The plight of street vendors in Pan Africa Shopping Mall in Alexandra Township, South Africa

by

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The plight of street vendors in the Pan Africa Shopping Mall in Alexandra Township in South Africa

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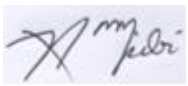

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation explores the plight of street vendors in the Pan Africa Shopping Mall in Alexandra Township in Johannesburg. Street vendors contribute to the economy of the country, yet the government treats them with disdain. The study is descriptive and qualitative in nature. Telephonic interviews were conducted in line with Covid-19 protocols that existed at the time. Fourteen street vendors and three shopkeepers were interviewed in the Pan Africa Shopping Mall using open-ended questions. The study established that the local police force (the JMPD), is a major challenge for street vendors in that every time they are evicted and their stock confiscated, street vendors are forced to pay bribes of anything from two thousand rand to ten thousand rand (R2 000–R10 000) – depending on what has been confiscated – to recover their stock, in contrast to the city's by-law under offences and penalties which states that any person who contravenes or fails to comply with any provision of this by-law is guilty of an offence and liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding R500. Crime is another challenge street vendors face, on top of the challenge of ablution facilities which affects health and safety. The study recommends that since JMPD is an entity of government, government departments should therefore speak in one voice and avoid contradiction in their policies, vis-à-vis the legality of street trading. Some street vendors often face attack through theft, break-ins and arson. Insurance for street vendors can therefore be very important in enabling them to protect their investments, especially those who are selling high-value items.

KEY TERMS:

Street vendors, Pan Africa Shopping Mall, Alexandra Township, Confiscations, Covid-19, TERS, EDD, Immigrants, JMPD, Looting and July unrest 2021, By-law and Trading licenses.

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ABET	Adult Basic Education and Training
Covid-19	Coronavirus disease
CSI	Corporate Social Investment
EDD	Department of Economic Development
ILO	International Labour Organization
JMPD	Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
PIKITUP	Pick-It-Up (Waste Management Service)
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
TERS	Temporary Employee- Employer Relief Scheme
VAT	Value-added tax
WITS	University of the Witwatersrand

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction and background to the study

Not all informal workers are poor but they face a greater risk of poverty than their formal worker counterparts. Uncertainty of continued employment and income insecurity characterise their regular working lives. Unlike their formal worker counterparts, they are more likely to face deficits in the four pillars of decent work: economic opportunities, legal rights, social protection and collective voice and representation (ILO, 2002 in Alfers *et al*., 2022). They lack frequent access to social assistance or insurance, public services, and social services (Agarwala, 2018, Alfers *et al*., 2018, and Behrendt *et al*., 2019 in Alfers *et al*., 2022).

Challenges facing street vendors range from poverty and lack of employment (Juta and Olutade, 2021:224) to low earnings, long working hours and very difficult working conditions, and at the end of the day they have very little to show for it. Vendors also face exposure to diseases emanating from lack of ablution and sanitary facilities (Singh, 2020:104), arbitrary evictions, intimidation (including erratic chasing of street vendors from their posts and confiscating street vendors' wares for personal squandering by city officials) (Anjaria 2006; Asiedu and Agyei-Mensah, 2008; Mahadevia, Vyas, and Mishra, 2014), being accused of stifling economic growth and being a brake for attracting new investment (Vicki, 2005 in Roever and Skinner, (2016: 114), door negotiations, and bribery and extortion as the means to deal with authorities' challenge (Bayat, 2008 cited in Matenga, 2018: 23).

In many communities, the members who scramble for informal work in the streets of their cities and taxi ranks are mainly uneducated, female and young people who resort to this type of work for their livelihoods. To mitigate the effects of poverty, street vendors rely on vending for employment, income or survival (Igudia, 2020: 56). Authorities continue to criminalise street vendors despite the well-recorded benefits of informal work in reducing social spending, and their contribution to the economy (Igudia, 2020: 57). Street vending is seen as an inconvenience, disrupting urban planning and traffic in the urban centre (Xue and Huang 2015). Local authorities use the law to defend their actions against street vendors who are subjected to different kinds of policies (Tafti, 2020:1888 and Adama, 2020: 2). Some street vendors employ foreign migrants, and that comes with its own challenges like exploitation and

underpayment. Cross in Brown *et al*. (2009: 667) refers to non-compliance with labour regulations governing contracts and work conditions as dominating street vending.

The primary objective of this study is to explore the plight of street vendors in the Pan Africa Shopping Mall. The plight relates to livelihoods, economic, social and political issues. The study seeks to expose the challenges street vendors face daily, and the failings of the formal government system – especially concerning the issuing of trading licences and policy contradictions. In 2019 with the pandemic, Covid-19 brought about strain into the economies of the world that did not spare the informal sector in general and the street vending sector in particular. Seeing that the pandemic happened during the cause of this study, it is proper that the exacerbation which was brought about by Covid-19 is unpacked.

Informal employment includes a range of self-employed persons, who work in unincorporated, unregistered and often small enterprises, as well as a range of wage workers who are employed without employer contributions to social protection by formal firms (Chen, 2012 in Alfers *et al*., 2022). In Mexico, domestic workers could apply for a federal relief grant, especially those registered in the social security system, and street vendors, through a national programme, could apply for loans, whereas no national programmes were available to non-salaried workers. In New York City, a federal relief package included universal cash transfers and a new unemployment scheme aimed specifically at self-employed workers (Alfers *et al*., 2022:205).

The Pan Africa Shopping Mall is situated between the borders of Alexandra Township and Wynberg Industrial area near Sandton City in Johannesburg. Alexandra Township was once a home to former President Nelson Mandela, Zanele Mbeki, musician Hugh Masekela, and many other prominent families. It falls under the jurisdiction of the Johannesburg City Council. Comparisons are always drawn between Alexandra and Sandton, which represent the contrasting sides of South African society. Whilst Alexandra is known for shack dwelling and congestion, Sandton is known for mansions, double and triple-story dwellings and some of the highest buildings in Africa. Alexandra and Sandton represent vivid contrasting sides of inequalities, and are a remainder of the apartheid legacy. On the one hand, Alexandra represents the adverse living conditions, poverty, hopelessness and third-world living standards the majority of South Africans live under, and poor working-class conditions. Sandton, on the other hand, represents abundance, a home for the rich and for the captains of industry and first-world living standards and everything consistent with the successes of neo-liberal capitalism.

Street vending challenges in South Africa generally range from finding a suitable spot to applying and getting a trading licence. The other issue is securing capital to start vending. Younger street vendors are creative in that they bring new products to the market, for instance selling 'loose-draw cigarettes', watch accessories and airtime vouchers. These products do not need much space. A street vendor selling these can simply squeeze in among other street vendors and start selling, or he can display his goods against shopkeepers' windows. When local police officers arrive, vendors take their portable bags and run for their lives. The other issue is that there is not enough space for everyone to sell. Hence, one finds that new vendors either resort to moving around selling (itinerant street vending) whilst scouting for open spaces or looking for potential spaces for vending. This includes 'pushing the envelope', where every open space is occupied. The benefits of itinerant street vending are that you go where the 'rubber hits the road', that is, where the customers are, for example, at bus stops or taxi ranks. Usually, itinerant vendors use customised trolleys to push their stock around or they use tricycles; female vendors use buckets and carry them on their heads. When there is no customer flow, one simply moves to where the customers are. This chapter covers the background to the study, problem statement, research objectives and questions, scope of the study, limitations to the study, clarification of terms and the structure of the dissertation.

1.2 Problem statement

Chen (2012:11) submits that a mix of factors drives the different segments of informal employment. Some self-employed choose or volunteer to informally work to avoid registration and taxation. Others choose to informally work out of necessity, social conditioning, or tradition. Many of them would welcome efforts to reduce barriers to registration and related transactional costs, if they specifically were to receive the benefits of formalisation. Informalisation is mainly brought about by the employers' hiring practices, who opt to retain a small core regular workforce to avoid payroll taxes by hiring the rest of the workers on an informal basis to avoid contributing towards social security or pensions, or other obligations as employers. In this cases, payroll taxes and social security contributions are avoided by the employer and employee parties by mutual consent. Authorities, however, continue to criminalise street vendors despite the well-recorded benefits of informal work in reducing social spending, and its contribution to the economy (Igudia, 2020: 57). In 2019, despite all these challenges, the pandemic brought more devastation on both formal and informal economies – especially the latter in that, unlike the formal economies, informal economies had

less or no cushion in the form of social security, whilst their counterparts were enjoying benefits of Covid-19 TERS Street vending is seen as an inconvenience, disrupting urban planning and traffic in the urban centre (Xue and Huang, 2015). Local authorities use the law to defend their actions against street vendors who are subjected to different kinds of policies (Tafti, 2020:1888 and Adama, 2020: 2). According to Roever and Skinner (2016) work uncertainty, ill-treatment, impounding and evictions are the main problems generally confronted by street vendors.

In South Africa, while street vendors contribute to the economy of the country, the government continues to treat them with disdain. Although South Africa is a democratic country, some tactics that were used by the apartheid police force before 1994 have found resonance in the new South Africa, including evictions and confiscation of goods by the local police and enforcement agencies. It is therefore critical to understand the nature of the challenges faced by the street traders in the Pan Africa Shopping Mall as it is clear that informality brings about challenges and constraints. The government keeps on encouraging its citizens to create their own jobs and create their own wealth, yet different arms of the government at times ridicule the efforts of these informal workers by accusing them of breaching the by-laws. The current gaps arise from the fact that the government speaks in contradictory terms. One moment the government supports street vendors, yet sooner or later the government blames the street vendors for all the ills on the cities' pavements, ranging from uncleanliness to criminality.

1.3 Research objectives

The main objective of this study is to investigate the plight of the street vendors in Alexandra Township. Other secondary objectives include the following:

1.3.1 To investigate the nature of the challenges faced by street vendors in the Pan Africa Shopping Mall, Alexandra Township.

1.3.2 To investigate how street vendors in the Pan Africa Shopping Mall finance their economic activities.

1.3.3 To investigate how Covid-19 exacerbated the problems faced by street vendors in the Pan Africa Shopping Mall, Alexandra Township.

1.4 Research questions

- What is the nature of the challenges faced by the street vendors in the Pan Africa Shopping Mall, Alexandra Township?
- How do street vendors in the Pan Africa Shopping Mall finance their economic activities?
- How did Covid-19 exacerbate the problems faced by street vendors in the Pan Africa Shopping Mall, Alexandra Township?

1.5 Scope of the study

This study highlights the plight of street vendors in the Pan Africa Shopping Mall, Alexandra Township, Johannesburg, Gauteng Province. The target population are the street vendors in the Pan Africa Shopping Mall. The Pan Africa Shopping Mall is the business hub of Alexandra Township. A total of seventeen participants were interviewed against an initial targeted sample size of 60 street vendors who sell different goods such as fruits and vegetables, hot food, cell phones and/or cell phone accessories, airtime vouchers, and household goods, while other vendors do hairdressing. This is a qualitative study that used primary sources such as interviews, records in the form of street vending permits, by-laws and manuscripts as sources of information. The procedure followed in dealing with these records is in line with qualitative methods as the study used the qualitative methodology. The process followed in analysing data included collecting, describing, and analysing using a thematic approach.

1.6 Limitations to the study

The Pan Africa Shopping Mall is very big in terms of the number of street vendors. The researcher faced several challenges. Firstly, there was the issue of Covid-19, therefore interviews had to happen in line with Covid-19 guidelines. However, life gradually returned to normal with regard to vending, and the economy opened up gradually. Covid-19 protocols were adhered to during research, but were very cumbersome. Secondly, street vendors are very busy during the day and especially on weekends. Therefore, time constraints were a barrier in that the researcher interviewed the participants only after working hours. Weekends are a peak period for street vendors. This is the time when most customers are doing their weekend shopping. To mitigate this challenge, the researcher had to make time and interview vendors

when they were available for telephonic interviews during weekdays. Thirdly, the researcher's initial target was to interview sixty (60) participants; however, after reaching saturation, the researcher ended up with fourteen participants (the information given was still invaluable, despite the smaller number of participants). The researcher also intended to interview at least five shopkeepers, but ended up interviewing only three – again as saturation played its part. This reduced the researcher's sample size.

Language was also a barrier to a certain extent in that one street vendor was difficult to interview because she spoke Tsonga and her understanding of English was minimal, and the interviewer's understanding of Tsonga was also minimal. The vendor understood very little IsiZulu. One of the shopkeepers was difficult to interview as he was of Pakistani descent and was not very fluent in English. He could not speak any other local language, but was willing to participate, unlike other shopkeepers who were sceptical to participate for fear of victimisation. Those who were scared to be interviewed were generally non-South Africans and people of Indian descent who happen to be the most formal traders in this space-owning business.

Some officials from the local sphere of government ignored the researcher's emails, or committed to participate in the study, but then failed to adhere to their commitment. The researcher initially lined up two officials from the EDD and PIKITUP, respectively. These officials initially agreed to participate, and the PIKITUP 'supervisor' even signed a consent form, but when approached for interviews they became non-committal. Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department (JMPD) officials never even responded to the researcher's emails. This made the researcher's study to be almost 'one-sided', owing to the lack of participation from government officials. A continued pursuit of them could easily have been construed as harassment. That being the case, an official at the Department of Economic Development (EDD) did confirm that no street vendor at the Pan Africa Shopping Mall has a valid permit or licence.

Another limitation to this study was that the researcher did not investigate issues such as transportation to and from work, and the amount spent on transporting stock and their tools of trade for those who do not keep their stock in the storeroom facilities at the mall. This study also did not investigate the profitability made by vendors in their trade, neither did it focus on where vendors buy their stock, how they transport their stock from the market and which market they predominantly use – especially those who specialise in fruit and vegetables. Lastly,

the study did not investigate who street vendors bank with, whether they used any bank services or not and the reasons therefor.

1.7 Importance of the study

This work is important because it highlights the plight of informal workers, especially street vendors, who should be receiving favourable treatment from the authorities because they are engaged in self-help and grassroots initiatives. This work may conscientise policy-makers, city fathers, trade union organisations, and NGOs to promulgate policies promoting the plight of the street traders.

1.8 Definition of key terms

Key concepts explained in this section include the following: street vendors, street trading, and livelihoods.

Street vendors: refers to the sellers of goods and services operating in temporary structures. Street vending is also associated as an occupation, which is informal in nature. De Soto (1989) eloquently argues that the term street vending suggests two definite activities: that of a trader who walks around the city offering goods or services without a fixed place from which to operate and who is known as an itinerant street vendor. When the street vendor gives up itinerant trading, identifies a location, and conducts business there, an invasion of the street occurs (De Soto, 1989: 62-64).

Street trading: refers to production and legal services of goods that do not adhere to business permits, sourcing codes, tax liabilities, or labour regulations, with little or no guarantees in relation to suppliers and clients.

Livelihoods: refers to the combination of individual and household plans of action put together for some time and sought to rally up accessible means or assets and opportunities.

1.9 Structure of the dissertation

Chapter 1 in the main, highlights the challenges faced by urbanites due to lack of decent jobs or service delivery. This lack of jobs or income are the main reasons or drivers that make urbanites resort to street vending. This happens as means to an end in order to escape and survive poverty. Chapter 1 covers the introduction to the study and the background to the study, the problem statement, research objectives and questions, scope of the study, limitations to the study, clarification of terms and the layout of the dissertation.

Chapter 2 covers the literature review and theoretical framework of this study. The literature consulted is related to the plight of street vendors which covers the livelihoods, economic, social and political issues. The issues of crime are economic, social and political in nature. Urbanites face a choice of street vending or partaking in crime. Street vendors themselves become the very victims of crime whilst vending. The study is grounded on self-help and grassroots creativity informed by Hernando De Soto (1989). The study is also embedded on informality.

Chapter 3 outlines the research methods and techniques used to gather and process information, and the approaches to data collection, analysis and storing. The study approach is qualitative. The researcher's positionality is also dealt with accordingly. The study is based on advocacy/ participatory knowledge claims that states that the inquiry needs to be intertwined with politics and political agenda.

Chapter 4 outlines the findings and analysis of the study. The characteristics of a sample and the biographic details of participants are unpacked accordingly. The chapter also deals with statistical analysis as well as policy analysis of the by-laws. In the main, the plight of street vendors gets systematically outlined in this chapter.

Chapter 5 outlines the findings and recommendations from the study. The recommendations are areas of study which need to be researched and understood. The chapter also covers the summary and conclusions of this dissertation.

1.10 Conclusion

Street vendors in the Pan Africa Shopping Mall in Alexandra Township appear to be facing critical challenges that require urgent attention from the Johannesburg municipal authorities. Street vending in this mall takes place in much contested public spaces. These public spaces are managed by local governments who use the local police to enforce by-laws. The inability of the formal sector to absorb everyone to its ranks leaves many communities to look for informal work in the streets of their cities and at taxi ranks. However, while street vendors contribute to the economy of the country, the government treats them with disdain. This study explores the plight of street vendors in the Pan Africa Shopping Mall in Alexandra Township in Johannesburg. The study is descriptive and qualitative in nature. Telephonic interviews were conducted in line with Covid-19 protocols. This chapter highlighted the background to the study, the problem statement, research objectives and questions, scope of the study, limitations to the study, clarification of terms and the layout of the dissertation.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This study analyses the plight of street vendors. The nature and extent of the challenges that street vendors face daily formed the basis of what literature had to be explored. This chapter begins by outlining the reasons for the emergence of the informal sector, and economic development initiatives (popularly known as the informal economy) in the global South. The chapter then broadly highlights the politics of street vending in Africa. It is also vitally important to explore the type of leadership found in this space. The second part of this chapter presents the theoretical framework. Informal economy has three theoretical perspectives or approaches, namely Neo Marxian, legalistic and institutionalist perspectives (Rajesh Ray and Kunal Sen, 2016: 17). This study espouses the legalistic theoretical perspective. In the legalist view, 'informal firms are an untapped reservoir of entrepreneurial energy, held back by government regulations' (La Porta and Shliefer, 2014). In this view, unleashing this energy by reducing entry regulations or improving property rights would fuel growth and development (Rajesh Ray and Kunal Sen, 2016: 22).

2.2 Challenges faced by street vendors

According to Hansenne (1991: 6) cited in Willemse (2011: 9), street vendors do not operate within the framework of the law in most cases. For every crime that happens, street vendors are the first suspects and accordingly are subjected to harassment. Street vendors face major challenges such as fear of being attacked, criminality, and robbery (Cichello 2005: 20; Ligthelm & Masuku, 2003: 58; Neves, 2010: 14; Skinner 2006: 141-142 cited in Willemse 2011: 9). Skinner (2008b: 228) cited in Willemse (2011: 14) argues that "street vending can be referred to as a 'survivalist mind set' where the actors struggle and suffer under cycles of poverty in which they are barely able to cope". In this case, actors mainly experience problems such as shrinking profitability, which make it difficult for them to cope with the foreseeable fluctuations in supply and demand (and income), especially if they are sole bread winners. For survival, street vendors employ diverse resilience strategies in their struggle to survive, interacting with ever-changing urban politics (Lin 2018: 1026). Kiran and Babu (2019) further

outline some of these problems, including issues such as harassment by local authorities and policemen, whose tactics usually include heavy-handed crackdowns on street vendors (Tafti, 2020: 1891).

To facelift and clean cities of street vendors, authorities use evictions as tactics, and elitist plans as justification of their action, arguing that street vending is seen and perceived as 'crime ridden spaces, drug dens and illegal spaces that gangs use as hideouts'. In India, street vending was proclaimed a comprehensible and non-boilable crime (Setšabi and Leduka, 2008; Kiran and Babu, 2019; Donovan, 2008: 31; and Singh, 2020). Cross cited in Brown *et al*. (2009: 667) contradicts the latter position in that he sees street vending as 'the production and exchange of legal wares and services that entail the need of relevant business licenses infringement of zoning codes, failure to detail tax liability, and/or legal assurance in relations with suppliers and customers'. Another major challenge is how to bounce back when the wares of the street vendors have been confiscated by the metro police considering the fluctuating sales. Usually, for vendors to get their wares back, they need to pay a fine and that alone is a drawback for the street vendors. In most cases, they do not get their wares back and they must start afresh. Given this background, street vending has become a 'contested' policy phenomenon. In the city of Johannesburg, this can be easily linked to the 'doublespeak' of local officials also known as 'double agenda'; this entails officials claiming to support informal workers and their activities, while at the same time striving for a clean city and to protect the image of a 'World class city' (Matjomane, 2013: 19 cited in Rogerson, 2016: 209).

To adapt and generate more embracing and beneficial circumstances for the informal street traders, a more thorough grasp of the possibilities for and restrictions on informal street vending can sway and help policy drafting (Willemse 2011: 14). Subsequently, immigrant street vendors are confronted by numerous challenges such as urban policies favouring locals over immigrants (Hansenne 1991: 36 cited in Willemse 2011: 9), and the major challenge being the threats of deportation (Hunter & Skinner 2003: 310; Skinner 2008b: 230 cited in Willemse 2011: 9). Consequently, foreign nationals find themselves having to deal with fear of xenophobic attacks (Hunter & Skinner 2003: 311; Skinner 2008b: 230 cited in Willemse 2011: 9). As far as the children of immigrants (despite being born and bred in South Africa) and the immigrants themselves are concerned, their citizenship status remains ambiguous owing to a political will in doing right (Canagarajah & Sethuraman 2001: 14 cited in Willemse 2011: 9). Their ability to compete pound for pound with the formal sector in the market is

diminished, and this unlevelled playing field is caused by the unparalleled enjoyment of the favoured treatment in the policy framework. Their ability to drive down costs and diversify their output is ineffective. They have few incentives to accumulate capital, acquire skills, and improve technology.

2.2.1 Drivers of street vending

Chen (2012:11) submits that a mix of factors drives the different segments of informal employment. Some self-employed choose or volunteer to informally work to avoid registration and taxation. Most people do not voluntarily enter the informal economy, but as a consequence of a lack of opportunities and in the absence of other means of livelihood in the formal economy (ILO 2018b in Alfers *et al*. 2022). Some are carrying passed on hereditary occupations by their parents or community. In the informal economy, women tend to be over-represented in the lower tiers of the informal economy by status in employment and in the least visible and most vulnerable occupations compared to their male counterparts (Chen *et al*. 2005 in Alfers *et al*. 2022). Poverty and lack of employment are the main drivers causing people to move from rural and semi-rural towns to the big cities for work opportunities and livelihoods. Despite people jumping on this bandwagon of informal economy, street vending is associated with very low earnings. This jump is forced by circumstances rather than by choice. What makes the jump onto this bandwagon easy is the fact that the entry requirements are minimal financing and skilling (Bhowmik 2010: 12).

Scores of urbanites lack access to decent jobs or service delivery, and instead, they have created their own income activities and established necessary services and infrastructure through collective efforts (Lindell 2008). The single most important advantage that comes with vending, is the opportunity to generate income – something that would not have happened if someone had not embarked on vending. Another advantage is the creation of employment. Lack of employment results in people finding themselves trapped in poverty. The lack of employment and lack of income drive street vendors into the informal sector. In a developing country like South Africa where joblessness is skyrocketing with high levels of illiteracy, and where a vast majority of the populace live in third-world conditions without formal education and are generally deprived, it is very important that people be allowed to earn a living by means of an 'easy-to-enter' business. More people have resorted to street vending as a source of survival because vending requires less technicalities and is easy to start (Martins 2006: 24; Juta

and Olutade 2021: 223). Economic hurdles are the primary barriers people face to enter informal street trading successfully. Most people resort to entering informal street vending because they cannot be absorbed in the formal sector, or they earn inadequate earnings elsewhere, or they have large households to sustain, or a combination of the aforementioned (Akinboade 2005:257; Cohen 2010:279; Fleetwood 2009:23; Fonchingong 2005:243; Madichie & Nkamnebe 2010:305; Onyenechere 2009:85; Skinner 2006:130 cited in Willemse 2011:8).

The issue of what drives people to choose street vending raises interesting arguments by different authors. Chen (2012:11) submits that a mix of factors drives the different segments of informal employment. Some self-employed choose or volunteer to informally work to avoid registration and taxation. Bhowmik (2010: 12) submits despite people jumping on this bandwagon of informal economy, street vending is associated with very low earnings. This jump is forced by circumstances rather than by choice. What makes the jump onto this bandwagon easy is the fact that the entry requirements are minimal financing and skilling. So if both arguments are anything to go by, when your employment is informed by very low earnings and minimum financing the issue of taxation does not arise in that not all workers who earn a salary get taxed because there are tax brackets to be considered and some incomes fall on zero percent taxable incomes considered by the taxman on who qualifies for taxation or not. Chen (2008), however, submits that holding the view that informal entrepreneurs deliberately avoid registration and taxation is problematic.

Bromley's (2000: 5) argument is that through their labour, street vendors can take care of themselves and their families. Bromely (2000) argues that street vending is like choosing between life and death for many. If street vendors failed to sell on the city's pavements, some street vendors would be without work. This will possibly result in them and their families becoming impoverished, and some possibly turning to crime, taking to the streets or causing an uprising. To alleviate poverty and eke out a living, street vendors take their hard-earned personal savings to get into street vending for survival. They get moulded by the continuous experience and execution of their craft, and they are self-financed (Kamala *et al*. 2007 cited in Bhowmik 2010: 12). They do no steal or engage in crime or beg for livelihoods. All they strive for is dignity and respect. However, the authorities in most cases hound them out of the streets or force them to pay bribes in order to remain (Bhowmik 2010: 12). Vending can be a confidence booster seeing as it gives street vendors the ability to provide for their families, and

this yields a sense of economic independence (Kusakabe 2010: 127 cited in Willemse 2011:8). Drivers of conflict such as wars, unrest, and political unrest can contribute towards forced migration to areas perceived to be relatively safe. Many foreign refugees turn to street vending due to minimal available options and alternatives for survival (Akinboade 2005: 260-261; Hunter & Skinner 2003: 308 cited in Willemse 2011: 9). This is not very different from the situation found in South African cities.

2.2.2 Contestation of public spaces

Amid the turbulence of economic and political liberalisation, schools of thought are divided as to whether Africa's cities are centres of geniality and desired empowerment, or black pits of deprivation and brutality (Meagher 2011: 49). What is clear is that the modern urban policy emphasis on decentralisation, deregulation, democratisation, and the privatisation of public services has escalated both economic deprivation and the eminence of informal networks and associations in the organisation of urban life. In the process, according to Meagher, African cities have become progressively complex places, distinguished by cross-cutting processes of soaring unemployment, desired livelihood master plans, a disintegrating physical and social framework, shared service provision, the corruption of power, and a boom in civil society (Meagher 2011: 49). Local states often make decisions and act relatively insulated from the influence of pressure groups, as well as detached from any existing policies or urban plans (Lindell 2008).

The unprecedented exodus and proliferation of the unemployed to big cities for vending threatens the very existence of formal businesses (Cardoso 2016 cited in Matenga 2018). Kamete and Lindell (2010: 893) cited in Matenga (2018) describe this unprecedented proliferation and effects as the 'forceful' entry by street vendors in public spaces and that it changes the original makeup of these spaces. Matenga (2018: 9) suggests that this threat to formal business is borne by street vendors notably operating and trading at the doorstep of formal businesses. This forced entry earned street vendors labels such as 'trespassers' in city walkways, and an annoyance and irritation, whilst the city's elites (mainly shopkeepers and authorities) view them as eyesores and menaces for commuters (Bhowmik 2010: 12). To make a living through the 'invasion' of streets, walks, major intersections, parks and other public areas, one of the main challenges faced by poor street vendors is to exhibit their goods to potential customers (Vicki 2005 cited in Roever and Skinner 2016: 114). The allocation of

vending stalls is generally haphazard. However, there have been a rise in regulatory interventions undertaken to this effect in most of the towns and cities in South Africa (Tara 2008 cited in Roever and Skinner 2016: 114). The 'invasion' of public spaces by street vendors and the issuing of vending spaces by government officials is the main cause of conflict between the street vendors and the authorities (Jenny 2009; Cross 2009 cited in Roever and Skinner 2016: 114). Street vendors often get themselves in big trouble because vending in its character is always seen as a barrier to the development of the cities (ILO 2002; Nontyatyambo 2009; Vicki 2005 cited in Roever and Skinner 2016: 114). This has in most cases led to most of their activities being classified as 'illegal', and consequently this leads to many problems street vendors face.

Despite street vending's dominant footprint and presence on street pavements where its operations are mainly based, in recent years, however, the practice has become more prevalent along highways, in cities and metropolitan areas owing to the surging high rates of unemployment in the formal sector (AmoaMensah (2016) cited in Juta and Olutade (2021): 227). Njaya (2014), cited in Matenga (2018): 13, observed the friction between the formal or registered business and informal or unregistered business. It is submitted that where informal traders operate at the doorstep of formal shops there is bound to be friction. When street vendors elect to operate outside the bounds of the law by operating outside the demarcated spaces, this affects how formal businesses do their business effectively – especially if they rely on window displays and the free flow of customers. Forceful entry to these public spaces is problematic in that this suggests a free-for-all scenario and/or no rules pertaining to the environment; hence, there is a reshape of these urban pavements as originally designed by city managers and this raises the issue of spatial redress. This is similar to what happens in some streets in South Africa. This study will examine this scenario in relation to street trading around the Pan Africa Shopping Mall.

2.2.3 By-laws as a means to regulate street vendors

In China, similarly, Asiedu and Agyei-Mensah (2008) and Huang *et al*. (2014) cited in Lin (2018: 1035) argued that as far as street vendors were concerned, when faced with the threat of evictions, some moral sentiment and nonviolent resistance was evident as they asserted that "we avoid being troublemakers" on the one hand; however, the action was "to reduce exposure to inspectors", which is commensurate with "spatial strategies" to avoid confrontation. In

downtown São Paulo, even though 90% of street vendors have no trading permits, street vendors are made to pay bribes equivalent to the size of the space they occupy (Itikawa 2006 cited in Roever (2014). This nonviolent resistance is commensurate with the assertion by Bhowmik (2010: 12) that street vendors want dignity and respect.

Roever, cited in Chen and Carre (2020) argues that in the main, by-laws require street vendors to have a licence in order to trade; thus, trading without a licence is illegal. The issuing of trading licences is used as a control mechanism by local authorities to limit the number of licences issued in order to manage the number of people entering this activity. Issuing or not issuing trading licences is dependent on political convenience. The lack of trading permits and application for those permits need adequate review in terms of what is the root cause of the lack of permits as street vendors are accused of illegal vending and being delinquent.

Authorities decide when it is convenient to get rid of street vendors or when to let them work. These arbitrary actions normally precede the electoral cycles or mega-events (Corrarino 2014 cited in Roever and Skinner 2016: 363). In the case of evictions, one commonly relied upon argument and justification is the pursuit towards the "modern", "ideal", and "hygienic city". The assumption created is that street vending represents "backwardness", harbours "dirt", and is therefore a stumbling block to attracting both domestic and international investors and tourists (Roever and Skinner 2016: 363). Recent research shed some light into the thinking and justification behind policy choices regarding full-on evictions, relocations to marginal trading sites, and continuous harassment. The large-scale, well-documented and coordinated, arbitrary evictions implemented by multi-city departments are Operation Murambatsvina in Zimbabwe (Musoni 2010 and Skinner 2008) and Operation Clean Sweep in Johannesburg, South Africa (Bénit-Gbaffou 2015), and smaller-scale but notably brutal evictions (Swanson 2007; Xue and Huang 2015). After reviewing and interrogating the 'Operation Clean Sweep' which took place in South Africa in October 2013, Bénit-Gbaffou (2014: 3) cited in Matenga (2018: 12) concluded that street vendors are "treated as human waste". Street vendors find themselves between a rock and a hard place in that 'the environment in which they trade is hostile in nature and the urban policies do not recognise them' (Kumari 2016 cited in Matenga 2018:12).

Referring to street vendors in Cairo, Bayat (2000: 550) cited in Matenga (2018: 23) argues that "once the municipality police arrive, street vendors simply retreat into the backstreets, but as soon as the police are gone they immediately resume their work". A cat-and-mouse scenario

between street vendors and the police becomes the order of the day. Another strategy used by street vendors to overcome the challenge of municipality raids is to operate during weekends. This is because municipal police do not work during weekends, thus street vendors flock to the Central Business District in their numbers during weekends (Matenga 2018: 66; Roever 2014: 29; and Singh 2020). Steel, Ujoranyi, and Owusu (2014) cited in Roever (2014: 30) noted that the success rate of these evictions in an effort to clear the streets is low, because over the longer term, they do not actually deter street vending. The safety-first approach employed by the street vendors that they trade in the absence of the local police seems to be a strategy employed in all environments, as is the case in South Africa as well. The cat-and-mouse scenario is well documented in places such as Noord Street in Johannesburg.

Female street vendors find themselves between a rock and a hard place when sex is demanded in exchange for permits (Lubaale and Nyang'oro (2013) cited in Roever (2014: 29). Nontyatyambo (2009) cited in Roever and Skinner (2016) argues that street vending and prostitution are both classified as vulnerable careers based on levels of harassment and associated risks involved. In China, Rekhviashvili (2015) cited in Lin (2018:1037) states, "As a street vendor, we work like ants, and we avoid being troublemakers". To counterweight negative perceptions and prejudices, street vendors had to justify their existence and relevance for the survival of their trade, and they had to facelift and revive their image. For over a decade, street vendors had perceived vending as their right, and vending as their rightful occupation where they earn their livelihood honesty as opposed to sex work or theft. "The antagonistic understanding of the informal economy is so predominating that it obscures structural problems that undermine street entrepreneurs that it ought to be respected". The environment risks associated with regular exposure to harsh weather conditions like rainfall and sunshine are other common difficulties faced by street vendors in South Africa (Lund 1998 cited in Singh 2020). These conditions are somewhat similar in other global Southern countries. Despite all this, vending in allocated spaces has some price tag on it in that street vendors are expected to pay for permit fees (Neves 2010: 14; Skinner 1999: 22 cited in Willemse 2011: 9). The challenge is that as in Noord Street, those who pay for the permits are those who basically operate within the bounds of the law. This challenges the view that all street vendors operate outside the bounds of the law.

Authorities use components of the legal infrastructure as justification to seize the stock of the street vendors (Roever 2014: 29). As a penalty against the illegal usage of public spaces, by-laws grant local authorities overarching powers to confiscate vendors' stock (Skinner 2008). To rub salt in the wound, street vendors have little to no legal recourse when their stock is never returned (Roever 2014). This begs the question: what happens to the confiscated merchandise, especially the perishables? An occurrence that could be considered progressive is that some street vendors have begun to challenge confiscation through the courts, and a street vendor in Durban, South Africa won a case in 2014 through the court system with the support of the Legal Resource Centre.

Despite all these challenges, street vendors provide the working poor with convenient and easy access to quick shopping for necessities like fruit and vegetables as they commute daily from home to work (Bhowmik 2010: 12). Street vending serves as a social preventive measure and is more economical for the state than to set up an extensive entitlement programme or significantly enlarging the police force, the courts of law and the jail system (Bromley 2000: 5). If Bromley's argument is anything to go by, it begs the question as to why the state is not investing in this social preventative measure rather than setting up extensive entitlement programmes or significantly enlarging the police force, courts of law and the jail system.

The lack of childcare facilities leaves street vendors with no choice but to bring their children to their business stalls, and these children end up playing and even sleeping on the walkways. This state of affairs has serious social consequences for children and their upbringing, as the children are vulnerable to bad weather conditions, diseases, malnutrition and abuse by other children and delinquent adults (Matenga 2018: 56). The lack of childcare facilities is an indictment towards social department and the notion of 'Batho pele' (People first) principles.

Street vendors are strikingly visible in public spaces the world over, but the total number of people who work in the informal sector is stated by no one. Yet, a claim is made that street vendors account for a sizable portion of urban employment when it is convenient to do so (Roever and Skinner 2016: 360). According to Kiran and Babu (2019) uncertainty and insecurity in this sector seem to be a continuous persistent challenge for street vending. Uncertainty brought about by lack of vending sites and insecurities brought about by low income, irregular employment or precarious employment, lack of market amenities, storage or

shade are rampant in this sector. Street vendors who live far away from their workplaces are faced with the issues of acquiring and securing storage facilities.

Political conditions and policies often present challenges to informal vendors. Skinner (1999: 17) states that in the apartheid South Africa, the city policies limited informal trading rather than facilitating its growth. The absence of past and current policies can create income tax hikes, increase income instability, reduce operating participation, suppress responses to growth, and distort bonus frameworks (Canagarajah & Sethuraman 2001: 5; Onyenechere 2009: 97; Skinner 1999: 17 cited in Willemse 2011: 9). Mitullah (2005) cited in Khumalo and Ntini (2021: 276) argues that 'insufficiency of capability to sustain vending can also be the reason for vending's failure to expand and comply with business investments'.

2.2.4 Trade unions and collective bargaining

In many countries, although informal workers represent the majority of workers, and they remain deeply embedded in global, national and local economies, they largely remain at the margins of negotiation and collective bargaining platforms. Informal worker organisations are not often recognised as equal partners within tripartite state–labour–capital structures: they either face exclusion altogether or are indirectly represented through a formal workers' trade union affiliation. More frequently than not, trade unions are unsuited or unfavourable in articulating their demands (Alfers and Moussié 2019 in Alfers *et al*. 2022). However, there is a growing social movement of international networks of organisations of informal workers from specific sectors. These networks (broad-based in nature) are bringing together different types of organisations of informal workers with similar interests, such as trade unions, cooperatives, producer groups, trade associations and other membership-based organisations (Agarwala 2018, Behrendt *et al*. 2019 in Alfers *et al*. 2022).

Street vending is a survivalist strategy and a tactic that sustains the livelihoods of the poor and the destitute people in cities of the global South (Chen and Skinner 2014, cited in Matenga 2018). It is an excellent and brilliant measure of self-help and grass-roots creativity (De Soto 1989). If the above is anything to go by, Cardoso (2016), cited in Matenga (2018) is correct to shed light on the effectiveness and efficiency of associations as well as advancing and advocating the plight of street vendors. Hence, Cardoso (2016), cited in Matenga (2018) submits that the jury is out on associations in the cause and plight of street vendors, considering

the hostile relationship between vendors and municipal authorities. China's repressive laws prohibited street vendors to join and establish any formal association (Huang *et al*. 2014). Recio and Gomez, Jr (2013) submit that associations and federations in response to policy contradictions assist street vendors to come up with strategies and tactics for survival and firmly push their agenda. These strategies include formal discussions and litigations. In order to influence policies and programmes, street vendors needed to organise; establish and form associations. A mind-set change among administrators, legislators, elected representatives, urban planners and the public at large regarding vending needed to take place. Once national structures are established, this could take place with the national agenda of 'fostering a holistic and comprehensive policy in favour of street vendors'.

Singh (2020: 105) submits that there was a feeling for the establishment of a national body of street vendors with a mandate to operate as a core actor, facilitator, aggregator and a catalyst. However, for any national body to succeed, representatives should always be mindful of issues faced by local street vendors. A social actor was also urgently needed who would facilitate the unionisation of street vendors and advance advocacy of their rights and the enactment of relevant laws and the provision of adequate social protection benefits (Singh 2020: 105). Informal workers rely on and also benefit from opportunities of collective negotiations and agreements and the case in point is where informal workers used collective measures as bargaining tools if taxes were to be paid and guaranteed services were demanded from the government (Skinner 2008b: 239; Cohen 2010: 279; Skinner 2008a: 27). Street traders, when operating individually against the big cooperates, are weak and vulnerable as opposed to jointly working together for maximum results (Skinner 2008b: 239). Bhowmik (2005: 2257) calls this process of collective action, 'unionisation' among street traders.

In Bangladesh, to legalise street vending, trade union action was used. To 'centralize their voices and bargain with the village cooperatives as well as the government's authoritarian power', local structures lack organisational power and decision-making (Cross 1998; Weng and Kim 2016 cited in Lin 2018:1036). To organise and create associations and affiliations of sorts, a certain kind of leadership is needed. To understand this type of leadership, the researcher will explore the definition of informal leadership and the role these leaders (who are in the main female) play. Informal leaders are defined as persons without formal title or specialisation, who serve as supporters and advocates for the group (Mhandu and Ojong 2017: 62). Mhandu and Ojong (2017) further state that their goal centres on social development. One of the other

important roles leaders play in the informal economy is that of organisational performance. This is achieved through exploiting available opportunities and mobilising resources, and freely bearing the obligation regarding the development results, successes and failures (Mhandu and Ojong 2017: 74).

Generally, poor regulations for vending activities expose traders to the mercy of urban enforcement authorities who make undue arrests, confiscate goods and even demand bribes. This leads to street vendors' rights being trampled upon through police brutality and unwarranted arrests. They experience many challenges in various municipalities such as intimidation and notably non-remittance of revenue, among others. This problem has triggered severe clashes between street vendors and municipal officials, assisted by police officers, and this unforeseen state of affairs has since attracted scholarly attention (Muiruri 2010; Nontyatyambo 2009 cited in Roever and Skinner 2016: 114; Juta and Olutade 2021: 226).

2.3 Financing street vending activities

Street vending businesses in the main get started through loans emanating from social networks which is families and friends. This shows that the kind of financing here is predominantly informal in nature (Canagarajah & Sethuraman 2001: 2; Cichello 2005: 23 cited in Willemse 2011: 8). A street vendor may be allocated a site that may have potential buyers, what is also referred to as a natural market where buyers naturally congregate, as opposed to a low foot traffic site (Tafti 2020:1891). This, however, comes with its challenges such as declining income and competition in a flooded marketplace (Donovan 2008).

Because of the number of people selling one and the same thing this also influences the market share. Because street vendors and traders buy in small quantities and not in bulk, big businesses have the upper hand by not extending and providing discounts for their purchases. 'High purchase prices and limited differentiation competition, especially for perishables, are sold at lower prices to avoid spoilage' (Akinboade 2005: 264; Kusakabe 2010: 128; Ngiba *et al*. 2009: 472 cited in Willemse 2011: 9). As much as competition is becoming a challenging phenomenon, the researcher observed that competition and selling the same goods is an aspect that embraces a spirit of 'social capital' (Khumalo and Ntini 2021: 277). Fourie (2018: 2) states that the unregistered sector is an important component of the economy that creates and provides job opportunities, livelihoods and income for millions of informal actors. This reality has,

however, in the main, been grossly neglected by the economic analysts and policymakers in the global South. The unregistered sector found itself deserted or, at best, found itself in the periphery of economic scrutiny and policy analysis. Despite Bromley's position that street vending serves as a social preventive measure and is more economical for the state than to set up an extensive entitlement programme or significantly enlarge the police force, courts of law and the jail system (Bromley 2000: 5), governments' ambiguous policy pathways leave a lot to be desired. Though street vending is an 'ancient' form of generating income the world over, its validity as a modern profession hardly finds expression in law or policy. Recent scholarly work has started exploring how this deficit shapes the everyday engagements between street vendors and local authorities (Roever 2014: 41). This deficit is also known as ambiguous policy pathways.

Income tax is rarely applicable to low-income street vendors because their earnings fall under the threshold for income taxation; yet many street vendors pay value-added tax (VAT) on the goods they purchase, without any way to pass on the cost of VAT to consumers (Skinner, Reed and Harvey 2018 cited in Roever 2020: 175). Adama (2020: 1) states that streets are 'concrete space for politics'. If this is anything to go by, the problem of street vendors needs political consideration and political willingness to resolve them. Unfortunately, Adama does not explore this notion of politics further except to point out the 'willingness of street vendors to break or circumvent the law in order to pursue their livelihoods and that the law is used for disciplinary technology'. Finding and acquiring start-up money through savings or loans is generally a challenge and a problem for the poor and the destitute (Ligthelm & Masuku 2003: 37; Madichie & Nkamnebe 2010: 307). Security is needed as surety by banks for loans offered. If informal traders cannot provide surety, the consequence thereof is that they cannot obtain access to financial assistance from banks, implying that they need to go and look somewhere else for financial assistance or credit for start-up money (Cichello 2005: 19; Fonchingong 2005: 247; Kusakabe 2010: 128-129; Soetan 1997: 44; Tambunan 2009: 48 cited in Willemse 2011:8). Alternative financing can be sourced through loans from informal sources, including family, friends or moneylenders. The hurdle and headache with this alternative form of financing is skyrocketing interest rates by moneylenders, which street vendors find difficult or almost impossible to repay, resulting in street vendors having to service huge debts which can be disastrous (Fonchingong 2005: 247; Hansenne 1991: 28-29; Tambunan 2009: 48 cited in Willemse 2011: 8). Mitullah (2005) cited in Khumalo and Ntini (2021) argues that the sector is also undermined and incapacitated by the inability to access financing. The consequence of

a lack of financing or subsidised financial packages can 'easily cripple further investment and development in workers' ability for bulk buying, and partial access to technology'. Financial exclusion is one other way that deters street vendors from financing their activities effectively. Solo (2008) submits that financial exclusion refers to whether or not families have a savings, check or debit account. She further outlines the concept of 'unbanked' individuals, and this refers to 'individuals who have no relationship with a formal financial institution, including banks, cooperatives and credit unions'. Solo (2008) finds that the unbanked in Mexico, Bogota, Columbia and several Brazilian cities show characteristics of marginality, which are lower income and lower educational levels compared to the whole population. Solo (2008) further submits that the unbanked individuals tend to work in areas with lower job security and beyond the social safety networks. The unbanked are mainly the self-employed with lower levels of income and of education than those who have bank accounts. One of Solo's findings is that in Mexico City, the poor rarely feel welcomed at the financial institutions in that they expect to being judged for who they are. The unbanked also cited, 'high commission; impossible commissions, non-negotiable terms and conditions and low interest rates on deposits and bad treatment'.

Solo (2008) further submits that there is a cost associated with being unbanked. This includes travelling costs to the banks and time. Banks are in the main located in affluent neighbourhoods. Transacting and services rendered all happen at a fee. Solo (2008) also finds that savings options among the unbanked were in the order of popularity, cash under the proverbial mattress, and informal savings clubs (tandas in Mexico, caderias de ahorro in Colombia) – a stokvel-like saving in a South African context.

Just as there is a cost for being unbanked, there is also a cost of borrowing. Solo (2008) further submits that loans from commercial stores, money lenders, and pawn shops range from 10% to 35% per month whilst annually, these loans range from 150% to just over 400%. It therefore goes without saying that the source of non-bank loans are friends and relatives. The unbanked and low-income individual groups consistently reported a lower inclination to request loans than high income groups. Cash-flow problems lead to all sorts of problems, including but not limited to the ability to manage their businesses profitably and the ability to maintain sufficient stock levels.

Lower supply and demand and stiff competition from new traders will inevitably affect the market share and size (Cohen 2010: 281; Companion 2010: 176; and Onyenechere 2009: 87 cited in Willemse 2011:9). The quantities traders purchase will consequently determine whether suppliers extend and offer discounts or not (Canagarajah & Sethuraman 2001: 70; Kusakabe 2010: 128; Ngiba, Dickinson, Whittaker & Beswick 2009: 471 cited in Willemse 2011:9).

As far as profitability is concerned, Khuluse (2016) and Mramba *et al*. (2016) cited in Juta and Olutade (2021: 233) argue that street vending gives a higher profit margin at times in comparison with formal enterprises. As opposed to many scholars who find that street vending profit margins are generally low depending on what is being sold, this is so for several reasons, including competition among vendors themselves. Enhancing the whole informal trading environment is crucial. Poor infrastructure and the lack of storage facilities are the main operational hindrances. Other impediments are related to the formalisation of businesses, obtaining support from crime prevention personnel, soaring taxation, and the lack of regular general support and access to relevant and up-to-date information (Willemse 2011:14). Cutting off one's nose to spite one's face through competing against each other and jealousy among street traders frequently limits and jeopardises their ability to collectively work together and ultimately influences and maximises their ability to increase or maintain their income levels and thereby make their businesses profitable (Companion 2010: 176; Ligthelm & Masuku 2003: 50 cited in Willemse 2011:9). It is said that the Pakistani nationals – the 'face' of Spaza shops in South African townships – use the model of clubbing together their resources to purchase stock for maximum returns.

2.4 The effects of Covid-19 on street vendor

The Covid-19 crisis with regards to both the pandemic and the policy response has spotlighted the fact that many of the frontline informally employed workers who provide essential goods and services as well as the injustices, inequities and indignities that informal workers face. The Covid-19 moment for informal workers in their struggle for justice, equality and dignity presents a unique opportunity for support and also presents old and new threats to informal workers (Chen 2020).

Specialising and selling foodstuffs and beverages pose major public health and hygiene problems and challenges, because street vendors' stock may be more exposed to environmental conditions and human contamination, owing to a lack of electricity supply and sophisticated cooking and cooling equipment. In the event of an outbreak of food poisoning, they can leave or relocate more easily (Bromley 2000). A lack of running water for sanitisation also has a bearing on this challenge. Despite Bromley's assertion, Martins (2006: 24) argues that street food vendors in Gauteng showed that the hygiene standard of their foodstuff offering is quite acceptable and that their clientele is generally satisfied. However, training in hygiene aspects such as not wearing jewellery, bangles, wristbands, bracelets, armbands; hand washing after money handling; and the disposal of leftovers will contribute to higher standards of hygiene. However, Matenga (2018: 56) submits that street vending is exposed and vulnerable to health hazards and lack of hygiene. It was observed that street corners and pavements have become a disgusting sight with an unpleasant aroma, as vendors dump vegetable and fruit peels in every open space. Njaya (2014) cited in Matenga (2018:57) argues that despite the provision of dust bins and adequate dumping sites by the urban authorities, refuse is not collected periodically as expected.

Covid-19 left street vendors and informal traders with no choice but to also respond strategically to the 2019 pandemic. Akuoko *et al*. (2020) cited in Thulare (2021) looked at different countries such as Ghana and Nigeria in assessing the responses to the Covid-19 pandemic by street vendors and informal traders in particular, and submit that Ghanaian women street vendors simply disregarded lockdown regulations and it was business as usual. Similarly, Onyishi *et al*. (2020) cited in Thulare *et al*. (2021) submit that Nigerian street vendors bluntly defied lockdown regulations. These transgressions and disregard for the regulations were informed by the urgency and importance in securing livelihoods in ensuring that street vendors' families continue to meet their obligations and need in support of their families (Durizzo *et al*. 2020; Kanitkar 2020 cited in Thulare *et al*. 2021). Otieno *et al*. (2020) cited in Thulare *et al*. (2021) submits that in the case of South Africa, both legal and illegal strategies were employed by the street vendors. In South Africa, street vendors, in the quest to persuade the government in easing regulations and allowing informal trading, successfully lobbied the government (Rogan and Skinner 2020 in Thulare *et al*. 2021).

Part of this success saw Spaza shops permitted to sell "essentials" and hot food vendors also allowed to trade (Otieno *et al*. 2020; WIEGO cited in Thulare *et al*. 2021). Selling of alcohol

and cigarettes remained prohibited during lockdown; however, this decision was later successfully challenged in court by affected businesses. To mitigate the effects of regulations, other informal economic actors such as waste pickers in various dumping sites across South Africa were handed food vouchers and electronic instant cash transfers (The Centre for Development and Enterprise; Rogan & Skinner 2020, WIEGO 2021). Food parcels were also in circulation arranged by different players such NGOs and churches to mitigate hunger (Nyashanu *et al*. 2020; Rogan & Skinner 2020; WIEGO 2021 cited in Thulare *et al*. 2021). Government concessions on Spaza shops selling essentials and the street vendors selling hot foods during lockdown led to those in the city of Johannesburg who are selling second-hand clothing to contact the Gauteng EDD in the quest to try and lobby them to be allowed to trade in De Villiers Street, and undertook to comply with Covid-19 regulations such as social distancing (Otieno *et al*. 2020; The Centre for Development and Enterprise cited in Thulare *et al*. 2021). Street vendors and informal traders did not always find themselves lawfully trading. This is supported by the findings that curfews were disregarded as traders attempted to push the envelope and make more sales like in the case of taverns (Thulare *et al*. 2021). It is also a well-documented fact that big business complained about the proliferation of illicit cigarette trading.

2.5 Theoretical framework: Self- help and grassroots creativity

The working poor cannot work their way out poverty of extreme proportions. They do not earn enough in order to feed themselves and their families, and to be able to deal with the economic risks and uncertainty with which they are faced. The majority of them in the informal economy earn livelihoods where, on average, there are low earnings and high risks (Chen 2008).

In the informal economy, without addressing the root causes of the low levels of income and the high level of risks faced by the working poor, poverty reduction is not possible. The lack of productive resources and economic opportunities are not simply the root causes. Labour rights (if they are wage workers) and business rights (if they are self-employed) is what the working poor lack, more fundamentally, as well as social protection, property rights, and the right to organisation and representation. Without considering the full range of informal workers or another category of informal workers, most policy prescriptions regarding informality have been framed in response to one. There is renewed interest worldwide at present, in the informal economy. The sector has not only grown worldwide but also emerged in unexpected places. It

now represents a quite significant share of the global economy and workforce but relatively overlooked (Chen 2008). The informal economy has three theoretical perspectives or approaches, namely Neo Marxian, legalistic and the institutionalist perspectives (Rajesh Ray and Kunal Sen 2016: 17).

2.5.1 Neo Marxian

This approach argues that the informal sector worker's setup in as far as the economic space provided by the informal sector and activities thereof is concerned, is different to that of the capitalist means of production. In the informal sector, the type of labour is predominantly self-employment, as opposed to the formal sector where the type of labour is predominantly wage-based employment with its trappings from the capital as opposed to the former (Sanyal and Bhattacharya 2009: 35) in Rajesh Ray and Kunal Sen (2016: 20). The Neo Marxian approach is helpful in differentiating between informal and formality and associating formality to capital. It is further helpful in differentiating between both types of employment.

2.5.2 Legalist approach

This approach argues that informal operators or traders sidestep the formal sector because of the rigidity that comes with formal sector rules, terms and conditions, and regulations. This rigidity is also viewed as an additional burden for the formal sector. De Soto (1989) argues that the informal sector's avoidance of cost of doing business and compliance with regulations such as rigid rules and regulations, taxes, time, and effort needed gives informality an opportunity to thrive. This approach does not see the informal sector as an exclusive problem of development any longer, the reason being that cost relating to regulation and enforcement is a relevant issue for any developed or developing country. In this approach, 'informal work arrangements are a rational response by micro-entrepreneurs to over-regulation by government bureaucracies' (Becker 2004: 10) in Rajesh Ray and Kunal Sen (2016: 21). De Soto (2000) in particular, focuses on traders who lack title deeds for their land in the informal sector. This becomes a barrier when these entrepreneurs want to use their land as surety or security in order to secure loans from the financial institutions which could help yield growth for their businesses. Red tape brought about by bureaucratic procedures, strict government regulations, and cumbersome bureaucratic approvals can also be a hindrance for informality to transit to formality.

De Soto (2000: 83) seems to argue that, just as there is a cost to operate within the bounds of the law, it should follow that operating outside the bounds of the law should be costly as well. De Soto (2000:83) found that by operating outside the bounds of the law, operators find themselves paying anything from 10 up to 15 percent in bribes and commissions to authority. Extra-legal entrepreneurs could also face additional costs such as payments to avoid penalties, making transfers outside legal channels, and operating from dispersed locations and without credit. This turns out to be a costly exercise for extra-legal entrepreneurs as opposed to doing things within the confines of the law. The life of the extra-legal entrepreneur turns out to be far costlier as opposed to that of the legal businessman. Therefore, exclusion from the formal sector raises the costs of doing business, creating a double penalty for entrepreneurs and households trying to compete informally (Godfrey 2011) in Rajesh Ray and Kunal Sen (2016: 22).

In the legalist view, La Porta and Shleifer (2014) contend that 'informal firms are an untapped reservoir of entrepreneurial energy, held back by government regulations'. In this view, unleashing this energy by reducing entry regulations or improving property rights would fuel growth and development (Rajesh Ray and Kunal Sen 2016: 22). The limitations of De Soto's legalistic theory is that he views informality as extra-legal entrepreneurs who are hell-bent on operating outside the scope of the law, and that the sole reason why informal traders would not transit into the formal sector is on the basis of avoiding the costs that are associated with entering the formal sector such as compliance with regulations, rigid rules, taxes, time, and effort, which gives informality an opportunity to thrive.

To further show that De Soto had a certain target population in mind, he argues as if all extra-legal entrepreneurs in the informal space have land that can be used as collateral. In the Global South, this is not always the case. However, there are similarities as far as the over-regulation by the government is concerned. De Soto uses the concept of the informal 'firm' and property rights which may isolate informal traders who always find themselves in contesting for public spaces, especially in the Global South. An attempt by De Soto to suggest that because of the informal sector's ability to 'dodge' costs associated with regulations and rigid rules, it should therefore should not be viewed as a developmental issue by either the developed or developing countries is problematic and lacks credence; however, context and lived experience determines the issues at hand.

In the Global South, what hinders the informal sector mainly to transit into the formal sector is by far not associated with attempts to avoid or 'dodge' costs associated with regulations and taxes. It is rather the lack of availability of wage-based labour as opposed to self-employment which is offered by the informal sector. De Soto's use of the concept of informal entrepreneurs may as well be echoing Rover's assertions when contrasting informal workers and informal entrepreneurs. 'While most street vendors are own-account workers with unstable earnings, poor access to health services and high exposure to occupational health and safety risks, a few become entrepreneurs who own or rent multiple stalls or stands, or occupy niche product sectors where earning potential is considerably higher (Roever in Chen and Carre 2020).

2.5.3 Institutionalist approach

This approach envisages the informal sector as a flourishing marketplace free of state interference, especially with its rules and regulations (as in the legalistic school). This approach further envisages informal relations to develop both informal and formal units as mechanisms of governance to equitably deal with ongoing trade between the two parties (as in the institutionalist school) (Rajesh Ray and Kunal Sen 2016: 24). The institutional approach is a desirable type of approach for this study where there is less state interference, rules and regulations. However, the researcher is mindful that there needs to be law and order in the form of by-laws. Basically, all three economic theoretical perspectives have elements that are helpful in this study. This study is informed by Hernando De Soto's (1989) framework that street vending is an outstanding initiative of self-help and grassroots creativity. De Soto (1989) described street vendors as "the most visible manifestations of a peaceful, informal revolution by hard-working poor people against an obstructive, 'mercantilist' system, a dysfunctional regulatory state controlled by the vested interests of career bureaucrats and big business" (Bromley 2000: 6).

La Porta and Shliefer (2014) argue that 'informal firms are an untapped reservoir of entrepreneurial energy, held back by government regulations'. Rajesh Ray and Kunal Sen (2016: 22) take this argument further by stating that, 'unleashing this energy by reducing entry regulations or improving property rights would fuel growth and development'. Cardoso (2016) in Matenga (2018: 9) argues that street vending has for a long time depicted self-employment, workers without formal income and those who do not associate to labour movements. Street vending has been popular in our country for many years. It is a form of job opportunity and

livelihood for survival related to the metropolitan destitute who regularly hold low expertise and skills sets, and a low level of education for the better paid jobs in the organised sector, and who cannot pick up jobs in the formal sector due to this handicap (Bhowmik 2010:12 and Pécoud 2005; Nontyatyambo 2009; Kamala *et al*. 2007 in Roever and Skinner 2016:114). Furthermore, street vending is characterised as an undertaking practised by Southern African metropolitan destitutes and a manifestation of poverty occupied simply to gain something for survival (Lyons and Snoxell 2005 in Matenga 2018). Despite all these challenges, the self-help initiatives and self-employment brought about an informality shield for those who embark on street vending, protecting them from poverty and violence as they fend for themselves. On the other hand, street vending is labelled as an activity practised by the Southern African urban poor and an activity engaged in simply to obtain something for survival (Lyons and Snoxell 2005 in Matenga 2018). Despite all the challenges cited by Meagher (20011) and Lindell (2007) about African cities being black holes of poverty and violence, initiates of self-help and self-employment brought about informality shields for those who embark on street vending from this proverbial hole of poverty and violence as they fend for themselves.

2.6 Conclusion

We often hear in South Africa about citizens who stopped looking for work due to unavailability of job opportunities; however, the reasons why job-seekers stop looking for work are seldom explained. In a developing country like South Africa where joblessness is skyrocketing with high levels of illiteracy, where a vast majority of the populace live in third-world conditions without formal education and are generally deprived, it is very important that people be allowed to earn a living by means of an 'easy-to-enter' business. More people have resorted to street vending as a source of survival because vending requires fewer technicalities and is easy to start (Martins 2006: 24; Juta and Olutade 2021: 223). This reduces the percentage of the unemployed and skews the unemployment picture owing to the fact that 'street vendors are distinguishable in metropolitan public spaces in the world over, but the correct total number of people who work as street vendors remains everyone's guess' (Martins 2006: 24; Juta and Olutade 2021: 223). Little consideration is given about the impact that street vending has as far as job creation or the reduction of the numbers of job-seekers is concerned. Street vending does contribute to job creation (informal work/jobs) and the reduction of poverty.

It is therefore critical that lawmakers put their money where their mouth is by addressing the plight of street vendors, and appreciating their contribution to the economy (informal economy) of the country. Seeing that scholars and researchers have developed an interest in informal employment in general and street vending in particular, lawmakers must begin to take street vending seriously and avoid the contradictions in policy positions as caused by by-laws. 'Though street vending is a prehistoric form of livelihood that prevails the world over, its appropriateness as a present- day profession is seldom made unambiguous in law or in policy' (Roever 2014: 41). This sector is also highly unorganised – no formal bargaining for workers and no associations are present in this space; hence, the plight of street vendors remains unchanged. 'In circumstances where collective bargaining power of workers in the organised sector had been diminishing, the insecurity and uncertainty (brought about by precarious work conditions) was still further uttermost for street vendors who were relegated and unorganised' (Singh 2020: 105).

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the research methodology and specific procedures or techniques used in the gathering and processing of research information in this study. Haralambos & Holborn (2004: 898) state that the purpose of the pilot study is to check the feasibility of the study or improve the study design. A pilot study was undertaken before the interviews took place. The researcher pre-interviewed and pretested the gatekeeper and an official at the EDD. After interviewing these two participants during the pilot study, the researcher then revised and fine-tuned his research questions. During the pilot study, both the gatekeeper and the official at EDD shared invaluable information that shaped the type of questions to be asked and the direction the study would take.

In this chapter, the researcher locates the study as far as knowledge claims are concerned and justification for such a choice was given. The approach adopted for data collection is qualitative and therefore, from data collection to data analysis, the approach is qualitative. This chapter focuses on the following: The chosen research paradigm, the study approach and design, the study setting, study population sampling and sample size, data-gathering method(s) and procedures, data-gathering instruments, data-analysis strategies, ways to ensure validity and reliability, and ethical considerations.

3.2 The chosen research paradigm

This study uses the interpretivist paradigm. According to Kalof, Dan and Dietz (2008: 89), the interpretivist paradigm seeks to outline first-hand experiences of people from their own point of view and to understand how individuals interpret their lived experiences. The interpretivist paradigm permits the researcher to acquire extensive information, which could be both qualitative and or quantitative. The interpretivist paradigm was applied and related to first-hand experiences of street vendors after data analysis and to make recommendations to improve their lived experiences. Denzin and Lincoln (1994) cited in Bashir *et al.* (2008: 38) view qualitative research as a field of inquiry in its own right. It can be used in all disciplines, different fields, and different areas of specialisation. A vast, interconnected family of terms, concepts, and assumptions surround the term qualitative research. Golafashani (2003) in Bashir (2008: 38)

argues that qualitative research uses a naturalistic approach that seeks to understand the 'real life experiences' of subjects in their specific context, such as the real world setting in which the researcher has no influence on the phenomenon and only tries to unveil the ultimate truth. In this study, the only ultimate truth to be unveiled is the plight of street vendors in the Pan Africa Shopping Mall. The ultimate truth to be unveiled is the truth as narrated in the research problem – street vendors in the Pan Africa Shopping Mall in Alexandra Township are facing critical challenges that require urgent attention from the Johannesburg municipal authorities. This study investigates the reasons behind these critical challenges facing street vendors in the Pan Africa Shopping Mall in Alexandra Township. Once these reasons are highlighted, Johannesburg municipal authorities and the trade union representatives of street vendors can then work towards finding solutions for challenges facing street vendors. The transformative approach was applied with its philosophical assumptions on axiology, ontology, epistemology and methodology using qualitative methods to gather data.

The qualitative researcher often visits the participants' site, equipping the researcher to gain some insights into the participants on site, and to be highly present and be part of the actual experiences of the participants (Bashir *et al.* 2008: 38). The researcher visited the site frequently to observe and pick up trends and developments in the space. Qualitative research entails the studied usage and collection of varied empirical materials (case study, personal experience, introspective, life story, interview, observational, historical, interactional, and visual texts) that describe individual day-to-day life experiences and their problems and meaning. Therefore, these data collection methods like interviews and observations are dominant in the naturalist (interpretive) paradigm (Bashir *et al*. 2008: 38).

3.3 The research approach

This study adopted the qualitative approach. Generally, there are three main study approaches, namely the quantitative, qualitative, or mixed approach. The mixed approach refers to the combination of the quantitative and qualitative approaches. The mixed approach is said to be beneficial because the researcher benefits from the advantages of each approach. Research design, its facets and explanation of how it was used in the research are defined, described and applied. There is consensus among authors that research design is more of a guideline for researchers. The knowledge claims, the strategies, and the research methods all contribute to a research approach that is either quantitative, qualitative, or mixed in form (Creswell 2003: 18).

This study locates itself within the qualitative approach. Creswell (2003: 18) argues that 'a qualitative approach is one in which the inquirer often makes knowledge claims based primarily on constructivist perspectives and/or advocacy/participatory perspectives. It also uses strategies of inquiry such as narratives, phenomenologies, ethnographies, grounded theory studies, or case studies'. The researcher collects open-ended emerging data with the primary intent of developing themes from the data. The researcher chose this approach precisely because as an inquirer, the researcher was making knowledge claims based primarily on the constructivist perspective and/or advocacy/participatory perspectives. The constructivist perspective refers to the individual meaning of multiple experiences, social and historic meanings developed for theory generation. Advocacy/participatory perspectives refer to political, issue-oriented, and collaborative or change oriented perspectives (Creswell 2003: 18).

The reason for this choice of research is that this approach understands multiple participant meanings, social and historical construction, and theory generation (constructivist perspectives).). Qualitative research is exploratory and is useful when important variables to examine are unknown. The justification for the use of this tactic is when the topic is new, it has never been addressed with a certain sample or group of people, or existing theories do not apply within a particular sample or group under study (Morse 1991 cited in Creswell 2003: 22). The appropriateness of the qualitative technique to this study is informed by constructivist and advocacy/participatory perspectives. They are like hands and gloves. The attributes of the qualitative technique are the capability to produce an agenda for change or reform; collaboration between interviewer and participants; capability to validate the unambiguousness of findings; it brings distinctive values into the study; it collects participant's meanings or phenomenon; it presents personal values into the study; it examines the conditions or settings of participants; it makes an analysis of data; and focuses on a single concept or phenomenon (Creswell 2003: 19).

3.4 Knowledge claims

The four schools of thought about knowledge claims are post positivism, constructivism, advocacy or participatory knowledge claims, and pragmatism (Creswell 2003: 6). This study locates itself on advocacy or participatory knowledge claims. As far as this knowledge claim is concerned, researchers believe that the inquiry needs to be intertwined with politics and a political agenda. Thus, the research should contain an action agenda for reform that may change

the lives of the participants, the individuals' workplaces or their dwelling places. Moreover, specific important social issues of the day need to be addressed that speak to issues such as empowerment, inequality, oppression, domination, suppression, and alienation (Creswell 2003: 9 & 10). This study seeks to expose the challenges and the plight of street vendors in the Pan Africa Shopping Mall in Alexandra Township.

One of the knowledge claims is the challenges faced by the street vendors' challenges, and a quest for political intervention and political consideration to find a political solution that would fully resolve such challenges. The precarious nature of their work and the fact that street vendors depend on this work to secure their livelihoods can only change or be reformed by policymakers or by policy considerations favourable to street vending. Favourable policies will go a long way to address or bring about empowerment in this sector, for as long as street vendors are treated with contempt by local authorities who abuse and evict them daily, this speaks of inequality, and human rights violations. Abuses, unjust treatment, threats to evict and evictions of street vendors by local authorities are oppressive.

Those who think that they are the owners of the public spaces, be it storekeepers or local authorities, may inevitably play a dominating role. This may even include suppression of those who want to operate where there are more customers. Creswell (2003: 10) states that the advocacy researcher often begins with one of these issues as the focal point of research. The assumption about the study is that the inquirer will proceed collaboratively and refrain from marginalising participants. The participants may therefore help with designing of questions, collection of data, analysis of information, or receiving of rewards for participating in the research. The participants' "voice" becomes a united and compelling voice for reform and change. This advocacy may mean providing participants with a voice and a platform for raising their consciousness or advancing an agenda for transformation and change to improve their lives. Indeed, this study seeks to raise the attention to the challenges and the plight of street vendors. It seeks to be the voice for the voiceless. Kermis and Wilkinson (1998) cited in Creswell (2003) outline four key features of advocacy forms. A key feature relevant to this project states that, 'it is emancipatory in that it helps unshackle people from the constraints of irrational and unjust structures that limit self-development and self-determination. The aim of advocacy participatory studies is to create a political debate and discussion so that change occurs'. As far as this project is concerned, the aim is to unshackle street vendors from the constraints of permits or lack thereof by irrational and unjust city officials that limit

development and self-determination by evicting and confiscating their goods. The advocacy or emancipatory claim is correct in suggesting that the solution to the plight of street vendors in South Africa is political and needs a political solution. The November 2021 local government elections in South Africa came and went without any political party addressing the issue of street vendors in their political manifestos.

3.5 Research design: Case study design

Yin (1994) cited in Tellis (1997) has identified some specific types of case studies: Exploratory, Explanatory, and Descriptive. Descriptive cases require a descriptive theory to be developed before starting the project. This study will follow the descriptive method because the study is located on specific theory. Another reason for the choice of study method is based on Yin's (1994) four stages. These stages are case study design, case study conduct, case study evidence analysis, and development of conclusions, recommendations and implications. This case study would have followed all these four stages by the time it is concluded. Case studies tend to be selective, focusing on one or two issues that are fundamental to understanding the system being examined (Tellis 1997). Case studies are multi-perspectival analyses. This means that the researcher considers the voice and perspective of the actors, the relevant groups of actors and the interaction between them. This one aspect is a salient and overarching point in the characteristic that case studies possess. They provide a platform and a voice for the powerless to speak out. When sociological investigations present many studies of homelessness and the powerless, they do so from the elitist viewpoint (Feagin, Orum & Sjoberg 1991 cited in Tellis 1997). When one closely looks at the objectives of this study, they strive to put across the plight of street vendors and to give a voice. Case study is popular as a triangulated research technique. Snow and Anderson cited in Feagin, Orum & Sjoberg (1991) asserted that triangulation can happen with data, inquirers, suppositions, and even systems of methods (Tellis 1997).

In this study, triangulation is applied to show the authenticity of the findings. Another important phenomenon with case study methods is the notion of validity and reliability, which has been explored fully in this study. Yin (1994) cited in Tellis (1997) further suggests that the researcher must possess or acquire the following skills: be able to ask good questions and to correctly interpret the responses, be a good listener, be adaptive and flexible when reacting to various situations, have a firm grasp and understanding of issues being studied, and be unbiased by preconceived notions. The investigator must have the ability to function as a "senior"

investigator (Feagin, Orum & Sjoberg 1991 cited in Tellis 1997). Yin (1994) proposes five components of case studies: The study's questions; its propositions, if any; its unit(s) of analysis; the logic linking the data to the propositions; and the criteria for interpreting the findings (Yin 1994: 20 cited in Tellis 1997).

Yin (1994) cited in Tellis (1997) identifies six primary sources of evidence for case study research. The six sources identified by Yin (1994) are: documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observation, participant observation, and physical artefacts. Interviews are one of the most important sources of case study information. In this study, telephonic interviews were used. Yin (1994) cited in Tellis (1997) suggests three principles of data collection for case studies: use multiple sources of data, create a case study database, and maintain a chain of evidence.

3.6 The study setting, study population, sampling and sample size

The population studied are the street vendors in the Pan Africa Shopping Mall in Alexandra Township. Other participants of interest are the shopkeepers as well as the EDD officials. Purposeful sampling was used because it is "a less time wasting, though somewhat less random method, which involves choosing or picking, say, every tenth or twentieth number on a list" (Haralambos & Holborn 2004: 895). There are about a thousand street vendors operating in this space. Before navigating this space, the researcher had to identify the gatekeeper. The gatekeeper was helpful in identifying key stakeholders such as the EDD. One of the issues brought up by one of the gatekeepers was the alleged involvement of formal business in street vending. The gatekeeper also directed the researcher to the EDD. An official at the EDD confirmed that street vendors at the Pan Africa Shopping Mall use card-like system 'starter packs' also known as smart cards as licences and that currently no one has a valid licence in the Pan Africa Shopping Mall. This speaks to participants helping to design questions.

3.6.1 The study setting

'The study setting is an important component of a research study. The nature, context, environment, and logistics of the study setting may influence how the research study is carried out. Investigators should record the characteristics, events, gatherings, and other features of a study setting before submitting their study for ethics review and beginning data collection.

Observing a study setting before the start of data collection allows investigators to premeditate any practical challenges inherent in the organisation, structure or layout of the study setting' (Majid 2018). 'Information that is pertinent to include in the research protocol about the study setting are the structure, layout, and organisation of the setting, the rationale for choosing this setting over others, external or online links that describe the setting if available, and any data from the literature on the setting' (Majid 2018). The Alexandra township population was estimated to be about 700 000 in 2019 (Mafisa 2019). Many residents of Alexandra Township use Pan Africa taxi ranks to go to their different destinations. The Pan Africa Shopping Mall was traditionally an Indian-owned trading space with different stores selling household goods, school wear, stationery, and clothing and shoe items. The Pan Africa Shopping Mall is also well known for the Freedom Supermarket where scores of customers do their groceries daily.

Along the Pan Africa Shopping Mall sits Alexandra Junction centre with national retailers such as Shoprite and different banks. There are many pedestrians (workers) walking from Alexandra through the Pan Africa Shopping Mall to the neighbouring Wynberg industrial area and Sandton suburb. All these pedestrians pass by informal traders' stalls to and from work daily. The Pan Africa Shopping Mall saw an amazing facelift after the Alex Junction centre and Alex renewal project. "More than ten thousand people use the area daily, along with some 1 500 taxis. It was the first centre in Johannesburg to be designed with a fully integrated 50 000 m^2 taxi rank with a three-level facility. Commuters and shoppers are often dropped at a shuttle rank. Retailers have seen that pedestrians and taxi traffic in the area continue to increase, as do retail turnover for tenants" (City of Johannesburg: 2018). This researcher chose the Pan Africa Shopping Mall because it is one of the busiest Johannesburg areas where street vending takes place. Alexandra Township is also generally known for congestion and high levels of poverty, and therefore the researcher was interested in determining how street vending mitigates poverty and unemployment in this space.

3.6.2 Study population

The study population are the street vendors in the Pan Africa Shopping Mall in Alexandra Township, Johannesburg, Gauteng Province, storekeepers, and officials from the EDD in Johannesburg. The target population of this project are the street vendors in the Pan Africa Shopping Mall in Alexandra Township. The Pan Africa Shopping Mall is the business hub of Alexandra Township. There are about a thousand street vendors trading in the Pan Africa

Shopping Mall in Alexandra in South Africa. This number might have reduced after the torching and looting of some businesses in the Pan Africa Shopping Mall during the July 2021 unrest, but the numbers will probably increase again as more businesses rebuild and reopen for business again. The street vendors who were trading despite all these challenges were the sample population and were also part of the researcher's frame (list) of participants to consider for interviews. This was applicable to storekeepers as well because some of their businesses were affected by the unrest. Just as the researcher concluded his data collection in and around January 2022 and people were trickling in from the December holidays, something that was never anticipated happened. Operation Dudula (a xenophobic vigilante group that has led unlawful raids targeting foreigners) did not only hit different cities and towns, but also hit the Pan Africa Shopping Mall in Alexandra Township, and this displaced most of the research participants, as many were prohibited to work as street vendors because Operation Dudula members continued to occupy the vending spaces and prohibit street vendors originating from outside South Africa from vending. Operation Dudula was primarily a xenophobic movement that claimed to represent 'patriotic' South Africans who are jobless, and targeted immigrants from foreign countries whom it accused of 'taking' their jobs. Dudula is a Zulu word meaning 'struck out'.

3.6.3 Sampling techniques

Purposeful sampling was used precisely because it is a commonly used sampling method in social sciences. 'Purposive sampling is the most important kind of non-probability sampling' to identify the primary participants. The sample is based on the researcher's judgement and the purpose of the research' (Babbie 1995; Greig & Taylor 1999; Schwandt 1997 cited in Groenewald 2004: 45), looking for those who 'have had experiences relating to the phenomenon to be researched' (Kruger 1988: 150 cited in Groenewald 2004: 45). Purposeful sampling was also used because it is 'a less time wasting, though somewhat less random, method as it involves choosing or picking, say, every tenth or twentieth number on a list' (Haralambos & Holborn 2004: 895). The researcher identified his sample by picking every tenth participant for interviews.

3.6.4 Sample Size

Initially, the researcher's targeted sample was 60 street vendors who sell different goods such as fruits and vegetables, cell phone airtime vouchers; household goods; and who do haircuts and hairdressing; and those selling stationery and hot food, to name but a few. As the researcher continued with interviews, he managed to interview fourteen street vendors and three shopkeepers. As soon as the researcher arrived at participant fourteen, he reached saturation. After reaching saturation, the researcher realised that no new information was forthcoming from the participants. The involvement of Operation Dudula muddied the waters, foreign immigrant street vendors were prohibited from trading, the number of street vendors reduced significantly, some vendors (even locals) lost everything due to arson, and all this resulted in this space remaining volatile, and the trust deficit widened.

3.6.5 Eligibility criteria

Kamangar and Islami (2013) cited in Majid (2018: 3) argue that the eligibility criteria determine whether or not an individual is qualified to be a participant in a research study. Eligibility criteria consists of inclusion criteria, which are the main characteristics of the population of interest. In order to participate in the research study, a potential participant has to fulfil all criteria. Exclusion criteria, on the other hand, are characteristics that may interfere with data collection, follow-up, and safety of research participants. If a potential research participant fulfils any one of the exclusion criteria, they are excluded from participation. Designing exclusion criteria requires investigators to examine the literature on the topic and discern important variables and confounding factors that have shown to interfere with the study plan. In this study, the main characteristics of the population of interest are street vendors in the Pan Africa Shopping Mall in Alexandra Township. These include both male and female vendors; street vendors of all ages except those under eighteen, if any. Any other street vendor from Alexandra Township but not the Pan Africa Shopping Mall falls outside the inclusion criteria. To be eligible to participate in this study, a person needed to be above the age of eighteen and a street vendor in the Pan Africa Shopping Mall. Street vendors often get visited and helped by their families who may include spouses or their children after school. They too, fell in the exclusion criteria. Due to the Covid-19 pandemic, interviews were only done telephonically. Not owning a cell phone would interfere with data collection and possible follow-up. Some participants voluntarily gave consent to participate in the study; however,

when they were called (and several attempts were made to get hold of them) and they were unreachable, they immediately fell in the category of exclusion criteria.

3.7 Data collection

Creswell (2009: 217) states that although the visual model and the discussion about the specific strategies in a proposal provide a picture of the procedures, it is helpful to discuss the specific types of data to be collected. It is also important to identify the sampling strategies and the approaches used to establish validity of the data. Creswell (2009: 217) states that the researcher needs to identify and be specific about the type of data to be collected, whether quantitative or qualitative data. Data differs in terms of open-ended versus closed responses. This study used interviews and observations, and open qualitative responses were solicited. The study also used qualitative data collection methods in the form of purposeful sampling because participants have experienced similar phenomena. According to Hycner (1999: 156), "the phenomenon dictates the method (not vice-versa) including even the type of participants" (Groenewald 2004: 45). Seventeen interviews were held compromising of fourteen street vendors and three shopkeepers. A structured interview was undertaken. Each interview lasted approximately thirty to forty-five minutes. The challenges faced during the interviews were that some of the telephone numbers given were not available at the time that was agreed and scheduled for interviews. During the day, the participants were not generally available because of tight schedules and the need to earn a salary. When the participants were called in the evenings, they would either be still at work or commuting to their place of residence. Although they had agreed to be interviewed, some participants, when called, would simply decline to continue the conversation. This tendency was always allowed and respected in accordance with the consent forms they initially signed. The interviews were electronically recorded; however, there was no translation because all interviews were conducted in English. Interviews were conducted in accordance with an interview guide. The researcher personally transcribed participants' responses. The researcher frequently visited the site and made a few observations including but not limited to, huge waste generated in this space; families' involvement in street trading like school children joining their families after school; and Operation Dudula members patrolling and trying to reclaim the Pan Africa Shopping Mall trading space for the locals and making demands for some small fee to be paid to them. The researcher further observed that some immigrant street vendors temporarily ceased to trade whilst the members of Operation Dudula were around, because they feared for their safety.

The participants' biographic information and research data are kept safely in the researcher's study at his place of residence where the public have no access to the researcher's study. Should the data be needed for whatever reason, it will be made available accordingly. The researcher further observed that street vendors were operating next to street robots outside on the pavements because of a lack of trading spaces. He also observed the shivering reaction of street vendors at the sound of police car sirens.

3.8 Data analysis

Creswell (2009: 217) states that although the visual model and the discussion about the specific strategies in a proposal provide a picture of the procedures, it is helpful to discuss the specific types of data to be collected. It is also important to identify the sampling strategies and the approaches used to establish validity of the data. Creswell (2009: 217) states that the researcher needs to identify and be specific about the type of data to be collected, whether quantitative and qualitative data. Data differs in terms of open-ended versus closed responses. This study used interviews and observations, and open qualitative responses were solicited. The study also used qualitative data collection methods in the form of purposeful sampling because participants have experienced similar phenomena. According to Hycner (1999: 156) "the phenomenon dictates the method (not vice-versa) including even the type of participants" (Groenewald 2004: 45). There are three types of data analysis, namely the grounded theory, hermeneutic analysis and thematic analysis. These analyses maybe used together depending on the study. This study employed thematic analysis for the following reasons. Thematic approaches are appropriate when samples are determined and defined before proceeding with the study. Thematic analysis offers flexibility for starting with data analysis at any time of the study. Thematic analysis provides a comprehensive process for a researcher to identify numerous cross-references between evolving themes and the entire data (Hayes 1997 cited in Alhojailan 2012). By using thematic analysis, it is possible to link the various concepts and opinions of participants and compare them with the data that has been gathered in different situations at different times from other or the same participants during the study. In this case, the potential for interpretation becomes ongoing (Alhojailan 2012). With thematic analysis, data can be displayed and classified according to its similarities and differences. This is made possible by collecting data using different research instruments such as observations, questionnaires and interviews. Thematic analysis produces and presents data more effectively and reflects the reality of the data collection (Alhojailan 2012).

3.8.1 Data interpretation

In analysis of data, the researcher used thematic analysis because of the amount of flexibility it affords the researcher. Alhojailan (2012) submits that thematic analysis assists with the interpretation drawn, which is consistent with data collected. Participants' interpretation was analysed to give plausible explanation for their behaviours, actions and thoughts. In the Pan Africa Shopping Mall, the participants were free to explain their reasons for doing or not doing anything. Chapter Four highlights the behaviours, actions and thoughts of these street vendors.

3.8.2 Inductive approach

Another value of using thematic analysis in data analysis is the application of inductive and deductive methodologies. Alhojailan (2012) submits that observational data collected throughout the study is permissible with thematic analysis. Furthermore, thematic analysis allows pre-data and post-data to be collected at any point of the research. This can help with differences and similarities that take place before or after data adaptation. The amount of flexibility afforded to the research is the reason for using this tool. The data determines the direction in which the research is going through emergence of themes, patterns and concepts.

3.8.3 Data coding

Data coding is involved by assigning table units to the data that could be collected from the participants, whether it was a single statement or a longer answer. The main purpose of coding in thematic analysis is to make connections between different parts of the data. Coding is derived from the participants' responses, e.g. statements and reports, and it categorises information with the aim of framing it as theoretical perceptions (Coffey and Atkinson 1996 cited in Alhojailan 2012). Coding will allow the researcher to review the whole of the data by identifying its most significant meaning or, to put it simply, what is the data trying to say or tell us (Miles and Huberman 1994; Halldorson 2009; Coffey and Atkinson 1996 in Alhojailan 2012). For the purposes of coding, the researcher designed and used a code book to manage and keep a record of codes for each variable. Missing variables were also indicated accordingly and were excluded from data analysis.

The researcher ensured that the participants' actuals words are kept intact whilst maintaining the flow of evolving concepts and themes that arose in response to the research questions, and

which were categorised together for analysis. During open-ended interviews, clarifications and verifications of responses were done as the interviews were taking place – an added advantage of using this tool. The researcher kept going back to different participants to check what responses were given because some participants would give more than one. This was anticipated, and, depending on the relevance of that information as a research, the researcher then used it where necessary for as long it spoke to the research questions. The rest was the subject of data reduction, as the focus was on summarising and selecting data addressing the research questions, picking up themes and patterns, and grouping that which belonged together. Any similarities and differences were displayed and classified together as well. Miles & Huberman (1994) cited in Alhojailan (2012) submit that data reduction is, "A form of analysis that sharpens, sorts, focuses, discards, and organises data in such a way that a 'final' conclusion can be drawn and verified".

3.9 Ways to ensure validity and reliability: Ensuring rigour

Validity refers to the accuracy, whilst reliability refers to consistency of a measure. To ensure validity and reliability in this study, the researcher ensured that there is consistency in every element of the research methods employed, data gathered and instruments used. With data gathering, responses were taken verbatim to ensure that the participants' voice is loud and clear. This helped to avoid subjectivity and ensured that objectivity can be realised. 'Reliability is used to distinguish stable, consistent, and dependable research methods, instruments, data, or results'. On the other hand, validity is the key characteristic of these entities, procedures, or devices actually to ascertain the dimensions that they purport to ascertain. Scientists also use the terms objectivity and subjectivity to tag or label research data, depending upon the degree to which observations are free of personal inclination or prejudice. Objectivity is the ability of a researcher to distinguish the empirical world literally as it exists (insofar as this is possible), relatively free of twists or manipulation that are often created by feelings or personalised explanation or exposition. On the other hand, subjectivity is an attribute or feature of research observations, data, or findings that primarily reflect personal and psychological factors (Busha and Harter 1980: 8 & 9). To distinguish the empirical world literally, Bashir *et al.* (2008: 41) argue that one of the strategies to increase validity in qualitative research is by mechanically recording data, use of tape recorders, photographs, and videotapes. Both qualitative and quantitative researchers need credibility of the research. The credibility of a qualitative research depends on the ability and effort of the researcher. This is also viewed as the validity and

reliability in qualitative research; these terms are not viewed separately in this qualitative research paradigm. Instead, terminology that encompasses both, such as credibility, transferability, and trustworthiness is used (Bashir *et al.* 2008: 38).

In qualitative research, validity refers to trustworthiness and reliability refers to consistency. Both have the following elements, which are credibility, transferability, dependability, and conformability. Guba and Lincoln (1989) state that 'Trustworthiness is considered a more proper yardstick for assessing qualitative studies to ensure the process is trustworthy'. Guba and Lincoln (1989) propose that the research should meet four criteria. These are credibility, transferability, dependability, and conformability. Credibility ensures the study assesses what is intended and is a correct contemplation of the social reality of the participants. There are many plans of action to deal with credibility that incorporate "prolonged engagement" and member checks. Carlson 2010 contends that some researchers regularly provide participants with their interpretations of the narratives for the purpose of verifying plausibility (Curtin & Fossey 2007; Merriam 1998 in Carlson 2010) and asking: Am I on the right track? Did I understand this in the same way you meant it? To ensure credibility, the researcher continuously asked his participants whether what they told him is what he said back to them in order to ensure that he captured their responses correctly.

On prolonged engagement, Bashir *et al.* (2008: 41) argue that prolonged and persistent field work allows interim data analysis and corroboration to ensure a match between the findings and the participants' reality. Transferability relates to the ability of the findings to be passed on to other contexts or settings. Because qualitative research is specific to a particular context, it is important that a thick description of the particular research context is provided, allowing the reader to evaluate whether it can be passed on or transferred to their situation or not. Dependability makes certain the process is described in sufficient detail to enable or aid another researcher to repeat the work. This needs a comprehensive audit trail. Confirmability is akin to objectivity in quantitative studies. Here, the aim is to reduce investigator partiality by acknowledging researcher prejudices. As a researcher, this researcher ensured that the project has minimum investigator bias by ensuring that findings represent the views of the participants and not those of the researcher.

McMillan & Schumacher (2006) cited in Bashir *et al*. (2008: 41) state that validity refers to the degree of congruence between the explanations of the phenomena and the realities of the world. Disagreement occurs between the names of specific concepts; reflexivity and extension of findings are the other words that can be used in this regard. To answer the question of enhancing validity, they argued that continuous refinement of the sampling and data collection techniques throughout the data collection process increases the validity.

In qualitative studies, multi-method approaches have been employed by the researcher towards the generalisability of the research that is to enhance the reliability and validity of the research. Researcher bias can be minimised if the researcher spends enough time in the field and employs multiple data collection strategies to corroborate the findings (Bashir *et al*. 2008: 41) regarding the issue of health and safety about garbage removal as well as dirty water running down the streets and getting deposited in the potholes. Many researchers, e.g. McMillan & Schumacher (2006); Lincoln & Guba (1985); Seale (1999); Stenbacka (2001) cited in Bashir *et al.* (2008: 43) agree that triangulation is typically a strategy for improving the validity and reliability of research or evaluation of findings (Bashir *et al.* 2008:41). When interviewing street vendors and shopkeepers, the intention was to improve the validity and reliability through triangulation. This is known as multi-method strategies according to Bashir *et al.* (2008: 41). Reliability and validity are conceptualised as trustworthiness, rigor and quality in the qualitative paradigm. That can be achieved by eliminating bias and increasing the researcher's truthfulness of a proposition about some social phenomenon using triangulation. The qualitative researchers use a combination of strategies from the list recommended by McMillan & Schumacher (2006).

3.10 Ethical Considerations

Babbie (2001: 470-475) raises areas to be conscious of when dealing with ethical consideration. These are informed consent, voluntary participation, no harm to the participant, anonymity and confidentiality, to name but a few. The advantages and disadvantages of the researcher's positionality are also discussed. Ontological assumption is also defined. The following ethical considerations were observed in this study.

3.10.1 Informed consent

Informed consent is another form that somewhat guarantees voluntary participation (Babbie 2001). The ethical norms of voluntary participation and no harm to participants have been formalised in the concept of informed consent. This norm means that subjects must base their voluntary participation in research projects on a full understanding of the possible risks involved (Babbie 2001: 471). One of the paragraphs in the researcher's participant information sheet had an undertaking that 'participating in this study is voluntary and you are under no obligation to consent to participation. If you do decide to take part, you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a written consent form. You are free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason'.

3.10.2 Voluntary participation

Participation in any research should be voluntary. Irrespective of any type of research, medical or social research, no participant can be forced to partake in research (Babbie 2001). When informed consent was sought from the participants, the researcher emphasised that their participation is voluntary. The participant information sheet also had a part that read 'participation is voluntary and there is no penalty or loss of benefit for non-participation'. If participants were concerned about taking part in this project for whatever reason, their views were also respected and they were allowed not to partake in this project.

3.10.3 Confidentiality

Confidentiality was observed by the researcher. Participation was voluntary, participants' rights were observed, and the participants signed the consent forms before the interview and were free to withdraw at any given moment. The researcher also ensured that no harm befell participants. The researcher undertook to be sensitive to his participants and confidentiality was guaranteed. He thoroughly explained the benefits of partaking in this project. The researcher committed to reflect the views of the participants without any prejudice whatsoever, even if the views did not necessarily align with those of the researcher.

3.10.4 Anonymity

A research project guarantees confidentiality when the researcher can identify a given person's responses, but promises not to do so publicly. Not revealing the true reasons why someone is embarking on the study can be classified as deception. Making participants embark on a project under false pretences can also be classified as deception. This researcher undertook to be sensitive to his participants and to ensure that anonymity was guaranteed. Anonymity is guaranteed when the project protects the identity and the responses of the participants (Babbie 2001: 472). Participants who wanted to remain anonymous due to fear of victimisation or due to the sensitivity of this study and topic were ensured of their anonymity.

3.10.5 Researcher's positionality

The term positionality describes both an individual's worldview and the position they adopt about a research task and its social and political context (Foote & Bartell 2011; Savin-Baden & Major 2013 and Rowe 2014 cited in Holmes 2020: 1). The individual's worldview or 'where the researcher is coming from' concerns ontological assumptions (an individual's beliefs about the nature of social reality and what is knowable about the world) (Holmes 2020: 1). Positionality "reflects the position that the researcher has chosen to adopt within a given research study" (Savin-Baden & Major 2013: 14 in Holmes 2020: 2). It influences how research is conducted, its outcomes, and results (Rowe 2014 in Holmes 2020:2). Positionality conscientises investigators to be self-aware of their potential biases when doing research. Throughout the research, this researcher was always mindful of the need to investigate, observe and record things as they are and not as he viewed them. Researcher's positionality can also be divided into the insider or outsider position. "Insiders are the members of specified groups and collectives or occupants of specified social statuses. Outsiders are non-members" (Merton 1972 in Holmes 2020: 5). The outsider is a person/researcher who does not have any prior intimate knowledge of the group being researched (Griffith 1998; Mercer 2007 cited in Holmes 2020: 6). This researcher's positionality is that of an outsider precisely, because he had no prior intimate information about this occupation. There are advantages and disadvantages which come with any of the positions. Kusow (2003) cited in Holmes (2020: 6) argues that the insider perspective essentially questions the ability of outsider scholars to competently understand the experiences of those inside the culture, while the outsider perspective questions the ability of

the insider scholar to sufficiently detach them from the culture to be able to study it without bias.

3.10.6 Do no harm

Just as in scientific research, the norm is to bring no harm to those participating in research. This also applies to social research. In social research, the probable harm relates to participants' biographic or personal information being made public such that the participants' identity is revealed on sensitive information (Babbie 2001). Such information may relate to income or other sources of income like social grants. Firstly, the researcher was discreet about sensitive information of his participants. During telephonic interviews, interviews happened after hours or when it was convenient for participants to be interviewed. During interviews the researcher also stressed the point that these interviews were undertaken privately, by making calls when he was by himself. This was done to limit any harm whatsoever. The fact that interviews happened after hours and/or when it was convenient to them, also helped to limit potential harm, such as impeding on their work time.

3.10.7 Storage of research data

Participant's biographic information and research data are kept safely in the researcher's study at his place of residence where the public have no access. Babbie (2001: 470) states that the participants' regular activities get interrupted once participation in a social experience is sought. Participants in social research often find themselves having to reveal biographic information about themselves. This information is expected to be revealed to unknown researchers or strangers. The way researchers handle and keep participants' biographic information before and after research is important.

3.11 Conclusion

Given the above submission, one can therefore argue that research methodology serves as a foundation or frame of reference on which a project is based or located. This study locates itself on advocacy/participatory knowledge claims. As far as the advocacy/participatory knowledge claim is concerned, researchers believe that the inquiry needs to be intertwined with politics and a political agenda. Thus, the research should contain an action agenda for reform that may

change the lives of the participants, the institutions in which individuals work or live, and the researcher's life. Moreover, specific issues need to be addressed that speak to important social issues of the day, issues such as empowerment, inequality, oppression, domination, suppression, and alienation (ibid). Whilst Covid-19 brought about hardship and reversed economic gains, the 2021 looting was another blow for street vendors. The 2022 attacks on immigrant street vendors unsealed the proverbial veil on the plight of street vendors in South Africa. This shows that indeed the plight of street vendors needs political intervention, as the advocacy or participatory knowledge claim asserts.

The researcher is also aware that there is more to research methodology than knowledge claims; however, if a researcher wants to fully unpack and respond to research questions, the researcher must be aware of issues and be true to the plight of its participants, leaving nothing to speculation. The xenophobic attacks on street vendors changed the way researchers understood this sector. Notwithstanding, some researchers have been writing about xenophobic attacks against street vendors for some time now. The attacks on immigrant street vendors have poisoned this space in that some immigrant street vendors have been displaced and some local street vendors' stalls were gutted by fire, proving that there are no winners in political violence. The space is further monitored by people calling themselves Operation Dudula members. This makes this space unsafe and volatile for any research to take place or to continue trading. Participants are also wary to participate. Except for reaching saturation, the environment is not ideal for continuing with research, given its volatile nature.

CHAPTER 4: PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the study and analyses them. It unpacks the characteristics of a sample and the biographical details of participants to get a sense and a profile of these informal workers. The biographical details cover the gender split of the participants, their age profile, educational background, marital status, house ownership, dependents and nationality. Findings were also contrasted to the literature review – only major similarities and differences (if any) are addressed. A Warwick case by Skinner (2017) is used to highlight the best practices, especially the use of the law. Lessons and strategies also show how other parties in other jurisdictions, like those in Durban in KwaZulu-Natal, deal with similar issues and challenges facing street vendors with the view to cushion street vendors' livelihoods and put an end to the unbearable harassment and draconian type of policing by their respective city police.

This chapter further looks at the statistics and gives an analysis on issues such as the origins of a large percentage of street traders. A further analysis on policy issues and the analysis of the by-law was undertaken to diagnose the main causes of the contradictions evident in as far as the street vendors are concerned, especially in the City of Johannesburg. The rest of the chapter focuses on and analyses data from the participants. The main objective of this study is to highlight the plight of the street vendors in Alexandra Township. Other objectives include the following: Objective 1: To investigate the challenges faced by the street vendors in the Pan Africa Shopping Mall, Alexandra Township. Objective 2: To investigate how Covid-19 has exacerbated the problems faced by street vendors in the Pan Africa Shopping Mall, Alexandra Township. Objective 3: To investigate how street vendors in the Pan Africa Shopping Mall, Alexandra Township, finance their economic activities.

4.2 Characteristic of the sample

Fourteen participants were interviewed telephonically in line with the Covid-19 protocols. These participants comprised fourteen street vendors and three shopkeepers. Pseudonyms were used instead of real names. The staff members of organs of state such as JMPD, PIKITUP, and

EDD officials ignored the researcher's emails or telephone calls when contacted for interviews, even though they had initially agreed to participate. Four other participants who initially gave consent to participate in the interviews were not reachable telephonically. Two other participants pulled out.

4.2.1 Gender of participants

Sixty-four percent (64%) of the sample were female. This data reveals that females comprise a majority in informal trading compared to their male counterparts. A general perception on informal workers is that they are mainly women, as confirmed by Gosh (2021), but different studies might also find differently in that, for instance, in the waste pickers space, probably men will be in the majority rather than their female counterparts, considering the hard work that is involved in the pushing of big trolleys and the amount of waste material carried around. The researcher acknowledges that different studies may come to different conclusions given their different spaces.

Seeing that sixty-four percent (64%) of the sample were female, this suggests a sense of urgency when dealing with the plight of street vendors, especially the issues of health and safety and ablution – these become non-negotiable. City fathers cannot afford to continue dilly-dallying when plights of women are at stake. This analysis further reveals the face of a street vendor in the Pan Africa Shopping Mall. This further suggests that six out of ten vendors in the Pan Africa Shopping Mall are women. As they vend, they may have left their children in the care family members or at crèche. When they are not at work, it will be due to illness, or because of weather conditions and some may not be generating an income during their absence. If they have children at a crèche, this may as well suggest that they have to pay more to keep their children after hours with child minders.

4.2.1.1 Gender split by nationality

Al-Jundi (2022) submits that civil wars and conflict drive people from their home countries to safer ones. Immigration therefore increases the spread of street vending. This researcher is also of the view that immigration generally is increased by slumps in the economy of other countries, so people migrate for the betterment of their lives and opportunities. Hence, Al-Jundi (2022) submits that some migrants manage to start successful businesses even with tiny

resources. Moyo (2017) concurs with Al-Jundi (2022) and finds that the main factors that led the Congolese, Somalis and Zimbabweans migrating to South Africa were political instability, civil war and persecution. South Africa became a better option, when deciding on migration due to negative economic and political circumstances back home.

Makhetha and Rubin (2009) find that the formalised street vendors in Noord Street in Johannesburg city centre are women, and the rest are young foreign males who are mainly illegal street vendors.

Thirty-six percent (36%) of the female participants were South African, fourteen percent (14%) were male South Africans, and twenty-nine percent (29%) were non-South African females. Twenty-one percent (21%) were male participants coming from different countries like Malawi, Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

Fifty percent (50%) of the participants fall in the category of those who are susceptible to police harassment and are seen as soft targets for the police due to lack of documents, and are likely to be scapegoats for those with national agendas. This behaviour cannot continue unabated because it puts South Africa in a bad light as an intolerant nation that cannot live side by side with other fellow Africans. It further makes efforts of Africanism like that of President Thabo Mbeki look like a fallacy. This group of participants contribute to the innovative offering to their customers and help towards the growth of the South African economy. A study must also be undertaken to show how Africans from neighbouring countries (especially Zimbabwe) help the South African economy grow because there is clear evidence that they buy in South Africa and export those goods back home. There is further evidence that in places like Diepsloot in the West of Johannesburg, when the Home Affairs and the Police sought to deport foreign nationals, the business activity comes to a halt.

4.2.2 Age distribution

Al-Jundi (2022) submits that some immigrant women and children work informally as street vendors; however, there was no evidence of child labour in the Pan Africa Shopping Mall, although some children were observed in the company of their parents during the hours after school. All of the researcher's participants were adults.

Four (4) participants were born between 1966 and 1971, three (3) participants were born between 1975 and 1979, five (5) participants were born between 1980 and 1986 and two (2) participants were born between 1994 and 1995. When one looks at the age distribution it speaks of maturity, it speaks of people who know why they are vending. These are people who are striving to put food on the table, just like their counterparts in the formal sector. There is nothing difference between street vendors and those who work formally. They also have aspirations and dreams. They buy bread and milk at prices similar to those paid by their counterparts in the formal sector.

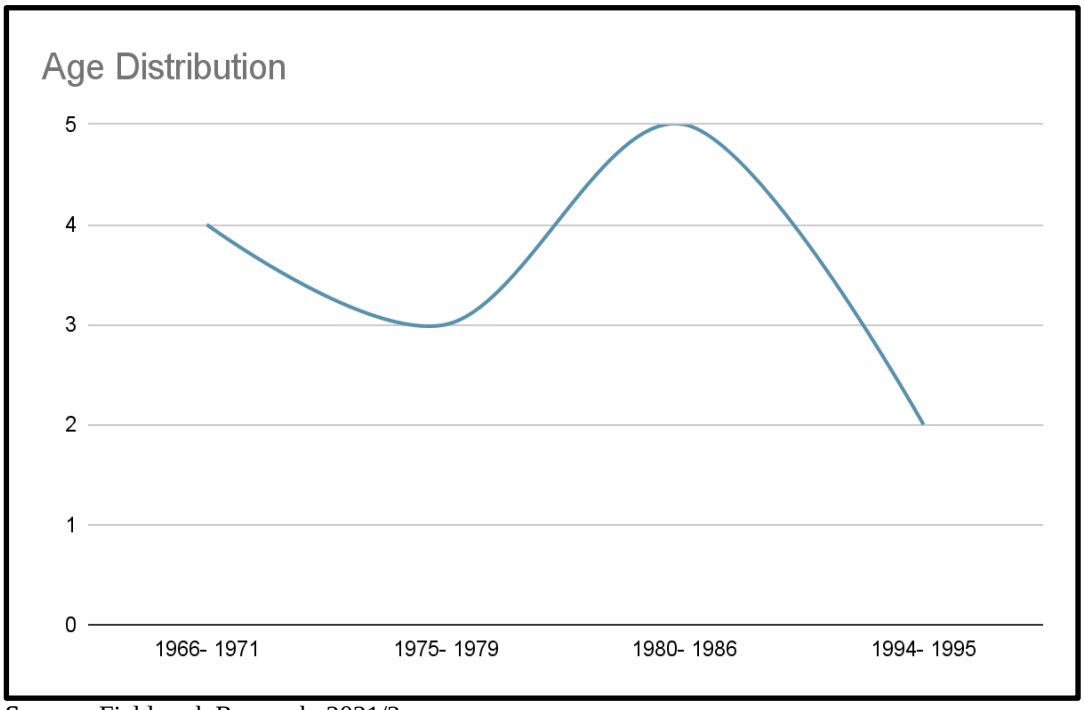
This age analysis suggests that participants born during 1980 and 1986 are in the majority, followed by those born between 1966 and 1971, who are nearing 'retirement' or those who are bound to be exiting. It is also worth mentioning that, unlike the formal sector, when street vendors leave their life of vending, they leave with their savings only. They have only the government/state pension to rely on in case they are citizens of the country during retirement.

Yvonne Phake said:

My mother was working here. I took this business over from her. She was doing this from 1991 to 2016. I took over in 2016. I saw my mother because I was unemployed so I thought I should do this work.

Figure 4.1 below depicts the age distribution of participants.

Figure 4.1: Age distribution of participants



Source: Fieldwork Research, 2021/2

4.2.3 Educational background

Al-Jundi *et al*. (2022) in Iraq submit that lack of education leads people to vending. This happens because it is generally difficult for semi-educated persons to get jobs in the formal sector. So, working in the informal sector is all about survival. Lack of qualification is a further major hindrance to getting employment, just as lack of experience is to qualified persons. So, street vending is an easy way for anyone to earn themselves a living.

Thirty-five percent (35%) of the participants have achieved Grade R to Grade 3 (the foundation phase), twenty-nine percent (29%) have achieved Grade 4 to 6 (the intermediate phase), none of the respondents achieved Grade 7 to 9 (the senior phase), seven percent (7%) achieved Grade 10 to 11 (Further Education and Training), twenty-nine (29%) achieved Grade 12 and post-matric/A level.

This data presents two extremes: those with low levels of education and those with high levels of education with nothing in between operating in this space. Those with higher education were concerned about inflation and quarterly price increases which compromises profitability if no

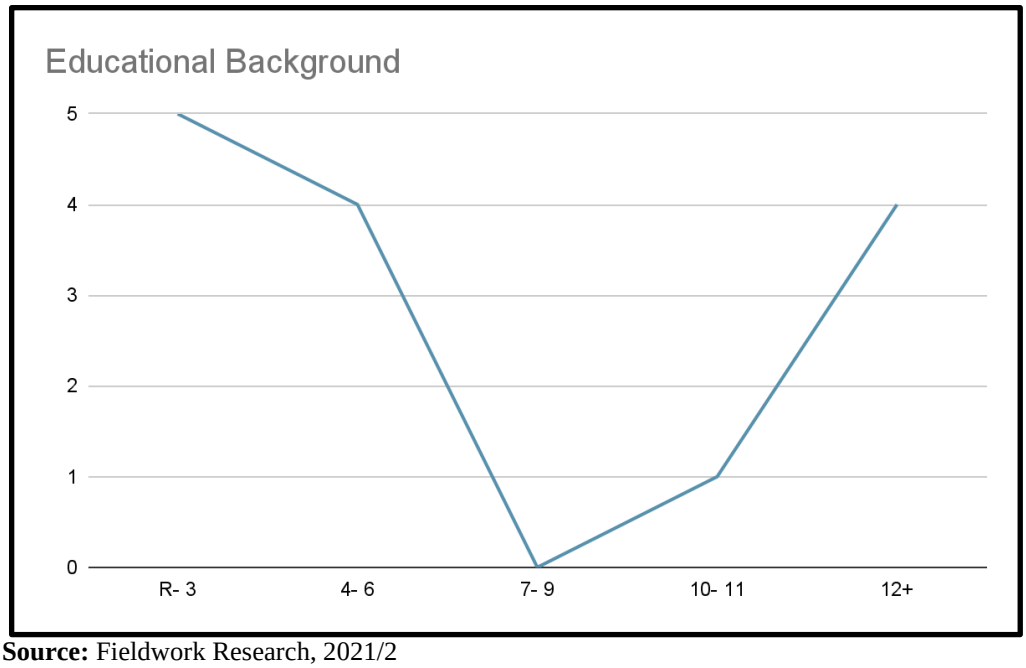
mark-up is factored into the price of goods. This does not suggest that those with low levels of education do not find inflation and higher prices concerning, but they did not raise it. Ndlovu stated that the price of cabbage went up quarterly whilst Matthews Mtshali highlighted that:

Inflation affects us badly in that meat prices now and then get marked up, whereas our customers still expect us to sell at the same price. Because of all this I had to work on a loss.

The general belief is that education opens doors and experience teaches. Even though the researcher's participants may not have formal qualifications, the fact of the matter is that they are 'streetwise' because of the knowhow and experience they garner as street vendors. They understand that the essence of any business is to make a profit, otherwise they will work at a loss and not survive as street vendors.

Figure 4.2 below depicts the educational background of the street vendors.

Figure 4.2: Educational background of the street vendors



Source: Fieldwork Research, 2021/2

4.2.4 Marital status

Thirty-six percent (36%) of the participants are married, thirty-six percent (36%) are single, twenty-one percent (21%) divorced and seven percent (7%) widowed. When one considers the latter numbers of unmarried participants, they represent a very impressive sixty-four percent (64%) of partners without spouses. This suggests that there is a single pay cheque (and that

comes with its own challenges) unlike the case of supposedly married couples who are both employed.

4.2.5 House ownership

Fifty percent (50%) of the participants own a house (mainly RDP houses) and the other fifty percent (50%) rent a property (mainly a commune or back-room dwellers). Housing is another very important factor in the stability of trading for street vendors. Challenges like defaulting on rentals may lead to all sorts of problems, including eviction by the property owner. So whatever turnover they make from selling as street vendors, rent money must be factored into their profit. Their turnover must also include transportation costs. Some participants stated that during the pandemic they have not worked for thirty days, and consequently they could not pay rent; however, their landlords understood that they could not afford to pay rent. Other participants, contrastingly, stated that although they did not work they had to pay rent. By implication this means that they had to dig deep into their savings.

4.2.6 Dependents

All participants had dependents. This shows a level of responsibility for the street vendors as well as the possible reason why they end up in this occupation. This also speaks to the level of responsibility and several 'mouths' they need to feed.

4.2.7 Nationality

Fifty percent (50%) of the participants are South African. Twenty-nine percent (29%) of the participants are Mozambican, fourteen percent (14%) are Zimbabwean and seven percent (7%) are Malawian. This picture vividly paints the number of Southern African countries not represented here, such as Botswana, eSwatini, Lesotho and Namibia. South Africa is an attractive destination for people escaping their home countries in the pursuit of a more dignified and humane survival because of its commitment towards upholding human rights and the rights of foreign migrants (Ruzungunde and Zhou 2021).

The foreign-born migrant population in South Africa is estimated to be around 4.2 million (Garba 2020, in Ruzungunde and Zhou 2021).

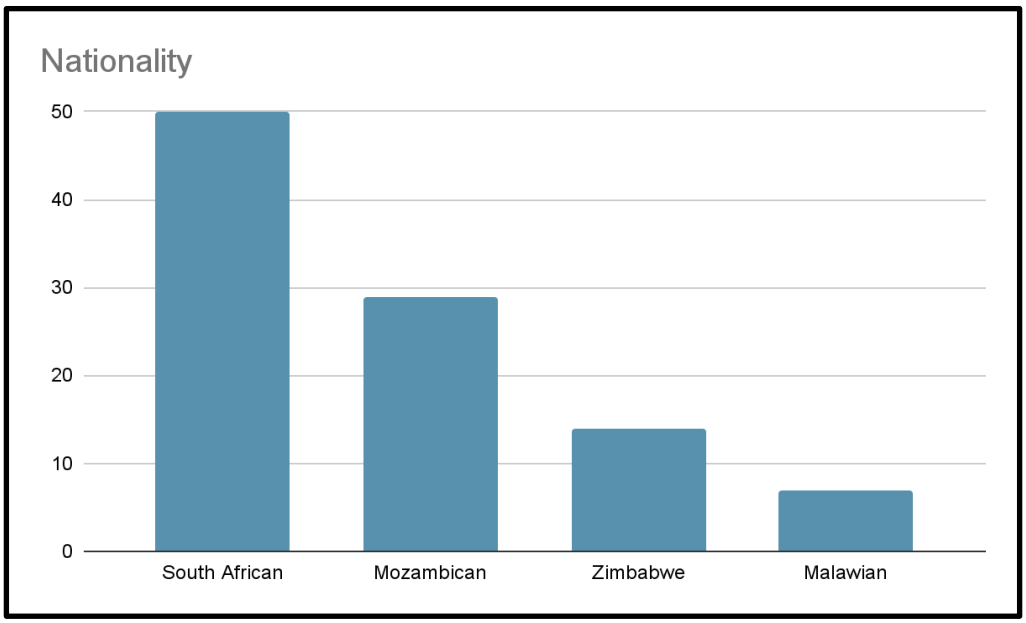
The analysis reveals two main things: firstly, it is clear that the locals recognise the plight of migrant workers as well, the plight to live and survive together through vending despite external forces that seek to pit them against each other through nationalism. Hence, the fifty percent split between the locals and migrants. It is the spirit of huddling together side by side for a livelihood. According to the World Bank Report (2018) in Ruzungunde and Zhou (2021), migrants and locals can hold jobs that complement each other instead of competing.

Secondly, migrants have no choice – they need to survive and do so despite the challenges they face from those who propagate nationalism or the city police. This also speaks to their levels of resilience. Skinner (2017) submits that after xenophobic violence in Durban early in 2015, there has been pervasive hostility to foreign nationals, with those in informal retail being the most vulnerable. In Johannesburg this pervasive hostility is not necessarily the same in that Johannesburg is a home of migrants and immigrants anyway.

Ruzungunde and Zhou (2021) submit that economic frustration, joblessness and competition over scarce resources are foundations often used to create a setting that can give rise to anti-migrant sentiments and attitudes.

Figure 4.3 below depicts nationality of participants.

Figure 4.3: Nationality of participants



Source: Fieldwork Research, 2021/2

4.3 Factors driving people into vending

According to the ILO in Gosh (2021), about sixty percent (60%) of all employment in the world is informal, and this figure is at seventy percent (70%) in developing countries, which means that two in every three workers are informal. In India this figure is even higher in that nine out of ten people are informal workers. These figures suggest that in the main, the citizenry has a thirty to forty percent chance of formal employability; if the ILO in the Gosh (2021) report is anything to go by, the potential for formal employability is even slimmer in India.

The following were cited as the factors that drive people into vending. Forty-four percent (44%) of the participants stated that loss of employment and failure to secure other employment led to them resorting to street vending. These participants stated that they had some form of employment, and it then happened that failure to secure other employment drove them to vending. They cited reasons such as a need to fend and care for themselves and their families. Twenty-one percent (21%) of the participants indicated that the unavailability of work/unemployment led them to vending. These participants include those who, at a point of considering vending, were either never employed before and the lack of formal jobs then drove them to vending because they needed to earn a living to survive. They also had to take children to school, and the difficulty of being unemployed and having nowhere else to go were key considerations for turning to a life of vending.

Abby Duna stated that:

We have to send children to school. It is difficult. It is not nice. However, age is a factor, we cannot go anywhere. At the same time, we have achieved quite a few things. It is not nice to be a vendor. I got two graduates from one of the best universities in Gauteng and the younger one will also go to tertiary.

Duna's sentiments confirm Mpofu's (2015: 22) sentiments that the powers that be should acknowledge the endeavours undertaken by the destitute to empower, safeguard, and reinvigorate themselves without government's help rather than leaving them unstable and isolated by a doctrine of an equitable nation managed or governed by government officials, investors or industrialists and scientists. Duna's sentiments further suggest a notion of 'bittersweet' in that 'it is not nice'; however, 'it is nice to sell'. This suggests that it is not easy,

but the results of selling are amazing – two graduates and the other also to go to a tertiary institution.

Seven percent (7%) of the participants stated that they were part of a family business or were inspired by their family to resort to vending. Matthews Mtshali, a local and a South African cuisine vendor (the cuisine comprises hot meals, chicken, beef, beef offal, cabbage, spinach, and porridge selling at R40,00 a plate), stated that vending runs in the family, and that his family always did this kind of work. Fourteen percent (14%) of the participants indicated that their spouse's salary is not enough or that their spouse had passed away, which prompted them to start vending. Another fourteen percent (14%) felt that self-employment led them to resort to vending. Adonis Ndlovu, a Zimbabwean national stated that "self-employment is a good thing but I am selling illegally and I would love to legalise my operations".

Livelihoods (the ability to sell) is the main factor that drives people to vending. This is achieved by selling different products and offering different services such as footwear, South African cuisine, cosmetics, stationery, bedding, barbering, and tailoring, to name but a few. Moyo (2017) finds that the majority of immigrants migrated to South Africa for economic reasons in order to achieve sustainable livelihoods. Moyo (2017) further finds that for as long as the problems persist from other countries where immigrants originate from. South Africa will continue to be a destination of choice because it is regarded as economically developed and presents many opportunities.

All this comes with challenges though, because sometimes a day goes by without the street vendor making any sale. Another factor that leads people to vending is the notion that it is an "easy to enter" sector. Timmy Sikode, a Mozambican national and a shoemaker who makes leather shoes and repairs shoes, stated that he only had seventy rand when he first started vending. These sentiments were confirmed by Ntombi Nkosi, a fruit vendor, who highlighted that she started plaiting customers' hair and accumulated enough money to buy stock.

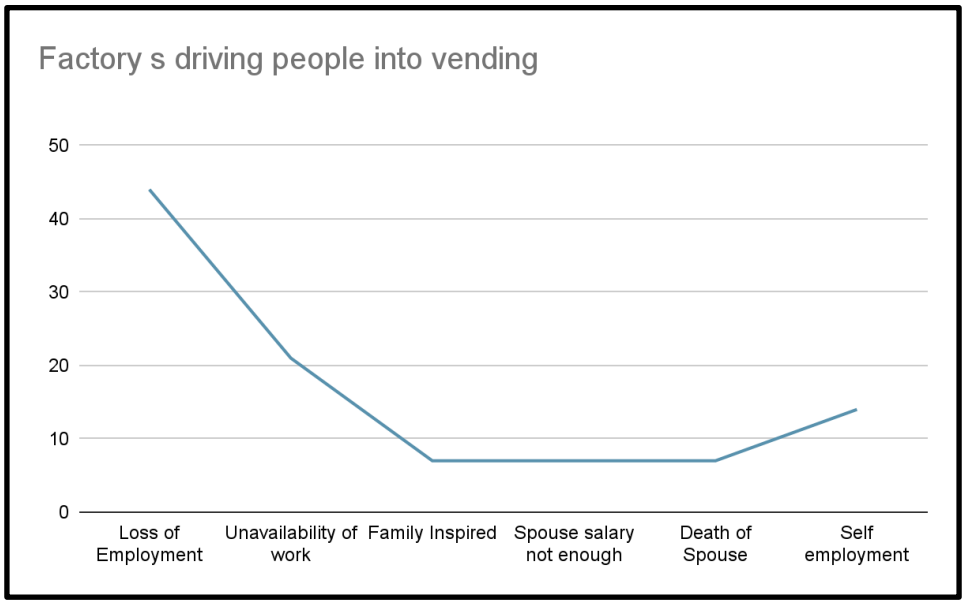
It was stated to the researcher that because of comparable prices and because of customers' financial positions, they then go to street vendors for their shopping needs.

The researcher observed the following: It was 18:34 on a Friday afternoon, customers were rushing to get to their taxis and others were walking to their various destinations. Some stopped next to a set of robots along the road of the Pan Africa Shopping Mall to buy their South African

cuisine. Both pedestrians and drivers stopped to buy hot meals. Any police vehicle passing by or the sound of a siren made the street vendors panic. They are always on the lookout for JMPD officials as they trade.

Figure 4.4 below depicts factors driving people into vending.

Figure 4.4: Factors driving people into vending



Source: Fieldwork Research, 2021/2

4.4 Challenges faced by street vendors

Street vendors do not engage in theft or crime, nor do they beg for a livelihood. All they strive for is dignity and respect. However, the authorities in most cases hound them out of the streets or force them to pay bribes in order to remain in business (Bhowmik 2010: 12).

Eighty-five percent (85%) of the participants cited JMPD officials as a major hindrance to vending. Participants confirmed that no arrests were made by the JMPD; instead, an infringement notice was given followed by the confiscation of stock. Participants cited several sad experiences when it comes to the confiscation of stock. Every respondent gave a moving account at the hands of JMPD. These accounts ranged from JMPD taking stock that had just been bought and the vendor having to pay three thousand rand, and another two thousand rand (depending on what one sells and the value of their stock) in contrast to the city's by-law under offences and penalties, which states that any person who contravenes or fails to comply with any provision of this by-law is guilty of an offence and liable on conviction to a fine *not*

exceeding R500. In an event where they wanted to claim for their stock, they were made to run from pillar to post.

Jerry Fakude's assertions are a reminder of apartheid era policing, he stated that:

Another concern and challenge for me is that when your stock is confiscated and you do not claim and pay fine for it, one will never know what happens to that stock. JMPD brings about the element of surprise by wearing private clothing. Once you get used to them and are known, they then bring volunteers this is when they seize you unexpectedly.

Fifteen percent (15%) of participants say they were never harassed by JMPD. The reasons given by those participants that said they were never harassed by JMPD range from their having a 'licence' to their operating in a designated area. Given the two responses, one can deduce that JMPD does not necessarily harass street vendors indiscriminately. When one operates in a 'dormant' site, they are saved from harassment. Otherwise, the life of a street vendor also includes running from the JMPD officials to protect themselves and save their stock. It is easy to run and save oneself and one's stock – it entirely depends on what one sells. Those who sell portable stock like watches or cell phone vouchers can easily take their stock and run for their lives as opposed to those who sell fruits and vegetables. It goes without saying that there is no dignity when men and women need to run away from the JMPD.

Skinner (2017) summarises the general behaviour or characteristics of the city police or officers as follows:

1. Pervasive harassment of street vendors;

2. City police are also viewed as a big problem for the street vendors; and

3. Street vendors suffer at the hands of the officers.

Skinner (2017) further finds that during confiscation of goods, goods get damaged; at worst they are never returned at all to their rightful owners after confiscation; fines are onerous and vary from one officer to another depending on the 'mood' of the officer. Given this background, there are close similarities between vendors in Warwick compared to those in the Pan Africa Shopping Mall when it comes to the apartheid style form of policing.

Summer rains, wind and winter cold weather and lack of proper shelter sometimes preclude vendors from trading. The use of umbrellas, plastic covers and makeshift tents to cover stock are used to mitigate these weather conditions. The adverse weather conditions also chase customers away or influence customer flow, one other respondent concluded. The experiences of street vendors can be summarised as follows: violent confrontation between urban authorities and street vendors over the use of public space for commerce have been commonplace in African cities after independence. Vendors have often been removed from the streets on the pretext that they are untidy, disruptive of licensed businesses and criminal (Hansen and Vaa 2004: 13 cited in Mpofu 2015: 22).

All participants cited the lack of proper shelter as one of the major challenges. The participants cited the use of plastic covers and umbrellas to protect themselves from rain. What the researcher also observed is that some of the makeshift structures leak when it rains. These structures, instead of protecting others, leak. All participants confirmed buying water and paying for ablution. Other participants stated that they bring water from home in bottles instead of paying for water. Participants confirmed that one has to pay two rand for use of toilets and five rand for water. Paying for the toilet is a guarantee that at least the vendor will find a clean toilet – unlike those free-access ones.

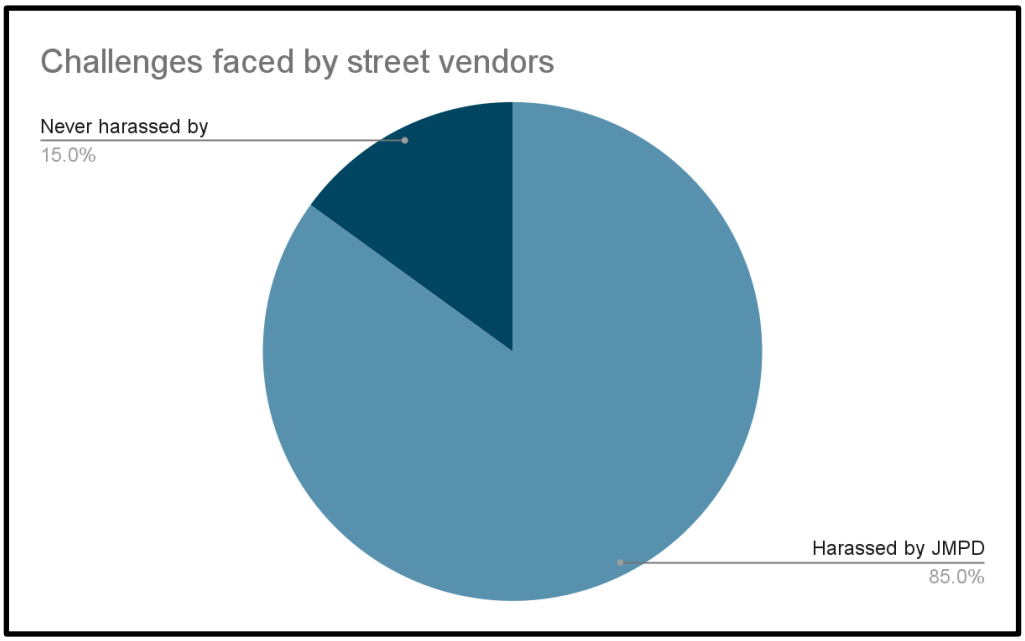
The issue of trading licences is one which leads informal workers to be at odds with JMPD across the informal sector. The lack of a licence leads to street vendors being harassed daily. All participants agree that it is important to have licences, and they are willing to pay monthly in order to protect themselves and their stock. All the participants confirmed that they do not have trading licences in the Pan Africa Shopping Mall in Alexandra Township, Johannesburg. The official at the EDD confirmed this. Previously, some R200 were collected from each street vendor and they were promised better services; however, seeing that nothing was forthcoming, the street vendors stopped paying.

Street vendors are not spared when it comes to crime. Customers who pretend to be drunk loot their stock and those who see an opportunity to steal do so when they are not watching. When shops are robbed and there is a shootout, street vendors must also duck bullets. Another burden on street vendors employing others, is that they may be held liable for the actions of their employees or agents. This is made possible by the vicarious liability clause, clause twelve of the city's by-law, notwithstanding the fact that, 'ignorance of the law is no excuse'. However,

considering the levels of education of the street vendors it would be interesting to know how many even know about this clause, or is it more a case of 'good to have' on the side of the city officials. These are the challenges the street vendors face daily.

Figure 4.5 below depicts challenges faced by street vendors.

Figure 4.5: Challenges faced by street vendors



Source: Fieldwork Research, 2021/2

4.5 Sources for start-up capital

Al-Jundi *et al*. (2022) submit that it is generally difficult for street vendors to access formal credit facilities. For start-up capital, street vendors rely on their savings by selling their own valuables. Furthermore, street vendors are subjected to paying abnormal interest rates and they have to borrow from informal channels. Street vendors find it difficult to rent shops/stalls or even to consider expanding their businesses. What makes it even more difficult is the fact that government does not support micro-enterprises, and this government posture generally affects the informal economy and street vending in particular. The economic stimulus normally extended to the formal sector is hardly ever extended to the informal sector, and thereby the growth potential for the latter is completely stifled.

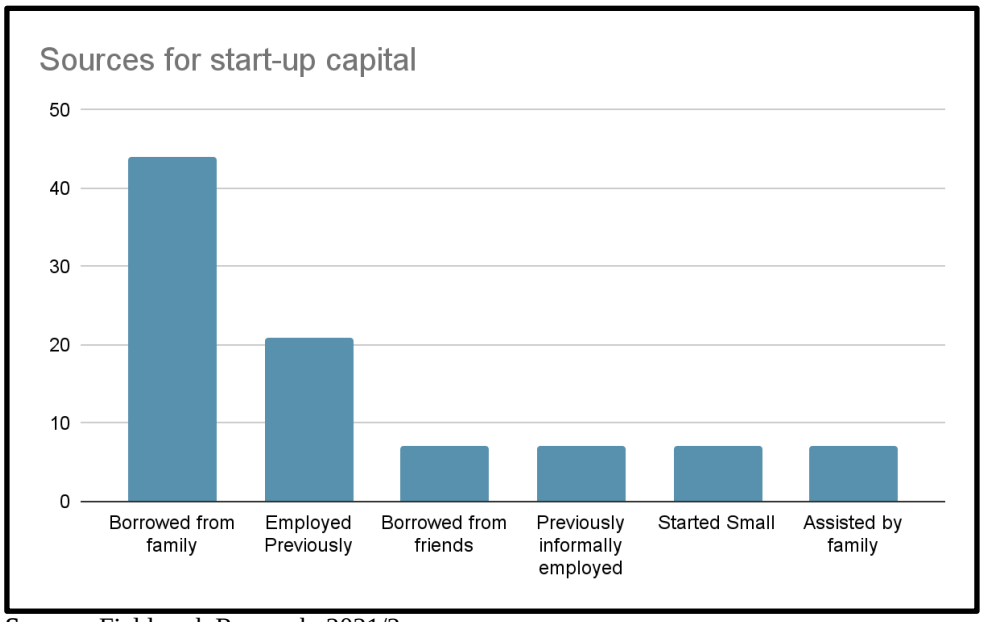
Forty-four percent (44%) of the participants say they borrowed money from their families in order to have start-up capital. Twenty-one percent (21%) were employed previously; fourteen percent (14%) did some previous informal work like plaiting hair and selling soft goods. Seven

percent (7%) of the participants' sources of start-up capital emanated by borrowing from friends; seven percent (7%) started small with as little as seventy rand; and seven percent (7%) were assisted by family. This finding confirms the existing research that discovering start-up capital through reserves or lending is expressly problematic for the poverty-stricken (Ligthelm & Masuku 2003: 37; Madichie & Nkamnebe 2010: 307 cited in Willemse 2011).

Borrowing money from close friends and family and from savings or loans seems to be a common feature to raise start-up capital. It goes without saying why potential street vendors prefer to borrow from family and friends rather than other alternatives like moneylenders. What drives street vendors away from moneylenders is their skyrocketing interests ranging between twenty-five percent (25%) and fifty percent (50%).

Figure 4.6 below depicts sources for start-up capital.

Figure 4.6: Sources for start-up capital



Source: Fieldwork Research, 2021/2

4.6 Formal or informal funding for informal traders

None of the participants ever mentioned any formal institutions as sources of funding; instead, they spoke of informal sources for funding, e.g. moneylenders. Other financial funding happens through reserves or lending from informal sources, including family or moneylenders. Soaring interest rates are usually levied on such loans, which the informal workers struggle to pay back,

thereby surging their debits, frequently chaotically (Fonchingong 2005: 247; Hansenne 1991: 28-29; Tambunan 2009: 48 cited in Willemse 2011: 8).

This study confirmed Willemse's findings in that over forty percent (40%) of the researcher's participants confirmed to have borrowed money from their families to start vending. Common to those who borrowed from their families, the majority stated that they paid back the loan when they borrowed from their families. Over twenty percent (20%) of those who were employed previously used their money to start up as street vendors. Participants also confirmed that there are moneylenders in this space, albeit informal. The identity documents of borrowers are needed until they pay back the money. Some participants were sceptical of these moneylenders and there was an outcry against the lack of funding to start up as vendors. Abby Duna stated that, to survive in this space, one needs a lot of planning and budgeting. A security guard used to lend money to street vendors. Some 'Indians' were said to be coming now and then to the space acting as moneylenders as well. This background reveals a very interesting detail in that employees themselves see the business opportunity and take advantage of it like the said security guard. The 'Indians' (moneylenders) also saw a business opportunity, came to this space, and transacted with the street vendors. Clearly, no involvement of formal business is mentioned.

4.7 Trade unionism and non-governmental organisations

Al-Jundi *et al*. (2022) refer to different constructs that explain the existence of street vending. One of such constructs is the notion of 'resistance', and they submit that, though street vendors are evicted, they come back the following day to vend again. Because of the social networks they had formed, families, friends in specific communities also come back and support them. To register their dissatisfaction with the public officials, street vendors now and then resort to protests. Al-Jundi *et al.* (2022) further found no union representation for the street vendors. This then makes street vendors lack the collective power to negotiate with public officials or entities (municipalities, police and traffic police). However, they produce their own leaders to deal with issues affecting them and resist evictions. Those opposing the street vendors are public authorities, formal shops and residents. With this kind of opposition from these stakeholders, street vendors then develop their own oppositional cultures that help them reject oppositional trends, thereby affirming their right to survive and giving public officials no right

to evict them. In Bangladesh, trade union operation was used to legitimise street vending (Bhowmik 2005: 2257 cited in Willemse 2011: 8).

All participants confirmed that there is no trade union or non-governmental organisation involved in their space. The 'worker representation' is in the form of a committee that represents the street vendors on an ad-hoc basis. What the committee does as well is to facilitate meetings with the street vendors where street vendors can raise their grievances and the committee serves as a broker between the city fathers and the street vendors. It is a communication channel between the city fathers and the street vendors. In the main, street vendors want representatives who can shield them from JMPD harassment and evictions. The committee cannot do that because they are also street vendors themselves, therefore they are also in a disadvantaged position and helpless.

It is common knowledge that not one street vendor has a valid trading licence in the Pan Africa Shopping Mall. However, the fact that someone once had a permit to trade and this permit has since expired gives one the sense that one is entitled to operate and trade anyway. Gosh (2021) asserts that 'formalisation enables workers' associations to form and assists workers in fighting for their rights by providing a legal and regulatory framework within which their struggles can occur'. Failure for informal workers to have little or nothing in the form of legal cover in their struggles can be detrimental and this will propagate their strife.

This assertion by Gosh (2021) is also propagated by the fact that there are a several things which are amiss here. The exorbitant and disproportionate fines and the ongoing harassment faced by street vendors show the need for litigation of sorts. Even the behaviours by city officials need some legal scrutiny, and this will happen if there was some formalisation enabling worker's associations or some form of trade unionism or NGOs to assist workers fight for their rights. Such an intervention would bring some form of relief in the Pan Africa Shopping Mall. John Makwicana, a street vendor in Warwick Mall, is the case in point on how litigation can bring about relief desperately sought. Attorneys represented Makwicana in the High Court and the Court found in favour of the applicant and declared that the clause that allows the city to impound and confiscate street vendors' goods is unconstitutional. The city was ordered to revisit this clause (Skinner 2017).

4.8 Effects of Covid-19 on street vending trading activities

The Covid-19 pandemic and street trade did not occur in a vacuum, but in a space of which the socio-material-spatial organisation was contested (Brown 2006; Lefebre 2001 in Kiaka 2021). Covid-19 brought about a lot of challenges just as street vendors found themselves having to operate in contested spatial environments. During the pandemic people had to practice social distance in crowded spaces; they had to constantly wash their hands in an environment where water is a scarce commodity.

This study was undertaken during Covid-19, and during the looting in July 2021, and therefore it would have been a lost opportunity if these events are not spoken about and the effects it had on street vendors and informal workers in general. All participants agreed that Covid-19 had a devastating effect on livelihoods. Participants stated that Covid-19 was a difficult time; street vendors stayed at home for at least thirty (30) days during the hard lock-down. Some street vendors highlighted the deployment of soldiers, and these soldiers confiscated their stock. Those selling fruits and vegetables were given permission to trade during the hard lock-down after an uproar from civil society organisations. Because of the hard lock-down, there were fewer customers on the street and therefore fewer came to buy. Those who sell perishables had to give away their stock to other vendors to avoid expired foods. One of the participants, a shoemaker, resorted to making leather 'surgical' masks in order to be able to sell and survive. The leather mask invention shows the level of creativity and the innovation street vendors have. This creativity and innovation dispel the notion that other nations steal jobs from locals. Street vendors defaulted in paying their monthly rent; however, though some property owners understood that their tenants had no income, some participants stated that they resorted to using their savings to pay their rent. Other participants stated that their families helped them with money in order to pay their monthly rent. Most of the participants did not receive any food parcels or the three hundred and fifty rand (R350) during lock-down.

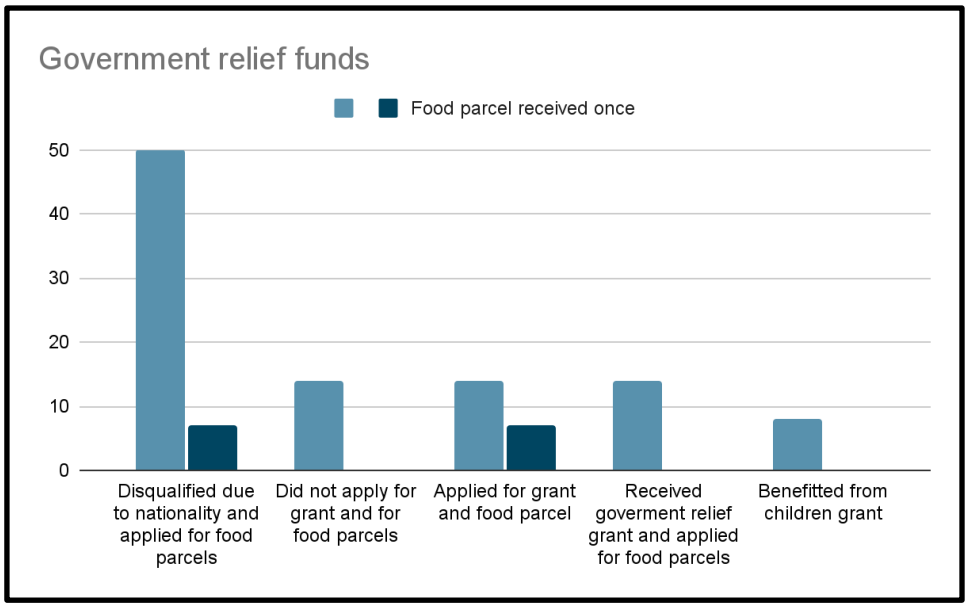
4.9 Government relief funds

There is a raging debate about the difference the government relief grant makes in the life of ordinary South Africans. Many South Africans were seen in long queues waiting patiently to collect their three hundred and fifty rand (R350, 00) from different pay points, mainly at the South African Post Office. Fifty percent (50%) of the participants are disqualified to receive

government relief grants because of their nationality, suggesting that these are non-South African citizens. Fourteen percent (14%) did not apply for relief funds or for food parcels though they were eligible for it. Another fourteen percent (14%) received the relief grant and applied for food parcels. Seven percent (7%) of the participants received a child grant. Clearly, with most street vendors being immigrants, they too acknowledged that government relief funds were meant for locals. One respondent stated that he applied for the government relief grant of three hundred and fifty rand (R350, 00) and received it and also applied for food parcels and he received it only once. However, with the immigrant street vendors the participants stated that there was an element of discrimination because even though they gave their names for food parcels, nothing came of it. It would be sad indeed, if food parcels were distributed based on nationality.

Figure 4.7 below depicts government relief funds.

Figure 4.7: Government relief funds



Source: Fieldwork Research, 2021/2

4.10 The effects of looting and closing of businesses on customer flow

The Covid-19 pandemic and the July 2021 unrest were clearly setbacks in as far as the economy as well as livelihoods are concerned. Thirty percent (30%) of the participants indicated that the effects of looting and closing of business resulted in business being quiet. The common denominator between Covid-19 and the looting in July 2021 is the lack of customers. Twenty-

one percent (21%) of the participants apportioned the migration of customers to other malls to of looting and closure of business, which affected customer flow.

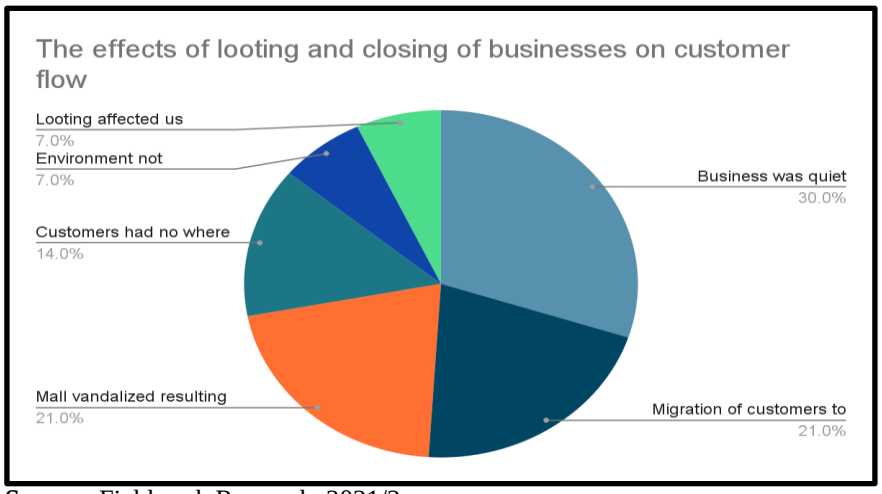
Timmy Sikode stated that:

Not all businesses were looted because they had private security guards. However, seeing that the whole mall was vandalised and most stores were affected, this led to customers migrating to the not looted Mall in Alex Mall near Lombardy East and this affected our business.

Another twenty-one percent (21%) apportioned this on vandalised malls resulting in no customers. Another participant added that they experienced fewer customers and loss of business, but that things started to improve in December 2021. Fourteen percent (14%) of the participants apportioned customers having nowhere to work on the effects of looting and closure of business. One participant indicated that the very same workers who work in vandalised businesses are their customers; therefore they now had no business going to the Pan Africa Shopping Mall and supporting the vendors. Seven percent (7%) of the participants also stated that the environment was not conducive for trading in that things were abnormal, it was scary, and there was a fear of the unknown. Seven percent (7%) indicated that looting affected them in that looting was worse than Covid-19; vendors had to run for their lives when looting was taking place though the attack was directed at the formal business.

Figure 4.8 below depicts the effects of looting and closing of businesses on customer flow.

Figure 4.8: The effects of looting and closing of businesses on customer flow



Source: Fieldwork Research, 2021/2

4.11 Experiences and effects on vending due to the temporary closure of formal business

Due to the July 2021 unrest, the Pan Africa Shopping Mall was completely vandalised. Banks, clothing stores, furniture stores and food retailers were destroyed; this meant that rebuilding had to take place. Some businesses could not reopen in 2022. The devastating effects were there for everyone to see. The closure of the Mall meant limited business for street vendors. The closure also meant nothing attracted customers to the Mall and that affected the customer flow. Services like banks and different offerings like clothing, financial services and food do attract customers to the Mall.

4.12 Storage of street vendors stock after hours/overnight

Transporting stock to and from storage facilities can be a daunting task. It is also a financial burden in that if one transports stock to their place of residence, they may need transport and ample space at their place of residence to store their stock and tools of trade. Thirty-six percent (36%) of the participants do not use stock rooms or storage facilities. Instead, they take their goods from their place of residence to their vending facility on a daily basis. This means that they need to either hire transport to transport their goods or they need to use their own transport. In some instances, some goods are easily portable, and the vendors can readily travel with their goods. Twenty-nine percent (29%) of the participants use storage facilities and stock rooms to store their goods overnight. This comes with a weekly or monthly fee ranging from fifty rand to about three hundred rand a month. Fourteen percent (14%) of the participants use other street vendors' storage place/containers to store their goods overnight. This suggests that those who have containers benefit by letting their colleagues keep their stock overnight. To avoid transport costs of taking stock to and from their place of residence, street vendors pay a monthly fee to keep their stock at storage facilities, and the good thing that came from this is that most of the storage facilities where street vendors keep their stock proved to have maximum safety. Another fourteen percent (14%) own containers, therefore they do not need to use storage facilities; however, they need to secure these containers themselves at a fee. Seven percent (7%) use the shopkeepers' shops to store their goods overnight. This highlights the relationship forged between formal and informal businesses. While looting all those formal businesses, some street vendors' stock was looted as well.

4.13 Vendors' expectations of government interventions

Although the government attempts to control the environment for vendors' operations, it has no consistent policy on how to improve the lives of the thousands of people involved (Hansen and Maa 2004: 27 cited in Mpofu 2015: 20). Twenty-two percent (22%) of participants highlighted that they need the government to help them with the allocation of spaces in order for them to be able to sell. Participants highlighted the need for demarcated spaces for trading, putting every vendor at the right place for selling. Participants further stated that they are willing to pay whatever amount to the local authorities require, as long as that stops JMPD from harassing them. Most participants raised the issue of paying as long as it keeps JMPD from harassing them.

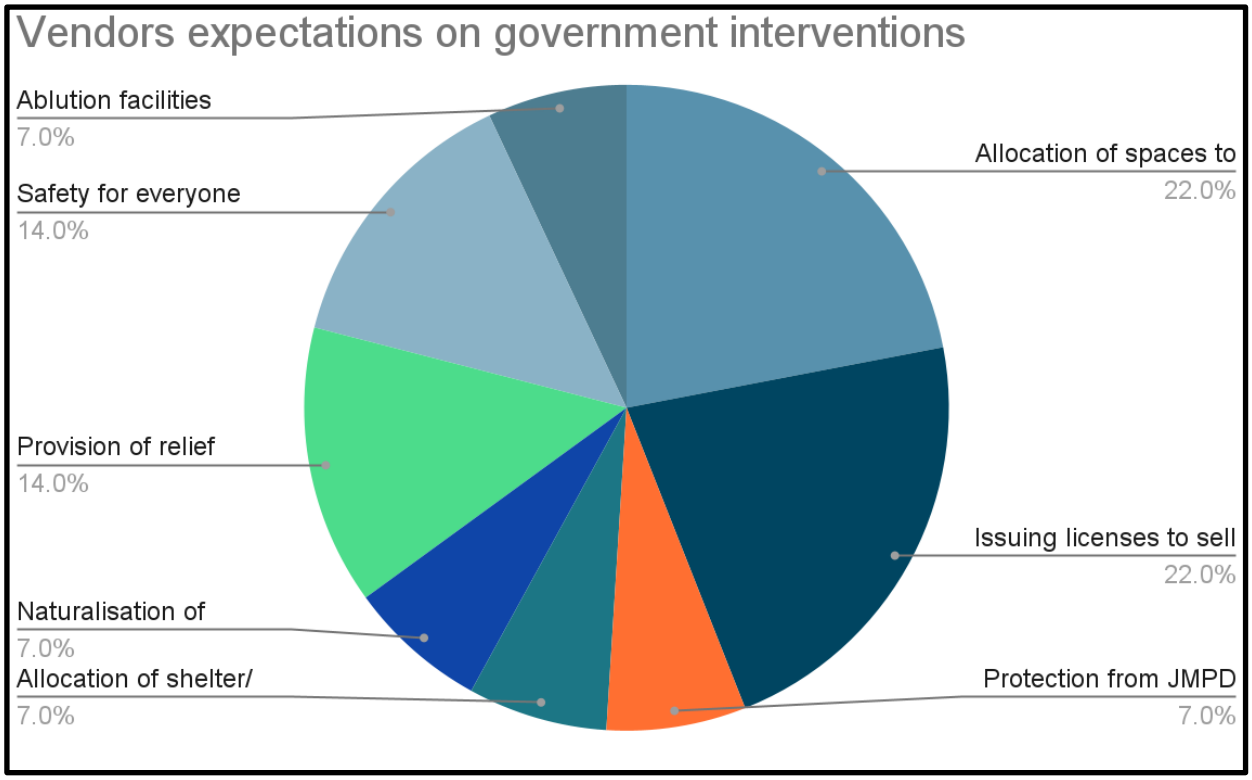
Another twenty-two percent (22%) of the participants felt that the government's intervention included issuing trading licences. The availability of licences will give street vendors peace of mind and ensure that they can trade freely. Seven percent (7%) of the participants wanted protection from JMPD, but without trading licences there is no protection or legal recourse. Another seven percent (7%) felt it would be best if the government could allocate shelters and stalls for trading. What is discomforting, is the fact that shelters or stalls have been promised by the authorities, but to no avail. Street vendors do not want spoon-feeding and do not want to run around trying to avoid the JMPD. Seven percent (7%) of the participants felt that naturalisation of children born in South Africa (whether by non-South African parents or one being South African and the other not) is a challenge. Failure by the state to do something about this challenge adds to the number of undocumented citizens.

Fourteen percent (14%) of participants feel that a part of government intervention should be the provision of relief packages as promised by some 'officials' since the Covid-19 outbreak. The participants' sentiments are that the state should leave them to sell. Selling is not as if they are making more money. In theory, they want to be allocated stalls in order to trade lawfully. When street vendors are allowed to sell, they are in a position to feed their families and take their children to school. Fourteen percent (14%) of participants felt that street vendors need protection. This is even more the case after Operation Dudula meted out violence on non-South African citizens in general and street vendors in particular. If anything was achieved by Operation Dudula, it is intimidation of some street vendors who decided to look for alternative work or opt for other work opportunities like domestic work in order to ensure their safety.

Seven percent (7%) of the participants bemoaned the lack of ablution facilities. For vending, the necessities needed are water, toilets and electricity.

Figure 4.9 below depicts vendors' expectations of government interventions.

Figure 4.9: Vendors' expectations of government interventions



Source: Fieldwork Research, 2021/2

4.14 Formal businesses coexist with informal businesses

The grey area where formal business and informal business cooperate must be addressed by the government because it has the exclusive magnitude to do so. The government may enable new collaboration for development and can arrange the metropolitan informal economy as a rocket platform for persistent economic growth in the future, through associating the formal business and the informal business for the gain of the predominance of the poverty-stricken citizenry (Hart 2010a: 380 cited in Mpofu 2015: 37). Lutzoni (2016) unpacks the relationship between formal and informal businesses using different approaches, namely the dualistic approach, the structuralist approach and the relational approach, and seems to suggest that the solution between formal and informal businesses lies in a redesign of these cities. These approaches help in isolating the chasm that divides formal from informal businesses. The

researcher agrees that, until the spatial design of the cities takes cognisance of the two economies, it will be difficult to help forge an ever-lasting relationship between formal and informal businesses.

Another challenge that might hamper a relationship between formal and informal businesses is what Al-Jundi (2022) calls low-income consumption. Simply put, it refers to vendors having less running costs whilst formal businesses have licence fees, electricity supply fees and rentals. Because of the informal businesses having running costs, they therefore are in the position to sell their products cheaper than formal businesses – especially fruit and vegetables. The advantage of having formal and informal businesses in one space is that formal businesses can also benefit from what Al-Jundi (2022) calls urban culture. In Iraq, informal businesses are big in serving meat and tea throughout the day. This experience is similar to what is happening in the Kwa Mai-Mai traditional market and in the city centre in Johannesburg, where they specialise in African attire and fashion, traditional healing and medication, and African cuisine such as 'cow head meat' and pap. In some cases, customers visit these places to have that urban culture experience. Maboneng Precinct in Johannesburg is another case in point, and this model needs both formal and informal businesses to work together. Depending on a set up and spatial redesign, formal businesses can coexist with informal ones.

Participants from the business side agreed that there could be collaboration and coexistence between formal and informal businesses because customers buy from both formal and informal businesses depending on their needs and affordability.

Peter Tosh suggested that:

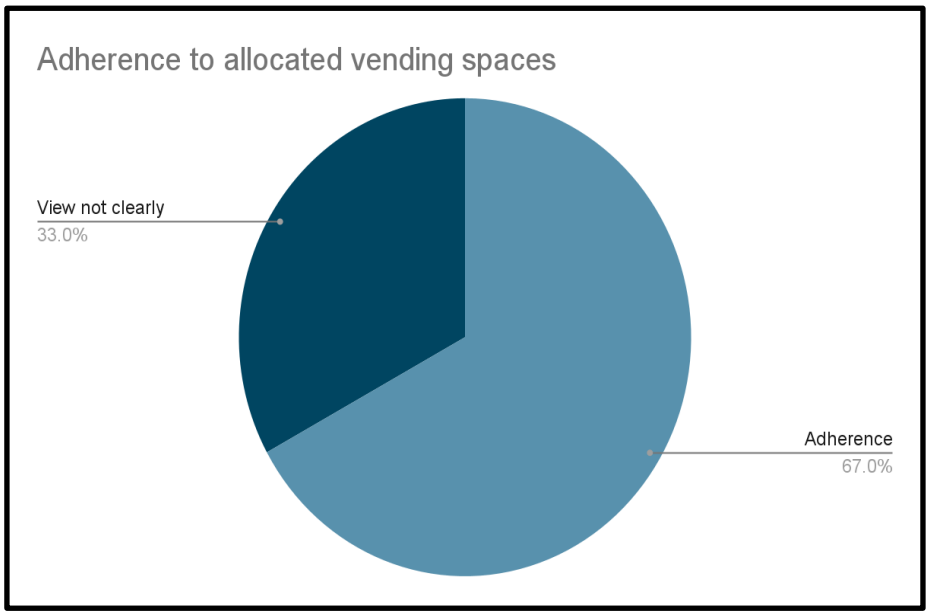
Coexistence can extend by helping street vendors improve cleanliness because PIKITUP does not collect garbage when it is not in plastic bags. Business supplying refuse bags to street vendors can help improve cleanliness. The initiative of refuse bags is borne from the fact that those who sell veggies, merely drop them where they sell when the veggies become spoiled or rotten. Rotten items leave an unbearable smell.

4.15 The attitude of formal businesses towards street vendors

The storekeepers who were interviewed in the Pan Africa Shopping Mall are of the view that if there is no business for them, there is also no business for street vendors. The participants are of the view that there must be a mutual understanding between formal and informal businesses. The relationship between formal and informal businesses is generally good. The business arena also expressed a view that stalls might go a long way in ensuring that street vendors trade conveniently, and blamed the government for failure to provide stalls. Many informal activities are illegal since they are unlicensed and lie outside public relations (Potts 2007: 6 cited in Mpofu 2015: 22). The people themselves know how to distinguish between criminality and informality (Potts 2007 in Mpofu 2015: 22). Shopkeepers are loud and clear in their response as far as adherence is concerned. They state that street vendors do not adhere to allocated spaces – some are illegal; hence, they run away when they see JMPD. Shopkeepers conclude that is a downward spiral. In the morning, when delivery vans arrive to deliver goods, they are blocked by street vendors placing their stock all over the place. Hence, JMPD pounces on them. Shopkeepers further stated that some containers were built and yet vendors refused to occupy them, and they therefore remain unoccupied because they are not big enough.

Figure 4.10 below depicts adherence to allocated vending spaces.

Figure 4.10: Adherence to allocated vending spaces



Source: Fieldwork Research, 2021/2 Street vending benefits.

4.16 Dual usage of amenities and storage spaces and street vending benefits

The formal business does help, and offers street vendors to use their amenities and storage spaces. Shopkeepers also think that most of the street vendors keep their stock at the premises of the shopkeepers overnight. Shopkeepers are of the view that street vending helps put food on the table and some shopkeepers employ some of their workers from street vendors. The shopkeepers are also of the view that street vending does help vendors stay away from crime.

4.17 The policy position of government towards the street vendors

The city's by-law cites three primary objectives in line with the Constitution as it proposes –

I. *To promote social and economic development;*

II. *To promote health and safety environment; and*

III. *To provide municipal planning, trading regulations, licensing and control of undertakings that sell food to the public, markets, public places, municipal roads and street trading*.

The problem here is that the by-law lacks the 'how' part, i.e. the implementation of these primary objectives that is so urgently needed to deal with poverty and unemployment through informality. The by-law is silent about how it will promote social and economic development. Health and safety is another issue and lastly, the licensing in order to trade and earn a living. All the participants stated that no one has a valid trading licence in the Pan Africa Shopping Mall. By implication, according to this by-law, all street vendors in the Pan Africa Shopping Mall are illegal.

The 'criminality' of the informal sector has often been used to demonise it and to justify draconian interventions (Mpofu 2015: 22). The other challenge is that governments see informality as undesirable because it yields greater evasion of taxes and such enterprises are difficult to regulate (Gosh 2021). Both Mpofu (2015) and Gosh (2021) show the posture of urban governance in the broader manner.

The City of Johannesburg has a final draft policy on vending. With the law enforcement, JMPD and other law enforcement agencies are at the centre of law enforcement. It goes without saying that JMPD must fight criminality, yet the same EDD fails to legalise street vendors by allocating vending spaces and giving them licences, and for as long as the EDD fails to give out trading licences, the more the plight of street vendors remains the same.

4.18 Database on street vendors and the state of trading licences

The fact that some street vendors were given a 'starter pack' (also known as smart cards) suggests that there is a database. These starter packs serve as permits, which makes them invaluable. They legalise the street vendor, but, in the case of the Pan Africa Shopping Mall, these had since expired. Another advantage that comes with these starter packs is that when street vendors stock their goods, they are allowed to stock in places like Africa Cash and Carry in Langlaagte in Johannesburg. The database comprises biographic information of all street vendors applying for trading permits. The names of street vendors and their ID numbers are taken down by city officials with the understanding that trading permits and the allocation of stalls will be facilitated. It has come to this researcher's attention that the city officials have been taking people's particulars with the view to arrange the permits in December 2023. This then begs the question – what happened to the initial database if the city officials are embarking on this process afresh? In addition, the fact that some street vendors operate from containers is proof enough that there is a database. Monies were deposited into some 'account' – one would hope that this was an official account and that those 'officials' who were receiving street vendors' monies know who these people are and kept a record. In view of the absence of licences, and the reluctance of the EDD to participate, their version remains a mystery.

All participants agree that no one has a valid licence in the Pan Africa Shopping Mall in Johannesburg. An official at the EDD also confirmed that no one has a valid licence in the Pan Africa Shopping Mall. She confirmed that they once offered starter packs (like trading permits) to street vendors, and that these have since expired. When one looks deeply into the City of Johannesburg's by-laws, the by-laws are silent on these starter packs, but rather refer to tokens.

Under the heading 'Lease and allocation of stands', Clauses 6(b); 6(c); 6(d) and (4) refer to these tokens and state that–

This token is a proof of informal trader's rights to occupy the stand for the purposes of conducting informal trading.

Informal trader is expected retain such a token on his/her person for display when expected to do so by the authorised official.

These tokens are issued by the Council to bona fide employees of the Informal Traders.

4.19 Public spaces and innovative ways to improve the plight of vendors

Makhetha and Rubin (2009) differentiate between legal and illegal street vendors in Noord Street, Johannesburg city centre. Legal street vendors are seldom harassed by the JMPD, because they have permits and they pay for them accordingly, whereas the same cannot be said about the illegal street vendors who are often the subjects of harassment by the JMPD due to their lack of proper documentation. Makhetha and Rubin (2019) further raise the issue of spatial contestation in that a legal street vendor's 'legality' remains for as long as they remain within their designated spatial allocation, which is often situated away from the customers and may also be limiting depending on what one is selling. Illegal street vendors who are mainly immigrants push the boundaries and move to where customers are – in middle of the pavements. Their offerings are often cheaper than those of the legal street vendors because they have fewer running costs. In the main, the illegal street vendors are young, and they can therefore easily play cat and mouse with JMPD when they are around. Generally, legal street vendors find themselves constrained in spatial limitations in their quest for remaining law-abiding citizens, while illegal street vendors use spaces innovatively and increase their income, but in an insecure way. It goes without saying that the lowering of prices and moving towards customers in an illegal manner cause tension between legal and illegal street vendors (Makhetha and Rubin 2009).

Eighty-six percent (86%) of participants say that they had come to loggerheads with the JMPD in one way or another. The JMPD does not arrest people who are violating by-laws; instead, they evict them and confiscate their stock and give a fine. However, according to clause 13(d) under Offences and Penalties of the by-law, failure to comply with the paying of fines issued by an authorised official can lead to a jail time of up to three months. The participants stated

that when the Pan Africa Shopping Mall was opened, street vendors were driven away and they struggled for survival. This behaviour by the officials is a direct contradiction to the very purpose of the by-law, to ensure social and economic development. This again raises the question of what is the purpose of a by-law when the reinforcement thereof only contradicts it. Street vendors were sent away because of a new mall, and told that they were not allowed to vend around the mall. Unfortunately, street vendors have kids to send to school as well. For the sake of analysis, it goes without saying that the JMPD get their mandate from their principals. In the main, these principals are city officials – the problem arises when city officials are conflicted.

Throughout the study, the researcher indicated that there is a contradiction in terms of the policy position the by city fathers. When the Pan Africa Shopping Mall was built, there was an attempt to push street vendors out of that space, showing how contested this space is. The question that arises is, in whose interests the street vendors are driven away. The announcement in February 2009 by the Durban/EThekwini municipality is a case in point. The plans entailed a redesign of the whole district, ensuring that the foot traffic of about 460 000 commuters a day are directed to pass the formal rather than informal traders, threatening the viability of street traders in the market. Removing traders ahead of the 2010 football event was part of a plan to 'spruce up' the city. Private property owners and politically well-connected stakeholders were driving the mall plans (Skinner 2017). So this contestation of public spaces cannot be clearer than what Skinner's (2017) work reveals. Davis (2006: 178) highlights the friction arising from the use of city pavements for private investment stimulus and for informal survivalism, and this is what the issue here is. Sometimes, to 'pit' formal businesses against informal businesses, one needs by-laws and the police force to put informal businesses in its place. Kiaka *et al*. (2021) vividly refer to state and politically orchestrated harassment and violence when dealing with the issue of contested spaces.

The fact that there is a final draft policy on vending suggests that the EDD needed a framework in order to be able to deal with all the issues pertaining to street vending. The participants stated that the government starts programmes and never finishes them. Smart cards were given to street vendors a long time ago and have since expired with no word of how and when to renew them, and the containers have no electricity.

Jeffrey Fakude highlighted that:

I was also taken to the University of the Witwatersrand. I did ABET and learnt how to grow my business. I wrote exams but was never given results and therefore never graduated. They also sponsored twenty rand (R20, 00) for transport to Wits on Sundays.

4.20 Conclusion

The reluctance by the organs of state like JMPD, PIKITUP and the EDD to participate in this study denied the state an opportunity to put their version forward. However, an official at the EDD did confirm that no one has a valid trading licence in the Pan Africa Shopping Mall in Alexandra Township in Johannesburg. Seeing that the gatekeeper opines that there were people who demanded money from street vendors without any justification, this researcher then asked the participants about this 'extortion', and ninety-three percent (93%) of the participants denied that they were aware of this behaviour. Another question the researcher wanted to verify, is what does the JMPD do to enforce by-laws?

Unlike other informal workers like those who sell liquor who are arrested upon failure to produce a trading licence, street vendors in the Pan Africa Shopping Mall are never arrested. Instead, evictions and confiscations are the order of the day. The fines range from five hundred rand to about ten thousand, depending on what one is selling and the amount of the stock. These varied amounts are problematic because the by-law pitches these fines at not more than five hundred rand or jail time up to three months, unless the JMPD relies on other pieces of legislation. This confirms a finding by Skinner (2017) that officers fine street vendors, and, as in the case of Warwick, fines are given depending on how the officer 'feels' that day. On how easy it is to enter the sector, examples cited in the findings suggest that the most common method of funding is self-funding. It is also interesting that the entrance into street vending is globally similar. For example, in Al-Jundi's (2019) reference to Iraq's case it is noted that some migrants manage to start successful businesses with tiny resources.

The issue of spatial redesign is an urgent one precisely because there is evidence that the formal businesses can coexist with informal businesses, especially when one can investigate the notion of urban culture. Even in affluent places in Johannesburg such as Rosebank Mall, there is some form of informality called the African market. Those operations happen on a smaller scale and

operations such as these are little pockets of success, which point to the possibility of this coexistence.

The spatial redesign may help to resolve the issue of contested spaces. If towns can be redesigned such that some informality is welcomed, it will go a long way in ensuring that street vendors secure their livelihoods, thereby bringing the unemployment rate down. As in the case of Noord Street in Johannesburg city centre being legal, it also means that one is obligated to spatial regulations and demarcations and that in itself comes with its own challenges because one needs to compete with those who play outside the rules of the game for an unfair competitive advantage.

The Warwick case is another example that shows that, when working together with other organisations of similar interests, the draconian by-laws can be challenged in courts. If, in February 2015, the High Court in Durban found that the impoundment of street vendors' goods is unconstitutional, a court in Johannesburg may also make a similar finding. This needs coordination and working together, and street vendors should resist working in silos. They need to organise themselves and defend their livelihoods.

The majority of this researcher's participants are women, and half of the participants are foreign nationals. This exposes two realities that both need urgent responses and resolution. The first reality is that the face of street vendors in the Pan Africa Shopping Mall is female with all its vulnerabilities. So, empowering them is empowering a nation. This then becomes a burden to all stakeholders – especially the policymakers – to know that it cannot be business as usual when these women are still treated with contempt. Instead, there must be a concerted effort to deal with the plight of street vendors as a matter of urgency. The second reality is that foreign nationals are just as vulnerable, because they are soft targets when the police seek bribes, and they are also targets of pervasive hostility and made into scapegoats when things do not go the way they are supposed to go; yet they have a contribution to make to this economy. So, the unfair pronunciations and discriminatory tendencies by the urban governance when trading licences are applied and distributed should cease.

CHAPTER 5: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the summary of the findings and makes conclusions from the findings. Lastly, the chapter provides some recommendations on what needs to be done to address the plight of street vendors in the Pan Africa Shopping Mall.

5.2 Summary

This study looked at the plight of street vendors in the Pan Africa Shopping Mall in Alexandra Township, Johannesburg. This was done by analyses of pertinent areas of street vending. The researcher started by looking into the gender split of street vendors. To a certain extent, the researcher also looked at the educational background of these vendors. The nationality of street vendors also revealed an interesting background as to what street vendors in the Pan Africa Shopping Mall were comprised of. Factors driving people into vending reveal factual reasons why people resort to vending. Challenges faced by street vendors were also explored. The relationship between formal and informal businesses, and lastly the policy position and use of public spaces were examined. All these factors were looked into to reveal pertinent issues for consideration.

This researcher started with an analysis of the gender split to obtain a sense of who is who in this space. What the analyses revealed is that the majority of the participants were female. These female vendors are also single parents and need to support themselves and their dependents with whatever profit they make as street vendors. These women are also not well qualified, which makes it difficult for them to be absorbed by the formal sector unless they get absorbed for semi-skilled jobs which in the main, are not well remunerated either. The nationality of the street vendors revealed interesting details, e.g. a lack of street vendors from the Southern African countries. This can be attributed to the fact that Lesotho nationals are mainly employed as domestic workers or waste pickers. Two factors, namely the loss of employment and unavailability of work, represent over sixty percent of what drives people to vending. This then suggests that even the formal jobs are not necessarily sustainable if over

forty percent of the participants had lost such jobs. This makes the case that informal businesses may just be the future for those with less qualifications. Policymakers must ensure that this sector is safe and decent. Looking at challenges facing street vendors, over eighty percent say that their main challenge is the JMPD. Having the majority of participants as female and having over eighty percent say that JMPD is their main challenge shows that most of the people suffering at the hands of the JMPD are women and foreign nationals. It is common knowledge that there is no trade unionism or any form of NGO operating in this space. What is also common knowledge is the need to have some form of representative in this space; hence, the availability of a committee that acts as a broker between the city fathers and the street vendors. This will be an indication that some form of organising is key and necessary. Both the formal and informal business sectors warmed to the idea of working side by side with their counterparts. What is key in this regard is the whole notion of spatial redesign and creating cities amenable to sharing. It goes without saying that both formal and informal businesses have the potential to draw customers in view of urban cultures and African markets. This is done to ensure that formal businesses coexist with informal businesses. Policymaking is a cornerstone for all the successes that are envisaged. By cooperating and working together, the issue is about redesigning regulations and redesigning public spaces for the common good.

5.3 Conclusions

This study found that the JMPD is indeed a barrier towards the realisation of vending to survive in the Pan Africa Shopping Mall in an environment where there is no work for everyone. The study further finds that JMPD officers are a major challenge to street vendors in that every time they are evicted and their stock confiscated, street vendors need to pay anything from two thousand rand to ten thousand rand, depending on what has been confiscated, which is in direct in contrast to the city's by-law under offences and penalties, which states that any person who contravenes or fails to comply with any provision of this by-law is guilty of an offence and liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding R500. This reverses any gains the street vendors would have made. As a result, they must start from afresh almost every time. This action by the JMPD officers stalls their progress in any environment where the state fails to create jobs. It is therefore this researcher's recommendation that the government stop the policy contradictions in that one cannot promote entrepreneurial initiatives and self-help whilst at the same time one evicts the same vendors who are trying their best at self-help. The state also encourages its citizens to be self-sufficient and create jobs, yet the very same state cripples the

self-initiatives undertaken by street vendors. The other problem is that the very same state fails to provide trading licences to the vendors, and makes street vendors easy targets for evictions and confiscations. This is an indictment to a state that calls itself as caring and professes to be a 'people first state'. Safety for the street vendors is another cause for concern in that street vendors become easy targets and are a very vulnerable group as far as crime is concerned, in that they keep their cash on themselves and everyone knows that they are carrying and keeping cash, unlike the formal businesses who have safes on their premises. Street vendors deserve to work in an environment where health and safety is guaranteed. Again, the state should put their money where their mouth is. Lastly, the state speaks of township economy; street vending should be a starting point whereby the state provides shelter from adverse weather conditions and allocates vending spaces. It is rather unfortunate that even the township economy policy is silent about street vending.

The pandemic had an undesirable effect on street vendors and, just as some formal businesses did not survive the pandemic, it should also be accepted that some street vendors did not survive the pandemic either. What was most challenging during the pandemic was the expectation that people had to maintain social distancing in crowded spaces, because street vending happens in crowded spaces. Ablution facilities is another cause for concern, including availability of water, toilets and electricity. This alone speaks to health and safety. In an environment where micro-enterprises are not recognised by the government, and where there are no loan facilities for informal businesses, it shows that street vendors are at their own mercy. Even if urban governments did arrange loan facilities for street vendors, such interest rates must be minimal considering the lower income margins in this sector.

5.4 Recommendations

The major findings of this study are that most street vendors are female and that half of the participants are foreign nationals. Harassment, eviction and punitive fines of street vendors by JMPD, and threats to the safety of street vendors are the main problems faced by street vendors in the Pan Africa Shopping Mall in Alexandra Township. Vague policy positions and by-laws that are not put into effect were some of the other main findings in this research. This sector is also highly unorganised, as no formal bargaining for workers and no associations are present in this space; hence the plight of street vendors remains unchanged. Spatial redesign and regulations need the urgent attention of all stakeholders. As a result, the following

recommendations are proposed in a bid to address the plight of street vendors. Twelve recommendations are proposed and are detailed below:

(i) Naturalisation of children born in South Africa

The national government should attempt to facilitate the naturalisation of children born in South Africa by non-South African parents and/or by a South African and a non-South African parent. This point was conceived from the heartfelt plea of Maria More, a Mozambican citizen and a vendor selling second-hand shoes, who has children with a South African father. Maria More's children were born and bred in South Africa and also attend schools in South Africa, yet their citizen status as South Africans hangs in a balance. These children are educated in South Africa and do not know any other home. These children are being raised and educated in South Africa and have something to offer the country and could help rebuild the economy. Citizenship and/or work permits should be granted to street vendors who have been in South Africa for over twenty years. The justification for this is that these workers have been working in and serving South Africa for all these years.

(ii) Enhancement of health and safety in street vending

The government and local authorities should actively promote the enhancement of health and safety in street vending. Both Wessel Grobler and Peter Tosh, who are shopkeepers, sharply raised the issue of stench in the environment and the recommendation of keeping the open vending spaces clean. The deployment of health inspectors will help to promote health and safety, considering that food is a most common commodity sold in this space (from fruits and vegetables to South African cuisine). Health inspectors will further assist with other health and safety concerns in this space. The stench emanating from a lack of the proper disposal of waste is also a concern. Enhancing education around keeping Johannesburg clean and having bins and signs that littering is prohibited should be encouraged. When there is a sufficient availability of bins, people tend to use that instead of littering. Signs discouraging people from littering can also go a long way as a deterrent from littering.

(iii) Promoting street vending as part of the township economy

Informal trading should be incorporated into recognised activities as part of the township economy. There is a lot of talk about informal business contributions to the economy and how to improve this by the policymakers. Failure to include street vending in the township economic development plan is planning to fail street vending. It is mind boggling why the economic spinoffs brought about by street vending are not recognised. This includes the value brought about street vending in job creation and reducing the burden on job-seeker numbers. Street vending lessens the burden on aligning the economy as far as job creation is concerned. Therefore, a moratorium is needed on harassment and eviction of street vendors until those eligible for permits are issued with valid ones in the Pan Africa Shopping Mall.

(iv) Establishing a social security scheme for street vendors

The government should provide street vendors with some social security, even if street vendors were to be the only ones who contribute towards their pension. The South African Post Office should work together with other entities in other countries, and can be a holder of such funds. Alternatively, as soon as trade unions organise in the Pan Africa Shopping Mall, a vehicle towards social security should be established that would yield social security benefits that street vendors should enjoy later in their lives.

(v) ABET

Street vendors should be encouraged to enrol with the ABET (Adult Basic Education and Training) programme to improve their educational levels. It is said that 'education opens doors' and 'experience teaches'; hence, ABET can make a meaningful contribution in this regard. Partnerships with ABET for furthering skills and education can help vendors to attain some basic education. The findings on the educational level of street vendors are that it is generally low, and therefore there needs to be some intervention that will improve the level of education of street vendors. Programmes such as 'basics to business management' can come in handy, coupled with refresher programmes on the 'essence of business', which talks of profitability or understanding of business issues.

(vi) Repurposing, recycling and renewable energy

What is proposed here emanates from the observation of the significant amount of waste generated in the street vending space in the Pan Africa Shopping Mall in Alexandra. One then wonders how this waste can be reused in ensuring that it is disposed of in the best way. There is potential for waste pickers to recycle different types of waste to good use, considering the amount of waste material generated by street vendors (especially fruit and vegetable material). The logical thing to do is repurposing such material. Materials such as cabbage leaves can be repurposed and recycled as food stuff for domestic animals such as cows, donkeys, horses and pigs. Damaged tomatoes can be repurposed and replanted in vegetable gardens for new produce. Some of the overripe or spoiled fruit and vegetable material can be rechannelled as fertilizers or for formation of manure. A lot has been said about the possibility of generating energy using waste material. If this claim is correct, we can, therefore, generate alternative energy by recycling waste generated in this space. 'Less waste and more energy' is very crucial in a country where the energy capacity is not enough and threatens growth and development.

(vii) Insurance for street vendors

The researcher's assessment from the figures the participants shared with him, made him realise that street vendors need to protect their investments because some of them are selling high-value items like hardware and bedding from containers, and these containers come under attack now and then from criminal elements. Street vending, just like formal business, can be categorised as small, medium or large enterprises. It is therefore important to be aware of how much one's business is worth in order to know for how much one should insure his or her business. Affordable insurance could be taken to cover for losses and theft; this may mitigate potential losses considering that there are losses that street vendors suffer, be it due to arson or theft. For someone like Abby Duna with an estimated turnover of about seventy thousand a month, affordable insurance may be the right option in that she experienced vandalism, arson and other forms of criminality.

(viii) Street vendors as a potential pool of employees for formal business

Street vendors can act as a potential pool of employees for formal business. When Wessel Grobler, a shopkeeper, said that their employees are sourced from among the street vendors, this researcher thought that this concept is worth exploring further. A relationship with formal business where some street vendors are absorbed into their businesses can be another way of introducing candidates to formal work where they can enjoy benefits (these benefits include but are not limited to social security, maternity benefits and overtime payment) that come with being a former employee.

This can be because of the extent of the relationship between formal and informal businesses, notwithstanding the fact that not everyone wants to work in the formal business environment, and that not everyone will be absorbed by formal businesses. However, it is encouraging that Wessel Grobler gives street vendors a priority when he has employment vacancies in his business.

(ix) Health and safety and the role of health inspectors

It is recommended that health inspectors concentrate more on promoting healthy living and education among street vendors as opposed to constantly harassing them, as they are now known for. One of the challenges faced by the street vendors is the lack of ablution facilities – in this case, sinks and water drainage – especially for those who sell food. Water is needed to wash up dishes and cutlery. Food vendors generate a substantial amount of greasy water and that water is thrown on the tarred roads. This makes tarred roads a health hazard because they become slippery. Considering the state of our tarred roads, which are rarely serviced and end up with potholes, as water is poured on the roads, this dirty greasy water ends up being deposited in these potholes, which then pollutes the air and spreads stench throughout the environment, and patrons are expected to be dining in the same environment. A sufficient supply of bins and emptying them regularly will go a long way in promoting health and safety.

(x) Media coverage and street vendors

As media is a powerful tool, roping in local media to highlight the plight of vendors in a positive manner can have phenomenal effects. Media can play a significant role in highlighting the plight of any society in general, and street vendors in particular. What is envisaged is 'local' media houses who, as part of their Corporate Social Investment (CSI), were to feature the offerings of street vendors on a pro bono basis. What is further envisaged is that the day-to-day struggles of the street vendors were to be published in the press and/or have some focus on street vending. Failure to pay attention to these workers is tantamount to neglecting a vast part of the community and their local economy.

(xi) Nutritional value of rats as pet food and rat fur usage

Because of the amount of waste material in this space, the proliferation of rats is unavoidable and is commonplace. Exploring potential new markets regarding the nutritional value of rats as pet food, and rat fur usage for making of coats, scarves, and cashmere is something worth exploring. It goes without saying that rats are potentially a health hazard and a taboo when one is even considering their nutritional value in other sectors of the community; however, there might be a new market to 'farm' or trade with rats for their nutritional value as pet food and fur usage. Proper research should be contemplated and untapped opportunities might be realised for growth and development. Rat meat can also be utilised at the local zoos for a number of animals such as snakes and owls, and for domestic animals such as cats and even dogs.

(xii) Re-use of chicken feathers

In the Pan Africa Shopping Mall, there are vendors who sell 'live' chickens and also those who sell slaughtered chickens. These products, together with chicken offal, are generally affordable types of meat with nutritional value. The slaughtered chickens also add to the waste problem. However, chicken feathers can be reused, recycled and repurposed for making costumes, pillow cases, and fertilizers, and the other waste products could be used as nutrition for other animals. This possibility also needs some investigation for possible job creation and development.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview guide for street vendors in Pan Africa Mall

Topic: The plight of street vendors in Pan Africa Mall in Alexandra Township in South Africa

1. What factors drive people into vending?

2. What are the challenges that you are facing?

3. Where did you get your start-up capital from?

4. Are there any forms of formal or informal funding that helps you as informal traders that you know of?

5. Are there any trade unions and non-governmental organizations involved in an attempt to promote your wellbeing in Pan Africa Mall in Alexandra Township?

6. Did COVID-19 affect your street vending trading activities. How did that impact you financially?

7. Did you apply and benefit from the government's R350 relief funds?

8. How did the recent looting of major stores at the Pan Africa Mall and the torching of some formal businesses affect the flow of your customers?

9. Did you experience any surge in your business due to the temporary closure of formal

business in Pan Africa Mall in Alexandra Township after the recent protests?

10. Was there any of your stock that was stored in the premises of formal shop keepers?

11. What is it that you would like to see the government do to change your plight?

Appendix 2: Interview Guide for Storekeepers in the Pan Africa Mall in Alexandra Township

Topic: The plight of street vendors in Pan Africa Mall in Alexandra Township in South Africa

1. Can formal businesses coexist with street vendors in Pan Africa Mall in Alexandra Township?

2. What is the attitude of formal businesses with regards to keeping Pan Africa Mall in Alexandra Township clean?

3. Do street vendors adhere to allocated vending spaces?

4. Is there any relationship between formal businesses and street venders with regards to the usage of amenities and storage for their stock?

5. Does street vending help reduce joblessness and by extension, does it help to stop those without formal jobs from resorting to crime?

Appendix 3: Questionnaire/Interview Guide for Officials from the EDD

Topic: The plight of street vendors in Pan Africa Mall in Alexandra Township in South Africa

1. What is the Policy position of the government for the street vendors?

2. Does the government have a database for street vendors?

3. What is the state of licenses for street vendors?

4. What problems do the department have with public spaces with regards to street vending?

5. Are there any innovative ways to improve the plight of vendors?

Appendix 4: Ethics Clearance

COLLEGE OF HUMAN SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS REVIEW COMMITTEE

28 September 2021

Dear Jabulani Godfrey Msibi (Mr)

Decision:

Ethics Approval from 28 September 2021 to 28 September 2024

Researcher(s): Name: Jabulani Godfrey Msibi (Mr)

Contact details: 7714602@mylife.unisa.ac.za

Supervisor(s): Name: Dr B Mpofu

Contact details: Mpofub@unisa.ac.za

Title: The plight of street vendors in the Pan Africa Mall in Alexandra Township in South Africa

Degree Purpose: Masters

Thank you for the application for research ethics clearance by the Unisa College of Human Science Ethics Committee. Ethics approval is granted for three years.

The low risk application was reviewed by College of Human Sciences Research Ethics Committee, in compliance with the Unisa Policy on Research Ethics and the Standard Operating Procedure on Research Ethics Risk Assessment.

The proposed research may now commence with the provisions that:

1. The researcher(s) will ensure that the research project adheres to the values and principles expressed in the UNISA Policy on Research Ethics.

2. Any adverse circumstance arising in the undertaking of the research project that is relevant to the ethicality of the study should be communicated in writing to the College Ethics Review Committee.

3. The researcher(s) will conduct the study according to the methods and procedures set out in the approved application.

4. Any changes that can affect the study-related risks for the research participants, particularly in terms of assurances made with regards to the protection of participants' privacy and the NHREC Registration #: Rec-240816-052 CREC Reference #: 7714602_CREC_CHS_2021 Confidentiality of the data, should be reported to the Committee in writing, accompanied by a progress report.

5. The researcher will ensure that the research project adheres to any applicable national legislation, professional codes of conduct, institutional guidelines and scientific standards relevant to the specific field of study. Adherence to the following South African legislation is important, if applicable: Protection of Personal Information Act, no 4 of 2013; Children's act no 38 of 2005 and the National Health Act, no 61 of 2003.

6. Only de-identified research data may be used for secondary research purposes in future on condition that the research objectives are similar to those of the original research. Secondary use of identifiable human research data requires additional ethics clearance.

7. No fieldwork activities may continue after the expiry date (28 September 2024). Submission of a completed research ethics progress report will constitute an application for renewal of Ethics Research Committee approval.

Note:

The reference number 7714602_CREC_CHS_2021 should be clearly indicated on all forms of communication with the intended research participants, as well as with the Committee.

Yours sincerely,

Signature: Signature: PP

Prof. KB Khan Prof K. Masemola

CHS Research Ethics Committee Chairperson Executive Dean: CHS

Email: khankb@unisa.ac.za E-mail: masemk@unisa.ac.za

Tel: (012) 429 8210 Tel: (012) 429 2298

Appendix 5: Participant Information Sheet

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

7714602_CREC_CHS_2021

13-12-2021

Title: The plight of street vendors in Pan Africa Mall in Alexandra Township in South Africa

Dear Prospective Participant

My name is Jabulani Godfrey Msibi and I am doing research with Dr. B. Mpofu, a staff member in the Department of Development Studies. The research forms part of a Master's degree at the University of South Africa. I am inviting you to participate in a study entitled the plight of street vendors in Pan Africa Mall in Alexandra Township in South Africa

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY?

I am conducting research to find out the plight of street vendors in Pan Africa Mall, in Alexandra Township This study is expected to collect important information that could help policy makers to re-shape their policies.

WHY AM I BEING INVITED TO PARTICIPATE?

I obtained your contact details by asking around. The reason why you have been selected is that you are one of the stakeholders in this space.

I plan to include sixty participants and confidentiality is guaranteed for participating in this

WHAT IS THE NATURE OF MY PARTICIPATION IN THIS STUDY?

The study involves interviews and possibly focus groups. Please note that for this now, no in-person, face-to-face data collection is permissible due to social distancing and other restrictions in the time of COVID-19. If you agree to a telephonic interview will take place and will not take more than twenty minutes of your time

CAN I WITHDRAW FROM THIS STUDY EVEN AFTER HAVING AGREED TO PARTICIPATE?

Please note that participation in this study is voluntary and that there is no penalty or loss of benefit for non-participation. You are under no obligation to consent to participation. If you do decide to take part, kindly add your name to the written consent form on the next page. You are free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason. You can ask me to withdraw your answers to my interview questions, but by seven days after an interview I would process all transcribed taped interview data in such a way that your confidentiality will be protected.

WHAT ARE THE POTENTIAL BENEFITS OF TAKING PART IN THIS STUDY?

There are no benefits for participation, beyond adding to the body of scientific knowledge on this topic.

ARE THERE ANY NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES FOR ME IF I PARTICIPATE IN THE RESEARCH PROJECT?

The only envisaged potential inconvenience is that time taking during interview or focus group participation.

WILL THE INFORMATION THAT I CONVEY TO THE RESEARCHER AND MY IDENTITY BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL?

You have the right to insist that your name should not be recorded anywhere and that no one, apart from the researcher, will know about your involvement in this research. Your *recorded*

data will be given a code number or a pseudonym and you will be referred to in this way in the data, any publications, or other research reporting methods such as conference proceedings.

Only I as the researcher will have access to the raw (unprocessed) data. No one outside of the study will have access to records or data which identify you without your written permission. A report of the study may be submitted for publication, but individual participants will not be identifiable in such a report.

HOW WILL THE RESEARCHER(S) PROTECT THE SECURITY OF DATA?

Hard copies of your answers/responses will be stored by the researcher for a period of five years in a locked cupboard at my place of residence for future research or academic purposes. Electronic information will be stored as password protected files on a password protected computer. Consent forms will be stored separately from the data.
Future use of the stored data will be subject to further Research Ethics Review and approval if applicable.

Hard copy documentation of the data obtained will be shredded when the degree is completed. Electronic copies of data will be permanently deleted from the hard drive of the computer.

WILL I RECEIVE PAYMENT OR ANY INCENTIVES FOR PARTICIPATING IN THIS STUDY?

No payment or reward is offered, financial or otherwise. The cost for returning a completed questionnaire is minimal.

HAS THE STUDY RECEIVED ETHICS APPROVAL?

This study has received written approval from the Research Ethics Review Committee of the Department of Development Studies. A copy of the approval letter can be obtained from the researcher if you so wish.

HOW WILL I BE INFORMED OF THE FINDINGS/RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH?

If you would like to be informed of the final research findings, please contact Jabulani Godfrey Msibi on 0828093214 or email address 7714602@mylife.unisa.ac.za . The findings are accessible for twelve months' time.

Should you require any further information or want to contact the researcher about any aspect of this study, please contact Jabulani Godfrey Msibi at 0828093214 or email 7714602@mylife.unisa.ac.za

Should you have concerns about the way in which the research has been conducted, you may contact Dr. B. Mpofu at 0124296653, email Mpofub@unisa.ac.za . Alternatively, contact the research ethics chairperson of the Department of Development Studies, Dr Aneesah Khan at 0124296173, Khana@unisa.ac.za

Thank you for taking time to read this information sheet and for participating in this study.

Thank you.

Jabulani Godfrey Msibi

Appendix 6: Consent Letter

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY

7714602_CREC_CHS_2021

I, _____ (participant name), confirm that the person asking my consent to take part in this research has told me about the nature, procedure, potential benefits and anticipated inconvenience of participation.

I have read (or had explained to me) and understood the study as explained in the information sheet.

I have had sufficient opportunity to ask questions and am prepared to participate in the study.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without penalty.

I am aware that the findings of this study will be processed into a research report, journal publications and/or conference proceedings, but that my participation will be kept confidential unless otherwise specified.

I agree to the recording of the interview

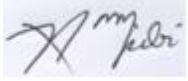
I will receive a copy of this informed consent agreement.

Participant Name & Surname…… (type)

Participant Signature……Date……

Researcher: I have explained this study to the best of my ability. I invited questions and gave answers. I believe that the participant fully understands what is involved in being in the study, any potential risks of the study and that he or she has freely chosen to be in the study.

Researcher's Name & Surname……Jabulani Godfrey Msibi……

Researcher's Signature…  …… Date …13-12-2021