E$ is the standard error of the mean distance to the nearest neighbour in a randomly distributed population of the same density as that of the observed population" (Clark and Evans, 1954, 448). Using a Student's t graph the significance of the c value can be established.

4.8 Chapter Summary.

Human geographers are not merely confined to using the scientific method of research. Whilst positivism remains the generally accepted means of conducting research, several problems have been identified with this method. Bearing in mind the social scientist's misgivings about the hypothetico-deductive method, the Fingo Village research project employed an essentially positivistic framework to operationalise the study. The chapter outlined the data collection methods, sampling and analytical techniques used in the study.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE SURVEY RESULTS

In this chapter the results of the mapping and questionnaire surveys of hawkers in Fingo Village are considered. The assessment and implications of the results form the basis of the following chapter. The chapter begins with a general overview of the profile of the hawkers and their related households. Subsequently, two issues are considered in greater detail: namely the nature of the hawking operation and the location of actual hawking sites in Fingo Village.

5.1 General Profile of the Hawkers and Their Households.

The description of the profile of the hawkers and their households is based upon the following variables: the place of birth; age and educational level; years engaged in hawking; an account of the reasons for becoming a hawker; past employment history; the size and structure of the household and the income and earnings of the household. The discussion of each variable is divided into a general overview of the particular variable and its application to all hawkers, and a description of the variations evident between static and semi static hawkers. The section concludes with a synopsis outlining the profile of hawkers in Fingo Village.

Of the 58 hawkers surveyed, 55 respondents were Grahamstown residents by birth. Only three of the hawkers had migrated to the city from farms in the Eastern Cape, and these three exceptions all operated from their homes. A distinct pattern regarding place of birth is thus apparent. Most hawkers are local residents rather than in-migrants to the city.

An analysis of the educational levels of the hawkers in Fingo Village indicates that the level of formal education attained is low. A quarter of the hawkers studied (15 cases) had no formal

education, whilst almost two thirds (37 cases) had only attained primary school education. None of the hawkers had any schooling beyond Standard 8 or held any other formal qualifications. Table 11 summarizes the educational achievements of all the hawkers surveyed.

Table 11 : Educational Level Achieved by Static and Semi-Static Hawkers,
Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.

	STATIC No.of cases	HAWKERS Relative frequency (%)	SEMI-STATIC No.of cases	HAWKERS Relative frequency (%)	TOTAL SAMPLE No.of cases	(Static and Semi-Static Hawkers) Relative frequency (%)
No Education	9	32,2	6	20,0	15	25,9
Sub A and B	3	10,7	2	6,7	5	8,6
Std 1 - 5	13	46,4	19	63,3	32	55,2
Std 6 - 8	3	10,7	3	10,0	6	10,3
TOTAL	28	100,0	30	100,0	58	100,0

It would appear that semi-static hawkers attain higher levels of education than static hawkers. Table 11 indicates that 42,9 per cent of the static hawkers (12 cases) were effectively illiterate in comparison with 26,7 percent of the semi-static hawkers (8 cases). Effectively illiterate implies that they had no formal education or had no schooling beyond Sub B. It is assumed that hawkers with schooling achievement beyond Sub B would probably be literate. A higher proportion (63,3 percent) of semi-static hawkers (19 cases) achieved a level of primary school education (Standards 1 - 5) as opposed to 13 static hawkers (46,4 per cent). A two-by-two contingency table was constructed and the Chi-square test (χ^2) used to assess whether a significant difference exists between the number of effectively illiterate static and semi-static hawkers. Table 12 indicates that the difference in effective illiteracy between static and semi-static hawkers is not significant at the 0,05 level.

Table 12 : Chi-Square Test of Significance, Effective Illiteracy of Static and Semi-Static Hawkets, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.

Hawking Type	Effectively Illiterate		Not Illiterate	
	O	E	O	E
Static	12	(9,7)	16	(18,3)
Semi Static	8	(10,3)	22	(19,7)
	20	(20,0)	38	(38,0)
<p>O = Observed value E = Expected value</p> $\chi^2 = \sum \frac{(O - E)^2}{E} = 1,61$				
<p>Degrees of Freedom : 1 Significance level : 0,05 Critical value : 3,84</p>				

Since the calculated value is less than the critical value, the difference in effective illiteracy between static and semi-static hawkers is not significant.

Table 11 indicates that nearly 90 percent of the hawkers (52 cases) had achieved Standard 5 or less and would therefore have difficulty in obtaining a good job in the so-called formal sector. Only 10 percent of the hawkers surveyed (six cases) had some high school training and were marginally qualified to seek employment in the lower tiers of the formal sector. This suggests that hawking is one way of coping with the disadvantage of having only achieved a low level of education in an industrialising society.

All the hawkers interviewed were women who ranged in age from 16 to 75 years. Virtually half of the sample (28 cases) were between the ages of 31 and 50 years. Only a fifth (12 cases) were under the age of 30, suggesting that hawking is not necessarily a prolific source of employment for the young and new entrant to the job market. It is interesting to note the variations in age between static and semi-static hawkers depicted in Figure 16. A greater number of semi-static hawkers (17 cases) were under 40 in comparison with static hawkers (7 cases). Likewise, three quarters (21 cases) of the static hawkers surveyed were over 40, whilst only 43,3 percent (13 cases) of the semi-static hawkers fell into this category. The Chi-square test was again used to test significant difference in age between the two hawking types. At the 0,05 level, a significant difference is apparent suggesting that a greater number of younger women are engaged in semi-static hawking, whilst static hawking is the prerogative of older women. Such a distinction in ages of static and semi-static hawkers raises the question of whether one hawking type will have been involved in hawking for a greater number of years than the other. This question will be discussed briefly in Chapter 6.

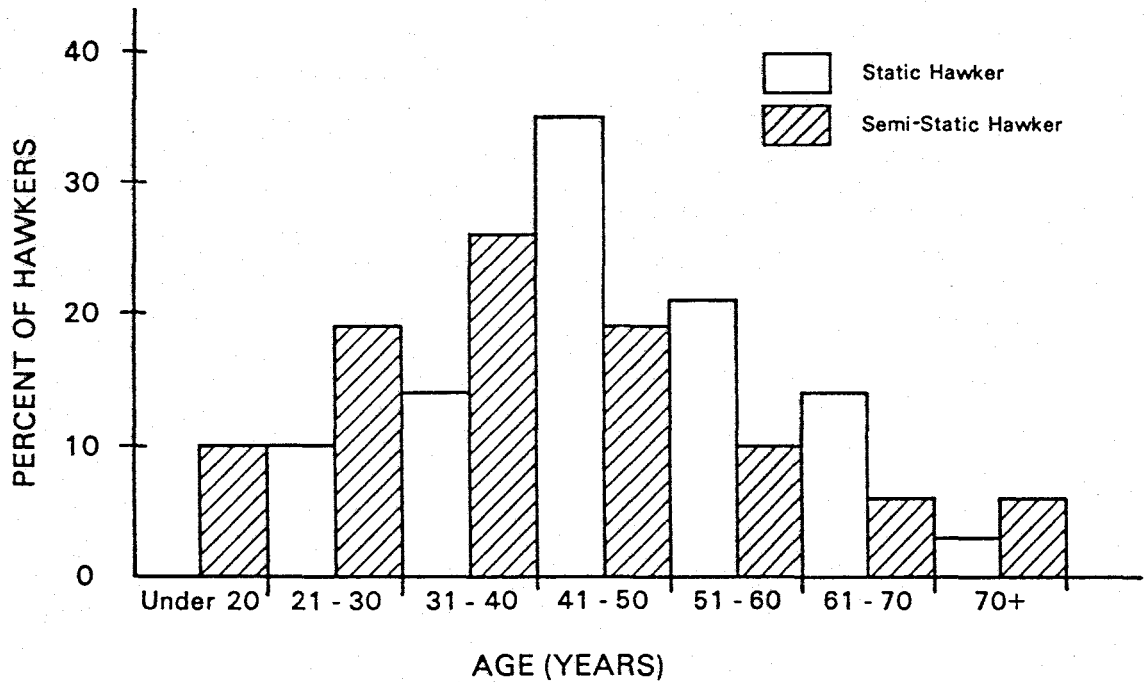


Figure 16 : Differences in Age of Static and Semi-Static Hawkers, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.

The possibility that once a person has decided to become a hawker, or has been forced through circumstances to engage in hawking, they are likely to remain a hawker would not appear to be applicable. Table 13, depicting the number of years engaged in hawking, illustrates that three quarters of the sample (44 cases) had only become involved in hawking in the last five years. There is a remarkable degree of consistency in terms of the percentages of static and semi-static hawkers who have been involved in hawking for less than five years. No significant

difference is apparent, at the 0,05 significance level, using Chi-square. It is, therefore, impossible to postulate that static hawkers, who tend to be older than semi-static operators, are more established in their business and thus have been engaged in hawking for a longer period of time. Furthermore, the Crosstabulation between the age of hawkers and the number of years engaged in hawking indicates that more static hawkers, over the age of 40, have been hawking for less than five years (15 cases) than semi-static hawkers (nine cases). Thirteen semi static hawkers under the age of 40 had less than five years hawking experience, in comparison with seven static hawkers. Using the Chi-square test, at the 0,05 significance level, no significant difference is apparent in the numbers of static and semi-static hawkers with less than five years involvement in hawking.

The results in Table 13 beg the question of why so many hawkers have become engaged in this activity in the last five years. Over half of the subjects (31 cases) indicated that their main reason for becoming hawkers was a result of the lack of employment in Grahamstown. About a quarter (14 cases) of those interviewed stated that hawking was a means of averting poverty and 6,9 percent (four cases) maintained that their primary reason for hawking was to supplement their income. A synopsis of the primary reasons for becoming a hawker is depicted in Figure 17. Both hawking types isolated the lack of employment in Grahamstown and poverty as the major primary reason for their involvement in this activity. It is noticeable that a greater number of semi-static hawkers listed the lack of employment (17 cases) and poverty (eight cases) as their main reasons for hawking. Other reasons for participation in hawking were that the hawker was unfit for formal sector work, additional finance was needed to educate children and hawking was a means of survival or supplementing an income.

Table 13 : Number of Years Engaged in Hawking, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.

	STATIC		HAWKERS		SEMI-STATIC HAWKERS		TOTAL SAMPLE (Static and Semi-Static Hawkers)	
	No. of cases	Relative frequency (%)	No. of cases	Relative frequency (%)	No. of cases	Relative frequency (%)	No. of cases	Relative frequency (%)
Less than 5 years	22	78,6	22	73,4	44	75,9		
5 - 10 years	0	0	4	13,3	4	6,9		
11 + years	6	21,4	4	13,3	10	17,2		
TOTAL	28	100,0	30	100,0	58	100,0		

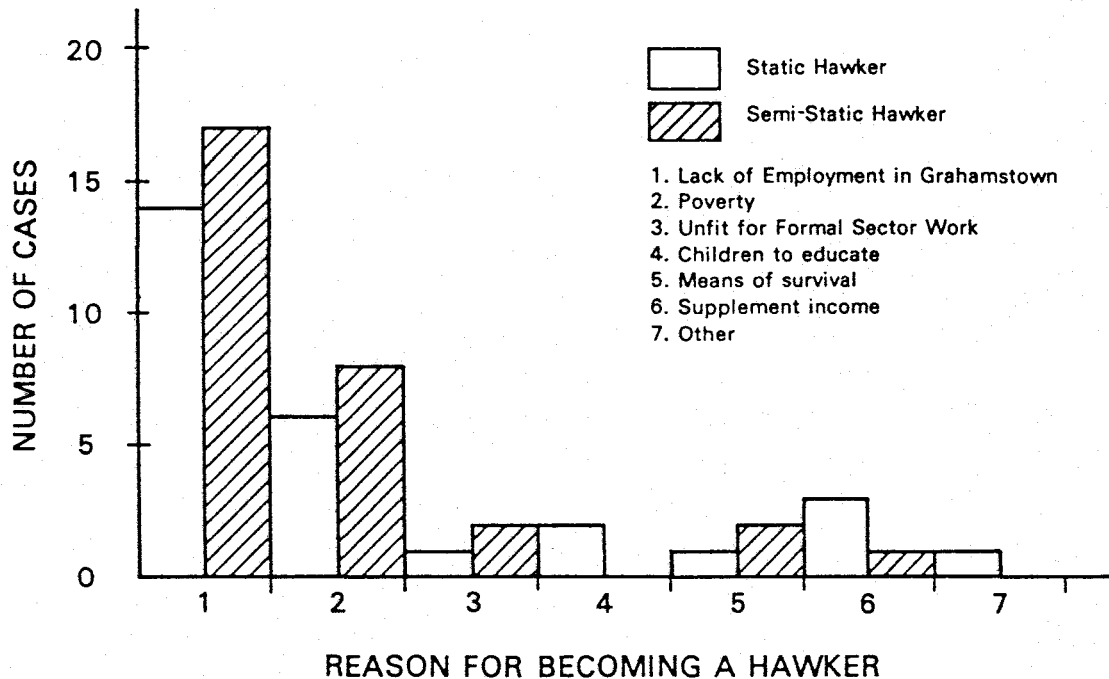


Figure 17 : Primary Reasons For Becoming a Hawker, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.

The past employment history of the hawkers surveyed is depicted in Table 14. It is evident that hawkers have a limited range of working experience in the formal sector. Over 50 percent of the hawkers surveyed (32 cases) had been employed as domestic workers, which was a particularly important source of employment amongst static hawkers (21 cases). The largest single group amongst semi-static hawkers (16 cases) was that of the unemployed. The Chi-square test was used to establish whether a significant number of semi-static, in comparison with static hawkers, had never been employed. Using the 0,05 level of significance, and a critical value of 3,84, a highly significant difference is apparent ($\chi^2 = 7,9$). The pattern of previous

employment experience is dominated by unskilled work, and the inability to obtain a job in the formal sector is to be expected. The low levels of educational achievement mentioned earlier preclude access to skilled employment in the formal sector.

To appreciate more fully the need to obtain an income through hawking it is also necessary to consider the structure and size of the hawker's household. Thirty nine of the subjects (67,2 percent) defined themselves as the head of the household indicating a strong matrilineal tendency in the household structure, a station which could include the responsibility of ensuring the financial livelihood of the family. In 10 cases (17,2 percent) the husband was the household head and domiciled in Fingo Village. It is also interesting to note that eight of the static and seven of the semi-static hawkers were widows which could be peculiar to this study. Only three hawkers supported themselves alone.

Table 14 : Previous Forms of Employment of Static and Semi-Static Hawkers, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.

	STATIC HAWKERS		SEMI-STATIC HAWKERS		TOTAL SAMPLE(Static and Semi-Static Hawkers)	
	No. of cases	Relative frequency(%)	No. of cases	Relative frequency(%)	No. of cases	Relative frequency (%)
Domestic	21	75,0	11	36,7	32	55,2
Cleaner	0	0	1	3,3	1	1,7
Other	2	7,1	2	6,7	4	6,9
Unemployed	5	17,9	16	53,3	21	36,2
TOTAL	28	100,0	30	100,0	58	100,0

Table 15 : Size of Household, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.

Number of people	STATIC		SEMI-STATIC HAWKERS		TOTAL SAMPLE (Static and Semi-Static Hawkers)	
	No. of cases	Relative frequency (%)	No. of cases	Relative frequency (%)	No. of cases	Relative frequency (%)
Single	1	3,6	2	6,7	3	5,2
2 - 5	18	64,3	17	56,6	35	60,3
6 - 10	8	25,5	11	36,7	19	32,8
11 +	1	3,6	0	0	1	1,7
TOTAL	28	100,0	30	100,0	58	100,0

An analysis of the size of the hawker's household (Table 15) suggests why the additional income obtained from hawking may be so important. On average, there were approximately five people per hawker household. In 32,1 percent of the static and 36,7 percent of the semi-static hawker households there were more than six or more people.

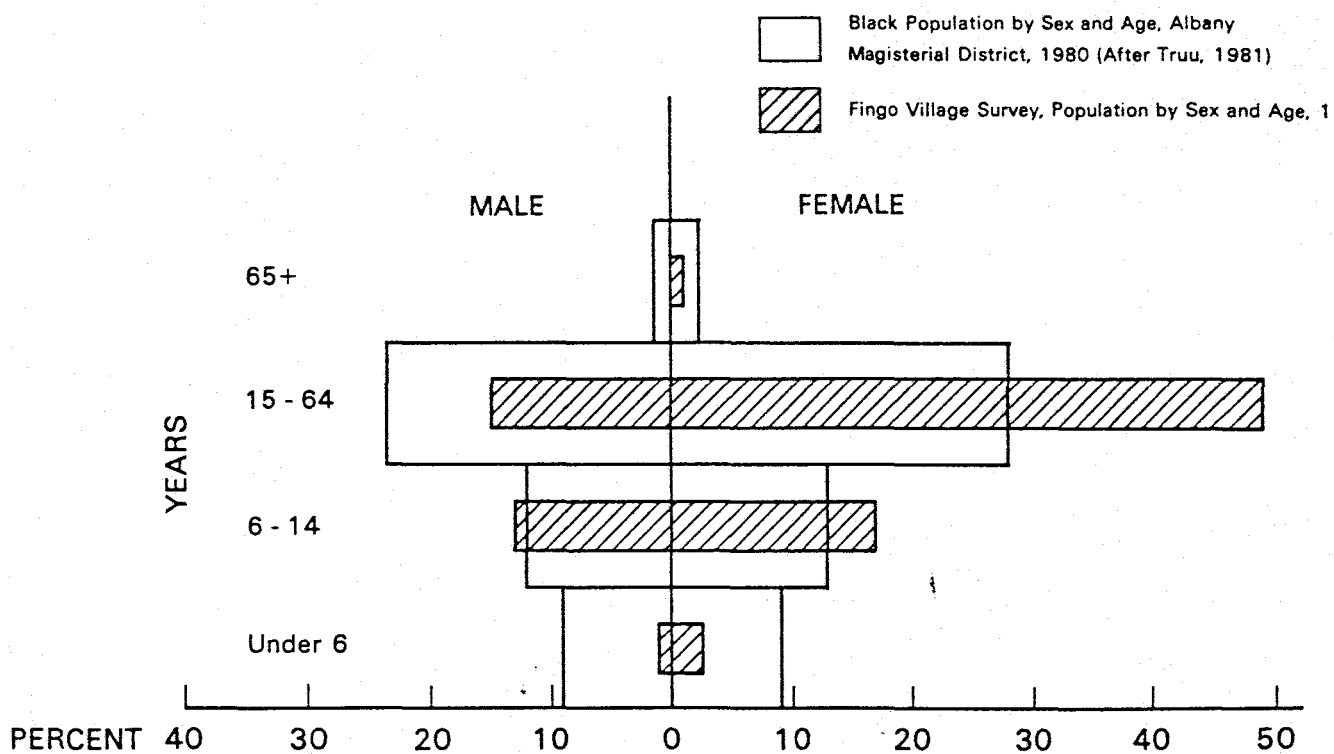


Figure 18 : Hawker Household Population by Sex and Age, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.
 (Source of Black Population by Sex and Age Statistics for Albany Magisterial District, 1980 : Truu, 1981, Figure 4, 4).

A breakdown by sex and age of all households surveyed yields an atypical population pyramid, in comparison with urban trends for the Albany magisterial district in 1980 (Figure 18). The absence of children in the under 6 category and the abundance of women in the 15 to 64 age grouping is particularly noticeable. If the age by sex population pyramid of the Fingo Village survey is considered in isolation, two factors are highlighted. The proportion of females (203 cases) is much higher than that of males (86 cases). Virtually half of the females (142 cases) fall into the 15 to 64 age category. Secondly, 35,1 percent of the population are dependents under the age of 14. Of importance is the predominance of children in the six to 14 year age group (89 cases or 31,2 percent) who will soon be entering the job market. The fact that such a small proportion of men of working age (43 cases) were enumerated is possibly indicative of the lack of employment opportunities, and the necessity to migrate elsewhere in search of a job. These peculiarities result in a very skewed age by sex population pyramid of hawker households in Fingo Village.

To conclude the general profile of hawkers and their households, it is necessary to consider household income and earnings from hawking. In 34 cases (58,6 percent) the hawkers relied on more than one source of income. In addition to hawking, finance was obtained from formal employment in the form of remittances from husbands (11 cases), earnings from a child (six cases) or domestic employment by the hawker (six cases). Revenue was also acquired from the informal sector through rent from tenants (two cases) and transfer payments, such as maintenance and disability grants (12 cases) or old-age pensions (six cases) to members of the family. Twenty three of the households surveyed relied primarily on formal sector earnings with the average amount earned being R158,39 and the mode R50,00. Earnings from the formal sector ranged from R10 to R535. However, there was no guarantee that all earnings from formal employment would be placed into the family coffers. The wife often merely obtained a portion of her husband's earnings with which to feed the

household.

Fourteen of the static hawkers surveyed had access to an income from formal employment compared with nine semi-static hawkers. By using the Chi-square test it was established that the difference in the number of static and semi-static hawkers having access to income from formal employment, at the 0,05 level, is not significant. However, the results of the test are not conclusive. At the 0,1 level (critical value 2,71) the difference between the two groups is significant, suggesting that static hawkers have greater access to finance from formal employment. A synopsis of earnings from formal employment according to hawking type is listed in Table 16.

Figures for the income obtained from informal employment were unverifiable as results from question 18, which referred to informal earnings by the household, and question 31, which referred to daily earnings by the hawker did not tally (Questionnaire, Appendix 2). By taking account of the number of days actually worked per week the monthly earnings from hawking for each hawker could be calculated. These results were taken as being indicative of informal sector earnings although their accuracy is debatable. Income related data are difficult to collect as some subjects have difficulty in estimating their daily earnings from hawking. The average income from hawking for the total sample was R96. The mean average income for static hawkers was lower at R91,20, whilst that of semi-static hawkers was higher at R100,52. Variations in earnings from hawking between the two hawking types are negligible (Table 17) and these differences are not significant (χ^2) at the 0,05 significance level.

Table 16 : Earnings From Formal Sector Employment According to Hawking Type, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.

Income in Rands	STATIC		SEMI-STATIC		TOTAL SAMPLE (Static and Semi-Static Hawkers)	
	No. of cases	Relative frequency (%)	No. of cases	Relative frequency (%)	No. of cases	Relative frequency (%)
0 - 99,9	8	57,1	3	33,4	11	47,8
100 - 199,9	4	28,6	2	22,2	6	26,1
200 - 299,9	0	0	2	22,2	2	8,7
300 +	2	14,3	2	22,2	4	17,4
TOTAL	14	100,0	9	100,0	23	100,0

Table 17 : Assessment of Income Earned From Hawking According to Hawking Type, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.

Income earned in Rands per month	STATIC	HAWKERS	SEMI - STATIC	HAWKERS	TOTAL SAMPLE (Static and Semi-Static Hawkers)	
	No. of cases	Relative frequency (%)	No. of cases	Relative frequency (%)	No. of cases	Relative frequency (%)
< R100	14	46,6	15	53,6	29	50
> R100	16	53,4	13	46,4	29	50
TOTAL	30	100,0	28	100,0	58	100

The mean household size of the hawkers surveyed in Fingo Village was five people. The 1981 Poverty Datum Line (PDL) for a Black family of five was R180,83 (Rhodeo, 1982). Table 17 indicates that at least half of the hawkers surveyed earned an income below the PDL, if only earnings from hawking were considered.

Many families relied extensively upon an income from transfer payments. Eighteen hawkers in all obtained an income from this source. The mean income from transfer payments was R69,79 and the mode R60. A higher proportion of static hawkers (14 cases) obtained an income from transfer payments, which ranged from R34 to R206. Only four semi-static hawkers had access to transfer payments, which ranged from R51 to R80. One of the limitations of the Chi-square test is that "expected frequencies in any cell of a contingency table should not be less than five" (Matthews, 1981, 98). The nature of the data related to transfer payments precludes the use of Chi-square to test if a significant difference exists ($\alpha = 0,05$) between the number of static and semi-static hawkers who obtain an income directly or indirectly from transfer payments. The data suggest that a significant difference should exist.

5.1.1 Synopsis of Hawker Profile.

Certain characteristics indicating differences and similarities between static and semi-static hawkers can be identified in Fingo Village.

- (a) The majority of hawkers (94,8 percent) were born in Grahamstown.
- (b) Both hawking types attained low levels of formal education. The majority of the sample (52 cases) were effectively illiterate, or had merely achieved some form of primary school education. There was no significant difference in effective illiteracy between the two hawking types. A repercussion of such poor educational achievements would be

the difficulty in obtaining a job in the formal sector.

- (c) All hawkers surveyed were female and ranged in age from 16 to 75 years. By using the Chi-square test it was established that a significant proportion of semi-static hawkers are younger than their static counterparts. The mean age for each hawking type was 36,7 and 48,7 years respectively.
- (d) Three quarters of the hawkers surveyed (44 cases) had taken up hawking in the last 5 years. This trend of recent involvement in hawking is characteristic of both hawking types.
- (e) Hawking was seen primarily as a source of livelihood in the face of unemployment and poverty by both hawking types, but particularly by semi-static hawkers.
- (f) Working experience in the formal sector for both hawking types was limited. Three quarters of the static hawkers (21 cases) had previously been employed as domestic workers, whilst over half of the semi-static hawkers (16 cases) had never been employed. The difference in past working experience is significant when tested using the Chi-square test.
- (g) Most households depended on several sources of income. The survey established that the average household size for both hawking types was five people. Based on this mean household size, 85 percent of the sample (49 cases) lived on an income below the 1981 poverty datum line for a family of five people. No significant difference is apparent in earnings from formal and informal employment by static and semi-static hawkers, although the suggestion is that static hawkers have greater access to money from formal sector activities. More static hawkers (14 cases) also have access to transfer payments than do semi-static hawkers

(four cases).

5.2 The Hawking Operation.

The description of the hawking operation is based on the following variables : ownership of the operation; fulfilment of the licensing requirements; number of customers served daily; the hawkers' relationship with their customers; the amount of time spent hawking each day; the variety and type of goods sold; the daily capital outlay of the hawking operation; the supply source patronized and how often supplies are obtained; storage and transport facilities and credit relations between hawkers and their clientele. Again the discussion of each variable is divided into a general overview of the particular variable and its application to all hawkers, and a description of variations evident between static and semi-static hawkers. At the conclusion of the section the main characteristics of the hawking operation, which have emerged from the Fingo Village survey, are summarized.

In nearly all the cases surveyed the hawkers owned their operation. In four semi-static cases, the operation was being manned by other family members. Three cases listed the mother as the owner of the enterprise and the remaining case indicated that the father owned the business. The hawking operation is, therefore, usually owned by a woman who runs the business alone, or with the assistance of a relative or members of her household.

Only one of the hawkers surveyed, a static operator, possessed a licence, and the remaining 53 hawkers operated without having fulfilled the legal requirements. Four hawkers refused to answer the question as to whether or not they had a licence, possibly because they feared the repercussions of operating beyond the legal boundaries.

Table 18 : Primary Reasons For Hawking Without a Licence, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.

	STATIC	HAWKERS	SEMI-STATIC	HAWKERS	TOTAL SAMPLE (Static and Semi-Static Hawkers)	
	No. of cases	Relative frequency (%)	No. of cases	Relative frequency (%)	No. of cases	Relative frequency (%)
No money to pay for licence or to build a store	21	75,0	18	60,0	39	67,2
Lodger and has no land on which to build store	0	0	7	23,3	7	12,1
Licensing procedure too complex	1	3,6	0	0	1	1,7
Feels licences should be free	4	14,3	2	6,7	6	10,4
Other	2	7,1	2	6,7	4	6,9
Missing			1	3,3	1	1,7
TOTAL	28	100,0	30	100,0	58	100,0

The question asking why the hawkers operated illegally elicited several responses. Over 60 percent of the sample maintained that they had no money to pay for a licence and in particular to build the storage facilities specified by the licensing regulations. Seven static hawkers indicated that they were lodgers and had no access to land and hence could not build a storeroom as specified by the licensing requirements (Appendix 1). A synopsis of the reasons for hawking without a licence is depicted in Table 18.

Certain extraneous factors hinder hawking activities. Twenty hawkers stated that official harassment adversely affected their hawking. Fourteen static hawkers said that police harassment had a negative impact on their business in comparison with six semi-static hawkers. By using the Chi-square test, at the 0,05 significance level, a significant difference is evident in police harassment experienced by the two hawking types. Static hawkers experience greater police reprisal than semi-static operators, though why this should be the case is uncertain. A second constraint experienced by hawkers is the lack of capital. Fourteen hawkers, of whom eight were semi-static operators, listed that a lack of capital hindered their hawking.

Several hawkers gave graphic descriptions of the harassment they had experienced from the police which is best conveyed in their own words. One hawker outlined some of her past experiences as follows :

"In the past we were taken to the Charge Office. We were insulted and all our goods were taken by the detectives. They also took our money from hawking. When we cried they gave the money back to us. But they told us to pay R10 each as a fine. We decided not to pay because we had no money. They released us but told us to come back and pay R10 each. Up to now nothing happened. There is no receipt for these fines".

Another hawker also complained of harassment by the police and said :

"(We) are harassed in town by the traffic cops and S.A.P. (South African Police) They take away (the) hawker's goods especially during the middle of the month when the S.A.P. and traffic cops are broke. They lock people up. Maybe they eat the goods. No receipts (are) given for the fines paid by hawkers. They even come and confiscate liquor from people in the townships when the S.A.P. want to drink liquor. They eat the goods and drink the liquor".

A third hawker felt that the legal ramifications of the licensing requirements were unclear, and suggested that the validity of a licence was debatable:

"We once had our licences for 'self independence' (which cost) R1 per month ... but (they) were torn into pieces by the S.A.P. some time long ago. We decided not to buy licences. Last month a B.A.A.B. (Bantu Affairs Administration Board) van was moving up and down telling hawkers to go to Evelyn House to pay for 'self independence'. We said the licences were torn into pieces by the policemen. So we find it difficult to pay for something which is not clear or explained fully by the authorities".

Regardless of the probability of harassment, hawkers continued to trade throughout the week, although individual hawkers did not always operate every day. The number of customers served daily varied from one to 53 clients. Fifteen static and nine semi-static hawkers served between one and five customers daily, whilst 13 static and 20 semi-static operators traded with over five clients each day. A summary of the number of customers served daily is depicted in Table 19. By using the Chi-square test, at the 0,05 significance level, no significant difference was established in the number of customers served daily. However, it can tentatively be suggested that if the 0,1

significance level is used, with a critical value of 2,71, a significant difference is evident. This implies that the number of customers served daily varies according to hawking type and that semi-static operators have a higher turnover of clientele than static hawkers.

It would appear that most hawkers had some form of rapport with their clients. Only a fifth of the hawkers surveyed (13 cases) maintained that they knew very few or none of their customers. Two of the hawkers knew all of their customers. Thirteen maintained that they were acquainted with most of their clients and 30 stated that they knew only some of the people with whom they traded.

Table 19 : Number of Customers Served Daily, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.

Numbers of customers daily	STATIC		SEMI-STATIC		TOTAL SAMPLE (Static and Semi-Static Hawkers)	
	No. of cases	Relative frequency (%)	No. of cases	Relative frequency (%)	No. of cases	Relative frequency (%)
1 - 5	15	53,6	9	31,1	24	42,1
6 - 10	13	46,4	14	48,3	27	47,3
11 - 15			4	13,8	4	7,0
16 - 20			1	3,4	1	1,8
20 +*			1	3,4	1	1,8
TOTAL	28	100,0	29	100,0	57	100,0

Not all the hawkers surveyed traded every day of the week. Of those surveyed, 57 hawked on Mondays, Tuesdays and Wednesdays. The number of subjects hawking between Thursday and Sunday declined, with only 35 operating on Sunday. It would appear that hawking occurs during two distinct phases in the week. This is apparent if the hours spent hawking each day are considered. Semi-static hawkers spend a greater amount of time hawking than static hawkers in the Monday to Wednesday period. During the first half of the week virtually 45 percent of the static hawkers (12 cases) trade for six to eight hours whilst 60 percent of the semi-static hawkers (18 cases) operate for eight to ten hours. The difference in time spent hawking between static and semi-static operators on Mondays, Tuesdays and Wednesdays is significant at the 0,1 significance level. The second distinctive phase is the Friday to Sunday period. Friday was the only day on which all the hawkers surveyed traded for at least two hours, and would appear to be the most important trading day in the week. Fewer hawkers traded over the weekend. Eight hawkers did not trade at all on Saturdays and 23 hawkers did not trade on Sundays, due to their religious beliefs.

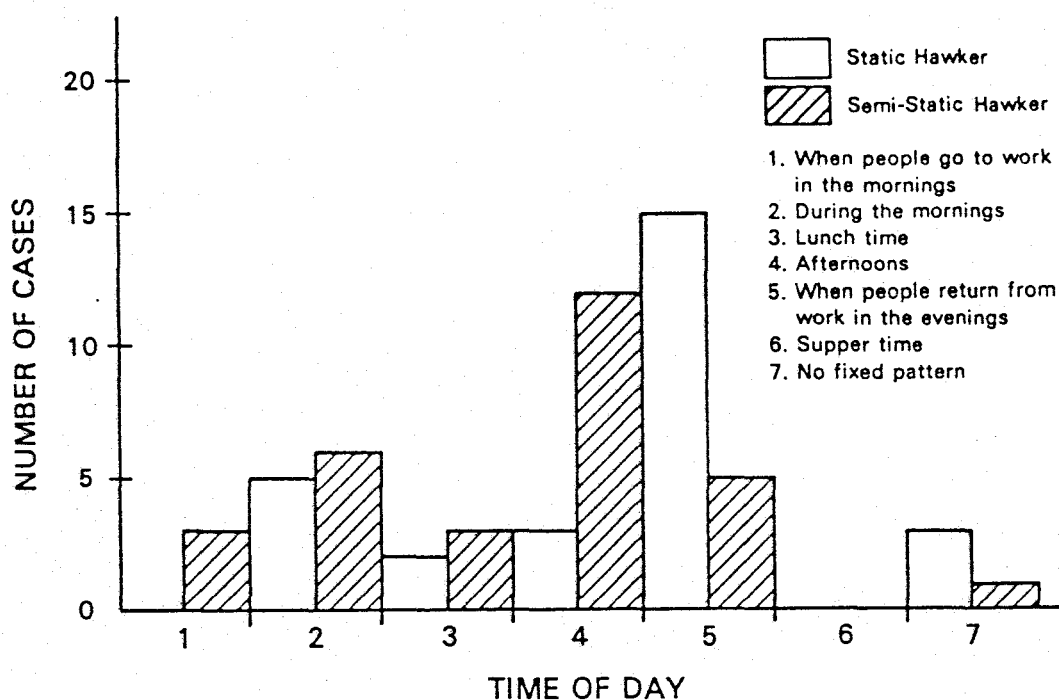


Figure 19 : Best Time of Day to Hawk, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.

Besides there being certain days, such as Friday, that would appear to be particularly conducive for trading, specific times during the day seem to be more preferable for hawking than others. Static hawkers (15 cases) felt that the period when people returned home from work in the evenings was the best time to operate (Figure 19). Semi-static hawkers (12 cases) suggested that the afternoon period was the best time to hawk (Figure 19).

Differences are evident between the two hawking types in terms of the variety of goods for sale, the supply outlet patronized and the daily capital outlay and earnings. Both static and semi-static hawkers sold the following basic food commodities : oranges, apples, potatoes, tomatoes, onions and cabbages (Table 20). Semi-static hawkers also sold the following in smaller quantities : fish, brooms, cooked liver, pears, ginger beer,

chips and bananas. Other goods sold by static hawkers included sweets, pineapples, cigarettes, chicken and paraffin.

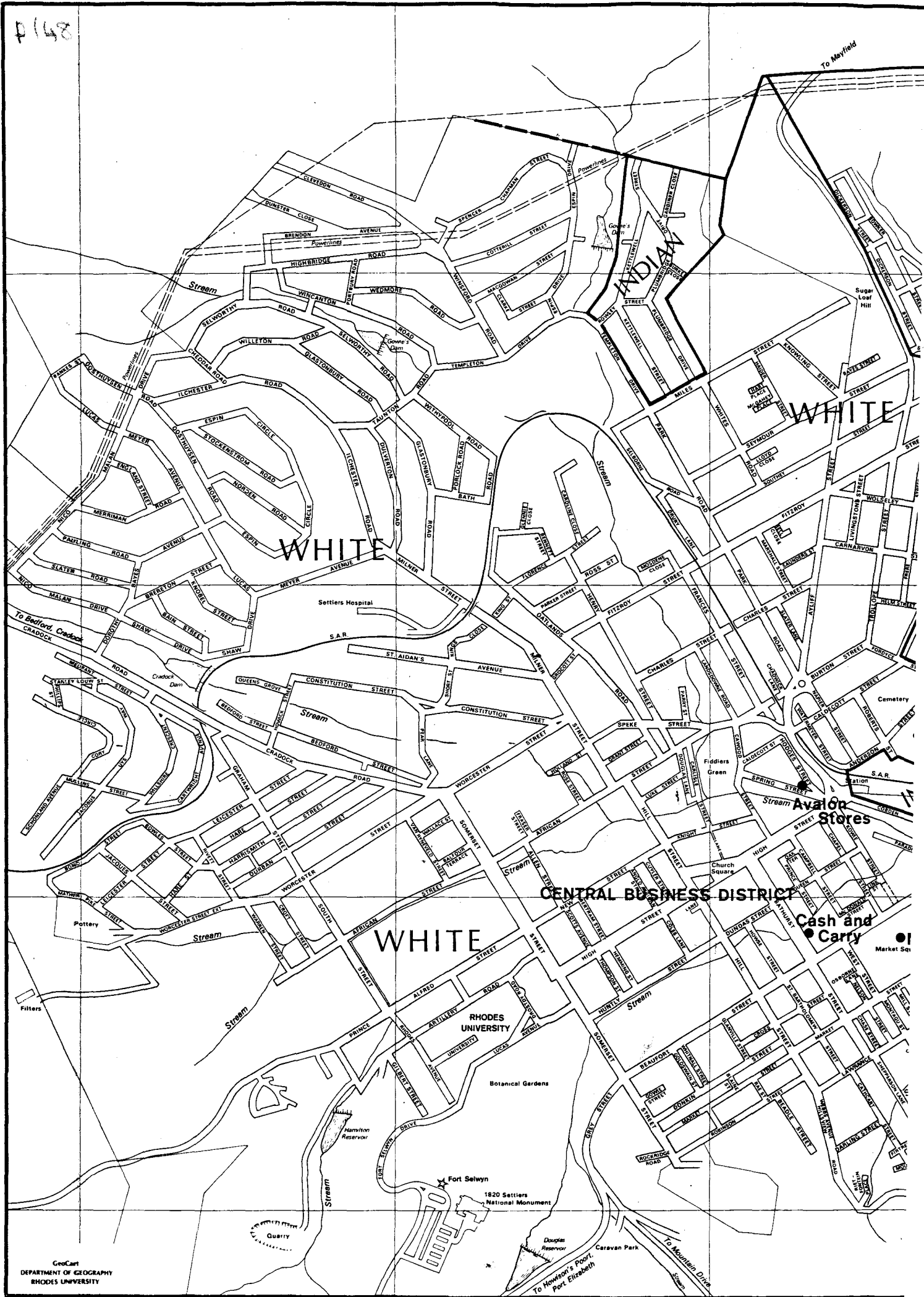
Whilst some hawkers only sold one product, others sold as many as five. Table 21 summarizes the diversity of goods offered by each hawking type. Using the Chi-square test it is apparent that there is no significant difference in the diversity of goods sold between static and semi-static hawkers, at the 0,05 significance level. However, if the 0,1 significance level is used, with a critical value of 2,71, a significant difference (χ^2) is evident, suggesting that semi-static operators tend to offer a wider diversity of goods for sale than static operators. Another interesting point emerges if the daily amount earned from hawking is Crosstabulated with the variety of goods sold. It is apparent that those selling a wider diversity of goods do not earn more from hawking than those who merely sell one commodity.

Table 20 : Six Most Important Goods Offered For Sale By Hawkers, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.

Goods offered by hawkers	STATIC		HAWKERS		SEMI-STATIC		HAWKERS		TOTAL SAMPLE (Static and Semi-Static Hawkers)	
	No. of cases	Relative frequency (%)	No. of cases	Relative frequency (%)	No. of cases	Relative frequency (%)	No. of cases	Relative frequency (%)	No. of cases	Relative frequency (%)
Potatoes	23	82,1	15	50,0	15	50,0	38	65,5	38	65,5
Onions	10	35,7	4	13,3	4	13,3	14	24,1	14	24,1
Tomatoes	17	60,7	12	40,0	12	40,0	29	50,0	29	50,0
Apples	11	39,3	21	70,0	21	70,0	32	55,2	32	55,2
Oranges	10	35,7	25	83,3	25	83,3	35	60,3	35	60,3
Cabbages	5	17,9	2	6,6	2	6,6	7	12,1	7	12,1

Table 21 : Diversity of Goods Offered For Sale, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.

Variety of goods on sale	STATIC		SEMI-STATIC		TOTAL SAMPLE (Static and Semi-Static Hawkers)	
	No. of cases	Relative frequency (%)	No. of cases	Relative frequency (%)	No. of cases	Relative frequency (%)
1	4	14,3	2	6,7	6	10,4
2	4	14,3	9	30,0	13	22,4
3	12	42,9	6	20,0	18	31,0
4	5	17,9	10	33,3	15	25,8
5	3	10,6	3	10,0	6	10,4
TOTAL	28	100,0	30	100,0	58	100,0



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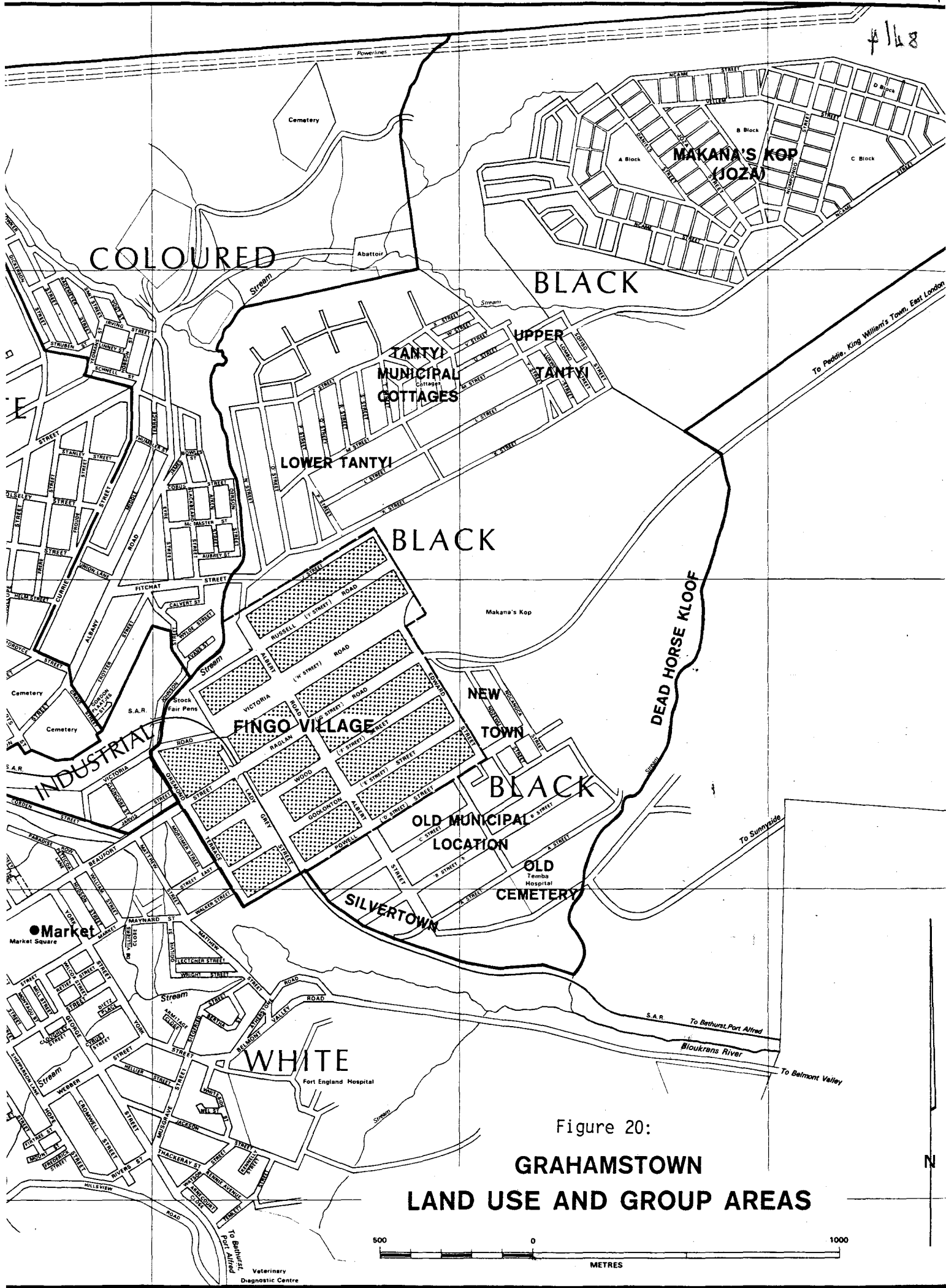
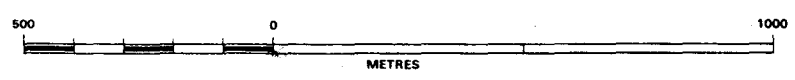


Figure 20:
GRAHAMSTOWN
LAND USE AND GROUP AREAS



Veterinary
 Diagnostic Centre

To Bathurst
 Port Alfred

To Bathurst Port Alfred
 Bloukrens River
 To Belmont Valley

To Sunnyside

To People King William's Town, East London

●Market
 Market Square

E

N

The daily capital outlay for stock for both hawking types was similar, with the mean capital outlay for semi-static hawkers being R1,92 and that of static hawkers R1,91. The estimate of average daily earnings from semi-static hawking was R3,99, which is marginally higher than that of static hawkers (R3,47). This difference in daily earnings between the two hawking types is not significant (χ^2 , $\alpha=0,05$).

Fifty of the hawkers interviewed obtained all their supplies from a single source of supply. Not all of these hawkers bought their goods from the same supply outlet. Different hawking types patronize different outlets for their supplies. Avalon Stores and the Market are the chief sources of supply for hawkers (Figure 20). Twenty eight semi-static hawkers and 11 static hawkers bought from the Market. Using the Chi-square test ($\alpha = 0,05$) it is evident that a significantly larger number ($\chi^2 = 11,4$) of semi-static than static hawkers use the market as their source of supply. Static operators (17 cases) also obtained their goods from Avalon Stores in Spring Street. In addition to the cost of supplies, and possibly transport expenses, 23 static and 24 semi-static hawkers bought plastic bags, either from Avalon Stores or Cash and Carry, in which to pack their wares. (Figure 20).

Both hawking types tend to replenish their stock of supplies one or more times a week. Nineteen of the semi-static hawkers interviewed indicated that they bought supplies more than once a week, whilst another 10 cases obtained supplies weekly. Ten of the static hawkers sampled got their supplies more than once a week and 17 static operators stated that this was a weekly occurrence. Using the Chi-square test, ($\alpha = 0,05$) it was established that two distinct patterns are identifiable. Static hawkers tend to obtain supplies once a week, whilst semi-static hawkers buy supplies more than once a week.

Only two of the hawkers surveyed had storerooms in which to keep their supplies. Eighteen of the semi-static and 25 static

hawkers listed the kitchen as the room used for storage purposes.

Few hawkers have access to transport and therefore have to carry their wares from the supply source to their homes and the places from which they hawk. Over three quarters of the hawkers sampled indicated that they carried their goods. Other forms of transport used by hawkers for transporting their goods included hiring a taxi, employing a bearer, using a wheelbarrow, donkey cart, or municipal bus.

Virtually all the hawkers (57 cases) relied on their previous days earnings to pay for re-stocking their supplies. This was regardless of whether supplies were bought on a weekly basis or several times a week; hence hawking is an economic activity which relies upon its own returns for its continued functioning and expansion. The need for ready cash to keep the hawking activity in operation would seem to influence whether credit is offered to the clientele. Contrary to the views of the I.L.O. (1972), not all hawkers offer their customers credit (Table 22). Three reasons were cited by hawkers for not extending credit to all customers. Eighteen of the semi-static hawkers and 12 of the static hawkers simply did not trust their clientele to honour a credit agreement. Nine static hawkers and seven semi-static operators offered credit to their reliable customers only. Four semi-static and five static hawkers stated that to offer credit was liable to make their business run at a loss.

Table 22 : Credit Relations With Customers, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.

Number of Hawkers Offering Credit						
Offer credit	STATIC		SEMI-STATIC		TOTAL SAMPLE (Static and Semi-Static Hawkers)	
	No. of cases	Relative frequency (%)	No. of cases	Relative frequency (%)	No. of cases	Relative frequency (%)
All customers	1	3,6	1	3,3	2	3,4
Most customers	5	17,9	3	10,0	8	13,8
Some customers	12	42,9	11	36,7	23	39,7
Very few customers	6	21,3	11	36,7	17	29,3
Not at all	4	14,3	4	13,3	8	13,8
TOTAL	28	100,0	30	100,0	58	100,0

5.2.1 Synopsis of Hawking Operation.

The following characteristics emerge from the survey of hawkers in Fingo Village :

- (a) Most hawkers own their business.
- (b) At least 91,4 percent of those surveyed (53 cases), operate without a licence, but this figure could be higher as four respondents refused to indicate whether they possessed a licence.
- (c) Fifty percent of the hawkers (20 cases) complained of official harassment. Static hawkers in particular appear to be adversely affected by police action.
- (d) Semi-static hawkers serve significantly (χ^2 , $\alpha = 0,05$) more customers per day than static operators. Few hawkers offered all their clients credit.
- (e) Friday is the only day of the week on which all hawkers trade. Hawkers are particularly active during the early part of the week (Monday to Wednesday). During the Monday to Wednesday period semi-static hawkers hawk significantly (χ^2 , $\alpha = 0,05$) longer hours than static traders.
- (f) Certain times during the day are perceived as particularly good for business. Static hawkers indicated that the best time to hawk was in the evening when people returned from work. Semi-static operators felt that the afternoons were the best time to hawk.
- (g) Both hawking types sell basic foodstuffs. Differences between the two hawking types are evident in terms of the supply sources patronized, and the number of times per week that stocks are replenished.

- (h) Over 80 percent of the hawkers (47 cases) surveyed had no access to transport and therefore had to carry their goods from the source of supply to the location from which they hawked.
- (i) Only two of the hawkers had a storeroom in which to keep their supplies.
- (j) The daily capital outlay for both hawking types was virtually the same and the daily earnings of semi-static hawkers (R3,99) was slightly, though not significantly higher, (χ^2 , $\alpha=0,05$) than static hawkers (R3,47). Earnings from the previous day's hawking acted as capital to buy further supplies.

5.3 The Location of Hawkers.

Hawking is a small scale activity lacking a degree of specialization in comparison with formal sector retail activities. If the hawker is to be successful the business must be located at a readily accessible point in the environment. The Fingo Village survey tried to establish why hawkers chose certain sites from which to hawk and the results are discussed below. The discussion includes an assessment of why particular points in the environment are conducive to hawking, and a description of the distribution pattern of each hawking type. Finally the location of hawkers in relation to the mean centre, which theoretically is the most accessible point in the Fingo environment, will be described and an attempt will be made to establish whether with increased distance from the mean centre economic returns from hawking decline. A synopsis of the main characteristics related to the location of hawkers in Fingo Village appears at the end of this section.

Only two cases, both semi-static hawkers, were told to hawk from the particular site from which they operated. The one hawker was instructed by her mother to trade from a specific site, and

the second was following the advice of Mr Vuma Nkosinkulu, who has links with the Community Council and acts as a self-appointed advisor to the hawkers. Distinct criteria appear to influence the choice of site made by the two different hawking types. Question 20 (Questionnaire, Appendix 2), which tried to establish why the hawker had chosen the particular site from which to sell, elicited several responses which are summarized in Table 23.

Table 23 : Reason Why Hawking Site was Chosen, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.

Reason for choice of site	Hawking Type				TOTAL SAMPLE (Static and Semi-Static Hawkers)	
	STATIC	HAWKERS	SEMI-STATIC	HAWKERS	No. of cases	Relative frequency (%)
	No. of cases	Relative frequency (%)	No. of cases	Relative frequency (%)		
Lots of people in the street	3	10,7	7	23,3	10	17,2
Official harassment discourages street selling	13	46,4			13	22,4
Physical disability prevents street selling	3	10,7			2	3,5
Close proximity to commuter points and service outlets			15	50,0	15	25,9
Close proximity to home			3	10,0	3	5,2
Other	8	28,6	5	16,7	14	24,1
Missing	1	3,6			1	1,7
TOTAL	28	100,0	30	100,0	58	100,0

Semi-static hawkers tend to locate their business in close proximity to commuter terminal points and service outlets (15 cases), or choose a site in the street where pedestrian traffic levels are high (7 cases). Nearly half of the static hawkers (13 cases) indicated that they chose to sell from their homes as official harassment discouraged street selling. This response is strange, particularly as a significant (χ^2 , $\alpha = 0,05$) number of static hawkers maintained that they were victims of police harassment as discussed in the previous section of this chapter. Possibly a street site is perceived as being more vulnerable than the home environment, and the perceived image abrogates experiences of reality. Finally, two static hawkers indicated that responsibilities within the home precluded their hawking in the street. One respondent stated :

"(I chose this place from which to sell) because I am not able to sell from the streets. I have lots to do in my home."

Semi-static hawkers appear to try and locate their business at focal points in the community or choose sites in an area associated with heavy pedestrian traffic. The semi-static hawkers surveyed in Fingo Village, such as those depicted in Plate 7, were aware of pedestrian routes in the area. The following comment is representative of such awareness :

"(I chose this place from which to sell) because there is always sun here and this wall protects us from strong wind. Also because there are many people who always bypass this corner. There are many people moving up and down to and from town ... it is also near the railway bus station. This spot is also near the place where coals are obtained".

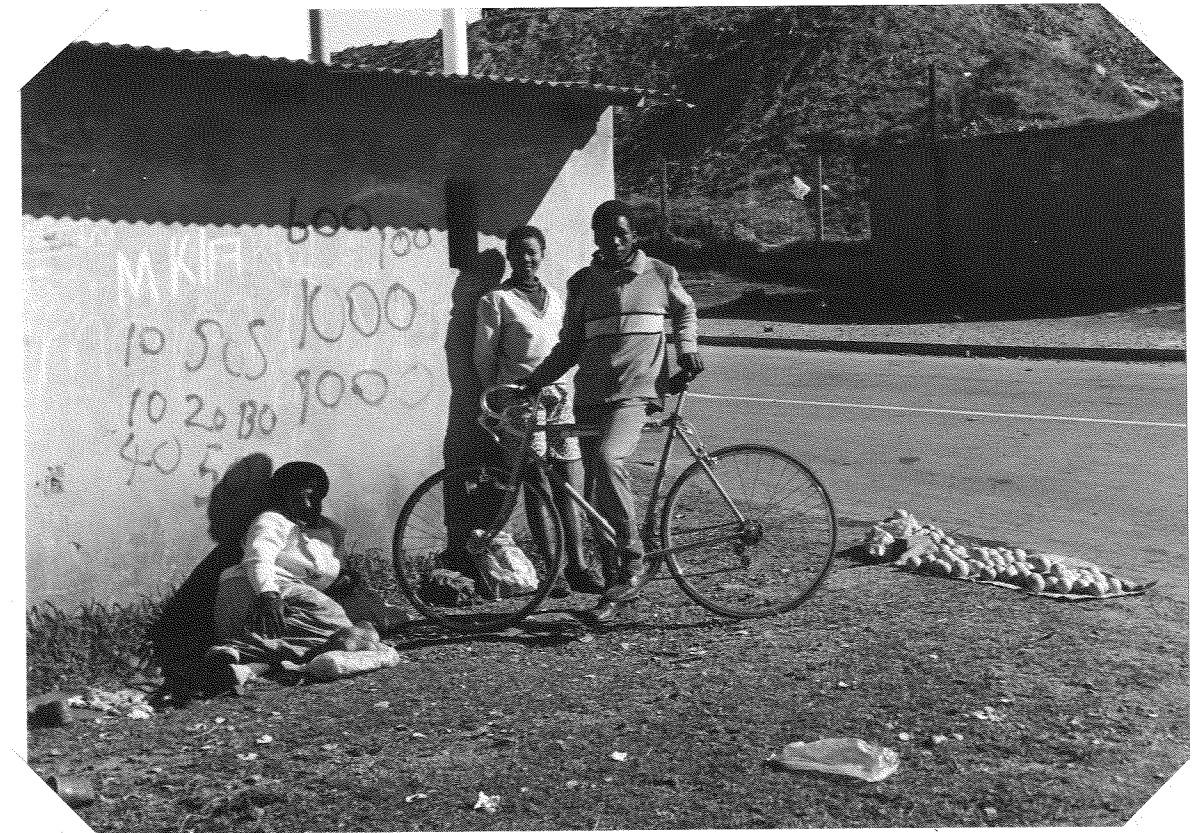


Plate 7 : Semi-Static Hawker Located on Fingo Village Commuter Route at the Intersection of Orsmond Terrace and Victoria Road.

From observation in the field and the mapping survey it seemed that the area in the vicinity of the Raglan Road and Albert Street intersection was a preferable location for semi-static hawkers (Plates 8 and 9).



Plate 8 : Semi-Static Hawkers Operating on the Corner of Raglan Road and Albert Street Outside the GADRA Offices.



Plate 9 : Semi-Static Hawkers Operating Twenty Metres From the Raglan Road/Albert Street Intersection Outside J Chan Henry's Store.

Figure 21 depicts the actual location of all the semi-static operators identified during the mapping survey of Fingo Village.

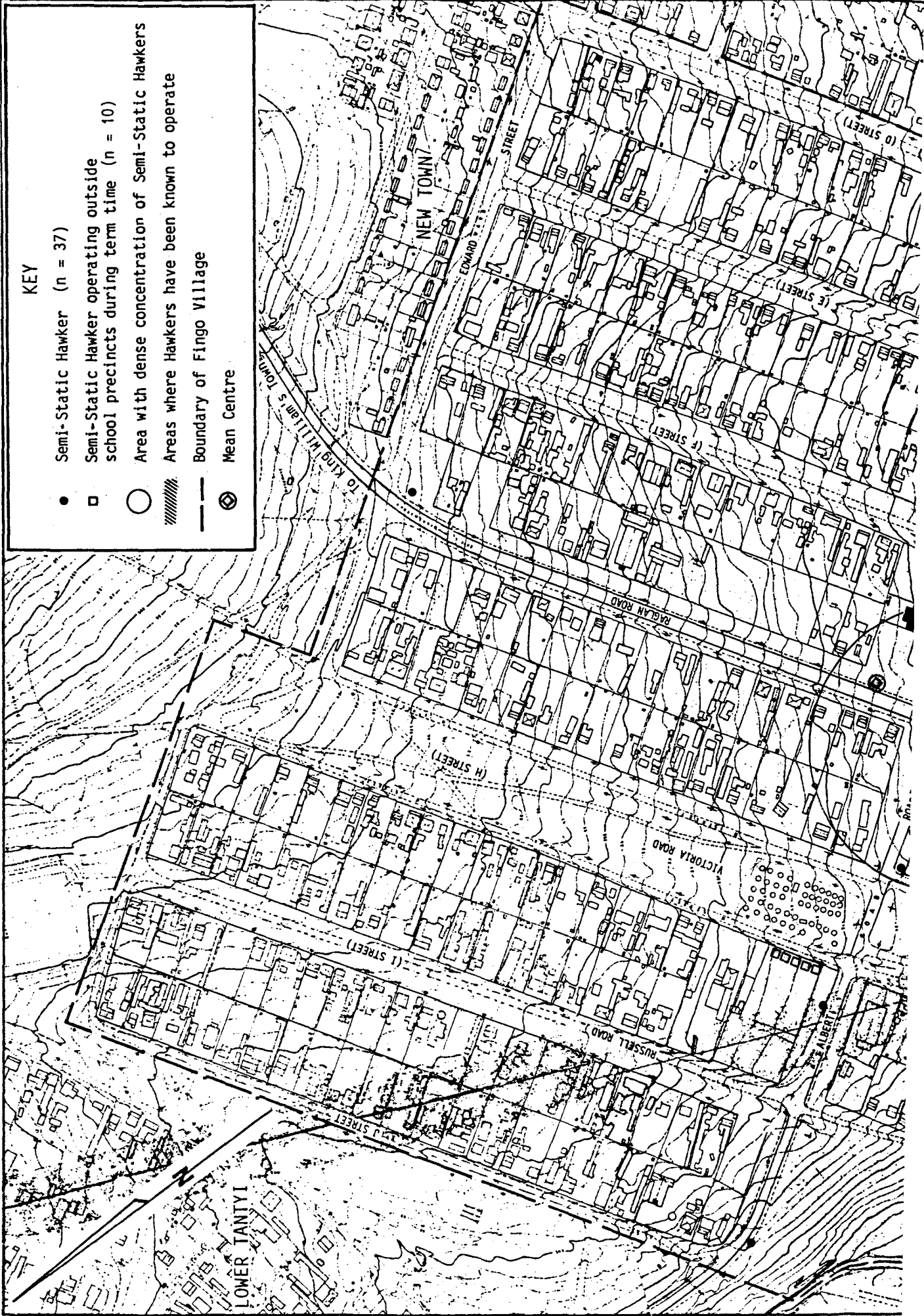
Fifteen of the semi-static hawkers operated from sites in the vicinity of the Raglan Road and Albert Street intersection. A second concentration of semi-static hawkers, 13 cases, was identified in Albert Street between Godlonton and Powell Streets. A significant (χ^2 , $\alpha = 0,05$) number of the semi-static traders (24 cases) interviewed during the questionnaire survey agreed that the best place to hawk in Fingo Village was the intersection of Raglan Road and Albert Street. It is interesting that 14 of the static hawkers interviewed also maintained that this was the optimum point from which to hawk. Both hawking types (39 cases) indicated that the reason why the Raglan Road and Albert Street intersection was suited to hawking was because it was an area which experienced heavy pedestrian traffic flows, and was in close proximity to important commuter terminal points and shops. Located at the Raglan Road/Albert Street intersection are two general dealers (J Chan Henry Store and the Wayside Cafe), the GADRA offices which also house the Civilian Blind, St John's Ambulance, Cripple Care and the Grahamstown Advice Office, plus the Municipal Hall and the Beer Hall. Within 20 metres of the intersection is the bus stop for all buses destined for the CBD, White residential areas of the city, Tanty and Joza. From field observation the Raglan Road/Albert Street intersection also seemed to act as an important terminal point for pirate taxis and privately owned mini-buses which were licensed as taxis.

Figures 21 and 22 depict the actual location of all the static and semi-static hawkers identified during the mapping survey. By using the nearest neighbour formula ($R_n = 2\bar{d} \sqrt{N/A}$) a distribution pattern was established for each hawking type. A R_n value of 0,4758 was calculated for the static hawkers which is indicative of a tendency towards random distribution. In order to establish whether the calculated R_n value was statistically significant a value c was computed. Using a Student's t graph the result of c (1,0893) is highly significant as it falls above the 99 percent probability level. The distribution pattern of semi-static hawkers is different from that of static hawkers.

The R_n value of 0,2683 is indicative of a tendency towards clustering. Again a c value was calculated (0,0573) and it is apparent using the Student's t graph that the result is highly significant as it falls above the 99 percent probability level. The results of the nearest neighbour analysis indicate that two types of hawking pattern are identifiable. Static hawkers tend to be randomly distributed throughout Fingo Village, whilst semi-static operators tend to cluster in certain parts of the environment.

KEY

- Semi-Static Hawker (n = 37)
- Semi-Static Hawker operating outside school precincts during term time (n = 10)
- Area with dense concentration of Semi-Static Hawkers
- //// Areas where Hawkers have been known to operate
- Boundary of Fingo Village
- ⊙ Mean Centre



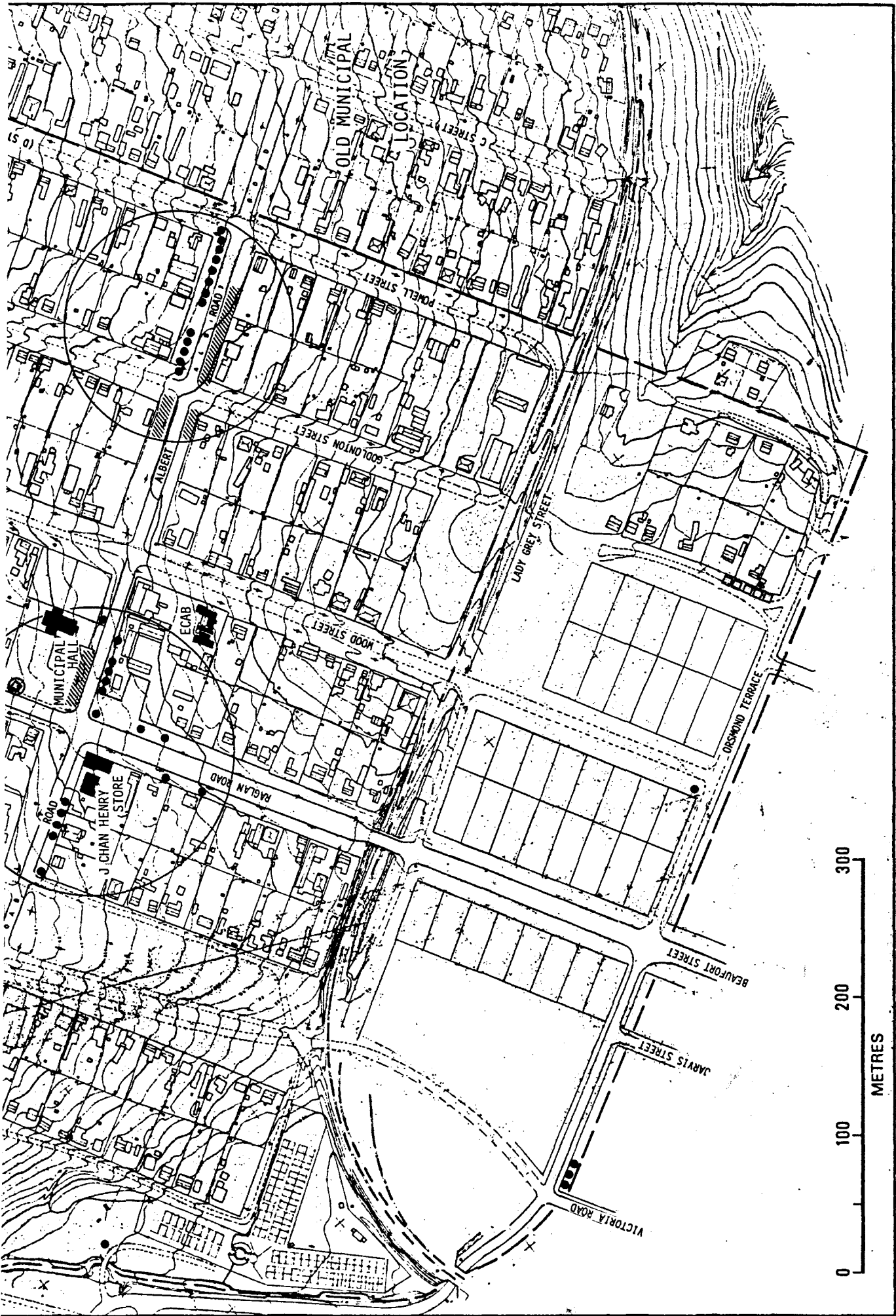


Figure 21: Location of Semi-Static Hawkers in Fingo Village, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.

KEY

- Static Hawker. (n = 68)
- ⊙ Mean Centre
- Boundary of Fingo Village



It is interesting that over 30 percent (15 cases) of the semi-static hawkers isolated during the mapping survey and 40 percent of the questionnaire respondents should operate in such close proximity to each other, namely at the intersection of Raglan Road and Albert Street. To establish whether this concentration of hawkers operated from the most accessible point in the study area the mean centre for hawkers in Fingo Village was calculated. "The mean centre is directly analogous to (the) univariate mean and is defined as that point on a plane which minimizes the sum of the squared distances to all other points on the plane" (Yeates, 1974, 30). The mean centre for hawkers in Fingo Village lies 50 metres north east of the Raglan Road/Albert Street intersection (Figure 22). Over 20 percent (12 cases) of the hawkers surveyed operated from sites within 100 metres of the mean centre. Eleven of these cases were semi-static hawkers.

Using concentric circles at 100 metre intervals from the mean centre, it is possible to assess whether a distributional pattern for each hawking type based on distance from the mean centre exists (Figure 23). No distinct pattern emerges, but it is plausible to suggest that the number of semi-static hawkers declines with increased distance from the mean centre. Figure 23

does not present a conclusive picture of distance decay from the mean centre as a secondary peak of semi-static hawkers (11 cases) exists around the 300 to 500 metre mark. Seven of the cases associated with this secondary peak are located in Albert Street between Godlonton and Powell Streets. Powell Street forms the south western boundary of Fingo Village. However, if the location of this second concentration of semi-static hawkers is assessed in the broader context of Fingo Village, New Town, Old Cemetery, Old Municipal location and Silverton (Figure 20) it is evident that the Powell/Albert Street intersection could also be a central point similar to that at the Raglan Road/ Albert Street intersection. As only the hawkers in Fingo Village were mapped and surveyed it is impossible to explore this supposition further. The only conclusion that can be drawn is that semi static hawkers tend to gravitate to the most accessible points in the landscape. This is contrary to the distribution pattern of static hawkers.

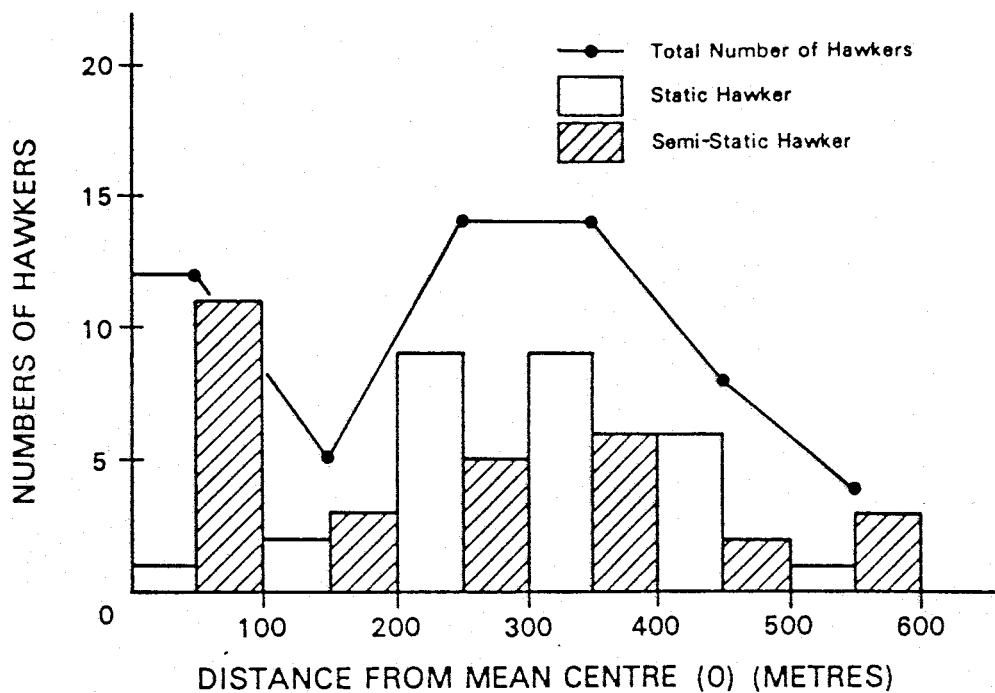


Figure 23 : Distribution of Hawkers According to Distance From the Mean Centre, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.

Figure 23 illustrates that 60 percent of the static hawkers (18 cases) in comparison with 36,6 percent of semi-static hawkers (11 cases) operate between 200 and 400 metres from the mean centre. It would appear that accessibility in terms of location in relation to the mean centre is not of such importance to static hawkers as it is to semi-static hawkers. Instead other factors such as fear of official harassment, physical disability which prevents street selling and responsibilities at home appear to play a greater part in influencing the choice of site (Table 23).

Finally, the question of whether the economic returns of each hawking type diminishes with increased distance from the mean centre was explored. Whilst several variables, such as the daily turnover of goods, the volume of customers served daily or the monthly earnings from hawking, could have been used to establish whether a distance decay type function exists, only the last variable was used. If distance from the mean centre is plotted against monthly incomes (Figures 24 and 25) there is no conclusive evidence that with increased distance from the mean centre monthly earnings from hawking decline. Close examination of Figure 24 reveals that three cases earning in excess of R200 per month are largely instrumental for the emergent pattern. The result is therefore not conclusive.

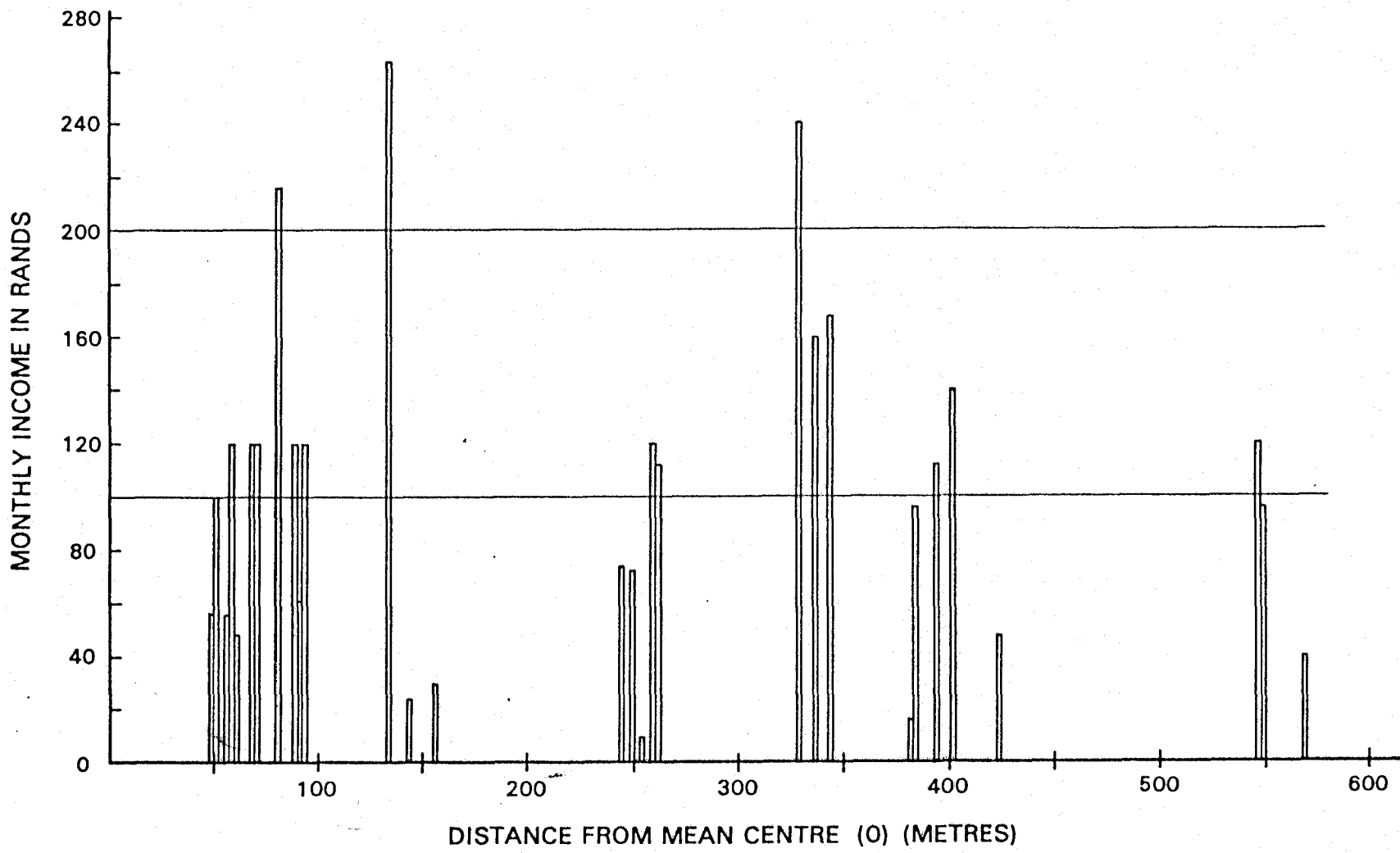


Figure 24: Distribution of Semi-Static Hawkers By Monthly Income and Distance From the Mean Centre, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.

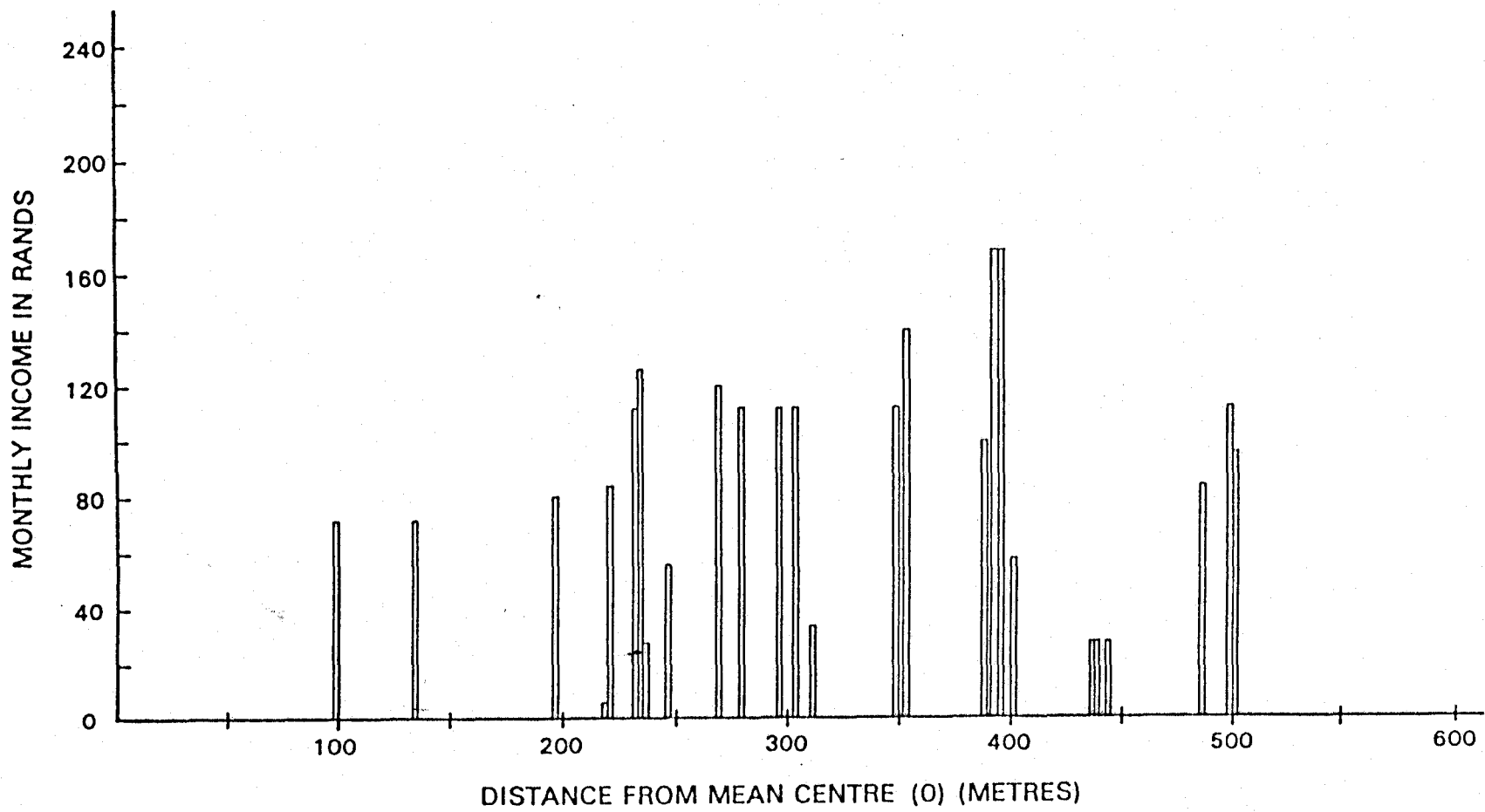


Figure 25: Distribution of Static Hawkers By Monthly Income and Distance From the Mean Centre, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.

Two further attempts were made to establish whether a distance decay pattern was evident by plotting per capita income earnings from hawking per block and by using a three dimensional Hewlett Packard 98820A statistical library package Revision B (1984) to illustrate monthly earnings from hawking.

5.3.1 Per Capita Income From Hawking For Each Block.

The study area was divided into two parts with Albert Street acting as the bisecting line. Albert Street is an important access route to both Fingo Village and the other Black residential areas in Grahamstown. Virtually half of the semi-static hawkers (24 cases of the 47 identified during the mapping survey) were located along Albert Street. Thus it seems logical to choose this street as the divider and to further subdivide each of the two parts according to the street blocks which are demarcated by the streets running perpendicular to Albert Street. The individual incomes obtained from hawking by each subject were then plotted for each street block (Figure 26).

The highest mean per capita income from hawking is obtained from the block bounded by Godlonton, Edward, Powell and Albert Streets. The second and third highest mean per capita incomes are obtained from blocks B and C respectively (Figure 26). The implication of these results is that the peak hawking area is located in the vicinity of Godlonton, Edward, Powell and Albert Streets. Further data regarding hawking and income earned from hawking for the residential area adjacent to the south eastern boundary of Fingo Village are necessary to clarify the proposition that there is a peak hawking area.

Amongst the semi-static hawkers surveyed the highest mean per capita income from hawking was obtained from the Powell, Edward, Godlonton, Albert Street block (Figure 27). The highest mean per capita income from hawking was acquired by static hawkers from the Godlonton Street Orsmond Terrace, Raglan Road, Albert Street block (Figure 28). A tentative conclusion may be drawn

at this stage. Using the mean per capita income earnings from hawking per block it appears that hawkers located towards the edge of Fingo Village obtain higher economic returns than those located in close proximity to the mean centre.

One final point of interest which emerged from the analysis of income by street block was the possible influence of aspect upon the sites chosen by semi-static hawkers. Not all of the 22 cases depicted in Figure 27 faced directly due north east, but virtually 70 percent (15 cases) took advantage of this aspect.

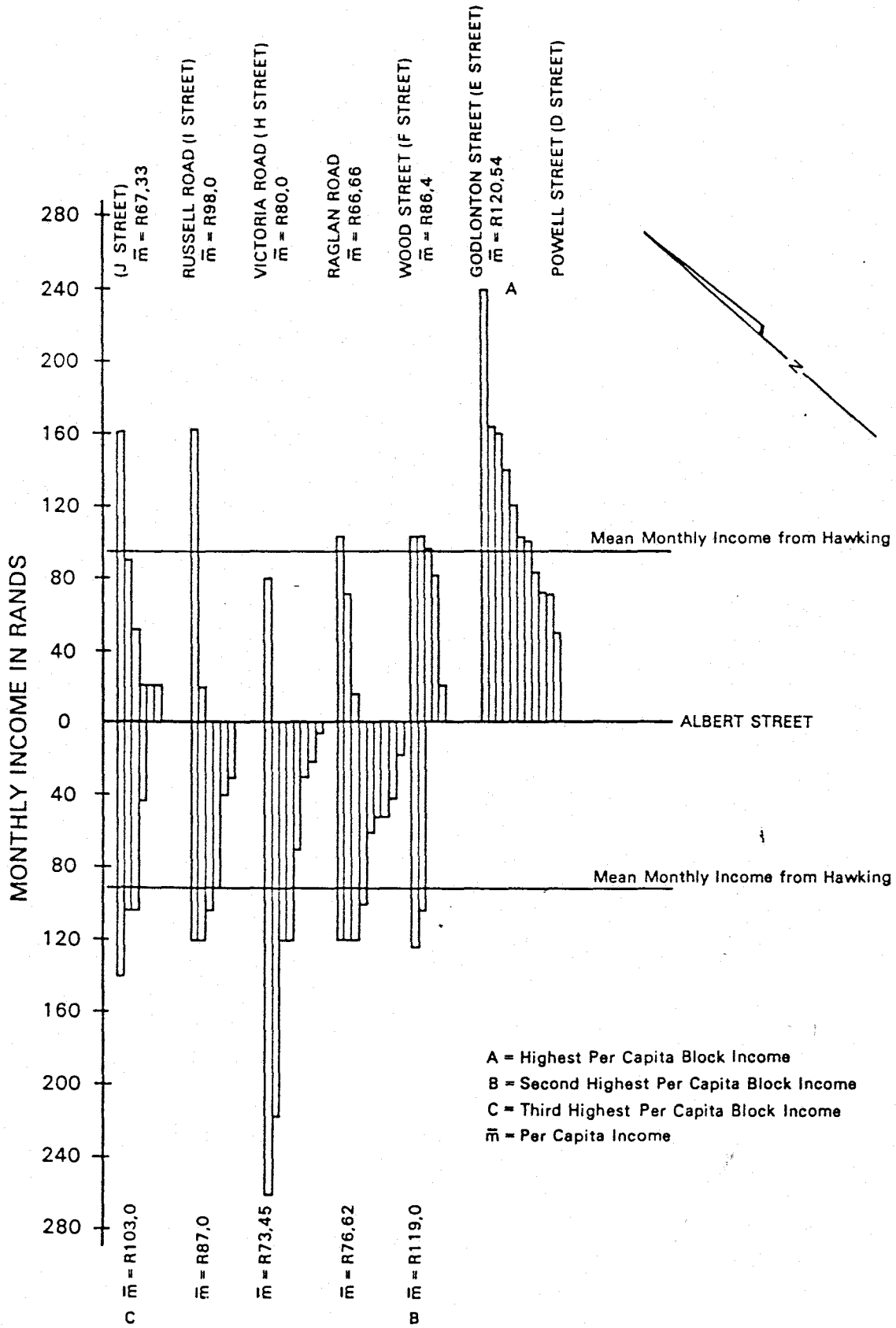


Figure 26: Distribution of Per Capita Income From Hawking For Each Block, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.

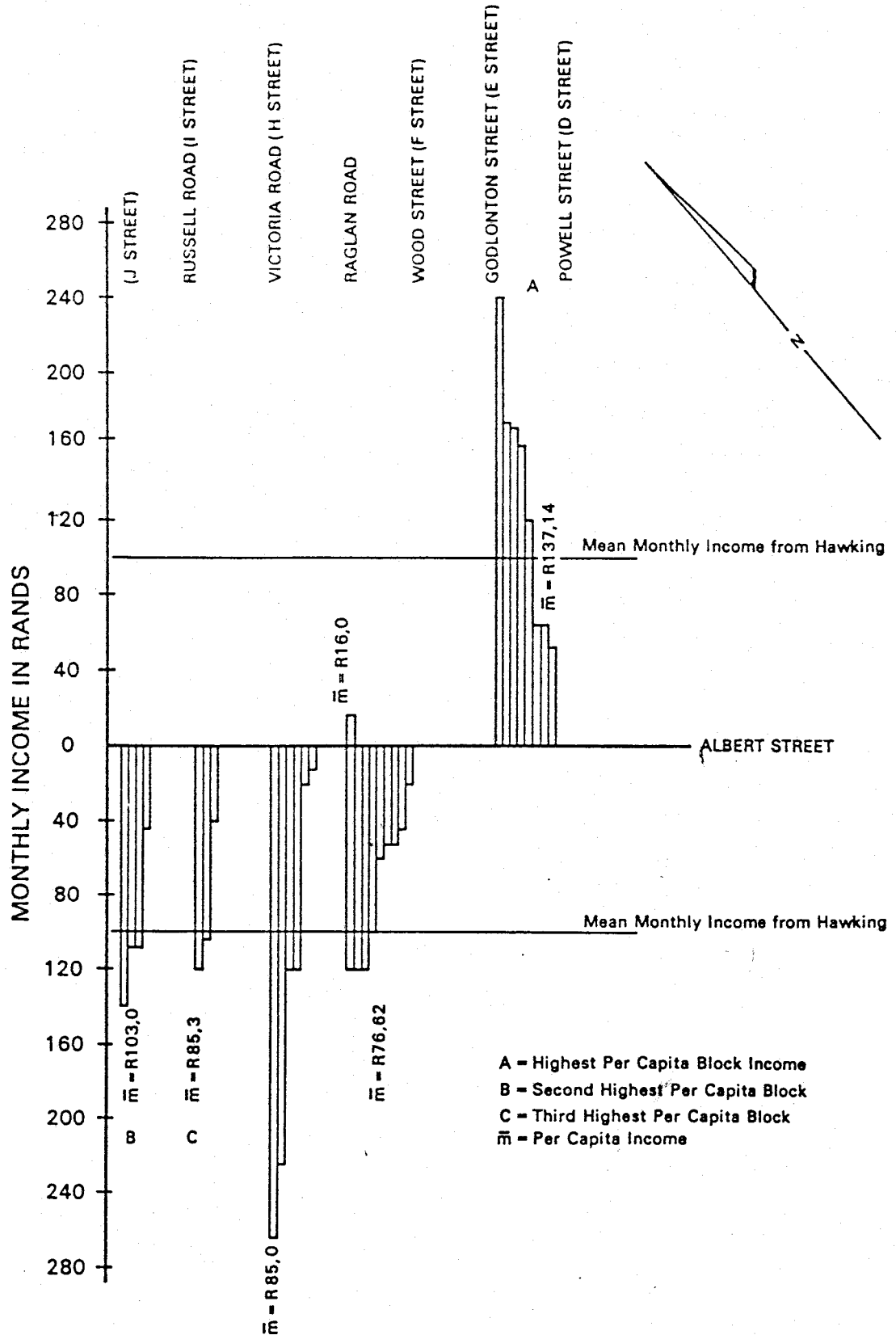


Figure 27: Distribution of Semi-Static Hawkers' Per Capita Income For Each Block, Fingo Village Survey,

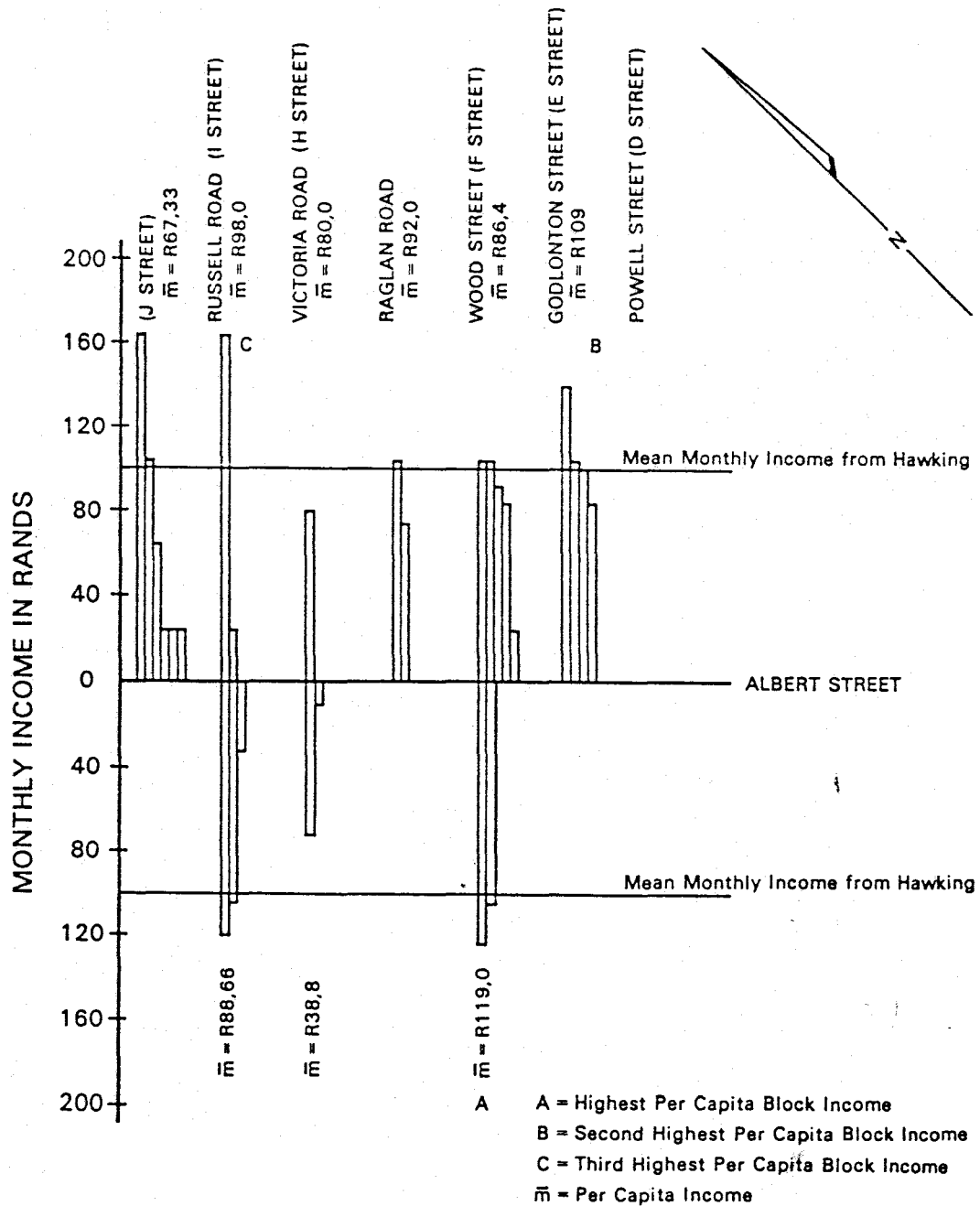


Figure 28: Distribution of Static Hawkers' Per Capita Income For Each Block, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.

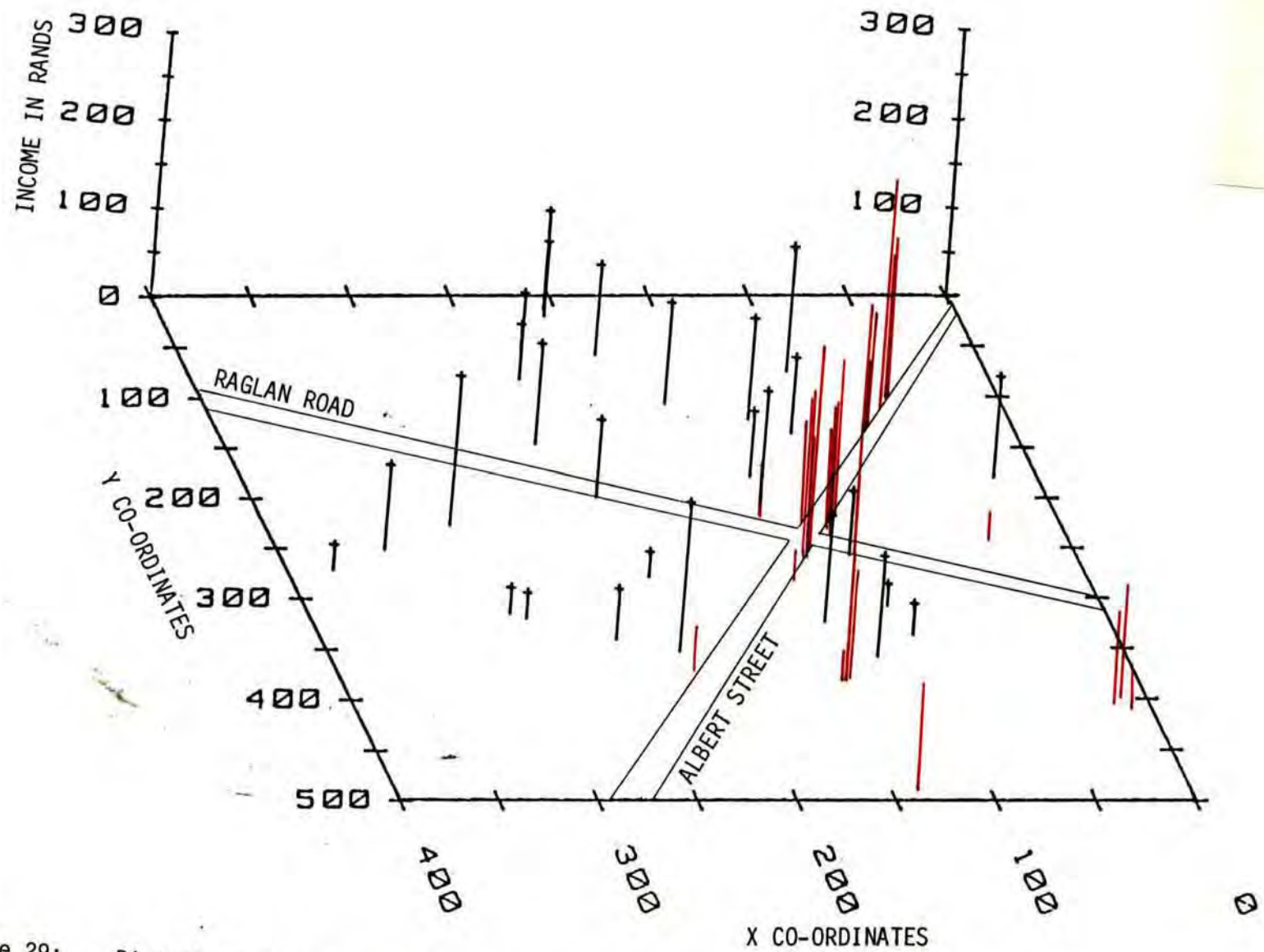
5.3.2 Three Dimensional Plot Analysis Of Income Earned From Hawking.

The final attempt was made to establish whether economic returns from hawking decline with increased distance from the mean centre, using a statistical graphics programme from a Hewlett Packard (98145) computer. Each hawker was allocated specific x and y co-ordinate values, whilst monthly income from hawking acted as the z value. Using a perspective of 70 degrees and an aspect of 20 degrees, these three values were plotted on a three dimensional plot. Thus a three dimensional representation of hawkers and their monthly earnings from hawking could be drawn (Figure 29). The presentation highlights four factors :

- (a) Static hawkers, in terms of monthly incomes from hawking, are randomly distributed throughout Fingo Village (Figure 30).
- (b) Semi-static hawkers, in terms of monthly incomes from hawking, are clustered, particularly at certain points along Raglan Road and Albert Street (Figure 31).
- (c) A concentration of semi-static hawkers is noticeable at the Raglan Road/Albert Street intersection (Figure 31).
- (d) A second cluster of semi-static hawkers is located in the vicinity of Godlonton, Albert and Powell Streets, where a hawker earning the highest income from hawking, R240, is located (Figure 31).

As a three dimensional plot can be difficult to conceptualise, three additional graphs were drawn to supplement and clarify Figures 29,30 and 31. By overlaying the x and y axes of the 3 dimensional plot, and using the income values as a y axis, it is possible to draw a two dimensional graph and thus establish if a peak hawking area exists. Figure 29.1 depicts the overall picture of earnings from hawking in Fingo Village. Figure 30.1

confirms the random distribution of static hawkers in terms of monthly incomes from hawking. There is no pattern of decreasing income earned from hawking with increased distance from the mean centre located in the vicinity of the Raglan Road/Albert Street intersection. Figure 31.1 reiterates the presence of a concentration of hawkers at the Raglan Road/Albert Street intersection. However, it suggests that the peak hawking area for Fingo Village is located along Albert Street between Godlonton and Powell Streets. The situation portrayed in Figure 31.1 implies that possibly a distance decay type function may be identifiable amongst hawkers located at increasing distances from the peak hawking area. With increased distance from the peak hawking area, income from semi-static hawking appears to decline. Amongst static hawkers (Figure 30.1) no such distance decay type function is apparent.



KEY
 † Static Hawkers
 | Semi-static Hawkers

Figure 29: Distribution of Income Earned From Hawking By Location, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.

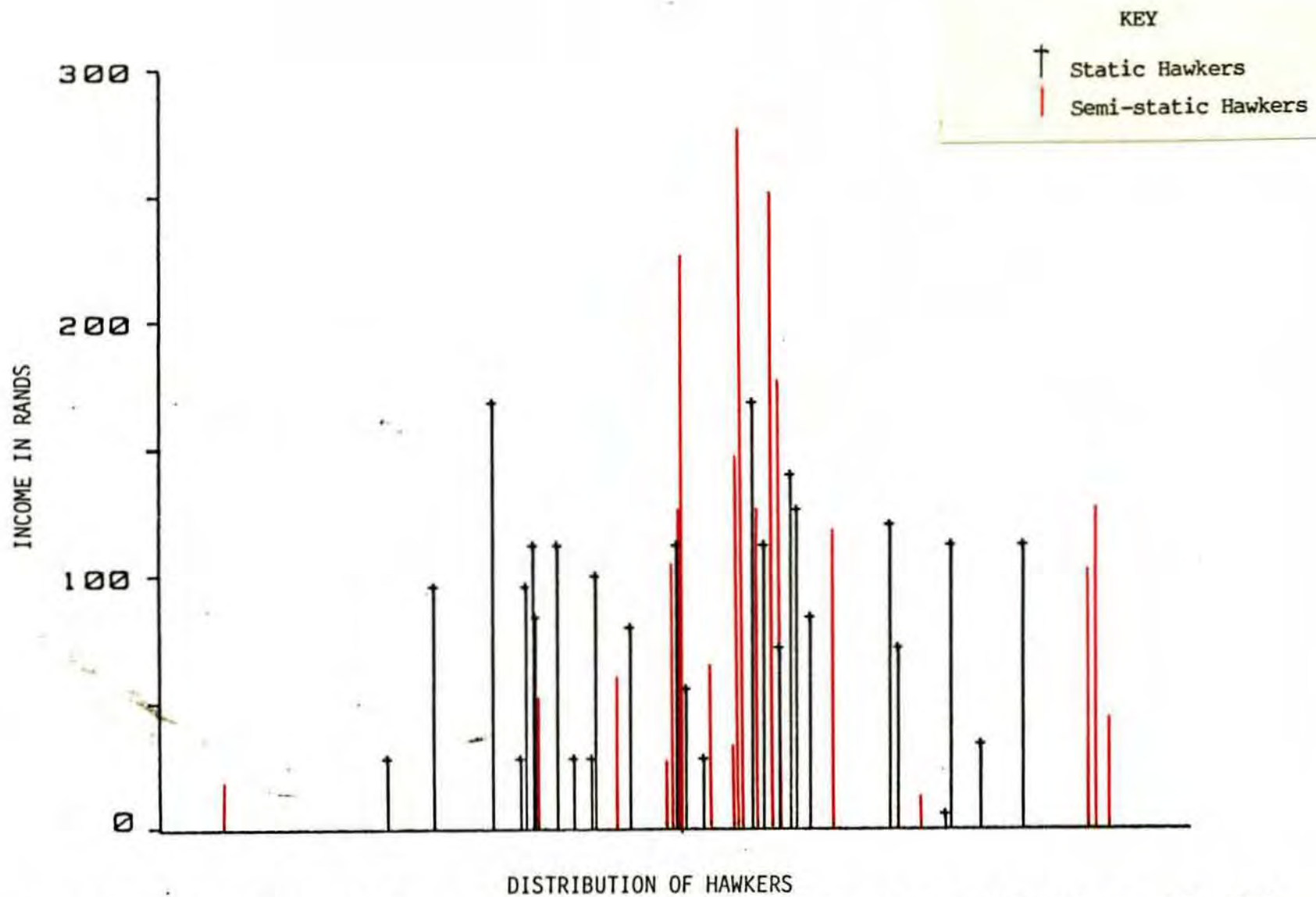


Figure 29.1: Distribution of Income Earned From Hawking By Location, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.

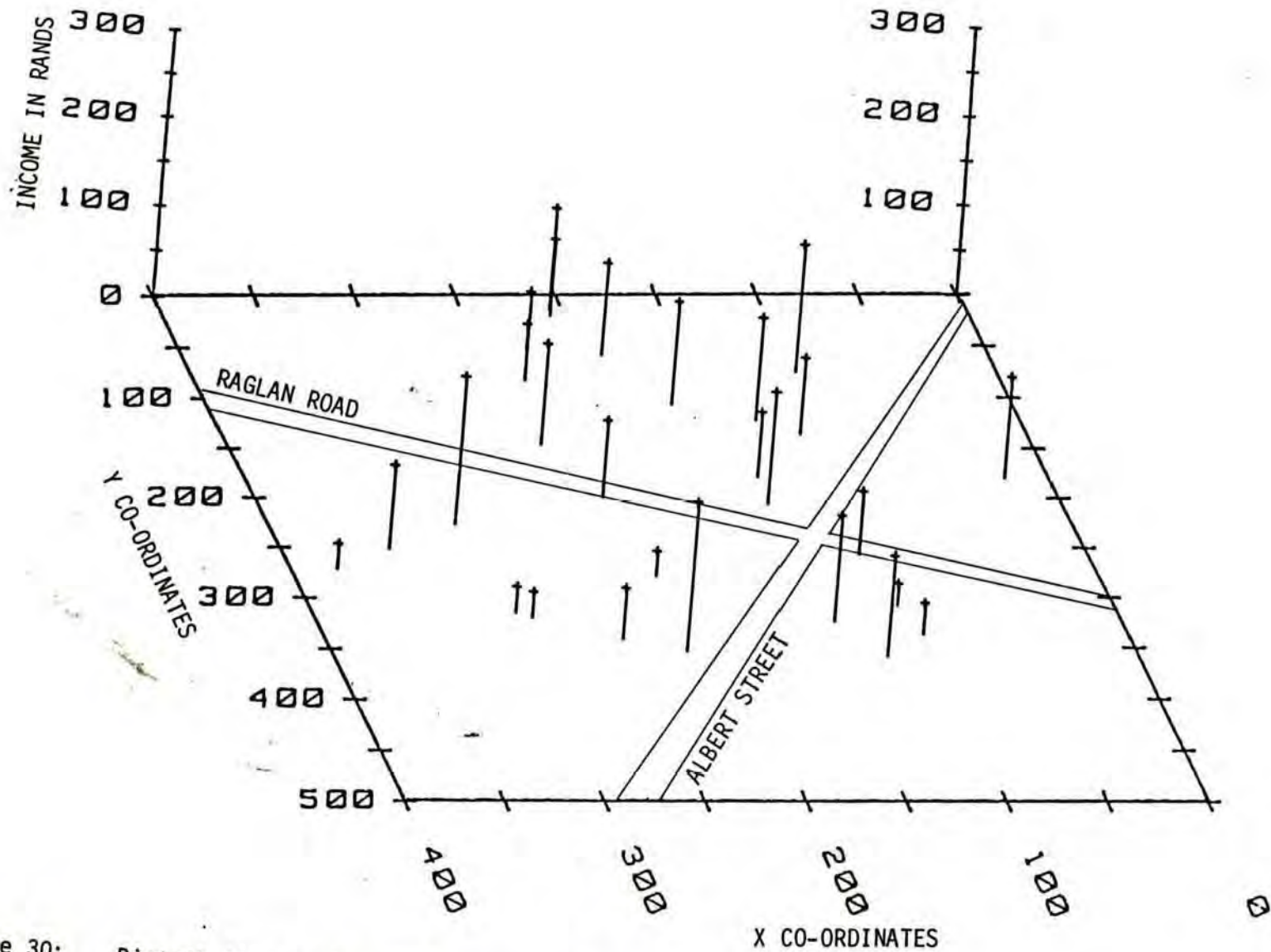


Figure 30: Distribution of Income Earned From Static Hawking By Location, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.

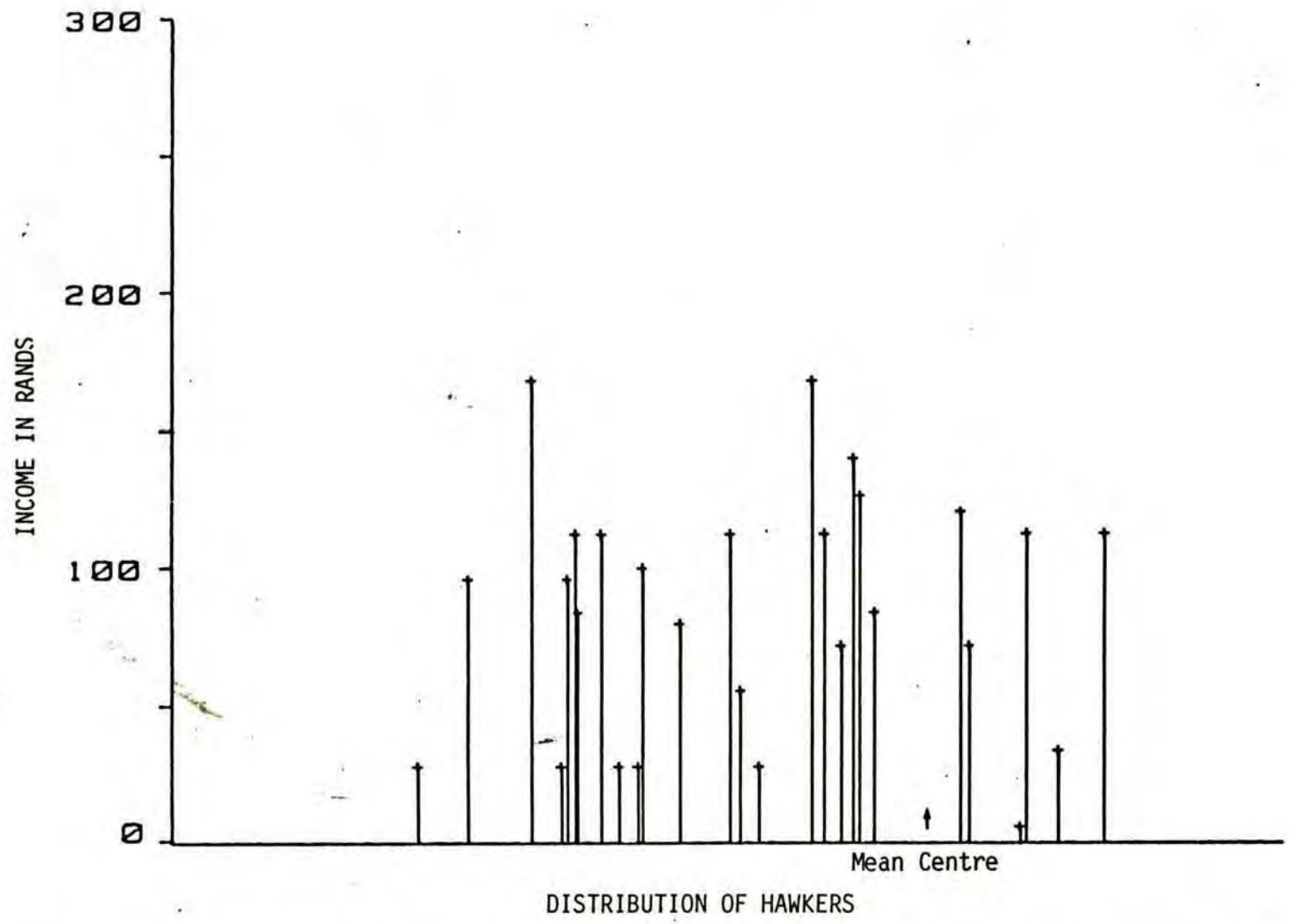


Figure 30.1: Distribution of Income Earned From Static Hawking By Location, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.

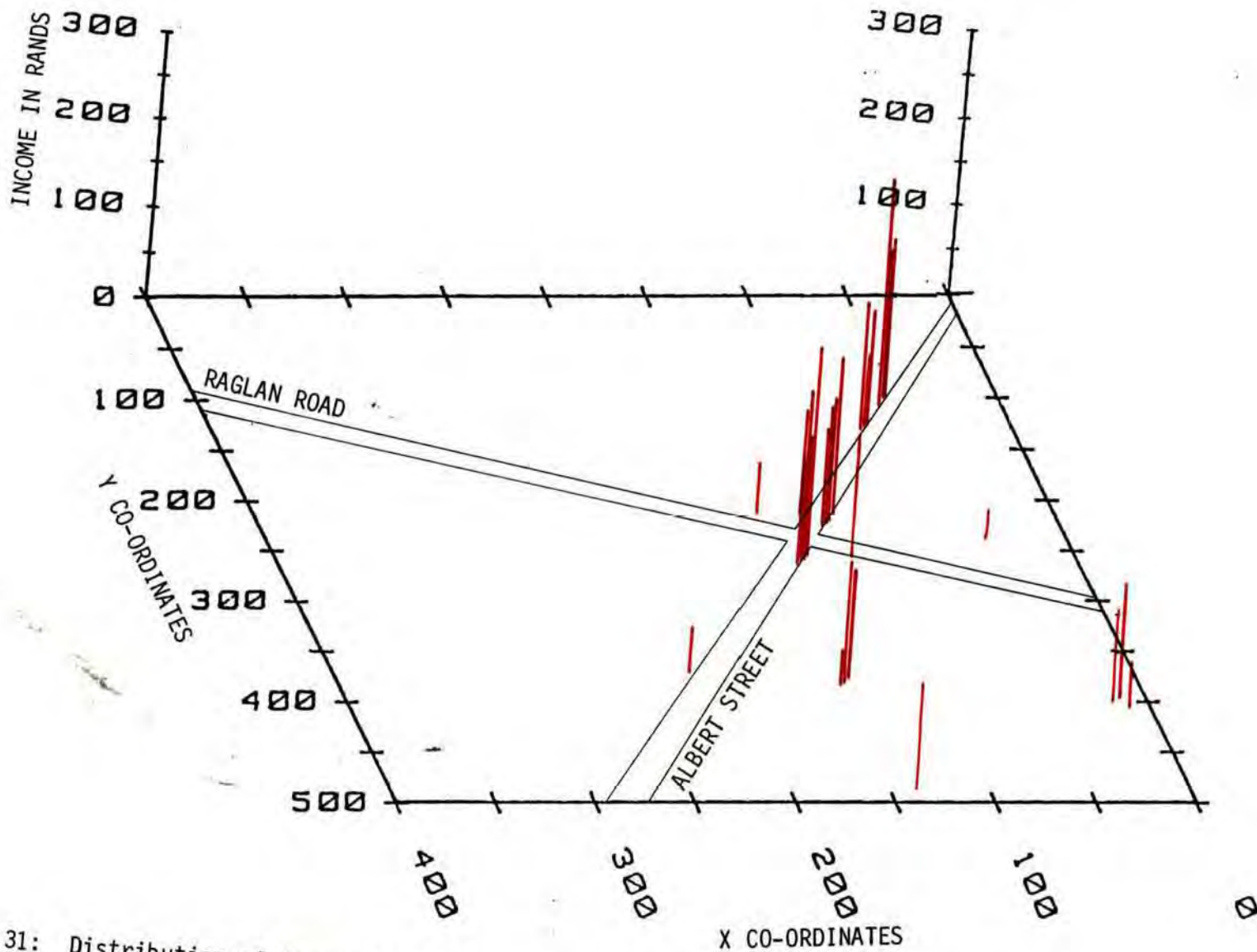


Figure 31: Distribution of Income Earned From Semi-Static Hawking By Location, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.

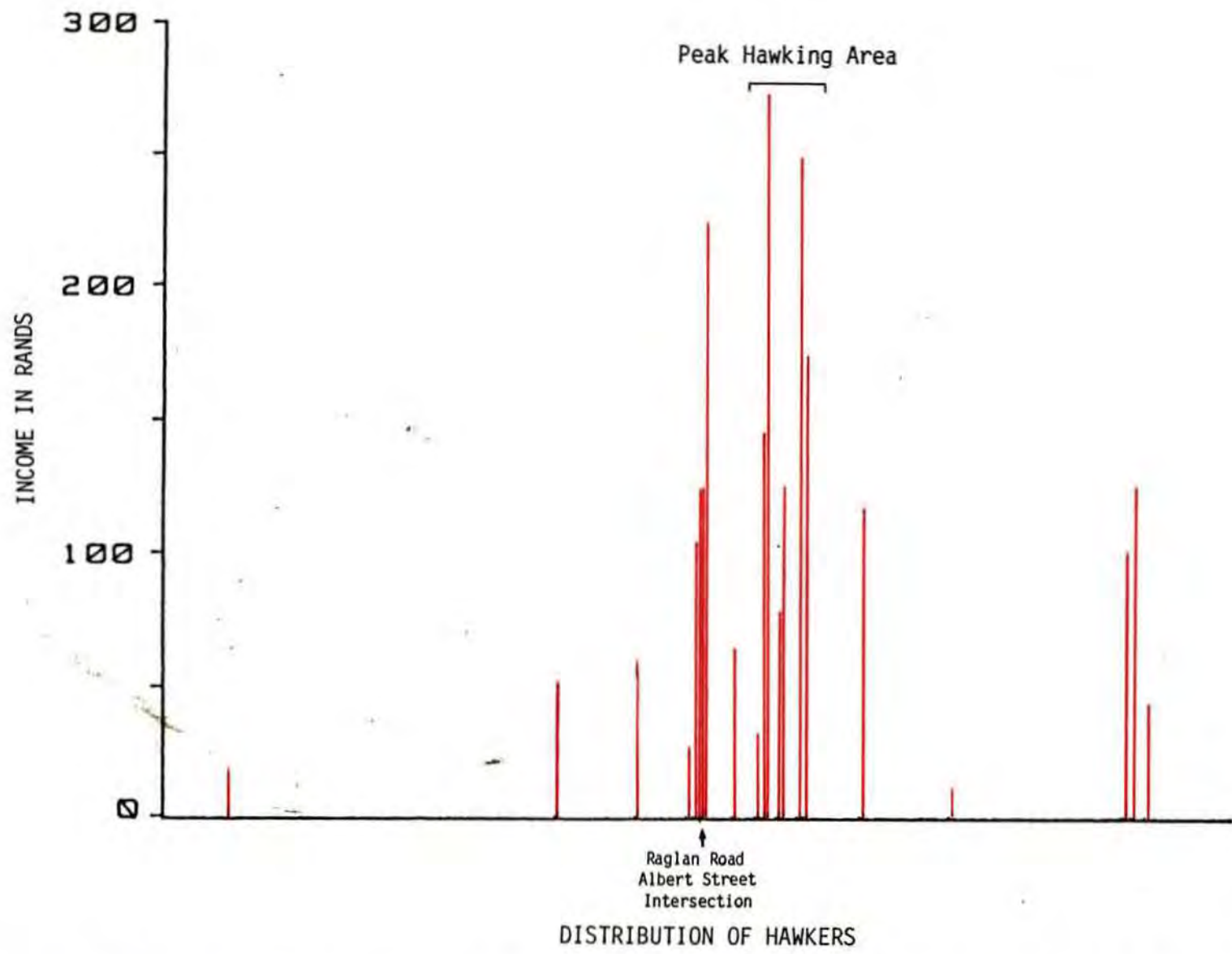


Figure 31.1: Distribution of Income Earned From Semi-Static Hawking By Location, Fingo Village Survey, July 1984.

5.3.3 Synopsis of Location of Hawkers.

With reference to the location of hawkers in Fingo Village three characteristics came to the fore :

- (a) Ninety six percent of the hawkers interviewed (56 cases) were free to choose from which site to operate. Certain factors, however, do influence the choice of site. Fifty percent of the semi-static hawkers (15 cases) chose their site because of its close proximity to commuter terminal points and service outlets, which are areas with a high concentration of pedestrian traffic. Forty six percent of the static hawkers (13 cases) maintained that official harassment had discouraged their selling in the streets and influenced their choice to operate from home.
- (b) Two areas, the intersection of Raglan Road and Albert Street, and a section of Albert Street between Godlonton and Powell Streets, are particularly favourable sites for semi static operators. Both areas are associated with clustering. Using a three dimensional plot (Figure 31) it is evident that a greater concentration of semi-static hawkers were found in the Raglan Road/Albert Street vicinity. By analysing mean per capita hawking incomes per block in conjunction with a series of three dimensional plots (Figures 27 and 31) it appears that a peak hawking area is located along Albert Street between Godlonton and Powell Streets.
- (c) Static hawkers are randomly distributed throughout Fingo Village (Figures 29 and 30). Using the variable income and distance from the mean centre, it is not possible to establish a distance decay type function with increasing distance from the mean centre.

5.4 Chapter Summary.

The chapter presents an overview and description of the results obtained from the mapping and questionnaire surveys. A general profile of hawkers and their households is presented, as well as a description of the hawking operation. The final section of the chapter is devoted to outlining the location of both static and semi-static hawkers in Fingo Village. The choice of site is discussed and the location of hawkers in relation to the mean centre is described. An attempt to establish whether location influences the economic returns obtained from hawking is made. Specific characteristics which had been identified in the study of Fingo Village were listed at the conclusion of each of the three sections. An assessment of the results will be undertaken in the following chapter.

CHAPTER SIX

THE ASSESSMENT OF THE SURVEY RESULTS

The results of the questionnaire and mapping surveys outlined in Chapter Five raise several questions. An in-depth analysis of specific variables associated with the hawker profile will be discussed, in the first section of this chapter, in an attempt to establish whether fruit and vegetable hawking in Fingo Village provides a form of employment. The assessment will include a discussion of possible factors which may have influenced the general trends deduced from the results in the previous chapter. Where possible, comparisons of the results from the Fingo Village survey will be drawn with similar studies in South Africa and elsewhere in the Third World. Secondly, the assessment will centre upon legislation relating to hawking and its effect upon the hawking operation. The third part of the chapter will highlight key issues pertaining to the location of hawking activities. Again reference is made to other studies in order to establish whether the distribution of hawkers in Grahamstown and their choice of site corresponds with hawking trends elsewhere. Finally suggestions are made of areas requiring further research and a series of specific hypotheses, arising from the Fingo Village survey, are posed.

6.1 Assessment of Whether Hawking is a Form of Employment or a Means of Survival.

In an attempt to ascertain whether hawking is a viable avenue of self-employment, or merely a means of survival and a method of supplementing an inadequate household income, six variables were reviewed. These variables were : length of residence in the Fingo community, previous form of employment, education, age, length of time engaged in hawking and primary reason for becoming a hawker.

Unlike similar surveys in South East Asia (McGee and Yeung, 1977) and Clermont (Maasdorp and Pillay, 1978), where no particular

pattern could be established regarding length of residence in the city, 94,8 percent (55 cases) of the hawkers in Fingo Village maintained that they were local residents. In comparison, McGee and Yeung (1977) concluded that some South East Asian hawkers were recent migrants to the city and others were city natives. Maasdorp and Pillay's (1978) research indicated that 52,2 percent of the Clermont sample were migrants, and that the informal sector played an important role in providing employment for these migrants. One might speculate that migration to Grahamstown is minimized by the lack of job opportunities. Such a trend would be contrary to the rural-urban migratory trends, irrespective of employment prospects, found in Grahamstown (Truu, 1981) and elsewhere in the Third World (Gilbert and Gugler, 1982; O'Conner, 1983). It is possible, too, that the static and semi static hawking sites are commanded by local residents and migrants to the city are forced to trade as mobile hawkers. The Fingo Village survey did not enumerate mobile hawkers and hence this suggestion could not be tested. Another possible explanation for there being so few migrants amongst the hawkers surveyed is that the subjects' simply stated that they were local residents, regardless of whether they were or not. This is likely if the hawker was living in Grahamstown illegally and feared the repercussions of being evicted from the city or fined for contravening the law.

It seems that hawking provides more than a transient occupation for the unemployed and for those unable to find a job for which they are qualified. In areas where poverty is endemic, hawking is an occupation which provides much needed financial remuneration. Thus hawking offers an important source of livelihood for local residents who are either unable to obtain a job in the formal sector, or who need to supplement their incomes.

Few of the hawkers interviewed in Fingo Village had past experience in the formal sector (3 cases). As with similar studies in Soweto and Johannesburg (Beavon, 1981; Beavon and

Rogerson, 1982), unemployment and involvement in domestic service were characteristic of the hawkers' past employment record. Over 90 percent of the Fingo Village hawkers (53 cases) indicated that they had been unemployed, or domestic workers prior to taking up hawking. This figure can be compared with 71,7 percent in Soweto and 37,5 percent of the hawkers in Johannesburg being domestic servants and housewives or unemployed. Opportunities in Grahamstown would, therefore, appear to be more severely limited to domestic service orientated jobs than in Johannesburg and Soweto.

Previous employment experience dominated by unskilled work and unemployment is a trend associated with people who have no formal schooling, or who have merely attained some level of primary school education. The majority of hawkers (52 cases) in Grahamstown had no formal schooling or had some form of primary school education. Their past work experience was confined to domestic work or unemployment. Studies in Soweto (Beavon, 1981; Beavon and Rogerson, 1982), Alice, King William's Town, Mdantsane (Mtembu and Manzi, 1981) and Nairobi (House, 1984) produced similar results. This suggests that hawking is generally an employment option for the uneducated or marginally educated, who stand little chance of obtaining a job in the formal sector. However, in comparison with Beavon's (1981) studies of hawking in Johannesburg and Soweto, fewer hawkers in Fingo Village (34,5 percent) were effectively illiterate, that is in possession of no formal education or having attained Sub A or B. In Johannesburg 52,8 percent of the hawkers and 44,5 percent of the Sowetan hawkers were enumerated as effectively illiterate. These results suggest that unemployment is a greater problem in Grahamstown than Johannesburg and Soweto. Even with higher educational qualifications, the Grahamstown hawker is unable to get a job as employment opportunities are scarce due to the economic deprivation in the Eastern Cape. A hawker in the P.W.V. area with lower educational qualifications than his Grahamstown counterpart stands a better chance of obtaining a job in the formal sector.

It appears that 53,5 percent of the static hawkers over the age of 40 (15 cases) and 43 percent of the semi-static hawkers under the age of 40, (13 cases) have become hawkers in the last 5 years. An explanation for this trend is that the current recession has resulted in numerous retrenchments and many possible employment opportunities being frozen. Such events affect the unskilled and poorly educated, of all age groups, hardest. Individuals and whole households who rely on multiple income earners are affected by a downturn in the economy. Instead of remaining unemployed, individuals and members of the household attempt to obtain some form of livelihood through hawking. Older women with family and home commitments will be forced to operate from their homes. Younger women, who are less established in the community, will be freer to choose a site from which to operate, and hence there is a differentiation in hawking type according to age.

A further observation needs to be made regarding the length of time hawkers in Fingo Village have been involved in hawking. Three quarters of the hawkers surveyed (44 cases) had become involved in hawking in the last five years. Maasdorp and Pillay (1978) found that a similar proportion of their sample in Clermont (73,1 percent) had been involved in informal activities for five years or less. The Fingo and Clermont Survey results do not correspond with analogous studies in Johannesburg and Soweto by Beavon (1981). Beavon's (1981) research indicates that 41,6 percent of the Johannesburg hawkers and 42,4 percent of Soweto hawkers had become involved in hawking in the last five years. The difference in results between Beavon's (1981) studies and the Clermont (1978) and Fingo Village (1984) surveys is indicative of a difference in the type of urban environment in which the hawkers live. Wilsworth (1980, 120) notes that Grahamstown, a "fourth-order town in the South African urban hierarchy, has an underdeveloped industrial infrastructure and as a result there is a shortage of employment opportunities for the Black labour force and an accompanying low wage structure". Hawking provides a means of survival or a supplement to an

inadequate household income and it seems feasible to postulate that Grahamstown's depressed economy and lack of formal sector employment opportunities encourages greater involvement in the informal sector and activities such as hawking compared with the situation in Johannesburg. The recent recession has merely forced increasing numbers of people of all ages to depend on hawking as a source of livelihood.

Over half of the hawkers surveyed in Fingo Village indicated that the lack of employment in Grahamstown was the primary reason for their becoming a hawker. Fourteen of the hawkers interviewed stated that poverty was the main reason for their involvement in hawking. These trends are similar to those found by Dewar and Watson (1981) in Crossroads and Heideveld (Table 24). Dewar and Watson's (1981) study was not purely confined to hawking activities, but included various informal activities associated with retail, production and services. It is interesting to note that unemployment and the need for additional income to avert poverty were the primary reasons given by respondents in Crossroads and Heideveld for involvement in a small business.

Table 24 : Reasons Why People Operate Small Businesses.
 (Source: Dewar and Watson, 1981, Table 6, 61).

	Crossroads (%)	Heideveld (%)
Always has been	9	3
Unemployed	14	23
Have money	32	-
Child care	5	3
Supplement household income	-	32
Old age	2	13
Poor health	2	3
Pass problems	16	-
Preferable work conditions	5	10
No response	15	13
TOTAL	100	100

It could be argued that the recent increased involvement in hawking in Grahamstown stems from the recognition and exploitation of this sector as a source of employment. However 53,4 percent (31 cases) of the subjects indicated that their main reason for becoming hawkers was a result of the lack of employment in Grahamstown, and did not suggest that their hawking was a perceived form of employment. Therefore, it would seem more likely that the impact of the current recession and the economic deprivation symptomatic of Grahamstown is forcing people to rely on several sources of employment for a living. Hawkers supplement their household incomes, which are comprised of remuneration from the formal sector, with earnings from hawking.

6.2 Hawking Legislation and its Impact Upon Hawking.

If hawking is essentially a survival strategy then planning policies aimed at encouraging the growth and expansion of hawking operations must be seen within the broader context of alleviating

poverty, inequality and unemployment. Dewar and Watson (1981, 105) suggest that "measures must help the poorest ... and policy must be seen as an issue of income as well as jobs ... the emphasis must be on 'bottom-up' rather than 'top-down' development".

The hawking operations in Fingo Village are small-scale concerns which experience harassment from the authorities for not complying with specific legal requirements. Expansion of such concerns is restricted by legislated regulatory measures, a lack of access to capital and possibly the repercussions "of a high degree of exploitation from the more established formal sector" outlets in Fingo Village (Dewar and Watson, 1981, 104).

Hawkers in Fingo Village indicated that licensing requirements were difficult to fulfill. The hawkers, who were lodgers and therefore had no access to land on which to build the regulatory storeroom facilities, were forced to operate illegally. The legislated stipulations for hawking appeared to be of greater importance to the authorities than the hawkers' survival. Certain legislation related to hawking requires revision, but how this is done is important. To merely legalize hawking would not achieve the desired results. The past experience of legalizing shebeens in Soweto indicated that such a strategy was inappropriate (Hart, 1982). "The inevitable result of ... legislation is that the smaller, less regular (hawker) will be unable to afford the licence fees, taxes and other official requirements and will be forced to close. The answer is not to attempt to legalize what is illegal, or formalise what is informal, but rather to remove unnecessary restrictions entirely so as to allow for greater flexibility and freedom of operation" (Dewar and Watson, 1981, 105).

Dewar and Watson (1981) mention several areas of legislation which require revision or modification and which are pertinent to the Fingo Village situation.

- (a) Access to a storeroom which fulfills the requirements set out by the City of Grahamstown Health Department, should not be a compulsory proviso when applying for a licence.
- (b) The law that hawkers must move not less than a hundred yards every hour should be abolished.
- (c) The application and licensing fee costs R30 per annum. If the fee were lower and valid for a shorter time period, such as a daily, weekly or monthly basis, the smaller, less regular operator would be able to afford the fee. Admittedly, the collection of hawking fees on a daily, weekly or monthly basis would be unwieldy and difficult to administer. An alternative might be to replace the licensing fee with a stand fee in an area set aside for hawkers. This would be easier to implement.
- (d) Regulations which single out hawkers to meet certain requirements (such as clean clothes, a lack of disorder, a lack of infection) should be abolished. " Firstly ... although they cannot be implemented realistically, their existence (reinforced by their discriminatory nature, for similar regulations do not pertain to other traders) provides ammunition for recalcitrant officials bent upon harassment. Secondly, they are unnecessary: there are few people who will buy from a hawker who is obviously diseased, dirty or disorderly" (Dewar and Watson, 1981, 106).

6.3 The Locational Characteristics of Hawkers and Future Areas of Research.

McGee and Yeung (1977) state that in Third World cities hawking is associated with poverty and unemployment. Discussion in the first section of this chapter suggests that hawkers in Fingo Village depend on hawking as a means of averting poverty, and of supplementing their inadequate incomes. Whilst future policy recommendations depend on the inclusion of details about the

economic, social and legal features of the hawking operation "information on the locational dimensions of hawkers is of immense value in formulating successful policies "for hawkers (McGee and Yeung, 1977, 61). Although no final conclusions can be drawn regarding locational characteristics of hawkers in Fingo Village, because of the pilot study nature of the survey, the following observations are offered.

The results of the mapping survey of hawkers indicate that semi static hawkers tend to congregate at the terminal points of the intra-city commuter lines and agglomerate near schools, community service facilities and outside formal sector outlets. Using nearest neighbour analysis it is evident that semi-static hawkers are clustered in linear concentrations along pavements or roads, and static hawkers are randomly distributed throughout Fingo Village. Similar patterns of distribution for semi-static operators were identified by Maasdorp and Pillay (1978) in Clermont by Beavon (1981) in Johannesburg and Soweto, by Mtembu et al (1981) in Alice, King William's Town and Mdantsane and by Preston-Whyte et al (1984) in KwaZulu. It would appear that hawkers tend to locate in areas of high population density or concentrate in areas with large numbers of customers. Hawkers, therefore, locate at nodes of transportation transfer, or adjacent to entertainment, community service or formal sector activities (McGee and Yeung, 1977).

McGee and Yeung's (1977) research on hawkers in South East Asian cities suggested that hawkers selling the same commodity tend to cluster together. The results of the location of semi-static hawkers in Fingo Village tend to confirm this suggestion. An analysis of the close co-operation amongst hawkers within the same hawker concentration, or lack thereof, was not undertaken, but would be a useful area of future research. McGee and Yeung (1977) describe such bonds as microecological linkages and feel that their strength and importance should not be underestimated.

The hawking operations in Fingo Village appear to rely upon their

close relationship with the shops and market near which they are located, for their supply of goods, and the people of the surrounding neighbourhood, as a clientele. "Research in South East Asia suggests that patterns of commodity concentration of hawkers prevail in an almost symbiotic relationship with adjacent retailing activities" (McGee and Yeung, 1977, 64). The best example of such a semi-symbiotic relationship would be the concentration of semi-static hawkers selling fresh foodstuff in close proximity to retail shops offering similar products. It would be interesting if future research could establish if a form of complementarity between semi-static hawkers and retail outlets in Fingo Village exists.

More information is required about the location of all hawkers if their spatial distribution at a macro level is to be understood. Likewise, further research at the micro level of individual hawkers needs to be undertaken to establish whether hawkers operate from a location which is both accessible and economically efficient. The hawkers choice of a particular site may be attributed to any number of factors such as its being perceived as a good location, being economically advantageous, a result of an historical or social component, or the repercussion of government policy. Tse (in McGee and Yeung, 1977) maintains that three major external factors have a bearing on the economic efficiency of the hawking operation. All three factors relate directly to the question of accessibility and entail establishing the distance to the source of goods, the distance of the hawker from his/her customers and the distance between the hawker and outlets selling a similar type of product. Such detailed analysis was beyond the scope of the research project in Fingo Village. Future research describing such information would give valuable insight into the way in which the hawking operation works, and would indicate to planners and policy makers whether expansion of this sector is viable and should be encouraged. If hawking is essentially a survival strategy and/or a means of supplementing an inadequate household income it is likely that hawking practices are inefficient.

Lewis (in McGee and Yeung, 1977, 22) states :

"These occupations usually have a multiple of the number they need, each of them earning very small sums ... frequently their number can be halved without reducing output in this sector. Petty retail trading is ... exactly of this type; it is enormously expanded in over-populated economies; each trader makes only a few sales; markets are crowded with stalls and if the number of stalls were greatly reduced the customers would be no whit worse off - they might be better off since retail margins might fall".

Whether Lewis' supposition (in McGee and Yeung, 1977) applies to Fingo Village remains to be established.

6.4 Specific hypotheses Arising From the Fingo Village Survey.

From the discussion in the preceding sections of this chapter a series of hypotheses can be posed which could provide guidelines for future research on hawking in Fingo Village. These hypotheses are not set out as null hypotheses, but take the form of general statements which aim to guide future research. The hypotheses are :

- (a) There is a most strategic and popular hawking site in Fingo Village.
- (b) Hawkers gravitate towards the terminal points of intra-city commuter lines and outside community services and formal sector premises.
- (c) Convenience of the home provides an ideal base from which to hawk.
- (d) Access to specific hawking sites is dictated by the hawkers themselves.

- (e) Semi-static hawkers operating outside community service and formal sector premises, and at the terminal points of intra-city commuter lines, will offer the widest range of goods, and as a result will attract more customers than those hawkers operating from their homes.

6.5 Chapter Summary.

Based on an assessment of six variables relating to the hawker profile the chapter discussed whether hawking in Fingo Village provides a perceived form of employment for local residents, or if it acts as a survival strategy. It would appear that hawking is a survival strategy and a means of supplementing an inadequate household income. Secondly, the chapter included a short discussion about the effect of hawking regulations upon hawking. Finally, a few brief comments about the locational characteristics of semi-static hawkers in Fingo Village were made. Suggestions of future research needs related to the locational characteristics of hawking were presented in the form of five hypotheses.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

The aim of the thesis was to provide a profile of fruit and vegetable hawking activities in Fingo Village, Grahamstown. Related to this aim were two objectives. The first was to gather detailed information about the hawking operation per se. The second objective was to establish the location of semi-static and static hawking outlets and to consider what determines access to these sites. Hawking is an aspect of the informal sector, but many of the characteristics associated with hawking are representative of all informal activities. It was envisaged that by looking at hawking activities in detail, more could be gleaned about the structural processes which influence the resultant form of the hawking operation. In so doing the pilot study of Fingo Village would be a beginning to rectify a research gap identified by King (1974). King (1974) maintains that much of the research to date has attempted to provide an adequate typology of informal sector employment opportunities. Minimal research has concentrated upon how particular informal enterprises actually operate.

The study of hawking activities in Fingo Village was set in a broad theoretical context. Discussion in the Theoretical Background (Chapter 2) described how the study fitted into the wider spectrum of human geography. It is important that the study is not seen in isolation, but in the context of human geography and development studies. Human geography is concerned, in part, with the question of a population's social well-being, and with the promotion and creation of a society and environment in which human needs are satisfied. Studies by Maslow (1954), Smith (1973), Drewnowski (in Smith, 1977) and Coates et al (1977) indicate that access to an income and employment are basic needs which determine well-being. The extent to which informal sector activities, such as hawking, can provide a viable source of employment is debatable. Earnings

from hawking are usually unable to meet the financial needs of the hawkers and their families. Many households in Third World countries depend on multiple bread winners and hawking is one method of supplementing the household income. However, in some instances hawking is the sole means of survival for an individual or family, and therefore its importance cannot be underplayed.

Discussion in the Theoretical Background described two schools of thought, the dualist and structuralist schools, both of which attempt to indicate how the informal sector is accommodated in the economy. Whilst the dualist interpretation tends to concentrate on the characteristics which influence the form of the informal sector, the structuralists wrestle with how various processes in the economy induce the presence of informal activities. Consensus on how to define the informal sector, or model it, has still not been achieved. The study of hawking in Fingo Village suggests that several links exist between the formal and informal sectors, and that the latter sector is heavily dependent upon the former for its supplies. The contention that the relationship between the two sectors is asymmetrically symbiotic (Davies in Bromley and Gerry, 1979) in favour of the formal sector would seem realistic, but should be the subject of further research.

The study was unable to establish conclusively that hawking is a marginal activity associated with all income groups in the study area, and not just the poorest of the poor. The overall picture of why individuals in Fingo Village became involved in hawking is summarized in Figure 32. Fingo Village is situated in Region D, the most economically depressed region in South Africa. High household densities, a backlog of housing, unemployment and low wage levels are all indicative of the deprivation and poverty in the study area. From the figures obtained, the socio-economic status of Fingo Village can only be described as poor. In such circumstances, it is possibly irrelevant to distinguish degrees of poverty, and more important to recognize the role of hawking in a community enmeshed in poverty. The study indicated that

hawking appears to act as a survival strategy and a means of obtaining an additional source of income for the household.

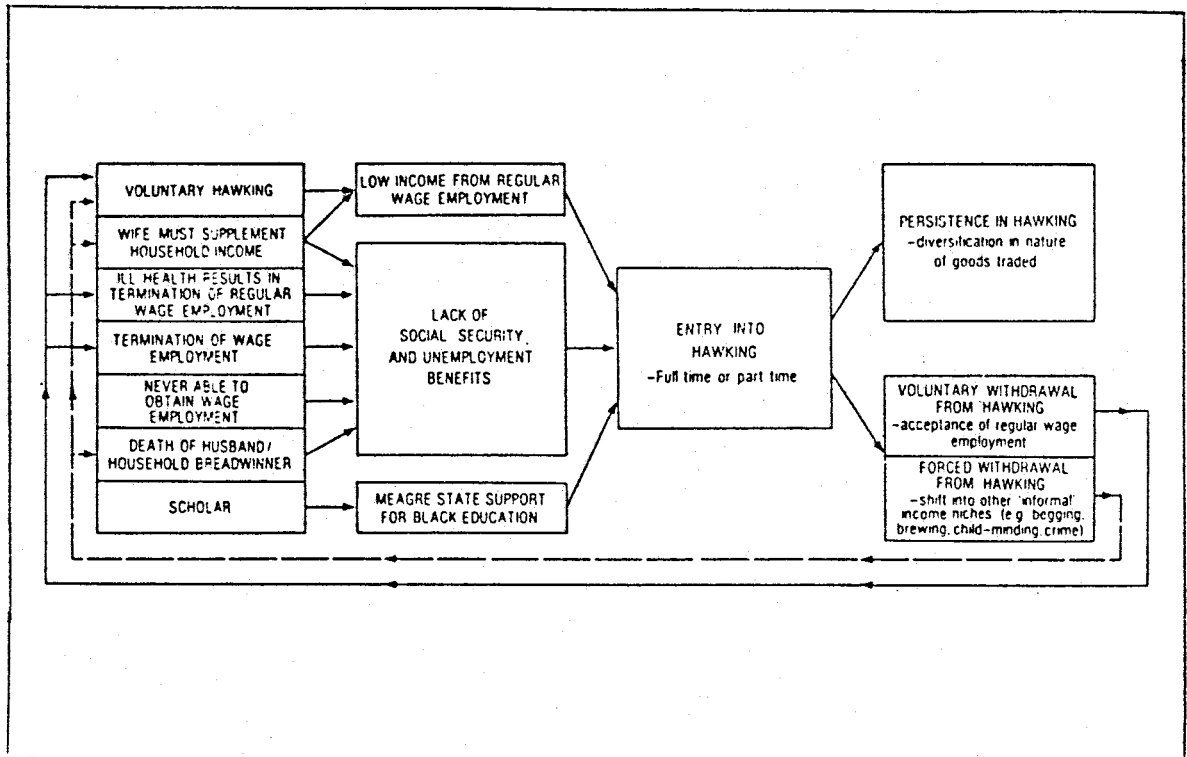


Figure 32 : Reasons for Involvement in Hawking in Fingo Village.
(Source : Rogerson and Beavon, 1982, 260).

The methodology for the empirical work was set out in Chapter 4 and provided a detailed description of the problems of conducting social science research using the scientific method. The mapping and sampling techniques, together with a discussion of the questionnaire survey were outlined in the Methodology chapter. The various practical problems which arose in the field work were discussed. Suggestions were made, for counteracting some of these problems in similar studies in the future.

The overriding factor which seems to be responsible for the existence of unemployment, and the lack of adequate incomes, is the all-pervading syndrome of poverty. Hawking is not perceived

by the hawkers as a form of employment, but as a means of survival and a method of obtaining an additional income for the household. Poverty, the lack of employment opportunities, the repercussions of economic deprivation and the current recession, encourage the residents of Fingo Village to explore all potential avenues which may procure even the smallest extra revenue.

Legal constraints and official harassment were identified by the hawkers as restrictions to their endeavours. A future study aimed at establishing which other structural processes curtail the expansion and development of this component of the informal sector would be useful. The extent to which the informal sector is primarily dependent on the formal sector, and therefore bound to experience the repercussions of conditions of subordination and exploitation was beyond the scope of the present study. All that is apparent is that the I.L.O.'s (1972) observation about the situation in Kenya is applicable to that of Fingo Village:

"It is increasingly clear that these employment problems are closely related to inequalities in income and opportunities, which are not merely among their consequences but among their causes as well Thus social justice and a fair distribution of the benefits of growth are not only needed for their own sakes but have become conditions for eradicating unemployment" (I.L.O., 1972, xi).

Rogerson and Beavon (1982, 250) note that "in response to the potential threat posed to the apartheid system by the present burgeoning levels of unemployment, policy makers are re-evaluating their attitudes towards the existence of the informal sector". It is important that the Government should reconsider the role of the informal sector. Emphasis upon the inherent creative potential of this sector in providing much needed additional incomes and employment would be worth encouraging. The advancement of the informal sector will have to be carefully monitored to ensure that the intrinsic fabric of the sector is not destroyed. If the development is to be successful, more

research into understanding the structure and structural processes which determine the form of the informal sector is essential. "It would be very useful if surveys directed at gathering information on the informal sector could be carried out simultaneously in cities of different sizes in the same country or region" (Mazumdar, 1976, 657). Such studies would enable researchers to establish general trends about the structural processes which influence the creation, growth and expansion of the informal sector.

However, to assume that the panacea of the country's unemployment problems lies in the promotion of the informal sector alone would be ludicrous. "The need to stimulate and strengthen small business, in the interests of a more balanced economy, a better distribution of the benefits of economic growth and greater job creation, is undeniable; the matter of how to achieve that stimulation is vexed and problematic, for any measure inherently contains within itself the seeds of further imbalance" (Dewar and Watson, 1981, 139). A multipronged approach is necessary. Not only should attempts be made to withdraw restrictive legislation controlling informal sector activities, but legislators should encourage the development of an increased number of job opportunities in the public and private formal sectors. A major effort in terms of absorbing as many people as possible into higher paid formal employment would have the added advantage of helping to raise the quality of life. Naturally the solutions to poverty and deprivation do not lie purely in providing additional employment opportunities. Likewise, the creation of additional formal sector jobs will require the stimulation of labour-intensive practises, which are not applicable to all sectors of the economy. Dewar and Watson (1981, 140) maintain that "there is a marked and inherently dangerous trend towards capital intensification, even in those sectors of the economy which do have the potential to be labour-intensive, and this must be reversed."

Three factors could be instrumental in encouraging labour

intensity and the creation of additional jobs. The government could provide incentives, such as tax rebates or development loans at low interest rates, for job creation to those sectors of the economy capable of practising labour intensity. Labour-intensity should become a condition for the award of government contracts in those sectors capable of absorbing additional labour. Education and training must be given maximum priority as it will facilitate access to the labour market and enable increased productivity. Above all, it will affect the chance the population has of a better quality of life.

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APPENDIX 1

HAWKING REGULATIONS AND STORE-ROOM

REQUIREMENTS

City of Grahamstown

Stad Grahamstad

Telephone/Telefoon 2043 CODE/KODE 0461.

P.O. Box/Postbus 176
Grahamstown/Grahamstad 6140

REF./VERW. L2/1 & R3/1. GRE/HDMc.

HEALTH DEPARTMENT.

GESONDHEIDSDEPARTEMENT.

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Dear Sir,

re: HAWKER REGULATIONS.

I have been instructed by my Council to enforce the Hawker Regulations strictly in future as they have received complaints about the manner in which some Hawkers are operating.

I wish to draw your attention to the following Regulations:-

- 4 (1) Every itinerant vendor, pedlar or hawker or assistant registered under these regulations shall, when plying his calling, wear in a conspicuous position on his left breast, the badge furnished by the Local Authority.
- (2) The Certificate of Registration issued under these regulations shall be produced by the Holder when called upon by any member of the South African Police Force or any householder.
- 6 (1) Every person registered under these regulations who loses his badge or certificate shall give notice thereof forthwith to the Local Authority and shall obtain a new badge or ~~certificate~~ on payment of the fee / 50. and the former badge or certificate shall thereupon be cancelled and upon such cancellation, shall be deemed not to have been issued and any person found thereafter in the possession of and using such badge or certificate shall be guilty of an offence.
- (2) No person registered under these regulations shall transfer, lend or hire his badge or registration certificate to any person.
- 8 (1) No itinerant vendor, pedlar or hawker shall use or employ for the purpose of plying his profession or calling, any cart, wagon, handcart, barrow or other conveyance for the carrying of his goods, wares or merchandise until it has been inspected and sanctioned by the Local Authority for the conveyance of the wares for which the certificate of registration has been issued and unless his name and address and registration number shall have been painted on both sides thereof in some conspicuous place in legible characters not less than one inch in length and of proportional breadth and of a colour clearly distinguishable from the ground whereon the same are painted.
- (3) No itinerant vendor, hawker or pedlar, whether or not licensed or registered as such under the law, shall employ for the purpose of his trade an assistant unless such assistant is registered under these regulations.
- 9 (1) No itinerant vendor, pedlar or hawker, whether or not licensed

or registered as such under any law, shall in any public street or public place within the limits of the area of the Local Authority unload his vehicle for the purpose of exhibiting his goods or sell any such goods in any other manner than from his vehicle.

- (2) No itinerant vendor, pedlar or hawker, whether or not licensed or registered as such under any law, shall remain or loiter or keep or allow his vehicle to remain stationary in any spot to which the public has access for a period longer than one hour for the purposes of his trade; at the end of the said one hour he shall move not less than 100 yards from the spot previously occupied; and he shall not for the purposes of his trade return within one hour to any spot or to within 100 yards thereof which he has already visited for such purposes.
- 11 (2) All persons operating as itinerant vendors, hawkers or pedlars of food shall, when engaged in such trade, wear white coats or jackets, which shall at all times be maintained in a clean condition.
- 12. No person shall vend, hawk or peddle foodstuffs in any thoroughfare or public place within any area designated by the Local Authority by notice in the public press as a prohibited area, without the written permission of the Local Authority. Such permission shall be endorsed on the vendor's certificate of registration.
- 13. No person operating as an itinerant vendor, hawker or pedlar shall throw or deposit or cause or permit to be thrown or deposit any fruit or vegetable peelings or any rubbish in, on or about any street or by loudly or persistently soliciting business annoy any member of the public, or in any way by any means obstruct the free passage of vehicular or pedestrian traffic.

Your co-operation in complying with these regulations will be much appreciated. Lack of co-operation could result in licences being withdrawn by my Council.

Yours faithfully,

.....
CHIEF HEALTH INSPECTOR.
G.R. EMSLIE.

City of Grahamstown



Stad Grahamstad

Telephone/Telefoon (0461) 2043

REF./VERW. O/F & D/F

P.O. Box/Postbus 176

Grahamstown/Grahamstad 6140

HEALTH DEPARTMENT
LICENSING SECTION

Mr/Mrs/Miss

re: STORE-ROOM REQUIREMENTS

- (1) In the cases of latrines other than water latrines not to be located closer than 10m. to any doorway, window or other opening of any room where foodstuffs are produced, prepared, processed, handled, STORED, served or sold.
- (2) The floors shall be constructed of solid rat-proof material not less than 75mm thick.
- (3) The minimum ceiling height above finished floor level shall be at least 2.1m.
- (4) The roof and walls shall be constructed of impervious and durable material, that will not deteriorate when exposed to moisture and weathering.
- (5) The minimum size of such store shall be at least 3m x 2.1m.
- (6) No live animals shall be present in any building where foodstuffs are stored.
- (7) No person shall be accommodated or be permitted to sleep in any part of the room where foodstuffs are being stored.
- (8) No room or dwelling shall have direct access to a store-room.
- (9) Store-room to be properly rat proofed.

M. Lusho

APPENDIX 2

QUESTIONNAIRE

INFORMAL SECTOR HAWKING SURVEY (1984)

GENERAL (Fill in answer and where appropriate cross relevant square)

1. Case No:

1	2	3
2. Date of interview:
3. Time of interview:
4. Weather:
5. Indicate type of hawking operation:

Mobile	4	1
Semi-static		2
Static		3
6. Area occupied by hawking operation in square metres:

5	6

HAWKER PROFILE (Fill in answer and where appropriate cross relevant square)

7. Sex

Male	7	1
Female		2
8. What is your age?

8	9
9. Where were you born?

Homeland	10	1
White Farm in E. Cape		2
Grahamstown		3
Other		4

If "Other", please specify: _____

10. For how many years have you lived in Grahamstown?

11	12
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

11. What standard did you pass at school?

No education

Sub A & B

Std 1 - 5

Std 6 - 8

Std 9 - 10

Std 10+

13	
<input type="text"/>	1
<input type="text"/>	2
<input type="text"/>	3
<input type="text"/>	4
<input type="text"/>	5
<input type="text"/>	6

12. What were your reasons for becoming a hawker?

14	
<input type="text"/>	1
<input type="text"/>	2
<input type="text"/>	3
<input type="text"/>	4
<input type="text"/>	5
<input type="text"/>	6
<input type="text"/>	7
<input type="text"/>	8

13. For how many years have you been a hawker?

15	16
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

14. Were you employed before?

Yes

No

17	
<input type="text"/>	1
<input type="text"/>	2

If "Yes", what did you do?

15. Do you have any other sources of personal income?

	18	
Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	2

If "Yes", please specify:

FAMILY AND LIVING CONDITIONS

(Fill in answer and where appropriate cross relevant square)

16. What is your relationship with the head of household?

	19	
Head of household	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Wife	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
Child	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
Other relative	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
Other	<input type="checkbox"/>	5

If "Other", please specify:

17.1 State the number of people living in the house.

	20	21
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

17.2 Indicate how many of the people living in your house are:

	M		F	
	22	23	24	25
Under 6	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6 - 14	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
15 - 64	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
65+	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

20. Why did you choose this place from which to sell?

21. Were you told to hawk from this site?

	33	
Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
No response	<input type="checkbox"/>	3

If "Yes", by whom?

22. Have you got a hawking licence?

	34	
Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
No response	<input type="checkbox"/>	3

If "No", explain why you have not got a hawking licence:

23. The best place to hawk from in Fingo Village is at the intersection of Raglan Road and Albert Street:

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree Do not know

35

	1
	2
	3
	4
	5

Explain your answer:

24. Does anybody, or anything, control or limit your hawking?

Yes 1

No 2

No response 3

If "Yes", specify who or what?

ACCESSIBILITY TO CUSTOMER

(Fill in answer and where appropriate cross relevant squares)

25. Where do most of your customers live? Do not know 37

	1
In Fingo Village	2
Other Black Residential Areas in Grahamstown	3
From both Fingo and elsewhere in Grahamstown	4

26. How many people buy from you on most days? 38 39

--	--

27. Do you know your customers personally?

All Most Some Very few None at all

28. Do you offer your customers credit? 40

	1
	2
	3
	4
	5

28. Do you offer your customers credit?

All Most Some Very few None at all

28. Do you offer your customers credit? 41

	1
	2
	3
	4
	5

Explain answer:

SPECIALIZATION OF ENTERPRISE

(Fill in answer and where appropriate cross relevant squares)

29. List the type(s) of goods/service offered for sale; how much each article cost the hawker; in what quantity the produce was bought by the hawker; where the produce was obtained from and how much each article is being sold for by the hawker.

42	43	44	45	46
Type of good or service offered	Cost of article to the hawker	In what quantity the produce was bought by the hawker	Where the produce was bought by the hawker	The price of the article sold by the hawker
				1
				2
				3
				4
				5
				6
				7
				8
				9
				10

30. How much money do you spend each day to run your business? R

47	48	49

31. How much do you earn each day?

	50	51	52
R			

32. Do you have any other expenses besides buying your goods? (e.g. buying plastic bags or paying to transport goods from the farm).

	53	
Yes		1
No		2

If "Yes", state what these expenses are and what you have to pay for them:

33. For how many hours each day do you hawk?

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
	Below 2 hrs	2-4	4-6	6-8	8-10	10-12	More than 12 hours	
Sunday								
Monday								
Tuesday								
Wednesday								
Thursday								
Friday								
Saturday								

34. What is the best time of the day for business?
What is the next best time of the day for business?
When people go to work in the morning

During the morning

Lunch time

Afternoons

When people return from work in the evenings

Supper time

No fixed pattern

	61	62	
			1
			2
			3
			4
			5
			6
			7

35. How often do you obtain your supplies?
- | | | |
|------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| More than once a day | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |
| Daily | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 |
| More than once a week | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 |
| Weekly | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 |
| Monthly | <input type="checkbox"/> | 5 |
| Only when I have money | <input type="checkbox"/> | 6 |
| Do not know | <input type="checkbox"/> | 7 |

63

36. Where do you take your supplies at the end of the day?
-
-
-
-
-

37. How are the supplies of this hawking stall transported to this place?
- | | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| I carry them | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |
| Hire a Taxi | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 |
| Employ someone to transport them | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 |
| By Bus | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 |
| Other | <input type="checkbox"/> | 5 |

64

If "Other", please specify:

38. How do you pay for these supplies:

- From money earned from other employment
- From the previous day's hawking earnings
- From migrant remittances
- On credit
- Other

65

	1
	2
	3
	4
	5

If "Other", please specify

COMPETITION (Fill in answer and where appropriate cross relevant square).

39. Do you think that there are too many hawkers in Fingo Village?

- 65
- | | |
|-------------|---|
| No response | 1 |
| Too Few | 2 |
| Enough | 3 |
| Too Many | 4 |

Explain your answer .

THANK YOU FOR YOUR CO-OPERATION