

**Gender, informality and urban livelihoods: Examining the livelihood strategies
adopted by Black female street vendors in Makhanda, Eastern Cape.**

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ABSTRACT

This study sought to examine livelihood strategies adopted by black female street vendors in Makhanda, Eastern Cape. The street vending activities that were undertaken by the research participants included selling: cooked foods, fresh fruit and vegetables, eggs, and beauty products. This study used the Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA) to examine the livelihood strategies of black female street vendors in Makhanda. The SL approach was chosen as an ideal framework for a study of this nature as it holistically and traditionally focuses on vulnerable population groups around the world. More importantly, the SLA gives agency to these vulnerable groups, as it prioritizes their innovative techniques in mobilizing diverse assets at their disposal in order to survive. The study is, therefore, ideal as it also gives agency to selected black female street vendors by examining how they utilized diverse assets at their disposal to sustain their livelihoods.

This study seeks to contribute to the ongoing debate on urban livelihoods and the informal economy in South Africa, focusing particularly on the different methods or strategies employed by black female street vendors to enhance the sustainability of street vending as a livelihood. Due to the nature of this study, which seeks to capture the lived experiences of the selected black female street vendors in Makhanda, qualitative research methodologies were used to collect and analyse data. This study proved street vending to be a survival strategy that is used by black unskilled women in pursuit of livelihoods. It argues that, faced with the socio-economic realities associated with high unemployment, street vending can be used by many to best support their households. When it comes to livelihood strategies, this study found that, livelihood diversification is the most common livelihood strategy adopted by street vendors in Makhanda, with the only difference being the type of diversification adopted. Two forms of livelihood diversification strategies were identified in this study, and these included: product diversification and income diversification. The conclusion drawn from the findings argues that the selected street vendors in Makhanda strategically used different assets accessible to them to enhance and sustain their livelihoods. The study found that despite the different structural challenges faced by street vendors in Makhanda, the selected black female street vendors are able to meet their livelihood outcomes and support their families through engaging in street vending.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

DFID	Department for International Development
ILO	International Labour Organization
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Plan
SA	South Africa
SASSA	South African Social Security Agency
SLA	Sustainable Livelihoods Approach
RUESC	Rhodes University Ethical Standards Committee
UIF	Unemployment Insurance Fund
ECSECC	Eastern Cape Socio-Economic Consultative Council

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. INTRODUCTION

In the face of high unemployment and poverty rates in South Africa, SA, the informal sector provides a livelihood, income, and jobs to millions of households (Fourie and Kerr, 2017). Analysis of employment and unemployment trends in SA traditionally focus exclusively on the formal sector, thus forgetting or rather ignoring the large numbers of unemployed people who participate in the informal economy as the last resort to survive (Uys and Blaauw, 2006). This study perceives the informal sector as a creator of employment, rather than a problematised sector with limited developmental prospect (Fourie and Kerr, 2017:2). According to Roever (2014:5), “street vending is a vibrant sector of the urban informal economy that has attracted and sustained academic and policy attention for several decades”. As one of the most viable manifestations of the informal economy, street vending plays a huge role in the livelihoods of the urban poor. Over the years, studies on street vending and the informal sector, in general, have increased substantially (Chambwera et al, 2011).

This increase comes in association with the growth of the informal economy, globally and regionally. Globally, the informal sector accounts for more than 60 per cent of global employment (ILO, 2013), that is, 90 per cent in developing countries, 67 per cent in middle-income countries and about 18 per cent in high-income countries (Chinyamurindi and Mathibe, 2022:16). The high participation rates in the informal sector, especially within the developing countries, prove the significance and importance of this sector to the livelihoods of many, especially the vulnerable and marginalised groups. According to Ngomane (2020:380), South African demographics show that majority of street vendors in the country are black women. This is not to say that men do not participate in street vending, however, what this means is that their participation is not on the same scale as women. A study by Rogan (2019:4) found that within eight major South African metropolitan areas, street vending made up about 13 percent of women’s employment, but only about 7 per cent of men’s employment.

The theoretical framework used in this study is the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA). According to the SLA, every household, poor or rich, has access to certain resources, that when used strategically can contribute to the enhancement of the sustainability of a household’s

livelihood. According to Serrat (2017), a livelihood is made up of capabilities, assets, and activities required for a means of living. This approach is ideal for this study as it highlights the different strategies people employ to attain their livelihood goal. The SLA also helps “organise the factors that constrain or enhance livelihood opportunities and show how they relate to one another” (Serrat, 2017:23). One of the contentions for using this approach, is that street vending on its own can be viewed as a livelihood strategy used by the urban poor to secure means of living. However, due to challenges associated with the informal sector, for example, low wages, job insecurity and high competition, those engaged in street vending further employ different livelihood strategies to ensure the sustainability of their livelihood (Rahman and Junayed, 2017).

1.2. CHAPTERS IN THESIS

This thesis is divided into four chapters, each contributing to the overall discussion of this study. Chapter one offers a general introduction and overview of the study. This chapter also covers key information pertaining to the study; that is, the aims and objectives of the research and the research design and methodologies adopted in this study. Chapter two unpacks the SLA, which is the theoretical framework adopted and used throughout the study. It discusses the foundations of this approach, and its relevance to analysing livelihood strategies of black female street vendors in Makhanda, Eastern Cape. Included in chapter two also is the conceptualisation of street vending in South Africa, and how over the years, street vending has been populated mostly by black women than any other social group in the country. This chapter also offers the general understanding of the informal economy, from a global level to a more national level. It also, using the SLA, shows how women who are engaged in different strategies use different assets and capitals accessible to them to sustain and maintain their livelihoods. Chapter three offers an analysis of the study’s key findings. This chapter is divided into nine subsections, each dedicated to examining the livelihood strategies adopted by black female street vendors in Makhanda. This discussion is centred around the study’s research objectives and the main argument presented by the SLA. Chapter four offers a conclusion of the study by providing a summarised version of the entire research paper. This chapter also determines whether the key objectives of the study were met and fulfilled.

1.3. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES:

This study sought to analyse the livelihood strategies adopted by black female street vendors in Makhanda, Eastern Cape. In a town characterised by poverty and staggering unemployment,

this study sought to analyse the myriad ways in which black women engaged in street vending survive. To achieve this, the study was guided by the following subsidiary objectives:

1. To explore the organisation and conditions of street trading from the perspectives of individual traders.
2. To explore the reasons that individual street traders enter this type of economic activity.
3. To explore socio-economic challenges faced by black female street vendors in Makhanda, and possible strategies they adopt to cope and deal with those challenges.
4. To explore additional strategies employed by street vendors for profit maximisation, safety, and for the creation of sustainable livelihoods.

1.4. RESEARCH DESIGN

1.4.1 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

The objective of this study was to examine the subjective experiences and livelihood strategies of black female street vendors in Makhanda. This study sought an insider's perspective on a particular phenomenon, which in this case is street vendors in Makhanda, hence the adoption of qualitative research methodologies for this study. The value of qualitative research lies in the ways in which it can provide insightful and in-depth information about attitudes, beliefs, motives, or behaviours of people (Yin, 2016). Because its methods are in-depth and its questions open-ended, this research methodology is suited for someone seeking to build a case study. Using this methodology for this study allowed the research to provide an account of livelihoods from the respondents' own words and perspectives.

1.4.2 DATA COLLECTION METHOD

To collect data, this study used the qualitative method of in-depth, semi-structured interviews. In-depth interviewing involves intensive individual interviews with a small number of respondents to explore their perspectives on a certain idea or phenomenon (Msuthu, 2020:53). In-depth interviews are ideal for a study of this type, as it sought to examine and interrogate subjective experiences of the research participants on street vending. This method includes open-ended questions, which generally give respondents room to expand more on their responses.

This interviewing method also includes probing, which according to Bernard (2013:186) is beneficial for a study of this kind as it stimulates the respondent to produce information and explore key areas not covered by the researcher. The interview schedule of this study was

structured using open-ended questions that explored the respondents' demographics, their socio-economic context, educational background, and experience on street vending. The interviews were conducted in IsiXhosa and in English, depending on the respondents' preference. A three-day schedule was set for conducting the interviews. The first two interviews were conducted on the 11th of October, then three were conducted on the 25th, and the last three on the 27th of October. The interviews took place in the afternoon and based on the respondents' preference. Each interview took place at the participants' workstation. Each interview lasted for about fifteen to twenty minutes.

1.4.3 SAMPLING

Qualitative research is often associated with small-scale studies (Denscombe, 2010:238). The sampling size for this study was kept small, with only eight participants. Because the study sought to produce an in-depth and insightful case study, the researcher saw it fit to keep the size of the sample as small as possible. According to Denscombe (2010), a smaller size of population group is best used to produce a study that is insightful, in-depth, detailed, and intensive, as it allows the research to focus on each different case being studied. Eight participants were identified using a combination of two sampling methods, that is, a purposive sampling method, followed by snowball sampling method. The latter was used as a participant recruitment method, while the former was used to identify and select initial research participants. Purposive sampling method, also known as judgement sampling, is a type of non-probability sampling whereby participants are 'hand-picked' based on their relevance to and knowledge of the topic under study (Denscombe, 2010:35). According to Bernard (2013:164), in purposive sampling, the researcher decides the purpose he/she wants their informants (or communities) to serve, and in the case of this study, the community needed was 'black female street vendors'.

The recruitment process was done face to face, with the researcher personally selecting participants who meet the study's criteria. Snowball sampling method was used to recruit participants in this study. According to Yin, (2016:89), snowballing takes place when the researcher follows a lead or referral they receive, either from their participant or someone they know. Snowballing is also often referred to as a chain sampling method, mostly directed through connections. In this study, the respondents referred the researcher to more possible study participants. The purpose of choosing respondents across different street vending activities and locations was to obtain some variation in responses regarding perceptions on

street vending as an income generating activity. For this study, participants were approached in the following sites: outside Checkers (the Carlton centre) in High Street and outside the Market Square centre in Beaufort Street.

The mentioned sites are among the busiest sites in Makhanda (due to the shopping centres), and due to the high number of people using the sites daily, hence why street vendors conduct their businesses there. Participants in this study were identified based on their race (black), occupation (street vendor), and gender (female). This study's participants sample varied substantially in age, level of education, type of informal business they are involved in, and the number of children each vendor has. To protect the respondent's identity, pseudonyms were used. The table below provides a summary of the respondents' demographic profiles.

Table 1.1 Basic demographic profile of black female street vendors in Makhanda.

Demographic profile	Age	Highest level of education	Type of business	Number of children
Andiswa	52	5	Self-employed	1
Sandiswa	56	6	Self-employed	3
Thembi	45	9	Self-employed	0
Sethu	48	7	Self-employed	2
Lungi	30	Degree	Self-employed	3
Noma	35	Diploma	Contributing family member	0
Amanda	64	4	Self-employed	2
Vatiswa	52	9	Self-employed	3

The respondents in this study were all black South African women. The respondents interviewed in this study were Xhosa speakers, born in the Eastern Cape, and seven of them were raised in the province. The basic demographic profiles of the eight interviewees of this research are, more or less, similar in various respects. During the interviews, respondents were first asked demographic questions, which were used to build and contextualise each case study. For this research study, basic demographic data or information included the following: participant's age, their nationality, the size of their household, type of informal business they are in and where in Makhanda do they stay (of which, majority stayed in townships). Out of the eight respondents, six said that they stayed in the townships of Makhanda. What this means is that, for this study, the majority of the respondents have to travel from the township to town, and back, on a daily basis.

All interviewees of this research were above the legal working age, which according to above the Basic Conditions of Employment Act is 15. The age of the respondents in this study ranged between 30 and 65 years old. The age group of the respondents was divided into four groups, with ten being the interval between them: 30-40 years, 40-50 years old, 50-60 years old, and lastly, 60-70 years old. Between the respondents, two fell under the first category at 30 and 35: Lungi and Noma; the second category also had two respondents at 45 and 48: Thembi and Sethu; the third category was the one with most a higher number at three respondents: Vatiswa (52), Andiswa (52), and Sandiswa (56). The last, and oldest category had one respondent, Amanda, who is 64 years old. The above table also shows that the majority of street vendors did not go beyond high school. For example, two respondents, Thembi and Vatiswa stopped in grade 9; Sethu stopped in grade 7; Sandiswa stopped in grade 6; Andiswa stopped in grade 5; and Amanda stopped school in grade 4. Only two respondents, Lungi and Noma, had tertiary qualifications.

1.5. Ethical Consideration

For this study, the ethics policy guidelines on the Rhodes University Ethical Standards Committee (RUESC) were followed. Human ethics in the faculty of Humanities (at Rhodes University) are there to ensure that research is conducted in an ethical manner, ensuring that human dignity, equity, and the advancement of human rights are respected and protected always. Before interviews were conducted, participants were provided with an informed consent form, which for better understanding and clear comprehension, were translated into Xhosa (the respondents' mother tongue). After briefing the participants about the study and its main objectives, the participants were asked to sign the form signalling their willingness to participate in the study.

CHAPTER 2

A SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS APPROACH TO ANALYSING STREET VENDING IN SOUTH AFRICA

2.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter is divided into two main sections. The first section unpacks the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach, which is the main theoretical framework informing this study. The second section conceptualises street vending as a livelihood strategy adopted by the urban poor to curb poverty and unemployment in South Africa. In unpacking the SLA, the first section of the chapter includes a discussion on all the factors that contribute to this approach, that is: the vulnerability context, livelihood assets, livelihood strategies and a discussion on anticipated livelihood outcomes of the poor. All of these factors are discussed in accordance with the study's main objectives in mind. This means that, for contextualisation, street vending and vendors are incorporated under each sub-section. Section two of the chapter offers a more detailed conceptualisation of street vending as a livelihood strategy. This section starts off with a definition of the informal economy, and a working distinction between informal employment and employment in the informal sector.

This is followed by a focus on South Africa's informal sector, and its significance and role in reducing unemployment. This discussion is then narrowed down to a discussion and conceptualisation of street vending, as a survivalist strategy used by black females in South Africa to fight unemployment and poverty. This chapter aims to integrate the SLA with the discussion on street vending in South Africa. In theory, the SLA is used to help organise and study factors that constrain or enhance livelihood opportunities of poor-marginalised communities and show how these factors relate to each other, and how they respond to social, economic, and political influences. This framework, essentially, focuses on the ways in which people in vulnerable contexts utilise the combination of assets at their disposal to secure their livelihoods (Majele, 2001). The framework is used to study and analyse the vulnerable context that black female street vendors in South Africa have to survive under. The SLA is used to analyse and examine street vending in South Africa as a sustainable and income generating livelihood strategy.

2.2. THE SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS APPROACH

2.2.1 UNPACKING THE SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS APPROACH

This thesis is informed by the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA). The SLA is ideal for a study of this nature, as it provides the necessary conceptual tools to unpack the way vulnerable groups, such as black female street vendors, utilize the diverse assets at their disposal to survive in an unequal and unreliable South African economy. The SLA places emphasis on terms such as coping, adaptation, improvement, diversification, and transformation in order to achieve sustainable livelihoods (Scoones, 2009:172). The SLA offers a holistic and people-centred approach to rural and urban poor development, where focus is placed on the resources accessible to vulnerable communities and the strategies they employ or could employ to best meet their household needs (Msuthu, 2020).

Emerging from the intersection between development studies and environmental studies, (Scoones, 1998; 2009), this framework offers a new and approachable way of thinking about the livelihood strategies of the most marginalised and “vulnerable” populations around the world. The SL approach is used, by researchers and policy makers, to analyse the lives of the people experiencing poverty and living disadvantaged lives, and how those people make a living. According to the DFID (1999), this framework was developed to help offer an understanding and analysis of the livelihoods of the poor. “In essence it is a way of putting people at the centre of development, thereby increasing the effectiveness of development assistance” (DFID, 1999). As a theory of livelihoods, the sustainable livelihood theory originated in the 1980s, not as a top-down neo-classical approach, but rather as a means of understanding development challenges from a bottom-up, people-centred approach (Msuthu, 2020:15).

According to the DFID (1999), the framework is not a representation of reality, however, it does offer a way of thinking about the livelihoods of poor people in a way that stimulates debates and reflections, thereby improving poverty reduction performances (see also Majale, 2002:4). Unlike the more traditional livelihoods approaches, which seek to tackle poverty by identifying and addressing the needs of the poor, the SLA seek to improve the lives of the poor by building on the assets available to them (Majale, 2002). As an approach used for the broad systematic view and investigation of factors that cause urban poverty, the SLA can be used for: re-assessing existing interventions and activities, informing strategic thinking and discussion,

research, and identifying, designing, and assessing new initiatives/intervention (Majale, 2002:4).

Its operational framework brings together various actors, such as local governments and municipalities in decision-making, and policy formulation and implementation. As a people-centred approach, this framework is crucial for this study as it allows for an analysis of street vending as a livelihood strategy from the voices of the vendors, and not of the top-down government officials. It allows the researcher to study the vulnerability and opportunity associated with this sector from those who participate in it. According to Scoones (1998:1), central to the SLA is the “analysis of the range of formal and informal organisational and institutional factors that influence sustainable livelihoods outcomes”. The institutional (laws, policies, and culture) and organisations (government, formal sector, informal sector, NGOs) also have a direct impact and influence on people’s access to livelihood resources and the type of livelihood strategies each household undertakes.

Chambers and Conway (1992 cited in Scoones, 1998) define a livelihood as the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for making a living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shock, maintain, or enhance its capabilities and assets, while not undermining the natural resource base. This definition of livelihoods by Conway and Chambers (1992) was developed and produced as part of a working paper for the Institute of Development Studies, IDS (Scoones, 1998; Rahman and Junayed, 2017). The concept of ‘livelihood’ is quite important for a study of this kind as it exposes the fact that poor households are not passive victims during times of disasters, but rather shows their industrious nature in ensuring that they survive harsh conditions by drawing on different assets (Rakodi, 1999 cited in Makhetha, 2010:13). Street vendors engage in various activities and draw on different assets to ensure that they are able to make a living in the cities.

2.2.2 VULNERABILITY CONTEXT

One of the key concepts that are embedded in the centre of the SLA is the ‘vulnerability context’, which simply describes the precarious social, geographical, political, and economic environment that vulnerable populations find themselves in (Msuthu, 2020). In other terms, this concept refers to the unpredictable set of events that can undermine livelihoods and therefore cause households to fall into poverty, for example, unemployment. According to Serrat (2017:23), households fall in and out of poverty, and the concept of vulnerability is used

to capture this process. This combination of precarious factors is also known as ‘shocks’, as they are dynamic, seasonal and endure over time and space.

It is only through resilience and access to certain or all capitals that a household can have the ability to withstand and survive these vulnerabilities (Serrat, 2017). When a household is vulnerable that means its quality or state of being is highly likely to be negatively impacted by stresses and shocks of the world. A vulnerable household does not have or lacks defensive measures, and there, its livelihood(s) gets easily diminished or comprised thereby living it vulnerable to hunger and poverty. As stated above, the vulnerability context within the sustainable livelihood theory refers to external factors that have a direct influence on people’s livelihoods. Included within the vulnerability context is weather-related shocks and natural calamities; pest and disease epidemics; economic shocks; civil strife (Morse and McNamara, 2013). There are also seasonal stresses which include: hunger seasons and food insecurities; environmental stresses, idiosyncratic shocks; and structural vulnerability.

The informal economy, in its nature, is vulnerable to a lot of factors, social, economic, and environmental. According to Chambwera et al (2011), common misconception about this sector, is that its activities are the same as the black market, and so it is often treated as something illegal. Its activities are often not cushioned to economic shocks, such as recessions, thus their vulnerable nature. Informal sector activities such as street vending are mostly characterised by precarious conditions such as insecure vending sites, no labour protection, no Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF), no policies to protect street vendors from municipal by-laws, exposure to illness due to working in the open without shelter and lack of sanitation or running clean water (Ngomane, 2020:380). According to Niehof (2004: 325), the concepts of sustainability and vulnerability “represent the two extremes of a continuum indicating the quality of the livelihood system”.

Sustainability has been defined by Chambers and Conway (1992 cited in Scoones, 1998) as a household’s ability to cope and recover from stress and shock, at the same time maintaining, or even, enhancing its capabilities and assets. On the other hand, a household with a vulnerable livelihood system is defined to have neither enough assets, nor capabilities to create or access those assets (Niehof, 2004). For example, majority of women engaged in street vending lack access to storage, access to credit and access to training and quality education (Ngomane, 2020), and this contributes to the vulnerability of street vending as a sustainable livelihood strategy. In examining the organisation of street vending and the challenges faced by street

vendors, this study sought to analyse the vulnerable context associated with this economic activity.

Vulnerable households generally have difficulties providing their members with basic needs, are unable to create surplus, and they usually cannot cope with crisis, and usually survive under long-term debts. “They are often burdened with liabilities, such as having unhealthy members or living in a degraded or hazardous environment, rather than having assets” (Niehof, 2004: 325). The concept of sustainability within the framework is mainly about a household’s ability to bounce back and recover after hardships, which is a direct opposite from vulnerable households. Not only that, but it also refers to a household’s ability to cope and recover from stresses and shocks.

2.3. LIVELIHOOD ASSETS

According to the SLA, a household’s ability to pursue different livelihood strategies and be able to withstand short-term shocks and long-term stresses is dependent on the basic material and social; tangible and intangible assets they have in their possession (Scoones, 1998:7). These livelihood resources are often referred to as the ‘capital’ base through which “different productive streams are derived from which livelihoods are constructed” (Scoones, 1998:7). Advocated by Bebbington (1992), assets are vehicles for making a living, not only just a living, but rather a meaningful living that can challenge the structures under which one is making that living. The more assets or resources a household has, the more livelihood strategies they can employ, which in turn lessens their liability to shocks and stresses. According to Scoones (1998:8), to create livelihoods, people must combine resources or capitals they have access to and control over. What this means is that a sustainable livelihood is created through a combination of assets, for example, an informal trader needs a combination of financial capital (money) and natural capital (land) to build a trading unit.

The SLA mentions five livelihood capitals accessible to and used by rural and urban households in trying to pursue a livelihood, and these are: human capital, social capital, financial capital, physical capital, and natural capital. These assets are viewed as key factors needed by poor households to maintain a sufficient income to live (Magobe, 2020:26). The best and easiest way to view these assets or capitals is to look at them as livelihood building blocks, and access to these building blocks is often limited for the majority of the urban poor. According to Magobe (2020), within the SLA, capitals can both be developed and ruined because of seasonality, trends, and shocks. For example, one’s natural asset, that is, a vegetable

garden or farm may be disrupted and possibly damaged by climate change. While some of these disruptive events may have temporary effects (shocks), others have long term effects (stresses) that undermine a livelihood's stability and increase vulnerability. A household or livelihood is only considered sustainable and resilient when it can bounce back from such events. This thesis builds on the argument presented by the SLA, as it seeks to analyse assets accessible to street vendors in Makhanda, and how access to these capitals contributes to street vending as a sustainable livelihood.

2.3.1 FINANCIAL CAPITAL

Financial capital, within the SLA, refers to a household's financial resources such as savings, loans, investments, credits, and household income. Financial capital is associated with cash or an equivalence of cash that can help people adopt a different livelihood strategy (Rahman and Junayed, 2017). De Silvia (2013 cited in Magobe, 2020: 28) notes that the majority of poor households derive their financial income from labour which they find to be a core asset. They are able to get this capital in the form of a salary, wages, or compensation for their labour and use it to fund their households. For the majority of poor black women in South Africa this source of income derives from participating in the informal economy, mainly either as domestic workers or street vendors. According to Rahman and Junayed (2017: 5), "due to complications, street vendors (62%) usually avoid the traditional banking system", and rather turn to family members, friends, neighbours, or informal money lenders to access financial resources. Formal financial institutions play a huge role in the livelihoods of urban people, however, their accessibility towards those in the informal economy is quite limited due to the nature of their work (Ngomane, 2020). As a result, this study sought to explore the sources of financial income available to the vendors. Access to financial capital for street vendors means that the vendors have the means and ability to purchase and stock all necessary goods and equipment needed to keep their business running. It is one of the key and core resources needed for street vending to be sustainable.

2.3.2 SOCIAL CAPITAL

Social capital relates to an individual's relationship with the society around them (Rahman and Junayed, 2017). These assets refer to social relationships that people draw upon when pursuing different livelihood strategies that require coordinated actions (Scoones, 1998:8). Such relationships are often built based on trust and reciprocity. Included in this capital base are personal and family networks. For street vendors, access to social capital is often crucial. This

includes access to family members and loyal customers who offer diverse means of potential support. In their study in Dhaka, Rahman and Junayed (2017:3) say that respondents showed strong possession of social assets, as the street vendors received most of their support from their own family members and friends (Rahman and Junayed, 2017). Part of this study sought to find out whether or not the selected respondents had access to social networks (family, friends, and neighbours) that help support their business, be it through lending their labour or contributing financially to the business.

2.3.3 PHYSICAL CAPITAL

Physical capital on the other hand refers to infrastructure, equipment, vehicles, houses, and sanitation. Physical capitals can be used to best support one's livelihood, together with their family's lifestyle, for example, a house can be used as both a living structure and a place of work. According to Mogobe (2020:27) gaining access to necessary equipment and infrastructure may lead to an increase in incomes for business owners. The most prevalent challenge to female vendors is lack of access to physical capitals such as public spaces, transport, and secure shelter (Ngomane, 2020). Street vendors need physical capitals such as fixed sites or locations for doing business, accessible and affordable transport, access to water and toilet supplies (Rahman and Junayed, 2017:4-5). Physical capital is identified as one of the most important capitals needed to sustain street vending, and lack of can impede on the success rate of one's business (Rahman and Junayed, 2017, see also Ngomane, 2020; Mabilo, 2018). This study sought to analyse the type of physical infrastructure needed for street vending to become economically productive, and what challenges does lack of access to those present.

2.3.4 HUMAN CAPITAL

Human capital in a household is needed to influence all other capitals. Included in human capital is active and ability to labour, skills and knowledge, education, and health care (Scoones, 1998:8), which together can be used to pursue different livelihood strategies and achieve different livelihood outcomes (DFIF, 1999 cited in Rahman and Junayed, 2017:4). In terms of human capital, this study sought to examine street vendors' entrepreneurial knowledge and skills, their educational attainments and how access to these capitals, or lack of, influences the strategies they adopt. According to Ngomane (2020), when it comes to educational levels, street vendors are more likely to have lower levels of education, or no education at all, than higher education, and this may in turn negatively impact their businesses as they have to deal with numbers on a daily basis. In Dhaka, Rahman and Junayed (2017) said that about one in

every three respondents had no institutional education, while 50 per cent only had primary education and 13 per cent studied unto high school. These statistics are a common feature of those who participate in the informal sector. Human assets are described as necessary and important to successfully pursue different livelihood strategies (Scoones, 1998:8).

2.3.5 NATURAL CAPITAL

Lastly, is the natural capital. Included under natural capital is a household's or individual's access to natural resources such as land, forests, water, biodiversity, and wild products (Scoones, 1998). Included under natural capital is access to both natural and environmental resources "from which resources flows and services useful for livelihoods are derived" (Scoones, 1998:7). For street vendors, access to natural capital such as land and livestock can have a direct impact on their livelihood. For example, vendors who sell cooked meals, such as chicken stew, can benefit substantially from ownership or access to a chicken farm rather than depending on retail shopping. Access to land also means that vendors can grow their own produce which they would sell for profit. This study sought to examine the potential and opportunity posed by natural capital to the sustainability of street vending, and whether or not do black female street vendors have access to natural capitals.

According to Scoones (1998:7), to create a sustainable livelihood, people should combine different capitals or assets they have access to and control over. For street vendors these may include a combination between either tangible capital (like money) and intangible capital (like social relationships). Generally, each household has access to one or more of these capitals to sustain their livelihood or construct a new livelihood. What happens is that though each household seeks to enhance the capital(s) they possess, circumstances occur that might infringe their access to capitals. For example, climate change might pose an issue for accessing natural capital. In analysing the different ways that poor households make a living, the SLA recognises that in pursuit of a more sustainable livelihood, a household may strategically substitute one type of capital for another (Scoones, 1998).

2.4. LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES

Livelihood strategies aim to achieve livelihood outcomes (Serrat, 2017). Livelihood strategies are defined as a range of activities and choices made by people to achieve their livelihood goals (Majale, 2002). Included within livelihood strategies are short-term aspirations such as different ways to earn a living and long-term aspirations such as investing in one's future or education with hopes of achieving a more sustainable livelihood. Livelihood strategies rely

heavily on policies, institutions, and processes (DFID, 2002). Sometimes households embark on a combination of livelihood strategies, for example, a combination of formal employment and employment within the informal sector, i.e., street vending, to create multiple streams of income. According to the DFID (1999) the context in which a household exists has a direct influence in the livelihood strategies people adopt.

Within the sustainable livelihood approach, three broad categories of livelihood strategies are identified: agricultural intensification/extensification, livelihood diversification and migration (Scoones, 1998: 9). According to Scoones (1998:9), “identifying what livelihood resources (or combination of ‘capitals’) are required for different livelihood strategy combinations is a key step in the process of analysis”. Key to understanding livelihood strategies is understanding how different livelihood capital may be used and combined in pursuit of a certain positive livelihood outcome. For example, most street vendors borrow their start-up funds (financial capital) from family members (social capital) to start their businesses and create employment for themselves (see Ngomane, 2020).

When pursuing different livelihood strategies, households should be prepared to achieve either positive or negative outcomes, depending on the strategy’s resilience and their access to different capitals (Scoones, 1998). Included in the analysis of livelihood strategy portfolio and pathways, according to the SLA, are three strategies: agricultural intensification-extensification, livelihood diversification and migration (Scoones, 2009:177).

For the sake of this study, only the second type of livelihood strategy is discussed. Livelihood diversification is relevant for this study as it shows and discusses how individuals diversify into other activities and strategies for survival and profit maximisation, instead of focusing on one strategy (Msuthu, 2020: 18). According to Roever (2014:2), street vendors engage in a variety of activities which include: producing or transforming goods at home and selling them in the streets; sourcing from wholesalers and selling at diverse locations; repairing shoes; dressmaking; hairdressing and so much more. To enhance their livelihoods and achieve their livelihood goals, street vendors can choose to diversify their services to increase profits or include more than one source of income. Important to note within the examination of livelihood strategies is that they are mediated by institutions and organisations (Scoones, 2009:178). Scoones (2009:178) defines these institutions and organisations as “socio-cultural and political processes which explained how and why diverse assets inputs linked to strategies and

outcome”. This study sought to examine how a combination of assets can be used, strategically, to diversify a livelihood, thereby achieving a positive livelihood outcome.

2.4.1 LIVELIHOOD DIVERSIFICATION

As a livelihood strategy, diversification refers to “a process by which households construct, a highly diverse portfolio of activities and social support capabilities in order to improve their living standards and manage risk” (Mago, 2018:62). It involves undertaking multiple livelihood strategies, under different contexts or places, in different timespans and under different seasons. According to Ellis (1998:3), important to note about livelihood diversification is that it is well documented as a survival strategy for urban dwellers in developing countries and a strategy for farmers in developed countries. Ellis (1998) argues that this strategy is also an emerging feature of industrialised countries as their labour markets are being associated more with part-time and home-based working patterns.

Mago (2018) states that livelihood diversification may be practised between different activities, for example, using formal sector resources and skills within informal economic activity. As a strategy, diversification is used as a way of enhancing livelihood resilience, thereby attaining a sustainable livelihood. This study, specifically, sought to analyse livelihood diversification as the main livelihood strategy adopted by street vendors in Makhanda to maximise their profits and improve the resilience of this economic activity to shocks and stresses.

2.4.2 ANTICIPATED LIVELIHOOD OUTCOMES

The DFID (1999 cited in Scoones, 1998) referred to livelihood outcomes as achievement or outputs of livelihood strategies. They are determined by the success or failure of a livelihood strategy. For example, one may decide to include another good or service in their business and depending on the context they are selling in, this may be a success and they may be able to increase their profits or may be a total failure and they may end up jeopardising their whole livelihood. According to Serrat (2017), livelihood outcomes include (among others): more income, increased wellbeing, reduced vulnerability, improved food security, more sustainable use of the natural resource base, and recovered human dignity, between which conflict might also arise. Others may include more income, better health care, more access to quality education, reduced vulnerability to shocks, and improved food security (Morse and McNamara (2013:19). This study, by including an analysis of livelihood outcomes, sought to analyse whether street vendors, through engaging in different strategies, can achieve their favourable outcomes. The study sought to examine whether the conclusion that street vending can be used

as a livelihood strategy to curb unemployment and poverty is true or not. The next few sections discuss in detail the informal sector and street vending as a means to securing the necessities of life.

2.5. SOUTH AFRICA'S GENDERED INFORMAL SECTOR

2.5.1 DEFINING AND CHARACTERISING THE INFORMAL ECONOMY

The informal economy is defined to include all economic activities that are, in law and practice, not covered by formal arrangements (Bonnet et al, 2019), for example, economic activities that are not captured by national accounts, nor do they form part of official statistics. More than 60% of the world's labour force earn their livelihoods in the informal economy (ILO, 2018). That is, more than half of the global workforce depends on the informal economy for survival. The informal economy tends to be more prevalent in developing countries than it is in developed countries (ILO, 2018). However, this does not mean that this economy is not found in first world countries. A large informal economy is often associated with underdevelopment and a great poverty and income inequality (World Bank Group, 2022). The ILO (2018) says that more than six workers in ten, and four in five, globally, operate in the informal economy.

Studies of the informal economy show that this economy continues to grow in the world, especially in the developing countries where there is lack of job opportunities in the formal economy. The informal economy is often associated with, and typically characterised by high levels of poverty and poor working conditions (ILO, 2018). Those who participate in this economy do not have social protection, they work in unfavourable working conditions and often earn low wages (Maluleke, 2021). The informal economy is associated with precarity and vulnerable conditions, and because of this, hundreds of millions of workers and businesses strategizes towards transitioning from informal to formal economy (ILO, 2018).

In developed countries, the informal economy predominates as a livelihood activity for poor people, while in developing countries, it predominates for all but the richer, urban population (Chambwera et al, 2011:3). Activities and participation in the informal economy is very important, particularly in poor urban and rural areas, and mostly for women and farmers. Most informal economy participants are living in poverty, and according to the ILO (2018 see also Maluleke, 2021), many people enter the informal economy not by choice, but rather consequently to unemployment and lack of job opportunity in the formal economy. According to the ILO (2012:6), "it remains that most of those found in the informal economy are poor and earn low incomes, and there is very little element of 'choice' in their position in the informal

economy”. For the majority, participation in the informal economy is not a choice, but rather is a necessary step to making a living. From this fact, the informal economy has come to be regarded as the formal economy’s lack of absorbing the world’s population, particularly the unskilled labour force (Chambwera et al, 2011:4). Globally, the informal economy seems to be growing both in developed and developing countries, and the reason for this, Chambwera et al (2011:4 see also Uys and Blaauw, 2006:250) says is mainly because the formal labour markets have not been able to generate sufficient jobs to absorb the continuously growing workforce.

In Africa alone, about 85.8 per cent of total employment is informal, 68.2 per cent in Asia and the Pacific, 68.6 per cent in the Arab States, 40.0 per cent in the Americas and 25.1 per cent in Europe and Central Asia (ILO, 2018). These figures represent a distinction of employment figures in developed and developing countries, and the uneven distribution of the informal economy globally. The informal economy is defined as a diverse set of economic activities, enterprises, jobs, and workers that are not regulated nor protected by the law. It has come to be regarded as something that needs to be eliminated in pursuit of a formal economy (Chamberwa et al, 2011:1). Following the definition set by the ILO, the concept informal economy refers to organisations in the informal sector (that is, organisations that are not registered with the local authority and are not paying tax), and firm activities in the formal sector that employ informal workers (for example, workers without formal work contract and without any formal safety net) (Ramani et al, 2013:1).

International statistics make a distinction between employment in the informal sector and informal employment, with the former being enterprise-based and the latter being job-based and job-specific (ILO, 2018). The informal economy is often misunderstood, and its significance often underplayed, and it is this study’s aim to highlight and show the significance of this economy in the lives of the urban poor. According to Chambwera et al (2011:5), a common misconception about the informal economy is that it is often viewed as the ‘black market’, and therefore get treated as something illegal. Though business within this economy often exists outside government regulation, this does not mean its economic activities are illegal or ‘doggy’, but rather they are able to sustain livelihoods for millions of poor and marginalised groups. Its misconception is also mainly due to the vast range of definitions assigned to this economy/sector and is often associated with undeclared and unrecorded sources of income (Chambwera et al, 2011).

The ILO describes the informal economy as falling into two rough categories, namely, coping strategies and unofficial earning strategies (Ramani et al, 2013). The former includes survival activities such as casual jobs, temporary jobs, unpaid jobs, subsistence agriculture and multiple job holding. The latter includes both unregistered and criminal activities such as unofficial business activities, evading taxes, avoiding labour regulations and other government or institutional regulations, no company registrations; and underground activities such as crime and corruption (Chamberwa et al, 2011:1). However, to define economic activities within this sector as just one or the other is very problematic. A lot of people enter the informal economy not because they are avoiding taxes or are engaged in illegal activities, but due to this economy's easy and low barriers to entry. This economy is largely populated by people who have been excluded from formal economic systems (Ramani et al, 2013:3).

2.5.2 INFORMAL EMPLOYMENT

Informal employment refers to all persons employed either in the informal sector or employed in formal business, however, working without an employment contract (Williams, 2017). It refers to “jobs that lack basic social or legal protections or employment benefits and are found in the formal sector, informal sector or households” (Williams, 2015:2). Central to the concept of informal employment is the employment relationship and protection associated with the job of the worker (Motala, 2002:2). Informal employment consists of three components: employment in the informal sector, employment in the formal sector and employment in households. According to Bonnet et al (2019:4), employment in the informal sector includes employers, employees, own-account workers and contributing family members. Informal employment in the formal sector refers to employees and contributing family workers within formal enterprises without social protection, who do not receive paid annual and sick leave. And lastly, informal employment in households consists of domestic workers employed by households. This form of the informal economy is not the focus of this study, thus the short and brief definition provided.

2.5.3 EMPLOYMENT WITHIN THE INFORMAL SECTOR

According to Williams (2017:9), employment in the informal sector, unlike informal employment, is defined in terms of characteristics of the enterprise rather than the type of job. In simple terms what this means is that, instead of a job-based concept, employment in the informal sector is enterprise-based (ILO, 2018). The informal sector comprises own account enterprises that are not registered nor operating under specific forms of national legislation,

and usually include self-employed workers, or people who work for those who are self-employed or contributing family members. The ILO mission (1972 cited in Otobe, 2017: 5) observed the informal sector as a symptom of underdevelopment, underemployment, and poverty. It recognised the sector's ability to economic growth and as an integral part of employment strategy (Otobe, 2017).

The term informal sector was first coined by British anthropologist, Keith Hart (1973) in his study of economic activities in Accra, Ghana. His conceptualisation of this term followed his observation of low-income Ghanaian migrants in the city. According to Mabilo (2018: 15), 'Hart's term was used to describe ways of making a living outside the formal wage employment. His conceptualisation was however limited to what came to be defined as informal employment. In 1972, the ILO in its Employment Mission in Kenya to analyse the economic activities existing outside the formal economy structures, further came with a broader sense of the term in academic literature (Kumari and Singh, 2016:187). In the report, the informal sector was defined as "a way of doing things characterised by- ease of entry and exit; reliance on indigenous resources; family ownership; small scale operation; labour intensive and adaptive technology' skill acquired outside of the formal sector; and regulated and competitive markets" (ILO, 1972 cited in Kumari and Singh, 2016:187). The ILO team systematically analysed these economic activities to be unrecognised, unrecorded, unprotected and unregulated (ILO, 2013:3), however, it also deemed this sector as having a potential to reduce poverty and create employment outside the formal sector (Mabilo, 2018:15).

In 2002, the ILO World Employment Report further described the informal sector as consisting of a range of economic units within urban areas, owned and operated by individuals with little capital and little labour. Such units are often run to generate income and employment to the individuals concerned. According to Bonnet et al (2019:2), the informal sector is made up of a subset of unincorporated enterprises that are not registered with a national authority. When it comes to defining the informal sector and all the activities that take place within it, various definitions have been developed over the years. Some in agreement and others in total opposition.

The definition adopted in this thesis is the one promoted through the International Labour Organisation's mission in Kenya in the 1970s (later amended in 2002), and the World Bank which concluded street trading as an important component of the informal sector (Skinner, 2008). The view of the informal sector adopted in this is from the Reformist school of thought.

According to Makhetha (2010: 5), the Reformist school of thought views the informal sector, and all economic activities taking place within this sector, as an important and instrumental means of curbing poverty and bringing social justice. This is due to the sector's accommodating nature of those individuals who cannot find employment within the formal sector. In an economy characterised by high rates of unemployment, the informal sector plays a crucial role in employment creation. It has the potential to fill the gap left by the formal sector's inability to absorb the growing labour force in the country (Mabilo, 2018).

2.6. UNEMPLOYMENT, GENDER, AND THE INFORMAL SECTOR

The informal sector, though small scale, is an alternative form of employment for many households, especially in the sub-Saharan African countries. Though this may be, there's a growing debate on whether the informal economy should be viewed as a survival sector, or an entrepreneurial sector "that can stimulate job creation and, ultimately, economic growth" (Chinyamurindi and Mathibe, 2022:16). However, whichever definition one goes with, important to note, and crucial for this study, is the potential this sector has at creating a livelihood based on wage earnings.

Unemployment is a very huge challenge throughout the world, and a very pervasive problem for developing nations (Patel, 2019), with a history of oppression and subjugation. In South Africa, entry to the informal sector is mainly courtesy of the country's high levels of unemployment and lack of employment opportunities within the formal sector (Uys and Blaauw, 2006). This sector appeals mostly to those exploring economic survival strategies outside the formal sector, and often, this is black working-class women (Mogobe, 2020). According to Mabilo (2018), feminisation of poverty in the country has shown the pulling of women with low skills into the informal economy out of financial and social need. Within the urban areas, the labour of women within the informal sector is significant and it is important that its value and contribution is acknowledged. Across different institutions in society, gender roles have evolved over time, however, there is no denying that gender gaps still exist in the labour market, with women being concentrated on the low paying jobs in the economy (Otope, 2017:3). In relation to this, the study sought to examine the strategies used by black women for profit maximisation and poverty reduction within the informal sector. The study also sought to examine the historical background of the selected vendors, and how it has contributed to the vulnerable economic position they occupy currently.

2.6.1 INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT OF AFRICAN WOMEN UNDER APARTHEID

Inequalities during the apartheid period were not only based on race and class, but there was also a clear gender inequality and discrimination in society, especially of black women. Different social norms and gender roles were ascribed to women of colour by the apartheid government (Otobe, 2017). The history of black women in South Africa is one characterised by a triple yoke of oppression, that is, they were oppressed based on the colour of their skin, their gender and their class (Bozzoli, 1983). Under the colonial-apartheid regime, black women lived under oppression and subjugation by the modern state and the traditional state systems (reference to Mamdani 1996's Bifurcated state of direct rule and the indirect or chiefdom rule). According to Smith (1990), the colonial state formed explicit alliances with senior black men in the reserves to subordinate young black women. Together, the colonial-apartheid state and black senior men or chiefs (basically men in power) controlled and regulated the movement and agency of the black women, married and unmarried (Smith, 1990, see also Otobe, 2017). Black women's physical mobility was restricted, their access to education, economic assets and opportunities were also restricted. Otobe (2017:7) argues that women in conservative gender norms societies are often engaged in informal home-based work, "mostly as a way of survival, helping the household earn an income and livelihood".

The apartheid government denied black women an opportunity to pursue a career; and the minority that was able to find employment were given low paying and low skills jobs (United Nations Centre Against Apartheid, 1978:17). On the other hand, those women who succeeded in moving to the urban areas and find employment, either in industries or as domestic workers, they were still confronted with discrimination on two accounts, as non-whites and as women (United Nations, Centre Against Apartheid, 1978). The end of apartheid in 1994 brought about institutional changes in the country. These changes facilitated an increase in labour force participation, especially among African women who had been disadvantaged by apartheid legislation that controlled their movement into urban areas (Floro and Komatsa, 2011:35). It also brought about an increase in black women's participation in the educational system. With the end of the apartheid system, African people women were able to freely move into the urban centres in search of better opportunities, but because of structural barriers, lack of skills and low educational attainment, the only opportunities afforded to them were within the informal sector (Otobe, 2016).

2.6.2 SOUTH AFRICA'S INFORMAL SECTOR POST-APARTHEID

Much of employment growth for black women in South Africa since the end of apartheid has mostly been relatively low-skilled informal sector jobs, with a whole lot of flexibility and very low earnings (Floro and Komatsa, 2011:34). At the time of the democratic transition, 1994, unemployment was substantially lower than it is today. According to Banerjee et al (2008:716), unemployment was recorded to be just between 13 percent in the early 1990s, however, by the end of the decade unemployment had jumped to almost 30 percent. The increase in unemployment in South Africa can be traced back to the start of democracy in the country, and the labour market consequence that came with this transition. Banerjee et al (2008:716) states that the supply of labour increased after the fall of apartheid, as there was an unprecedented influx of African women into the labour market. These women had previously been marginalised and their mobility to the cities restricted by the apartheid government. However, these new entrants into the labour market were mostly unskilled, and the skill-biased technical change further contributed to the decline in the demand for unskilled labour. By the end of apartheid, employment and poverty levels were primarily dependent on the number and earnings of wage earners, which in turn depended overwhelmingly on education and skills (Seekings and Natrass, 2005:300). Many of the unemployed were the previously disadvantaged and marginalised majority African population. The apartheid government, through its racially discriminatory laws, established a system that kept black households marginalized and excluded from opportunities that facilitated upward mobility (Seekings and Natrass, 2005).

The high rates of unemployment in the country, as discussed above, are said to be due to a high number of entrants into the labour force, and the country's low rates of labour absorption (Wills, 2009:7). However, the low educational attainment amongst the black working class also contributed to their unemployability. According to Wu (2013:545), "as the economy demands highly-skilled labour due to capital deepening and technological advancements, an incomplete secondary education is insufficient to guarantee employment". Those relatively inexperienced and less educated struggling to find employment in the formal sector could still however survive by engaging in informal sector activities (Wu, 2013:546), such as street vending. In the country, the informal sector has proven vital for areas with very high unemployment and low labour participation rates (ECSECC, 2017:45).

South Africa's informal sector has grown significantly since the first democratic election in 1994, for example, employment in the informal sector saw an increase of about 406 000 in the second quarter of 2021, from first quarters 419 000 decrease (Statistic SA, 2021:17). In 2013,

the Eastern Cape alone was home to about 148 672 informal businesses, and the province's informal businesses contributed 11.4% to the country's total employment (Dube, 2017:4). This sector is seen as a survival strategy by thousands of unemployed persons, and according to the ECSECC (2017:45), though the desirable option for most people is get stable and secure employment in the formal economy, the informal sector has come be used as a survival mechanism. Important to note that much of the country's informal sector is associated with the legacy of apartheid during which most Africans, particularly women, were not allowed to work in the formal sector and had to survive on menial types of jobs at the margins of the economy (Floro and Komatsa, 2011:35).

2.6.3. AN ECONOMIC PROFILE OF MAKHANDA, EASTERN CAPE

The city of Makhanda, previously known as Grahamstown, was established in 1812 as a military garrison by European settlers. Like much of South Africa's urban areas, the contemporary city of Makhanda faces high levels of unemployment, poverty, and stark economic inequalities (Hoefnagels et al, 2022). These three socio-economic issues are manifested spatially and can be seen through the division of the town, i.e., between Makhanda East (former black township and coloured Group Area) and Makhanda West (former white Group Area). Within the city, unemployment rates have increased from 25% in 2010 to 38.4% in 2020, and the poverty rate went from 31.3% to 31.6% in the same period. And these figures Hoefnagels et al (2022) argues actually show a greater inequality when broken down into racial groupings, with both African and coloured populations experiencing greater inequality than the white population. With lack of employment opportunities in the city, a great deal of less educated and unskilled labour force either informally employed or are part of the informal sector.

2.7. STREET VENDING: A SUSTAINABLE OCCUPANCY FOR THE URBAN POOR

With advent of democracy state in 1994, South African cities such as Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban saw an influx of people looking for jobs (Ngomane, 2020). However, job scarcity in the metros and lack of skills among the new black labour markets entrants led to many finding themselves selling on street pavements (Ngomane, 2020:379 and Mabilo, 2018). The history of street trading in southern Africa goes back a long time ago. During the apartheid era, the South African government had tried to stop trading activities, however, this only resulted in people resorting to trading portable goods and conducting business from unobtrusive spaces to avoid conflict with the law (Gamieldien and van Niekerk, 2017:25).

Informal trading persisted, especially in black townships, despite the different campaigns launched by the apartheid government to rid cities of street vendors.

The country further saw an influx in street vendors in early 1990s when the Business Act of 1991 was introduced, which allowed hawkers to trade freely and without licenses (Gamieldien and van Niekerk, 2017:25). The lifting of restrictions on street trading also coincided with the retrenchment of many workers in the formal economy, thus leading to a massive growth in street trade activity. What this means is that people started trading informally not out of choice but rather off desperation. In 1997, the country further saw an economic crisis in which large corporations and retailers were either retrenching, downsizing, downscaling, or closing (Gamieldien and van Niekerk, 2017:25), further increasing the country's unemployment rate and increasing participation in informal activities, such as street vending. According to global statistics, street vendors make up between 2 and 24 per cent of total informal employment in Africa, Asia, and Latin American cities (Roever, 2014:1).

They do not only contribute to the informal economy, but also have a contribution to formal economy, from suppliers, to creating jobs for potters, guards, security, transport operators and they also generate revenue for local governments (Roever, 2014). Street vendors are often viewed by city planners as unattractive, an unsanitary nuisance and mostly viewed to be a part of an illegal sector that should be abolished (Oloo and Nabiswa, 2019; Makhetha, 2010, Ngomane, 2020), and often have their significance in local economies overlooked. The majority of street vendors trading within the South African metros commute from non-metro areas to the metro areas (Wills, 2009). According to Wills (2009:43), as a percentage of non-agricultural informal employment, street vending comprised about 15 per cent.

Street vendors can be found in almost every corner of the country's towns and cities selling a range of products, from fruits and vegetables, to clothes, to cooked meals and the likes. They are among the largest informal sector groups in the country accounting for a considerable amount of urban employment and revenue generation (Roever and Skinner, 2016). Street vendors are not only trying to earn a livelihood, but they also provide valuable service to urban population (Jaishankai and Sujatha, 2016). Forming an important part of the segment of informal sector, street vendors also ensure even distribution of goods and services to satisfy the demands of the urban poor. In South Africa, street trading, and work in private households (majority female domestic workers) has proven to be more of a source of employment for women than men (Rogan, 2019: 4 see also Ngomane, 2020:380).

In 2007, about 20 per cent of workers in non-agricultural informal employment were women, compared to only 10 per cent of men; that is about 360 000 women were street traders in 2007 over 173 000 being men (Wills, 2009: 48). According to Ngomane (2020:379) “street trading is said to be one of the areas that create jobs for millions of people, especially women since they are in the majority about selling on the street as compared to men”. Majority of street vendors are independent contractors in that they are not employed by another person. An exception of this is those ones employed as an assistant to another trader and others used by retailers to sell their goods on pavements outside their stores (Lund et al, 2000:23). A survey in Durban showed that only about 12 per cent, if not lower, of street vendors were not independent traders but rather worked for someone, either formal business or an informal business owner (Lund et al, 2000:24).

There are different types of products and services provided by street vendors. A study by Lund et al (2000:16-17) recoded that of the street vendors in Durban, a) 46 per cent sold food products such as fruits, vegetable, meat, and poultry; 32 per cent sold products such as cosmetics, clothes, shoes, cigarettes, and curios; and 22 per cent were engaged in other activities such as hairdressing and shoe repairs. Majority of street vendors in South Africa are primary traders and not producers, meaning that they do not produce what they sell themselves. Though the majority of street vendors focus on retailing goods, there are those trading in garments and needlework, baskets, mats, and bead work who are engaged in the making of their goods (Lund et al, 2000:17).

Despite their importance and significant role in the country’s economic and social development, street vendors and the informal sector in general continue to be regarded as existing in a shadow economy and continue to be harassed by police and municipal officials (Roever and Skinner, 2016). From forceful evictions to the confiscation of their goods, street traders continue living under a repressive relationship under local municipalities. Till recently, rather than being regarded as a socioeconomic contributor, the relevance of street vending, worldwide, has been demeaned, ignored, and regarded as some sort of economic backwardness (Juta and Olutade, 2021:24). According to Roever (2016:27) street vendors are understood to be operating outside of state regulatory framework, which further enhances the socio-economic challenges they face on a regular basis.

2.8. CHALLENGES EXPERIENCED BY STREET VENDORS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Street vending in its nature is a very vulnerable economic activity. Associated with lack of social security, undefined workplaces, unsafe and often unhygienic working conditions, irregular incomes, and lack of access to financial institutions, street vendors are prone to a lot of challenges (Ngomane, 2020:380). Moagi et al (2021) notes that though challenges faced by street vendors may vary depending on a country's legislation, its organization of street vending and their overarching economic conditions, these challenges are often common across most countries in Africa. What this means is that though some countries or cities may not experience socio-economic challenges associated with street vending similarly, the challenges are more or less likely to be common across all African regions. This study sought to analyse challenges faced by the selected street vendors in Makhanda, and whether or not these challenges are common as those mentioned in South African literature.

A manual on street trading, published by WIEGO (2014:8) identified about nine major problems and challenges faced by informal vendors, namely: difficulty of accessing resources to start-up and to keep going, lack of skills to take business further, limited political support for informal trading, competition, police harassment and confiscation of goods, safety, storage space, range of laws and by-laws which affect informal traders, and, difficulty to defend charges that you have broken a by-law (see also Moagi et al, 2021; Mahadea, 2002 and Ngomane, 2020). Amongst others, low and insecure income is one of the key and most predominant challenges faced by street vendors in South Africa. Lund et al (2000:27) says other challenges facing street vendors include: too many traders and too few customers; too many of the same goods being sold; the expenses of necessities such as safe storage, which eat into profits; the resistance of some traders to putting up prices; and high transport costs getting to and from trading sites.

Street vendors are also faced with working hours challenges in that while working, they also have to fit in many other responsibilities into their working day (Lund et al, 2000:28). Female street vendor often express that taking both an economic and reproductive role can be tiring and strenuous. It takes a great toll on them, both socially, economically and health-wise. For most female street vendors, after putting in long hours trading in the streets, they also still have the role of being a caretaker at home; cleaning and providing fresh meals for members of their household (Lund et al, 2000). Most female vendors in Lund et al's (2000:26) study were single parents and household heads, and this meant that they constantly had to take time off to attend to family matters such as sick children, accidents, deaths, seeing to the building of a home, assisting an aged parent. Time-off for street vendors often translates to loss of income if one

does not have an assistant at their business. Because there are no leave days, absenteeism from one's business usually means loss of income. The way street vending is structured and operates, though there is no one set way, makes this economic activity and its participants vulnerable to a lot of social and cultural changes. Other key problems faced by street vendors mentioned by Lund et al (2000:38) in their study include: lack of basic and social infrastructure (such as basic infrastructure including roads, shelter, housing, electricity, transport etc, and social infrastructure include childcare, schools, security, health care etc), and shortage of security for traders and customers. According to Lund et al (2000:38) "crime loses customers, frightens tourists, cripples' business, reduces incomes and generally interferes with successful trading". In Johannesburg alone, about 10 percent of street traders reported assault, and 55 per cent have been robbed (Lund et al, 2000).

2.9. SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOOD ASSETS AND STREET VENDING IN SA

Assets or capitals are livelihood resources through which "different productive streams are derived from which livelihoods are constructed" (Scoones, 1998:7). These are all the resources needed to make a meaningful living, and included are social, financial, natural, human, and physical capital. One of the most needed capitals among street vendors is human capital. According to Jaishankai and Sujatha (2016:41), the need for healthcare education among street vendors is crucial. They say that though street vendors may know and are aware of hygienic conditions, the majority do not practice hygiene on their goods (e.g., washing their fruits, using clean storage, washing their hands regularly before handling produce).

Hygienic education, as an example of human capital, is essential in the day-to-day operation of a street trading business, and lack of it can comprise the entire organisation. In analysing the assets or capitals needed for street vending, it is important to keep in mind that the SLA argues that each of these resources have a direct impact on one another. An example would be, for street vendors to practice hygienic practices as discussed above, they need access to clean water (natural capital) or at least access to sanitation (physical capital). Second livelihood assets essential to street vending is access to financial means or financial support. For street vendors acquiring the financial assets is a necessary step to building a viable business. In their research, Nnaeme et al (2020:386) wrote about different types of financial assets mentioned by their study's participants, and these are: money received from relatives to start a business, cash transfers, stokvel pay-outs (group-rotating savings and credit schemes) and loans from formal

institutions, such as banks or informal moneylenders. Access to one or more of these enhances the sustainability of street vending as a means to securing life's necessities.

Previous literature has shown that most street vendors struggle to have access to credit (financial capital) from formal institutions, such as banks, and such access to social networks acts as a way to counter this challenge. According to Ngomane (2020:381), because they do not have anything to put as security for loans and therefore end up losing their business due to lack of funds. Because of this Mitullah (2003 cited in Ngomane, 2020:382) says other vendors start savings clubs and then use the money to open or expand their trade. In their study, Nnaeme et al (2020) found that some vendors used money from their partners (social capital) to start their business. For example, one stated that they opened their spaza business with R1000 she got from her ex-husband. Another vendor mentioned getting R400 to start a vegetable business from her late husband, while also occasionally receiving money from her son working in the city (Nnaeme et al, 2020:386-387). These are great examples of the influence access to social capital, in the form of family members, has on street vending as a livelihood. This represents a strategic combination of two assets, financial and social, to create a sustainable means of living.

2.10. STREET VENDING AS A LIVELIHOOD STRATEGY

Livelihood strategies include different activities and choices people make to achieve their livelihood goals (Oloo and Nabiswa, 2019:40). These strategies are based on a person's goals, their resources base, their household category (poor or rich) and ability to develop and pursue different livelihood strategies. According to Oloo and Nabiswa (2019:40), "livelihood strategies can be positive, helping families become more resilient and less vulnerable, or harmful when they result in further erosion and decrease of the asset base". As discussed in the previous subsections, street vending on its own is defined as a livelihood strategy used to secure better livelihood outcomes in the face of poverty and unemployment.

Most of those engaged in the informal sector become street vendors not because they want to, but because they have to (Lund et al, 2000:16). For them, this is the only way they can secure their means of surviving, such as buying food, clothes, and paying for electricity and water. Among other reasons, retrenchments, shortage of jobs within the formal economy and lack of skills are the main reasons why women enter street trading. According to Ngomane (2020:379), most women end up trading on the streets due to the high unemployment rate in the country. They view street vending as the only chance and opportunity that they can take care of their

families and meet basic needs such as food, water, health, and education for their children (Ngomane, 2020:381).

Besides the income generated by street vendors being barely enough to cover each expense they have within the household; street vending is a very competitive business venture. Previous literature conceptualises the participation of women within the informal economy as a survivalist strategy (Ngomane, 2020; Bonnet et al, 2019; Gamieldien and van Niekerk, 2017). For many people the informal economy is a means to wage employment (Kingdon and Knight, 2001:1) in a world wherein it has become difficult to penetrate formal employment. Ngomane (2020:380-381) argues that “by selling on the streets, women are able to meet basic needs such as food, water, health and education of their children”. This sector ensures that they are able to sustain and maintain their livelihoods by strategically using resources they have.

2.11. CONCLUSION

This chapter provided an outline of two major areas, that is, the theoretical framework and the core themes pertaining to the discussion on the informal sector in South Africa. The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach is the adopted framework informing this study, that is because of its focus on the ways in which vulnerable individuals and groups use assets accessible to them to secure their livelihoods. As a livelihood theory, the SLA looks at urban poor households not as passive victims of stresses and shocks, but rather as active and industrious persons who, despite everything, ensure that they survive harsh conditions by drawing on assets accessible to them. This approach is ideal for the study of this nature, as it allows the researcher to analyse the quality and quantity of the assets accessible to street vendors. To view and study street vendors and their livelihood strategies using this theoretical perspective is to focus on those assets they have access to instead of focusing on what they do not have. The SLA contends that individuals need a combination of assets to survive and examining the quality and quantity of such assets will help determine the impact that access to and lack of these assets have on street vendors. To contextualise the economic activity of street vending and its significance to the urban poor in South Africa, the chapter also provided a definition of the informal economy and informal sector. Beyond its constraints and challenges, the informal sector still represents the world's highest employment and livelihood creator. Those in this sector include some of the world's most physically and financially vulnerable workforce, but despite their vulnerable context, they are able to use resources and assets available to them to create a sustainable livelihood. The conclusion that can be drawn from this chapter, and study, is that vending represents people's

ability and quest for livelihood creation and the need for better livelihood outcomes, i.e. poverty reduction and employment creation. However, above all, it is important to keep in mind and perspective the socio-economic challenges faced by those who participate in this sector and its business activities.

CHAPTER 3

MAKING A LIVING ON THE STREETS:

A CASE OF SELECTED BLACK STREET VENDORS IN MAKHANDA

3.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter analyses the livelihood strategies adopted by black female street vendors in Makhandanda to curb poverty and unemployment. This study does not represent the views and experiences of all street vendors in Makhandanda, but rather, is a representation and analysis of eight purposefully selected street vendors operating in the town. The main argument in this thesis is that, street vending is used by those who participate in it as a means to survive in an economy otherwise characterised poverty and unemployment. In accordance with this study's objectives, this chapter analyses the different ways used by street vendors to make and earn a living. In doing so, the chapter also includes an analysis of the opportunities and challenges associated street vending. With the high unemployment and poverty rates in South Africa, especially in the Eastern Cape, street vending, as a form of wage labouring, becomes one of the important sources of livelihoods for many black households (Mahadea, 2002).

This study's main goal is to analyse: 1) how black female street vendors survive; 2) the spaces the black street vendors occupy; 3) the challenges the street vendors face associated with street vending; and 4) the strategies they use to ensure their livelihoods are sustainable. Found in the study is that street vendors try by all means to maintain and enhance their livelihoods for survival and profit maximisation. However, as stated by the SLA, there are socio-economic challenges that impede on their goals, be it lack of infrastructure or even lack of finances to invest in their businesses. This chapter is divided into nine subsections, each aimed to discuss in detail the study's main objectives and aims. Included in this chapter is a descriptive and thematic form of analysis. The chapter starts off by providing a detailed background description of the study's respondents, i.e., their age, level of education, the type of business they are involved in and the number of dependents in their household.

This information is provided at the start of the analysis chapter to help set the context of the research study. The descriptive information is then followed by a thematic analysis of the research. Different sub-themes are developed to help contextualise and present the study's main

findings. The different sub-themes on street vending analysed in the chapter include: motives for venturing into street vending; nature/manner of operations; assets/capital accessible and needed for street vending; socio-economic challenges faced by street vendors; diversification as the main livelihood strategy employed by street vendors; respondents perception on street vending as a sustainable livelihood strategy and last but not least, the respondents suggestions to the Makhanda local municipality about street vending.

3.2. RESPONDENTS' BACKGROUND PROFILE

For this study, respondents' backgrounds referred to participants' social and economic events that has/had an influence on who they are currently. The importance of obtaining the respondents' socio-economic backgrounds contributes to analysing how their upbringing influenced their current economic situations. Socio-economic backgrounds analysed includes where the selected vendors were born, where they grew up in, their parents' socio-economic history, and their highest level of education. Analysing socio-economic backgrounds is important as it traces the lives of the respondents before they entered the world of street vending, and how, if at all, their histories influenced their participation in the informal sector. It highlights the factors that might have led or influenced them to take this economic route.

This analysis shows that one's historic background has an influence on who and what they become. For example, this study found that most of the street vendors with low levels of education, either had parents with even lower levels of education or no education at all. Lack of higher education and participation in this study is found to be a legacy many adopted from their parents. Lack of financial means to pursue education and social responsibilities are the main contributors to street vendors dropping out of school to venture into street vending.

3.2.1 Level of education

Urban livelihood studies have shown education to be a very important resource one can have when entering the labour market. When it comes to educational attainment, previous research shows that limited educational opportunities often lead to limited job opportunities within the formal sector, hence South Africa's high participation of job seekers in informal economic activities such as street vending (Patel, 2019). In this study, the respondents' educational levels varied across the different cases, with the majority of respondents having not graduated the twelfth grade. Out of the eight street vendors who took part in this study, six respondents did not have matric certificates (refer to table 1.1). The six respondents without formal high education said that their parents neither had high school education, and they also worked either

in the informal sector or as informal employees. What this shows is two, or even more, generations of black working-class people without formal education and skills, who thereby formed part of the informal sector. The lack of higher education attainment is a common feature of the racially discriminating government the respondents grew up under. A close analysis of their age group, 45 years to 64 years old shows that these respondents had their formal schooling under the apartheid government. During the apartheid years, blacks and whites were not afforded the same education. The historically low levels of investment in education, especially towards black people, has led to a large surplus of especially unskilled labour and low-skilled job seekers. It has contributed to millions of black people and households who cannot find employment in the formal sector to depend on the informal sector in order to afford life's basic needs, such as food, healthcare, and clothing.

On the other hand, the explanations of why the majority of the respondents did not continue with their formal education is in association with lack of finances. In this study, the respondents' reasons for not completing high school or acquiring a higher education varied according to each one's personal circumstances. And important of all is that their choices were mostly related to their and their family's socio-economic circumstances. The majority of the vendors who participated in this study (four out of the six without higher education) explicitly identified lack of funds at home as the main contributor to them dropping out of school. Money or access to financial capital plays a huge role in this analysis of education. One of the respondents, Thembi said that:

I stopped in Grade 9. Reason for stopping at this level was because there was no money at home, and it was that let me leave school and start a business. [25/10/2022]

While Sandiswa said that:

My highest level of education is Grade 6. It was because of a lack of money. There were many of us at home...there were five of us kids at home and my father could not afford to send us to school, so I opted to start a business to help support my parents. [11/10/2022]

Although the majority of respondents without formal higher education pointed to financial challenges as the main reason they had to drop out of school at an early age, social challenges or responsibilities were also identified as a hindrance to acquiring education. However, it is important to note that the social challenges experienced by the research participants are also linked to financial challenges. For example, Andiswa indicated that her highest level of

education was Grade 5, and this was due to her having a baby at an early age. Similar to her was Vatiswa who, though she was able to reach high school (Grade 9), she never got to complete her high school education because of having a baby and family responsibilities. Vatiswa indicated that:

I dropped out at this level because I had a baby, and I had to...my mom encouraged me not to stay at home doing nothing, she encouraged me to work and earn a living for myself. [27/10/2022].

The findings in this study indicated that social and financial challenges were the main reasons why the research participants had low levels of education. These findings prove that financial capital is one of the capitals needed for one to invest in their children's education, and the lack of it has a direct impact on one's future livelihood outcomes. Six out of eight research participants said they had no formal matric, and this is one of the main reasons they ended up as street vendors in a town with limited job opportunities such as Makhanda. Similar to other previous studies on street vending and the informal sector in South Africa, this study contends that the majority of street vendors have low education, and this is part of the reason why they ended up in this sector.

3.2.2 Number of household members/Dependents

Measuring the number of household members for each participants allows this study to analyse the dependents each respondent has and who among those members have the means to contribute to the household needs. Six out of eight respondents said they have children, and all of them indicated that they still lived with their children. Of these six, two are married (Lungi and Sethu), the other two are widowed (Vatiswa and Amanda), and the last two indicated that they have never been married (Sandiswa and Andiswa). Of those who had children, the numbers ranged between 1 to 3 children: Andiswa (1), Amanda (2), Sethu (2), Lungi (3), Sandiswa (3), and lastly, Vatiswa (3).

In analysing these household demographics, the findings suggest that those who were married found supporting their household needs using the income they made through street vending much easier than those without spouses or life partners. Having a partner or husband in this study means that the respondents are not the main financial contributors or breadwinners of their household. The money they make from vending comes as a second stream of household income, while those without husbands or partners only have one stream of household income. When asked if at home they can afford all their needs, Lungi said that:

To be honest with you, as I am selling...moos neh my husband is the one who is the main source of income at home, but through selling here, I am able to help him. So, for example, as we have three children, three boys, I pay school fees for two of them and then all other household things are taken care of by him. So...I have to set a goal, I know that each and every month I have to make enough school fees for two kids. [25/10/2022]

What this suggests is that those women who have partners who are employed, engage in street vending to further contribute to their household needs, while those without spouses and partners, street vending is the main income source for their household. For example, when asked who the ‘breadwinner’ is at home, Amanda said that:

It’s me. Like I said, my two kids are unemployed, so we all depend on my earnings here and my pension grant. [27/10/2022].

The findings in this study are in support of the literature presented in this paper in that the majority of the vendors interviewed here were single mothers (either widowed or never married). And as single mothers, this means that the majority of their household needs were dependent on them and the income they made from street vending. The majority of the respondents indicated that though they are able to cope with the money they make from vending, the income is often not enough to cover all their household expenses.

3.2.3 Type of dwelling

This section sought to analyse the respondents’ living conditions. From the findings in this study, it is clear that the selected group of black female vendors in Makhanda resided in the townships. What this means is that though they conduct their businesses in town, the vendors have to travel on a daily basis from the townships to town. More often than not, blacks occupying the township as their place of residence is often pointed out as a geographical and spatial legacy of apartheid. Majority of this study’s participants say that they, and many other black informal sector participants, are located in the townships, living in the poor serviced RDP houses, while their place of work is in town. This is a very common feature among street vendors in South Africa, with the majority either living in RDP houses or in shacks within the black townships. A general description of the type of dwelling the participants live in can be drawn from respondent number Sandiswa’s description. In describing the type of dwelling she lives in, Sandiswa indicated that:

It is an RDP house. It is divided into four rooms: the kitchen, sitting area and two bedrooms. The toilet is outside, and we also have running water taps both inside the house and outside. [11/10/2022].

In the township, like many other townships in South Africa, RDP houses are prominent. This study showed that the majority of the participants resided in RDP houses. One of the requirements set for one to qualify for the RDP house is that they ought to have a monthly household income of R3 500 or less before deductions. The street vendors in this study qualify for this programme because of their low earnings and the social class they occupy in society. The RDP housing observed in this study acts as a form of physical capital available to the selected group of street vendors. These houses are part of the Reconstruction and Development Programme implemented by the democratic government of 1994. Through the ownership of the RDP house, the respondents have a place to call home while securing other means of survival.

The house is not only a form of shelter to the respondents, but also shelters their entire households, and is also used to store their goods. Seven out of eight respondents said they leave in a RDP house, and only one respondent said she leaves in a shack. Of the seven, two mentioned having a second home in the form of a rented flat in town. Noma indicated that the RDP house is the one she calls home as this is where her mother and siblings stay. She said that though she stays in her flat majority of the time, she still enjoys going to her family home, same way she enjoys helping in her mother's business on occasions. She stated that because her mother had a formal job, she was able to create a nice and comfortable home for them. Their family home is a seven-room house, with enough space and room for everyone. As a socio-economic policy, the aim of the RDP was to provide poor South Africans with access to housing, clean running water, sanitation, and electricity.

Participants expressed that though beneficiaries of the programme were provided with free housing they still have to pay municipal rates such as water and electricity. General findings show that the majority (four out of seven) of those who live in an RDP house said that their houses were four-room houses, and they had access to basic amenities such as water, electricity, and toilets. Their expressions of their dwellings were not very positive, most expressed that though it is not their first choice, at least they have a place to stay. Lungi, for example, acknowledges that in the country there are people who live under much worse conditions, at least she has a roof over hers and her family's head.

Only one respondent said she lives in a shack. Andiswa stated that though they all form part of the same household, meaning that they all shared resources and ate together. She and her brother had built their own shacks in the yard, sharing with their families (her with her child and her brother with his family) while her two sisters shared their parents RDP. She said that, because it is a family house and yard, though she lives in a shack, at least she does not have to pay monthly rent from her rather 'insecure' earnings. Living in a rented place for street vendors may mean a bit more strain on them and their income, and because earnings are not guaranteed this may jeopardise their living arrangements. Access to housing, and a secure place to call home is essential to almost every human being. The SLA argues that access to livelihood assets, such as housing, not only contributes to people's ability to secure livelihoods, but also makes life more meaningful and enjoyable. The section on access to storage, as a physical asset, will show how the majority of the vendors in this study without access to storage facilities in town, use their homes to store their goods and equipment.

3.3. STREET VENDING: A SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOOD?

The theme 'street vending' was included in the interview schedule to collect data on the views and experiences of the eight selected female street vendors in Makhanda. This theme helps answer the study's secondary objectives, which seek to explore the reasons that individual street traders enter this type of economic activity.

3.3.1 MOTIVATIONS FOR VENTURING INTO STREET TRADING

According to Gamielien and van Niekerk (2017:24), due to limited job opportunities in the formal sector of South Africa, a lot of black women are forced to become street vendors to generate income and support their households. This study found that participation in street vending is mainly solely for the purpose of creating a livelihood in an economy otherwise characterised by high unemployment rates. Unemployment and poverty were identified as the key motivations for venturing into street vending. Respondents in the study viewed unemployment as the main motivator and push factor towards venturing into street vending. They want to be able to support themselves and their families and be able to afford life's necessities.

Out of the eight respondents, seven identified unemployment as the main reason they entered into street vending. And of these seven, five said street vending is the only form of employment they have ever participated in, while two said they started their businesses after losing their jobs. Lungi and Vatiswa said that after losing their jobs in the formal sector and not being able

to secure another job thereafter, they saw it fit to start their own businesses using their savings to generate income in their households. Street vending for many of these women is an income generating substitute. This study found that, faced with unemployment and the possibility of falling under poverty, the majority of black unskilled women have no choice but to enter into street vending. This finding is supported by the ILO (2018) and many studies on the significance of street vending in the country's economy. While some women use their savings (from previous jobs) to venture into this survival economic activity, others depend on receiving funds or personal loans from family members to start their businesses as their means of survival. Only one respondent, Noma, said she ventured into the informal activity of street vending to create income employment for family members (her brothers) and as a second stream of income for their household. When asked why she ventured into street vending, Sandiswa said that:

The reason why I started this business was because I did not want to just stay in the township and suffer. Because I am able to go home with money for electricity, I am able to take home money for bread or sugar...the thing is, it is very difficult to find a job here in South Africa with Grade 6, so why bother looking if you are never going to get hired. [11/10/2022]

Thembi also said that her reason for starting her business was due to lack of job opportunities. She said that:

It is because there are no jobs. I then realised that I had to get up and fend for myself.
[25/10/2022].

The point made by Thembi and Sandiswa is very important and crucial to this study. What they are saying is that instead of just sitting at home not working and waiting for handouts, black female street vendors go out in the streets and create their own means of living through selling goods and providing services to the urban population. What responses like this prove is that street vending, for the majority of these women, is taken as a necessary step to be able to secure the necessities of life. It proves the industrious nature of black women in South Africa, and their agency to prove for themselves and their household in an otherwise unfavourable economy. When asked whether she would encourage a young woman who is sitting at home unemployed to venture into street vending, Amanda indicated that:

Yes, they can do it. Because there are no jobs...there are no jobs in Makhanda. I will talk specifically about Makhanda, there are no jobs here for our kids, so you can't just

sit and do nothing. These kids get the R350 from the government, you can take that little money and buy your own start-up stock and make a living for yourself. [27/10/2022].

Different people have different reasons for venturing into street vending as a way to meet their household needs. However, what this study proves is that unemployment and poverty are the main push factors towards this informal economic activity. What the results of this study show is that, faced with unemployment and limited employment opportunities, black women in this study had no choice but to trade in the streets. Majority of these women are their household's main contributors or breadwinners, and they thus make sure that by all means they are able to support their family and kids.

3.3.2 NATURE/MANNER OF TRADING

Recorded under this theme or section is the day-to-day operations of each trader's business, from their operating hours to the manner in which they run their business. By asking this, the aim of the research is to draw out the different strategies each street vendor uses in their business, and whether or not they are able to achieve their goals through those strategies. Analysing the nature of street vending and conditions through which street vendors operate under, through the participants' own perspectives, creates a better understanding of the vulnerability associated with this economic activity. It speaks to the insecure working and income conditions of the informal sector, and how the study's respondents cope and deal with the vulnerability to achieve a positive livelihood outcome. It shows that though they may be working under unfavourable conditions, street vendors persevere for the sake of making a living for themselves and their families.

When looking at their trading hours, the basic trading hours for the participants in this study stem from 08h00 in the morning till around 17h00 in the evening. Five respondents said their businesses start operating at 08h00 in the morning, while two said they open their business around 10h00, and only one said she starts operating as early as 06h30 in the morning. When it comes to closing time, three respondents said their closing hour is 17h00, two said 16h30, two more said they close at 16h00, and one said they do not adhere to strict closing time. What this shows is the insecurity and precarity associated with this economic activity. In street vending, or informal enterprises, there are no strict rules or regulations on how one should specifically operate their business, especially when it comes to those vendors without trading licenses, and in cities without strict rules. Street vendors often rely on their own judgement of

what times best work for their business, for example, the times that work for someone who sells cooked meals might not work for someone who sells fresh fruits and vegetables.

Participants mentioned that they pick out their operating hours to best meet the needs of their customers and target market. For example, four of the study's respondents, those who are selling cooked meals say their target market is mainly people who go out in the afternoon to get lunch, which means that they do not need to get to their trading stations early in the morning. When asked about the closing time of their business, Andiswa and Sandiswa indicated that they close business after they have sold all their cooked meat. These two, prepare the meat they sell at home, pack it up in a 10-litre container and travel with it and two more pots to town, and when it is closing time, they do the same. When they get to town, they say they light a small fire, just enough to keep the meat warm and start selling from there. They leave once their product is finished. Andiswa in describing their operation said that:

We arrive here at 10 am and knock off when we are out of meat to sell. When the pots are empty, we leave, it does not matter what time of the day it is. [11/10/2022]

However, it is important to note that opening up at 10h00 in the morning is not ideal for everyone. Thembi said that she starts operating early in the morning. Important to note is also that different types of businesses open during different times of the day. For Andiswa and Sandiswa, opening up at 10h00 is ideal because they are chasing lunch hour, while Thembi said that she starts selling early in the morning because people have fruits, sweets, and cigarettes any time of the day. She said her targeted customers are those who go to work early in the morning, and because most of the people leave home without eating breakfast they tend to grab a fruit or two after getting to town. Thembi said that:

I wake up early...for example today, I got here at town around 06h30 am. The thing about this business is that you have to wake up early. I leave here at 17h00 because by that time there are not that many people around here...when it is quiet, sometimes I leave early and when it is busy, I leave late. My business opens six days a week. That is from Monday to Saturday. [25/10/2022]

Though they gave these hours as the basic trading hours for their businesses, it is important to note that street vending trading hours are quite flexible, depending on availability of stock, customers, and the type of business one is running. Within these informal businesses, if people are still buying and if the town is busy that means one can operate past their typical closing time. What this proves is that, because of the low-income generation of this sector, one has to

take any measures to make sure that they have enough time in a day to increase their profits, be it opening early in the morning or closing way late in the afternoon.

Respondents mentioned three dates which they identified as the most income and profit generating dates of the month, these are the 15th, 25th and the 31st of every month. These are the dates in they identify as the pay dates for those who work in the formal economy. They also mention the pension and grant dates, which they refer to as “*imini ye ndodla*” [pension day], loosely translating to the day of social grant payments. When asked when their businesses are making the most income and profits, all respondents mentioned that this happens during ‘pay day’. Asked how her business is doing, Lungi said that:

It works very well; I don’t want to lie. Because as I am selling here, I am actually making more money than I was when I was still in retail and another thing is, let me say it...it has a peak, like the busy weeks, like your 15th to 25th momentum and then after the 31st, it (business) goes quiet again. [25/10/2022].

Findings within this study suggest that, though street vending as a source of income is insecure, in that some days generate more income than others, this economic activity has a great potential of curbing the effects of unemployment and poverty. Associated with insecure and long working hours, street vending in order to be sustainable requires a lot from the vendors. It requires commitment and dedication and requires one to be able to identify important and significant dates whereby a lot of customers are available.

3.4. STREET VENDORS’ LIVELIHOOD ASSETS

Results of this study show that street vendors in pursuing a living use one or more of the assets identified by the SLA, depending on a household’s access to these assets. To create a living, the urban poor make use of financial, social, physical, human, and natural capitals. According to Makhetha (2010), street vendors often have a very limited number of assets or capitals in their possession. To create a sustainable livelihood, household members combine assets they have access to in order to achieve desirable outcomes, for example, street vendors combine social and financial capitals to start their business. The study’s respondents say that their sources of financial capital used to start the informal business include: relatives (2/8), spouse/partner (2/8), savings (3/8), and only one respondent said she inherited the business from her previous employer.

Amanda indicated that the street vending business she now owns used to belong to a student at Rhodes University, and she was hired to run the business while her boss (social capital) focused on her studies. She said that when her employer graduated, she handed the business over to her, with a small share of money to make sure that the business was operational and running until she was able to handle it herself. On the other hand, when asked how she funded her business, Sethu said that:

Kaloku, like I said, I used money I got from my husband and the social grant from the government. When I started things were still a bit cheaper, so R200 was enough to buy a stock of tomatoes and potatoes. And that's how I started. I then expanded as time went on and I made profits. And then I started buying more things. [27/10/2023].

The second source of household financial capital mentioned by street vendors to support their livelihoods are: the government's South African Social Security Agency (SASSA) grant (7/8), spouse/partners' income (2/8), and income from a job in the formal sector (1/8). When asked to identify other sources of income, other than the salary from street vending, Andiswa said that:

There are no other sources of income for me...ohh, wait, there is the R350 grant only. I almost forgot about that. It (the social relief grant) really helps at home because there is no one who is employed. It helps with things such as paying for electricity and making sure we don't stay in darkness, and that we are able to cook cow and sheep heels we sell here. [11/10/2022].

The study's respondents identified financial capital to be the most important resource needed to start a business, followed by social capital. Money, however small it is, determines one's ability to start a business and the relationship one has with their customers, fellow vendors, and their close kin. Money also determines their ability to maintain their livelihood. As observed above, street vendors often combine these two capitals, that is social and financial capital to start their businesses. For example, while Sandiswa and Andiswa mentioned getting start-up funds from their parents, Lungi and Sethu mentioned that they got their financial start up from their spouses. Since street vendors lack access to financial credit from formal institutions such as banks, their social networks act as an important source of start-up and maintenance funds. Social networks provide financial capital to the respondents whether in the form of informal loans or even giving them money without the expectation of paying it back.

The results of this study also identify the government as a social institution (a form of social capital) contributing to the livelihoods of many urban poor. Seven out of eight respondents said that they get their financial capital in the form of a social grant from the government: SASSA social relief grant (5/8), SASSA children social grant (2/8), and SASSA's old age pension grant (1/8). The results of this study mentioned social capitals (social networks and government) as playing a crucial role as sources of securing a living. Amanda was asked how she has been able to maintain the business throughout the years, she said:

I have survived on the money I make here and before my kids turned 18 years, we used to get the child grant from SASSA. And now it is between my earnings here and my pension grant. Though business is not always good, and you struggle sometimes, I have managed to push and always put food on the table, so I am grateful for that. [27/10/2022].

Respondents also mentioned social capital in terms of the social relationships they have built with their customers and fellow street vendors operating near them. When it comes to fellow vendors, this study found that street vendors rely on this social capital in the form of information-sharing amongst the traders (Mago, 2018:160), and sometimes during negotiations with local governments over urban management issues and utilities (Lyons and Brown, 2007). Building stronger social ties with fellow vendors and ones' customers is said to contribute to the viability of one's business. Because they are not isolating themselves from those around them, they are able to ask for assistance from those near them and are also able to exchange business knowledge. When asked if she has a relationship with other vendors nearby, Amanda said that:

Yes, there is. We all support each other. [27/10/2022].

Social capital in terms of street vending as a livelihood strategy does not only refer to the connections the vendors build with their customer base, and their fellow vendors. Social capital also includes the vendors' social networks, such as friends and family. For the majority of the vendors, family plays a key role in the success of their business, from contributing funds to start the business to offering their labour power in the running of the business. According to Bourdieu (1998 cited in Lyons and Brown, 2007), social capital is a key basis for sustaining economic assets, and it helps the poor support their livelihoods despite trends and shocks. The role played by family members in the day to day running of informal businesses is very

important, and usually such family members are often not working for a salary, and are often not referred to as employees but rather ‘contributing family members’.

The third capital identified as important for street vending is physical capital. In this study, physical capital covers vendors' access to infrastructure used for trading, tools and technology used for production and distribution. Despite the role played by physical capital in maintaining street vending as a livelihood, the majority of this study’s respondents said they lack access to infrastructure (this will be discussed below in the section on challenges faced by street vendors). Access to physical infrastructure such as shelter, storage, transport, and secure trading stalls were identified as essential to the success of street vending as an occupation. When it comes to access to storage facilities in town, two (Amanda and Vatiswa) out of the eight respondents stated that they have access to a place where they store their goods during weekends and closing time. For the two vendors, having access to storage facilities in town means that they do not have to travel with their goods and trading equipment from the township to town every day. Amanda stated that at the end of her business day, she stores her equipment and some of her products (sweets and cigarettes) in a storage facility she has access to and takes a taxi back home. She said the place she stores her things at is ideal as she does not pay for storage because of her relationship with the person who owns the storage facility (social network). On the other hand, the place Vatiswa uses as storage in town is her second home. As mentioned in the section above on the vendors’ dwelling types, Vatiswa mentioned that she has two homes: a house in the township and a flat in town. Because she uses the flat in town during the week (to be closer to work) she is able to store her goods and equipment near her work and not worry about transportation. When it comes to transport, only two respondents said they have access to their own forms of transport. Lungi said her husband transports her to work in the morning, and home in the evening, while Noma said they use their ‘company’ or business car to transport their goods from home to town vice versa. What this means is that street vendors through access to their own transportation do not have to worry about using public transport and having to pay for the transportation of their goods and equipment daily.

Under physical capital, two respondents (Noma and Vatiswa) also mentioned the role played by access to technology in their business. These two respondents said that they use(d) the social media platform of Facebook to research, market and advertise their businesses in order to reach a vast clientele. Vatiswa said that in 2020, when the country was under lockdown due to the global pandemic of Covid-19, and street vendors were not allowed to trade on the streets, she relied on her second business of selling chickens from her home in the township. She stated

that during this time, she would advertise her business on Facebook, and ask if her social networks could also advertise on her behalf on their social platforms. On the other hand, Noma said that she used Facebook for market research. She said that in coming up with the price of their eggs:

...we went on Facebook and saw that people were marketing their eggs at R50 a tray or R5 an egg...we looked at the Makhanda market and we saw that no, the price we have now (R45 a tray of 30) ... [25/10/2022]

Another form of physical capital required for the success of street vending as a livelihood is access and ownership of a trading license or trading permit. A street vending license is one of the assets needed for one to sustain their livelihood as a street vendor. Five out of the eight participants in this study had trading permits, and only one said she has a trading license. Of the five who have permits, three said they acquired their permits in 2020 during the Covid-19 global pandemic, while one, Noma, said she had a permit because her business is in the process of formalisation. The three respondents, Thembi, Sethu and Lungi, who said they got their permits in 2020, indicated that access to trading permits protected their livelihoods from falling vulnerable to the global pandemic of Covid-19. After trading restrictions were lifted, only those with permits were allowed to go back to the streets and continue selling and generating income, and as a result many of those without were prone to losing their livelihoods. When it comes to the trading permit and its benefit to her business, Lungi stated that:

I have a working permit. So, when there was Covid-19, and we were under lockdown, we were asked to go do permits in the municipality. So, I do have, and having a permit, I would say it is useful. It protects you from unlawful confiscation of your stock by police, and it means you are operating under municipal restrictions. Because of the permit, we were also able to keep working during Covid-19, so yes it was helpful. [25/10/2022].

The role played by trading permits or licenses in street vending is that it protects the street vendors against site evictions by local authorities (Ngomane, 2020). It enforces security and longevity of street vending as a livelihood. Without the trading license or permit, street vendors are prone and vulnerable to evictions, products confiscation and their businesses being closed down.

The fourth capital identified by street vendors in this study is human capital. With regards to this thesis, human capital refers to street vendors' level of education, their business knowledge

and skills, and their health and well-being. As mentioned in the above section on the level of education attained by street vendors, only two street vendors said they had post-matric educational levels, Noma (a college diploma) and Lungi (a university degree). Of these two however, only one said she uses her education (a business management diploma) in running her business, Noma. She said that she is able to apply the knowledge she gained at college to ensure the success of the business, skills such as business marketing and how to analyse business or economic trends to best suit their business.

When it comes to business knowledge and skills needed for one to run a successful business, five respondents said they have gained knowledge and skills to successfully run a business in their years of being street vendors. Majority of this study's participants indicated that they gained their business skills and knowledge informally through experience. They acquired it on their own and had to learn as they went throughout the years. Both Andiswa and Sandiswa indicated that they have had their business for over 30 years, Amanda said she had hers for plus or minus 22 years, Sethu said hers was well over 18 years, and Thembi said hers was 8 years old. On the other hand, Vatiswa said that the knowledge and skills she has to run a business were passed down to her by her late mother (social capital). Vatiswa said that:

Yes, I had some business knowledge. Because my mom was also a businessperson and I used to help her with the business operations when I had just given birth to my first born. I used to sell fruits and chips, and cooked food at the main hospital for my mom, while she ran her other (informal) business elsewhere in town. [27/10/2022].

The above statement, and the other previous paragraphs prove the argument made by the SLA that households, to achieve a certain outcome, combine the assets accessible to them to enhance and maintain their means of living. From the above discussion, there has been an analysis of how the selected street vendors combine their access to social and financial capital to create and maintain street vending as their source of wage 'employment'. There has also been an analysis of the combination of physical and social capital, in that some of the vendors gain access to transportation (physical assets) through their spouses/partners (social capital). Above all, findings in this study show the crucial role played by social capital in accessing majority, if not all, other forms of capitals. The study also identified the social grant (financial capital) provided by the South African government (social capital) to the poor as quite impactful to street vending and the lives of street vendors in general.

The last livelihood capital observed in this study is access to natural capital. However, the findings in this study suggest that natural capital is accessible to only a few selected vendors. Only one respondent in this study (Noma) said she had access to land, in the form of land rights to a farm, and livestock, in the form of chickens. They use the land and chickens to practice poultry farming. Poultry farming, in this study, is characterised as a form of agricultural business whereby one raises chickens on a commercial scale for the production of eggs. Noma said that her mother has a farm in Martindale (a few kilometres away from Makhanda), and she used her skills of farming to start raising chickens in order to produce eggs, which they sell in Makhanda. Noma stated that they also used to grow and sell spinach, but due to having very low numbers of people buying the spinach, they started to grow it in small size; that is, only enough for consumption. She also said that:

At the moment, we are only selling eggs. However, since we are in the process of formalising our business...we are looking to also start raising more chickens in the farm and selling them. We used to sell spinach from the farm when we started but we found that we were not making much profit on that, so we stopped. [25/10/2022].

Land is one of the most important livelihood assets a household can have. However, in South Africa, with the previous history of land dispossession, not many black people have access or ownership of land, especially so, black women. Ownership of land for many street vendors could mean that they are able to grow and produce their own goods and be able to sell them at a price set by them instead of relying on supermarkets. Respondents mentioned that they buy their goods from supermarkets, which puts a toll on their profits, as the majority of the supermarkets sell their fruits and vegetables at high prices.

3.5. CHALLENGES FACED BY STREET VENDORS

Street vendors face a lot of challenges, often associated with the type of business they operate and the geographical spaces they occupy within our towns (Ngomane, 2020). Street vending takes place within public spaces, from the streets to the kerbside, to intersections, taxi ranks, outside malls and shopping centres to outside buildings such as schools, churches etc. This often leaves its participants vulnerable to certain unpredictable events that may in turn undermine their livelihoods and possibly expose them to poverty. The respondents for this study were found from two public sites: six of the respondents were trading outside a shopping centre, while two, sold their goods alongside the road.

When it came to identifying the challenges respondents face as street vendors, this study found that the predominant challenge faced by the selected street vendors is lack of physical capital, which is found to be a common feature across street vending literature in South Africa. Physical capital, such as infrastructure and access to transportation are some of the most important resources in informal trading, and lack of access to these can negatively impact one's business or livelihood. The study's respondents identified three structural challenges they face as street vendors in Makhanda: 1) lack of secure and adequate trading stalls, 2) lack of storage, and, 3) lack of transportation. Because the majority of the vendors live far from their 'work stations', access to reliable transportation is very important, and lack of it leaves them in compromising and unfavourable positions.

3.5.1 LACK OF SECURE TRADING STALLS

Adequate and secure infrastructure is one of the most important assets for small business as it helps to improve the general working conditions and facilitates poverty alleviation. As mentioned above, trading stalls (physical assets) are one of the key resources needed for street vending to be successful as an economic activity. They provide shelter for vendors and are also used to display the goods being sold. Lack of secure and adequate infrastructure leads to the vulnerability of street vending as a livelihood. Previous research shows that most street vendors do not have access to infrastructure such as storage space, shelter, water sanitation, and electricity within their selling locations to enable economic growth (Ngomane (2020: 381). A study by Mahadea (2002) in the Eastern Cape revealed lack of shelter as the number one problem associated with street vending. His study showed that over 30 percent of street vendors identified lack of shelters as the major problem. The majority of respondents in this study said that because they lack infrastructure and secure trading spaces, their businesses are vulnerable to disruptive weather, especially for those selling fruits and vegetables and cooked meals. In describing how the weather affects her business, Amanda indicated that:

It (the weather) affects us because we do not have things that are protecting us. When it is raining, I have to stay home, because even the municipality said they would help us, but they have done nothing. And we do not have a choice when they are not helping us, this is the life we have to live, struggling to put the food on the table and the government not doing anything about it. [27/10/2022].

Lungi spoke on the impact lack of infrastructure presents on her business, she said that:

Ohm dear, the weather is a very bad factor because when it rains, people don't stop at the stands. They go at a speed, so you don't make any sales. People don't come to stalls...you see, rainy, windy weather affects us...Yes, I am here when it rains. Even today, it was raining in the morning. It rains, it stops, and then it rains again, and then you have to try to run and seek shelter. [25/10/2022].

What the above passage shows is that lack of trading infrastructure or stalls to protect vendors during bad weather has a very negative impact on the street vending sector. It has a direct impact on whether or not one is able to make sales. Although such impacts are often short-term (shocks), they are still nonetheless impactful and present huge challenges to those selling on the streets. For street vendors, being exposed to rain and windy weather does not only have an impact on their health (in that they will get sick) but it also has an impact on their finances. Respondents in the study say that it is very hard to sell anything when it is raining, and the rain also damages their exposed products.

While some vendors do not come to town when it is raining, though not out of preference but out of necessity, the majority say they do come, however there is still a chance of not making any money. Not only does one have to worry about making profits, but they also have to worry about finding nearby stalls to seek shelter and protection when it is raining. For this study's respondents, having a built and permanent stall in town would ensure that business does not get disturbed and offer shelter to protect them against the cold associated with the rain. It would also ensure that their products are protected against getting wet and possibly being damaged.

While on the topic of weather, hot sunny days were also mentioned by respondents as a problem associated with lack of shelter. This is especially for those who are selling cooked food and fruits and vegetables, as these products are easily spoiled. Lungi (who sells beauty products) and Noma (selling eggs) were the only two who did not mention any challenges associated with the hot weather. Andiswa, who sells cooked food, said that because she does not have a stall to provide some shed for her food, direct sunlight leads to her goods getting spoiled easily and sooner, and this cuts back on her sales and profit made. She said that:

When it is too hot and when we haven't sold much food that means some might end up getting back and we have to dump it. This means that we lost money for that day. When it rains heavily, that is also a loss of money because that means we don't come to town to sell as we do not have any tent/shelter. [11/10/2022].

Supporting the point above, Vatiswa, also selling cooked meals said that:

Damage or impact comes when the weather is too hot. So, what happens is that if the food is not finished now, then it has to be eaten because I won't be able to sell it the following day. You see, it will get here tomorrow, not fresh, so I end up using it as super at home; giving it to my children to eat. [27/10/2022].

There is a great loss of income associated with lack of infrastructure and insecure trading spaces. What this shows is that for street vendors, financial capital in a form of income is closely linked and associated with access to physical capital, i.e., trading stalls. The two assets are combined for the betterment of the lives of the vendors and their household members. The responses from the interviewees show the impact that nature has on one's business or livelihood. Respondents thus stated that one of the ways street vendors could combat or avoid the impact is by having access to physical assets in a form of a safe and secure trading stall. When vendors have access or ownership of their own infrastructure, the more resilient they are towards natural hazards, such as heavy rainfall.

3.5.2 LACK OF STORAGE

Previous literature shows that most female street vendors lack access to storage facilities (Ngomane, 2020), and this means that they do not have access to secure and affordable sites where they can store their goods and their equipment. Within the analysis of physical assets needed by street vendors, access to storage was identified as second, following secure shelter. Only two vendors in this study said they have access to storage, and they store their goods and equipment at home. This means that street vendors have to travel with their trading resources every day to work and back home in the evening.

Thembi stated that within her business, lack of a storage facility in town is one of the biggest challenges she faces. She said that she stores her things at home, which does not only require a lot of space at home, but also requires money. Thembi said that:

You see now that is the biggest problem I have (lack of storage). I struggle with the matter of transport. I have to rent/hire a car everyday...that is where the problem starts, I have to hire a car every day to transport my fruit, and that is money I have to pay every day. [25/10/2022].

Noma identified lack of storage to be a very huge issue facing the vendors in Makhandu, she said that:

People cannot be traveling to and from the township every day, using public transport, with their goods. They need a safe space here in town whether they can store their things at a reasonable price. [25/10/2022].

Access to storage, especially for vendors selling food, whether cooked or uncooked, is very important. Respondents in this study said that because food can easily be damaged or uncompromised, access to a safe and secure storage is very crucial, and lack of can compromise a person's livelihood entirely. For example, those who sell cooked meals need cold storage facilities in order to keep their goods and stock at a healthy state.

3.5.3 LACK OF TRANSPORTATION

Of the eight research participants in this study, only two said they have access to their own secure and reliable transportation (Lungi, and Noma), and because of this, they are not affected by the lack of access to storage in Makhanda. Lungi says that having access to transportation makes running her business a little bit easier, than if she did not have one. She said that, when she has run out of stock, she is able to call her husband during lunchtime to drive home and fetch more stock. Access to transportation also means that one has the capability to transport their goods to town in the morning, and back to the township in the evening without having to worry about extra cost. The statement above by Thembi, shows that lack of transport for street vendors means that they have to pay extra costs to get their goods to their rightful destination. Those street vendors without their own sources of transportation have to rely on public transport to take them to and from work every day. Andiswa indicated that:

For transportation, I use the taxi in the morning and after work. And the money I make here hardly covers the taxi fare and be able to support myself at the same time. [11/10/2022].

Having to rely on public transportation puts a very serious stress on the earnings of street vendors. Majority of the vendors in the study, like Andiswa, say they do not have access to storage and therefore have to travel with their goods and equipment in the morning when going to work, and in the afternoon when it is time to knock-off, which often mean they have to pay extra money in the taxi. Infrastructure plays a huge role within informal enterprises, and lack of, poses huge challenges to street vending as a livelihood.

3.6. DIVERSIFICATION: THE MAIN LIVELIHOOD STRATEGY EMPLOYED BY STREET VENDORS

The concept of livelihood strategy analysed here refers to the activities and choices people make in order to achieve livelihood objectives. According to Oloo and Nabiswa, (2019: 40) “based on their personal goals, resource base, and their understanding of the options available, different categories of households- poor or less poor- develop and pursue diverse livelihood strategies”. The results in this thesis and engagement with previous literature, identifies diversification as the most common livelihood strategy adopted by black female street vendors. This study identified two types of livelihood diversifications adopted by the research respondents: product diversification and income diversification. Product diversification is defined as a strategy used by street vendors to increase profits and income by introducing new products to their stock.

Income diversification, on the other hand, is when street vendors have two or more sources of income outside their vending business. Six out of the eight respondents said that they started their business selling a limited number of goods, and as time went on and business grew, they diversified their products. Vatiswa and Thembi said that, as street vendors usually start with selling a limited number of products due to lack of money and when they start making profits, they start buying and including more goods within their business. The more one is in business the more they are able to save up money and expand more on their range. When asked about the advice she could give to someone who is thinking of venturing into street vending, Thembi said that:

The thing is you have to start small. Start with something small like selling sweets, you start with chips, and you will slowly grow... (save your profits and) use this money to buy more stock and start growing your business. [25/10/2022].

Diversification as a livelihood strategy can be adopted as a single strategy or can be undertaken between different strategies. For example, for the majority of respondents, street vending is an economic strategy or activity undertaken in order to be able to maintain their livelihood and manage the risks of poverty often associated with unemployment. Other respondents (3/8) ventured into street vending as a way to make an extra source of income, and further improve their living standards. Noma said their street vending business, while created to provide paid employment for her two brothers, is also a second source of income for her mother (who works as a schoolteacher). On the other hand, Lungi and Sethu identified their spouses as the main income contributors in their household, and they use the salary from street vending as a second source of household income. This strategy to use street vending as a second source of

household income is described here as income diversification. Lungi, when it comes to her participation in street vending as a source of income in her household said that:

To be honest with you, as I am selling here...my husband is the one who is the main source of income at home, but through selling here, I am able to help him. So, for example, as we have three children, three boys, I pay school fees for two of them and then all other household things are taken care of by him. So, I can say there is an achievement I get each and every month. [25/10/2022].

Results also showed a combination of product diversification and income diversification. Income diversification, on the other hand, referred to an increase in an individual's sources of income. For example, Vatiswa said that she runs two businesses, the one in town, where she sells cooked meals, and there is another business at home where she sells chickens. Vatiswa, when asked if she has ever conducted her business elsewhere, she said:

I used to have a shop at home. Actually, let me say, I still have that one at home, I then started this one in town to make more money. Because the one at home is (live) chickens, people put their orders during the week, and I go buy stock and deliver in the weekends, so I don't need to be there every day. [27/10/2022].

When it comes to her second business, another survival strategy can be identified. As storage is a problem for the majority of informal traders without secure infrastructure, Vatiswa uses a method whereby people order, and she delivers instead of keeping the stock at her place. She said that it was this business that supported her and her family during the Covid-19 pandemic. During the pandemic, she said:

I had to find strategic and innovative ways to conduct business during lockdown. I had to go to people's houses, market my business on Facebook, give people my number and did not give up when people were not buying. You understood that because people were not working, maybe there was not enough money, and when my sales went down, I made a decision to pause my business, but I did not stop totally. I told myself that when the lockdown was over then I would continue with business, and when I did, I had my old customers back and new ones. [27/10/2022].

Those respondents with more than one source of income in this study were identified to be a bit more resistant to fall for vulnerabilities than those with only one business. This strategy allows the participants to have an alternative business when one fails. Three of the eight

participants fall under this category: Vatiswa, Sethu and Noma. Out of these three, two (Vatiswa and Sethu) have their second sources of income within the informal sector, and one (Noma) has a stable permanent job within the formal sector.

Noma indicated that her mother initially started their business as a means to create a second source of household income and to hire her two brothers who are unemployed. She said that the strategy that has worked for them in their business is hard work and dedication. She said that:

I think it's...would I say its determination?? But more than anything wethu! We just didn't give up. I mean there was a time when there was a lot of people selling eggs. I mean there still is, that's what we realised...because we started by doing research. We went on Facebook and saw that people were marketing their eggs at R50 a tray or R5 an egg, you see. So, we looked at the Makhanda market and we saw that no... we won't be able to sell eggs at that rate, and we calculated and then we came up with the price we have now. [25/10/2022].

Noma said she was able to use the skills and knowledge she gained doing a Business Management diploma. She said that whenever she has a chance, she lends her skills to her mom's business to make sure that everything runs in order, and make sure that they are not running at a loss. Her knowledge and experience within business management plays a very important role in the success of their business. Through her knowledge gained through business studies, she can track price changes and make informative decisions about what is good for their business based on her professional acquired knowledge. Noma is also the person responsible for their business's transition from the informal to formal sector. For her, transitioning to the formal sector is a good business move as it will allow and afford their business more opportunities, like being able to apply for funding to grow their business from formal institutions, such as banks.

3.7. STREET VENDORS PERCEPTIONS ON STREET VENDING AS A LIVELIHOOD STRATEGY

This is the closing theme of the analysis, tying together all the themes analysed and explored in this study. This part of the analysis seeks to highlight the importance and contribution of street vending to those who partake in this economic activity. Street vending is a livelihood activity for many who are otherwise unable to find employment in the private and public formal structures. In a country with high unemployment rates, especially for black women than any

other groups, street vending provides employment for millions of black female-headed households in the country. It is not only a source of employment and an income generating activity for millions of people, but also offers affordable products and services to many poor and low-income earning people (Juta and Olutade, 2021: 225).

Skinner and Roeveer (2016) confirm that street vending adds value to a lot of city people, beyond just employment, but rather because of its low-priced goods and services, it is a way for the broader community to save money and buy affordable goods. For example, Noma said that their business gets a lot of customers, because unlike the local retail supermarkets, their eggs are within an affordable price range. Not only this, but because of the public spaces they occupy, street vendors, and their goods, are easily accessible to the general public. Street vending is an outlet of poverty for many poor black families.

The majority of the study's respondents indicated that they encourage the millions of Black unemployed women in SA to start their own businesses to support their families. A common response across the eight selected participants was that street vending can be used as a means of surviving during times of socio-economic crisis. It can be used as a way to curb unemployment and poverty. Furthermore, with access to all necessary resources, this business also has the potential to be more than just a survivalist economic activity. When Thembi was asked if she could encourage women to engage in street vending, she said:

You mean someone who wants to start a business? The thing is you have to start small. Start with something small like sweets, you start with chips, and you will slowly grow. As your business starts growing, you should have a small tin in which you will put money in. You'll put small coins, your R5s, your R2s. make sure to ignore that tin, and as time goes on and you keep putting in your coins the tin will slowly fill up. When it is full, you will then use this money to buy more stock and start growing your business. [25/10/2022].

What the above statement indicates is that every aspect of this survivalist economic activity is a strategy. Those who are engaged in it are always looking for different ways to best improve and enhance their livelihoods, all they need is just the right resources. Thembi mentioned saving money on a tin in your home, which may not quite be safe, as those who live in African townships are often vulnerable to acts of crimes such as break-ins, instead of a formal financial institution like a bank.

Amanda indicated that she would advise someone to venture into this street vending simply because of the lack of jobs in South Africa. She said that if ran mindfully and with special attention to detail, street vending has the potential to sustain one's lifestyle. It can be used as a means to secure most of life's necessities, for example, buy food, clothes and be able to afford all living costs. This study, and the majority of informal sector studies in the country demonstrate that, majority of black poor women trade on the streets due to the high unemployment rate in the country. Similarly to what Ngomane (2020) argued, this study found that, through selling on the streets, black women are able to meet basic needs such as food, water, health and education for their children. Structural unemployment in the country has left a lot of individuals and households vulnerable to poverty, and due to its easy entry, the informal sector has become an answer for millions of unskilled, sometimes skilled, people. The participants in this study indicated that instead of one staying at home and waiting for the government to create jobs, rather start a business, support yourself and your family and then apply for jobs further while on the business.

3.8. VENDORS SUGGESTIONS TO THE LOCAL MUNICIPALITY

In analysing the resources and capitals accessible to black female street vendors in Makhanda, the respondents in this study were asked if they think there is something local municipalities could do to best support and improve the working and living conditions of street vendors in South Africa. Consensus among the responses was that municipalities could better try to improve the physical capitals associated with street vending. For example, build secure trading stalls, help traders with acquiring necessary equipment, improve on the delivering of trading licenses and permits, and specific to Makhanda, provide poor households with materials (water tanks) to store water for those days when there is no water supply. The sustainable livelihoods approach argues that instead of focusing on what poor households or communities lack or do not have, development studies and policies should focus on improving the lives of the poor through building on what they already have, i.e., their assets (Majale, 2002: 4). The street vendors in this study already have somewhat established and sustained livelihoods, and majority of their concerns are in association with further enhancing these livelihoods, to ensure sustainability.

Respondents in this study stated that they are not looking for free handouts, but rather seek assistance from the local government to better make street vending as a livelihood strategy more profitable and sustainable. For example, they mentioned the need for more secure and

sheltered trading stalls in order to make trading in the sun and during rainy days possible and more bearable. They also included the need for physical equipment such as JoJo tanks to store water to use on days when there is no water in Makhanda, and also access to public cheap transport for street vendors. Noma, in describing the role the municipality can play in ensuring that street vending as a livelihood is resilient said that:

I think the best thing would be to provide people with shelter. For days when it is raining some people have to close down their businesses because they do not have shelter and that translates to loss of income, so I think if the municipality would build some sort of shelter along the pavements where people can sell then that would be great. Another thing is the issue for storage. People cannot be traveling to and from the township every day, using public transport, with their goods. They need a safe space here in town where they can store their things at a reasonable price. For example, a few days ago I was talking to one of the guys selling next to us and he said that they use a storage place here in town which is around R190/month or so I think, and I think if the municipality would provide people with secure space, then they would be able to grow their business without having to worry about storage. [25/10/2022]

From the above passage, and previous discussion on livelihood assets, access to shelter is concluded to be the most crucial and in-demand physical resource by this selected group of street vendors in Makhanda. Among the capitals needed to sustain street vending as a livelihood, access to physical capital is the number one resource vendors wish the government could assist them with. Respondents, in the section on challenges associated with street vending, mentioned that without shelter they are most vulnerable to weather changes and exposed to environmental and health hazards. Majority of the study's respondents say that they cannot conduct business on rainy days, and on hot days their products, especially those who sell food stuff, go bad, both of which translate to loss of income. The respondents suggested that local municipalities could help them by building secure trading structures and allocating them to the vendors with valid licenses/permits to trade in the streets. They said this would also ensure that street vendors and local authorities abide by the national by-laws.

3.9. CONCLUSION

A general conclusion that can be drawn from this study is that the informal sector plays a very important role in providing a livelihood for a large portion of the population, mainly the poor and impoverished groups of society. Street vending has proven to be a livelihood or means of

earning a living for many households in poor urban areas. The ‘salary’ or earnings made through selling various products and providing various services is used to secure means of living, such as buying food, paying school fees, buying electricity, paying for water bills and so much more. This chapter gave an analysis and discussion on livelihood choices made by a selected group of black female street vendors in Makhanda, Eastern Cape, to curb unemployment and poverty. The chapter included a general background profile of the respondents, followed by a characterisation of their households. Together, these two helps build a picture and give a demographic description of the respondents involved in this study. Following this is a more focused examination and analysis of the study’s findings.

This thesis, guided by four objectives, each focused on the sustainability of street vending as a livelihood, provides an analysis under the lens of the SLA. The chapter proves that, as discussed within the SL approach, people make certain decisions and choices depending on livelihood assets accessible to them, and the context they exist within. It shows that although they survive under undesirable socio-economic conditions, black women who participate in street vending are not just passive victims of poverty and unemployment, but rather, they engage in different strategies to make a living and survive in the city. Unemployment and poverty are proven to be the main contributor or push factor to people taking up street vending as a livelihood to support themselves and their households. In accordance with the study’s main goals, the following themes were kept in consideration in formulating the analysis chapter: respondents’ perceptions on street vending as a means of survival, the livelihood assets essential for street vending, the socio-economic challenges associated with this occupation and last but not least, the main kind of livelihood strategy employed by the selected street vendors engaged in this study.

In analysing the socio-economic challenges associated with street vending, issues that came up included, among others: lack of access to secure trading infrastructure and lack of reliable and affordable transportation. The study also revealed that those engaged in street vending, also find it helpful and impactful to have a second source of income, and in examining this, the study showed the importance of combining different assets for the sustainability of street vending. This was achieved solely under the guidance and lens of the SLA and the perceptions and experiences of the vendors involved in the study.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION & RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1 CONCLUSION

Using the Sustainable Livelihood Approach, the overall aim of this research was to examine livelihood strategies adopted by black female street vendors in Makhandla, Eastern Cape, to curb unemployment and poverty. In addition, the research sought to analyse the socio-economic challenges faced by the selected eight street vendors in pursuit of their livelihoods. As a qualitative study, the findings in this research study do not intend to generalise the lived experiences of all street vendors, but rather represent and depict the living and working condition of a few selected street vendors in Makhandla. The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach was adopted as the main theoretical framework used to analyse and interrogate the everyday lives of black female street vendors trading in Makhandla.

South Africa's high, racial and gendered skewed unemployment rates have attracted a lot of development studies. Using the SL approach as the main theoretical framework allowed the researcher to analyse the vulnerable context that the selected street vendors exist within and the structural challenges they face due to the nature and manner of their work. To study and analyse this, the researcher analysed a case study of black female street vendors in Makhandla. Characterised by high unemployment and poor service delivery, Makhandla was found to be lacking the necessities and resources needed to structurally support and sustain street vending as a viable income generating economic activity. Adopting the SL approach throughout this study helped capture the realities and lived experiences of each and every individual vendor interviewed. The approach captured the 'agency', whatever level of it, the street vendors have, and the vulnerability associated with street vending as a survival strategy employed by the poor and unemployed in South Africa.

As stated by Hart (1973: 67), "petty capitalism, often as a supplement to wage-employment, offers itself as a means to salvation". This study found that, due to the country's high unemployment rate, the majority of black urban dwellers have no choice but to enter the informal sector in order to survive (see Lund, 1998 and Mabilo, 2018). This sector is associated with micro-enterprises that are neither taxed, nor monitored by the government. Included among such enterprises are *spaza shops*, hawkers, pavement sellers, and street vendors, with

the latter being the focus of this study. In analysing the livelihood strategies employed by street vendors in Makhanda, the researcher chose to focus on black female street vendors as previous research studies have shown that in South Africa, a large number of street vendors are actually black-unskilled women. The study found that the majority of those engaged in street vending have no high school education or further training, thus they lack the human capital or skill-set to enter the formal job market. They then engage in street vending in order to be able to make a living and support their households. The study also found that the selected vendors strategically use assets or capitals accessible to them, such as social networks and social grants, among others, to create sustainable livelihoods. When examining the strategies they use, the study observes the argument presented by the SLF, which states that, instead of focusing on what they do not have, street vendors find ways to strategically use different assets or resources accessible to them to best sustain their livelihoods.

Key findings in this study show that the informal sector is viewed by those who participate in it as a substitute to formal employment. Majority of this sector's participants are affected by unemployment and often live under poverty. One of the points or factors investigated in this study were factors that push or pull black women towards street vending. According to the study's findings, unemployment and poverty are identified as the main push factors to street vending. According to Gamieldien and van Niekerk (2017: 24), limited job opportunities in the formal sector of the South African economy has forced many to look for a means of surviving in the informal sector in order to be able to generate an income. This study showed that the majority of those engaged in street vending do so because they cannot find work within the formal sector and because they need to support themselves and their families. Similarly to the growing literature on the informal economy, this study argued that although street vending is not their first choice of making a living, its accessibility, easy entry and low start-up costs make it more attractive to poor black women. The findings suggest that the majority of the street vendors have families and dependents that they need to take care of, and they find it easier and helpful to venture into street vending, rather than waiting for handouts.

4.1.1. ASSETS ACCESSIBLE TO VENDORS

Assets are defined by the SLA as a combination of resources or strengths through which the poor are able to meet their livelihood outcomes (Majale, 2002). This study analysed the types of assets available and accessible to the street vendors in Makhanda, and the impact or influence each asset has on street vending as a livelihood. Majority of respondents identified the

following assets and their importance and contribution to street vending as a way to secure means of living: financial capital, physical capital, human capital, and social capital. These are identified as the main assets relative and important to street vending as a means of survival for the selected vendors in Makhanda. For one to start their business, they should have access to at least one or more of these, and they certainly need access to all these capitals to maintain that business.

Street vending does not require a lot of financial capital to start a business, one can start by loaning money from friends or family and buy commodities to sell on the streets (Ngomane, 2020:381). The low financial injection needed in this business sector is one of the factors contributing to its easy entry and significant growth. The respondents in this study secured the means to start their businesses through their access to the following assets: social capital and financial capital. Four of this study's respondents said they received their start-up funds from their family members, whilst two used their life savings, one used her salary, and the last one, Amanda, said she inherited the business from her previous employer.

Access to social grants, through the government's social grant scheme, is one of the other sources of financial capital used by street vendors to help fund their businesses during financial crisis . The majority of the respondents (five out of eight) in this identified the social grant programme as their only second source of income. They use the money they receive from the government in a form of social grant to cover their household needs which they cannot cover on their street vending income. These five said that because street vending as the main source of income can be very unpredictable, therefore, having access to the R350 social relief grant (established during Covid-19 global pandemic) and the old age pension fund (Amanda) contributes a lot to their business and their household needs.

4.1.2. CHALLENGES ASSOCIATED WITH LACK OF PHYSICAL ASSETS

The findings of this study showed that the majority of the interviewees faced similar challenges, and these were: lack of secure trading stalls, lack of storage, and lack of transportation for their goods. These are among some of the livelihood resources or capitals as mentioned in the sustainable livelihood framework, which access to, or lack of, has a direct impact on livelihood strategies one engages in. The latter has a direct influence on one's livelihood outcomes, that is, poverty levels get reduced or increased.

The biggest challenge facing street vendors in Makhanda was identified to lack of physical capital need for trading in the streets. When it comes to physical capital or assets, this study's

respondents said that not having a secure and more permanent trading space or stall is one of the challenges impinging on the success of their business. They say that lack of trading infrastructure leaves them vulnerable to different environmental and climate changes. For example, all respondents said that because they operate in the open, their businesses are negatively affected when it rains. For example, their goods sometimes get ruined, no customers stop to buy, and others close their businesses when it is raining. For example, Amanda said that when it is raining, she does not come to town. And this translates to loss of income for that day. Participants in this study believe that local government and city planners need to improve and invest in creating safer and secure public spaces with better infrastructure to best support street vendors in sustaining their livelihoods. Despite its contribution and connection to the formal sector, informal operators are often ignored, side-lined, and sometimes treated as illegal. A more humanitarian and people-centred view of this sector would be a great investment in the country's economy and the lives of its citizens. Research shows that insecure workplace conditions affect vendors operating in the streets more than those working in markets.

4.2. RECOMMENDATIONS

The goal of this research was to analyse the livelihood strategies employed by a selected group of black female street vendors in Makhanda, Eastern Cape. To achieve this goal, the study referred to the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach, which rather than understanding poverty simply as a lack of income, considers assets or resources that poor people have or need in order to sustain a livelihood. In a town characterised by poverty and staggering unemployment, this study sought to analyse the myriad ways in which black women engaged in street vending survive and make a living. The study was carried out in fulfilment of a Masters' mini-dissertation, and therefore, included a small number of participants. This study is not a conclusive one, therefore, there is still a dire need for further research on the topic of livelihood strategies employed by South Africa's urban poor. Research that will be conducted at a larger scale, with the potential to further encourage policymakers to re-think and re-develop socio-economic policies aimed at encouraging the sustainability of street vending as not only a survival strategy, but rather an entrepreneurial livelihood strategy employed by the urban society. This research only focused on a selected number of black female street vendors in a very small town, but other studies could analyse livelihood strategies employed by vendors in a larger context or setting. This study has shown that there is a greater need for studies of gender and the informal economy within southern Africa. Furthermore, considering the staggering

amount of unemployment in the country, this study has also shown the importance of urban livelihood studies .

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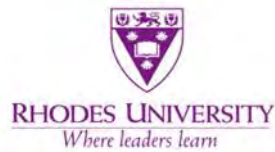
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APPENDIX 1



PARTICIPANT INFORMED CONSENT DECLARATION

(To be signed by research participant/s)

Project Title: *Gender and Urban Informal Livelihoods: Livelihood strategies of black female street vendors in Makhanda, Easter Cape, South Africa.*

Lineo Khoele from the Department of Sociology and Industrial Sociology, Rhodes University has requested my permission to participate in the above-mentioned research project.

The nature and the purpose of the research project and of this informed consent declaration have been explained to me in a language that I understand.

I am aware that:

1. The purpose of the research project is to analyse the livelihood strategies adopted by black female street vendors in Makhanda to curb poverty and unemployment.
2. Rhodes University has given ethical clearance to this research project (2022-5899-7126) and I have seen/may request to see the clearance certificate by contacting the Ethics Coordinator (ethics-committee@ru.ac.za)
3. By participating in this research project I will be contributing towards Lineo Khoele's master's research paper and further knowledge creation on the significance of the informal sector in livelihood creation.
4. I will participate in the project by agreeing to a one-on-one interview with the researcher.
5. My participation is entirely voluntary and should I at any stage wish to withdraw from participating further, I may do so without any negative consequences. I am also aware that I am entitled to not answer any questions I feel uncomfortable with.

6. I am aware that taking part in this study includes answering questions about my everyday life, the work that I do and my views and experiences on street vending, and nothing outside of that.
7. There will not be any monetary compensation for my participation in the study.
8. The Researcher intends to publish the research results in the form of a master's research paper. However, confidentiality and anonymity of records will be maintained and my name and identity will not be revealed to anyone who has not been involved in the conducting of the research, *unless I indicate to the contrary/recognize that as a public figure my identity will inevitably be/become known, in which case I agree to accept the loss of anonymity*.
9. In terms of the Protection of Personal Information Act (No. 4 of 2013) it remains my right to request the Researcher to provide me with a detailed explanation of exactly how confidentiality and anonymity of the data I provide will be achieved. I may also request to know exactly how my personal information will be stored securely, for how long it will be stored.
10. If any data collected from me for this research project is to be used by the Researcher for any further study, I am to be informed in writing and my written consent requested again. I need not give consent for the new research if it is incompatible with the initial purpose of the present study (POPIA, s15(3)). Equally, I can simply reject the request. In such cases, a formal request needs to be made to me by the researcher via the Ethics Coordinator (ethics-committee@ru.ac.za).
11. In terms of the POPI Act, I possess the right to receive feedback about this research. This will take the form of either a soft or hard copy of the research findings; *unless I elect not to receive this feedback*.
12. Any further questions that I might have regarding the nature of the research and/or my participation in it will be answered by Lineo Khoele, [g17K9909@campus.ru.ac.za/063 968 3647](mailto:g17K9909@campus.ru.ac.za).
13. By signing this informed consent declaration, I am not waiving any legal claims, rights, or remedies. A copy of this informed consent declaration will be given to me, and the original will be kept on record by the Researcher.
14. I *agree/disagree* to the Researcher's request to take photographs, or videoing me as part of this research project, recognizing that agreement here is likely to raise the risk of compromising my anonymity and that steps will be taken to ensure this will not happen if my consent is given.
15. I *agree/disagree* to the Researcher's use of voice recording of my comments and

opinions during interviews, the purpose of which is to ensure the accurate recording of my views/responses. Furthermore, I have the right to request a copy of the interview transcriptions to confirm that my opinions are accurately recorded

I,, have read the above information / confirm that the above information has been explained to me in a language that I understand and I am aware of this document's contents. I have asked all questions that I wished to ask, and these have been answered to my satisfaction. I fully understand what is expected of me during the research.

I have not been pressurised in any way and I voluntarily agree to participate in the above-mentioned project.

.....		
Participants signature	Witness	Date

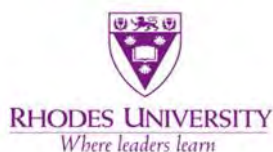
Rhodes University, Research Office, Ethical Review

Ethics Coordinator: ethics-committee@ru.ac.za

t: +27 (0) 46 603 7727 f: +27 (0) 86 616 7707

Room 204, Main Admin Building, Drostdy Road, Grahamstown, 6139

APPENDIX 2



INTERVIEW SCHEDULE: ENGLISH VERSION

Black female street vendors in Makhanda.

My name is Lineo Khoele; I am a master's candidate at the Department of sociology and Industrial Sociology at Rhodes University. I am conducting a study focused on the livelihood strategies adopted by Black female street vendors in Makhanda. All the information acquired through this study will be for academic dedications and your responses will be treated with all confidentiality due. Your level of corporation towards this study will determine the success of my dissertation and will further contribute to scholarship on South Africa's informal sector literature; and therefore, I look forward to having a great and informative conversation with you.

The themes of this study are gender, informality and urban livelihoods. The line of questions adopted in this study includes questions about your everyday life as a black female street vendor, and the different livelihood strategies you adopt for survival. Please note that, though they are not the focus of this study, questions about personal hardships might come up in passing, and please by all means, should you at any point feel uncomfortable with any question just ask to move to the next question. And as included in the consent form, you have the right to withdraw from the study at any point without any consequence.

And lastly, thank you for giving me your time.

SECTION A: BASIC DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION.

Name and surname:

1. What is your age?

2. What is your nationality?

3. What is the size of your household?

3.1. Who forms part of your household?

SECTION B: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND.

4. Where were you born and raised? (Describe the socio-economic state of this place).

4.1. And if not originally from Makhanda, when and why did you move here?

5. Discuss your parents' highest levels of education and employment career.

6. What is your highest level of education? (Why did you stop at this level?)

7. Describe your employment history before your current street vending business.

How would you say it was growing up in Makhanda? And would you say it is still the same or has there been changes?

.

SECTION C: STREET TRADING

8. How and why did you enter street trading?

9. How long have you been a street vendor?

When did your business move to town?

Did conduct your business at any other space?

10. How did you start your business?

--

What products are you selling?

--

11. How does your business work? (How it functions? Daily operations)

--

What time do you start working?

--

How does the weather affect your business?

--

What product or service do you sell?

--

Where do you buy you stock?

--

12. How do you finance this business?

--

13. Do you get any help from government? (If not, have you sought their help)

13.1. And if yes, what kind, and how has it helped you with your business?

14. Do any other businesses compete with you? If yes, please say who they are and how they compete with you?

15. Which times of the year are lucrative? (Why)

16. Describe your other sources of income? (Where else do you get an income in your household? Grants, remittances, stokvels etc.).

17. Generally describe how you have managed to survive over the past few years since you started street trading?

18. How has your business grown since you started? (What helped you grow?)

19. Do you have a trading license? Do you think it is useful to have one, and please explain your answer?

20. Do you have access to natural (land, garden) capital? (How does this contribute to supporting your livelihoods?)

SECTION D: HOUSEHOLD

21. How many people live in your household? (What do they do? And how do they contribute to your household income?).

22. Where do you currently reside? (Describe the area; is it your first preference?).

23. Describe your current house/dwelling? (brick/wood/corrugated metal; number of rooms, access to water, electricity)

24. Are you happy with your dwelling? (What do you wish to improve and how?)

APPENDIX 3

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE: XHOSA VERSION

Abathengisi abamnyama ababhinqileyo esitratweni eMakhanda

Ishedyuli yodliwano-ndlebe lwesixhosa

Igama lam ndinguLineo Khoele kwaye ndingumfundi we Masters kwisebe le Sociology kwiyunivesithi yaseRhodes Ndenza uphononongo/uphando olugxile kwiindlela zokuphila ezisetyenziswa ngabasetyhini abamnyama abathengisa ezitalatweni eMkhanda. Lonke ulwazi olufunyenwe ngolu phando luya kusetyenziselwa ukuzinikela kwizinfundo, kwaye iimpendulo zakho kunye nesazisi sakho siya kuphathwa gokuyimfihlo.

Imixholo yolu phononongo sisini, ukungamiseleki kunye nobomi basezidolophini. Umgca wemibuzo eyamkelweyo kwesi Sifundo ibandakanya imibizo malunga nobomi bakho bemihla ngemihla njengomthengisi wesitrato obhinqileyo omnyama

Kwaye njengoko ibandakanyiwe kwifomu yemvume, unelungelo lokurhoxa kuphononongo nangaliphi ixesha ngaphandle kweziphumo.

ICANDELO A: IZIBALO ZA BANTU

1. Ithini iminyaka yakho?
2. Lithini ilizwe lakho?
3. Ingakanani indlu yakho?
4. Ngubana oyixalenye yekhaya lakho?

ICANDELO B: IMVELAPHI YEMBALI

5. Wazalelwa phi kwaye wakhulela phi? (Chaza imeko yentalo-qoqosho yale ndawo wakhulela kuyo).
6. Chaza inqanaba eliphezulu lemfundo yabazali bakho kunye nomsebenzi wengqesho.
7. Leliphi inqanaba eliphezulu lemfundo yakho? Kutheni uyeke kwelizinga?
8. Chaza imbali yakho yokugqeshwa ngaphambi ube ngumthengisi esitalatweni

ICANDELO C: URHWEO ESITALATHWENI

9. Njani kwaye kutheni ungene/uqalise uthengisa esitalatweni?
10. Kunini ungumthengisi wasesitalatweni?
11. Uliqale njani ishishini lakho?
12. Lisebenza njani ishishini lakho? (Ukusebenza kwemihla ngemihla)
13. Zingaphi iintsuku ozisebenzayo evekini?
14. Ixesha uyqala ukusebenza kwaye uvala ixesha ni?
15. Imozulu ilichaphazela njani ishishini lakho? (Uyafika emsebenzini xa kunetha?)
16. Yeyiphi imveliso okanye inkonzo oyithengisayo? Ngoba?
17. Uzithengaphi izinto zakho?
18. Ulixhasa njani ishishini lakho?
19. Ngaba ufumana naluphi na uncendo kurhulumente? (Ukuba akunjalo, ucele uncendo kubo na?)
- 19.1. Kwaye ukuba ewe, luhlobo luni na, kwaye ulincede njani ishishini lakho?
20. Kukho amashishini akhuphisana nawe? Ukuba ewe, nceda uchaze ukua bagoobani kwaye akhuphisana njani nawe?
21. Ngamaphi amaxesha enyanga anengeniso? (Ngoba)

- 21.1. Ngawaphi amaxesha onyaka anengeniso? (Ngoba)
22. Ingaba ukulungele ukufumana yonke into kwingeniso yakho?
23. Chaza ezinye iindlela zokufumana umvezo? (Chaza ezinye indlela oziphilisa ngazo)
24. Ngokubanzi, chaza indlela oye wakwazi nagyo ukuziphilisa kule minyaka idlulileyo oko uqale ukurhweba esitratweni?
25. Oko waqala ishishini lakho, likhulile okanye lihleli linjalo?
- 25.1. Yintoni encede ishishini lakho ukuba likhule? / Yintoni ethitele ishishini lakho ekukhuleni?
26. Ingaba unayo ilayisenisi yokurhweba? Ucinga ukua kuyanceda ukuba nayo, kwaye nceda ucasise
27. Uyakwazi ukufikelela kula makomkhulu: izixhobo zendalo intlalontle, amazi, iziseko ezinguqo
28. Ungachaza ngokufutshane iingxaki ezixulumene nokusebnza njengomthengisi wasesitratweni?
29. Ikhona into ocinga ukuba urhulumente angayenza ukunceda?
30. Ngokoluvo lwakho, ingaba ukuthengisa esitalatweni ngumsbnzi wokuziphilisa?
31. Ucebisa ntoni inenekazi elifuna ukuqala njengomthengisi wasesitratweni?

ICANDELO D: INDLU

32. Bangaphi abantu abahlala kwikhaya lakho?
- 32.1. Nguani umondli wekhaya?
33. Uhlala phi ngoku? Chaza indawo ohlala kuyo. Ingaba lukhetho lwakho lokuqala?
34. Chaza indlu/indawo ohlala kuyo ngoku?
35. Wonwabile ngendawo yakho? Unqwenela ukuphucula ntoni kwaye njani?
36. Ngubani ohoye umzi wakho xa usebenza? (Ngubani ophekayo, ococayo, ohlamba impahla?)

APPENDIX 4: ECONOMIC PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS

Respondent	Andiswa	Sandiswa	Thembi	Sethu	Lungi	Nomalanga	Amanda	Vatiswa
Previous occupation	Unemployed	Unemployed	Cleaner at bank	Domestic worker	Contract-based & retail	Formal sector	Hotel cleaner	Domestic Worker
Year of trading	1990	Late 1980s	8 years	18 years	6+ months	4+ months	+/- 22 years	1 month
Start-up	Mother	Father	Savings	Husband + grant	Husband	-	-	UIF + funeral policy
Product	Cooked meal	Cooked meal	Fruits and vegetables	Fruits and vegetables	Beauty products	Eggs	Cooked meal, candy and cigarettes	Cooked meal + chicken
Type of informality	Self-employed	Self-employed	Self-employed	Self-employed	Self-employed	Informally employed	Self-employed	Self-employed
Trading Permit	No	Not yet.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Location	Beaufort Street	Beaufort Street	Beaufort Street	High Street	Beaufort Street	Beaufort Street	High Street	High Street

APPENDIX 5: PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS' HOUSEHOLD

Respondent	Andiswa	Sandiswa	Thembi	Sethu	Lungi	Nomalanga	Amanda	Vatiswa
Type of dwelling	Shack	RDP	RDP	RDP	RDP	RDP+ flat	RDP	RDP+ flat
Number of rooms	-	4	(It is big)	4	4	-	4	7
Where in GT	Victoria Road	Victoria Road	Vukani	-	Joza	Town	Xolani	Extension 7, town
Access to amenities	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
House caretaker	Me	Me	Mom	Me	Me	-	Kids	Kids
Breadwinner	Me+ sister	Me + sister	Mother	Husband	Husband + Me	Mother + Me	Me	Me
Feelings about dwelling	It could be better.	I guess.	Very much.	It is okay.	Yes.	Yes.	Could improve.	Yes.