

“Putting food on my table and clothes on my back”: street trading as a food and livelihood security coping strategy in Raisethorpe, Pietermaritzburg

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ABSTRACT

It is widely accepted that street trading is a survivalist activity that yields low profits. Few, if any, studies investigate how much profit is earned; intra-household allocation; and contribution of this income towards households needs. Therefore, a glaring omission in street trading literature is a critical evaluation of the contribution of street trading to household food and livelihood security. A major strength and original contribution of this study to the wider context is the analysis of street trading as a household food and livelihood security coping strategy. This study investigated whether street traders had sufficient food for household consumption; whether street trading reduced vulnerability to hunger; and determined how income from street trading was spent by households. Seven innovative participatory tools applied through a unique research design, were used to elicit business; household and demographic information.

Five fruit and vegetable vendors; three clothing and cosmetics; two food; one telephone service; and one video vendor participated. Street traders were categorised into four food security groups according to increasing Coping Strategy Index scores. These were: two traders in a seemingly food secure group; five in the relatively food secure group; four in the relatively food insecure group; and one in the food insecure group.

The use of innovative participatory research tools led to several findings. Types of goods sold did not determine profitability, but profitability determined household food security. As household income decreased, Coping Strategy Index scores increased. This finding implied sufficient access to food for household consumption was determined primarily by income levels ranging from R250 to R10 000 per month. Low income traders used severe coping strategies and were more food insecure than other traders. The middle income traders used intermediate coping strategies while the high income group used less severe strategies or did not apply food security coping strategies such as eating less preferred foods.

This study found that child dependents and unemployed household members increased household food insecurity. Risk sharing networks among street traders played a key role

in accessing cash for food and the sustainability of the micro-enterprises. Social grants reduced household food insecurity and provided a 'cash safety net' for economic activity. Assets reduced hunger and provided crisis security.

The study has shown that street trading supplemented low income levels for pensioners and low income earners. Street trading was a primary livelihood strategy for people who had no access to income from pensions or other/formal employment. The study concluded that income from street trading was vital to improve access to food for household consumption. Street traders who had established customers; and access to material and social assets consumed a greater variety of foods than street traders who were fairly new, lacked access to loans (through family and friends) and owned few or no material assets.

All participating street traders began trading as a coping strategy to increase household cash. Their trading evolved into an adaptive or permanent livelihood strategy. Households used a mix of food related coping strategies and street trading was an adaptive strategy, rather than a coping strategy to access sufficient food for household consumption. Participating street traders were survivalists as street trading provided a daily net for subsistence. Although street trading income was barely sufficient to sustain households, it provided much needed income to pay school fees; rent; water and electricity. Street trading is therefore critical to household welfare for participating street traders; but infrastructure and resource constraints trapped street traders in survivalist enterprises and exacerbated their vulnerability to food and livelihood security.

This study fills a gap in understanding of street trading behaviour in Raisethorpe. This is the first study to apply participatory research methods to comprehensively explore street trader coping strategies and the first study to attempt to link street trading, livelihood security and food security. It is recommended that municipalities adopt a developmental approach to street trading that includes trading sites with secure tenure and infrastructure such as shelter; tables; water and sanitation. Policy reform in terms of issuing trading permits and developing regulations for renting trading sites is imperative. Since this study

found that profitability determined household food security, business advice and skills training should be provided for all street traders to promote business sustainability and profitability. A final recommendation is that street trading be recognised as a survivalist strategy that requires further investigation and policy measures to improve income and ensure food security for vulnerable groups.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this is my own work. Where other sources have been used, these are duly acknowledged in the text.

Quraishia Abdulla

Date

As research Supervisor I agree to submission of this thesis for examination.

Professor Sheryl L. Hendriks

Date

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACHIB	African Council of Hawkers and Informal Business
AICDD	African Institute for Community Driven Development
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
AVF	Asset Vulnerability Framework
BHF	Bangladesh Hawkers Federation
BNP	Bangladesh National Party
BPDO	Business Promotion and Development Office
CASE	Community Agency for Social Enquiry
CBD	Central Business District
CCF	Capitals Capabilities Framework
CD	Compact Disk
CHD	City Health Department
CSBP	Centre for Small Business promotion
CSI	Coping Strategy Index
CSM	Church Street Mall
CWFS	Committee on World Food Security
DA	Department of Agriculture
DfID	Department for International Development
DHPT	Department of Hawkers and Petty Trader
DILG	Department of Interior and Local Government
DL	Department of Labour
DTI	Department of Trade and Industry
DVD	Digital Video Disc
DWEBA	Development of Dynamic Women's Enterprise in Business and Art
EDBEE	Entrepreneurial Development and Black Economic Empowerment
EDGU	Economic Development and Growth Unit
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
GIDR	Gujarat Institute for Development Research
HD	Hawkers Department

HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HPS	Hawkers Permit Services
IES	Income and Expenditure Survey
ILO	International Labour Organisation
ITD	Informal Trade Division
ITTT	Informal Trading Task Team
KEF	Khula Enterprise Finance
LD	Licensing Division
LFS	Labour Force Survey
LLF	Learning about Livelihoods Framework
LP	League of Provinces
LU	Licensing Unit
MC	Municipal Council
MM	Msunduzi Municipality
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
MSDD	Msunduzi Sundry Debtors Department
NASVI	National Alliance of Street Vendor of India
NAMC	National Agricultural Marketing Council
NFKSV	National Federation of Korean Street Vendor
NIES	National Income and Expenditure Survey
NSDPSM	National Strategy for the Development and Promotion of Small Businesses
NDC	Natal Debt Corporation
NEPA	Ntsika Enterprise Promotion Agency
OG	Olympic Games
PCB	Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Business
PM	Pietermaritzburg Mall
PMB	Pietermaritzburg
RTA	Raisethorpe Traders Association
SARS	South African Revenue Service
SBOD	Small Business Opportunities Division

SEWA	Self Employed Women’s Association
SEWU	Self Employed Women Union
SL	Sustainable Livelihoods
SLF	Sustainable Livelihoods Framework
SMME	Small, Medium and Micro-Enterprises
SU	Security Unit
SWOT	Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats
TD	Traffic Department
TLC	Transitional Local Council
TSU	Traffic and Security Unit
UIF	Unemployment Insurance Fund
UK	United Kingdom
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
WIEGO	Women in Informal Employment Globalising and Organising
WMD	Waste Management Division
WMDNB	World Market: Day and Night Bazaar
YEDP	Youth Enterprise Development Project

CHAPTER ONE

THE PROBLEM AND ITS SETTING

1.1 The Rationale for the Study

Street trading enterprises are classified as survivalist activities that yield meagre incomes, barely sufficient to sustain households (Lund, 1998; Skinner, 1999; Chen et al., 2000; Lund et al., 2000; Rogerson, 2000a; Kassim & Hendriks, 2001). Yet despite meagre earnings, survivalist enterprises are multiplying as a means of coping with increasing food and livelihood insecurity (Rogerson, 2000a). An informal economic activity such as street trading is often a coping strategy to increase household cash (Shackleton & Shackleton, 2004). A glaring omission in the literature is a critical evaluation of street trading as an income generation strategy and assessment of its contribution to the needs of households in terms of how much is earned and how this income is used within households.

Coping strategies are generally short-term means to satisfy consumption needs and refer to a range of activities such as consumption altering strategies to kinship strategies (Maxwell, 1995; Maxwell et al., 2000). Adaptive strategies on the other hand, are coping strategies used on a permanent basis to access food and other livelihood needs (Davies, 1993). Most low income households use a mix of coping strategies (to meet immediate needs) and adaptive strategies (to ensure long-term survival) to access food (Maxwell et al., 2003).

This study investigates street trading as a coping and adaptive strategy for food and livelihood security among street traders in Raisethorpe, Pietermaritzburg through twelve intensive case studies. To determine the contribution of street trading to food security, it was necessary to investigate income earned each month and trace the use of this income in households. The precise earnings of street traders have received scant attention. It is difficult to ascertain the precise earnings of street traders as the business economy and the household economy are rarely separated (Hendriks, 2002). This study attempted to acquire a monthly estimation of earnings. The viability of street trading as a coping

strategy (for some traders) and adaptive strategy (for other traders) was analysed in terms of access to food and resources such as education; health care; housing and asset accumulation and general overall experiences of street traders.

1.2 The Statement of the Problem

This study aimed to evaluate street trading as a food and livelihood security strategy for street traders in Raisethorpe.

1.3 Sub-Problems

- 1.3.1 Do street traders have access to sufficient food for household consumption?
- 1.3.2 Does street trading reduce vulnerability to hunger?
- 1.3.3 Is the income used to meet household needs?

1.4 Conceptual Framework

Figure 1.1 presents the conceptual framework that guided this study. Food insecure urban households engage in a mix of coping and adaptive strategies to satisfy their consumption needs (Maxwell et al., 2003). Early entrants in street trading use the informal sector as a short-term means of accessing cash for basic household needs and coping with low income and the inability to secure employment in the formal sector (Lund et al., 2000). Eventually, for many street traders, street trading becomes an adaptive strategy, or a long-term permanent means of earning a livelihood.

Entry into street trading is facilitated by low skills and capital requirements (Hendriks, 2002). Income generation is constrained by inappropriate policy and support mechanisms, including lack of access to credit; business training; evictions and availability of legal trading areas (Skinner, 1999; Lund et al., 2000; Mitullah, 2003a and b; Bhowmik, 2005).

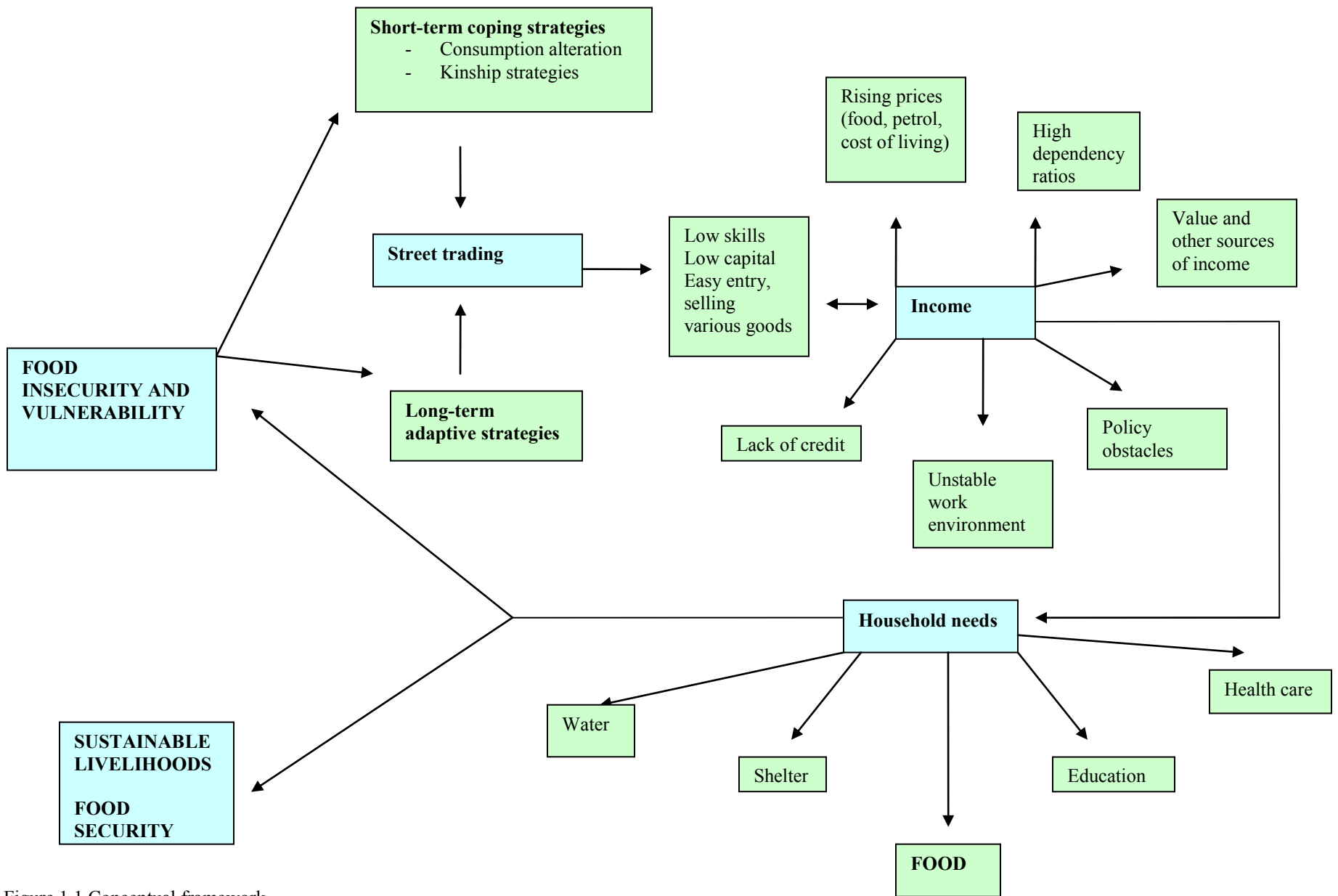


Figure 1.1 Conceptual framework

Trading income is also determined by size and location of the enterprise; the socio-economic status of the target consumer group and potential for capital accumulation (Dasgupta, 1992b; Unni, 2002; Mitullah, 2003a; and b). The cumulative impact of constraining factors is low income and low profit margins (Lund, 1998; Kassim & Hendriks, 2002). Within the household, meagre incomes have to feed many mouths and pay for clothing, education, water, and energy for lighting and cooking.

The value of income decreases with rising inflation and high costs of meeting basic needs (Little, 1999). The level of household needs that are met depends on income. Higher incomes cater for household needs, build social and material assets; and pave the way for sustainable households. Low incomes meet only very basic needs or sometimes are sufficient only for providing food; this means that many street trader households are vulnerable to food and livelihood security on a daily basis (Shackleton & Shackleton, 2004).

1.5 Study Limits

Street traders feared losing their trading sites and were reluctant to participate, therefore only twelve could be enlisted to take part in the study. All willing participants were included in the study. For fear of discrimination or harassment by municipal officials and shop owners, some street traders may not have been honest about their financial situations. Study participants could have under-reported their incomes as they feared losing their trading spots. They could have also intentionally exaggerated their social or economic problems hoping to be targeted for government support. As case studies are in depth studies with a few research participants, the results of this study cannot be generalised to other street traders.

This study investigated food and livelihood security in November and December 2004. During this period incomes may have been higher than usual given the festive season and increased spending by shoppers. Comparing the use of coping strategies and Coping Strategy Index scores during and after the festive season could have monitored changes in household food security attributable to increased profits.

1.6 Assumptions

It was assumed that study participants would be willing to talk openly about their experiences without fear. It was assumed that all income was declared and that street traders knew what income was spent on household expenses. It was also assumed that the financial information attained from participatory budgets was accurate and a true reflection of business operation and earnings. Furthermore, it was assumed that the information gathered from the study participants was an honest account of their feelings and experiences as street traders and household heads.

1.7 Organisation of the thesis

Chapter one sets out the rationale of the study and conceptual framework upon which the rest of the thesis is based. It includes assumptions and explains the limitations of the study.

Chapter two presents a comprehensive analysis of food security and sustainable livelihoods literature related to the sub-problems set out in chapter one. The literature review covers sustainable livelihoods frameworks; conceptualises food security as a sub-category of livelihood security; and explores coping and adaptive strategies of low income households.

Chapter three is a review of international literature on street trading. Street traders from Africa and Asia are profiled in terms of reasons for engaging in street trade; age; income and education levels and factors that enhance and constrain livelihoods. Chapter three concludes with an analysis of the contribution of informal income generation strategies to household food and livelihood security.

Chapter four analyses street trading in Pietermaritzburg and justifies Raisetorpe as the survey area for this study. Street traders in Pietermaritzburg are profiled and the policy context of the Msundusi Municipality is discussed. Chapter five provides a description of the sample and the methodologies used to collect data.

Chapter six presents the twelve case studies. Chapter seven is a comparison and analysis of the twelve case studies. Chapter eight assesses livelihood security of street traders in terms of the Learning about Livelihoods Framework (de Satge` et al., 2002). Finally, chapter nine concludes by analysing the strengths and original contribution of this study to wider street trading literature and makes recommendations to improve street trader livelihoods.

CHAPTER TWO

SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS, FOOD SECURITY AND COPING STRATEGIES

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents a review of sustainable livelihoods, food security and coping strategies literature. The chapter examines the concept of Sustainable Livelihoods and compares various Sustainable Livelihoods Frameworks. Food security is discussed as a component of sustainable livelihoods. This chapter argues that high food insecurity compels low income households to use a mix of strategies simultaneously to satisfy immediate consumption needs and secure long-term access to basic needs (Grown & Sebstad, 1989). Coping and adaptive strategies are explored as responses to inadequate access to food. Long-term adaptive strategies are investigated with an emphasis on the contribution of informal income generation strategies to food and livelihood insecurity.

2.2 DEFINING SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS

The concept of Sustainable Livelihoods was devised by the United Kingdom's Department for International Development (DfID) and refers to "a way of thinking about the objectives, scope and priorities for development" (Ashley and Carney, 1999:6). Chambers and Conway (1992:7) define sustainable livelihoods as the "capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living: a livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation". These livelihood components are explained in detail in the sections that follow. Definition of terms used in sustainable livelihoods approaches are presented in table 2.1. Chambers and Conway (1992) report that a household livelihood comprises of:

- People and their livelihood capabilities;
- Activities or what they do for a living;
- Assets both tangible (resources and stores) and intangible (claims and access) that provide material and social means of generating livelihood activities;
- Gains or outcomes: or what is achieved from activities.

Table 2.1 Definition of terms used in sustainable livelihoods approaches (Galvovic et al., undated; Maxwell, 1995; Carney, 1998: 3-21; Committee on World Food Security, 1998; DfID, 1999; de Satge` et al., 2002: xix-xx; Hendriks, 2002; Gillespie & Loevinsohn, 2003)

Concept	Definition
Sustainable livelihoods	Refer to the means of earning a living and maintaining a particular standard of living. Individuals use their resources ranging from assistance from family to savings; natural resources and education to earn a living. A sustainable livelihood has stable resources to draw in times of crisis and is able to recover and maintain a particular standard of living.
Assets	Assets and capital are used interchangeably in literature to refer to the resources (social, natural, physical, human and financial) that forms the basis of livelihood strategies. Assets/capital determines the strength of livelihoods to withstand the impacts of negative events.
Capabilities	Capabilities are the knowledge, skills and abilities that the household uses or relies on for livelihood security. These include environmental knowledge, production, entrepreneurial skills, and ability to labour which is aligned with education levels and health status, ability to seek and utilise information, to strategise, cope and adapt.
Livelihood activities/strategies	Livelihood strategies are the activities people engage in for a living such as cultivation, wage labour, trading and hawking to achieve their goals such as food and cash to gratify human needs
Coping strategies	Refers to short-term methods households devise to mitigate negative impacts. These include various strategies such as changes in diet and rationing food or informal income generation strategies to raise cash for household needs.
Adaptive strategies	Coping strategies become adaptive strategies when the household comes to depend on that strategy for all or part of its basic needs for longer period of time. The use of a strategy that initially started as a short-term means of mitigating negative impacts has now become the main method to access basic needs.
Livelihood outcomes	Livelihood outcomes are the results of livelihood strategies generated through assets and capabilities. Livelihood outcomes are both tangible and intangible that households attain such as food, housing, education, and better health, accumulation of assets, savings and greater social influence.
Vulnerability	Refers to a range of factors that place people at risk of becoming food insecure. The degree of vulnerability is determined by exposure to risk factors and ability to cope with or withstand stressful conditions.
Shocks	Shocks are sudden distressing events that affect individual households (such as loss of employment and theft of productive assets) and communities (such as natural disasters-floods, civil war and famine) severely impacting the households ability to deal with consequences such as food insecurity and its ability to return to a former way of life.
Stresses	Stresses are long-term distressing pressures such as chronic unemployment due to a failing economy, declining wages, declining access to natural resources, and prolonged illness such as HIV/AIDS.
Resilience	Resilience is the ability of a household to absorb effects of shocks and stresses without experiencing any negative impacts or resist and recover to an acceptable standard of living after experiencing shocks or stresses.
Structures	Structures are the organisations (private and public) that make and implement policy and determine the laws of a country, deliver services, provide welfare and health care for people.
Processes	Processes are the policies, agreements, and programmes initiated and implemented by public and private institutions.
Institutions	Institutions include local customs, traditional structures of authority or ways of allocating resources such as communal land and property rights that favour some people over others based on traditional gender roles or age. Institutions can also refer to organisations operating or mediating between the community and higher level institutions such as provincial or national government.

Livelihoods comprise a range of activities and are secure and sustainable when households have safe access to resources and income earning activities and assets to protect them against risks or shocks (Swift & Hamilton, 2001: 82).

2.2.1. TYPES OF SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS FRAMEWORKS

There are many Sustainable Livelihoods Frameworks. The most widely used framework is the United Kingdoms Department for International Development (DfID) Framework. Other similar frameworks have been devised by CARE; Oxfam; and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). Other frameworks include Southern African derivatives such as the Learning about Livelihoods Framework (Cahn, undated; de Satge` et al. 2002: 4); South African Frameworks derived by Khanya-AICDD (African Institute for Community Driven Development); the Capitals and Capabilities Framework (CCF) (Bebbington, 1999) that focuses on rural livelihoods and the Asset Vulnerability Framework (AVF) based on a study of urban vulnerability (Moser, 1998).

Framework variations share the same underlying ideology, namely, to understand causes of vulnerability and seek ways to strengthen assets and capabilities. Despite theoretical differences, these frameworks identify strengths and weaknesses of livelihoods and how people cope with risk; make connections between factors that constrain or improve livelihoods and policies, institutions and processes in the external environment; and identify interventions that can strengthen assets, promote capabilities and reduce vulnerability (de Satge` et al., 2002: 4; 16).

2.3 SUMMARY OF STUDIES THAT HAVE USED THE DfID SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS FRAMEWORK

Many studies have used the DfID framework (DfID, 1999) to investigate livelihoods and the impact of various developmental interventions on livelihoods. Some of these studies are presented in table 2.2.

Table 2.2 Summary of some studies based on the DfID Sustainable Livelihoods Framework

Title and author/s	Purpose	Reported benefits of using the DfID (1999) framework
The sustainable livelihoods approach and programme development in Cambodia, (Turton, 2000).	To identify key issues affecting the livelihoods of rural poor in Cambodia and to improve their livelihoods.	Drew together scattered information on rural Cambodia. It extended support interventions in the short-term by widening options such as creating fish ponds, improving water supply and sanitation to reduce illness and improve access to loans. The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework also led to development in the long-term through policies and programmes of agricultural research support to education initiatives and revisiting land rights.
Understanding livelihoods that involve micro-enterprise markets and technological capabilities in the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (Albu & Scott, 2001).	To enrich the analysis of sustainable livelihoods which involve small, medium and micro-enterprises (SMME) by adding sub-sector analysis and the concept of technological capabilities to the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework.	Sub-sector analysis promotes the understanding of market structures and processes and diagnoses opportunities for pro-poor enterprise development. The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework was useful in investigating institutional support mechanisms and knowledge flows that generated technological change among small enterprises.
Adapting to Adjustment: Smallholder Livelihood strategies in southern Malawi (Orr, 2001).	To analyse changes in livelihood strategies for households in southern Malawi during 1999-2000 to estimate poverty status.	Led to the finding that agricultural intensification and livelihood diversification were two strategic categories that had the most impact on improving smallholder incomes. Culture (divorce) and widowhood (increased vulnerability) led to decreasing economic status and poverty.
Assess the impact of agricultural research on poverty using the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (Adato & Meinzen-Dick, 2002).	To assess the impact of agricultural research on poverty and the impact of technology (modern rice varieties, poly-culture fish-ponds, modern maize varieties) on livelihoods.	Deepened the understanding of the relationship between assets and the adoption of new technologies. Human capital (knowledge) is required to use new technologies. The rich are likely to benefit from certain interventions as they already possess more assets. Social capital is a way of overcoming natural capital constraints and lack of human and financial capital impedes the adoption of new technologies.
Sustainable Livelihoods Analysis: A case study of a Mexican rural community (Perez-Izadi & Cahn, undated).	To describe the impact of a water project on the livelihood of a rural community in a semi-arid region.	The study showed that vulnerability can be reduced by supporting traditional livelihood strategies, increased coordination of formal groups, the training of women and youth and active participation of beneficiaries in project planning and decision making.

The studies presented in table 2.2 have used DfIDs Sustainable Livelihood Framework to investigate livelihoods, formulate policy and inform development interventions to increase food and livelihood security. In some instances the framework was modified to include different assets or new concepts regarding structures and processes (Albu &

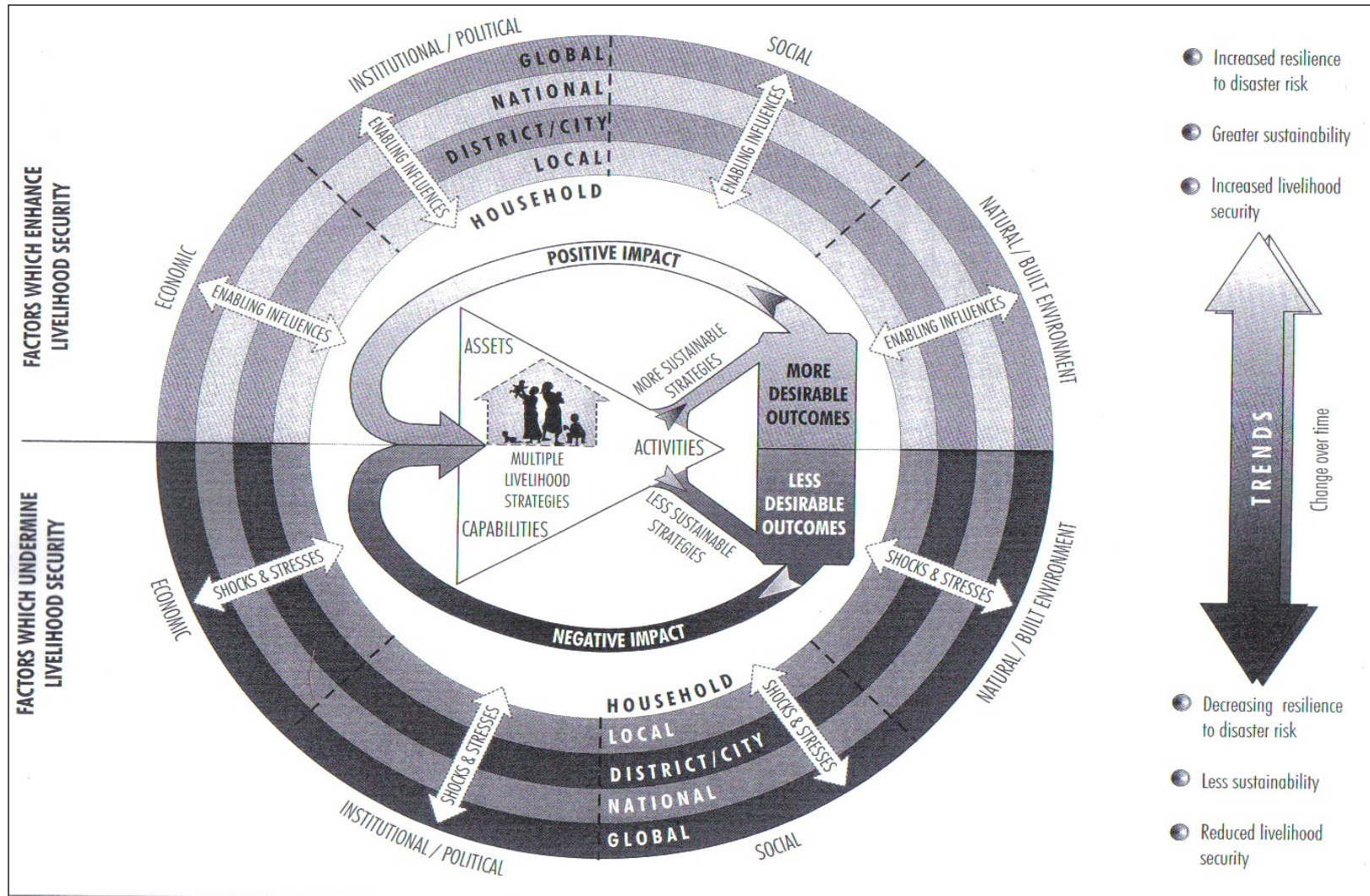
Scott, 2001). The benefits of using the DfID framework include facilitating technological change for micro-enterprises (Albu & Scott, 2001); identifying means of improving smallholder incomes (Orr, 2001) and identifying strategies to reduce livelihood vulnerability (Perez-Izadi & Cahn, undated).

2.4 THE LEARNING ABOUT LIVELIHOODS FRAMEWORK

This section discusses the components of the Learning about Livelihoods Framework (de Satge` et al., 2002). A brief summary of the framework is provided followed by a detailed explanation of assets and capabilities; livelihood activities; livelihood outcomes and the external environment within which households operate. The Learning about Livelihoods Framework (figure 2.1) is derived from Southern African approaches to livelihoods (de Satge`, 2002: xvii). The premise of the Learning about Livelihoods Framework is that households use capabilities (health, labour, power, education, skills and knowledge) to draw on social and material assets to engage in various livelihood activities. These activities may be sustainable or unsustainable and result in positive or negative livelihood outcomes.

Sustainable livelihood strategies have a positive impact on the household and the various levels of the environment in which households operate whereas unsustainable livelihood strategies further decrease the resilience of the household and negatively affect the greater environment beyond the household (de Satge`, 2002: 14). The external environment includes the physical; social; political/institutional and economic environments divided into the household; local; district; national and global or international levels (de Satge` et al., 2002: 14). Within levels of the environment there are four categories of external influences consisting of physical; social; political/institutional and economic influences (de Satge` et al., 2002:126). External influences also have positive effects on livelihoods through enabling influences or impact negatively on households through shocks and stresses (de Satge` et al., 2002: 14). Components of the Learning about Livelihoods Framework are discussed in detail in sections that follow.

Figure 2.1 The Learning about Livelihoods Framework (de Satge` et al., 2002:70).



2.4.1 Assets and capabilities

Assets and capital have the same meaning in sustainable livelihoods literature. Carney (1998: 7) defines assets as the resources upon which people depend in times of adversity. Assets refer to physical, tangible property or material goods. Assets or capital have been used interchangeably to refer to resources which individuals, households or communities draw on to generate livelihood strategies (coping or adaptive strategies) and access livelihood resources either on a daily basis or in times of need.

At the centre of the Learning about Livelihoods Framework is the household triangle (refer to Figure 2.1) that refers to capabilities, assets and activities (de Satge` et al., 2002: 60). Social assets are intangible household assets. Claims and access are part of social assets, claims are made on individuals, family members or on civil society organisations for food, loans, or work and access is availability of an opportunity to utilise a resource, store or service to obtain food or income (Chambers & Conway, 1992). Material assets are physical items that people own or have access to such as land, water, money, credit, livestock, seed-stock, equipment, natural resources and infrastructure such as roads, electricity, water and sanitation. Capabilities refer to the knowledge, skills and ability to work or to command labour that the household depends on for livelihood security. A households capability enables it to transform assets into livelihood activities (de Satge`, 2002: 60). Capabilities not only refer to the ability to earn income, but on non-material aspects such as the quality of human life, having basic needs met rather than focusing on wealth, such as seeking proper nourishment, clothing oneself and ones family, participating in community life and gaining self respect (Dreze` & Sen, 1989: 12).

There is a close relationship between the condition and quantities of assets (both material and social) and the strength or resilience of livelihoods (Carney, 1998: 8). Assets are vulnerable. They can be stolen, destroyed or depleted (material assets) through floods, civil war or other disasters. Claims (social assets) may disappear through death of a household head or community leader (Chambers & Conway, 1992).

2.4.2 Household livelihood activities

Livelihood strategies are the activities people engage in for a living such as cultivation, wage labour, trading and hawking to achieve livelihood goals such as food and cash to satisfy human needs (Chambers & Conway, 1992). Ellis (1998a: 54;55) explains that rural households diversify livelihoods for household survival and depend on a range of activities and income sources including farm income (income from farming the household plot) and non-farm income (wage employment or urban to rural remittances). The Learning about Livelihood Framework distinguishes between productive activities, economic activities and reproductive strategies (de Satge` et al., 2002: 64).

Productive activities are undertaken to secure access to cash, and are dependent upon the available household assets and capabilities of household members. Examples of productive activities include preparing food for sale, collecting honey, migrant labour, formal employment or casual work, livestock keeping, craftwork, repairing vehicles, running a spaza shop and illegal activities such as selling dagga and sex work (de Satge` et al., 2002: 64).

Household reproductive activities include child care, cooking, cleaning, building and maintaining the home. Community maintenance activities involve community participation and dispute resolution (de Satge` et al., 2002: 65). Households engage in a range of these strategies simultaneously to secure access to livelihood resources (food and shelter) and to build social assets.

Livelihood strategies are not static, but constantly changing in response to changing circumstances in the external environment (for example, floods or unfavourable policy environments for micro-enterprise) over which there is little control (Cahn, undated). The livelihood strategies that people engage in depend on access to assets (or a combination of assets) and the structures and processes operating in the external environment (DfID, 1999). Some livelihood activities require specific skills or may require intensive labour and, therefore, high levels of human capital. Others may require financial capital or

physical infrastructure to transport goods (physical capital), or the assistance/advice of experts (social capital).

Households that have access to a range of assets are more likely to engage in sustainable livelihood strategies with more positive livelihood outcomes as they have a range of activities to choose from. In addition, the more livelihood options available to people, the greater their ability to absorb shocks and stresses (Cahn, undated). In the same way that assets and capabilities influence livelihood strategies, structures and processes (policies and laws) affect the livelihood choices people have. If a country's local policies are pro-poor they will facilitate, for example, livelihood options through labour markets, access to capital for small business, the provision of infrastructure (energy and roads) and new farm technologies (Adato & Meinzen-Dick, 2000).

2.4.3 Livelihood outcomes

Households use their capabilities and assets to attain livelihood outcomes, both tangible and intangible. Tangible assets include food, housing, education, accumulation of assets and savings. Intangible assets include greater social influence and access to social grants (de Satge` et al., 2002: 99).

South African urban and rural households rely increasingly on income to access basic resources and for improved quality of life (de Klerk et al., 2004). Households diversify sources of income from remittances, social grants, casual and wage labour to reduce vulnerability to hunger (Hendriks, 2005). Access to sufficient food is one of the outcomes that households strive for and a main reason for income diversification.

Among the material outcomes people strive for are adequate housing, appropriate water and sanitation, safety and security (de Satge` et al., 2002: 100). Education of children is an outcome that symbolises access to sufficient cash and is equally weighted with better housing, health and food in terms of higher social status (Maxwell et al., 2000). When people are unable to attain desirable livelihood outcomes, apathy; exclusion from society, physical insecurity, and a sense of helplessness develops. In this light, livelihood

outcomes and assets, both tangible and intangible, are closely linked to livelihood strategies (Cahn, undated). Livelihood strategies depend on assets and capabilities, which in turn determine outcomes and outcomes influence asset holdings. Desirable outcomes build up assets whereas negative outcomes destabilise households by diminishing assets, making households more vulnerable to shocks and stresses (Turton, 2000).

2.4.4 The external environment

Livelihood strategies and livelihood outcomes are influenced both positively and negatively by political/institutional; economic; social and physical/environmental factors in the external environment at the local, district, national and international levels (de Satge` et al., 2002: 65; 66). Factors in the external environment or external influences constantly interact with varying levels of the environment to impact positively or negatively on households (se Satge` et al., 2002:126).

Political or institutional influences refer to structures; processes and institutions in the external environment that affect livelihood security (de Satge` et al., 2002: 66). Structures are institutions and organisations, while processes are policies, legislation and institutions that positively and negatively influence livelihoods. Structures and processes operate at all levels from the household, local, national and international levels. Structures are the organisations (private and public) that make and implement policy and determine the laws of a country. Those structures also deliver services and provide welfare and health care for people. Public sector structures include legislative organisations from local to national levels, government ministries and departments and legal courts (de Satge` et al., 2002: 66). Private sector structures include business enterprises and corporations, civil society organisations such as community based organisations and non-government organisations operating at local, national and global levels (DfID, 1999).

Structures discussed above initiate and control the processes that affect livelihood security at the household level, ultimately determining food and livelihood security. Processes are the policies, agreements, and programmes initiated and implemented by structures (Cahn, undated). A country's laws determine access to capital, livelihood

strategies and institutions (Beall and Kanji, 1999). Laws and policies also determine the profitability and success of particular livelihood strategies and to a large extent determine livelihood outcomes (DfID, 1999).

Structures and processes can either enhance or constrain livelihoods (Meikle, 2001). Processes are important as they can enhance livelihoods by providing access to assets and markets for economic opportunities leading to positive livelihood outcomes. Policies that improve access to assets such as land through land reform and land management can improve rural livelihoods (Mokgope, 2001). In this way, structures and processes are linked to vulnerability and resilience (Glavovic et al., undated). Institutions include local customs, traditional structures of authority or ways of allocating resources such as communal land and property rights that favour some people over others based on traditional gender roles or age (de Satge` et al., 2002: 13). Institutions can also refer to organisations operating or mediating between the community and higher-level institutions such as provincial or national government (Carney, 1998: 9).

Economic influences or processes include local economic development programmes such as micro-finance schemes at the local and national level for small business owners can enhance livelihoods whereas global policies such as structural adjustment programmes at the global level adversely affect livelihoods at the local level (de Satge` et al., 2002: 129). For instance, international trade agreements and tariff barriers can cause the prices of goods to fall and lead to local farmers lower financial gains and retrenchment of farm workers (Farrington et al., 2002).

Social influences include gender equity and impact of HIV/AIDS on households (de Satge` et al., 2002: 133). Environmental influences refer to aspects in the natural and built environment that facilitate or constrain livelihood strategies and affect livelihood outcomes (de Satge`, et al., 2002: 136). The natural environment concerns issues of land conservation, natural resource management and sustainable agricultural production systems that aim to prevent pollution and environmental degradation (de Satge` et al., 2002: 14). The built environment refers to infrastructure such as roads; railways; schools

and hospitals that create employment opportunities and provide opportunities to increase household resources and capabilities (de Satge` et al., 2002: 14).

2.5 THE ASSET VULNERABILITY FRAMEWORK

Moser's (1998) Asset Vulnerability Framework is discussed as an alternative livelihoods framework because of its relevance to urban poverty. Moser (1998) shows how assets are used to generate livelihood and coping strategies. This framework encompasses five assets or capitals, including labour, human capital, productive assets, household relations and social capital that are mobilised to cope with the demands of the urban cash-based economy. The Asset Vulnerability Framework is based on urban poverty analysis of four country case studies conducted in 1992 in Zambia; Ecuador; the Philippines and Hungary. Moser (1998) argues that urban poverty is distinct from rural poverty through differing levels of expenses, environmental hazards and social fragmentation. Livelihoods in cities are cash-based and therefore commoditised as people use their labour to earn cash either through wage employment or petty trading to purchase food, shelter, transport and education. Poor people living in cities are exposed to environmental hazards such as poor water and sanitation and inferior housing to a greater extent than rural people. These hazards impact on human capital and capability by increasing susceptibility to illness.

Cities are socially fragmented owing to disparities of race; socio-economic status and political influence. Communities are less united and networks of trust and reciprocal assistance are poor or non-existent, leaving vulnerable households isolated and susceptible to shocks and stresses (Moser, 1998). Moser (1998:1) argued that poor urban households manage "complex asset portfolios" and the manner in which various assets are managed affects vulnerability to livelihood insecurity. The assets in Moser's (1998) framework are presented in table 2.3.

Labour is part of a household's capability to work and includes prerequisites such as good health and skills levels that determine what work opportunities individuals have access to. Productive assets are physical elements that can be used to generate income.

Household relations refer to the joint ability of people living together to pool resources to access food, cash and assistance and to share responsibilities. Social capital is defined as in the DfID (1999) framework, and refers to the broader community's ability to help each other either individually or through community organisations.

Table 2.3 Assets in the asset vulnerability framework (Moser, 1998: 4)

Asset	Definition
Labour	The ability to work to earn cash for food and livelihood necessities;
Human Capital	Health status, which determines ability to work, including skills and education that determine returns to labour;
Productive Assets	Assets that urban households own such as housing that can be rented out for additional income;
Household Relations	People related to each other or living together can pool income, share expenses and food;
Social Capital	Mutual sharing within communities and between households/individuals based on trust and social relationships.

Moser's (1998) four country case study showed that in times of financial difficulty, labour of women and children were the most important asset for the urban poor. Children were removed from school to participate in informal income generation strategies to increase household cash resources and supplement the income earned by women. As poverty increased, more women became engaged in low paying informal sector activities such as petty trading and paid domestic work.

Human capital development was correlated to social (education) and economic (transport, water and electricity) infrastructure development. Better education and health services enabled the urban poor to earn higher incomes and reduce vulnerability to poverty (Moser, 1998). These findings indicate that livelihood assets are linked, and a gain in one asset will most likely positively influence other assets. The ability to use housing as an asset to reduce vulnerability is dependent on whether the family is renting or owns the property as well as the conditions in the regulatory environment (Moser, 1998). Tenure security stimulated the development of home based enterprises that in turn supplemented household income.

Household relations are deemed an asset because of the safety net function that family members serve in reducing vulnerability, caused by multiple factors such as divorce; death or homelessness; by absorbing new members (Moser, 1998). Social capital refers to community and kinship networks as assets that reduce household vulnerability in times of need. The ability of a community or households to assist each other depends on their stocks of other capital such as food and cash and prevailing economic conditions (Moser, 1998). Moser (1998) reported that in the four-country case study, households that had adequate resources regularly shared cash and non-monetary exchanges.

Traditional arrangements such as borrowing cash to purchase food and pay accounts were ongoing in surveyed households. Households that coped with vulnerability, participated in mutual exchanges and supported neighbours, but when their assets were drained, mutual support typically ceased. Economic crisis and violence depleted household assets. Economic crisis reduced income (financial capital) and the ability to repay debts whereas violence, resulting from unemployment and hooliganism, reduced participation in community based organisations and increased isolation of individuals and households.

Moser's (1998) Asset Vulnerability Framework has important implications for livelihood approaches, especially in terms of how vulnerability is created and what development interventions can do to prevent asset depletion. Table 2.4 summarises the elements contributing to asset vulnerability in the four-country case study.

Factors arising in the external environment and within households reduce the ability of households to effectively use and mobilise assets. Assets become vulnerable to depletion as they are pounded by negative events such as declining economic conditions; inadequate investment in infrastructure; and deteriorating social relations within the household such as divorce; and increasing violence in communities.

Table 2.4 Elements contributing to asset vulnerability in Moser’s (1998) four-country case study

Vulnerability	Outcome
Labour	Loss of income.
Human capital	Inability to maintain investment levels in education and preventative health care; Inability to provide safe, clean water.
Housing and infrastructure	Inability to use housing as a productive asset; Lack of secure tenure; Lack of water and sanitation.
Household relations	Increased domestic violence; Lack of adequate childcare; Lack of caregivers for the elderly; Split households.
Social capital	Decline in attendance of CBOs, particularly by women, or in activity of CBOs; Increase in youth gangs; Increase in crime and homicide; Lack of physical mobility, especially at night for women.

To prevent asset depletion and reduce vulnerability, households mobilise and coordinate the use of a range of assets simultaneously, not depending on one asset at any particular time. Households adapt to changing circumstances through pooling income, engaging in consumption-smoothing activities (discussed under coping strategies section) and participating in income-generating strategies (Moser, 1998). This trend of mobilising a range of assets simultaneously is apparent in table 2.5 that presents household strategies for managing vulnerability.

Drawing on latent labour sources, using the capabilities of women and children to work at home and in economic activities; leasing out assets for additional income; using private services and placing increasing pressure on family and the greater community were used in conjunction with consumption alteration strategies to maximise resistance to adversity.

Table 2.5 Household strategies for mobilising assets in response to changes in economic circumstances (Moser, 1998)

Type of Assets	Household Response
Labour	Increase the number of women working; Increase reliance on child labour: boys are more likely to work in home based enterprises while girls assist with child care; Allocate a disproportionate share of women’s time to meet increasing responsibilities; although women work in the formal/ informal sector their household responsibilities do not decrease.
Housing	Diversify income through home based enterprises. Houses and land used as income generating assets; Children build homes on parents existing plots to reduce vulnerability.
Social and economic infrastructure	Substitute public for private goods and services: private doctors were preferred to public hospitals, purchasing water from vendors to cope with poor public infrastructure.
Household relations	Increase reliance on extended family support networks; Increase labour migration and remittances.
Social capital	Borrowing money from friends and neighbours for food, establishing credit arrangements with private doctors, borrowing cash from money-merchants for medical costs; Borrowing from friends and neighbours for daily consumption needs; Increase informal support networks among households; Increase community level activity.

Possession of ‘adequate amounts’ of assets does not mean reduced vulnerability to poverty and lower use of consumption reduction and income generation strategies. To effectively use a range of assets, households require capabilities (education and skills) and capacity to convert assets into livelihood resources such as food and income (Moser, 1998). For households and individuals to protect themselves against risk and secure their livelihoods, they require the “right mix” of assets (Moser, 1998:16; Chambers & Conway, 1992). The “right mix”(Moser, 1998: 16) of assets refers to an ideal situation where households have family members in gainful employment; where the house is an income generating asset; where all household members have access to clean water and sanitation; and schools and hospitals to rapidly treat illnesses; where extended family is present to provide support in times of stress or shocks and where neighbours and friends are readily available to assist financially or in kind to assist the household recover from stresses or shocks.

2.6 FOOD SECURITY VULNERABILITY AND RESILIENCE

Vulnerability refers to the likelihood of experiencing negative consequences should a household be exposed to shocks and stresses arising from the external environment (de Satge` et al., 2002: 68; Glavovic et al., undated). Moser (1998:3) defines vulnerability as “insecurity and sensitivity in the well-being of individuals, households and communities in the face of a changing environment, and implicit in this, their responsiveness and resilience to risks that they face during such negative changes”.

Vulnerability is not only a factor of external impacts on the household (through shocks and stresses), but also internal events reflected in the ability of individuals to cope with shocks and stresses (Chambers & Conway, 1992). The concept of vulnerability is multi-dimensional and refers to:

- Elements that have negative impacts on household wellbeing;
- Shocks and stresses (in the external environment and within the household);
- Responsiveness to negative events;
- Resilience to negative impacts; and
- Ability to cope with risks and threats.

Shocks are sudden distressing events that affect individual households (such as loss of employment and theft of productive assets) and communities (such as natural disasters-floods, civil war and famine) severely impacting the household’s ability to deal with consequences such as food insecurity and its ability to return to a former standard of living (Chambers & Conway, 1992; Turton, 1999). Stresses build up over a period of time and are ongoing, predictable and distressing pressures such as chronic unemployment due to a failing economy; declining wages; declining access to natural resources; and prolonged illness such as HIV/AIDS (Chambers & Conway, 1992; FAO, 2002).

Negative changes in the local and macro environment take the form of shocks, long-term trends or seasonal cycles (Moser, 1998). Vulnerability to hunger can be caused by a single event that the household has not prepared for or caused by consecutive negative

events that undermine coping ability by reducing household capabilities and eroding the asset base (Glavovic et al., undated). Vulnerability to food insecurity is progressive and caused by series of negative events (Swift & Hamilton, 2001: 67).

Analysing vulnerability requires not only understanding the factors that cause insecurity, but the elements within a household or community that resist or mitigate the impacts of threats (Moser, 1998). Resilience is the ability of a household to absorb effects of shocks and stresses (Gillespie & Loevinsohn, 2003). Glavovic et al. (undated) defines resilience as the amount of disturbance that a household can withstand while maintaining a state of equilibrium. Resistance to shocks and stresses is mitigated by assets that individuals and households mobilise to respond to threats. Therefore, the more assets households own or can mobilise, the less vulnerable they are to shocks and stresses, and the greater the attrition of assets, the greater is their livelihood insecurity (Moser, 1998). The likelihood of suffering negative effects of shocks or stresses is increased if households have no or low assets to sell or exchange (Meikle, 2002).

Vulnerability to food insecurity can be explained by the Entitlement Approach (Sen, 1981: 44-48; Dreze & Sen, 1989: 9). According to Sen (1981: 3-4), exchange entitlements are particular set of assets a person is able to exchange for a commodity bundle (food, clothing, electricity, water, or diversity of diet). Maxwell and Smith (1992) classify five types of entitlements that include productive capital (land, equipment, livestock and buildings), non-productive capital (jewellery and dwellings), human capital (ability to work, skills, and health), income (crops and livestock) and claims (loans, gifts and social contacts) (Maxwell & Smith, 1992). Depleted entitlements or inadequate access to any 'entitlement' or asset poses significant threats to food security as individuals and households are unable to exchange these for food. This illustrates an inherent link between low assets and vulnerability to food insecurity.

Vulnerability to food insecurity is caused primarily by a lack of cash income to acquire food (Maxwell, 1995). Table 2.6 highlights key factors that cause vulnerability to food

insecurity in Mooiblom, an informal settlement outside the town of Ceres in the Western Cape Province (Meikle et al., 2002; Arnall et al., 2004).

Table 2.6 Key factors that contribute to livelihood vulnerability in Mooiblom, South Africa (adapted from Meikle et al., 2002; Arnall et al., 2004)

Level of threat	
Micro- level	Meso-level
Unemployment (informal economic activities); Underemployment; Lack of social assistance; Leaking shack; Hunger; Shack not wind-proof; Shack fires; Poor clothing; Shack too small.; Concern over dependents; Crime; Excessive drinking; Human loss; Lack of community assistance; Polluted natural environment (disease and illness); Poor health; Lack of education.	Unemployment; Underemployment; Rising prices; Lack of social assistance; Poor sanitation; Refuse/pollution; Lack of electricity; Improper services and infrastructure; Crime; Excessive drinking; Weather too cold; Storm damage; Bad water facilities; Poor health.

Micro threats are shocks or hazards that threaten isolated households whereas meso threats are events that affect numerous households at once (World Bank, 2001). Some threats such as unemployment are chronic and persistent causing hunger at household and community levels and are placed in both categories (Khosha, 2002; Arnall et al., 2004).

Unemployment is the most significant threat to food insecurity in South Africa (Bob, 2002; de Klerk et al., 2004). Even when the poor are able to find employment, wages are low and only sufficient to purchase minimal food requirements (Swift & Hamilton, 2001: 75). Table 2.7 presents a comprehensive analysis of the range of factors in the economic, social, political, institutional and built environment that increase vulnerability to food insecurity for low income households.

Table 2.7 Factors contributing to urban vulnerability in the external environment
(de Satge`, 2002)

Economic Factors	Social Factors	Political and institutional factors	Built and natural environment factors
Unemployment; Retrenchment; Casualisation; Inflation; Unaffordable services; High transport costs; Limited local economic opportunities; Unintended consequences of development strategies which may result in increased differentiation.	Insecure tenancy; Overcrowding; Violence, ethnic conflict; Crime and gangsterism; Ill health associated with poor living conditions; Substance abuse; Sexual abuse; High risk sexual behaviour caused by poverty; HIV/AIDS and state health policy.	Lack of voice; Powerlessness and local demobilisation; Tenure insecurity; Unresponsive municipal and political leadership; Patronage; Corruption; Gender-blind institutions; The extent to which government policies and practice recognise and address the causes and effects of poverty; Poorly integrated policies.	Peripheral location of settlements; Unplanned/unserviced settlements; High levels of disaster risk with respect to fire, flood, and landslides; Drought, climate change, seasonal variability; Exposure to hazardous wastes and pollution; Inadequate services, poor sanitation, ground water pollution, unsafe water, dependence on basic energy sources for lighting, cooking and heating; Poor quality of shelter.

Multiple factors in the external environment interact and impact on the household simultaneously. For instance, women may be unable to find work (economic environment), forcing them to engage in high risk sexual relationships. The urban poor live in rented homes or illegally occupy land resulting in insecure tenure and live in poor quality houses with improper water and sanitation (Maxwell et al., 2000). Failure to pay for water and electricity make the urban poor vulnerable to suspension of services (Meikle et al., 2002). Basic living needs must be paid for in cash, making the urban poor vulnerable to inflation and sudden price increases (Beall & Kanji, 1999; Aliber & Modiselle, 2002). Poor living environments expose residents to ill health and undermine their ability to work and earn cash income.

2.7 CONCEPTUALISING FOOD SECURITY

De Waal (1989) and Maxwell and Smith (1992) report that food insecurity is only one objective amongst a range of factors that households strive for. Within the DfID (1999) Sustainable Livelihoods Framework, food security is one outcome (Hendriks, 2002). Furthermore, a livelihoods perspective focuses on livelihood systems that determine the accumulation of assets, the production of physical and human capital that generates resources to access food (Hendriks, 2002). The livelihoods framework creates a broader picture of the processes affecting communities, households and individuals and provides a comprehensive picture of food security risks and vulnerabilities (Hendriks, 2002).

2.8 DEFINING FOOD SECURITY

The World Food Summit in 1996 described food security as a situation when all people at all times have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life (FAO, 1996). Food security is a function of various elements:

- Sufficient food should be available in the household, community and nation to feed the population (food availability);
- Households should have the ability to obtain food or have access to sufficient food (food access);
- People should have a diet that meets their dietary requirements and is high in quality (nutritious); and
- A population should feel confident that their food supplies are stable and that food will always be available for them (risk) (FAO, 1996).

Maxwell (1996) reports the existence of more than 250 definitions of food security. Common concepts include food supply, access, adequacy, utilisation, safety and cultural acceptability of food. A household is only food secure when food is available either through sustainable production (farming), storage, or through purchase (money); when it has equal access to that food; the supply is stable and the quality of available food is nutritionally adequate to meet individual dietary and cultural requirements (de Waal & Tumushabe, 2003; de Klerk et al., 2004).

2.9 MEASURING FOOD SECURITY

Measuring food security is an expensive and complicated process. Due to the multi-dimensional nature of food security as well as its multiple components of access, availability, utilisation and supply; methods to measure food insecurity are derived from a collection of direct, indirect and outcome indicators that reflect these concepts (Hendriks, 2005).

Indicators that reflect household food supply include food balance sheets; food prices; agricultural production; pest management; regional conflict; market access; and institutional support structures (Frankenberger, 1992: 84). Indicators reflecting access to food include sale of productive assets; distress migration; diversification of income sources; access to loans; food entitlement (labour, crops, assets that can be exchanged for food) and socioeconomic indicators such as livelihood strategies; income; sources of income and income level; assets and savings that reflect the coping ability of households in times economic or social crisis (Frankenberger, 1992: 89). Measuring household access to food can provide information on the reasons behind household food insecurity (seasonal, transitory, and chronic); the severity of the situation; monitor the impact of food security interventions and determine the resilience of households to economic and social shocks (Hoddinott & Yohannes, 2002).

Food security outcome indicators measure the consequences of inadequate nutrition caused by lack of access to food for consumption. Outcome indicators are divided into direct and indirect indicators (Frankenberger, 1992:96). Direct indicators measure the experience of food insecurity through food budget and consumption surveys, household perceptions of hunger and food frequency assessments. Wolfe and Frongillo (2000) argue that direct indicators should be used when studying households over a period of time in conjunction with in-depth interviews of household members. Indirect household food security indicators include dietary diversity; storage estimates; subsistence potential (rural households) and nutritional measurements based on anthropometric indicators (weight; height for age and blood data that reflect nutrient deficiencies) (Frankenberger, 1992: 97).

As discussed above, the trans-disciplinary nature of food insecurity makes it imperative to measure household food insecurity through multiple methods (Wolfe & Frongillo, 2000). In this light, Hendriks (2005) argues that most food security approaches consist of a mix of direct and outcome indicators to develop a measure of the level of food insecurity and to distinguish between food secure and insecure households or determine the impact of food aid or general interventions. Hendriks (2005) lists various food security studies to show that measuring food insecurity draws on multiple elements such as income; anthropometric studies; household demographics (household composition, employment status and migration) and coping strategies.

Household vulnerability approaches, dietary diversity assessments, experiential tools and coping strategy measurement tools are key methods used for measuring food security (Riely, 2000). Table 2.8 provides a description of these approaches and provides some examples of studies carried out within the approach.

Vulnerability approaches are useful in investigating livelihood constructs and resilience to crisis (Hendriks, 2005). Hoddinott and Yohannes (2002) reported that diverse dietary intake were strong indicators of increased energy availability for each person for urban and rural households. Nanama and Frongillo (2003) found that experiential methods measured household food security in relation to other indicators such as wealth and anthropometric measures.

As discussed, there is no standard method for measuring household food security. Organisations or researchers who investigate food insecurity choose various indicators derived from the multiple approaches discussed here and combine them in a single study. Table 2.9 summarises food security studies and the indicators investigated to assess or measure household food security in national and international studies.

Table 2.8 Key approaches in measuring household food security (Boudreau, 1998; Bickel et al., 2000; Hoddinott and Yohannes, 2000; Riely, 2000; Wolfe and Frongillo, 2000; Maxwell et al., 2003; Mdladla et al., 2003; O'Donnell, 2004; Hendriks, 2005)

Key Approach	Description	Examples
Household Vulnerability Analyses	Attempt to determine change in consumption or the total food budget and income sources caused by a crisis compared to a pre-crisis period for each socio-economic group that are identified through key informant interviews. These approaches essentially focus on the ability of households to respond to shocks in relation to their geographical location, their livelihoods and resources available to them (Gittlesohn et al., 1998; Riely, 2000).	<p>The Rolling National Vulnerability Assessments to assess and monitor vulnerability of households to food insecurity during the 2002/2003 humanitarian crisis (Mdladla et al., 2003). However, these are expensive, and are criticised as being unsustainable.</p> <p>The Household Economy Approach uses rapid assessment methods for a detailed assessment of food aid needs over a long period of time (Riely, 2000). Using qualitative methods such as focus group interviews information is collected on survival methods of households during normal years (Boudreau, 1998; O'Donnell, 2004).</p> <p>The Individual Household Approach focuses on collecting data from households rather than from each-socio-economic groups and calculates disposable income for each adult after food requirements have been satisfied (O' Donnell, 2004).</p>
Assessments of dietary diversity	This approach ranges from counting each food group to counting each food item eaten by household members over a period of time (Hendriks, 2005, citing various studies).	Hoddinott and Yohannes (2000) investigated whether a diverse diet could be used to measure access to food.
Experiential based tools	Qualitative tools such as surveys used to measure the experience of food insecurity over time. Anxiety, perceptions of hunger over time and acceptability of hunger are measured (Wolfe & Frongillo, 2000). Require little time and are simple to carry out.	The Federal Food Security Measure investigates perceptions of food insecurity through a series of questions and classifies people into four groups according to severity of experience (Bickel et al., 2000; Wolfe & Frongillo, 2000).
Coping Strategy Index	Measures short-term household food insecurity, vulnerability and the strategies households engage in when faced with a shortage of food (Maxwell, 1995). A series of questions investigate household responses to insufficient food and money to buy food (coping strategies). Community focus groups determine the severity of coping strategies. Information on the frequency and severity is weighted and combined into a score.	Maxwell et al. (2003) used the Coping Strategy Index as an early warning tool and food insecurity assessments in Kenya, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi and Burundi.

Table 2.9 provides evidence for the argument that food insecurity measurements rely on a diverse range of indicators and methods. Common indicators amongst the approaches include social information such as household composition (adults, children and dependents); economic information (total household income, number of income earners, level of income, expenses); what food the household consumes (type and quality); the experience of hunger and food management strategies.

Some studies (such as Studdert et al., 2001) include a mix of qualitative and quantitative elements to investigate food insecurity in detail. Qualitative methods such as face to face interviews are quicker and provide more detailed information (such as social, cultural practices and gender issues) on food security status than enumerated surveys (Chung et al., 1997).

Qualitative studies are based on small samples limiting generalisation to the greater population (Wolfe & Frongillo, 2000). Participatory methods (food security charts, drawing and mapping) that include the participant/interviewee as an active participant in the data collection process are useful in directly investigating food security as they provide rich information (such as resource allocations and livelihood strategies) provided by the community/individual for which interventions are being designed (FAO, 1990; Development of Dynamic Women's Enterprise in Business and Art (DWEBA), 2001). Ultimately, the methodology of any food security study depends on the objectives of the study, the sample population (women, urban, rural, literate or illiterate people) and resources available.

Table 2.9 Summary of South Africa and international household food security studies, methodology and indicators

Authors and country	Methodology	Indicators
Mekuria and Moletsane (1996) South Africa.	Structured household questionnaires.	Household characteristics, demography, resource availability and utilisation, food production and availability, food consumption, income and expenditure on food, access to credit, household coping strategies, and perceptions of food security.
Labodorios (1999) South Africa.	Multiple measurement approaches.	Socio-demographic household factors. 24 hour recall of food consumption. Food frequency questionnaire. A list of food procurement and food stocks. Hunger scale that rated levels of hunger experienced.
Derickson et al. (2001) Hawaii.	Survey.	Questions on age, household composition, ethnicity, resource availability and coping behaviours (using charitable food assistance, borrowing money for food), dietary quality and questions on food availability such as were you worried that food will run out? Did you cut the size of meals?
Sarlio-Lahteenorva and Lahelma (2001) Finland.	Information attained from various sources: Survey on Living Conditions (1994) by the Finnish Government, The Taxation Register (Finland), National Register of Education Degrees (Finland).	Self reporting on body weight and height, questions on indicators of economic disadvantage- long-term economic problems in childhood, unemployment within the last five years and disposable household income per consumption unit. Indicators of food insecurity included asking questions about fears and experience of food insecurity within the past 12 months.
Studdert et al. (2001) Indonesia.	The Cornell Radimer Tool, Household Food Security Measurement Tool, quantitative survey, qualitative survey.	Radimer tool contains statements about food insecurity such as Do you worry that your family will run out of food before you have money to buy food again? Questions asked on household composition, employment, income, assets, food and general expenditures, food stores, change in assets and qualitative interviews with mothers, key informant interviews.
Aliber and Modiselle (2002) South Africa.	Multiple measurement approaches.	A structured questionnaire. Focus group interviews. Survey of 24 hour recall of food eaten, dietary diversity, coping strategies index, economic wealth, household production.

2.10 CAUSES AND VULNERABILITY TO FOOD INSECURITY

Household food insecurity and hunger occurs because household members either lack skills, education and training that can be exchanged for cash to purchase food or they lack the labour resources required for agricultural production (Gillespie & Loevinsohn 2003). The inability to purchase food is caused by limited food availability; limited access to food because of a lack of purchasing power due to unemployment or underemployment; and a lack of access to state grants (Hendriks, 2002). Food insecurity is also caused by climatic conditions (drought) and socio-economic problems (civil conflict). When multiple negative factors combine they disrupt farming systems; destroy infrastructure and access to markets; affect food supplies; raise prices and reduce individual access to food (Devereux, 2001:118-131).

According to the Food and Agriculture Organisation's (2002) food security continuum, the food secure are those that have sufficient food intake and a low risk of food insecurity or hunger because of sustainable livelihood systems. These households have a broad range of livelihood opportunities; possess savings and assets that are economic safety nets in times of distress (Swift & Hamilton, 2001: 84; 85). Food secure households are also enduring or resilient households who maintain access to food even after suffering shocks (Oshaug, 1985).

People who are vulnerable to food insecurity may have adequate food intake but have a high risk of food insecurity because of precarious livelihood strategies, entitlement insecurities and low assets ownership (Hendriks, 2002). According to Oshaug (1985), vulnerable households are regarded as fragile households as they gradually become less secure in the face of shocks. The food insecure have insufficient dietary intake and have a high risk of worsening food insecurity at any particular point in time; whereas food insecure households have lost access to food or the means to access food (FAO, 2002).

Livelihood strategies that people engage in; the pathways through which people access food and livelihood resources; and the level of resources determines the risk of experiencing hunger (Hendriks, 2002). The more precarious the livelihood strategy and

the greater the risks associated with acquiring food or income to purchase food, the greater the likelihood of experiencing hunger (Hendriks, 2002). Food insecurity is often the result of unsustainable livelihood strategies (FAO, 2002).

Vulnerable people are those who lack income, resources and assets and include single mothers, children, the aged, homeless, the landless, the unemployed or under-employed who lack education and skills. Vulnerable people usually face two types of risk that threaten their access to food. First, shocks associated with drought or a death in a family can cause transitory food insecurity or a temporary inability to meet food requirements or seasonal food insecurity; which is a shortage of food prior to the harvest period (FAO, 2002).

The second risk is caused by structural factors such as unemployment, HIV/AIDS and environmental degradation (FAO, 2002). A combination of slowly changing events such as chronic unemployment or underemployment or death in a family can severely undermine household access to food and ability to cope (FAO, 2002). Households vulnerable to food insecurity engage in a range of coping strategies to access food (Maxwell, 1998). These are considered in the following sections.

Household food insecurity in urban areas is primarily determined by food prices, access to employment opportunities and the level of wages (Ruel et al., 1998). Food availability and the cost of food influence household purchasing power; food marketing and distribution systems; access to state or other assistance and the availability of land for urban agriculture (Swift & Hamilton, 2001: 75). Urban and suburban dwellers depend more on purchased food, making them more vulnerable to food price changes and changes in sources of income (Ruel et al., 1999). Income is the main factor that determines access to food and hence household food security. Therefore, the main priority of urban households is to secure a large income to feed members of the household (Swift & Hamilton, 2001: 75).

2.11 FOOD INSECURITY IN SOUTH AFRICA

Most households in South Africa rely on purchased foods, only 33 per cent of households engage in crop production and only 25 per cent of households engage in animal production (Labadarios, 2000). Accurate estimates of the prevalence of food insecurity in South Africa are not known. Using 1999 national figures, Hendriks (2005) reported that available information suggests between 35 and 73 per cent of South African households may experience food insecurity, 15.9 per cent consume insufficient energy requirements whereas stunting rates could be between 22 and 25 per cent and wasting may occur in 3.7 per cent of the population.

De Klerk et al. (2004) report that more than 14 million people (35 per cent) are vulnerable to food insecurity in South Africa of whom women, children and the elderly are the most vulnerable. Rose and Charlton (2002) estimated from the 1995 National Income and Expenditure Survey that 43 per cent of households experienced food poverty as they spent less money on food than necessary for a basic diet. Using validated questionnaires (24-hour recall; quantitative food frequency; food procurement and household inventory) and the Hunger Scale, Labodorios (2000) reported that 52 per cent of households experienced hunger in 1999, 23 per cent were at risk of experiencing hunger; but only 25 per cent were identified as food secure.

According to the Income and Expenditure Survey (2000), 57 per cent of South African households attained most of their income from wages/salaries, 14 per cent from social grants and 10 per cent from remittances (Statistics South Africa, 2002; de Klerk et al., 2004). Comparatively, Fraser et al. (2003: 173-74), (table 2.10), found that in Guquka and Koloni, in the Eastern Cape Province, inheritance, transfers (pensions and disability grants) and remittances were key income strategies that contributed the most to household income (66 per cent of income in Guquka and 42.5 per cent of income in Koloni). Wage income and salaries were the second most important contributors to household income (25 per cent of income in Guquka and 40.2 per cent of income in Koloni). Informal activities (trading, hawking, running a spaza shop or selling crops and animals) were the third most important livelihood activity (contributing 4.8 per cent of

income in Guquka and 12.3 per cent of income in Koloni), followed by own production of crops and animals (4.3 per cent of income in Guquka and 4.9 per cent of income in Koloni).

Bob (2002), like Fraser et al. (2003), found that 45 per cent of sampled respondents depended on social grants as their main income strategy, followed by non-agricultural wage labour (30 per cent of income). Further 25 per cent of respondents engaged in informal work and household cultivation, whereas agricultural wage labour was undertaken by only 20 per cent of respondents. Mokgope (2001) reported that for the Eastern Cape as a whole, pensions are the most important livelihood strategy, contributing 40.3 per cent to household income. Mokgope (2001) states that pensions and public sector employment are the main sources of livelihood, but fails to state the percentage contribution of formal employment to household income, but reports that for the Eastern Cape Province, remittances constituted 23.4 per cent of household income.

The findings from Mokgope (2001); Bob (2002) and Fraser et al. (2003: 173; 74) lead to the conclusion that many South Africans living in the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal depended on state welfare as an income strategy. The second most important livelihood strategy for South Africans is wages earned through formal sector employment, own labour or 'non-agricultural labour' (Bob, 2002; Fraser et al., 2003: 173). This finding corresponds to de Klerk et al's. (2004) findings that wages and salaries contribute on average 56.5 per cent of total household income in South Africa.

Income from informal activities is marginal, but can contribute more towards household income than agricultural activities (Bob, 2002; Fraser et al., 2003: 174). Aliber and Modiselle (2002) found that agricultural activities benefited households that were vulnerable to food insecurity the most and that food produced contributed to feeding the household. However, even though food production increases cash and food, it is often undertaken in the absence of formal employment opportunities (Bob, 2002).

Table 2.10 Livelihood strategies in South Africa

Studies	Mokgope (2001) (Wild Coast District Council, Eastern Cape)	Bob (2000) (Ekuthuleni, KwaZulu Natal)	Fraser et al. (2003, 174) (Guquka and Koloni, Eastern Cape)
Livelihood strategies engaged in by respondents, in order of priority	Pensions and grants; Public sector employment; Remittances; Agricultural activities.	Pensions/grants; Non-agricultural wage labour; Household cultivation; Informal activities. Livestock production; Agricultural wage labour; Organised small business; Qualified profession. Sources of employment in the community: Tuck shops; Road/construction; Roofing/repairing huts; Sewing clubs. Employment within district level: Factory shops in Colenso and Ladysmith; Gardening; Domestic work; Telkom/post office/teaching/clinic; Construction; Work for commercial farmers.	Inheritance and transfers: Pensions; Disability grants; Cash remittances; In-kind payments. Own labour: Salaries and wages; Transporting. Trade: Hawking food; Hawking other; Shop/spaza; Crops cash; Animals cash; Making and selling items. Own production: Crops; Animals.

Livelihood diversification is an important element of South African livelihoods (May et al., 1995; Bob, 2002). Income is derived from activities ranging from remittances (cash and goods); selling livestock and crops; relying on pensions and grants; and engaging in wage labour (Bob, 2002; Fraser et al., 2003: 178; de Klerk et al., 2004). Livelihood diversification is a strategy to increase resilience to shocks and stresses caused by multiple factors including livelihood failure or deagrarianisation (Bryceson, 1996; Swift & Hamilton, 2001: 88; Khosa, 2002; Meikle et al., 2002; Drinkwater, 2003; Rugalema, 2003; de Klerk et al., 2004). Livelihood diversification is most often a response to

deagrarianisation, a process in which farm households increasingly rely on off-farm income for food and resources (Bryceson, 1996).

Steady decline in farm income caused by rising input prices; farm fragmentation; migration of labour to towns in search of lucrative job opportunities; and loss of human capital required for ploughing and harvesting to HIV/AIDS are factors that force farmers and youth to look for alternate livelihood strategies (Ellis, 1998a: 54; Gillespie & Loevinsohn, 2003).

Continuing economic and social stresses such as civil war and drought; shocks such as eviction from farming land and ill health prompt households to search for ways of reducing risk; overcome income volatility caused by seasonality and generate cash for food and education of children (Ellis, 1998a: 54). The deagrarianisation of South African society is evidenced by the fact that only one in four households derive income in kind from agriculture (Drinkwater, 2003; de Klerk et al., 2004). The contribution of agricultural income to total household income was also very low, averaging between three and four per cent in 2000 (de Klerk et al., 2004). May (1998) argues that less than 70 per cent of households engage in agricultural activities while 30 per cent of household income is derived from agriculture.

Livelihood diversification can have positive or negative impacts on households (Ellis, 1998a: 58). Positive diversification diminishes vulnerability to shocks and stresses by, for example, providing additional income to smooth consumption due to seasonality (Ellis, 1998a: 58). On the contrary, diversification can lead to decreased farm output (deagrarianisation) and growing gender inequality as men leave the farm in search better income opportunities and women are forced to rely on subsistence farming for survival (Ellis, 1998a: 60). The positive effects of diversification such as income smoothing outweigh negative impacts and should be given priority in development interventions to improve livelihood security (Ellis, 1998b).

Poverty, inequality and unemployment share a close relationship shown by the fact that 55 per cent of people from poor households are unemployed compared to 14 per cent of those from non-poor households (May, 1998). The contribution of wages and salaries to total household income means that employment and other non-agricultural income earning opportunities are the primary determinants of household food security for urban and rural households (Ruel et al., 1999; Maxwell et al., 2000; Garrett, 2004).

This is consistent with the findings of May (1998) who ascribed poverty to a lack of wage income caused either by low paying jobs or high levels of unemployment resulting in a greater reliance of South African households on multiple sources of income. Mitlin (2000) argues that lack of income means that the urban poor cannot meet basic needs for food, transport to and from work, water, shelter and health care. In addition, lack of income means an insufficient diet for good health and lack of investment in education, lack of savings and difficulty in securing assets that makes households vulnerable to shocks (Mitlin, 2000).

Several studies confirm that South African households are becoming increasingly reliant on income to access food. The National Agricultural Marketing Council (NAMC) concluded that income was the main determinant of household food security in South Africa (NAMC, 2002). Fraser et al. (2003: 179) found that households that had access to grants, salaries and wages experienced transitory food insecurity towards the month end. Fraser et al. (2003: 179) also reported that households that had no access to regular income relied on piecework and food aid. After investigating urban and rural food insecurity, de Swart (2003) concluded that food insecurity and the experience of hunger was on the rise due to a reliance on cash to purchase food.

2.12 UNDERSTANDING AND EXPLAINING COPING STRATEGIES

Food insecurity is the lack of food, which in a very advanced stage, is experienced as hunger (Hendriks, 2005). In response to food insecurity and hunger, urban households procure food by engaging in diverse strategies (Maxwell, 1998; Maxwell et al., 2000). Coping strategies are the methods that households devise to cope with stress and shocks

(Chambers & Conway, 1992). Individuals and households who experience difficulty in gaining and maintaining access to food devise strategies to ensure sufficient access to food for present and future consumption (Maxwell, 1995). The primary way of ensuring access to food is by using coping strategies to satisfy immediate consumption needs and adaptive strategies, which are long-term alterations in the way vulnerable households acquire sufficient food and income (Maxwell, 1995). Davies (1996) states that coping strategies are essentially a response to a crisis whereas adaptation characterises vulnerable households that use coping strategies as part of normal, everyday behaviour.

For this reason, it is important to differentiate between short-term strategies that households use to satisfy immediate consumption needs and strategies aimed at long-term food and livelihood security (Maxwell, 1995). According to Davies (1993), the use of coping strategies such as changes in diet and rationing food are a short-term means of meeting food requirements, while longer-term strategies such as income diversification strategies are adaptive. Adaptive strategies consist of a mix of livelihood or survival strategies aimed at permanently altering the way in which households acquire food or income (Hendriks, 2002). Most often, households use a combination of coping and adaptive strategies to ensure that there is sufficient food for the household (Maxwell et al., 2003).

Households use combinations of the following strategies:

- Cutting down on consumption;
- Change to poor quality foods;
- Hoarding or collecting and storing food and other assets;
- Protecting or conserving assets for recovery and revival of livelihoods;
- Depleting or using household food reserves;
- Selling assets;
- Diversifying or searching for new sources of food or diversifying income strategies;
- Making claims on relatives or the community;

- Moving or separating family members, livestock and assets; and
- Temporary or permanent migration (Chambers & Conway, 1992).

These strategies are categorised and used in stages to offset risk and ensure survival. The following sections categorise coping strategies and highlight the stages that coping strategies are used in.

2.13 CATEGORISING COPING STRATEGIES

Coping strategies are various activities households employ to avoid hunger and meet food requirements (Hendriks, 2002). Most coping strategies engaged by urban food insecure households are attempts to manage limited accessible food resources (Maxwell, 1998). Coping strategies can be sub-divided into risk management strategies; risk coping strategies; household or kinship strategies; household strategies; individual strategies and consumption related coping strategies.

Risk management strategies such as income diversification address the risk associated with the income earning process and are aimed at income smoothing (Dercon, 2001). Risk management strategies aim to prevent the experience of disaster resulting from shocks that destabilise access to food. Risk coping strategies are strategies that deal with the consequences of income risk and aim to smooth household consumption (Dercon, 2001). These include relying on savings, drawing on social networks for assistance, earning extra income through selling labour and temporary migration (Dercon, 2001).

Coping strategies fall into two broad categories: “income raising strategies” aimed at increasing income to purchase food and livelihood resources and “consumption modifying strategies” that aim to prevent the depletion of food and non-food items (Devereux, 1993: 57). The contribution of income raising strategies to household food security is discussed comprehensively in the sections that follow. Table 2.11 presents some categories of household coping strategies and discusses some of the implications of their use on the household.

Table 2.11 Categories of coping strategies, examples and implications (Maxwell, 1995; Corbett, 1988; Maxwell et al., 2003)

MAIN CATEGORY	SUB-CATEGORY	EXAMPLES	IMPLICATIONS
Community or kinship strategies	Community organisations.	Worker organisations, religious groups, labour unions.	Urbanisation has weakened kinship ties, but organisations in urban settings mobilise for common resources, increases resilience of livelihood systems to shocks. These are social assets of the urban poor for mutual assistance.
	Inter-household transfers.	Reciprocal exchange such gifts, remittances, borrowing and lending.	Gifts and remittances provide economic support in times of need. Remittances used for household consumption, increases household food security. Money is borrowed as informal credit for micro enterprise and individual consumption needs.
	Non-market exchanges.	Babysitting, washing clothes, borrowing maize.	Favours are bestowed with a view to be repaid in various ways. Services are rendered in return for food.
Household Strategies	Income related strategies	Income diversification, informal trading, migration, casual labour.	Diversifying sources of income to meet needs of household indicates vulnerability to food and livelihood insecurity. Informal activities such as street trading may increase vulnerability to food insecurity, migration increases susceptibility to HIV infection.
	Income pooling.	Susu groups or the stokvel within community.	The collecting money with the aim of purchasing bulk food at the end of a certain time period. Money collected could be lent out on interest or used to buy household items and clothing. Economic safety net that increases well being and per-capita income.
	Expenditure reduction.	Cut spending on services, remove children from school.	Reducing expenses (health, education), compromises future human capital as poor health and low education are determinants of low household income.
	Reducing number of dependents.	Temporary or long-term migration, sending members to live with relatives or foster care.	Reducing the ‘number of mouths to feed’ means taking children out of school, breaking up the family unit. Long-term migration may lead to HIV infection and increasing the burden of care and depleting scares household resources through the impact of AIDS.
	Commercialisation of ritual ceremonies.	Making money from birth ceremonies etc.	Making money from traditional ceremonies such as birth ceremonies encourages unemployed poor women to have more children to benefit materially.
	Distress sales.	Selling assets such as furniture and livestock, equipment.	Strategy of last resort erodes the asset base and reduces resilience of households to future shocks such as death. Assets prevent the use of erosive coping strategies and hence destitution.
Individual Strategies	Multiple sexual partners.	Multiple partners or ‘sugar daddies’.	Women in townships engage in consumption sex for material gain whereas women in informal settlements use sex for subsistence or survival (food and childcare). At risk for violence, abuse and HIV infection.
	Commercial sex.	Selling sex for money.	Isolation from community or HIV infection.
	Petty crime.	Stealing and robbery.	Going to prison, getting caught n the ‘dark economy’.
	Begging.		Children at risk of abuse, crime, drugs and destructive behaviours such as sniffing glue.

The categories of coping strategies presented in table 2.11 are often carried out simultaneously, depending on the circumstances of the household. Devereux (2001: 144) asserts that coping strategies are usually adopted in numerous layers; several strategies are implemented at once and pursued until conditions improve or until the household is completely destitute.

Hossain (2005) lists seven strategies that women in Dhaka City use for household survival. Among these, engaging in informal economic activities, using kinship as social capital and establishing relationships with local leaders were the most important in meeting their needs (Hossain, 2005).

Similarly, Katona-Apte (1998) reports that poor women in Bangladesh have multiple survival strategies geared towards meeting immediate needs and ensuring long-term survival. Women rely on networking with relatives and friends for loans, food and shelter, petty trading, preparing goods for sale and selling their labour. Most strategies in the two studies were carried out simultaneously to cope with food and livelihood insecurity (Katona-Apte, 1998). Moser (1998) reports that households in developing countries engaged in five categories of coping strategies such as reducing spending; food substitution (substituted vegetables for meat and feeding children water from boiled rice rather than milk); changing eating habits (eating only two meals a day from three); changing buying habits (reducing purchases of cooked and fast food); and reducing spending on non-food items (reducing spending on medicine, education and transport).

Households exposed to extreme poverty adopt coping mechanisms that are irreversible, eventually disposing of their assets. This has long-term negative impacts on physical, human and social capital (Rogers & Coates 2002). Distress sales of assets such as livestock and equipment, sending children to live with relatives, taking them out of school (diminishing human capital) and migrating to cities or moving between cities (diminishing social capital) are some examples of how poor households cope when faced with destitution (Rogers & Coates, 2002; Gillespie & Loevinsohn 2003, de Klerk et al., 2004).

Community or kinship strategies such as relying on neighbours, friends and using political influence for assistance helps households in mobilising resources and making the most of opportunities that uplift the quality of life (Maxwell et al., 2000). Relying on social networks for help is only useful for minor shocks such as temporary illness, as these networks break down under the pressure of urbanisation and high unemployment levels (Devereux, 2001: 146).

Income pooling in stokvel or rotating credit groups are very important coping strategies for low income households. Dercon (2001) argues that money borrowed from traditional savings groups is often used to buy food for consumption. Dallimore (2003) argues that people in traditional savings groups in KwaZulu-Natal primarily save money for food and school fees. Income pooling is a coping strategy that fosters the use of social capital or household relations while meeting other important household needs.

Income generation is an important coping and adaptive strategy for low income households around the world. Hossain (2005) reports that economic activities such as rickshaw pulling, street vending and operating informal businesses from home were the most important household survival strategy for women. Katona-Apte (1998) reported that access to credit was a very important coping strategy for food and capital for income generating projects. Katona-Apte (1998) also found that women preferred cash loans, compared to other types of aid, that they could use to generate income for small businesses (albeit minimal and irregular amounts) to purchase food.

Engaging in informal economic activities such as petty trading and preparing food for sale are income strategies aimed at increasing cash resources (Shackleton & Shackleton, 2004). In South Africa, engaging in informal economic activities such as street trading is usually a response to the inability to secure employment in the formal sector (Skinner, 2000a). In this sense, street trading may have initially started as a coping strategy- a response to insufficient food in the household. For many people, informal income generation becomes an adaptive strategy and a permanent means of earning an income. In South Africa, street trading is an easy entry point into the informal sector owing to low capital and low skill requirements (Hendriks, 2002). For this reason it serves as a coping strategy for immediate consumption needs and as an

ongoing strategy that provides irregular, albeit minimal income for food (Lund, 1998). The following chapter investigates the contribution of informal economic activities or income raising strategies to household food and livelihood security.

Short-term alteration of consumption patterns are usually carried out in conjunction with long-term adaptive strategies. Maxwell et al. (2003) describe four types of consumption coping strategies. These are changes in diet; purchasing less preferred foods or less preferred food substitutes; borrowing or buying food on credit; reducing the number of people to feed and lastly; rationing the food available by reducing portion size or skipping meals (Maxwell et al., 2003). Table 2.12 presents various types of food related coping strategies. Food related coping strategies have severe implications as they deplete the body of nutrients and lead to disease and illness (Maxwell, 1995).

Buying street foods is an important coping strategy for the urban poor in Accra. Cash for purchasing street foods comprises 39 per cent of total household budget of the poorest households compared with 26 per cent of wealthy households (Ruel et al., 1999). Budgeting cash for street foods is a trend also prevalent in Nigeria, where city residents spend up to 50 per cent of their total food expenditure on street foods (International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI), 2002). Rationing of food among household members and maternal buffering are also coping strategies used by the urban poor in response to rising food prices (Maxwell et al., 2000). Urban and rural households in South Africa respond to price increases by reducing the number of meals eaten every day and changing the types of foods eaten (Aliber & Modiselle, 2002). Households buy cheaper, low quality substitutes for their normal foods- many of which are also often nutritionally deficient (Aliber & Modiselle, 2002).

For low income households, food and livelihood security is attained through a combination of short-term coping strategies such as consumption altering strategies and long-term strategies (usually income based strategies) such as urban agriculture or livestock keeping (Maxwell, 1995). Grown and Sebstad (1989: 941) argue that the term livelihood systems is more appropriate in analysing poor livelihoods as the term “refers to the mix of household and survival strategies, developed over a given period of time, that seeks to mobilise available resources and opportunities”.

Table 2.12 Food consumption coping strategies (Muthwa, 1994; Maxwell, 1995; Beall & Kanji, 1999; Mallucio et al., 1999; Haddad and Mallucio, 2000; Maxwell et al., 2000; Hendriks, 2002; Hunter, 2002; Gillespie & Loevinsohn, 2003)

Category	Sub-category	Examples	Implications
Food consumption strategies	Dietary changes.	Eating less preferred food and substituting food with low nutritional value.	Eating food that is poor in quality could lead to poor nutritional status and poor health. Children may be stunted (low height for age) or wasted (low weight for age) and have developmental problems and cognitive difficulties in school.
	Rationing strategies.	Reducing number of meals eaten, eating smaller meals and skipping entire days without eating.	
	Maternal buffering.	Mother letting her children eat at her own expense.	Food deprivation could lead to chronic malnutrition and increased susceptibility to disease in adults. The purchasing and selling of street foods is a coping strategy for food insecure households in Accra, Ghana. Street foods are purchased as they are cheaper than buying the ingredients for a cooked meal. These are also high in fat and salt and lead to lifestyle diseases such as obesity and diabetes. Street foods also carry a higher bacterial load and increase stomach complications such as diarrhoea.
	Purchasing street foods.	Food from vendors.	
	Buying food on credit.	Taking maize and promising to pay with wages or grant.	
	Relying on assistance.	Borrowing money to buy food, exchanging favours on return for food.	
Searching for wild food.	Roots, edible plants and small animals.	HIV infected people and AIDS patients require a greater protein and carbohydrate diet to ward off opportunistic infections. Inadequate nutrition leads to quicker onset of illness, reducing the quality of life. Relying on friends or family for food necessitates the fulfilling of social obligations, which may put women at risk of abuse.	

To attain and maintain secure access to food, the urban poor simultaneously engage in multiple strategies such as engaging in employment; saving money and investing; changing household consumption patterns; labour and asset pooling; and using social networks or social capital to acquire food (Maxwell, 1998; Beall & Kanji, 1999; McGee & Firman, 2000; Hossain, 2005). Vulnerable households are forced to adopt these strategies to survive, not to improve the quality of life (Hossain, 2005).

2.14 STAGES OF COPING

Coping strategies are adopted in stages, influenced by perceived risk of hunger and level of food insecurity experienced by the household (Corbett, 1988). Table 2.13 presents the stages of coping strategy stages and the indicators of each stage (Tulane, 1992). The first stage of household food insecurity is characterised by the inability to access sufficient food for all household members (Tulane, 1992). Households accumulate savings in anticipation of severe food shortages in the future (Corbett, 1988). Changes in diet reflected by eating less preferred foods and eating less frequent meals are coping strategies adopted in the earliest stage of food insecurity (Tulane, 1992).

The second stage of coping strategies are characterised by the sale of non-productive assets (Tulane, 1992). As food insecurity increases, the sale of jewellery and other assets that serve as crisis insurance are sold. Assets used to generate income are preserved as households weigh their immediate needs with long-term economic survival (Corbett, 1988). Prior to selling any assets households have to choose between protecting food consumption by selling off assets to buy food, or preserving assets and modifying consumption patterns to protect livelihood in the future (Devereux, 2001: 144). Loans from credit institutions or private individuals carry high interest rates which plunge the household into debt, threatening future livelihood security (Tulane, 2002).

The third stage of food insecurity is marked by the sale of productive assets that is used to generate income to buy food. At this stage, food insecurity is severe and food consumption rather than asset preservation is the most important concern (Tulane, 1992). The sale of productive assets indicates that the household is in a desperate state to access

food and the shock initially experienced has progressed into a crisis situation. Once households have progressed to stage four, they are utterly destitute. The household may have dissolved as some household members have perished or permanently migrated to find employment or seek food aid (Tulane, 1992).

Watts (1983:440) reports that households progression along the four stages of coping strategies depends on the effectiveness of each strategy in accessing food and the reversibility of each strategy. Coping strategies that do not have a long-term impact on the social and economic well-being of the household (such as using savings) are adopted first, whereas strategies that are expensive to reverse (selling productive assets) are put off for as long as possible (Devereux, 2001: 144).

Table 2.13 Stages of coping strategies used by food insecure households (adapted from Corbett, 1988; and Tulane, 1992)

Stages of coping strategies	Indicators of each stage
Stage one	Changes in diet (less preferred food, meal frequency); Gathering wild foods; Inter-household transfers and loans; Increased petty commodity production. Seeking wage labour.
Stage two	Sales of non-productive assets; Sales of jewellery and livestock and insurance assets; Credit/loans from merchants; Temporary migration for work; Skipping meals for entire days or weeks; Withdrawing children from school.
Stage three	Sale of all livestock; Sale of productive equipment; Sale or mortgage of land; Redistribution of children; Migration.
Stage four	Permanent migration. Begging for food/resources. Complete dependence on external aid.

These stages of coping are indicative of “strategy sequencing”, a process in which households begin engaging in a series of coping strategies that begin with the least severe strategy (such as eating less preferred food) and eventually progress to sales of important assets (Moser, 1998:5). Strategy sequencing is a deliberate, planned process through which households weigh up the positive and negative consequences of adopting particular strategies (Moser, 1998).

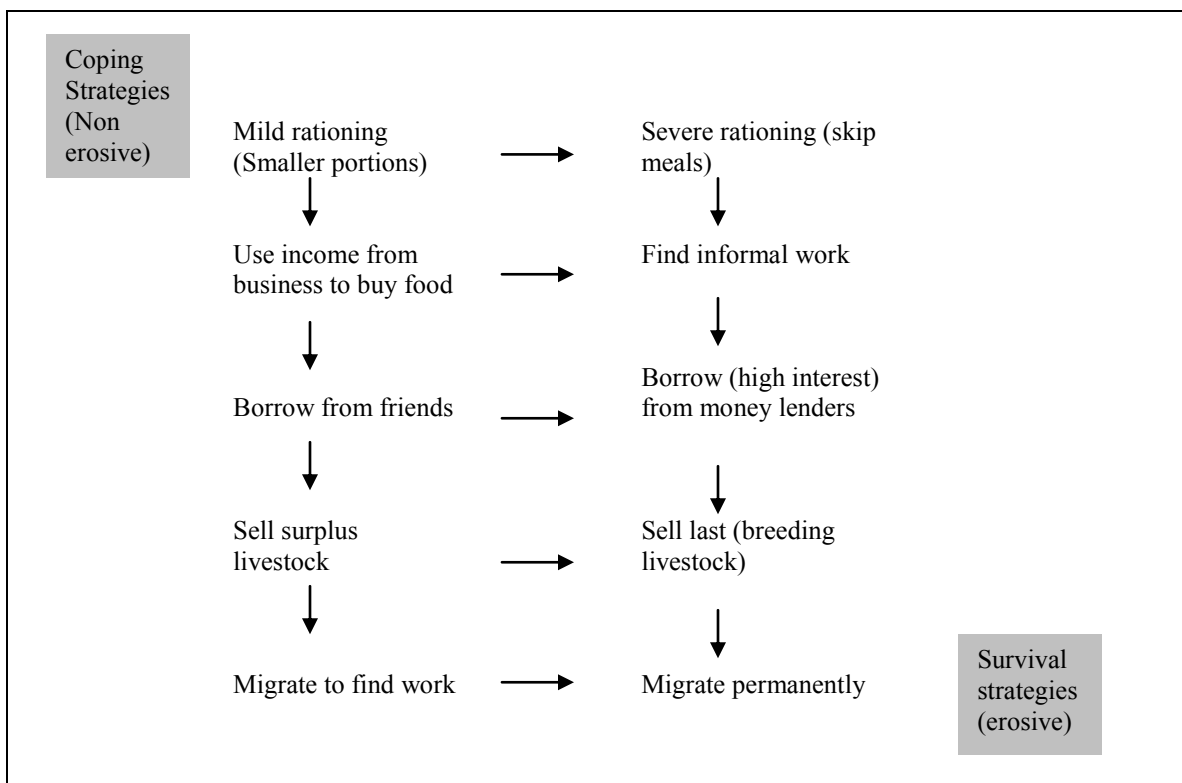
The selection of coping strategies appears to be a carefully planned process in which households select from a variety of nutritional, economic and social strategies available to them (Corbett, 1998). Households also carefully choose a range of social and material assets to reduce vulnerability and protect against risk and facilitate survival (Chambers & Conway, 1992).

Corbett (1998); Devereux (1993); Maxwell (1995) and Maxwell et al. (2003) report that during famine or economic crisis, household assets are preserved as long as possible, even over immediate food needs and that assets are disposed off as a last resort to prevent starvation. According to Moser (1998), households mobilise assets long before the need to sell off assets. Households attempt to mitigate vulnerability on a daily basis by mobilising assets through income generation coping strategies. It is important to distinguish the types of assets that are disposed of as livelihoods are composed of a range of assets (DfID, 1999). Assets that are usually disposed off as a last resort are material assets (productive assets) that enable income generation such as equipment, but also natural assets such as land and livestock. Following table 2.16 (on stages of coping strategies), not only are non-productive assets sold but social assets and household relations begin to disintegrate by sending children (future human capital) to live with relatives as asset depletion continues. As the household situation worsens, productive assets are sold in conjunction with increasing depletion of social assets as household members migrate for temporary work and eventually migrate permanently. The use of coping strategies and their progression from stages one to four leads to a steady depletion of livelihood assets.

2.15 COPING OR SURVIVAL STRATEGIES?

Coping strategies can also be defined in terms of erosive and non-erosive behaviours (de Waal, 1989). If pursued with increasing intensity over long periods of time, coping strategies can become erosive as they continually deplete the resources that households have access to. In this case, coping strategies become survival strategies. Non-erosive coping strategies draw on additional sources of food and income and aim to protect livelihoods. Once coping strategies have evolved into survival strategies they deplete household asset bases and threaten future existence (Devereux, 2001: 144-46). This relationship is presented in figure 2.2.

Figure 2.2 The progression of coping strategies into survival strategies (Devereux, 2001:146)



The distinction between coping strategies and survival strategies is questionable. The explanation provided above, that coping strategies are not erosive until used in the extreme is challenged by Davies (1993). Davies (1993) argues that the term coping strategies implies that people are somehow managing or 'getting by' when in reality the

use of coping strategies suggest that conditions are deteriorating. Coping strategies are also nutritionally, economically and environmentally unsustainable as they often pressurise human and economic systems (Maxwell, 1995).

Rugalema (2000) questions whether households are actually coping or struggling to survive and argues that the term coping implies that households are successfully dealing with a challenging situation and are able to overcome the effects of the crisis. In reality, households are compelled to sell off their assets due to a lack of alternatives. Rugalema (2000) also argues that the term coping obscures the true cost of compromising quality of life by skipping meals and suffering the generational effects of malnutrition and by removing children from school, depleting human capital. Dercon (2001) writes that despite having a diverse portfolio of coping strategies, the poor are still vulnerable to food insecurity. This means that coping strategies do little to secure livelihoods except provide the little income that is needed for survival.

2.16 SYNOPSIS

This chapter presents a comprehensive literature review of sustainable livelihoods, food security and coping strategies. There are numerous derivatives of the DfID Sustainable Livelihoods Framework. This chapter reviewed the Learning about Livelihoods Framework and Moser's (1998) Asset Vulnerability Framework. Livelihoods are the means of living and refer to the activities people engage in to secure basic needs.

At the heart of generating livelihoods are resources or assets (land, water, education, skills, good health, family, community-based organisations, equipment, infrastructure, access to loans, income and savings) that facilitate livelihood activity. Resource levels determine the strength of the livelihood and the ability to resist and recover from setbacks. To effectively use a range of assets, households require the capabilities (education and skills) and capacity to transform capital into livelihood resources such as food and income (Moser, 1998). Livelihoods are secure and sustainable when households have safe access to income earning activities, assets and other resources to protect them against risk or shocks (Carney, 1998: 7).

Vulnerability to food and livelihood insecurity is caused by multiple factors in the external environment and factors arising from within the household. Outside the household, structural economic crisis creates chronic unemployment; natural disasters destroy crops; inflation raises the price of food; and mutual support between family and neighbours collapse under increasing financial strain. Within the household, food insecurity and hunger occurs because household members lack assets and capabilities such as skills, education and training that can be exchanged for cash to purchase food or they lack the labour and other resources required for agricultural production (Gillespie & Loevinsohn, 2003).

The vulnerable may be those forced to leave school at an early age to work in home industries or take care of other family members, those not sent to school (in some countries the education of girls is deemed a waste of money), or those trapped in low paying, low skilled work. Even when individuals are able to exchange capabilities for cash, returns are low due to the nature of unskilled work. Income is the main determinant of household food security in South Africa and therefore determines access to food.

Many South Africans face a constant battle to access food by combining short-term strategies with long-term adaptive strategies. Since level of income determines access to food, income generation activities are adopted as a permanent means of accessing cash for livelihood resources. Low capital requirements and low skill levels facilitate the transformation of informal income generation strategies from a short-term coping strategy into a permanent means of accessing cash (Hendriks, 2002). The following chapter investigates street trading as a food and livelihood security coping strategy in Africa and Asia and aims to evaluate the potential of street trading to secure street trader livelihoods.

CHAPTER THREE: REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL AND SOUTH AFRICAN LITERATURE ON STREET TRADING

3.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter evaluates street trading as a food and livelihood security coping strategy in Africa and Asia. An overview of the informal economy is presented followed by methods used to measure the impact, value and contribution of the informal economy to livelihoods and gross domestic product. Street traders are profiled by income, commodities traded, age and education levels. Push factors for engaging in street trade are discussed as socio-economic stresses that force people into informal economic activities. Risk factors that undermine enterprise profitability and constrain livelihoods are discussed. Backward linkages and employment relations are analysed as aspects that undermine business consolidation and livelihood security. Positive policy initiatives and street trader unions are discussed as mechanisms to strengthen livelihoods. The chapter concludes by analysing the contribution of informal income generation strategies to household food and livelihood security.

3.2. WHAT IS THE INFORMAL ECONOMY?

The informal economy provides a way of earning a livelihood for individuals entering the urban labour market, specifically those who lack education and formal workplace skills (Moser, 1978). The informal sector is further categorised by “ease of entry, reliance on indigenous resources, family ownership of enterprises, small scale of operation, labour intensive and adapted technology, skills acquired outside the school system and unregulated and competitive markets” (International Labour Office (ILO), 1972:6). Informal economy enterprises escape government requirements for businesses including registration, tax and social security, health and safety regulations, licenses and accounting procedures (Rogerson 2000a; Devey et al., 2003).

There are two components of the informal economy- self employment in informal enterprises and informal employment outside informal enterprises (ILO, 2002). In

developing countries, self employment in informal enterprises dominates informal employment, representing 70 per cent of informal work in sub-Saharan Africa, 62 per cent in North Africa, 60 per cent in Latin America and 59 per cent in Asia (ILO, 2002). Self employment refers to small or unregistered enterprises, employers, own account operators and unpaid family workers in informal enterprises (ILO, 2002). Informal employment outside informal enterprises refers to people who are wage employees of informal businesses, for households or with no fixed employer. In total, informal employment outside informal enterprises constitutes 30-40 per cent of informal employment, and includes casual workers, domestic workers, industrial workers who work from home, or part time and temporary workers (ILO, 2002).

The informal economy can be categorised by those who work in it (the workforce) and the activities which take place in it (economic units) (ILO, 2002). Those employed in the informal economy can be classified according to the employment status categories as shown in table 3.1.

Table 3.1 Employment status categories in the informal economy (Chen et al., 2002)

Non-wage workers	Wage workers
Employers including: Owners of informal enterprises Owner's operators of informal enterprises Self employed including: Heads of family business Own account workers Unpaid family workers	Employees of informal enterprises Domestic workers Casual workers without a fixed employer Home-workers Temporary or part-time workers Unregistered workers

Non-wage and wage workers described in table 3.1 engage in a host of activities from selling fruits and vegetables on street corners to cutting hair and repairing shoes on pavements, to more developed informal businesses run from unregistered premises or homes (Skinner, 2000a). Flea markets, hawkers, taxi drivers, shoe-shiners, home based enterprises, child minding, spaza or retail shops, shebeens (liquor outlets), backyard workshops and small scale manufacturers are examples of activities that constitute the

informal economy in South Africa (Rogerson, 2000a). Businesses that comprise the informal economy engage in various economic activities (such as trading, providing a service and manufacturing), have different employment relations (self-employed, paid and unpaid workers and disguised wage workers, casual workers), with different levels of success (survivalist activities to small enterprises) (Devey et al., 2003). These economic activities take place within the context of a dominant formal economy rather than independently, with constant interactions between the two (McKeever, 1998).

3.3. STATISTICS AND DEMOGRAPHIC PATTERNS OF THE INFORMAL ECONOMY IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Developing countries differ with regard to the number of people employed in the informal sector. Total employment in the informal economy in South Africa (including domestic work and subsistence agriculture) is estimated to be between 25 per cent (Devey et al., 2003) and 34 per cent respectively (ILO, 2002). Reported numbers of people in informal employment differs, depending on the refinement of data collection to capture informal sector work. Devey et al. (2003) report that the perceived increase in the number of South Africans engaged in informal employment from 965 000 in 1997 to 1 873 000 in 2001, is partly attributable to improvements in collection of survey data from the October Household Surveys and the Labour Force Surveys. In India, in 2000, 93 per cent of the population, or 370 million people, were engaged in the informal sector and in Mexico in 1998, 64 per cent of employment was in the informal sector (ILO, 2002).

Informal employment in South Africa is concentrated in domestic services and agriculture. These sectors combined account for 52 per cent of employment in the informal economy (ILO, 2002). In India, the informal workforce is segmented into informal employment in agriculture (representing 60 per cent of total employment), informal enterprises (representing 28 per cent of total informal employment), and informal employment outside informal enterprises (representing six per cent of the total informal workforce) (ILO, 2002).

Gender differences are apparent in the informal economy. In 2000, 2.4 million women and 1.6 million men were employed in the informal economy in South Africa. In India, 118 million women, mainly concentrated in agriculture, and 252 million men worked in the informal economy (ILO, 2002). In Mexico, men dominate the informal economy; 16 million men worked in the informal sector in 2000 compared to 7.7 million women (ILO, 2002).

Table 3.2 Composition of employment in the informal economy, South Africa 2000
(ILO, 2002)

	Total	Women	Men
Total employment	11,946,000	5,434,000	65,511,000
Total non-agricultural employment	10,110,000	4,581,000	5,528,000
Total agricultural employment	1,836,000	853,000	983,000
Total informal employment			
Number of persons	4,063,000	2,449,000	1,613,000
Percentage of total employment	34	45	25
Employment in informal enterprises			
Number of persons	3,059,000	1,486,000	1,572,000
Percentage of total employment	26	27	24
Percentage of total informal employment	75	61	97
Non-agricultural employment in informal enterprises			
Number of persons	1,977,000	888,000	1,088,000
Percentage of total employment	17	16	17
Percentage of non-agricultural employment	20	19	20
Percentage of total informal employment	49	36	67
Agricultural employment in informal enterprises			
Number of persons	1,082,000	598,000	484,000
Percentage of total employment	9	11	7
Percentage of agricultural employment	59	70	49
Percentage of total informal employment	27	24	30
Employment in paid domestic work			
Number of persons	1,004,000	963,000	41,000
Percentage of total employment	8	18	1
Percentage of total informal employment	25	39	3

In 2000 in India and South Africa, women dominated employment in the informal sector (ILO, 2002). In South Africa in 2000 (table 3.2), women were more likely than men to work in the informal sector, representing about 60 per cent of informal workers in trade and 55 per cent in agriculture, manufacturing, community and personal services (ILO, 2002). Domestic work accounted for 39 per cent of total informal employment for women (ILO, 2002). In India in 2000, 18 per cent of women in the informal economy worked in informal enterprises, 43 per cent worked in manufacturing and 28 per cent in trade (ILO, 2002). In Mexico, in 2000, 94 per cent of women were informally employed in agriculture and 80 per cent in trade (ILO, 2002).

Kenny and Webster (1999) argue that the South African labour market is polarised between those in secure employment with high incomes and those in informal or flexible work with relatively low incomes. Women fall into the vulnerable and least profitable segments of the informal economy. According to Sethuraman (1999), even though men and women participate in the same trade, the types of activities or employment undertaken differ. Men typically have larger businesses and trade in non-perishable items. Women generally tend to have smaller operations and often trade in food items (Chen et al., 2002).

Lund and Skinner (1999) reported that the South African informal economy is segmented along racial and gender lines. Devey et al. (2003) report that between 1997 and 2001, 84.5 per cent of all workers in the informal economy were Africans involved in semi-skilled occupations, followed by craft related occupations (25.5 per cent) and service and shop workers (20 per cent). Africans tend to occupy lower income niches in the informal economy such as street trading and taxi-driving while whites tend to trade in luxury goods at flea-markets, and Indians tend to control profitable niches such as flower-selling (Rogerson, 2000a).

3.4.COMMON METHODS USED TO MEASURE THE INFORMAL ECONOMY AND TYPES OF STUDIES CONDUCTED IN THE INFORMAL SECTOR

This section briefly discusses common methods used to measure aspects of the informal economy. Methods used to measure the informal sector depend on who is undertaking the research and the purpose of the research. Large organisations such as the International Labour Office and national governments usually undertake statistical surveys to estimate the size of the informal sector; the number of people in various segments of the informal economy; the number of men and women involved in different types of informal sector work and the contribution of the informal sector to the gross domestic product.

National surveys provide statistical and numerical accounts of the informal sector. National survey approaches seeks to improve statistical methods to measure sources of income, income levels and the size of the informal sector (ILO, 2002). Socio-economic information on the informal sector has been poorly documented. To fill this gap, the ILO has partnered with informal sector organisations such as HomeNet (an organisation representing home workers), StreetNet (an organisation representing street traders), Women in Informal Employment Globalising and Organising (WIEGO) and national governments (including South Africa), to collected statistical information on the informal sector (ILO, 2002; Mitullah, 2004).

A national scale survey commonly estimates total informal employment and major informal categories outside of agriculture. Sources of information for national surveys are population census surveys, labour force surveys or household surveys that cross-classify industrial sectors by employment status and gender (ILO, 2002). Other common methods measuring the informal sector are presented in table 3.3. Quantitative, qualitative and participatory research methods are used to measure different aspects of the informal economy, depending on the scale of the research and research objectives.

The key distinction between using quantitative methods and qualitative methods is that quantitative surveys enumerate the informal sector (such as size, composition and contribution to gross domestic product), while qualitative methods focus on individuals

engaged in informal work and investigate the socio-economic elements of informal sector livelihoods. Qualitative methods such as interviews and focus group discussions allow for in-depth discussions; exploration of personal histories and detailed responses (Bouma & Atkinson, 1995: 206-08; Terre Blanche et al., 2006: 272).

Table 3.3 Types of studies conducted in the informal sector

Author and publication date	Location	Sector	Methodology
Bromley (1978).	Cali, Columbia.	Street traders.	Surveys; participant and non-participant observation; semi-structured interviews; key informant interviews and tape recorded life histories.
Dasgupta (1992a: 117-123).	Calcutta, India.	Street based-petty traders.	Survey: questionnaire and statistical analysis.
Bernstein and Gray (1994).	Durban.	All.	Interviews.
Evers and Mehmet (1994).	Central Java, Indonesia.	Informal traders.	Survey.
Fandane (1998).	Warwick Avenue, Durban.	All.	Interviews.
Levin et al. (1999).	Accra, Ghana.	Traders and vendors.	Household surveys and statistical analysis.
Lund and Skinner (1999).	South Africa (national focus).	All, with a focus on street traders.	Focus group discussions; interviews; local policy dialogue and telephone interviews.
Skinner (1999).	Durban.	Street trading.	Key informant interviews; local policy dialogue; focus group interviews.
Skinner (2000b).	Durban.	Street traders.	In-depth telephone and face to face and key informant interviews.
Ward and Gilbert (2001).	Anloga, Ghana.	Carpenters operating micro and small enterprises.	Key informant interviews; wealth ranking; focus group discussions; transect walk, technological capabilities assessment and individual firm questionnaires.
DfID (2002).	East Africa: Tanzania; Uganda; Kenya and Ethiopia.	Urban livestock sellers.	Case studies with a combination of questionnaires and stakeholder meetings.
Kassim and Hendriks (2002).	Pietermaritzburg.	Micro-entrepreneurs.	Case studies (interviews).
Mayrhofer and Hendriks (2003).	Pietermaritzburg.	Street traders.	Interviews; telephonic semi-structured interviews with service providers.
Hunter and Skinner (2003).	Durban.	Street traders.	Interviews.
Olsen and Larsen (2003).	Himalayas, Nepal.	Medicinal plant traders.	National survey: open-ended interviews and a village survey using a daily record of household activities.
Ligthelm (2005).	South Africa.	Spaza shops.	Survey: a pre-structured questionnaire.
NDC and YEDP (2005).	Pietermaritzburg.	All.	Surveys.

Bromley (1978: 166) reported that the use of social research methods such as questionnaires, participant and non-participant observation, semi-structured interviews with informants and tape recorded life histories uncovered the dynamics of informal sector employment relationships that were “rarely admitted in more superficial questionnaire surveys”. Most studies presented in table 3.3 used qualitative methodologies such as interviews, case studies and focus group discussions. The merits of these research instruments will be discussed in chapter four.

In participatory methodologies the ‘research participant’ is part of the research process. Innovative tools such as drawing and mapping encourage sub-conscious reflection and elicit information not captured in surveys and sensitive information (such as income) that traders do not feel comfortable discussing (Maxwell et al., 1997; Development of Dynamic Women’s Enterprise in Business and Art (DWEBA), 2001). These are further discussed in chapter four.

The review of informal sector studies presented here is by no means exhaustive. Only one study of carpenters operating small and micro-enterprises used participatory methods such as wealth ranking and transect walks and integrated ranking, venn diagrams and matrix scoring with focus group discussions (Ward & Gilbert, 2001). The use of these participatory tools led to Ward and Gilbert (2001) identifying key micro-enterprise constraints such as poor infrastructure and led to carpenters identifying their own interventions such as training and business relocation.

3.5. WHAT IS STREET TRADING?

Although street trading is an international practice and the most visible aspect of the informal economy, the activities of street traders, their work environments, relations with authorities, and policies and regulations relating to their work are poorly researched and documented (Mitullah, 2004). The petty trading sector encompasses many categories of trading; of which street trading is only one component. In Banjul, The Gambia for example, petty trading encompasses wealthy capital-accumulating traders to subsistence traders including canteen owners; table traders operating in markets; traders selling

outside markets; street traders; hotel traders (relatively affluent traders); middle person traders who buy from farms and sell to markets; long distance traders and wholesalers (Little, 1999). Additionally, research in Calcutta has shown that the socio-economic structure of trading ranges from well-established market traders to poor traders operating from street and wall stalls (Dasgupta, 1992b).

Street trading is trading on the street; and pavements, from formal stalls; carts or on make-shift tables made from card-board boxes or other suitable materials (Bromley, 2000; ILO, 2002). Table 3.4 presents information on the types of goods sold by street traders internationally. Traders or vendors sell products ranging from food to second hand goods and operate within markets, outside markets, and on pavements (ILO, 2002). Street trading activities are synonymous with survivalist enterprises as these businesses are started with minimal capital and the income earned is barely sufficient to sustain the business as well as the household (Department of Trade and Industry, 1995).

Street traders offer services and manufacture goods in addition to selling commodities. These services include hairdressing; shoe shiners; shoe repairers; car window cleaners; tailors; mechanics; furniture makers; metal workers; magicians and garbage pickers (ILO, 2002).

Across Africa, common services offered include transport; music recording; accessories and security (Little, 1999; Mitullah, 2003a). Street trading is certainly a diverse economic activity in terms of services offered and goods sold, but also in terms of income variation between different types of work. Within street trading there are high income earners who sell luxury goods at flea markets and low income earners who sell fresh produce and common items on pavements (ILO, 2002).

Table 3.4 Typology of street vendors (ILO, 2002:50)

Typology of street vendors	
<p>Types of goods: what do they sell?</p> <p>Fruit and vegetables;</p> <p>Cooked food;</p> <p>Snacks and soft drinks;</p> <p>Candies and sweets;</p> <p>Ice cream and popsicles.</p>	<p>Cigarettes and matches;</p> <p>Newspapers and magazines;</p> <p>Manufactured goods;</p> <p>Second hand goods.</p>
<p>Location of work: where do they trade?</p> <p>System of open air markets in designated areas on designated days;</p> <p>Concentration of vendors in particular areas such as central business districts or residential neighbourhoods and street corners.</p>	<p>Railway stations, subway stations, bus stops;</p> <p>Construction sites;</p> <p>Sports complexes;</p> <p>Home.</p>
<p>Location of premise: from what do they vend?</p> <p>Baskets or bowels placed on the ground or carried on the head;</p> <p>Mats or clothes spread on the ground;</p> <p>Stool or tab;</p> <p>Pole over shoulder.</p>	<p>Bicycle;</p> <p>Wheeled pushcarts;</p> <p>Wheeled carts with display cases;</p> <p>Porch-front or window display;</p> <p>Fixed shed, stall or kiosk.</p>
<p>Employment status: are they independent or dependent?</p> <p>Independent self employed: with and without employees;</p> <p>Dependent employees: paid workers for other street vendors or for wholesale/retail traders.</p>	<p>Semi-independent workers e.g. commission agents.</p>

Eventually, street traders develop a mix of products depending on socio-economic status of customers; street traders operating in business districts and in affluent neighbourhoods keep high quality goods at a high price, yielding high profits whereas those in low income areas keep lower quality goods at a cheaper price that yield low profits (Dasgupta, 1992b). Therefore, segmentation within the street trading sector is caused by the location of the business and purchasing potential of customers, both of which determine the street traders food and livelihood security.

Different economic arrangements also characterise street trading. Some traders work for themselves while others such as hawkers are semi-independent and sell products for larger stores (ILO, 2002). In Calcutta, street traders sell the products of large manufacturers and earn 10-20 per cent commission on sales. These traders were often better off than other traders who purchased goods on credit and independent traders (Dasgupta, 1992b).

In most developing countries, women are more likely to be involved in street trading than men and have more hazardous work conditions (Chen, 2001; Chen et al., 2002). In South Africa, male street traders fare better than females, in that males have better stalls, more business contacts, and employ other people to assist in the running of their business (Lund, 1998).

3.6. PROFILING STREET TRADERS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

This section profiles street traders in Africa and Asia in terms of reasons for engaging in street trading, gender, age, commodities traded and income levels. Tables 3.5 and 3.6 present a summarised version of themes to be discussed in detail in the following sections. Table 3.5 profiles street traders in Africa.

Table 3.6 profiles traders in Asia. The discussion on Asia focuses on India, Cambodia, Bangladesh, Korea, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, Philippines, Vietnam and Calcutta. Some information was not recorded in these studies, such as the numbers of street traders and income levels; authors report that this information does not exist as urban authorities neither research nor keep economic information on the informal sector (Unni, 2000; Chen, 2001; Mitullah, 2003a; b and 2004; Bhowmik, 2005; Anjaria, 2006).

Table 3.5 Profile of street traders in Africa (Levin et al., 1999; Little, 1999; Skinner, 1999; Lund et al., 2000: 16; ILO, 2002; Mitullah, 2003a; b and 2004)

Country	Reasons for engaging in street trade	Who are street traders?	Number of street traders	Income levels	Where do they trade?	Goods traded	Threats to Livelihoods	Aspects strengthening Livelihoods
South Africa	Income to support large families; landlessness; retrenchment; poverty.	Older women, younger men	323 000 food vendors; 122 000 non-food vendors.	Variable, between R200 and R800 per month.	Streets; parks; pavements; around shopping centres and public facilities. Some areas designated for traders within CBD; markets and tourist locations such as Durban, South Africa.	Fruits; vegetables, cereals; fish and meat products; processed food; cosmetics; second hand clothes; cigarettes; street foods. Services offered include hairdressing,; shoe repairing; sewing etc.	Poorly directed policies; lack of political will. Eviction; confiscation of goods; lack of business support; lack of credit; high competition; low purchasing power of customers; lack of site tenure; outdated bylaws and policies; uncoordinated processes in registration; lack of infrastructure and service provision; lack of training and skills.	Street trader associations such as SEWA in Durban. These fight for legal rights; raise the profile of vendors; protect their interest in policy processes; and provide benefits for vendors.
Kenya	Income for subsistence.		416 294 nationally, 100 000 in Nairobi.	Majority live below poverty line of US\$1 per day.				
Ghana	Increasing poverty; agricultural failure; income for food.	Women		\$10.79* 20% of total household income for women.				
Zimbabwe	Limited economic opportunities.	Male and females						
Mozambique	Low education and skills; lack of land; high unemployment.	Disadvantaged segments with limited skills and capital such as women and migrants.		Average weekly income of \$7.50 per week in 1991. Food traders: \$23.96 weekly.				
Uganda	Poverty; orphanhood; widowhood; low education; a means out of financial crisis.	Vulnerable women.	13 per cent of labour force.					
The Gambia		84% women.		Average trading income for males: \$180.12, women: \$78.47 in 1993.				

Table 3.6 Profile of street traders in Asia (Unni, 2000; Unni, 2002; Bhowmik, 2003 and 2005; Anjaria, 2006)

Country/city	Who	Number	Reasons	Income	Where	Goods sold	Livelihood threats/ strengths
Bangladesh, Dhaka City	Women and migrants.	90 000	Poverty; lack of education; and low paid work.		Mohitjeel; Baitul Mukarram; Market areas.		Harassment and payment of bribes; lack of awareness of rights; lack of vending space and access to credit.
Sri Lanka.	Women and children.	8000-10 000 in Colombo.	Only source of employment.	Average daily income \$11.60, profit of \$5.34	Formal city centre.	Mainly food.	Eviction; burning of stalls; lack of access to credit. Municipality provides carts.
Thailand, Bangkok.	Slum dwellers.	19-20 000 in 1999, 26 000 in 2001.	Monetary crisis of 1998.		Stalls; makeshift restaurants.	Clothes; curios; electronic items; cheap food.	Unauthorised traders face raids and evictions; not unionised; demarcated sites provided.
Singapore	Younger educated vendors.	In 1998 23 331 hawkers, 2005, 50 000 street vendors	Rising unemployment.		Built markets/food centres.	Mainly food.	Supportive policy; fully serviced stalls. Training in food; hygiene and nutrition.
Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur	In 2000, 11 170 Malays, 20.812 Chinese and 3 138 Indians.	In 2000, 35 000 licensed traders, 12 000 unlicensed traders.	Rising unemployment		Food centres in buildings; mobile vans.		Supportive policy; credit and training; fixed departmental responsibility for regulating and monitoring.
Philippines, Manila		10 000 illegal; 5000 legal.					No demarcated trading areas; no water; harassment and evictions. Unions in Kamansi and Cebu City; provides loans for hospitalisation and death assistance.
Vietnam, Hanoi.	Mainly women; 30% of food vendors are women.		Rising poverty; support large families and unemployment.	Women's income is lower than males.	Door to door carrying goods in two baskets slung on end of a pole.	Women-vegetables; eggs; processed food Men-motor cycle repairs and souvenirs.	Women harassed on the street; Women to sell door to door; Women's needs are neglected in policies; Policy on safer street food, monitoring of food vendors through licenses and education on hygiene.
Cambodia.	95% of all employment and 80% of GDP	Mainly women from poor backgrounds and low education.	Support families. Women trade to eat; educate children & pay debts.				Lack of trading areas and credit; police harassment bribes; confiscation; destruction of goods. Children are educated and fed.
India.	Men and women; rural migrants.	Ahmedabad -80 000; Mumbai-250 000; Calcutta-150 000; Bangalore-30 00; 10 million in India.	Closure of industries and textile mills; lack of secure; paying work.	\$1.23-\$1.98 daily. Women \$0.99-\$1.48 daily. Mumbai daily hawking profit of \$3.71		Male vendors: clothes and fruits. Home based enterprises: food.	Women harassed by authorities and male traders. 20% of earnings taken as bribes. Stress related illness: migraines and hypertension. Lack of credit. Unions in Ahmedabad provide loans and training for women vendors.

3.7. WHO ARE STREET TRADERS AND WHAT ARE THEIR REASONS FOR STREET TRADING?

Street trading is an activity for marginalised groups in society who trade informally owing to lack of capital, as an alternative to formal economy employment to supplement wages and welfare benefits to purchase basic household needs (Leonard, 2000; Unni, 2000; Bhowmik, 2003; Mitullah, 2003a). As this chapter will show, street trading is a strategy used to cope with financial uncertainty resulting from economic crisis or prolonged economic stress, especially for urban households who depend on cash income to purchase basic needs (McGee & Firman, 2000).

Trends in Mozambique show that street traders are mostly from disadvantaged classes of society and trade to supplement incomes, have limited skills and capital and remain in unprofitable segments of the informal economy (Agadjanian, 1999). Women, rural migrants and slum dwellers fit into this category, but children are also likely to be street traders by assisting parents or running their own enterprises (Dasgupta, 1992b; Mitullah, 2004; Bhowmik, 2005). Women are more likely to enter street trade to supplement the husband's earnings, provide food for siblings and educate and feed their children (Levin et al., 1999; Mitullah, 2003a; Bhowmik, 2005).

Reasons for engaging in street trading vary from willing entry to “forced entrepreneurship” (Rogerson, 2000b: 688). For the unemployed, retrenched and new job seekers, self employment is the only alternative to destitution (Rogerson 2000a, Valodia, 2001). In Africa and Asia, individuals have been pushed into informal economic activities (Lund, 1998; Mitullah, 2003a; Bhowmik, 2005). Economic crisis in Indonesia led many into informal economic activities to deal with declining household income and rising prices of basic needs (McGee & Firman, 2000). In Uganda, women move along a continuum from subsistence to commercial farming to participating in informal trade as a coping strategy to supplement income (Mitullah, 2003a). In Accra, Ghana, deepening rural poverty resulting from failed agricultural policies has pushed women into street trade as a means of purchasing food for their children (Levin et al., 1999; Mitullah, 2004). Mayrhofer and Hendriks (2003) reported that in Pietermaritzburg, South Africa 98

per cent of micro-entrepreneurs reportedly entered the informal economy due to unemployment. In The Gambia and Mozambique, lack of access to land, high unemployment and declining formal sector employment have driven many individuals into petty trading (Little, 1999).

There are some advantages of working in the informal sector, such as incomes that provide remittances for poor rural families (Little, 1999). In Maputo, earnings from petty trading exceeded formal wage income, whereas informal sector workers in Jakarta earned twice as much working in the city's informal sector than in rural areas (Papanek, 1975; Hugo, 1975; Jellinek, 1978 all cited by McGee, 1979: 62; Graham et al., 1991).

In developing countries, engaging in street trading is a strategy for reducing vulnerability to social and economic stresses. To reduce vulnerability, street trading is one activity combined with market trade, long-distance trade and middleperson trading (Little, 1999; Leonard, 2000). Evidence in the Gambia illustrates that petty traders travel to neighbouring countries to sell and purchase goods, return to their cities and sell goods purchased internationally to market traders and then sell the remainder at street stalls (Little, 1999). The rapid increase in the number of street traders and survivalist enterprises across the African and Asian continent, combined with the slow expansion of formal economies and disastrous impacts of structural adjustment policies means that many are pushed, rather than pulled, into the informal economy as a desperate means of survival (Rogerson, 2000a; Mitullah, 2004).

3.8. ESTIMATING STREET TRADER NUMBERS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

In many African countries, the actual number of street traders is unknown because local governments/authorities do not recognise street enterprises as legitimate businesses and fail to account for the contribution of informal enterprises to the local economy and national gross domestic product (Mitullah, 2004). The actual number of street traders in South Africa is unknown. Estimating the actual number is complicated as many street

traders may operate from home spaza shops and from the street (Napier & Mothwa, 2001).

There are several factors that complicate the measurement of street trade internationally. The numbers of street traders vary depending on the time of day and the season of the year. Some trade only in mornings and some seasonally. Some vendors rotate between markets and the street (ILO, 2002). Even formal surveys such as census surveys do not target street vendors (ILO, 2002). Apart from measurement issues, most local authorities in Africa have no records of street trading activity although some countries collect taxes from the informal sector. Therefore, adequate planning to accommodate and secure street trader livelihoods is constrained or inappropriate, among other elements (Mitullah, 2003a).

In South Africa, the 2000 Labour Force Survey estimated that there were 323 000 food vendors and 122 000 non-food vendors, while the 1995 Household Survey estimated 2038 street traders nationally (Devey et al., 2003). In Mexico City in the mid 1990's, 1 500 street traders operated from pavements or street stalls, 38 000 from stalls in rotating markets, 67 248 from mobile stalls, 5000 from stalls in metro stations and 10 000 at street corners and neighbourhoods. In total there were 121 738 stalls and 185 600 street traders in Mexico City (Cross, 1998: 103). In Ahmedabad, India the SEWA-GIDR (Self Employed Women's Association and Gujarat Institute for Development Research) survey of home and street-based work estimated 80 000 street vendors in 1999, accounting for almost seven per cent of the informal workforce (Unni, 2000). In Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa, there were 2000-3000 street traders operating from legal and illegal spaces in 2007 (Msundusi Municipality, 2007).

In Durban, KwaZulu-Natal South Africa in 1997 there were an estimated 19 000 street traders, 57 per cent operated in the central business district and 30 per cent in townships (Lund, 1998). Over 70 per cent of Kenya's population is employed in the Small and

Micro Enterprises sector, which steadily increased from 416 294 in 1999, 4 624 400 in 2001 to 5 086 400 in 2002 (Mitullah, 2003a). Similarly, in Uganda, the informal sector is the largest employer, accounting for thirteen per cent of the labour force (Mitullah, 2003a).

Statistics to compare whether street trading has been increasing over the years do not exist. However, economic restructuring in Africa and Asia, coupled with increasing inflation and industrial downsizing, has rapidly increased the number of poor and middle class people entering the informal sector as a survival strategy (McGee, 1979: 52; Little, 1999; McGee & Firman, 2000; Mitullah, 2003a). Street trading is the fastest growing segment of informal economy employment, indicated by rapid growth of survivalist enterprises as people enter the sector with little capital and skills that trap them in low income activities (Mayrhofer & Hendriks, 2003). Numbers of street traders in developing countries are an indication of the growing vulnerability of urban livelihoods and the urgent need to plan markets and alternative spaces to accommodate this growing segment of the informal economy (Mitullah, 2003a and 2004).

Contrary to common belief that street traders are public nuisances, engaging in minor economic activity, they make up a significant portion of total informal enterprises (ILO, 2002). Street traders represent a significant proportion of trade and gross domestic product. In South Africa, at current prices for 1999 the informal economy contributed 26 per cent of value added in trade (the highest in any sector) and 18 per cent of value added in consumption and community services (ILO, 2002). In Kenya, street traders represented 85 per cent of employment in trade and 62 per cent of gross domestic product compared to India where street traders represented 96 per cent of employment in trade and 90 per cent of gross domestic product (ILO, 2002). In developing countries women constituted between 50 and 90 per cent of informal traders and between 20 and 65 per cent of value added in informal trade (ILO, 2002).

3.9. INCOME LEVELS AND CONSTRAINTS TO INCOME GENERATION

The amount of sales generated by street traders is not documented, since street traders are most often not registered for taxes and lack records of income and expenditure (Mitullah,

2003a and b). Even city authorities have not researched earnings in the informal sector which means that contribution of street trade to local economic development is not appreciated and given appropriate attention (Mitullah, 2003a).

Nothing is more indicative of urban livelihood vulnerability than low levels of income earned in the informal sector. Income levels are determined by multiple factors. Poor working conditions and lack of supportive national and local policies and business development services are primary causes of low income levels (Lund, 1998). Low incomes are impacted by rising inflation, which makes it increasingly difficult to meet basic food needs (Little, 1999).

In Africa and India, income levels are determined by the size and scale of the business; location of the business; taxes and type of goods sold (Unni, 2002; Mitullah, 2003a and 2004). Cultural expectations also influence daily income. Street traders aim to earn sufficient cash to meet particular daily needs. Once the monetary target is achieved, trading activities cease and the cash is immediately used to purchase basic household needs (Evers & Mehmet, 1994).

Income levels depend on the type of product the trader is selling and the socio-economic status of consumers. In Calcutta, petty traders who sold products with a short market life-span and traders who operated in middle class neighbourhoods made higher profits with greater opportunity for capital accumulation than those who operated in slums (Dasgupta, 1992b).

There are common trends in income levels. In 1995 in Johannesburg, 54 per cent of traders earned on average R600 a month whereas women earned on average, R200 a month (Community Agency for Social Enquiry (CASE), 1995). Only 16 per cent of the Self Employed Women's Union members earned more than R800 a month (Bedford, 1995). In South Africa between 1997 and 2001, 76 per cent of formal economy workers earned more than R1000 month, compared to 70 per cent of informal economy workers who earned less than R1000 a month (Devey et al., 2003). From 1997 to 2001 the

majority of informal economy workers (25.7 per cent) earned less than R500 a month (Devey et al., 2003).

The survivalist nature of informal activities was indicated between 1997 and 2001, where 21.3 per cent of informal sector workers earned R501-R1000 and 18.6 per cent earned R100-200 per month. In South Africa, gender and racial disparities were evident; between 1997 and 2001 29 per cent of Africans earned R201-R500, 29.3 per cent of whites earned R2501-R4500 while women street traders earned R201-R500 a month (Devey et al., 2003).

Ghanaian street vendors earned up to \$10.79 and in Accra, income from street trading composed 20 per cent of total monthly income for women street traders while in Cocody Market in Cote d'Ivoire traders made a profit of \$201.49 a month (Levin et al., 1999; Mitullah, 2003a). Income levels vary according to types of goods sold and services offered. For example, in Sri Lanka, street food vendors earned a monthly average income of \$290.23 and a profit of \$133.50 compared to the urban monthly income of \$217.91 and the national monthly household income of \$121.37 (Bhowmik, 2005).

Differences in income are attributable to a tradition of eating out and the demand of poor urban people who prefer purchasing small amounts of food daily (McGee, 1979: 56; Bhowmik, 2005). Food vendors earned higher incomes than other traders in Maputo in 1991. Processed food vendors, vendors selling cooked food and drinks earned the highest average incomes of \$23.96 compared to traders selling general items who earned average incomes of less than \$7.50 in 1991 (Little, 1999). In Calcutta, traders selling goods on commission earned higher incomes than other vendors and spent \$1.85 (Rs75) on consumption per household member per month (Dasgupta, 1992a: 236 and Dasgupta, 1992b). Earning higher incomes was attributable to traders selling to higher income groups in middle class neighbourhoods (Dasgupta, 1992b). In India, services associated with traditional livelihoods such as carpentry, pottery, hairdressing and tailoring earned the lowest incomes because of low demand for these services (Unni, 2002).

Although income in the informal sector is lower than in the formal sector, women in developing countries earn less because they are more likely to be sub-contractors who earn the lowest in the informal sector (Chen, 2001). Earnings in India, like South Africa, Mozambique and Vietnam, depend on gender. In all these countries women earned less. Indian women earned up to \$0.49 less than Indian male traders (Bhowmik, 2005). Vietnamese males earned more because they sold higher priced products compared to women who were more likely to sell food or household items (Bhowmik, 2005).

Indian women street traders' incomes were lower than males because they belonged to poor families that invested less capital in the enterprise and because they could not spend as much time on income generation due to child care responsibilities (Bhowmik, 2005). In Maputo, Mozambique, male traders' incomes were double that of women because they had more capital to invest in profitable trading activities such as canteens (Little, 1999). Similarly, in Gambia, average trading income per week for men was \$180.12 compared to an average income per week for women of \$78.47 in 1993 (Little, 1999).

Women dominated the unskilled sector of the informal economy in non-manufacturing activities in South Africa in 1998 (43.9 per cent) - most often in poorer survivalist activities. From 1997 to 2000, men dominated craft related occupations (35.25), followed by unskilled work (21.3 per cent) and skilled agriculture (11.8 per cent) (Lund, 1998; Devey et al., 2003). South African women informal sector participants were usually forced into less profitable sectors as they lack business skills, education and access to credit and loan facilities to compete with male counterparts (Skinner & Valodia, 2003).

Street trading has been shown to be a means of survival in South Africa, Cambodia and India (Lund, 1998; Devey et al., 2003; Bhowmik, 2005). A survey of The Self Employed Women's Union (SEWU) members in South Africa in 1995 showed that 75 per cent of street traders were sole breadwinners and 33 per cent of households had no other sources of income (Lund et al., 2000: 13). Street vendors were typically household heads and breadwinners (Lund, 1998). Households with informal economy workers had low incomes, and if a household had an informal economy worker, that worker was typically

the sole breadwinner (Devey et al., 2003). Women street traders in Cambodia were also typically breadwinners, as their husbands were mostly unemployed (Bhowmik, 2005).

Incomes of informal sector employees often fall below the poverty line. In Cambodia, street vendors' income fell below the national poverty line. Street traders earned just enough for food, clothing and shelter (Bhowmik, 2005). Similarly, in rural India, between 1999-2000, informal sector employees earned an average of \$313 per annum, compared to the national poverty line of \$420 per capita per annum (Unni, 2002). Conversely, Dasgupta (1992a: 228) argues that income from street trading kept many petty traders in Calcutta above the poverty line, granting access to basic household resources but were not sufficient to purchase items such as cycles and radios. Adding to the poverty debate of informal sector workers, Mitullah (2003b) argues that a significant percentage of Kenyan micro and small entrepreneurs live below the international poverty line of \$1 per person per day (Mitullah, 2003b). Differences in income levels vary between rural and urban areas, between types of goods sold and within petty trading sectors.

Of all components of petty trading, street trading yielded the lowest average weekly income in Maputo (Little, 1999). Maputo street traders earned the lowest income in the informal sector (less than \$7.50 per week in 1991) and were more vulnerable to poverty than others in the informal sector (Little, 1999). Although income derived from street-trading is very low, particularly women, engage in the sector to generate income that albeit minimal, is crucial to the survival of households (Mayrhofer & Hendriks, 2003).

For many rural and urban households, street trading is undertaken as a survivalist activity because it is the only alternative to destitution (Rogerson, 2000a). However, some lucrative petty trading sectors such as supplying fruits and vegetables to hotels, boost local and micro economies (Little, 1999). Little (1992) report that 96 per cent of hotel traders in Maputo purchased fresh produce from household gardens, 25 per cent from communal gardens, 46 per cent from markets, 46 per cent from export farms and eight per cent purchased from middlemen, creating important downstream linkages and opportunities. However, the majority of petty traders are unable to access such lucrative

opportunities given low education and capital levels and remain trapped in unprofitable segments of the informal economy (Skinner, 2000b). The following section sheds more light on how education impacts on income levels of street traders.

3.10. AGE AND EDUCATION LEVELS

Street traders lack education and skills that confine them to unprofitable segments of the informal sector. Street traders in urban areas are typically women and migrants who come to cities in search of better lives, but owing to shrinking formal sector opportunities, they end up in street-based livelihoods (Unni, 2002; Bhowmik, 2003). In India, people remained trapped in low income traditional livelihoods because they lack capability to identify and seize new opportunities and move to lucrative trades (Unni, 2002).

Similar trends are prevalent in South Africa. Lund et al. (2000: 12), reported that half SEWU members over 65 years old (52 per cent) lacked formal education whereas one in five between 25- 35 years old (19 per cent) had no formal schooling. McKeever (1998) asserts that one's chances of working in the informal economy increases with age and decreases with experience, while each year of education decreases the likelihood of working in the informal economy by 16 per cent.

In South Africa in 2003, over 80.3 per cent of informal economy workers did not have a school leaving certificate, 55.6 per cent had school leaving certificates and over ten per cent had no education (Devey et al., 2003). In addition, over ten per cent of informal economy workers in South Africa were unable to read, while almost eleven per cent were unable to write (Devey et al., 2003). According to Lund et al. (2000: 13), fourteen per cent of women street traders in Durban had no formal education, 50 per cent could read and write English, compared to nine per cent of men who had no formal education and 66 per cent of men who could read and write English.

Across Africa, street traders have low levels of education. In Abidjan, street traders are more likely to be illiterate compared to Ghana, Kenya and Uganda where majority of street traders had formal primary education (Mitullah, 2004). Rogerson (2000b) reports that micro-entrepreneurs with education and training or those with years of experience in

running a business (and primary school education only) were more likely to have sustainable, long running businesses. Since most street traders were illiterate, or have low education levels, their chances of operating sustainable businesses are compromised.

In South Africa, a school leaving certificate increases income potential. Between 1997 and 2001, South African informal economy workers with only a primary education and with no education were concentrated in the low income category of below R500 a month (Devey et al., 2003). Informal economy workers with a tertiary qualification earned more than R11 000 per month (Devey et al., 2003). In Maputo, former civil servants with higher levels of education involved in the processed food trade earned higher incomes compared to traders in other sectors (Little, 1999). Similar trends were reported in Calcutta, where school graduates earned the highest income (\$9.37) compared to traders with no schooling or less than three years of primary schooling (\$4.22); those who completed middle school (\$4.41) and traders who completed school (\$4.67). Graduate street traders in Calcutta were able to identify market gaps. (Dasgupta, 1992a: 198). Higher levels of education are correlated with engagement in lucrative trading activities and higher incomes (Little, 1999).

Vendors in Africa were found to be between the ages of 20 and 50 years old, although most women were below 40 years of age (Mitullah, 2004). In Bangladesh, street food vendors were typically between 25 and 60 years old, the majority between 30 and 40 years old had tried alternative means of earning a livelihood, but low paying, often hard labour pushed them into food vending (Bhowmik, 2005). Similarly in Cambodia, most women street traders were between 30 and 60 years old compared to Hanoi, Vietnam, where more than half women street traders were single and below 29 years (Bhowmik, 2005). Younger, single women enter street trade to support siblings and parents, whereas older married women enter street trade to provide for their own households, and feed and educate their children.

3.11. ENTERPRISE RISK FACTORS

Informal enterprises face common risks that undermine business consolidation. Evers and Mehmet (1994:1) define informal sector risk as “the probability of a new petty trader achieving sustainability”. Risk factors determining business sustainability are obstacles that undermine income generation, including exploitative economic relationships between street traders and suppliers; inadequate policies; weak institutional and legal frameworks; lack of political will among city authorities; changes in market conditions; expectations to fulfil reciprocal assistance obligations to individuals offering crisis support; limited understanding of business concepts such as cost and profit; failure to account for own and family labour inputs and insufficient working capital (Evers & Mehmet, 1994; Mitullah, 2004; Bhowmik, 2005).

Table 3.7 presents categories of risk factors faced by street traders in Africa and Asia. Common problems are categorised into business, personal, environmental and infrastructural obstacles. These categories encompass access to finance and credit; the need for education and training, increased infrastructure and service provision; high competition and over-trading (Lund et al., 2000: 30-32; Rogerson, 2000a).

Business risk factors include lack of recognition of the informal sector and the illegal status of street enterprises in most countries. Most countries in Africa and Asia do not have street trader policies and institutional mechanisms to address their concerns are absent. Business development needs are not catered for; street traders lack access to credit; business support and training; operate from unsheltered and unserviced sites; and are constantly harassed and evicted (Skinner, 1999; Unni, 2002; Bhowmik, 2005).

Lack of infrastructure is the primary obstacle for street traders who typically operate with no water, sanitation, electricity, storage and day-care facilities (Lund, 1998; ILO, 2002; Mitullah, 2003a). Although local governments in Pietermaritzburg and Durban in South Africa have built covered stalls, these are only available to licensed traders who comprise

a limited portion of the total number of street traders in cities. Although South Africa, particularly Durban, has made significant progress in allocating sheltered, services sites to traders, there are disparities within cities. Pietermaritzburg for example, has sheltered legal sites and unsheltered legal sites both of which lack water and sanitation facilities (Mayrhofer, 2001).

In Kenya, recent policy changes have located street traders outside the central business district in unserviced sites (Mitullah, 2003a). Similarly in Uganda, street trading stalls provided by the Kumasi Municipal Authority are temporary unsheltered structures (Mitullah, 2003a). The majority of survivalist traders in Africa operate from makeshift stalls of cardboard, tables and other materials (ILO, 2002). In Africa, street traders display their goods on the ground, on a mat; or hang clothes on walls, trees or fences; and/or construct temporary structures that are put up and dismantled every day (Mitullah, 2003a and 2004).

Street traders mostly operate illegally from spaces within the central business district. This leads to violent confrontations with city authorities as traders fight against eviction to protect their livelihoods (Mitullah, 2003a; b and 2004). Often traders are allocated legal sites outside the central business district, which means low profit levels resulting from poor pedestrian traffic and either abandon these sites or move back onto illegal sites (Bromley, 2000)

Lack of infrastructure is a serious problem for street traders. In Uganda for example, Balikuddembe Market accommodates 100 000 traders, but only has four toilets. Waste collection is irregular and dumps overflow with waste (Mitullah, 2003a). One of the main reasons formal city businesses are opposed to street traders is the unkempt image of the city created by the congestion and litter (Chen et al., 2002). Lack of site tenure security and demarcated trading areas forces traders in Bangladesh, Cambodia, Vietnam (Hanoi) and Manila move from place to place in search of business opportunities (Bhowmik,

2005). This is hard labour, especially in Hanoi where women balance goods on a pole slung over the shoulder. In response to lack of sheltered sites, traders erect their own stalls that may be burned down during eviction campaigns (Bhowmik, 2005). Lack of demarcated trading areas and unserviced sites has led food vendors in Manila to be declared illegal (Bhowmik, 2005).

Even where trading sites have been demarcated, as in South Africa and Thailand, there is insufficient space to accommodate all street traders. For example, in Bangkok, there are 301 legal trading areas compared to 407 illegal areas (Bhowmik, 2005). Storage of goods after hours and to prevent theft is expensive. Women traders in Mitchell's Plain in Cape Town hired security guards by contributing R10 each to watch over goods at night (Lund et al., 2000: 26). Some traders sleep at their stalls or at garage hostels (no water or toilets), shacks or relied on family networks for accommodation (Fadane, 1998, cited by Skinner, 2000a). Similarly, in Kenya, street traders pay night security guards to protect goods left at the trading site (Mitullah, 2003a).

Street traders work long hours and often do not have time to raise their children or look after them. This is attributable to lack of affordable child-care facilities. In Johannesburg in 1995, 48 per cent of street traders with children under the age of six reported that children were not living with them.

Table 3.7 Street trading risk factors in Africa and Asia contributing to livelihood vulnerability (Evers & Mehmet, 1994; Lund, 1998; Skinner, 2000b; Chen, 2001; ILO, 2002; Unni, 2002; Bhowmik, 2003; Hunter & Skinner, 2003; Mitullah, 2003a; b and 2004; Bhowmik, 2005)

<p>Business obstacles</p> <p>Illegal status;</p> <p>No street trader policy or poor implementation of policy;</p> <p>No business development support or training offered by authorities;</p> <p>Eviction and destruction of goods;</p> <p>High costs of financial services and lack of access to credit;</p> <p>Lack of economic recognition;</p> <p>Police harassment and lack of supportive policy environment;</p> <p>Changing market conditions;</p> <p>Insufficient working capital;</p> <p>Failure to account for own and family labour.</p>
<p>Personal obstacles</p> <p>Gender discrimination: women harassed by male traders and society as they ply their trade;</p> <p>Claims on income from family;</p> <p>Harassment from urban residents: blamed for creating congestion and filth in towns and neighbourhoods;</p> <p>Inadequate personal skills;</p> <p>Compromised capabilities (low education and skills, inability to identify and engage in lucrative activities);</p> <p>Extortion/protection/bribe payments;</p> <p>Problems with workers/assistants.</p>
<p>Environmental obstacles</p> <p>Theft, crime and assault;</p> <p>Poor refuse removal;</p> <p>Conflict with formal business and among street traders;</p> <p>High competition for customers and operating space;</p> <p>Overtrading.</p>
<p>Infrastructure obstacles</p> <p>Lack of:</p> <p>Sheltered space;</p> <p>Serviced sites;</p> <p>Site tenure;</p> <p>Road access;</p> <p>Storage facilities.</p>

In 1995 SEWU reported that 55 per cent of their members with children of school going age did not have children living with them while 40 per cent relied on a family member for childcare. Additionally, 17 per cent of women traders and 8 per cent of male traders had children in a crèche (Naidoo, 1993; CASE, 1995). In Durban in 1995, 26 per cent of women traders and 15 per cent of male traders had children present at the trading site (Bedford, 1995). Apart from affordable childcare, Cambodian women street traders did not have time to spend with children or to supervise their studies, despite the fact that most worked to pay for school fees and feed their children (Bhowmik, 2005).

Crime; evictions; confiscation of goods and harassment by police are socio-economic stresses for registered and unregistered street traders (Skinner, 2000b; Bhowmik, 2003; Bhowmik, 2005; Anjaria, 2006). In Johannesburg's central business district in 1995, 55 per cent of street traders were robbed, 10 per cent assaulted and more than 12 per cent reported exposure to a life threatening experience while conducting their trade (CASE, 1995). In Durban in 1995, the greatest risk faced by 41 per cent of women street traders was theft and criminal violence, compared to 33 per cent of male traders (Lund, 1998). Crime is used as an excuse to evict traders in Kenya, Uganda and India as city authorities view trading locations as a haven for criminals (Mitullah, 2003a; Anjaria, 2006). In India, street traders are evicted because they occupy public space, encroach on pavements and destroy the image of the city. Residents of affluent neighbourhoods instigate conflict and collude with urban authorities to remove traders and plant trees in the trading spots to prevent the resuming of the activity (Anjaria, 2006). Goods are confiscated by authorities and by criminals who demand payments from street traders (Mitullah, 2003a). Confiscation of goods results in traders having to use their savings or take a loan to rebuild business to the same level (Skinner, 1999).

Competition for customers and for operating space is extensive (Hunter & Skinner, 2003). Street traders often compete with each other and with formal shops for customers. However, a unique example emerges from Banjul, Gambia, where organised groups of petty traders trading with hotels, assist each other with transport, purchasing of products

and labour to speedily seek and fulfil contracts (Little & Dolan, 1993). Competition leads to lower prices and marginal profits (Moser, 1978).

Street traders pay in cash and kind in return for trading licenses (Bhowmik, 2005). In Durban, 14 per cent of women felt that abuse of regulations by officials was an obstacle to their trade compared to 13 per cent of men. In addition, 12 per cent of women reported extortion and protection payments as threatening the sustainability of their trade as compared to 18 per cent of men (Lund, 1998). In much of Asia, payment of bribes to gangsters and urban authorities significantly reduces daily profits. In Bangladesh, vendors in New Market Square pay \$2.97 monthly to a gang that works and shares the money with police whereas in Purana Paltan vendors pay police a daily bribe of \$0.74 to escape harassment (Bhowmik, 2005). In India, as much as 20 per cent of daily income is paid to authorities as informal rent (Bhowmik, 2005).

In Mumbai, vendors pay bribes amounting to \$29.77* to \$34.73 per month and approximately 100 kilograms of vegetables per week to police (Anjaria, 2006). Bribe payments reduce daily profit and prevent diversification and capital accumulation as cash that could be reinvested in goods is paid in bribes. In Cambodia, a prerequisite for street trading is payment of bribes to officials, failing which; goods are confiscated and destroyed (Bhowmik, 2005). Women report that if they had more space they could sell a variety of goods, but this also meant increasing bribe payments (Bhowmik, 2005).

A 1997 census of trades in the Durban Metropolitan Area showed that 44 per cent of surveyed female and 41 per cent of male traders identified lack of capital as a constraint to business growth (Lund, 1998). In the absence of credit institutions, reliance on family, informal credit groups and wholesalers or suppliers is the only means of accessing cash or goods to enter the economic sector (McGee, 1979: 55).

In Africa, sources of credit for small and micro-enterprises are usually cooperatives, rotating savings credit associations, friends and relatives (Mitullah, 2003a and 2004). Indigenous credit schemes such as 'chit' in India, 'osusu' in The Gambia and 'xitik' in Maputo enable traders to participate in more profitable segments and purchase food, meet household needs and reinvest in informal business (Anderson, 1966 cited by McGee, 1979: 55; Little, 1999). Cambodian women and street food vendors in India and Indonesia rely on savings or borrow money from friends, family or from moneylenders at high interest rates (Evers & Mehmet, 1994; Bhowmik, 2005). Street traders in Maputo rely on suppliers for credit. A similar trend is prevalent in Calcutta where street traders obtain goods on credit from the retailer or wholesaler (Dasgupta, 1992b; Little, 1999). In countries that lack indigenous systems of credit, pawning common items to raise cash and depending on wholesalers for goods are common (McGee, 1979: 55). The following section discusses the role of exploitative economic and employment relations between street traders and wholesalers in more detail.

In India, the Grameen Bank, initiated by the Self Employed Women's Association, loaned small amounts of money to female street traders to recover from shocks, purchase stock, and manage financial crisis. Loan repayments are low in keeping with low profit levels (Vaux & Lund, 2003). In South Africa the formal lending sector is reluctant to service informal enterprises. As a result, most South African micro-entrepreneurs rely on savings, loans and informal sources of credit (Rogerson, 2000a). Lack of access to credit from banks further plunges traders into debt as they turn to unregulated private micro-finance institutions that charge high interest rates on small loans (Valodia, 2001). Most street traders require small amounts of capital, usually below R1000 at a time at a time (Skinner, 2000b).

Lack of business skills is an obstacle as street traders do not understand how to manage their enterprises and separate the business from the household economy (Hendriks, 2002). In South Africa, 15 per cent of females and 12 per cent of male street traders stated that their lack of skills was an obstacle to business growth (Lund, 1998).

McKeever (1998) reports that in Durban, 40 per cent of hawkers were in informal employment because they lacked the skills required for formal employment. In contrast, a study conducted in Pietermaritzburg by Mayrhofer (2001) found that 70 per cent of traders did not associate business growth with training, while only 30 per cent of interviewed street traders acknowledged the need for training. Owing to low profit levels for training street traders, training service providers in South Africa are reluctant to train street traders (Skinner, 2000b).

Cultural ideas such as 'Ubuntu' that emphasise common good and a lack of entrepreneurial culture also prevent people from seeking assistance that could build their enterprises into sustainable businesses (Mayrhofer & Hendriks, 2003). Properly targeted education and training of micro-entrepreneurs in their category of trade not only motivates street traders to attend training but also increases chances of business success (Evers & Mehmet, 1994).

3.12. THE IMPACT OF BACKWARD LINKAGES, SUBCONTRACTING AND COMMISSION SELLING ON LIVELIHOOD VULNERABILITY

Many informal businesses have production or distribution links with formal businesses by supplying goods, or services through direct transactions or sub-contracting, and many wage and temporary workers work for formal businesses (Moser, 1978). While these are important links, these links are also exploitative. According to Women in Informal Employment: Globalising and Organising (WIEGO), the most defining characteristic of the informal economy is the unsafe nature of some work; informal employees are not protected by labour legislation and lack of unemployment insurance schemes (WIEGO, 2001).

The precarious nature of informal economy work is due to irregularity and insecurity of work; lack of employment contracts; and a lack of long-term and non-wage benefits for workers both within and outside formal employment (Chen, 2001). Lack of government and legal protection; high levels of competition from larger formal firms; and few, if any

forms of social protection or safety nets in times of crisis means that a percentage of informal economy workers, including both self-employed and wage-workers are poor and more vulnerable to livelihood insecurity compared to those working in the formal economy (ILO, 2002).

Utter poverty and livelihood insecurity forces vulnerable groups into exploitative economic relationships and employment relations as an attempt to access business resources to generate livelihoods in the informal sector. Business resources such as capital, stock and mobile stalls or fixed structures require financial investments that the urban poor do not have. Often, the urban poor are already living below the poverty line or earning just enough for basic needs (Unni, 2002; Bhowmik, 2005).

To access these resources, individuals enter into credit relationships with large wholesalers or retailers who supply goods on credit or petty traders are employed by larger firms as commission agents (Bromley, 1978; Dasgupta; 1992b; Bromley, 2000). Bromley (1978), Gerry (1978), and Dasgupta (1992a; and b), have analysed how the socio-economic structure and employment relations of petty trading in Calcutta, India; Cali, Colombia; and Dakar, Senegal create livelihood vulnerability by the type of relationship the trader develops with wholesalers and the manner in which the trader is 'employed' or sub-contracted to increase sales of wholesalers and large firms.

Dasgupta (1992b) argued that street trader vulnerability was determined by backward linkages or the type of relationship the trader had with the wholesaler. Vulnerability of petty traders to food and livelihood insecurity was influenced by the financial dominance of wholesalers in business transactions with petty traders by controlling credit interest rates and merchandise prices of small scale producers. Petty traders were linked to the wholesaler through credit relations; as commission agents; owner operators and producer sellers (Dasgupta 1992b).

Of the four types of backward linkages, commission traders were better off and could afford \$1.85 consumption expenditure per household member per month, although this

meant that the trader had to give up his independence and could not make any decisions regarding his own business (Dasgupta, 1992a: 236). The advantage was greater livelihood security through higher incomes, faster business consolidation and capital accumulation. Ultimately, the relationship that the petty trader had with the wholesaler, type of goods sold and location determined livelihood vulnerability as these had a direct impact on profit levels (Dasgupta, 1992b).

Although Dasgupta (1992b) highlights that capital accumulation is key to business consolidation and livelihood security, Gerry (1978) argues that the capitalist mode of production not only dominates and subordinates petty producers, but also controls the institutional mechanisms that facilitate capital accumulation. Petty traders are denied access to licences, formal credit and contracts even though they have the expertise and skill required to fulfil contracts. Petty traders are only able to reproduce their existing quality of life because they remain trapped in unprofitable trading activities (Gerry, 1978).

In Dakar, most petty producers are excluded from lucrative opportunities owing to quality standards or lack of capital and equipment and many seek employment as sub-contractors and by fitting themselves in to a subcontracting chain. Using the construction industry as an example, Gerry (1978) explains how wealthy, established firms or individuals act as contract brokers, acquire tenders and then sub-contract to petty producers who benefit financially from this relationship. The subcontracted firms may do the work or subcontract to jobbing agents who employ apprentices to fulfil the contract (Gerry, 1978). At each point of subcontracting, middlemen usurp large amounts of the payment while the jobbers and apprentices work for very little or no remuneration (Gerry, 1978). This arrangement allows for maximum profit for large firms, removing responsibility for employment insurance, minimum wages and pension payments while simultaneously subjecting petty producers to marginal incomes (Gerry, 1978).

Exploitation of street traders within the context of capitalism continues when street traders serve as cheap distribution networks for high demand goods such as cigarettes and

newspapers (Bromley, 1978). Street traders become substitutes for hiring staff, but without the legal recognition of formal sector employment such as contracts, right to maternity leave, minimum wage and unemployment insurance. Street traders are used by companies to reduce distribution costs and product prices without social, legal and financial obligations to these disguised wage workers who remain vulnerable to income fluctuations, unregulated competition and livelihood shocks (Bromley, 1978:1365; Chen et al., 2000; ILO, 2002).

Bromley (1978) characterises exploitative employment relations through categories of workers, the commission sellers, dependent workers and workers who engage in a combination of these relations. Commission sellers are either mobile vendors (such as newspaper vendors and ice cream sellers) or operate from kiosks selling company products and keep a percentage of the sales (Bromley, 1978). Workers who depend on individuals or companies to provide the equipment, stall, goods or credit to purchase goods to facilitate economic activity do not keep a percentage or commission on each item sold. For example, a fruit vendor may hire a cart from a wholesaler and obtain fruit on credit to sell during the day, at the end of the working day the vendor pays for hiring the cart, for fruit bought on credit and the five to ten per cent interest on the credit purchase (Bromley, 1978). This type of employment increases wholesaler sales without hiring and paying staff. Commission selling and dependent working are highly unstable working conditions, yet many traders engage in this type of work to earn higher incomes than they would as independent operators, since goods, credit and equipment are easily accessed by renting, compared to larger risky financial investments required to purchase these (Bromley, 1978).

3.13. INFORMAL SECTOR RISK AVOIDANCE STRATEGIES

In response to sources of risk street traders devise risk avoidance strategies to mitigate negative impacts of crime and low profit levels (Evers & Mehmet, 1994). Risk avoidance strategies include devising informal credit schemes, obtaining loans from family and employing other family members, even children, to assist in economic activity (Dasgupta, 1992b). Risk avoidance strategies include selling familiar traditional goods; identifying

niche markets; working long hours and over holidays; gradually improving business structure and acquiring storage to keep large diverse stocks; assertive marketing; meeting changing demands and trends in society; development of links with unions to protect their trading locations and right to trade; engaging in several informal income generation strategies at once; selling small quantities of goods; assuming costs of petty trading into households budgets and avoiding bank loans (Dasgupta, 1992b; Evers & Mehmet, 1994; Little, 1999; Bhowmik, 2005).

Economic survival strategies of petty traders in Calcutta were similar to those of formal businesses. For example, higher profits were earned from high demand products, and petty traders were more competitive and flexible in changing stocks to meet consumer demands for fashion and jewellery which was facilitated by low overhead costs (Dasgupta, 1992b).

Street traders in Java, Indonesia engaged in four types of risk avoidance strategies: they avoided reciprocal credit relations with friends and relatives to reduce pressure of sharing low incomes with them; were likely to register and apply for licenses to avoid eviction from lucrative areas; attempted to formalise businesses by joining cooperatives and seeking formal loans; and preferred to sell goods on commission owing to little capital investment and possibility of returning unsold goods (Evers & Mehmet, 1994). Personal relationships were necessary to avoid financial risk and purchase goods, but these relationships also impacted negatively when street traders are forced to part with low incomes to repay the favour. Personal relationships also reduced profit levels of street traders who were often hesitant to charge friends and families for goods and services (Leonard, 2000).

Risk avoidance strategies are attempts at securing economic activity in the absence of institutional support mechanisms. These strategies secure economic activities in the short-term, enabling low, irregular incomes and are a means of mitigating, not eradicating

risk. Particular strategies such as registration; licensing; joining cooperatives; diversifying stocks and occupying niche markets strengthen livelihoods as they increase daily sales; facilitate capital accumulation and promote business consolidation (Dasgupta, 1992b; Evers & Mehmet; 1994). However, personal characteristics of street traders such as education; the socio-economic structure of society and the presence and cohesion of unions determine to the extent to which risk avoidance strategies are utilised and the transition from a floundering enterprise to business consolidation.

3.14. POSITIVE IMPLICATIONS OF REGULATING STREET TRADING

This section reviews aspects of enabling policies from some of the countries discussed in Africa and Asia to provide an idea of the positive impacts that properly targeted and implemented street trading policies have on livelihoods. From all countries reviewed in Asia and Africa, only Malaysia, Philippines, India, Singapore and South Africa have attempted to regulate street trading (Mitullah, 2003a; b and 2004; Bhowmik, 2005).

Compared to other countries on the African continent, South Africa has attempted to create an enabling environment for informal economy workers through constitutional and legal frameworks:

- The 1996 South African Constitution (section 152) clearly states laws and policies should be created in a participatory manner;
- The White Paper on National Strategy for Development and Promotion of Small Business in South Africa (1995) commits the government to create an enabling environment to support categories of business in the informal economy; and
- The White Paper on Local Government (1998) commits local government to work with communities to promote social and economic development.

In South Africa, local government or municipalities are charged with formulating bylaws and policies regarding street trading, provided that these abide by national government's over-arching goal of development. Consequently, many cities have developed policies

and bylaws demarcating legal trading areas. Prior to declaring legal and illegal trading areas, municipalities are required by law to advertise to inform the public and get consensus on its plans (Skinner, 1999). Bylaws have to be available to the public, although technical language used in bylaws makes these inaccessible to the public.

In Johannesburg, bylaws are written in three traditional languages in cartoon form that explains each bylaw (Skinner, 1999). However, as the following chapter will show, provinces and cities have adopted different approaches to the informal sector; some cities like Pietermaritzburg have outdated bylaws that constrain livelihoods of street traders. Similar trends are prevalent in Kenya, where outdated bylaws do not reflect the changing landscape of the city or needs of residents, which in turn creates problems of enforcement (Mitullah, 2003b).

The Kenyan Draft Sessional Paper on Micro and Small Enterprises states that bylaws are not standardised and prevent rather than promote business activity (Mitullah, 2004). Even in Kampala, Uganda, outdated bylaws contribute to harassment of street traders despite the presence of laws for regulating street trading such as the Market Act of 1964 that refers to market vendors, Urban Authorities Act of 1964 that apply to street vendors and the Public Health Act that regulates licenses and operation of informal eating places (Mitullah, 2004).

There is evidence that Uganda and Kenya have attempted to accommodate street vendors. In Kampala, in 2002 market traders, bankers and shop owners went on strike to protest unfair competition owing to the presence of vendors. The Kampala Municipal Council responded non-violently, by providing suitable alternatives such as roving and alternative markets, to ensure only shoe shiners and newspaper vendors remained within the city (Mitullah, 2004). Similarly, in Nairobi, 27 unserviced, unsheltered sites in back lanes have been provided for street vendors who use renovated toilets and obtain water from shops (Mitullah, 2004).

Although Kenya and Uganda have demonstrated some commitment to creating an enabling environment, South Africa, particularly Durban has pioneered this process. The eThekweni Municipality has integrated street traders into local economic development initiatives. The Informal Trade Division manages built markets, established satellite markets, and has area managers and site supervisors who provide training and support to small business owners. The Small Business Opportunities Division develops policy and leads strategic development (Mitullah, 2004). The Durban City Health Department has a programme that provides continuous skills training and upgrading of work environments of street traders. Traders are encouraged to attend training to become credited and registered (Mitullah, 2004).

Durban has built sheltered stalls and provided water and sanitation facilities for craft traders on the beachfront and infrastructure for *muthi* (traditional herbs) sellers (Skinner, 1999). Durban's City Health Department has a training programme for food vendors that educates vendors about health risks associated with street food and why it is essential for authorities to continuously monitor street food vendors (Mitullah, 2004). Durban is quite a unique case in South Africa and Africa generally, as the city has implemented policy measure to strengthen livelihoods of street traders.

In South Africa, the White Paper on National Strategy for the Development and Promotion of Small Businesses (Department of Trade and Industry, 1995) was an attempt to promote small business with government support (Rogerson, 2000a). The White Paper identified four categories of small business: survivalists (enterprises with no paid employees), micro enterprises (with up to two paid employees), small enterprises (between five and fifty employees) and medium enterprises (between 50 and 200 employees and about R5 million in assets) (Department of Trade and Industry, 1995). A striking weakness of the White Paper is its failure to provide support strategies for survivalist enterprises after stating the urgent need for these enterprises to grow and alleviate poverty in South Africa (Valodia, 2001). Similarly, in Kenya, although policies

target small and micro enterprises for development, these fail to target street vendors (Mitullah, 2004).

South Africa implemented support for small, micro and medium enterprises (SMMEs) through Khula Enterprise Finance to guarantee loans and to play the role of wholesale lender to retail financing institutions; Ntsika Enterprise Promotion Agency, to provide non-financial services (management and entrepreneurship schemes, technology transfer schemes, market access and business development programmes) through local business service centres; and the Centre for Small Business Promotion in the Department of Trade and Industry (Rogerson, 2000a; Valodia, 2001; Makina & Malobola, 2004). The economic potential offered by these institutions is only targeted at small and medium enterprises. These schemes do not have any real impact on survivalists (Valodia, 2001).

Skinner's (2000b) study of the support strategies available to street traders in Durban revealed that skills training can make a real difference to the lives of street traders. Traders who attended training stated that it assisted in idea generation, improved business planning, budgeting, bookkeeping, marketing and customer care. Access to credit assisted when there were too many household expenses (school fees, uniforms) and when faced with shocks (spoiling and confiscation of goods).

Barnes (1996) reported that micro-finance programmes led to gradual accumulation of small assets and progressive loans built up micro-enterprises and household assets. Barnes and Keogh (1999) reported that micro-enterprise programmes improved the economic situation of households, stabilised business growth, fortified social networks and promoted gender equity. Although it is commonly assumed that relaxing street trading laws may strengthen livelihoods, this is not always the case. In Maputo, market traders reported that after market reform and relaxation of street trading regulations their income decreased, due to competition from street traders who sold goods at very low prices and did not pay rent (Little, 1999). Relaxation of bylaws, combined with

appropriate policies to regulate the informal sector is essential to prevent overtrading and competition within components of the informal sector.

Malaysia's Department of Hawkers and Petty Traders implemented the National Policy on Hawkers in 1990 that provided funds for credit programmes and ongoing training in health, hygiene, business skills and accounts for licensed traders. The government partnered with 60 non-government organisations to organise training programmes (Bhowmik, 2005).

Singapore does not have a street trading policy, although all traders are licensed. In 1971 the Hawkers Department implemented a national programme to build fully serviced food centres and markets for food vendors which was completed in 1996. The Singapore Hawkers Department monitors these vendors regularly to check compliance with the Environmental Public Health Act of 1968 and organises regular training on hygiene and nutrition (Bhowmik, 2005).

In 2001, the Philippines legalised street trading, although street traders are still harassed. Hawkers Permit Services, part of Manila's Business Promotion and Development Office, manages applications from vendors and issues identity cards to legal traders. Progress in legalising street trading in Manila has been very slow, despite these improvements there are no demarcated areas for trading and food vending is illegal (Bhowmik, 2005).

India has only recently devised a street trading policy, partly because of the relentless efforts of the Self Employed Women's Association (SEWA), StreetNet, and the National Alliance of Street Vendors of India (NASVI) (Chen, 2001; Bhowmik, 2003). India's new street trading policy addresses the issue of licensing, changes in contradictory policies and laws in different states, combating bribes through registration, serving notice before eviction, provision of credit through self-help groups and banks, social security benefits and insurance schemes (Bhowmik, 2003).

Appropriate street trading policies strengthen livelihoods by offering legitimate space for street traders in city economies. However, regulation of street trading is problematic owing to the nature of street-based enterprises such as varying hours of work, sporadic distribution of street traders across the city and rotation between different trading sites that make it difficult for government officials to monitor and regulate (Bromley, 2000). Often, the changing landscape of street trading has led to fragmented and inappropriate policies that attempt to deal with health, traffic, safety and city appearance problems that result in “persecution, tolerance, regulation...and containment’ of street trading” (Bromley, 2000:23).

Although governments have attempted to regulate informal activities and secure livelihoods through formation of off-street markets, these often fail as enterprises depend on passing trade and customers rarely follow traders to markets unless in pursuit of special products that cannot be purchased anywhere else (Bromley, 2000). Ultimately, contradictory policies further marginalise street traders and limit the profitability of enterprises (Bromley, 2000). From the country cases presented above, the following policy interventions secure livelihoods:

- National policy and legal framework to target survivalists, legalise street trading and integrate them into urban development;
- Designated departments in the municipality or local authority in charge of managing all aspects of street trading from receiving applications, allocating sites, registering street traders, monitoring and enforcement of regulations;
- Training for government officials responsible for street trading on regulations, policies and bylaws;
- Registration of all street traders to enable assessment of the informal sector;
- Proper infrastructure and services, secure sheltered sites; or

- Markets for specific categories of vendors such as food vendors or for special products such as traditional medicines;
- Business training and training in occupational category such as training in food hygiene and nutrition for food vendors;
- State funded credit schemes for small loans;
- Training and awareness raising for street traders on economic rights, obligations and bylaws;
- General literacy training to enable traders to graduate to higher sectors of business or into other occupations; and
- Promotion of trader organisations to represent traders in policy and decision making on aspects affecting their livelihoods.

Most positive policy developments that have strengthened livelihoods in Asia and Africa are attributable to street trader organisations. When street traders unite with a common cause, they influence policy and hold the government accountable to fulfil their right to economic activity. Street trader organisations define and defend legal rights of traders, set up policy dialogue to voice concerns of their members, raise awareness and profile of street traders, empower members through training and provide various benefits to members (Lund & Skinner, 1999). In South Africa, street trader organisations have assisted members purchases in bulk; negotiate with municipalities for service provision and infrastructure; negotiate with businesses to create linkages to access resources, accessing skills training and improved safety and security (Lund, 1998; Lund & Skinner, 1999).

Despite the positive benefits of organising into street trader organisations, most traders in Africa and Asia are not organised. In Kenya, the majority of street trader organisations are small, consisting of 30 members (Mitullah, 2004). In South Africa in 1998, only 15 per cent of traders belonged to a trader organisation whereas in Kenya in 1998, 60.5 per cent of women belonged to trader organisations (Lund, 1998; Graham et al., 1998).

Characteristics of trader organisations vary. In South Africa, organisations engage in negotiation and advocacy to influence policy, whereas Kenyan and Ugandan street trader organisations focus on welfare, illness, funeral and school fee issues and payments and purchasing of household goods in bulk rather than on vending issues (Alila & Mitullah, 2000). However, since 2000 Kenyan organisations have begun advocating for legal trading spaces for their members (Alila & Mitullah, 2000).

Lack of organisation limits bargaining power to negotiate and raise concerns with municipalities (Mitullah, 2004). Organising street traders is challenging owing to insecure sites of operation; differences between organisations; conflict within organisations; suspicion and fear of joining organisations; lack of awareness of existing organisations and inability to pay membership fees (Lund, 1998; Skinner, 1999).

On the Asian continent, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, the Philippines, South Korea and India have trader organisations that negotiate for improved policies. In Bangladesh the Bangladesh Hawkers Federation is linked to the trade union federation of the Bangladesh National Party and has negotiated for a national policy for street vendors (Bhowmik, 2005). In Sri Lanka, Sevanatha, a non government organisation working with street traders negotiated with government to accommodate street traders in World Market: Day and Night Bazaar (Bhowmik, 2005).

In the Philippines, trade unions forced government to sign a Memorandum of Understanding between the Department of Interior and Local Government; Department of Labour; Department of Trade and Industry and the League of Provinces to allocate markets; vacant spaces near markets; public parks and side streets for vendors. Additionally, two unions have formed a cooperative that provide loans for hospitalisation; and death relief (Bhowmik, 2005).

In South Korea, the National Federation of Korean Street Vendors negotiated with government for space to trade during important international events such as the 1998 Olympic Games. StreetNet joined in with the organisation to reduce government eviction of street traders (Bhowmik, 2005).

In India, SEWA and NASVI have mobilised street traders to negotiate for a national street trading policy and intervened in municipal policy in Ahmedabad (Bhowmik, 2005). Street traders mobilise to protect their livelihoods whenever they are threatened by municipalities or the police and, if they are still unsatisfied, they go to court to acquire stay orders against eviction (Bhowmik, 2003).

3.15. GENERALISATIONS OF STREET TRADING ON AFRICA AND ASIA

Several common themes can be drawn from assessing street trading in Africa and Asia. Mitullah (2003a) summarised key findings on street trading from South Africa, Uganda, Zimbabwe, Cote D' Ivoire, Ghana and Kenya, these countries shared many characteristics that were indicative of the risk and vulnerability and gender differences associated with street trading activity. Mitullah's (2003a) findings are combined with Asian trends to present common themes from the African and Asian continent in table 3.8.

The most defining common characteristic across Africa and Asia is that street trade is entered into as a means of accessing cash in the absence of alternate livelihoods, and those that are more likely to enter the activity are disadvantaged segments of society such as migrants and vulnerable women (especially breadwinners; abandoned or widowed women).

Table 3.8 Common street trading characteristics in Africa and Asia (Lund, 1998; Skinner, 1999; Unni, 2002; Bhowmik, 2003 and 2005; Mitullah, 2003a; b and 2004)

<p>Lack of policies or poorly targeted and implemented policies is the greatest threats to livelihoods;</p> <p>Appropriate street trading policies can enhance and strengthen livelihoods of street traders;</p> <p>Most street traders are women, although men and children are also involved;</p> <p>Street traders are own account workers involved in retailing or sub-contract work;</p> <p>Women prepare food at home while husbands go into the streets to vend;</p> <p>Most traders are married, supporting large families. If not married, traders are single, widowed or divorced;</p> <p>Most street traders are women, combining domestic responsibilities with economic activity;</p> <p>Male traders have domestic chores done by fulltime housewives and are more likely to have assistants than female traders;</p> <p>Most traders walk to trading sites to save money, few uses taxis or busses;</p> <p>Most traders have primary and below levels of education. A minority possess secondary and tertiary training. Younger traders are better educated than older traders and capable of earning higher incomes;</p> <p>Women traders have less training than male traders;</p> <p>Most traders assumed street trading because of a lack of other sources of income;</p> <p>Abandoned women and widows favour street trade as a source of cash;</p> <p>Women tend to enter street trade later in life and continue until old age whereas men enter young and leave for other employment opportunities;</p> <p>Women enter into enterprises that require less capital that yield low profits while men opt for high-capital high-profit investments;</p> <p>Working hours vary between 8-12 hours a day depending on location of business, type of business and gender of the trader. Men trade for longer hours than women;</p> <p>Bribes are part of a days work and significantly reduce profit levels;</p> <p>Income levels are determined by type of business and education levels;</p> <p>Street trader organisations fight for recognition and interventions that strengthen livelihoods.</p>

Women in traditional patriarchal societies are disempowered at many levels, they are less educated than men and are married off young (Chen, 2001). This means that women's capabilities are already compromised and when they are faced with stresses such as structural unemployment and inadequate income or when the spouse dies, there is simply no alternative but to engage in some form of economic activity to sustain the household.

More skilled people, former employees of shrinking industries and unemployed graduates are entering street trade owing to lack of other opportunities. Whatever the reason for

street trading, the primary motivating factor is to access cash to purchase food and support the household.

3.16. IMPORTANT ROLE OF STREET TRADERS IN LOCAL ECONOMIES

Petty traders, who usually live in the same communities that they serve, play a vital role in city economies by providing cheap services and goods to low income segments of society (Unni, 2002). Unfortunately, selling to low income households at cheaper prices provides limited scope for business growth and capital accumulation and leads to market saturation (Leonard, 2000). Street vendors sell small quantities of cheap cooked or raw food that meet the needs of the urban poor who purchase in small quantities daily (Dasgupta, 1992b; Bhowmik, 2005). People who purchase from street traders rely on street trading enterprises for affordable food, transport, housing, clothing, and furniture and would not be unable to access vital supplies from more expensive stores (Gerry, 1978).

Street traders contribute to economic activity through two main linkages, through the provision of goods and services to low income and middle income neighbourhoods that is, as suppliers or micro-stores, and as buyers, when they purchase goods for sale from wholesalers or general stores (Bromley, 2000). Street traders in turn use their profits to purchase basic needs from stores within their communities and hire assistants or family members, maintaining a cycle of cash flow within local economies (Leonard, 2000). Street trading activities also provide healthy competition with more formal stores and between micro-stores keeping prices low and affordable, removing street traders could lead to higher prices, reduced profits of large wholesalers who supply street traders, and stagnating local economies (Bromley, 2000).

Multinational companies benefit from petty producers when they are hired as casual labourers and when street-based enterprises form an effective distribution network for fresh food and second hand household items (Gerry, 1978; McGee, 1979: 49; Dasgupta,

1992b). If properly regulated and licensed, street trading is a source of tax income for governments and a source of new experimental markets for tourists that generate additional revenue and employment (Bromley, 2000).

3.17. THE CONTRIBUTION OF INCOME-GENERATING COPING

STRATEGIES TO HOUSEHOLD FOOD AND LIVELIHOOD SECURITY

To ascertain the contribution of street trading to household food security it is necessary to delve into the 'genre' of income generation strategies such as spaza shops, livestock selling and urban agriculture. Information on the household food security role of informal economic activities has to be inferred based on evidence that access to cash from formal and informal sources is a primary determining factor of household food security for urban and rural households in South Africa (de Klerk et al., 2004).

De Klerk et al. (2004) report that that income is the main source of livelihood for South African households whether derived from wages, social grants, remittances or self employment. The National Agricultural Marketing Council (2002) reported that income was the main factor influencing household food consumption based on the finding that a decrease in household income led to lowered food consumption and a less diverse diet whereas an increase in household income led to an increase in food consumption and greater expenditure on food. Similarly, Aliber and Modiselle (2002) found that increasing food prices compelled households to reduce the number of meals per day and substitute foods with cheaper brands and alternatives. The findings of Aliber and Modiselle (2002) concluded that food security; access to a variety of sufficient, preferred food, is a factor of income (cash) and affordability. The studies discussed here clearly indicate that cash in hand is the primary factor determining household food security in South Africa.

Multiple international studies discussed above reported the income gained from informal income generation strategies are used to purchase basic household needs (Levin et al., 1999; Leonard, 2000; Unni, 2000; Mitullah, 2003a; Bhowmik, 2005). This section further interrogates South African and international studies that have investigated informal income generation studies. Table 3.9 summarises studies in terms of the income

generation strategy investigated and the potential contribution to food and livelihood security. The studies presented in table 3.9 investigate urban agriculture, livestock keeping, beer making, brush making, trading in natural resources and street trading. Economic activities reported in these studies varied from manufacturing to trading and service activities.

Matungul et al. (2001) reported that in 1999, household income from sales of crops amounted to R800 a month in two rural communities in the KwaZulu-Natal Province in South Africa but did not specify how this income benefited small scale producers. Matungul et al. (2001) argued that off farm income generation strategies such as beer brewing, brick making, wages and remittances increased household purchasing power and allowed for the purchasing of inputs and services for agricultural activities.

DfID (2002), Kassim and Hendriks (2002) and Shackleton and Shackleton (2004), reported that households engage in informal trading to supplement low incomes. The primary aim of engaging in informal income generating activities reported in these studies was to increase household cash resource for pressing family needs to pay for education. Without additional income, education and health care could be inaccessible for these households.

DfID (2002) and Kassim and Hendriks (2002) reported that households that engage in urban livestock keeping and street trading use cash to supplement savings. Saving money is an unusual activity for informal traders as most informal traders are confined to unprofitable sectors, referred to as survivalist enterprises (Valodia, 2003). Saving is only possible when income from informal activities supplements a primary source of income. Households use informal income activities as a strategy to increase cash resources for basic needs and to accumulate cash for food and livelihood security.

Shackleton and Shackleton (2004) and Matungul et al. (2001) reported that households use profit gained from one income generation strategy to reinvest in other income generating activities such as shoe mending. The fact that households in Shackleton and

Shackleton (2004) and Matungul et al. (2001) studies used income gained from one enterprise to invest in another could mean that sufficient cash was generated from one enterprise to run the household and there was confidence in using cash for another business. On the other hand, this action could be interpreted as a reaction to a heightened sense of vulnerability resulting from the minimal income gained from the current income generation strategy, forcing households to diversify their livelihood strategies (de Klerk et al., 2004). Shackleton and Shackleton (2004) reported that households specifically used income from informal economic activities to purchase food.

An interesting aspect of urban livestock keeping was that traders convert their livestock to cash very easily to meet immediate needs for school fees and health expenses (DfID, 2002). Liquidity of tradable items contributed to the sustainability of income generation strategies and played an important role in meeting family needs for health care and education. Five studies discussed here (Lund, 1998; Shackleton, 2001; DfID, 2002; Sotshongaye and Moller, 2002; Shackleton and Shackleton, 2004) reported that income from informal generating activities was used to pay for school fees. This highlights the importance of income from informal activities in fulfilling immediate family priorities, and for investing in human capital for future security.

Devereux (2002) argued that income gained from transfers was used to engage in trading activities, such as petty trading in charcoal, while the profit gained from trading activities was used to purchase food. The pattern of reinvesting money gained from transfers into lucrative informal income generating activities has been documented by Lund (2004) who reported that pensioners in South Africa run profitable businesses such as brick making and dress making to better the quality of their lives and others in their community.

The findings of Matungul et al. (2001), Devereux (2002); Lund (2004) and Shackleton and Shackleton (2004), indicate that profit from informal activities and transfers is reinvested to increase the value of transfers and profit. Similarly, Sotshongaye and

Moller (2000) reported that the profit from informal trading was invested in buying seeds for vegetable seedlings that provided food for consumption and sale.

Table 3.9 Summary of studies investigating informal economic activities

Author/s	Income generation strategy	Income gained	Contribution to food and livelihood security
Sotshongaye and Moller (2000).	Crop selling; retailing inexpensive clothes; spaza shops; hoeing gardens; weaving mats; braiding hair.	R5 a day or a bowl of maize/beans for hoeing garden; R10 for hair braiding and R25 for grass mats.	Money used for school fees; seeds for vegetable garden and 'maintaining the family with profits from trading'.
Matungul et al. (2001).	Sale of traditional crops and non farm enterprises such as brick-making; beer selling; car repairs; wages; grants and remittances.	Average income gained from crop sales is R800	Off-farm activities increase household purchasing power. Income from wages; grants and sale of goods provide cash for buying inputs and contractor services to produce agricultural outputs.
Shackleton et al. (2001).	Trade in animals and natural resources; selling of ilala palm products and reed mats.	Ilala palm product traders- R100 - R1800 per year; reed mat sellers- R300 – R2500 per year.	Cash for school fees.
Slater (2001).	Urban agriculture.	Not monetised.	Income generation and expenditure substitution; empowerment of women and community development.
DFID (2002).	Urban livestock keeping and crop sales.	Not mentioned.	Supplements household income; promotes saving and insurance. Assets converted for school fees or health treatment.
Kassim and Hendriks (2002).	Informal micro-enterprises.	'Meagre income'.	Cash enables micro-entrepreneurs to support families; supplementing low incomes; provides basic needs and allows for saving.
Shackleton and Shackleton (2004).	Trading in non-timber forest products such as brushes; marula beer and wood craft (bowls, spoons).	Sales from beer R500 a year; hardwood carvers R300 a month and brush traders R356 a month.	School fees for children and adults. Income from beer reinvested into sewing and shoe mending activities; purchase of goods for resale and for food for household
Ligthelm (2005).	Spaza shop selling soft drinks; cigarettes; paraffin etc.	Average monthly income of R4480.	Citing Gough et al. (2003) provides only income source for less affluent households.

The implications of these findings is that profit gained from street trading activities lead to increased food consumption and was invested in other productive activities, which positively influenced household food security. In assessing the case studies in table 3.9, it is apparent that income from informal enterprises provides cash needed to purchase food, clothing, education and paraffin or electricity for lighting and cooking. Due to the lack of specific information in these studies, the general understanding is that informal economic activities contributes towards household food and livelihood security, although the level of contribution is minimal.

Devey et al. (2003) argue that informal traders' meagre incomes are insufficient to provide for households needs. Lund (1998) and Skinner (2000b) reported that income derived from informal enterprises was less than that required for family needs. Studies conducted with informal traders presented in table 3.9, reported that income generating activities provided cash for food, education, health care and capital for other income generating projects.

Are income generating activities coping strategies or adaptive strategies? A coping strategy is an immediate response to a crisis situation whereas an adaptive strategy implies that people engage in informal trading over a period of time as a permanent way of earning money (Maxwell, 1995). Many people engage in informal economic activities out of necessity because of the dire need for cash income (Mayrhofer & Hendriks, 2003).

As a coping strategy, most informal traders live on a day to day basis, and remained persistently vulnerable to hunger all the time. Income gained each day provides a daily net for subsistence (Shackleton & Shackleton, 2004). The most important issue in assessing the impact of income generating strategies on household food security is the value of income gained and the ability of that income to meet household needs. The income gained determines the food and basic needs accessed (National Agricultural Marketing Council (NAMC), 2002).

The income gained by participants in the studies presented in table 3.9 varied from R800 per month for crop sellers, R4480 for spaza shop owners, R600 per month for street traders and R356 a month for brush traders. Except in Matungul et al. (2001) and Ligthelm's (2005) studies, incomes reported in studies in table 3.9 were very low. The findings of the studies in table 3.9 correspond to the findings of Devey et al. (2003) who reported that between 1997 and 2001 over 70 per cent of workers in the informal economy earned less than R1000 a month and a further 50 per cent earned below R500 a month.

Studies conducted with street traders reported that income from street trading was low and irregular due to high competition (Lund, 1998; Rogerson, 1999; Kassim & Hendriks, 2002). The NAMC (2002) reported that food security is closely linked to income and the stability of household income was crucial to the ability households to access necessary food requirements. The NAMC (2002) also reported that 70.5 per cent of households headed by the self employed in the formal and informal economy did not have a stable monthly income, and concluded that the self employed were likely to be very vulnerable to food insecurity because of irregular incomes and irregular food purchases.

As a coping strategy, informal economic activities generate cash to access food for household consumption, even though the income is low and irregular. Households were able to sustain themselves on a daily basis, but vulnerability to hunger is a pervasive threat. For many low income households, informal economic activities became a permanent livelihood option for the lack of other opportunities, but the situation remains bleak (Shackleton & Shackleton, 2004).

Whether evaluating income generating activities as a coping strategy or adaptive strategy one thing is clear: informal traders remain poor, have limited assets and are unable to meet basic needs (Leonard, 2000; Shackleton & Shackleton, 2004). The studies presented in table 3.9 reported that many households used money gained from informal trading to pay for children's school fees, buy food and access health care. Informal economic activities provide necessary cash resources to meet livelihood needs, but basic needs are

met and the income allowed for minimal standard of living. Therefore, households engaging in informal economic activities remain vulnerable to hunger and food insecurity.

Although studies discussed here have reported that informal income generation strategies provide income for school fees, food, shelter and capital for informal enterprises these studies are vague and lack detail on how income is allocated to household expenditure (Levin et al., 1999; Leonard, 2000; Unni, 2000; Mitullah, 2003a; Bhowmik, 2005). There is a major gap in current literature on the household food security role of informal economic activities. This chapter provided evidence that street trading is a means of securing livelihoods through cash for basic household needs. Key questions remain unanswered. To what extent does street trading secure livelihoods? What specific needs are catered for? Is the income earned from informal sectors sufficient to cover all or partial household expenditure? Is informal income generation effective as an adaptive strategy or primary livelihood strategy or more effective as a coping strategy to supplement wage work or welfare benefits? This study answers these questions to evaluate street trading as a food and livelihood security coping strategy and develop coherent policy interventions to secure street trader livelihoods in Pietermaritzburg.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE STREET TRADING ENVIRONMENT IN PIETERMARITZBURG

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the street trading environment in the Msunduzi Municipality, Pietermaritzburg. Background information on issues pertaining to policy formulation and implementation is discussed. The first phase of Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi's Transitional Local Council's Informal Street Trading Policy is discussed in detail as it gives a historical context to understand the current street trading environment. Street trading policy is discussed in terms of its relevance and adequacy to regulate street trading; the application and site allocation process; responsibilities for implementation and enforcement.

Street traders in Pietermaritzburg are profiled and estimated numbers of legal and illegal traders provided. The economic contribution of street traders to the local and provincial economy is discussed. The significance of Raisethorpe, as the location for this study, is discussed in terms of its economic importance in the informal economy of Pietermaritzburg.

4.2 AVAILABILITY OF INFORMATION ON STREET TRADING IN THE MSUNDUZI MUNICIPALITY

Availability of information on the informal economy in Pietermaritzburg is scarce and difficult to acquire. Four primary documents: Mayrhofer and Hendriks (2000); Mayrhofer (2001); Natal Debt Corporation (NDC) and Youth Enterprise Development Project (YEDP) (2005); and Msunduzi Municipality (2007) provide some information on the informal economy in Pietermaritzburg/Msunduzi. The report produced in 2005 by YEDP/NDC for the Msunduzi Municipality provides information on trends and future policy directions for street trading in this city. The report is for this reason, a core reference for this study. Prior to 2005, primary sources of information for the informal economy as a whole (street trading; spaza shops and the taxi industry) were from work produced by Honours and Masters students of the former University of Natal (now the

University of KwaZulu-Natal). A recent report (May 2007) produced by the Programme Officer for Street Trading from the Economic Development and Growth Unit of the Msunduzi Municipality sums up the efforts needed to regulate street trading in Pietermaritzburg.

To acquire current information on the profile of street traders and the changing policy context of the Msunduzi Municipality, key informant interviews were conducted with the President of the Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Business, Mr. Baijoo (appendix A); officials from the Economic Development and Growth Unit of the Msunduzi Municipality, Mr. Gabela (appendix B); and Mr. Gengan (appendix C).

4.3 ISSUES LEADING TO FORMULATION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE MSUNDUZI MUNICIPALITY STREET TRADING POLICY

Following the repealing of apartheid legislation, by the early 90s, South African cities sought ways of accommodating growing numbers of street traders, an expression of the desperation of people to eke out a living after having failed to secure work in the formal economy (Mayrhofer & Hendriks, 2000).

Municipalities were forced to formulate street trading policies that accommodated street traders while simultaneously eradicated crime, litter and vehicular and pedestrian congestion (Mayrhofer & Hendriks, 2000). In the early 90s, to develop a representative, relevant street trading policy, the Licensing Division of the then Pietermaritzburg Transitional Local Council (PMB-TLC) began liaising with formal and informal traders. Owing to a lack of a legislative framework to guide this process, consultations became increasingly difficult to manage, and subsequently the PMB-TLC authorised the Licensing Officer in terms of Section 6A (2) of the Business Act to regulate street trading (PMB-TLC, 1996, cited by Mayrhofer & Hendriks, 2000).

An Informal Trading Task Team formed in 1998 and consisted of Mr. Pops Chetty (Chairman); Mr. Rob Haswell (Msunduzi Municipality's Strategic Executive Manager); Mr. David Gengan (Process Manager for Entrepreneurial Development and Black

Economic Empowerment); the Traffic and Security Unit; and the Licensing Unit. The Informal Trading Task Team formulated the Informal Street Trading Policy for Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi that currently regulates street trading in Pietermaritzburg.

The Informal Street Trading Policy devised by the Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council is not a clear, coherent policy document but rather contained in a collection of the following documents:

- Business Act 71 of 1991;
- A copy of the council's street trading bylaws of 23 May 1996;
- Application for and conditions imposed for ice cream vending;
- Code of practice for mobile soft diary mix ice cream vendors;
- Road traffic bylaws;
- Application form for temporary use of council-owned land;
- Form sent to the Medical Officer of Health, City Engineers (waste management), Chief Fire Officer, and Licensing Inspector to approve or reject the trader's application for a site based on the location and goods to be sold;
- End elevation of trading table for the Mall area (a construction blue-print of fixed stall infrastructure); and
- Report by Acting City Administrator for Executive Indaba: Report back on implementation of the Informal Trade Policy.

Much of the information relevant to implementation of the Informal Trade Policy such as designated areas, issues pertaining to infrastructure and aspects of monitoring and evaluation were left out of the actual policy documents. To access the substance of Informal Street Trading Policy, the minutes of the Informal Trading Task Team (obtainable from Archives at Pietermaritzburg City Hall) needed to be consulted (Mayrhofer & Hendriks, 2000).

The Pietermaritzburg Informal Street Trading Policy was to be implemented in three phases:

- Phase one was implemented in the CBD between January and June 1999 through the Informal Street Trading Policy. The policy was first implemented in the Church Street Mall as this area was the heart of the city centre, a shopping destination for locals and tourists (the Church Street Mall is quite unique as it is the only area, apart from Debbi Place, that has infrastructure for street traders). Only 79 traders could be accommodated in the Church Street Mall, of these eight were food vendors restricted to selling cooked sausages and hot-dogs (Mayrhofer & Hendriks, 2000). To comply with regulations of the City Health Department, food vendor sites had to have cooler boxes and buckets with clean water. Traders reported carrying water from home, washing their hands at a nearby fountain and transporting water from public toilets to their trading sites (Mayrhofer & Hendriks, 2000).
- Phase two involved the identification of new sites undertaken in March 2004 in the outer CBD and certain industrial locations. A further 300 new trading sites were identified in terms of street trading bylaws (YEDP and NDC, 2005).
- Phase three has not yet been undertaken. This phase will identify sites in suburban or residential areas. These areas could include Raisethorpe, Northdale, Manchester/Failsworth Road, Copesville, Mountain Rise, Woodlands, Eastwood, Willowton, Sobantu, Scottsville, Hayfields, Mkondeni, Pelham, Edendale, Imbali, Railway Street, Mayors Walk, Clarendon and Chase Valley (YEDP and NDC, 2005).

Only the first two phases of the Informal Street Trading Policy have been implemented. The first phase of implementation in the Pietermaritzburg Mall and inner CBD has been documented and lesson reported by Mayrhofer and Hendriks (2000). The following discussion focuses on the first phase of policy implementation in the Church Street Mall, Pietermaritzburg.

In 1997 there were 3500 informal traders operating in the Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council Area (PMB-TLC cited by Mayrhofer & Hendriks, 2000). To control the rapid proliferation of street enterprises, it was decided during the first phase of

implementation, that street trading would be allowed throughout the PMB/Msunduzi-TLC, with certain restrictions, and traders had to apply for a permit to trade. Application forms were available at the TLC offices. All traders operating in the city were given an opportunity to apply for a permit to trade in the Church Street Mall. However, traders already operating in the area were given preference in the allocation of licenses (PMB-TLC, 1999, cited by Hendriks & Mayrhofer, 2000). Only South African citizens were considered for trading permits. Traders who sold fruit/vegetables and food had to first apply for a food license, and then for a trading permit or lease agreement for a site (Mayrhofer & Hendriks, 2000).

Only sites in the Church Street Mall have fixed stall infrastructure. Stall infrastructure consists of a table, shelter and a seat that allows for temporary storage or display, but designed in a way to prevent traders from sleeping overnight at the stalls (Mayrhofer & Hendriks, 2000). Since stalls have no overnight storage facilities, 91 per cent of street traders interviewed by Mayrhofer and Hendriks (2000) reported that they stored goods overnight at local businesses for a fee, while six traders took goods home at the end of business each day. Bins were provided at trading sites and emptied daily by the TLC (Mayrhofer & Hendriks, 2000).

Traders interviewed by Mayrhofer and Hendriks (2000) reported that the stall's roof was a source of dissatisfaction. About 83 per cent of traders interviewed by Mayrhofer and Hendriks (2000) reported goods getting wet when it rained, compelling them to pack up and leave. Another 68 per cent added their own tables to the structure for increased display space, and 92 per cent of traders reported the open design of the structure led to theft and consequent loss of income (Mayrhofer & Hendriks, 2000). These are important considerations for the Msunduzi Municipality when considering further infrastructure plans for street traders in the city.

Sites demarcated within the CBD had no infrastructure and were unserviced (Baijoo, 2007). White lines demarcate trading sites. Traders outside of the mall and within the

CBD had no fixed stall infrastructures and had to purchase their own tables, umbrellas and chairs to operate from demarcated sites.

The first phase of implementation of the Informal Street Trading Policy appeared to have been an integrated effort. The Waste Management Division, Traffic and Security Unit and City Health Department were key role-players in policy formulation and implementation. Waste removal, street cleaning and public toilets were managed by the Waste Management Division. Food vendors were required to attend training on aspects of food hygiene, health requirements relating to food preparation and waste management (Mayrhofer & Hendriks, 2000). The TLC provided guidelines on positioning of traders according to items sold, for example, traders selling jewellery were not placed in front of jewellery shops (PMB-TLC, 1999 cited by Mayrhofer & Hendriks, 2000).

The Traffic and Security Unit were (and still are) the enforcing unit, evicting illegal traders from legal trading sites and non-trading sites. In June 1999, all traders trading without a permit in the Church Street Mall were evicted by the TLC (Aldridge, 1999a; Anon, 1999a and Layman, 1999 all cited by Mayrhofer & Hendriks, 2000). Illegal and evicted traders were outraged and protested, and unlicensed traders threatened and intimidated licensed traders (Aldridge et al., 1999; Annon, 1999b; Coetzee, 1999; all cited by Mayrhofer & Hendriks, 2000).

Traders in the Church Street Mall did not perceive the implementation of the Informal Street Trading Policy successful in terms of creating an enabling environment for their businesses to grow (Mayrhofer & Hendriks, 2000). Traders in Mayrhofer and Hendriks' (2000) study reported that the trading environment in the Church Street Mall was not enabling for the following reasons:

- Traders did not earn enough to pay rent and sublet to relatives;
- Legal South African permit holders rented the sites to non-south Africans for up to R400 per site per month;
- Foreigners used South African traders to acquire permits and then employed the individual to sell cheap imports;

- Additional expenditure incurred /loss of income as a result of paying for overnight storage of goods, closing early in rainy weather, theft of goods owing to open design of street furniture; and
- Inadequate access to water and sanitation facilities.

The problems reported by street traders in the Church Street Mall are similar to problems reported by street traders in Durban who operate with make-shift tables and shelters (Lund, 1998; Skinner; 1999, Lund et al., 2000). It appears that the infrastructure in the Church Street Mall area has not created an enabling environment and in fact not contributed to securing the livelihoods of street traders. Changes in structural design and provision of services are prerequisites in creating a nurturing supportive socio-economic environment for street traders. These reported problems are issues that the Msunduzi Municipality has yet to tackle and should inform future infrastructural and policy objectives. The following section discusses designated trading areas of the Informal Street Trading Policy within the CBD and in a suburban area in Pietermaritzburg.

4.4. DESIGNATED TRADING AREAS IN PIETERMARITZBURG/MSUNDUZI

In terms of the Informal Street Trading Policy, designated areas are the Church Street Mall and lower Church Street; demarcated sites along Retief Street; Pietermaritz Street; and Debbi Market in Northdale. Illegal traders also trade along these streets and Loop Street where sites have not been demarcated for trading. Figure 4.1 is a general map of the Pietermaritzburg city centre in relation to the Raisethorpe CBD, the survey area for this study. Figure 4.2 is a close-up map of the Pietermaritzburg city centre showing the streets that are densely and moderately populated by legal and illegal street traders. Pietermaritz and East Street are densely populated by street traders whereas Church and Retief Street are moderately populated.

In the study of SMME service providers in Pietermaritzburg, Mayrhofer (2001) identified four categories of street traders who trade in quite diverse environments. Mayrhofer (2001) identified semi-formalised traders in Church Street who held permits and paid rent for fixed stalls; traders in Freedom Square who operated from demarcated sites but had

no site infrastructure and used make-shift tables and gazebos; traders in Retief Street who have not been formalised and trade from any space they can find; and traders in Debbi Place in Northdale who operate from fully serviced (electricity, toilets and water) and roofed stalls. Debbi Place accommodates 48 traders and is more like a built market that offers paved parking for customers and a range of goods such as traditional Indian clothing and food, fruit/vegetable, poultry and fish and general items.

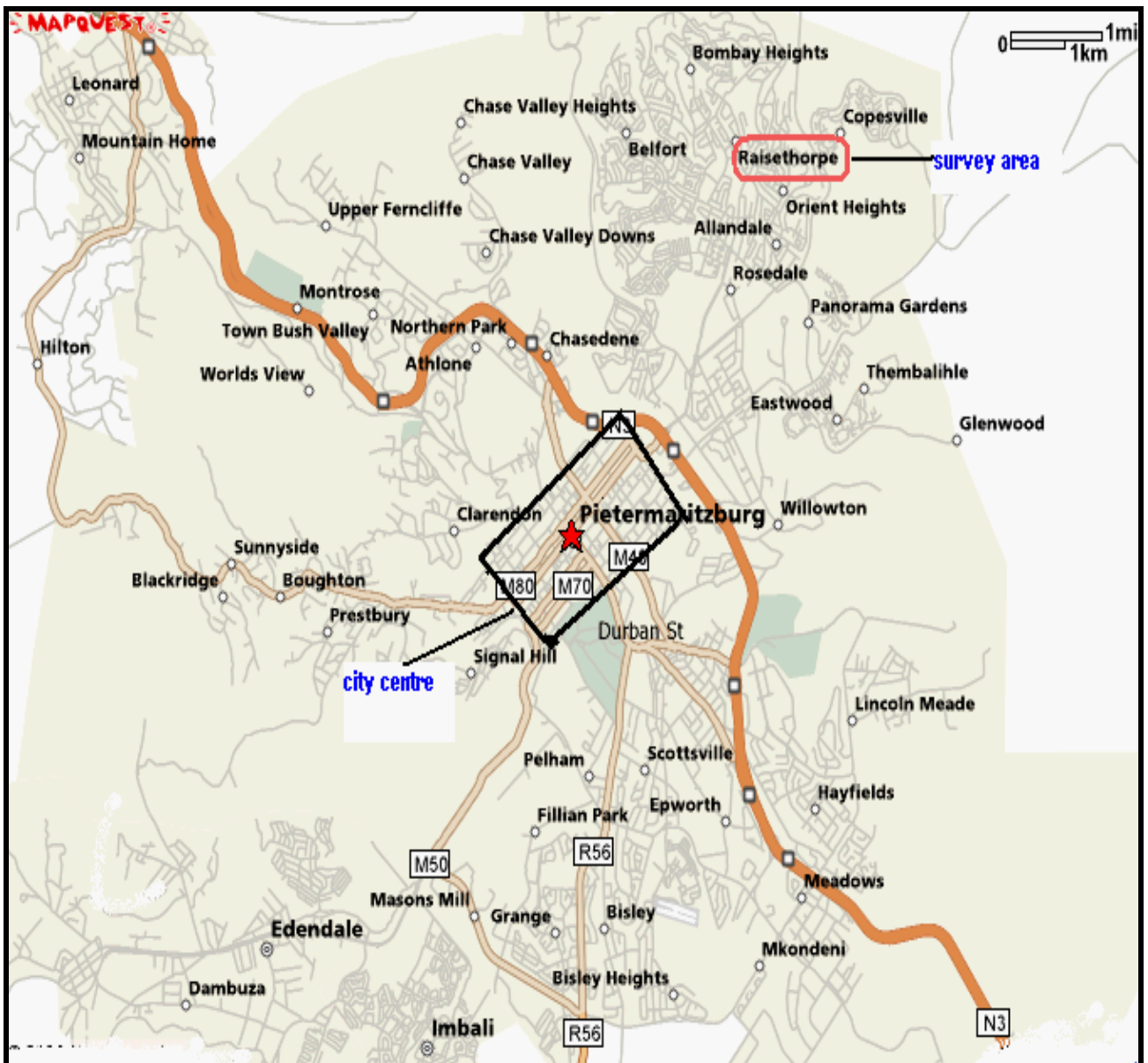


Figure 4.1 The Pietermaritzburg city centre in relation to Raisethorpe, the survey area (MapQuest, 2008)

Currently in Pietermaritzburg/Msunduzi, there are traders who:

- Are formalised, have permits and infrastructure;
- Operate from demarcated sites and have permits but no infrastructure;
- Operate on any space they can find without permits; and
- Operate in built market-type stalls, pay rent and are formalised in terms of licences and infrastructure.



Figure 4.2 Close-up of the Pietermaritzburg city centre showing street trading areas (MapQuest, 2008)

In South Africa, enclave markets in suburban areas are a direct consequence of apartheid legislation that segregated people on a racial basis, limiting economic activity and residential living to particular areas. Apartheid legislation confined races to particular residential areas on the periphery of the city, for example, Indians were confined to Northdale, Mountain Rise, Raisethorpe and Allandale; Coloureds to Woodlands and Eastwood; and Africans to Sobantu, Edendale and Imbali. Figure 4.1 depicts the location of these suburbs in relation to the Pietermaritzburg city centre. Figure 4.3 shows Raisethorpe in relation to other predominantly Indian areas. These suburbs have developed economic areas where informal street traders and businesses such as supermarkets thrive. Spatial development in Pietermaritzburg demonstrates the typical segregated development along racial lines typical of apartheid South Africa. While integrated settlement is now possible, transformation has been slow and areas such as the previously Indian areas of Northdale and Raisethorpe are still predominantly occupied by Indian households and have a peculiar culture with strong community ties.

Traders who trade in various locations are therefore still distinct in terms of race. Black African traders dominate Church Street, Freedom Square, Retief and Pietermaritz Street. Indian traders dominate Debbi Place as this market is located within Northdale, a predominantly Indian suburb. Racial domination of trading areas is representative of enclave markets, where customers and traders are typically of the same race (McKeever, 1999).



Figure 4.3 Map of northern Pietermaritzburg (previously Indian areas) showing Raisethorpe in relation to other predominantly Indian suburbs (MapQuest, 2008)

According to the President of the Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Business, Mr. Baijoo, the entire city of Pietermaritzburg ought to have demarcated trading sites from the city's CBD to the smaller business hubs of suburbs such as Raisethorpe. Figure 4.4 is a map of Northern Pietermaritzburg showing central trading areas including Debbi Place in Northdale; Old Greytown Road in Raisethorpe; and Manchester and Failsworth Roads in Mountain Rise.



Figure 4.4 Map of northern Pietermaritzburg, showing the survey area along Old Greytown Road in Raisethorpe where the 12 study participants operated micro-enterprises, in relation to Debbi Place, Manchester and Failsworth Roads (MapQuest, 2008)

In Raisethorpe, the demarcated trading areas are between Mysore and Naidoo Road. Illegal street traders dominate Old Greytown Road, especially the area between Mysore Road and Balhambra Way as this area is the economic hub consisting of banks, supermarkets, garages, restaurants and clothing stores. Raisethorpe is flanked by Debbi Place, a formal built market in Northdale. Manchester and Failsworth Roads are also dominated by street traders who sell various items, including food, clothing and services.

Street traders in Greytown Road were typically Indian, whereas street traders in Manchester and Failsworth Roads were typically Black African.

Many traders operate outside schools and municipal offices in the city and suburban areas. The core problem experienced by the Msunduzi Municipality is lack of monitoring and enforcing capacity. Traffic wardens and Msunduzi Municipal Security officials are charged with removing illegal traders. However, they have been accused of being selective in the areas they choose to visit and patrol and inconsistent in applying regulations.

4.5. TYPES OF GOODS SOLD IN DIFFERENT LOCATIONS

The street trading landscape in Pietermaritzburg is quite diverse. Traders vary in terms of legalised status, locations in which they trade, racial composition; types of goods sold and infrastructure (Mayrhofer, 2001).

Table 4.1 Type of goods sold in differing trading locations in Pietermaritzburg in 2000 (Mayrhofer, 2001: 67)

Type of business	Church Street	Freedom Square	Retief Street	Debbi Place	Total
Food	3	15	14	20	52
Leather goods	17	0	1	0	18
Assortment of items	0	4	7	1	12
Distinct trade/service	1	4	0	4	9
Traditional items	2	2	3	0	7
Total	23	25	25	25	98

Mayrhofer (2001) found that 52 out of 98 traders operating in Pietermaritzburg sold food. The types of foods sold varied between locations. Cooked food was sold in Freedom Square whereas food sold in Retief Street consisted of live chickens, chicken heads and feet and eggs. Debbi Place traders sold traditional cooked Indian food, snacks and fresh produce. Leather goods sold in Church Street included jackets, shoes and handbags. In

Freedom Square, goods sold included cosmetics, second hand clothing, household items, traditional medicine (observed during initial fieldwork) and cell-phones (Mayrhofer, 2001). Services offered in Freedom Square and Retief Street consisted of shoe repairs, hairdressing, traditional herbs and medicine (Mayrhofer, 2001).

4.6. UNIT RESPONSIBLE FOR STREET TRADING POLICY IMPLEMENTATION IN THE MSUNDUZI MUNICIPALITY

The Economic Development and Growth Unit is the lead unit implementing the Informal Street Trading Policy of the Msunduzi Municipality. This unit works with other units depicted in figure 4.3. The Informal Street Trading Policy was devised by the Informal Trading Task Team in 1998 guided by provincial bylaws pertaining to the health and road traffic departments (Gabela, 2006).

The Economic Development and Growth unit receives complaints about illegal traders and reports these to the Traffic and Security Unit based at the Traffic Department in Mkondeni. The supervisor of the Traffic Unit receives the complaints and sends his officers to investigate. If the Traffic and Security Unit discover that the trader is illegal, they follow a three step procedure:

- Advise the trader that he/she is illegal and should dismantle their stalls and leave.
- If the unit returns (during their daily monitoring rounds) and discovers the trader is still there they issue the trader a written warning to vacate the illegally occupied area.
- If the trader persists, the traffic and security unit dismantle the stall, confiscate the goods and issue a receipt for the goods to be collected after the trader has paid a fine.

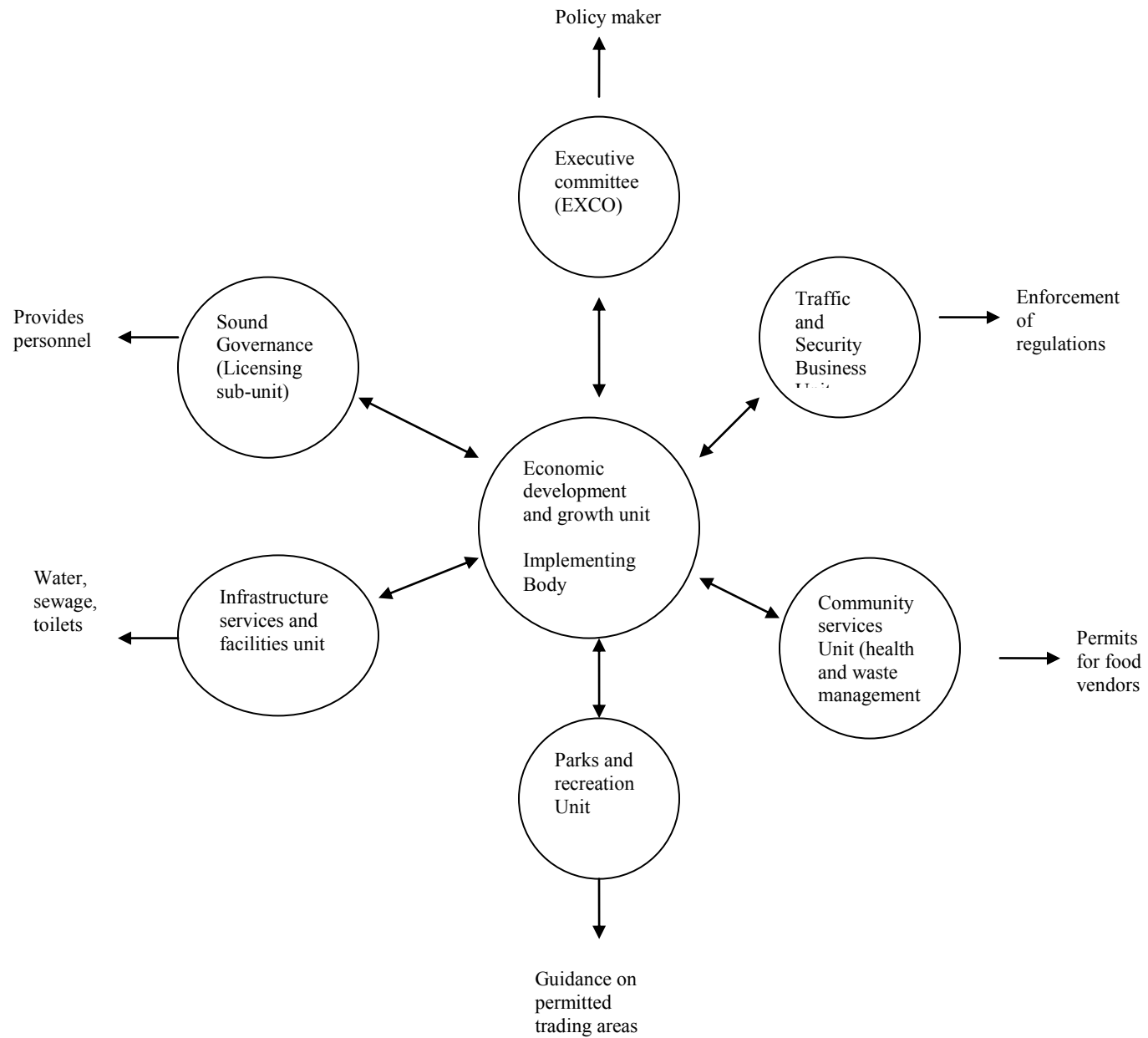


Figure 4.5 Units of the Msunduzi Municipality involved in implementing and regulating street trading

The Traffic and Security Unit is notorious for brutal evictions. According to Mr. Samson Gabela (2006), Programme Officer for Informal Trade, one of the reasons for their brutality is lack of sensitisation and conflict management skills. One of the current aims of the Economic Development and Growth Unit is to propose that enforcement personnel are based within this unit and not with the Road Traffic Department. The aim of this proposed change is to ensure that enforcement officers are trained in conflict resolution and negotiation skills and that complaints of illegal traders from the public are resolved quickly.

Problems in communication between the Licensing Unit, Traffic and Security Unit and politicians have been major impediments in implementing and regulating Street Trading Policy (YEDP and NDC, 2005). Councillors have reportedly interfered with regulation, siding with traders and intervened on their behalf instead of upholding policy regulations (YEDP and NDC, 2005). Poor communication was reported between the Licensing Unit and the Traffic and Security Unit (YEDP and NDC, 2005). The Traffic and Security Unit believed that the need for communication was minimal since its mandate was to remove unlicensed traders while the Licensing Unit believed Traffic and Security should act on information supplied by the Licensing Unit (YEDP and NDC, 2005). Tension between licensed and unlicensed traders during implementing of the Informal Street Trading Policy within the CBD was created by the inability of Licensing; Traffic and Security Units to work together.

Block representatives are street traders elected by other traders to represent their concerns on matters of policy. Block representatives assist in monitoring as the “eyes and ears” of the Economic Development and Growth Unit (YEDP and NDC 2005:19). Block representatives ensure that only licensed traders operate in demarcated sites and report traders operating in non-demarcated sites. Additionally, they ensure that trading sites are not illegally transferred or sold from a registered trader to another. If such a transaction does occur, the trader’s license is cancelled and reallocated (YEDP and NDC, 2005). Block representatives also ensure that the concerns of traders are voiced to policymakers.

Monitoring of rental payments is done through an internal credit control policy. On the 15th day of each month traders who have not paid rent are given notices and asked to pay rental arrears by the 7th of the following month (YEDP and NDC, 2005). Block representatives hand out notices to defaulting traders who are asked to sign as proof of receipt of the notice. If the trader fails to pay, the license is cancelled and the site reallocated, although the trader is still liable for rent arrears. The Msunduzi Sundry Debtors Department collects arrears from defaulting traders. Rental arrears were reportedly between ten to fifteen per cent in 2005 (YEDP and NDC, 2005).

4.7. STATUS QUO OF STREET TRADING IN THE MSUNDUZI MUNICIPALITY

The Informal Street Trading Policy and procedures outlined above regulate street trading in Pietermaritzburg. However, the policy and procedures have failed to regulate, monitor and enforce regulations to the extent that is needed. The current state of street trading is dismal. There are a high percentage of defaulters in terms of rental and lease agreements. Enforcement is problematic due to capacity constraints and lack of communication with the Traffic and Security Unit. The core problem appears to be that street trading is still regulated by the bylaws developed in 1995 that need to be adapted to suit the current street trading habits (YEDP and NDC, 2005).

The Informal Street Trading Policy is too regulatory and restricting rather than enabling and developmental (Baijoo, 2007). In formulating the Informal Street Trading Policy, the Informal Trading Task Team attempted to ensure economic rights, but in a restrictive environment. Implementation of the policy was not successful as the Municipality failed to ensure that people benefiting from micro-enterprise are the poor and unemployed and has failed to regulate street trading in the city.

Various problems associated with monitoring street trading still plague the Msunduzi Municipality. Formal business benefits most as most street traders are employed by formal business to sell their wares on the street. The Municipality has to provide adequate

infrastructure (water and waste disposal facilities) as traders operate from unserved sites. It appears that a trader union, ACHIB has become more than a watch-dog for the street trading community in Pietermaritzburg (Baijoo, 2007). There are reports from certain traders that ACHIB is forcing street traders to become members of the organisation and then ACHIB becomes the supplier of goods. Street traders are coerced, firstly into becoming members, and then to purchase supplies from ACHIB affiliates (Baijoo, 2007).

A recent development is that immigrant importers have usurped the independence of street traders. Instead of a street trading business being owner-operated, foreign traders have 'employed' street traders. In essence, these street traders are not independent owner-operators but informal employees of formal businesses (Baijoo, 2007). Imported goods from China, India, Pakistan and other countries, are stored and unpacked each day by foreign traders. Professional people such as teachers and policemen are also reportedly employing people to run a street trade enterprise for them while they are at day jobs (Baijoo, 2007). The telephone trade is most commonly exploited by professionals as it is more lucrative compared to retail and food vending.

Illegal activities are a direct consequence of lack of monitoring capacity of the Msunduzi Municipality that have persisted since the implementation of the first phase in the Church Street Mall (Mayrhofer & Hendriks, 2005). A serious concern is the lack of unoccupied demarcated sites within the CBD due low profit margins. Ways have to be found to integrate traders into the economy of more viable trading locations such as taxi ranks (YEDP and NDC, 2005).

Lack of monitoring has led to uncontrolled growth of the number of street traders operating in Pietermaritzburg. The survey conducted by YEDP and NDC in 2005 reported that there were 650 demarcated, mostly occupied, trading sites within the Pietermaritzburg central business district (CBD). The report by the Programme Officer for Informal Trade stated that there were 745 legal demarcated sites within the CBD in 2007 (Msunduzi Municipality, 2007). These figures imply that in two years the number

of available demarcated sites increased by 75, which is far too low compared with the demand of between 1000-2000 sites (YEDP and NDC, 2005). Lack of available, lucrative sites and increasing unemployment have been deemed as the reasons for growing numbers of illegal traders operating throughout the city and suburban areas of Pietermaritzburg.

The number of illegal street traders operating throughout Pietermaritzburg is difficult to quantify. In 1997, there were 3500 estimated street traders operating in the PMB-TLC area (PMB-TLC, 1999, cited by Mayrhofer & Hendriks, 2002).

According to the YEDP and NDC report, in 2005 there about 600 illegal traders operating in the CBD while Maphumulo (2006) reported that in 2006 there were 2500 informal traders (legal and illegal) within the CBD. According to a report by the Programme Officer for Informal Trade, in 2007, there were approximately 3500 illegal traders operating throughout Pietermaritzburg in impermissible areas such as taxi ranks, road intersections and government buildings (Msunduzi Municipality, 2007). Keeping track of illegal mobile vendors is also a problem for the Msunduzi Municipality (Msunduzi Municipality, 2007).

The report produced by the Economic Development and Growth Unit (2007) gave significant findings and recommendations that summarise the status of street trading in the Msunduzi Municipality as of May 2007. The findings and recommendations are presented in Table 4.2.

The recommendations by the Economic Development and Growth Unit (2007) is essential to regulating street trading in Pietermaritzburg and range from practical elements such as repainting demarcated sites to long-term processes such as updating the city's bylaws. The YEDP and NDC (2005) consultative report to the Msunduzi Municipality also made practical recommendations that are compared to policy recommendations made by the Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Business (2003) in table 4.3.

Table 4.2 Current status of street trading in the Msunduzi Municipality (Msunduzi Municipality, 2007)

Findings	Recommendations
High percentage of rental defaulters, but no action taken to terminate permits and reallocate sites. Difficult to verifying whether a trader is legitimate as cards have no expiry date. Difficulty in identifying sites as the paint has worn out.	Permit cards need to be verified and have expiry dates for enforcement personnel to check whether the holder has the existing card. Existing sites need to be repainted.
Illegal traders operate in front of impermissible areas such as government buildings and banks. Congestion results in pick-pocketing and lack of space for pedestrian movement.	Illegal traders have to be removed as pavements are congested. Adequate enforcement personnel are required to rid the city of crime.
Great demand for off-street sites in industrial areas, but little has been done to allocate sites to traders.	The Economic Development and Growth Business Unit needs to allocate sites in industrial areas to needy individuals.
Outdated Bylaws regulating street trading are outdated and do not apply to the current state of the city.	The Msunduzi Street Trading Bylaws need to be updated.
400 potential new sites have been identified in off-street taxi-ranks which are economically viable but need to be developed into fully serviced sites.	Identified potential sites have to be demarcated and dully serviced to move illegal traders off the street.
No sites have been demarcated along Langalibalele Street although the pavement is wide enough and the area is economically viable.	Potential sites at Langalibalele Street should be identified; Council should change its policy about no trading along this street.
About 200 illegal vendors operate around in the city, all of whom are denied permits for no apparent reason.	Mobile vendors need to be provided with permit cards. Taxi ranks need to be demarcated to accommodate the growing number if illegal traders.
The Msunduzi Enforcement Unit is problematic as the Economic Development and Growth Business Unit Depends on supply of enforcement from the Traffic and Security Business Unit.	Hiring officials to enforce street trading regulations. These officials will be based within the Economic Development and Growth Unit.
Formal businesses are informalising- displaying their goods on pavements.	Dialogue needs to be initiated with formal businesses not to display their goods on the pavement, thereby reducing competition with informal traders.
Traditional medicine vendors operating at the informal Ematsheni Market trade on the pavement, consequently the rain and sun destroy their herbs.	The Ematsheni Market in Retief Street needs to be developed and fully serviced.

Recommendations made by the Economic Development and Growth Unit of the Msunduzi Municipality (2007), YEDEP and NDC (2005) and the PCB (2003) have several pertinent points in common. Many of the recommendations made by the Economic Development and Growth Unit in 2007 were already stated as early as 2003.

Table 4.3 Recommendations made by PCB (2003) and YEDP and NDC (2005) to regulate street trading in Pietermaritzburg

PCB (2003) recommendations to regulate street trading	YEDP/NDC (2005) recommendations to regulate street trading
Regarding allocation of sites	
<p>Demarcated sites should be made available to registered traders alone, no more than one per trader. Adequate sites demarcated throughout the city according to type of goods sold. Rent should be determined according to proximity to pedestrian market. Rental agreements should be renewable every six months. Niche trading areas should be identified and developed by the Municipality or a commissioned agent.</p>	<p>The Municipality to seek approval from the Minister of Local Government to allow demarcation of trading sites outside government buildings provided these sites are serviced with appropriate street furniture. The number of available sites within the CBD needs to be increased. Develop built markets to alleviate shortages of sites along pavements. All sites need to be audited to determine if these are in an economically lucrative area and tenant status. Dormant sites have to be withdrawn.</p>
Regarding street trading policy, registration and regulations	
<p>All street traders should be registered free of charge. An agreement outlining the obligations of the trader and the supportive obligations of the Municipality.</p> <p>An appropriate regulatory framework must be developed in consultation with all role players and focus on enablement rather than restriction.</p> <p>No street trading by unregistered traders permitted and trading must be limited to demarcated sites.</p> <p>Necessary capacity must be hired to enforce regulations.</p>	<p>Council must apply its street trading policies to formal business who front as informal traders. Fronting must be eliminated through enforcement.</p> <p>Council to amend bylaws to accommodate changing economic political and social landscape.</p> <p>The database that captures rental payments needs to be updated and the electronic database of licensed traders needs to be updated.</p> <p>Politicians must not interfere with enforcement of street trading regulations.</p>
Regarding support services: infrastructure and training	
<p>A Micro-Business Institute should be established. Business Advisors should monitor progress of traders and give advice on business development. Training in ABET and business skills offered to registered traders.</p> <p>Proper infrastructure such as toilets, water and waste disposal should be accessible to all sites.</p> <p>Traders who are able to expand should be given a second site; if the business flourishes they should be relocated into formal premises and registered for tax.</p>	<p>Municipality must develop a Business Development and Support Centre, to train and offer support services to informal traders. Council must facilitate partnerships between formal and informal business to create linkages between the sectors. An Upward Migration Program should be established. An Informal Street Trading Division needs to be created with a policy unit and a Business Development and Support Centre</p> <p>Identified sites in economically lucrative areas must be transformed into serviced sites (water, toilets, table and shelter).</p>

These seven common points include:

- The urgent need for the city's Bylaws to be updated to accommodate the changing socio-economic and political landscape of the city;
- The need for a Business Support Unit or Micro Business Unit to offer business advice and training to street traders;
- Need for built markets to accommodate street traders unable to be accommodated on pavements;
- All demarcated sites should be serviced;
- Additional capacity for enforcement of regulations and for support to street traders;
- Municipality should have an updated database of traders (who should be registered) and regularly monitored; and
- Formal businesses operating as informal enterprises on pavements with employees 'fronting' as vendors should be fined to prevent them from usurping opportunities created for unemployed South Africans.

These common recommendations should be compared to traders needs to ascertain whether policy changes will accommodate street traders. Table 4.4 compares traders' needs determined by Mayrhofer (2001) and YEDP/NDC (2005). Comparing street traders' needs to policy recommendations leads to the conclusion that almost all of the needs of street traders will be accommodated if just seven of the most common policy recommendations discussed above are implemented.

Street traders in Pietermaritzburg require an enabling environment that facilitates economic activity. An enabling environment constitutes fully services sites, legitimacy, freedom to operate and elimination of unfair practices such as sub-letting and fronting (Baijoo, 2007). Built environments appear to be preferred by majority of street traders surveyed in the YEDP/NDC (2005) study because of storage facilities, safety, and protection from the weather and water/sanitation facilities.

Table 4.4 Needs of street traders in Pietermaritzburg

Criteria	Street trader needs reported by Mayrhofer (2001)	Street trader needs reported by YEDP and NDC (2005)
Type of sites	Fully serviced sites,; proper street furniture that protects goods from theft and weather.	Out of 173 traders surveyed, 157 require built markets; ten mobile hawking; five require trading sites; and one unknown.
Services required	Traders did not earn enough to pay rent; Storage; Water and sanitation facilities.	Fully serviced sites; prepared to pay R10 levy. All require storage facilities and prepared to pay additional R10.
Complaints	Legal South African permit holders rented the sites to non-south Africans for up to R400 per site. Foreigners used South African traders to acquire permits and then employed the individual to sell cheap imports.	Formal business operating on pavements creates unnecessary competition.
Expectations from Municipality	Provide services (water, sanitation); Provide appropriate street furniture; Enforce regulations (in terms of sub-letting and 'fronting?').	Not to be evicted; Provide shelters/services sites; Provide built markets; Issue more trading licenses; Help reduce unemployment.
Suggestions to regulate street trading	Reduced rent; Improved furniture (for those in Church Street Mall); Better water supply/more toilets; Improved security.	Issue Licenses; Allocate sites; Build Shelters; Do not chase them away; Promote Black Economic Empowerment; Municipality must respond to their complaints; Municipality must allocate sites and provide shelters.

The Msunduzi Municipality is currently constructing the Market Square Taxi Rank with a trading area running alongside the rank (Maphumulo, 2006). The trading area will consist of a mini-mall, complete with storage facilities and electricity that will accommodate 98 traders (Gengan, 2007). Traders will be grouped according to their products and will be encouraged to form cooperatives. Food vendors will have customer seating provided (Maphumulo, 2006). The new Market Square taxi rank, a few meters from City Hall and just across from the Msunduzi Municipal offices on Church Street, was completed in June 2007 (Gengan, 2007). This development will be the only built-market type

development accommodating street traders in Pietermaritzburg apart from Debbi Place in Northdale.

4.8. PROFILE OF STREET TRADERS IN PIETERMARITZBURG

YEDP/NDC (2005) surveyed 173 traders from Pietermaritzburg as part of the consultative phase of the status report on informal trading in Pietermaritzburg for the Msunduzi Municipality. In addition to requesting demographic information, the survey asked respondents questions pertaining to their needs, problems with formal business, and possibilities of accepting formal employment. Mayrhofer (2001) surveyed 98 street traders from various trading areas in Pietermaritzburg. Table 4.5 provides a demographic profile of street traders in the Pietermaritzburg CBD as acquired from these two studies.

African females dominated as street traders in Pietermaritzburg in 2001 and 2005 (Mayrhofer, 2001; YEDP/NDC, 2005). Similarly, Africans dominated as a racial group compared to Indians, Whites and Coloureds in 2001 and 2005 (Mayrhofer, 2001; YEDP/NDC, 2005). Africans and females dominate the racial trading profile of Pietermaritzburg. Mayrhofer (2001) reported that 91 per cent of traders in Church Street were African, 100 per cent African in Freedom Square and Retief Street, and 92 per cent Indian in Debbi Place (as Debbi Place is in Northdale and residents are predominantly Indian). Since Mayrhofer (2001) surveyed traders from four key trading locations in Pietermaritzburg, a significant emerging fact is that Indians are the second largest racial group, after Africans, to be involved in informal trading. Indians are significantly featured in the trading landscape of Pietermaritzburg/Msunduzi.

At Debbi Place the majority of traders had traded between six to nine years and some had traded for over 20 years. Debbi Place has been the centre of commerce for the Indian community for many years. Prior to the Msunduzi Municipality paving the area and building serviced stalls the area used to be an informal market where people operated out of vehicles and tents. Many traders operating now as formal traders have traded in the area prior to its development (Baijoo, 2007).

Table 4.5 Profile of street traders in Pietermaritzburg

	Profile of street traders reported in Mayrhofer's Study (2001)	Profile of street traders reported in the YEDP/NDC Study (2005)
Race	71 African; 24 Indian; 2 Asian; 1 Coloured.	170 African; 3 Indian.
Gender	68 Female; 30 Male.	126 Female; 47 Male.
Nationality	98 South African.	171 South African; 2 unknown.
Age	15-24= 12 traders; 25-35= 29 traders; 35-44= 27 traders; 45 plus= 28 traders; No reply= 2 traders.	Minimum= 19 years; Maximum= 78 years; Average= 35 years old.
Type of sites	Unserviced with street furniture; Serviced stalls; Unserviced demarcated sites; Unserviced unlicensed sites.	163 unserviced; 10 mobile hawkers.
License status	48 licensed trading from stalls (23 formalised traders with permits and 25 traders trading from demarcated sites with permits); 25 non-formal (illegal traders from Retief Street); 25 formalised-permit holding traders from Debbi Place.	111 unlicensed; 57 licensed; 5 unknown.
No of dependents per street trader household	N/A.	Minimum= 0; Maximum= 19; Average= 4.
Period of trading	Church Street: Minimum 1-5 years; maximum 10-19 years. Freedom Square: Minimum 1-5 years; maximum 10-19 years. Retief Street: Minimum 1-5 years; maximum 20 years and over. Debbi Place: Minimum 6-9 years; maximum 20 years and over.	Minimum= 3 weeks; Maximum= 45 years; Average= 6 years.
Education levels of street traders	None 9; Grade 1 to 7- 19; Grade 8 to 11- 43; Matric- 20; Other- 4; No reply- 3.	N/A.

In summary, traders in Pietermaritzburg are likely to (Mayrhofer, 2001, YEDP/NDC, 2005):

- Be African, followed by Indian;
- Be female;

- Have secondary school education (grade eight to eleven);
- Operate survivalist enterprises, having started street trading because of unemployment and to support their family; and
- Lack business support and training.

Street traders in Pietermaritzburg are typical of traders found in other cities of South Africa (Lund, 1998; Skinner 1999; Lund et al., 2000). While generally traders in Pietermaritzburg share a similar profile, South African are unique in their distribution within areas and sectors.

4.9. ROLE OF STREET TRADERS IN THE CITY’S ECONOMY

The actual monetary contribution of street trading to the city economy has not been quantified. The inability to estimate the economic contribution of street trading is compounded by the fact that street traders are unregistered with the South African Revenue Service (SARS) or any other regulatory body.

Mr. Gengan (2007), Strategic Manager for Entrepreneurial Development and Black Economic Empowerment at the Msunduzi Municipality, stresses that although there are no official records on the earnings of street traders and although they operate in the second economy, their economic contribution should not be underestimated. Street traders are an integral component of the supply chain. Mr. Gengan (2007) reported that since most street traders are breadwinners who pay school and municipal authority fees, they contribute to the formal economy and this contribution needs to be investigated. The report produced by YEDP/NDC (2005:12) states that “no data on the economic situation of informal traders in the Msunduzi area is available”.

4.10. STANCE OF THE PIETERMARITZBURG CHAMBER OF BUSINESS ON STREET TRADING

The Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Business has adopted a supportive, proactive stance on street trading in PMB. Street trading is by nature a survivalist trade and should be supported through a regulated and controlled environment (PCB, 2003). The

Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Business encourages the Msunduzi Municipality to create and adopt a developmental policy that will support street traders (Baijoo, 2007). Mr. Baijoo (2007) emphasises that training, proper water and sanitation and infrastructure is essential to operate efficiently as a micro-enterprise. He added that three aspects create an enabling environment, that is, a developmental policy, training, and environmental issues such as clean water and sanitation.

A developmental policy and an innovative approach such as the cocoon or incubator concept has been used in many developing countries and is a future plan of the Msunduzi Municipality. This concept works on the premise that markets should be established for traders and provide them with all the resources they require such as training, capital and access to markets to nurture them (Baijoo, 2007). To achieve this, a section 21 company is established within the designated market area to monitor and regulate traders. This company then provides particular services such as sourcing goods and marketing (Baijoo, 2007). Micro-enterprises are left within the market cocoon or incubator to grow until they reach a certain level of profitability upon which they graduate into a formal business (Baijoo, 2007).

4.11. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF RAISETHORPE IN THE OVERALL STREET TRADING LANDSCAPE IN PIETERMARITZBURG

Enclave markets consisting of traders and customers of similar race are legacies of apartheid where people were segregated on the base of race and placed in townships or suburbs on the periphery of the city (McKeever, 1998). In contemporary South Africa, all middle to low income suburbs and townships have developed enclave markets as a direct consequence of racial segregation. For example, Raisethorpe is a previously Indian suburb where traders and customers are predominantly Indian.

Mr. Gengan (2007) reported that the Raisethorpe CBD is a direct result of the Group Areas Act and the designing of Pietermaritzburg as an apartheid city. Indians could only engage in commercial activity in Raisethorpe and down town (bottom end of Church Street). Apartheid facilitated the growth of the Raisethorpe CBD. Raisethorpe developed

as a business area over the years. Businesses target aspects of Indian life such as traditional food and clothing. People who shop at Raisethorpe are the low to middle income group and find their needs are met at local supermarkets, saving taxi fares to town.

Raisethorpe has formal stores and informal enterprises operating from the street and buildings. Failsworth and Manchester Roads (about one kilometre from the Raisethorpe CBD) constitute a business district that offers diverse goods (mostly imported from China and India) for sale to hawkers, general consumers and businesses from other provinces (mostly the Eastern Cape). These goods are cheap and usually bought in bulk. Street traders involved in retail would mostly purchase their goods from stores in the Failsworth/Manchester Road area. However, the actual monetary value spent by street traders cannot be ascertained, but Mr Baijoo (2007) reported that Raisethorpe is extremely important in the overall landscape of trading because of the intense manufacturing and trading economic activity that takes place within the Raisethorpe CBD and the surrounding areas, namely Manchester and Failsworth Road.

4.12. SYNOPSIS

This chapter examined the street trading environment in the Msunduzi Municipality, Pietermaritzburg. According to officials from the Msunduzi Municipality and the Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Business, the current Street Trading Policy is outdated and needs to be revised to regulate the continuous growth of street-based enterprises. Only two phases of the Street Trading Policy have been implemented in the CBD. Challenges in implementation include formal business employment of street traders at demarcated sites and stalls, foreign street trader occupation of stalls meant for South African citizens and follow up of registered traders on the Municipality's database regarding rental payments and lease agreements.

Street traders in Pietermaritzburg are dominantly African females, followed by African males and Indians as the second dominant racial group involved in street trading. Four trading locations in Pietermaritzburg were examined with varying numbers of formalised permit-holding traders and unlicensed illegal traders at each location. Owing to lack of

research and rapid proliferation of survivalist enterprises, the numbers of street traders in Pietermaritzburg differed from 3000 to 4000 in 2007.

The Raisethorpe CBD is a hub of economic activity and serves as a centre of business for surrounding suburbs. Formal banking institutions, supermarkets, street traders, restaurants, insurance agencies, travel agents, schools and a private hospital form part of the Raisethorpe CBD making it unnecessary for people to travel to the CBD for goods and services. Therefore, the Raisethorpe CBD is significant in the overall street trading landscape of Pietermaritzburg.

Lack of information on the role of street trading in the city's economy and contribution of this income to the household economy is a gap in current literature on the household food security role of street trading in Pietermaritzburg. This study was conceptualised to address this gap; determine the income gained from street trading; how this income is used within the household and contribute more widely to literature on the role of the informal sector in food security. To investigate the household food security role of street trading, innovative participatory research tools had to be selected to investigate food security, street trading income and the trace the use of street trading income within the household. Chapter five discusses the selection and application of participatory research tools to evaluate street trading as a food and livelihood security coping strategy.

CHAPTER FIVE: METHODOLOGY

5.1 DESCRIPTION OF SURVEY AREA

Mayrhofer's (2001) study revealed that from four key trading locations in Pietermaritzburg, Indians were the second largest racial group engaged in street trading. Although this study did include two African traders, ten participants were Indian. Every effort was made to secure the participation of African traders but due to reasons beyond control (such as the fear to participate resulting from coercion from trader organisations, and acting as fronts for formal shops and foreigners), street traders in Church and Pietermaritz Street did not honour interview appointments or refused to participate.

The area selected for this study was Raisethorpe, Pietermaritzburg. Research participants operated micro-enterprises on Old Greytown Road, specifically the area between Mysore Road and Balhambra Way (refer to figure 4.4). This strip of road is dominated by supermarkets, garages, photo studios, traditional Indian stores and spice shops and is a bustling centre of economic activity serving as a shopping destination for the suburban areas of Northdale; Allandale; Mountain Rise; Orient Heights and Newholmes.

Raisethorpe informal market was an 'enclave market' similar to Warwick Junction in Durban, as most informal traders and customers were Indian (McKeever, 1998). All traders were exposed to climate extremes that make business difficult to conduct. The number of traders varied on different visits to the site, from Monday to Thursday but numbered 15 on average. On Friday and Saturdays there were about 20 to 25 traders operating in the area. Data was collected in November and December 2004.

Informal traders in Raisethorpe sell a range of goods from fruit and vegetables, clothing, CDs and DVDs to phone services. The traders operate on the pavement and from vans, under gazebos and under umbrellas and the shelter of formal shops. Traders have no fixed infrastructure and many use public toilets and either source water from formal shops or carry water from home. Street traders operate in hazardous conditions lacking

proper stalls, water and sanitation facilities. High rates of crime plague many traders. Shop owners complained that traders created an unfair competitive environment by selling the same goods at cheaper prices.

Raisethorpe was identified as a suitable survey area for a number of reasons. The researcher investigated traditional trading areas in Pietermaritzburg such as Freedom Square, Retief, Pietermaritz and Church Streets. Traders in the Church Street Mall area were not approached by the researcher as these traders had proper infrastructure and this study focussed on traders who were operating without infrastructure and services as this sector had not been previously researched.

The trading areas along Church Street, Retief and Pietermaritz Street were unserved and sites are not clearly demarcated. Street traders along Church, Retief and Pietermaritz Street are close to taxi ranks that serve Northdale, Eastwood, Woodlands and Copesville (between Church Street and Loop Street). These areas have a high crime rate and the presence of a female researcher on these streets spending three to five hours per site was not recommended.

As a result, traders operating two kilometres away from the taxi ranks along the bottom-end of Church Street were approached by the researcher to participate in the study. The aims of the study were explained by an assistant in IsiZulu. However, many street traders were reluctant to participate, explaining that they could not leave their trading site and had nobody to assist them while they participated in the study. Those who agreed to participate failed to honour interviews.

The methodology used for this study was an in-depth case study and the application of several complicated qualitative tools that required expert understanding. The skill and competency required to apply qualitative tools is unlike that of surveys where numerators have to be trained to apply the questionnaire and record answers on a pre-determined questionnaire.

The tools used in this study required immediate analysis and follow up questions that could only be done by the researcher. A qualified bilingual (IsiZulu and English) research assistant could not be hired and trained due to financial constraints. For this reason, the tools had to be applied in English, which necessitated that research participants be English first language speakers. All traders approached along Church Street, Retief and Pietermaritz Street were IsiZulu first language speakers.

The African Council of Hawkers and Informal Business (ACHIB) is the dominant trader organisation in Pietermaritzburg. According to reports, ACHIB coerces traders to become members, once traders become members, they can only purchase supplies from ACHIB affiliates (Baijoo, 2007). It is possible that traders in the city centre were afraid to participate for fear of chastisement from this organisation.

After scouting other locations such as Failsworth and Manchester Road, Raisethorpe was evaluated in terms of its racial profile and the infrastructure street traders had access to. Traders in Raisethorpe were willing to leave their sites for three to five hours and be interviewed at a local office and willing to disclose the income gained each month and how they used this cash to meet family needs. Of approximately 25 traders of mixed race, 17 agreed to participate in the study. During data collection five decided not to participate and the study was left with a sample of twelve traders (two African and ten Indian). Admittedly, this case study sample is small but the nature of the investigation required in-depth interviews and relationship building to develop trust with respondents in order to understand the coping strategy elements that typical survey research is not able to achieve.

5.2 SOURCING PARTICIPANTS

Access to street traders in Raisethorpe was not a problem and no permission had to be obtained from a manager to interview participants. Traders in Raisethorpe belong to an informal association called the Raisethorpe Traders Association. The primary aims of this organisation were to monitor the area in terms of litter and waste disposal and ensure there was sufficient space between stalls for trolleys and shoppers to move easily

(Sewduth, 2004). The association lacks an organisational structure and strong leadership. Traders mentioned that to be considered a legitimate trader one had to register with this authority. No traders approached stated that they needed permission from the organisation to participate in the study.

Research guidelines on how to approach participants and secure collaboration was adopted from Bouma and Atkinson (1995: 215-6). The traders were approached at the beginning of November 2004 by the researcher and informed briefly of the aims of the study and asked whether they would be able to share their experiences. They were informed the purpose of the study was to analyse street trading as a food security coping strategy. To facilitate understanding language used in initial meetings was simple and technical terms were avoided (Casely & Kumar, 1988:15).

Many traders were suspicious of the intentions of the researcher. Some feared that the results of the study would be used to enforce rent payments for trading sites while others feared that pension payments would cease. The researcher convinced traders that the results would not be used to harm them but instead would provide them with much needed exposure to air their problems.

Traders were carefully briefed about using pseudonyms and were told they could use pseudonyms if they feared disclosing personal information such as financial status (Bouma & Atkinson, 1995: 215). Permission was sought to use their real names and pictures in the thesis and all participating street traders granted permission to use their real names and photos in the thesis. They were told that the results of the study would be published in a journal and in a leading newspaper. When newspaper articles required names and pictures, the researcher went to all participating street traders and sought permission to have their information and pictures published. After consultation, three traders agreed to have their pictures and personal information published in local newspapers. Three newspaper articles were published on the constraints street traders faced in plying their trade, one of which focussed on the potential contribution of street trading to local economic development.

An accidental sampling technique was used in this study. A profile was drawn beforehand as a guideline in the introductory process and participants were chosen on the basis of the criteria as presented in table 5.1 (Casely & Kumar, 1988: 62). Accidental sampling was the most appropriate method to use as participants had to meet particular criteria and also the most appropriate method to use in a case study in which few subjects are required and the interaction between themes can be studied in detail (Peil, 1982: 28). On every visit more traders were recruited. A veteran trader who supported the aims of the research helped recruit traders and ease the suspicion over frequent visits.

Table 5.1 Criteria guiding sample selection for this study

Age	25-60 years.
Education	No tertiary education.
Monthly income from trading	Unspecified.
Previous employment	Lacks formal work experience.
Years trading	At least 1 year.
Hours spent trading	Full/part-time.
Formal employment status	Formally unemployed.

A letter printed on official University of KwaZulu-Natal letterhead outlining the aims of the research; why the research was being conducted; and how it was going to benefit participants was handed to prospective participants. Each letter was personalised with the name of the trader. The contact numbers of the researcher were given to trader participants. An example of the letter can be found in appendix D.

The researcher and the participant agreed on dates and times for the research session. Each research session lasted about three and half to four hours. Research sessions were conducted in the home office of the researcher. Trader participants were paid a nominal amount for their participation to compensate for time lost from the site.

Each visit assisted in building trust with the street traders as they realised the researcher was not seeking negative information or finding reasons to have them removed. Many traders expressed interest in learning how to separate their household economy from the business economy and how they could record business information (stock taking, profit/loss) on a daily basis.

5.3 THE RESEARCH DESIGN

The design of this study followed guidelines set out by various authors (Peil, 1982: 10; Yin, 1998: 228-234; Kelly, 2006: 297-315; Durrheim, 2006: 33). The aim of this study was to evaluate street trading as a food and livelihood security coping strategy. The study focused on two dimensions of street traders' lives, the personal dimension that aimed to acquire household demographic information (relationships, dependency ratios, total income, resources, and assets and food security status). The second dimension was centered on the professional or business elements of trading and included the working environment; constraints in business; education; skills and training; access to support; estimated profit and innovative approaches to competition and marketing.

Due to the investigative and descriptive nature of this study a qualitative approach was adopted (Terre Blanche et al; 2006a: 273-76). A case study was identified as the ideal research method as it allowed for the collection of rich detail and in-depth information from a few cases or key informants (Lindegger, 2006: 461). Unlike surveys that require represented samples, case studies rely on a few cases. One of the disadvantages of case studies is that they are small scale, typically meaning the results cannot be generalised to the larger population.

The dynamic quality of a case study is its ability to generate a story from the collected data and record the points of view of different people or informants (McNeill, 1990: 87-88). The story, in turn, reveals information in great depth and therefore provides greater insight into the quality of life of street traders and their needs (Fetterman, 1989: 22). The case study method was also selected because of the lack of information on how poor households engaged in street trading as a coping strategy; what other coping strategies were employed in addition to trading; when and how coping strategies were used and how money was used within households. These issues would be compromised by using quantitative methods as people's emotions; desires and subjective experiences cannot be quantified.

The most common data collection technique used in case studies is the in-depth, unstructured interview that allows for face-to-face interactive environments and facilitated collection of information (Peil, 1982: 31). To satisfy the requirement that case studies use several sources of information and various methods of data collection in order to counteract the problems resulting from collecting information from a few cases, this study relied on a diverse range of participatory data collection techniques (Kelly, 2006: 287).

Data collection tools were selected according to the sub-problems and themes explored in this study. Table 5.2 highlights the sub-problems guiding the research process, themes used to measure the sub-problems and the tools selected to investigate these. The collection of data was carried out in six phases; beginning with a briefing that outlined the aims of the research, followed by the semi-structured informal interview, and concluded with the application of participatory budgets.

Table 5.2 Sub-problems in the study, themes and tools used for data collection

SUB-PROBLEMS	THEMES	TOOLS
Do street traders have access to sufficient food for household consumption?	Income (sources and regularity); Expenses; Dependency ratios; Coping strategies; Variety and quality of food for cultural preferences.	Income and Expense resource tree; Coping strategies index; Drawing; Household resource map.
Are street traders vulnerable to food insecurity?	Savings and assets Loans and access to credit; Social capital; Gender; Sources of food and vulnerability of these sources; Infrastructure; Toilets, water, waste removal, accommodation, storage, child care, competition, confiscation, eviction and harassment, access to credit, education and training; Ideas on increasing profitability, gender impact on street trading.	Coping Strategies Index; Conceptual map of sources of food and threats to food security; Social mapping and the generation of scenarios; Resource mapping of trading site; Drawing things that could improve profitability of business, negative impacts on business; SWOT analysis of business; Visionary exercise; Resource map of initial start up requirements.
How are the resources (income) generated by street trading used to meet the needs of the household?	Education; health care; water; sanitation; electricity; housing;; assets; food (variety, tastes, preference and quality), clothing.	Mancala Game; Income and expense resource Tree.

It is apparent from the range of tools presented in table 5.2 that the three sub-problems use some of the same tools. To simplify, table 5.3 summarises the tools used in data collection. These include drawing; mapping; participatory budgets; the Coping Strategy Index; SWOT analysis; and semi-structured and key informant interviews. An explanation on each tool, its advantages and reasons for its use in the study follows.

Table 5.3 Summary of tools used in data collection

TOOLS
Drawing <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Food consumed most often versus food preferred;• Gender Exercise;• Ideas that could improve profitability/efficiency of business;• Elements that impact negatively on business.
Mapping <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Resource Map of household;• Relationship and Asset mapping;• Social mapping (shocks and assistance);• Conceptual map of sources and threats to food security;• Resource Map of trading site;• Start up resource map.
Budgets <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Mancala Game;• Income and Expense Resource Tree.
Coping Strategy Index.
SWOT analysis.
Semi structured interview.
Key informant interviews.

5.4 PHASES OF DATA COLLECTION AND RESEARCH SESSIONS

Data was collected in six stages that dealt with the household first. The resource map of the household, relationship map and social map built on each other and were carried out first. Exercises that investigated the trading site and the business elements were then administered. The visionary exercise attempted to draw the two sections together by linking problems and solutions in the two sectors. Table 5.4 presents the phases of the research session and the time taken for each exercise. Each sub-problem was broken down into multiple sets of exercises of fifteen minutes to one hour each. Each research session lasted three to four hours.

Table 5.4 Phases of data collection

Phase	Exercise	Aim	Time
1	Individual briefing	To inform key informants of the aims of the study and to acquire a list of local standardised coping strategies, ranked and weighted.	15 Minutes
2	Semi-structured interview	Inform traders of intentions of study, requirements and confidentiality.	15 Minutes
	Household resource map	To investigate the various resources that the household has access to and the locations of these resources.	15 Minutes
	Relationship mapping	Demographic information.	15 Minutes
	Asset mapping	Assets that each member of the household possessed.	15 Minutes
	Social mapping	Investigated social capital (shocks and assistance)	15 Minutes
3	Conceptual mapping	Investigated the sources or pathways of food of the household and the threats to these sources (food security).	30 Minutes
	Drawing	Food eaten most frequently versus the tastes and preferences of household members.	15 Minutes
	Coping Strategy Index	Investigated the coping strategies used by the household in times of need (food security).	10-15 Minutes
4	Resource map of trading site	To investigate the location of the site, goods sold, access and proximity to water, toilets, storage etc.	15 Minutes
	Start up map	Showed the resources required for trading and the sources of assistance.	15 Minutes
5	Drawing (SWOT)	Representation of ideas on how to improve the business (strengths and opportunities).	15 Minutes
		Representation of elements that impacted negatively on the business (weaknesses and threats).	15 Minutes
	Gender exercise	Analysis of present situation of household and business, future scenario in which things had changed for the better and the requirements for the positive change.	30 Minutes
6	Mancala Game	Investigated the resources required for trading, the various activities involved and the income received from trading every month.	30 Minutes
	Income and expense resource tree	Investigated total income of household, sources of income and expenses (assessment of household economy).	30 Minutes

5.5 THE PILOT STUDY

Two pilot studies were conducted with street traders from Raisethorpe. Two traders used for the pilot study were not part of the original group of seventeen traders who agreed to participate in this study. The main concern arising from the first pilot study was the language barrier. The first pilot study was conducted with an IsiZulu speaking female who found it difficult to understand some instructions associated with various tools. In this case the researcher had to improvise and ask an IsiZulu speaking assistant to help administer the tools and translate instructions. The language barrier was a serious concern as information could be misinterpreted. Additionally, owing to the language difficulty, the six phases of research took much longer than anticipated and the pilot participant grew restless as the researcher had to continually ask for clarification. The street trader in the pilot study worried about a friend who was operating her enterprise in her absence and whether this ‘friend’ would steal some of her day’s earnings. It was noted that since an IsiZulu speaking research assistant could not be hired owing to a lack of funds, the sample should be English speaking, not only to save the participants’ time but to ensure accuracy. In the first pilot study problems were noted with drawing, the Mancala Game and the conceptual maps of sources of food and threats to food security. Difficulties experienced in application are presented in table 5.5.

Table 5.5 Challenges experienced in the first pilot study and subsequent resolutions

Tool	Problems experienced in pilot	Resolutions
Drawing	Reluctance to draw and sometimes outright refusal.	Explaining to the research participant that drawing is a research method, and quality of drawing was not being assessed.
Mancala Game	Most of the challenges were presented to the researcher who had to adapt this tool. For example, how to quantify stock? How should the board look? How to adapt the pockets? How to include all inputs without complicating the game and confusing the participant? Confusion regarding profit, participant did not separate capital from profit and included income invested and profit into the profit grid.	Use of pictures representing quantified goods made the game visual and understandable. A simple white board was divided into grids. Polystyrene cups were used as pockets to insert pictures of goods and inputs. Regarding profit, the researcher specifically explained that income invested to purchase goods went into grid two and only profit went into grid three.
Conceptual map of sources of food and threats to food security	Participant did not consider family members as a source of food and reported only food obtained from cash income.	Researcher reminded each participant that all food sources included family members and agricultural production.

The language difficulty was overcome in the second pilot conducted with an English speaking male trader. The applications of the tools were easier and each step for each tool had to be clearly explained before and during application. Six research phases took three hours compared to five hours in the first pilot study. Applying the tools in English, the researcher's mother tongue, was much easier and more accurate information was attained. Methods did not have to be revised; the explanation had to be clearer for participants to understand what was required of them. The researcher gained much insight into the operationalisation of some innovative participatory methods (such as the Mancala Game) that were not used previously in such a study and appreciated the information these tools elicited, such as income that all informal traders are reluctant to disclose (Dasgupta, 1992a).

5.6 DESCRIPTION OF TOOLS AND APPLICATION IN THE STUDY

Various tools were used in this study. The study was qualitative and relied on innovative and conventional methods of data collection. These are detailed below.

5.6.1 The semi-structured open-ended interview

A semi-structured interview (part of the research guideline in appendix E) was the first item on the agenda in the research sessions. This tool was selected as it was more personalised, the literacy of participants' was not an issue of concern, it was conversational and participants were given the opportunity to fully express themselves (Peil, 1982: 112; Casely and Kumar, 1988: 13).

An open-ended questionnaire (appendix E) that investigated age, education, marital status, and residential area was used to initiate data collection and general conversation (Casely & Kumar, 1988: 12). The participants were assured of confidentiality (Casely & Kumar, 1988: 15). Although questions were pre-determined, this was done primarily to guide the interview, but participants were allowed to discuss relevant issues in order in which they arose. Interview questions were asked in an understandable way and phrased

to elicit detailed responses. Participants were probed if the information needed more details or clarification (Casely & Kumar, 1988: 14).

5.6.2 Drawing

Drawing has been refined as a participatory tool in the field of micro-enterprise development and economic empowerment by the DWEBA project working with rural craft producing women in the Colenso area in KwaZulu-Natal (DWEBA, 2001). Coupal (1998) and Kibuga & Powers (1999) have explored project evaluation and self assessment through drawing and pictures. It was reportedly useful when working with illiterate people or groups of people with varying degrees of literacy (FAO, 1990). The assumption underlying the use of this methodology was that the metaphorical use of drawing will unearth emotional and subconscious experience, encourage reflection and hence the potential for change. In addition, it had a catalyst function, prompting the recognition of one's own desires and needs, motives and interests and increased the confidence of participants (DWEBA, 2001).

Therefore, drawing was used in this study as a tool to reveal personal, conscious and subconscious thoughts that were indicative of true feelings, experiences and motives of street traders. The use of the methodology was divided into three stages. Stage one, was an introductory discussion about the subject of the drawings, allowing some time to reflect before beginning the actual process. In phase two, the question/s were asked in clear, understandable language that favoured visual stimulation. Questions regarding frequently eaten food as compared to preferred food and ways to improve the profitability of micro-enterprises were direct, purposeful, and open-ended.

Uses of this tool recommended that if multiple drawings were used the tasks should be broken down and each drawing built upon to create a holistic picture of the issue being studied (DWEBA, 2001). The third phase encouraged reflection and participants were required to talk about their drawings. This verbalised the thought process and allowed the researcher to prompt for further information. The ideas and information generated during the discussion was recorded to facilitate data analysis later on.

Drawing was used in this study to elicit information on the issues presented in Table 5.1 and 5.2 and to answer sub-problems one and two. In sub-problem one, drawing was used to investigate the variety, quality and quantity of food that the trader bought each month and whether these matched the tastes and preferences of the household. If money was the primary means of access to food then the amount of money available to the trader for food determined the type of food bought and whether this food was really what the household preferred. Households with limited money to spend on food tend to buy less preferable foods that may replace traditional foods altogether (de Klerk et al., 2004). Also, the diversity of diet such as the frequency of meat or chicken eaten in the household is an indicator of access to food (Frankenberger, 1992). The questions used in the drawings for sub-problem one are found in the research guideline in appendix E.

For sub-problem two, which investigated vulnerability, the participants drew their trading sites. Then they were asked to imagine and draw their trading sites five years from now and asked what was required to achieve this positive change. Participants also drew the elements that impacted negatively on their businesses and ways in which they could overcome these negative elements. Mapping and drawing were integrated to achieve a novel approach to research. Drawing was used to create pictures of the participants household, assets and dependency ratios which once drawn were joined with lines to create a map of asset ownership and familial relationships.

5.6.3 The visionary exercise

The purpose of using drawing in the visionary exercise in sub-problem two was to acquire a rich picture of street traders in their daily lives and what impact change could have on their personal and professional lives. It highlighted the experiences of street traders in accessing resources and the potential impact of economic empowerment on their status at home and at work.

This exercise was divided into various tasks that asked the traders to imagine their current situation at home and at work and a future scenario in which things have changed

for the better, and then the requirements or ideas for this change to occur. They were then asked to draw this in stages. This created a holistic picture on the current status of traders, their ideas on improving their quality of life, and envisaging a changed situation in which they are more productive and efficient. This exercise was used by the DWEBA project to help women think of changing their lives through economic empowerment and the steps needed to reach their full potential (DWEBA, 2001).

5.6.4 SWOT analysis

The strength, weakness, opportunities and threats framework or SWOT analysis (FAO, 1990) was incorporated with drawing to discover the strong points of the business (e.g. location, trading in something in demand) and the opportunities to develop this strength (e.g. more marketing, diversifying). Here weaknesses and threats such as lack of diverse stock to meet market demands and high competition were identified.

The literature review revealed that street traders were often constrained by a lack of adequate government support in terms of access to hard (trading stalls, access to amenities) and soft infrastructure (training, credit and skills) (Lund, 1998; Skinner, 2000b). For sub-problem two, traders were asked to draw pictures that reflected the ways in which the profitability and sustainability of their businesses could be enhanced by identification of strengths and opportunities. Secondly, the elements that impacted negatively on the income generating potential of their businesses were investigated through identification of weaknesses and threats. The following types of questions were asked:

- ‘Draw your business as it is now and what you like most about it’;
- ‘Draw the ways in which you could make your business better’; and
- ‘Draw the things that worry you about your business’.

This revealed insight into the real working environment of street traders, the strengths and weaknesses of the business and the ways of increasing the sustainability of the business. The participants in this study were sceptical at first about drawing their lives and experiences. Some were uncomfortable, as they had stopped drawing at a young age.

As drawing is associated with schooling, most had stopped drawing at standard six or grade eight. However, they were assured that the quality of drawing was not an issue of concern and that it was used to enliven the research process. Eventually most participants became comfortable and some even began to lose track of time, taking pride in drawing elements of their lives and experiences.

5.6.5 Mapping

Mapping is a technique used to rapidly collect information through illustration on the subject of study (FAO, 1990; Shah et al., 1991). There are various methods or types of mapping. Mapping tools chosen for this study are presented in table 5.2. Drawing and mapping are both visual tools that encourage the depiction of rich detail on specific issues through imagination and reflection on experience (DWEBA, 2001). Resource mapping provided a visual presentation on the kinds of resources that the subject has access to in or around the location (Skutsch, 1997). Resources in this study referred to the elements required to live a healthy and safe life to meet cultural, household and business needs. These included water, electricity, toilets, education, clothing, hard and soft infrastructure and appropriate support mechanisms (social capital, private and government support).

5.6.6 Resource map of the household

Resource mapping of the household was developed in order to get a general picture of the household and what it had access to. The methodology used was similar to drawing in that the participants were informed about what they were to draw, allowed to think about it, and the questions were presented in simple language in a descriptive way. The researcher guided the discussion with participants to obtain crucial information about the location and ownership of resources, drawing arrows to show the flows of resources and connections.

Natural resources such as livestock or a vegetable garden, social resources such as relationships in the household, other relationships of trust that existed between household members and organisations such as churches that could provide assistance in times of need or shocks were examined. Economic resources such as employment, savings,

investments, stokvels and other means of access to money were also investigated. In this way, the assets that belonged to members of the household and buffers against shocks were investigated (Skutsch, 1997).

The household resource map was drawn in stages. In the first stage, participants were asked to draw their homes, the location and type of water sources, lighting sources and materials, toilets and number of rooms in their home. In second stage, participants were asked to draw household members. This provided an idea of dependency ratios, the number of children and the elderly, the number of members in the family and their relationship to each other (relationship mapping). Connecting lines were drawn in different colours to show relationships between household members.

Thirdly, participants were asked to draw the assets (asset mapping) that belonged to each member of the household, if they are already present on the map, to draw arrows linking the person to the asset. Negative shocks (social mapping) were investigated at this point. The participants were presented with a series of scenarios depicting events such as the death of an income earner and the loss of business goods and asked to identify the people or organisations that would most likely assist them or have assisted them in the past. The outcomes were drawn, discussed and recorded by the researcher.

Investigating household demographic information such as the number of members, income earners and dependency ratios assisted in investigating sub-problem one, as access to the type and quality of food was determined by the number of eaters and the amount of money available for food. The asset map and social resource maps were important for investigating vulnerability to food insecurity (sub-problem two), as assets and social capital were shields for crisis times.

The stronger the asset base of the household the more likely it is to recover from shocks (Frankenberger & McCaston, undated). Shah et al. (undated, cited by FAO, 2000) have used social mapping to reveal sources of credit for a village in rural India and resource maps to identify the location, quality and quantity of natural resources. Together it was

hoped that these maps will create a holistic picture on household demographics and assets (natural, social, and physical) that constitute a household and provide answers to frequently asked questions such as what kind of background do street-traders come from.

5.6.7 Resource map of trading site

A resource map of the trading site was drawn. This was important to investigate the location of the trading site, infrastructure, and location of toilets, water sources and waste disposal. This was relevant in investigating sub-problem two, namely how the working environment constrained the income generating potential of micro-enterprise and increased vulnerability to food insecurity. Elements that had a negative impact on trading (crime, confiscation of goods) were drawn and ideas on how to increase the profitability of the business were investigated.

5.6.8 Social mapping

It was important to investigate the resources that were required for the participant to become a street trader and the origin of these resources. Participants were asked to draw the various things that they needed when they decided to start trading, how they went about acquiring these and whom they approached for assistance. Resources required included capital, goods, and access to credit. Sources of assistance included relatives and personal savings. By investigating the reasons for entering street trading, one could also investigate the type of assistance that the trader sought and the origin. This shed some light on the systems of support available and provided information on the relationship between business sustainability and support mechanisms.

5.6.9 Conceptual mapping

Conceptual mapping is a process used to specify which factors contribute to a specific outcome (Bergeron, 1999). Maxwell et al. (1997) used this method when trying to identify the various factors contributing to malnutrition in Ghana. In this study the conceptual map was used to investigate sub-problem two.

The conceptual map had five stages. In stage one, the participant was asked to brainstorm all the ways the household accessed food. It was explained that food might be bought from a grant, from a salary or grown. In stage two, the various sources of food were identified and placed on a map. Then the prior conditions for each of the sources of food to exist or to remain sustainable were discussed and listed. For example, the prior condition for food to be grown is land, there has to be money for inputs and there has to be a harvest. In this way, each of the steps in this sequence corresponded to a node; the completed sequence of nodes associated with each source formed a pathway of how the household accessed food.

The third stage of the conceptual map identified threats that existed along each food pathway. The threats to sources of food were listed next to each source with a different colour pen. For example, if a household's main pathway of food was through monetary income (food purchased from wages and migrant jobs), threats could include wage levels, availability to travel and rising food prices.

The fourth step involved the ranking of sources of food in order of importance. Ranking income earning opportunities and sources of food was carried out by Maxwell (1990) in Ethiopia. Once all the pathways of food were identified they were ranked in order of importance for each household. For instance for some households income from wages, remittances and social grants were the most important source of money for food compared to other households where access to land, credit and a good harvest were important. Using ranking in this exercise was significant as it revealed which sources of food were crucial for survival and facilitated the next stage in which the threats to the most important sources of food were identified.

In the fifth stage, the threats to the pathways of food were ranked. The threats were listed in order of their importance and corresponded to the ranked sources of food. The purpose of this was to identify the most severe threat to the most important or highest ranked source of food for the household and to determine how vulnerable the household was to

food insecurity. A discussion was held in which the participants suggested ways of countering this threat, for instance planting a garden or saving some money every month.

5.6.10 Budgets

Research suggests that street traders tend to mix the business with the household economy and use resources as if they come from a single source (Lund, 1998; Skinner, 2000b; Valodia & Skinner, 2003). Street traders tend to be unaware of business profit or loss partly due to a lack of business skills and training (Devey et al., 2003). One of the aims of this study was to establish an estimate of how much money was ‘taken home’ from street trading every month and how this money was used to meet household requirements (sub-problem three). Total household income and expenditure was ascertained to investigate sub-problem one (household access to food). Two forms of participatory budgets were selected. These included the Mancala Game and the income and expense tree. Each one of these exercises is discussed below.

5.6.11 The Mancala Game

The Mancala Game is a traditional board game played in most African countries. The Mancala Game was selected to investigate how much money was taken home from street trading every month (sub-problem three). The Mancala Game was used by Doward et al. (1998) as a farm management tool to help farmers with decision making processes. The writers recommend this participatory approach when working with illiterate people or people with low literacy. Prior to beginning the game, the traders were informed that the game measured investment in businesses in terms of time, capital and transport costs and returns in terms of profit. They were given some time to reflect on these issues.

The game had to be operationalised and adapted to the trading context. Pictures of potatoes, tomatoes, maize, fruit, onions, and telephones were drawn on cardboard and cut into shapes. These presented the quantities of goods sold at various stages of the month (grid one). The potatoes, tomatoes and onions were assigned a value such as one potato representing ten pockets, one tomato representing ten boxes, and one maize cob

representing one dozen. Time was represented on the board diagonally by each polystyrene cup that represented one week (figure 5.1).

On the second grid capital, transport costs and amount of time the trader spent trading each week were measured. Capital was measured using imitation money, time was represented by pictures of watches, each watch representing ten hours and transport costs were measured by pictures of cars, with each car carrying a value of ten rand. Grid three measured total income for each week and grid four measured only the profit, this was usually a subtraction of the capital used in grid two and the total income produced in grid three. The profit for each week was multiplied by the four weeks in order to calculate the profit for the month.

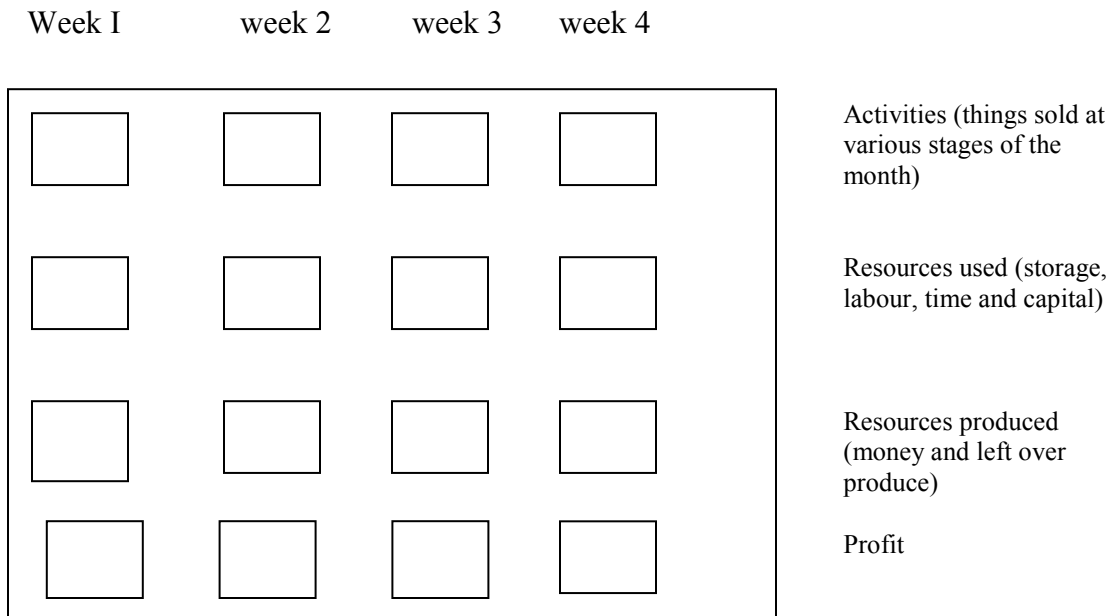


Figure 5.1 The Mancala Game.

Traders were asked to think of their businesses for a while. Then they were told how the game works. For instance if the trader bought ten pockets of potatoes in week one they should pick up a potato and insert it into the cup in grid one. Then the capital used to buy these ten pockets was counted in imitation money and inserted into the cup in grid two, the same was done for each week and every item being measured.

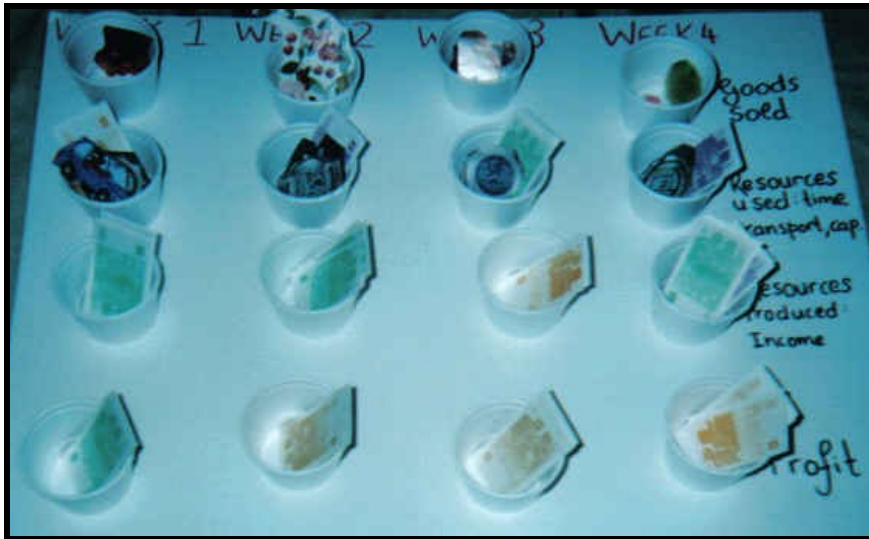


Figure 5.2 Picture of the Mancala Game

The advantage of using this technique was that traders had to think about the running of their businesses and what resources were required for the business to operate efficiently. For them to play the game they needed to work out how much money, labour and other resources were going into the business and what profit was actually made. They were also able to identify ways of improving the business and increasing profitability.

5.6.12 The income and expense resource tree

The next step in working out total household income was the use of the income and expense tree. This innovative tool has been used in Eritrea to assist illiterate micro-entrepreneurs to work out their cash flow, assess the household economy and develop a business plan (Sorenson, 1998). In this study, this method was used to assess the household economy and to determine the sources of income and expenses for one month. It also had benefits for the participants, as they learnt how to assess the household economy and hence make a monthly budget. The primary reason for using the resource tree is to ascertain how the money gained from trading was used for household needs. Therefore the profit gained from trading for one month was immediately added onto the tree as an income source.

In the first stage a tree was drawn on one side of a cardboard with long branches, a thick trunk and extended roots (figure 5.3), a table was drawn on the other side of the cardboard with two columns showing income and expenses, weekly and monthly. A discussion was held in which all the sources of income and expenses were recorded. The sources of income were then written alongside the roots of the tree and the expenses were written alongside the branches. In this way the total household monthly income and expenditure was visually represented. After drawing the resource tree the information was then put in a table (table 5.5).

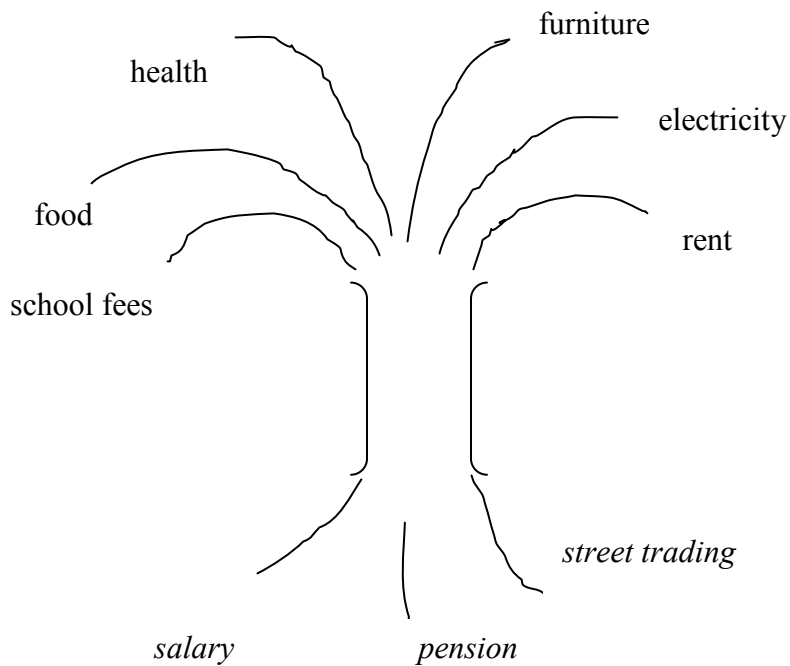


Figure 5.3 An example of a resource tree

EXPENSES	WEEK	MONTH
Food	R57	R300
Clothing		R300
Transport	R20	R80
Total expenses	R680	
INCOME	WEEK	MONTH
Wages	R300	R1200
Remittance		R400
Street trading		R740
Total income	R2540	
Difference	+ R1820	

Table 5.6 Example of a household budget showing income and expenses

The information gained from the resource tree enabled the participant to determine monthly expenses and determine when expenses were likely to exceed income, for example, in the beginning of the year when school uniforms have to be bought. The trader learnt how to make a budget for the household every month and determine how the difference or left over income was going to be spent within the household or how she/he was going to seek assistance to meet household needs.

5.6.13 The Coping Strategies Index

The Coping Strategy Index measures the frequency and severity of all consumption related strategies used by food insecure households as a food security indicator and does not measure only strategies conceptually defined as coping responses.

The cumulative index, discussed in detail below, indicates the level or severity of food insecurity, being either severe (high score), or moderate (intermediate score) thereby giving an indication of whether the household is in fact coping (experiencing occasional hunger) or starving (barely surviving). Since the Coping Strategy Index measures food insecurity through consumption related strategies, the continuum of measurement extends from stage one of coping to stage four (refer to table 2.16 in chapter two) and therefore includes all strategies, whether conceptually defined as coping or survival strategies

(Corbett, 1998). Therefore, the Coping Strategy Index is a reliable indicator of food stress.

Initially, the index was developed to capture the short-term strategies that households use to cope with food insecurity (Maxwell, 1995). Maxwell (1995) identified a set of coping strategies that were used by urban households in times of need. These coping strategies were then discussed in focus groups and assigned an ordinal rank each according to its perceived severity. Least severe strategies were assigned to rank 1, intermediate strategies (not so severe) to rank 2, intermediate strategies (quite severe) to rank 3 and most severe strategies to rank 4.

Table 5.7 illustrates a scale that measured how often households used coping strategies. This scale was adopted from Maxwell (1995). The mid-point of the range of days in each category was assigned as the value for the category. This study adopted the procedures outlined in Maxwell (1995) for the frequency scale, the severity weighting and the focus group. The coping strategies used in this study were gained from international literature and adapted to the local context after speaking to stakeholders from organisations active in the Northdale and Raisethorpe area.

Table 5.7 Frequency score for coping strategies

All the time Every Day	Very Often? 3-6 days a week	Once in a while 1-2 days a week	Hardly at all <1 day a week	Never 0 days a week
7	4.5	1.5	0.5	0

Focus group discussions were held with a group of key informants who were familiar with the plight of food insecure people in the survey area. Informants came from diverse backgrounds such as academics, non-government organisations, and religious organisations and brought a different perspective to the focus group. Ten people from community organisations, a representative of the Department of Agriculture also participated. The list of attendees can be found in appendix F.

The date, time and venue for the focus group was sent to all parties with a brief outline of the coping strategies index and what was required of them in the focus group (appendix G). These organisations are actively involved in feeding schemes for schools and food insecure areas. One organisation offered capacity building sewing classes for the unemployed. Four of the organisations gave out food parcels. One organisation had a daily soup kitchen for children and food insecure people in the Woodlands area.

The focus group meeting was held at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. At the start of the discussion the participants were briefed on the objectives of the focus group and on the reasons for their participation. They were told that this was an informal discussion and were encouraged to share their views (Casely & Kumar, 1988: 36). The group met for ninety minutes, and the various comments made were recorded by the researcher.

During the focus group, the participants were introduced to the Coping Strategies Index and an explanation on the process was presented. They were given a list of coping strategies and asked to individually rank these in terms of severity, from the least severe to the most severe, after Maxwell (1995). The list of coping strategies and their grouping is presented in table 5.8.

According to the group, there were no strategies that fell into the least severe category and the most severe category. The coping strategies used by participants in this study fell into the moderately severe category and the majority fell into the severe category. The severity scores given to each coping strategy was averaged in order to acquire a final severity weighting score to be used in the coping strategy index. As in Maxwell's (1995) study, the severity score was multiplied by the frequency score and recorded in the appropriate column alongside the coping strategy. Thereafter, the scores of each strategy was added vertically to acquire the final cumulative food security index (final score) that revealed the level of household food security. Table 5.8 below presents the average scores. Once the coping strategies were grouped and ranked in categories of severity, the

relative frequency scores were assigned and the scores for each participant was attained by multiplying levels of severity against frequency scores.

Table 5.8 Coping strategies grouped and ranked according to severity levels

INDIVIDUALS COPING STRATEGIES	INDIVIDUAL SCORES										Average score	Group ranking
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		
a. Rely on less preferred/ expensive food	1	2	2	3	1	1	4	1	1	4	2	2
b. Borrow food, or money from a friend/relative to buy food	3	1	3	2	2	2	3	3	2	3	2.4	2
c. use money reserved for the business to buy food	3	1	2	3	2	3	1	4	3	1	2.3	2
d. eat goods bought for the business	4	1	2	3	2	2	1	3	3	1	2.2	2
e. Send household members to eat elsewhere	2	3	4	4	3	3	1	3	4	2	2.9	3
f. Send household members to live with relatives	2	1	4	2	4	3	2	4	4	2	2.8	3
g. eat smaller portion	1	2	2	3	3	3	4	2	4	3	2.7	3
h. Feed working members at the expense of non working members	2	3	2	1	4	3	4	4	3	2	2.8	3
i. Ration the money and buy prepared food	2	3	2	2	3	4	1	1	3	1	2.2	2
j. Eat less than 3 meals a day	2	4	2	2	4	4	1	2	3	4	2.8	3
k. Skip entire days without eating	3	2	3	4	4	2	3	4	4	1	3	3
l. . Let small children eat rather than adults	2	3	2	3	4	3	3	3	4	2	2.9	3
m. Rely on food parcels from an organisation	2	4	3	1	4	2	1	3	3	3	2.6	3
n. Rely on monetary donations to buy food for your family or yourself	2	2	4	2	4	2	2	3	3	3	2.7	3
o. rely on food given to you from family or friends	2	2	4	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	2.8	3
p. buy food on credit	3	1	1	4	3	3	4	4	2	2	2.7	3

Categories: 1=least severe; 2=moderately severe; 3=severe; 4=most severe

During the research sessions participants were told that they would be questioned on how they manage if they ran out of food or money to buy food during the month. They were asked how often they engaged in the listed coping strategies and the responses were marked on the Coping Strategies Index sheet (appendix H). These were then multiplied by the weighting determined in the focus group and a cumulative score for each trader

was filled in. According to Maxwell (1995), the higher the Coping Strategy Index score the higher the level of household food insecurity. Determining the level of food security in this way strengthened the conceptual map on sources of and threats to food security and determined the overall food security status of the street traders.

5.7 DATA ANALYSIS

Data analysis for this study followed those recommended by qualitative researchers (Fetterman, 1989: 21; Bouma & Atkinson, 1995: 221-24; Terre Blanche et al., 2006b: 322-26) and those followed for the participatory tools used in this study (FAO, 1990; Maxwell et al., 1997; Skutsch, 1997; Doward et al., 1998; Sorenson, 1998; Shah et al., 1991; DWEBA, 2001). These were integrated to retrieve rich, detailed information about traders' lives.

Data collection and analysis was an integrated process. Immediately after the maps and pictures were drawn, the participants were asked to discuss them in detail. These discussions were recorded by the researcher on paper and by tape recorder. One of the benefits of using visual tools was that it allowed for the clarification of misunderstandings immediately as interpretation of the drawings is an interactive process.

Data analysis for this study began with the transcribing of the interviews and post drawing discussions. Data from these sources were used to form a text or story for each trader and to present the data in the form of a life story or autobiography (Bouma & Atkinson, 1995: 216). The next step involved the identification of themes that emerged from the twelve case studies. Sections of the data that were relevant to the themes were coded (Terre Blanche et al., 2006b: 324). Coding was a useful process as the data was broken down into labelled pieces, and highlighted under the main theme in the discussion phase (Terre Blanche et al., 2006b: 325). The final stage involved interpretation and writing up the themes as a discussion and answering sub-problems.

5.8 SYNOPSIS

This chapter reviewed tools used to collect data. The aim of this study was to evaluate street trading as a food and livelihood security coping strategy. The study focused on two dimensions of street traders' lives, the personal dimension that aimed to acquire household demographic information and on the professional or business elements of trading. Three sub-problems guided research in this study: to investigate whether street traders had sufficient food for household consumption; whether street traders were vulnerable to food insecurity; and to determine how the income generated by street trading was used to access basic household needs. To answer these sub-problems and to determine the household food security role of street trading, seven qualitative and participatory research tools were used. These included drawing, various mapping techniques; budgets; Coping Strategy Index; SWOT analysis; semi-structured and key informant interviews. Research was conducted in six phases and facilitated by a research guide. Chapter six presents the case studies of twelve street traders. Chapter seven compares and analyses case studies to answer sub-problems and chapter six analyses livelihoods of the twelve street trader participants based on the Learning about Livelihoods Framework (de Satge` et al., 2002).

CHAPTER SIX: CASE STUDIES

This chapter presents qualitative research data obtained with 12 street traders who worked in Raisethorpe, Pietermaritzburg in 2004. Raisethorpe is a suburban area in the north of Pietermaritzburg within the Msundusi Municipality. The policy context of the Msundusi Municipality and a discussion of Raisethorpe as the research site were presented in chapter four. This chapter focuses on 12 micro-entrepreneurs with the aim of evaluating street trading as a food and livelihood security strategy.

Through structured research sessions, six qualitative tools were applied to acquire information on personal history (age, education and work experience); reasons for engaging in street trade; household relationships and assets; household food security (types of food eaten and coping strategies); the trading environment in Raisethorpe; strengths and weaknesses of the micro-enterprise; micro-enterprise investment and profit and the household economy. During research sessions, photographs of applied tools were taken, these follow consecutively from appendices I to T. Micro-enterprise profit is termed ‘considered profit’ as this was an estimation of profit earned per month.

6.1 CASE ONE: Lungile Madondo

6.1.1 The semi structured informal interview

Lungile Madondo was a single 38 year old African female who sold telephone services for four years. She lived at her sister’s house in Northdale with her sixteen year old daughter. She grew up in Willowfontein, near Imbali and completed grade eight. Prior to street trading she was a cook for a restaurant in Raisethorpe for six years and lost her job when the restaurant closed down. Savings accumulated through this job served as capital to purchase the phone and battery for her micro-enterprise.

After losing her job Lungile could not find other employment and street trading was her only option even though at the time of the interview she “was living for the day”. Street trading income purchased basic foods such as oil, maize meal, sugar and vegetables. She

was not able to buy shoes, clothes or luxuries. Almost everything she earned was spent on food.

She was unable to pay for electricity as the Msunduzi Municipality had recently begun to include rates on the electricity bill. This resulted in a bill between R500 and R600 per month. At the time of the interview Lungile lived without electricity and used paraffin lamps for lighting and gas for cooking. She felt that without trading she would not survive, as it was the main income for the household. Her sister received a child support grant of R340 that was used for the needs of the children. Without the income gained from trading Lungile would have no other income and her family would be destitute.

6.1.2 The household resource map

Lungile lived in her sister's house, bought by her sister's late husband. She furnished it and bought the assets within it. There were three bedrooms in the house and eight dwellers. These were Lungile and her daughter, Lungile's sister and her three children, her sister's granddaughter and one cousin. Two children attended a local school. The house had electricity and piped water, however, the electricity was suspended, as they did not pay their bill for a while and could not afford electricity at R600 a month. The flush toilet was outside the house. Lungile did not own any assets. The household had a fridge; stove; radio and television. With no access to electricity the household could not store food for long periods of time. Cooked food was eaten immediately. Meat was bought only on Sundays and eaten the same day. Lungile had no savings. All the money earned "runs the house" and was combined with the child support grant. She had no safety net or social capital to draw on. If she was faced with a situation in which she lost her phones or needed capital to keep her business going she had nobody to turn to. Lungile's household resource map is in appendix I, picture I.1.

6.1.3 The conceptual map of sources and threats to food security

Monetary income was the primary source of food for this household (appendix I, picture I.2). There were two sources of income, including street trading and child support grants. For street trading to provide access to food prior conditions had to be met:

- Demand for telephone services;
- Good health;
- Access to capital to buy airtime;
- A working battery to charge the phone;
- The phone had to be in working condition.

Lungile identified threats along each food pathway:

- Ill health, frequent headaches;
- When the phone was in use other customers moved on to neighbouring service providers;
- Too much competition, many traders in the area offered the same service;
- She had been threatened by gangs who knew she had money on her all the time;
- The battery, that enabled the operation of the phone, ran out frequently and a new one had to be bought at the cost of R400, there was never enough money to buy a new one;
- The phone was very fragile and the handset was prone to breaking. This cost R120 to repair.

For the child support grants to provide access to food, Lungile stated that grant payments were dependable; the most important prior condition was the ability to fetch the grant from the Civic Centre where it was paid to cardholders. The following threats existed along this food pathway:

- Once the children exceeded the supported age limit the grant will cease;
- Lungile's sister's ill health led to her missing the grant payment occasionally;
- Government corruption at grant payment points was a threat as sometimes when the grant recipient did not fetch the money it, it was "lost" or mislaid.

For her household the phone business was the most important provider of food, followed by the child support grant. The main threat to her business was crime. She was scared that her phone would be stolen. Although these threats have never actually materialised, for her it was a real threat and source of much anxiety.

The second ranked threat to the business was the “breaking of the phone”. The phone often needed repairs and as it was her only phone she had no means of making a living while it was being repaired. She normally had to borrow money to have the phone fixed and the repairman “took his own time”. She realised that she needed another phone to secure her business and her livelihood but could not save any money as she was the key breadwinner and there were many demands on the money she made.

Lungile was asked if she had thought of any solutions to the threats that she faced in her business. She stated that in order to reduce the competition she sold her phone service at 50c a unit, the same price as the other traders in the same business. She said that to offer a standard price reduced competition and gave everyone an equal chance to make a living.

6.1.4 Food most often eaten as compared to preferred food

The food most eaten (appendix I, Picture I.3) were each a 10kg maize meal, rice, sugar, potatoes and cabbage and oil. These cost about R190 a month. Lungile would have liked to eat meat, chicken, salad, mayonnaise, tea, coffee and juice more often.

6.1.5 The Coping Strategies Index

For the tabulated Coping Strategy Index refer to appendix I.4. Lungile’s household ate less preferred or less expensive food everyday. She never borrowed food but borrowed money from neighbours to buy food in times of need. This strategy was used one to two days a week. Lungile relied on her capital to buy food for the household all the time. This highlighted the fact that profit was not generated quickly enough to sustain her everyday household demands.

Due to the high number of dependents in the household members were sent to eat at the neighbour’s house for one to two days a week. Household members ate smaller portions once or twice a week. The entire household skipped lunch. Lungile stated that this was specifically done to make the food last as long as possible. School going children did not

take lunch to school for the same reason. Lungile and her sister let the small children eat rather than adults. This happened very often, about three to six days a week.

Lungile was most likely to use these coping strategies in the middle of the month, usually the end of week two and the beginning of week three. However, as desperate she might have been, she never bought food on credit, and household members were never sent to live with relatives because of a lack of sufficient food. Working members and non-working members shared the food equally. She did not feel she should get to eat first or at the expense of other household members because she was the breadwinner. The household never bought prepared food, only the ingredients for a meal. Household members never skipped entire days without eating and were never sent out to beg. Lungile's CSI score was 76.

6.1.6 The trading site

Lungile operated from a cardboard table supported by a crate and sat on a stool. There was no protection from the weather (appendix I, picture I.5). Due to overcrowding of the pavements by other traders selling goods such as pockets of potatoes, she was obscured from view; one had to pass her to notice her business.

6.1.7 SWOT analysis: identifying the strengths and weaknesses of the business

Business location and a steady flow of customers were strengths of her business. Unregulated competition amongst the traders in the Raisethorpe area limited income and was identified as a weakness. Racial tension between Black and Indian traders was rife over operating space and goods. Lack of police presence was another issue impacting negatively on the business. She was constantly on the look out for thieves who tried to steal her phone or the day's earnings. There was no protection from the weather, on rainy days she was compelled to close early. Exposure to the weather also made her frequently ill (appendix I, picture I.6). Lack of access to water and toilet facilities meant she had to find someone to man her business while she was away.

6.1.8 The visionary exercise

Five years from now Lungile would like her own house, a car, more money and a container to operate her business (appendix I, picture I.7). To attain these goals she had to have a good business and excess money or a bigger profit to save. A small container costs R10 000 and she could not afford it. The container would provide shelter and a safe place to store her phones at night. She stated that she only needed money to build her business. She had no family or friends that could loan her money. Lungile had not approached a bank as she was aware of the requirements such as a salary slip and collateral which she was unable to provide.

6.1.9 The Mancala Game

Every Monday Lungile bought R150 of airtime; she used this on Tuesday and Wednesday. On Thursday she bought airtime for R200 and used this for Friday, Saturday and Sunday. Each week she spent R350 in airtime and R1400 every month. Half of Lungile's earnings was considered as profit. Profit was the same from week one to week four. According to the Game, Lungile's estimated profit was R175 a week and R700 for the month.

6.1.10 The resource tree

The information from the resource tree (appendix I, picture I.8) appears in table 6.1. Income from street trading was the main source of income for Lungile. There were various expenses such as storage (storing her phone in a store in Raisethorpe), gas for cooking, and paraffin for lighting, food and transport to the trading site every day.

Lungile's considered profit barely met household needs. She stated that the money received from the child support grant should not be included in the household budget, since her sister used it for school fees. If the money received from the child support grants was left out of the household budget, the difference was R70. This showed the survivalist nature of her business, and proved that she was "living for the day".

Table 6.1 Lungile’s household Budget

INCOME	WEEKLY	MONTHLY
Street trading	R175	R570 (R700- R100 for transport- R30 for storage)
Child support grant		R340
Total		R910
EXPENSES	WEEKLY	MONTHLY
Gas		R90
Meat	R15	R60
Food		R190
Paraffin		R20
Other groceries (spices etc)		R50
Total	R40	R410
DIFFERENCE		+R500

CASE TWO: Joe Mainala**6.2.1 The semi-structured informal interview**

Joe Mainala was a single 24-year-old African permanent South African resident. He was born in Malawi but came to South Africa to live with his brother and explore business opportunities. He rented a room in a house shared by other foreign workers. He paid R500 every month, including electricity and water. Joe was educated in Malawi and completed grade seven. He had a certificate in motor mechanics from Blantyre in Malawi. He had no formal business education and learnt to run a business whilst assisting in his father’s business. He had little formal work experience.

Prior to becoming a trader Joe worked for four months as a mechanic, earning R150 every week. He felt that the wage was unfair for the kind of work and the hours he put in and could barely pay rent and buy food. He needed to find another job to make ends meet and save a little money to send home. He initially thought of opening a garage where he could service motor vehicles and put his skills to use, but he did not have sufficient capital to invest in equipment. He realised that he could open a stall that required little start up capital.

Joe had been running his business for five years. He sold potatoes, tomatoes and onions on the pavement outside a little take away. His plan was to purchase a van and operate from bigger more secure premises before expanding his business. The main reason he went into trading was because he “was being abused at the workplace and could not make ends meet”. Trading had made a huge difference to his life as he was independent, and lived his life as he wished. He saved money for his family, for a van and was seeking larger secured business premises where he could store his goods. In his own words “I am happy now, I have independence, earning more money. I can do everything I want now, can take a bus to Durban now and go to the beach”.

His experience as a trader in the Raisethorpe area had not been pleasant. Tension between Indian and Black traders was unbearable. Indian shopkeepers demanded rent for using the pavement directly outside their shops. Shopkeepers frequently harassed him and argued that they had rent and wages to pay while Joe had no overheads, his stall was perceived as a source of unfair competition. The threat of crime was ever present, he had been stabbed previously and his earnings stolen. He was anxious about the threat to his life and livelihood.

6.2.2 The household resource map

In his rented room Joe had a television; a radio; fridge and stove (appendix J, picture J.1). The house had an inside flush toilet, electricity and piped water. Joe was comfortable with these amenities.

6.2.3 The conceptual map of sources and threats to food security

Joe’s only source of food was money gained from street trading (appendix J, picture J.2). To acquire access to food the following prior conditions had to exist:

- A steady demand for his goods;
- Access to supplies;
- A flow of customers;
- Proper storage for his goods;

- Reliable transport to and from the market.

Joe then identified the threats along this food pathway:

- High levels of competition;
- Threats of crime and experience of criminal elements;
- Rotting supplies due to a lack of refrigeration;
- Unstable market prices;
- Rising petrol prices.

Since Joe's only source of food was street trading he was not asked to rank his sources of food. The greatest threat to Joe's food security was theft of goods and being robbed of profit and capital. The second threat was rising petrol prices as this reduced his profit. Rising food prices was the third threat to food security followed by rotting goods and unstable market prices. He devised solutions to some of these threats such as taking a public taxi to work everyday to avoid being robbed, even though this cost him R25 a week and increased the prices of his goods. Increasing prices was only beneficial if all traders trading in the same goods agreed to raise prices; otherwise competition resulted in him losing business.

6.2.4 Drawing food eaten most frequently as compared to preferred food

Joe did not buy uncooked food (appendix J, picture J.3). He purchased food from Pakistani vendors selling 'chicken tikka' everyday. In the morning he had tea and bread which he bought when required. He ate whatever he preferred and was not restricted to specific kinds of food due to a lack of money.

6.2.5 The Coping Strategies Index

For a tabulated Coping Strategy Index see appendix J.4. Joe did not engage in any of the coping strategies mentioned on the list. He did consume stock he bought for the business but this was not because he lacked money to buy other food. He consumed his fruit and vegetables once he had covered the cost of the items and was therefore "not losing out".

He preferred consuming and distributing vegetables that were scarred to avoid wasting. Joe had a CSI score of 0.

6.2.6 The trading site

Joe traded outside a takeaway a few meters from a taxi rank (appendix J, picture J.5) that had a steady flow of customers. People disembarking from taxis had a good view of his stall and since Joe's stall was the closest to the taxi rank people tended to buy from him for convenience before hailing a taxi. He displayed goods on tables and used an umbrella for shelter. Excess supplies were stored under tables. He carried water with him and used a pay toilet (R2). Joe stated that for him to start his business he needed R500 to buy tomatoes, potatoes and onions. He had no savings at the time and could not take out a formal or informal loan due to a lack of appropriate documents and kin. He sold his television for R500 which was bought from his savings.

6.2.7 Strengths and weaknesses of the business

The strength of the business lay in selling goods that were in constant demand (appendix J, picture J.6). His location ensured he was noticed by passing customers. To improve income he needed a formal shop to store goods and keep his money. He needed a van to hawk his goods. He was afraid to expand his business now as it would attract unnecessary attention from thieves and harassment from formal shop owners. Crime and theft of goods weakened the business as customers were sometimes afraid to shop around the taxi rank. Other traders and shop-owners wanted him to relocate his stall or start paying rent for using the space outside shops.

6.2.8 The visionary exercise

Joe would like to own a furnished house with the necessities (appendix J, picture J.7). His business was drawn in more detail. He desired a formal secured store that could be locked by a garage door operated by a chain. He wanted a van and a scale to weigh his goods. He would like to expand by selling fruits and a greater variety of vegetables. To make these changes possible he needed to plan his finances carefully by saving enough money to attain his goals.

6.2.9 The Mancala Game

Joe sold tomatoes, potatoes and onions. He traded from 8:30 am to 6 pm everyday, amounting to 66 hours every week. He spent R40 on private transport every week. The quantity of goods bought for sale did not vary during the week. Every Monday Joe hired a van and went to the Pietermaritzburg market to buy potatoes for R600, onions for R300 and tomatoes for R1100. Altogether he spent R2000 on buying goods for his business every Monday and Thursday. The Mancala Game revealed that every week business was the same, the same amount of goods were bought and sold at a steady pace.

Joe was very aware of his financial matters. He kept a diary in which he recorded his costs and profit every Sunday. He spent R2000 in his business every week and made a total of R4000 by the end of the week. Every Sunday he kept aside R2000 for reinvesting in the business and took R2000 as profit. Joe recorded how the R2000 was going to be spent in his diary. He explained to the researcher that from the R2000, R1500 was immediately kept aside as savings. The remaining R500 was spent in the following manner: R250 as personal wages (from which he paid for the van transport to the market, clothing and personal items), R100 for food, R125-R150 for rent and R25 for taxi fare and pocket money. Altogether, the considered profit made from Joe's fresh produce business was estimated at R8000.

6.2.10 The resource tree

Information attained from the resource tree (appendix J, picture J.8) appears in table 6.2.

Table 6.2 Joe's monthly income and expenses

EXPENSES	WEEKLY	MONTHLY
Savings	1500	6000
Personal wages	250	1000
Food	100	400
Rent	125	500
Pocket money and taxi fare	25	100
	R2000	R8000
INCOME	WEEKLY	MONTHLY
Street trading	R2000	R8000
DIFFERENCE

From Joe's resource tree it was apparent that he accounted for every cent he spent. He believed that careful planning of his business had contributed to the rapid growth of profit. He used his financial skills to save for a bigger business, for assets such as a van and a car and for equipment such as shelves and scales.

6.3 CASE THREE: Premie Sukhdaw

6.3.1 The semi-structure informal interview

Mrs. Premie Sukhdaw was a married 54-year-old Indian female who traded in Raisethorpe for twenty-two years. She was a mother of three adult children; her eldest son was unemployed. Her second son had a marketing diploma and was working for an estate agency. Her third son was working at an appliance store. She had completed eight years of schooling and had little formal work experience. She worked as a housemother to 103 children in a benevolent home for six years. Thereafter she was transferred to another institution where she worked as a housemother for two years. She stated that the reason she worked as a housemother was because she was homeless and the orphanage provided her with shelter. She had to transfer to an orphanage in Pietermaritzburg because of her destitute status.

The municipality that dealt with Indian property affairs found her a home in Pietermaritzburg and she soon became an informal trader. She went into trading to earn a living to provide for her children as her husband was a chronic alcoholic. She believed that trading had helped her through difficult years. She was able to pay for her second son's three-year marketing diploma. Even though she was 54 years old, for her trading was "a way of making ends meet, to pay the electricity account, house bond and buy food, that's why I can't leave".

Mrs. Sukhdaw had no formal business training. She gained the skills through years of experience. She had been trading in fruit and vegetable outside a bakery in Raisethorpe for 22 years. The owners of the bakery had given her permission to use the land alongside the pavement that belonged to them. Due to lack of space around the bakery and the close

proximity to other traders she sold seasonal fruit and vegetables from a makeshift stall a few meters away from her main stall.

Since her stall was next to the taxi rank she had suffered from anxiety and depression after witnessing the accidental murder of a young boy resulting from feuding taxi warlords. She feared that she might be caught in the crossfire and killed. The Raisethorpe area was a thriving market for stolen goods such as jewellery and cellular phones. Mrs. Sukhdaw's earnings had been stolen from her purse on several occasions. She felt that the police and municipality had abandoned the traders in Raisethorpe.

6.3.2 The household resource map

Mrs. Sukhdaw lived in a three-bedroom house with her immediate family (appendix K, picture K.1). She had a lounge, kitchen and bathroom with piped water and an inside flush toilet. She had a thriving garden of banana trees; maize; spinach; fennel; green beans and lettuce. She planted coriander and mint for commercial purposes. The other vegetables and herbs were sold when there was a high demand for them and she fetched a high price. The spinach was bought by a local store. The food garden was an important source of food for her household.

Six adults and one child lived in the house. Her youngest son owned the house. Her daughter-in-law owned the fridge. Mrs. Sukhdaw and her husband jointly owned the stove, the digital video disk player (DVD) and the television. Mrs. Sukhdaw's assets had proved to be a safety net in times of need. When her van and stock were stolen she had no means of going to the market to buy goods, and transporting goods to and from the site. She sold her gas cooker on which she fried maize for sale for R300. She pawned her television for R500 and two cookers for R700 and accumulated the capital to buy stock. Recently her van and gazebo were stolen. She sold her jewellery for R500 and her daughter-in-law borrowed money from her mother to accumulate money to buy another van. She believed that if something detrimental should happen again she would pawn her DVD player and television.

6.3.3 Conceptual map of sources of food and threats to food security

There were four sources of food: pension, food garden, wages and street trading (appendix K, picture K.2). To acquire food from the home garden the following conditions had to exist:

- Water;
- Available labour to plant seasonal vegetables and for maintenance;
- Seeds;
- Manure;
- Chemicals;
- Equipment and technology such as a spray gun.

Mrs. Sukhdaw listed the threats to this source of food:

- Drought or a high water bill;
- Increasing labour costs (paying some one to maintain the garden);
- Pests/insects and monkeys that eat the plants;
- Rising costs of chemicals;
- Servicing of equipment- too expensive.

The prior conditions for her trading business to continue as a source of food were:

- Customers;
- Reliable transport;
- Reliable supplies and supplier (farmers who bring the goods to her site);
- Good health to run her business.

Premie identified the following threats to this pathway of food:

- A high level of competition, too many traders selling the same goods;
- Problems with transport (hijacking van, stealing of van);
- Rising petrol prices and the inability to hire transport;
- Rotting supplies;
- Exposure to stress in violent incidences;

- Lack of protection from extreme weather conditions lead to ill health.

For her son's wages to contribute to household food security the following conditions had to exist:

- Demand for labour;
- Ability to travel to work;
- Appropriate wage levels.

The following threats exist to monetary income:

- Low wage/salaries levels;
- Less demand for skills;
- Loss of employment.

The only threat to her pension as a source of food was problems with actual pay out which had never occurred previously. Mrs. Sukhdaw ranked street trading as the main source of food and her pension as the second. Her second son's salary was used for the bond. The highest ranked threat to her main source of food was violence in the Raisethorpe area. Lack of trading space to expand and diversify was the second ranked threat followed by exposure to weather. She ranked high levels of competition amongst traders over goods and trading space as the fourth and least important threat to her business as her business was well known and she had regular customers. Mrs. Sukhdaw stated that communication and cooperation between traders and taxi owners was the only solution to the violence that threatened her personal and business security.

6.3.4 Drawing frequently eaten food as compared to preferred food

Mrs. Sukhdaws household (appendix K, picture K.3) consumed rice, fish, roti (traditional bread), salads, bean curry, chicken curry and herbs regularly. However, she highlighted that she would like to eat fish more often.

6.3.5 The Coping Strategy Index

Mrs. Sukdaw's Coping Strategies Index revealed that she did not use any of the strategies specified on the list (appendix K.4). She had a CSI score of 0.

6.3.6 The trading site

Mrs. Sukhdaw had an informal stall set up in the shade of a bakery (appendix K, picture K.5). She placed her goods on two tables sheltered by an umbrella. She made use of the 50c-pay toilet and the bakery supplied her with water. Mrs. Sukhdaw started her business with R5000 which was an inheritance. She bought stock and a van with this money and also received assistance from her nephews and nieces. After trading for 18 years she had a massive heart attack and lost her business. To start up again she used her savings, every time she was faced with a negative event she pawned her assets for capital to buy stock and repurchased the pawned assets once she had saved enough.

6.3.7 Strengths and weaknesses of the business

The strengths of her business were a good location, friendly attitude towards her clients and an established reputation. She believed she could improve her business through a capital boost and durable shelter as gazebo's frayed and broke easily. She desired storage of her goods to improve their shelf life and her income.

According to Mrs. Sukhdaw theft, crime and people walking around with knives, guns, knobkerries, iron rods and beer bottles had a negative impact on her business (appendix K, picture K.6). This has resulted in her suffering from a nerve problem which made her ill and unproductive. Her ill health subsequently weakened her business, as she could not be as productive as she wanted to.

In five years time Mrs. Sukhdaw would like to have another house and a bigger space for her grandchildren to play in. She dreamed of a formal shop (appendix K, picture K.7) with facilities and a reliable manager as she would like to retire. She wanted counters and shelves to store her vegetables as she wanted to neatly present her goods and have proper

air-conditioning, a tap to wash vegetables for hygienic purposes and proper toilet facilities.

To make these positive changes she needed money. Communication with people such as shop owners who had years of experience would benefit her more than attending a business course. To achieve her goals she needed a small loan, which she could pay back in small amounts. She stated that she liked the municipality to assist traders in terms of business advice so she could learn how to budget for her business and learn proper accounting procedures. She added that she could not apply for a loan as she was a pensioner.

6.3.8 The Mancala Game

Mrs. Sukhdaw visited the market once every week to purchase goods to the value of R500. Added to this she bought goods to the value of R300 from a farmer. She spent R75 a week on transport. She traded fifty-six hours a week. Each week she purchased fifteen to twenty pockets of potatoes; five boxes of tomatoes; five or six pockets of onions; but increased this to ten pockets at month end. She bought five boxes of apples; two boxes of bananas and three boxes of seasonal fruit; two boxes of chillies; two boxes of brinjals; two boxes of lettuce; 20 cabbages; 50 spinach; two pockets carrots; two boxes baby marrow and two boxes of butternuts.

Table 6.3 Premie’s Mancala Game outcome

	WEEK ONE	WEEK TWO	WEEK THREE	WEEK FOUR
INCOME SPENT	R800	R500	R600	R1000
TURNOVER	R200	R800	R950	R1900
CONSIDERED PROFIT	R600	R300	R350	R900

Her total considered profit for the month was R2150. At month end more capital was spent to meet the demands of increased numbers of shoppers.

6.3.9 The resource tree

Information from the resource tree (appendix K, picture K.8) appears in table 6.4. Mrs. Sukhdaw further elaborated that the difference of R430 was given to her daughter-in-law for emergencies such as vehicle repairs, doctor fees and medication

Table 6.4 Premie’s household’s budget

EXPENSES	AMOUNTS
Food	R1100
Electricity and water	R400
Doctors fees	R400
Special health foods	R150
transport	R300 (not included in total)
Burial insurance	R110
Total	R2160
INCOME	AMOUNTS
Trading	R1850 (R2150- R300 transport costs)
Pension	R740
Total	R2590
DIFFERENCE	+R430

6.4 CASE FOUR: Nadia Jhangir

6.4.1 The semi-structured informal interview

Nadia Jhangir was a 30 year old married Indian female who owned a chicken tikka (marinated chicken grilled on an open flame) stall in Raisethorpe. She had two daughters aged twelve and thirteen from her first marriage. At the time of the interview Nadia was married to her third husband. Nadia had a grade nine education and little formal work experience. She worked for a mill as a spinner for a year and at a shoe factory for one year and had been trading for a year. She went into business with her mother in January 2004. The main reason she went into trading was to “earn a living”. She was unable to find formal employment and needed to support her daughters and tend to the medical needs of her mother. Trading helped her meet the needs of the household and it had especially assisted her in buying food.

Her experience as a female trader selling a dish that was known to be a Pakistani specialty had been challenging. She experienced gender discrimination, as potential male patrons preferred buying from Pakistani male traders. Potential male and female

customers had also told her that they preferred buying from someone who was an expert in preparing the dish. In this way Nadia felt she did not receive the support she required from her fellow South Africans.

6.4.2 The household resource map

Nadia lived in a three-bedroom house with a lounge, kitchen and outside toilet (appendix L, picture L.1) and piped water. The family used electricity for cooking, even though the electricity had apparently been disconnected before they moved in, they still had access to it and did not receive a monthly account. Nadia had a small garden where she planted coriander and mint that were sold door to door to generate extra income. Nadia lived with her mother; two daughters; sister and sister's husband. There were various assets in the house. There were two televisions (one belonged to Nadia and the other to her mother), a hi-fi and typewriter belonged to Nadia's daughters; and Nadia's sister owned a stove while her mother owned another. Nadia owned one fridge and her mother another larger one. The rest of the assets; the microwave; table; safe; decoder and washing machine belonged to Nadia's mother. The safe was used to store jewellery and savings.

In times of need the family had various sources of social capital. Nadia could turn to her neighbours in times of need or to other Raisethorpe traders if she needed to borrow money or needed vegetables to cook. During the month of fasting mother "went door to door in Mountain Rise (a rich suburban area) asking for help". A local church provided the family with groceries in 2003. Nadia's mother also pawned her jewellery in the past to manage the household.

Nadia stated that her family had always been on the brink of destitution. In times of utter desperation her mother sold dagga, she was arrested and placed on one year's house arrest and had to serve one year community service at the Blind and Deaf society. Her sentence ended in January 2005. She appealed to her correctional officer to let her conduct her business as it was the main source of income for the household and she was granted permission.

6.4.3 Conceptual map of sources of and threats to food security

Nadia's household had four sources of food: trading; maintenance payments; her mother's pension and other street traders (appendix L, picture L.2). Three of these sources of food were monetary income and were the main sources of food.

In order for her business to generate sufficient income to run the household the following prior conditions had to exist:

- Sufficient capital to buy chicken, salad items, flour, margarine and coal;
- Customers;
- Appropriate shelter;
- Access to necessary supplies.

Nadia listed the following as threats to this pathway of food:

- Rising prices of chicken, coal, flour and oil;
- High levels of crime;
- Competition with Pakistani traditional chefs;
- Attitude of South African customers who prefer to buy food from Pakistanis;
- Fragile shelter (gazebo breaks easily and flies away in windy conditions, leaks when raining);
- Flies that create an unhygienic environment;
- Rotting supplies especially if exposed to the weather for long periods of time.

Nadia explained that she used maintenance money to buy food for the household. Her husband paid maintenance irregularly and she had to make frequent trips to court to force him to pay. This used time and money and sometimes she had to walk to and from the maintenance court in town. The greatest and only threat to this source of food was that her husband would stop paying maintenance. Her mother's pension was also a source of food.

Street traders that Nadia worked with were important sources of assistance in times of need. In quiet times when the cost of produce had not been covered, traders tended to sell

them below cost to make sure that they were at least reaping a minimum income. Nadia was confident of their assistance and felt that she could always rely on them.

Nadia ranked her trading business as the most important source of food for the household followed by the maintenance payments, and ranked traders as the third most important source of food. Lack of capital and high prices of goods were equally rated as the most important threats to her business security. High levels of competition were ranked second, followed by inappropriate shelter and the attitude of customers was ranked last.

She had some innovative solutions to the threats she discussed. She shopped around for the cheapest prices and always maintained a friendly attitude with her customers whether they were “drunk or fussy”. She believed in regularly buying new shelter to make her business presentable.

6.4.4 Drawing frequently eaten food as compared to preferred food

Nadia’s household enjoyed a varied diet rich in cabbage, lentils, butternut, potatoes and beans, meat and fish (appendix L, picture L.3). She liked to consume more fruit, cereals, biscuits, juice and milk. She perceived these as luxuries that the household could not afford.

6.4.5 The Coping Strategies Index

Nadia’s household ate less preferred food or less expensive food all the time. She borrowed money to buy food about twice a week. She never bought food on credit. She used the money reserved for the business to buy food for the house about twice a week and ate the chicken she bought for her business about three days a week. She never sent household members to eat elsewhere or to live with relatives and never fed working members at the expense of non-working members. Household members did eat smaller portions at meal times about once a week. Nadia rationed the money and bought prepared food about once a week. She skipped lunch every day but never skipped entire days

without eating. For about three to six days a week the children eat first rather than adults. Nadia had a CSI score of 84 (appendix L.4).

6.4.6 The trading site

Nadia traded from a gazebo prone to the whims of the weather (appendix L, picture L.5). When she first started she bought material and had a stand built on the pavement to support the grill and coals. Nadia and her mother saved up and bought a table, gazebo and two chairs. A trolley used to transport the goods to and from the trading site was given to them. Nadia's mother saved from her pension to start the business. She also borrowed money from her friends to accumulate the capital to buy stock such as chicken; margarine; flour and salad items.

6.4.7 Strengths and weaknesses of the business

Support from customers was vital to business survival, but Nadia did not know how to influence attitudes. She reduced her prices to attract more customers and make her business grow. She needed proper infrastructure such as tables to make fresh traditional bread, a tap to wash chicken and cutlery. She believed this would save much time and create a better environment for selling food.

Nadia believed that high levels of competition with established businesses selling the same dish impacted negatively on her business. She could not compete as she was just starting, and was already only charging for the chicken, the traditional bread was free. This was a way of establishing her business through lower prices and did cover the cost of the ingredients required to make the bread. Inappropriate shelter and flooding of the area surrounding her site were elements that weakened her business as she had to stop trading in extreme weather.

6.4.8 The visionary exercise

Nadia wished to own the house she was currently renting and to own a van or car for business purposes (appendix L, picture L.6). Her main goal was to keep her daughters in

school to complete their high school education. She desired a well established business at the same trading site. She hoped to have proper infrastructure such as a tap; permanent shelter and a cement table. To achieve both these goals she needed customer support and the support of the municipality to develop proper infrastructure as she could not build a permanent structure on public space.

6.4.9 The Mancala Game

Nadia traded from 8 am until 2 am (appendix L, picture L.7). She worked shifts with her mother. She did not spend money on transport as she lived close to Raisethorpe and used a trolley to transport her goods. In week one and four she bought two boxes of chicken (sometimes two and a half boxes of chicken depending on capital) or sixteen chickens; two 12.5 kg's of flour and eight 500g bricks of margarine. In week two and three she bought half a box of chicken; one 12.5 kg of flour and four 500g bricks of margarine.

In week one and four she spent R340 on chicken, R100 on flour, R40 on margarine and R30 on salad items. She spent a total of R510 for each week (one and four). She made R750 in week one and in week four, leaving her with a considered profit of R240 for each week. In week two and three she spent R170 on chicken, R50 on flour, R20 on margarine and R20 on salad items. She spent R260 altogether in week two and in week three. Her total income for each of these two weeks was R430, with a profit of R170. Her total considered profit for the month was R820 [(R240 X 2) + (R170 X 2) = R480 + R 340 = R820].

Table 6.5 Nadia's financial information attained from the Mancala Game

	WEEK ONE	WEEK TWO	WEEK THREE	WEEK FOUR
INCOME SPENT	R510	R260	R260	R510
TURNOVER	R750	R430	R430	R750
CONSIDERED PROFIT	R240	R170	R170	R240

6.4.10 The resource tree

Information attained from the resource tree (appendix L, picture L8) appears in table 6.6. The difference of R220 was kept aside for public taxi fare, bread and milk. When this money ran out she approached her friends for assistance.

Table 6.6 Nadia's household budget

EXPENSES	AMOUNTS
Rent	R800
Food	R650
Children's items	R100
Health care costs	R40
Cutting of grass	R50
Airtime	R60
Total	R1700
INCOME	AMOUNTS
Trading	R820
Pension	R800
Maintenance	R300
Total	R1920
Difference	+ R220

6.5 CASE FIVE: Shireen Mohammed

6.5.1 The informal semi-structured interview

Shireen Mohammed was a 39-year-old Indian female who sold cosmetics and toys in Raisethorpe. She had been married for ten years and had two children. She traded from Thursday to Saturday as business was too quiet during the week. Shireen completed grade seven before leaving school because her family had financial difficulties. She started working at the age of fifteen and had substantial formal work experience. She worked for a clothing company for 23 years as a machinist until the factory closed down. Shireen would like to put her skills to use by making clothes and selling them at her stall. However, this depended on the space she had available to display her goods.

Shireen decided to become a trader after many attempts to find employment. She considered trading at flea markets but one had to rent a spot for R90. She started out selling batteries until she received requests from her customers to sell cosmetics and toys.

She used her street trading income to help pay the electricity account, rent and to buy food. The money she earned from trading also helped furnish her home.

Her experience of being a business owner had been challenging and rewarding. On one hand she was able to make ends meet and on the other hand, competition lead to an unpleasant working environment. She had experienced hostility from other traders as they told her she needed to get permission from the Raisethorpe Traders Organisation to operate her business. She was also told that she could not sell the same goods that were already being sold by other traders.

6.5.2 The household resource map

Shireen lived in an outbuilding of one room and a kitchen (appendix M, picture M.1). There was only one tap that served the tenants section and was outside in the yard while her room and bathroom were upstairs. She had electricity and a flush toilet. Whenever she required water for washing or cooking she needed to fetch water in a bucket and take it to her area of the outbuilding.

Although she had two children, they attended school a distance away and therefore lived with her mother-in-law and visited on weekends. Shireen and her husband jointly owned the assets in the house including a two-plate stove; fridge; table and chairs; television; two wardrobes and a chest of draws.

Shireen related a story in which her goods were stolen from her trading site. Two radios valued at R50 and batteries valued at R35 were stolen. She stated that this did not affect her business that much and was able to re-purchase stock with money borrowed from her husband's wages. Whenever she needed to buy new stock she borrowed R200 from her husband and repaid it gradually. However, she said that if she was unable to repay the money they were unable to pay the rent in full at the end of the month. Her brother was also a source of assistance. He often bought food and paid accounts for her if she had not had a productive week or month.

6.5.3 Conceptual map of sources of threats to food security

There were three sources of food: wages, trading and her brother (appendix M, picture M.2). To have access to food from her business, the following prior business conditions had to be met:

- Access to supplies;
- Good health;
- A favourable trading spot;
- A steady flow of customers.

She then identified the threats to her business that might jeopardise her income earning potential:

- Increasing prices of supplies such as batteries and toys;
- Ill health;
- Problems over trading space;
- Extreme weather conditions such as rain, heat;
- Crime and goods being stolen;
- High levels of competition.

Shireen identified the following threats to her husband's wage income:

- The ability to travel to work (about 20 kilometres away);
- He has dangerous working conditions;
- The demand for spray-painters may decline;
- He may lose his job;
- His wages may decline.

Her brother was a regular source of financial assistance and food security. Shireen stated that for him to continue to be a source of assistance her brother needed a good salary to meet his household and family demands. To fulfil this he had to travel everyday and there had to be a market demand for his services.

Shireen ranked trading as the most important source of food, followed by her husband's wages and ranked her brother third on the scale. Her greatest threat was eviction from her trading site. She was currently operating from space owned by a supermarket. The owners may change their minds due to congestion. Her poor health was the second most important threat followed by high levels of competition and the weather as the least important threat.

She had thought of innovative solutions to these threats. She shopped around for lower prices and had tried planting a vegetable garden. Her main problem was her inability to buy in bulk and she could not compete with the supermarket's low prices. She made R1-R2 profit on the toys she sold.

6.5.4 Drawing frequently eaten food as compared to preferred food

Shireen and her husband ate cabbages, potatoes, beans, lentils and rice (appendix M, picture M.3). Her brother usually bought her meat and fish.

6.5.5 The Coping Strategies Index

Shireen stated that the primary means of coping in times of need was by eating less preferred and less expensive food every day. She occasionally used the money reserved for her business to buy food (twice a month). To manage with the limited food available her children stayed with her mother-in-law about six days a week (visiting some weekends) as the food available was not sufficient to feed the household. She never bought food on credit and never borrowed food or money to buy food. Her husband and she never ate smaller portions and her husband did not get to eat first. She never rationed her money to buy prepared food and never skipped entire days without eating. Her household members never begged and children did not get first preference to eat. Shireen had a CSI score of 44 (appendix M.4)

6.5.6 The trading site

Shireen traded from a little table that displayed her batteries, cosmetics and toys (appendix M, picture M.5). She had two umbrellas to protect against the weather and sat on a crate. She carried water with her and used a 50c-pay toilet. Whenever she used the toilet she asked someone to watch her goods for her. She started her business with three boxes of batteries at R37 each. Her husband loaned her the money from his wages and she repaid him gradually.

6.5.7 Strengths and weaknesses of the business

The strong points of her business were customers. Her husband's willingness to assist her by dedicating his time and money to her business definitely made her life easier. She stated that getting a bigger space, more customers and a diverse range of goods to meet the needs of the market would make her business grow. Exposure to the extremes of the weather; lack of space to expand and congestion of people who frequently toppled her table were elements that impacted negatively on her business (appendix M, picture M.6). These elements contributed to the loss of stock such as lipsticks that melted in the sun. Overcrowding also made it difficult to keep track of who visited the stall and walked away with her goods.

6.5.8 The visionary exercise

Shireen would like to own a bigger house with two bedrooms, a lounge, kitchen, bathroom, pool and a flower garden (appendix M, picture M.7) so she could have her children with her. She believed that business growth was key to achieving her dreams. She would like to sell diverse goods including clothing and school stationary. To attain this goal she needed a bigger space to operate from as well as proper shelter to protect her goods from damage. She believed that having proper shelter protected goods from the weather but also from inquisitive neighbouring traders who purchased the same goods when she introduced a new item.

6.5.9 The Mancala Game

Shireen traded from 8:45 am to 7 pm from Thursday to Saturday (appendix M, picture M.8). On Sunday she worked from 8:45 am to 5 pm, she hired an assistant whom she paid R100 a month (R25 a week). Shireen bought stock (toys, cosmetics and batteries) for R400 in week one, her total income was R700, she made a profit of R300. In week two she spent R400, received a total income of R500 with a profit of R100. In week three she spent R300; her total income was R450 and made a profit of R50. In week four she only bought for R200 as she usually had left over stock. Her total income was R1000 and she made a considered profit of R800. For an average month she earned around R1250 from her trading business.

Table 6.7 Shireen’s financial information attained from the Mancala Game

	WEEK ONE	WEEK TWO	WEEK THREE	WEEK FOUR
INCOME SPENT	R400	R400	R300	R200
TURNOVER	R700	R500	R350	R1000
CONSIDERED PROFIT	R300	R100	R50	R800

6.5.10 The resource tree

Information from the resource tree (appendix M, picture M.9) appears in table 6.8 below.

Table 6.8 Shireen’s household budget

EXPENSES	AMOUNT
Child care	R200
School fees	R200
Hospital	R20
Furniture	R360
Clothing	R100
Rent	R700
Lights	R250
Total expenses	R2230
INCOME	AMOUNT
Trading	R1150 (R1250-R100 for assistant’s wages)
wages	R1200
Total income	R2350
Difference	+ R120

Shireen explained that the considered profit of R120 was usually used for every day household needs such as bread and milk. She was unable to save, as there was not enough money at the end of the month.

6.6 CASE SIX: Sheila Sewpaul

6.6.1 The semi-structured informal interview

Sheila Sewpaul was a 48 year old widowed Indian female living in Raisethorpe. She lived with her nineteen year old daughter. Her daughter left school in grade 11 due to her father's death and was now working full-time. Sheila left school during grade nine. She had no work experience and learnt to run a business from working in her mother-in-law's fresh produce shop. Her husband was responsible for the business she currently owned. Since his death she was unable to run the business as well as he did and scaled down. She "has no manpower" to drive to the market and buy in bulk. According to her, her present business was nothing compared to what it was previously.

Sheila's fruit and vegetable business had been operating for 11 years. Sheila went into trading to support her family as her husband was a chronic alcoholic. Through trading she provided for her family and met the basic needs of the family. Her husband gave her R500 to start her business. She started out selling a diverse range of fruits and vegetables such as tomatoes, potatoes, onions and fruit. However, she now sold small quantities of seasonal fruits and vegetables. Her experience of running her own small business had been challenging. She stated that one had to be very patient and willing to work hard. A reliable vehicle was very important, so were necessary connections with farmers who supplied goods at cost. Physical and emotional strength was very important for running a productive business.

6.6.2 The household resource map

Sheila rented a house with two bedrooms, a lounge, kitchen and an inside bathroom (appendix, N, picture N.1). She cooked with electricity, had piped water and a flush

toilet. All assets belonged to Sheila including a fridge; a stove; and a television. Since her husband's death Sheila had no system of support. If she was faced with a crisis she would borrow money from her daughter or pawn her television.

6.6.3 Conceptual map of sources of food and threats to food security

Sheila's household had two sources of food, trading and wages (monetary income) (appendix N, picture N.2). For her business to continue as a source of food the following prior conditions had to be met:

- A variety of goods;
- Transport to the market;
- Supplies that meet market demand;
- Good health.

Various threats existed along this food pathway (trading) such as:

- Extreme weather conditions that spoil goods;
- High rates of crime;
- Storage problems;
- Rising petrol prices;
- Rising prices of supplies;
- High levels of competition (people selling a diverse range of goods);
- Poor health (diabetes)

Wages were a primary source of income for Sheila's household. For wages to continue to be a source of food the following conditions had to be met:

- Reliable transport to work;
- Demand for unskilled labour;
- Demand for local jobs.

Various threats along this pathway of food:

- Rising petrol prices;
- Low demand for unskilled labour;
- Low wages;
- Unemployment.

Sheila ranked the main source of food as trading followed by her daughter's wages. She ranked extreme weather conditions as the most important threat to her business and competition as the second and last threat. Sheila had not thought of and could not think of any solutions to her business threats.

6.6.4 Drawing frequently eaten food as compared to preferred food

Sheila's household's diet consisted of beans, cauliflower, potatoes, and eggs (appendix N, picture N.3). Meat, chicken and fish were eaten less frequently.

6.6.5 The Coping Strategies Index

Sheila ate less expensive food three to six days a week. She used money reserved for the business at least once a week and also ate the goods she bought for the business as there was no money to buy other food. This strategy was used one to two days a week. She ate smaller portions at meal times at least three to six days a week. She never bought food on credit and never borrowed food or money to buy food. She never sent her daughter to eat elsewhere and never rationed her money to buy prepared food. She ate three meals a day and the food was shared equally between her daughter and herself. She never skipped entire days without eating and never went out to beg. Household members were never sent elsewhere to live or to eat. Sheila had a CSI of 28.5 (appendix N.4)

6.6.6 Stage four: the trading site

Sheila traded from a little table outside a butcher shop (appendix N, picture N.5). An umbrella provided meagre protection but goods were exposed to sunlight. She sat on a small crate. She used the toilet when she went home and carried water with her.

6.6.7 The strengths and weaknesses of the businesses

Sheila believed that her willpower to keep the business running, good location and regular customers were the strongest points of the business (appendix N, picture N.6). She thought that selling a bigger range of fruit and vegetables could make the business grow. The weather made it difficult for her to conduct business as the heat destroyed her fresh produce and in the rainy season she was forced to close early.

6.6.8 The visionary exercise

Sheila would like to retire and own a house (appendix N, picture N.7). To achieve her goal she needed money from a prospering business. She dreamed of a formal stall selling grapes, bananas, watermelon and apples. To achieve her goal she needed more capital to buy more goods. She realised that she could borrow the necessary money from her daughter.

6.6.9 The Mancala Game

Sheila traded from 9 am to 5 pm Monday to Saturday, “Sunday was a day of rest” (appendix N, picture N.8). Every week she spent R60 on transport to and from the market. She went to the market twice a week; on Mondays and on Thursdays. She bought two boxes of apples; three boxes of nectarines; three boxes of peaches; a case of bananas and a pocket of cabbage on the trip. The Mancala Game revealed that in a typical month Sheila earned around R750.

Table 6.9 Sheila’s financial information gained from the Mancala Game

	WEEK ONE	WEEK TWO	WEEK THREE	WEEK FOUR
INCOME SPENT	R300	R300	R200	R300
TURNOVER	R550	R450	R300	R550
CONSIDERED PROFIT	R250	R150	R100	R250

6.6.10 The resource tree

Information from the resource tree (appendix N, picture N.9) appears in table 6.10. The difference of R390 was used for bread and milk. She was unable to save any money for emergencies as she was barely making ends meet.

Table 6.10 Sheila's household budget

EXPENSES	AMOUNT
Rent	R700
Food	R400
Transport	R120 (daughter's transport to work)
Total	R1220
INCOME	AMOUNT
Trading	R410 (R750 – R240 transport to the market-R100 for assistant's wages)
Wages	R1200
Total	R1610
Difference	+R390

6.7 CASE SEVEN: Sanjay Sewduth

6.7.1 The semi-structured informal interview

Sanjay Sewduth was a 41-year-old Indian male who operated a fruit and vegetable stall in Raisethorpe. He had four children, two from a previous marriage one from his present marriage and one from his wife's previous marriage whom he was planning to adopt. He had been living at this father's house in Northdale for the past six months and was seeking a place of his own as his father's house was on sale. Sanjay left school after completing grade nine due to financial constraints. He had substantial formal work experience. He worked at a tool manufacturing company for five years, at an engineering plant for one and a half years and at a container manufacturer for eleven years until he was retrenched.

Soon after he lost his job Sanjay was offered a chance to operate his mother's stall in Raisethorpe. She was aging and suffering from ill health and needed someone to take over her well established business. Sanjay has been running the fresh produce stall for

fourteen years. Becoming a trader was an answer to his financial constraints. Trading had helped him live a basic life and support his family. Sanjay had no formal business education but was fortunate enough to have learnt the necessary skills from his parents. His father ran an established shop in Raisethorpe that specialised in fruit and vegetables.

6.7.2 The household resource map

Sanjay lived in a three-bedroom house with piped water and a flush toilet, lounge and kitchen (appendix O, picture O.1). There were four adults and two children living in the home including Sanjay, his wife and two children, his grandfather and father. Sanjay and his wife jointly owned a television; fridge; stove and DVD player. If he was faced with a crisis he would turn to his father who would and had assisted him financially in the past.

6.7.3 The conceptual map of sources of food and threats to food security

Sanjay's main source of food was street trading income (appendix O, picture O.2). The following prior conditions had to be met for his business to remain a source of food:

- A reliable vehicle;
- A positive attitude;
- A clean and presentable site;
- Access to supplies;
- Buying power (capital);
- Manpower (ability to do hard work);
- Customers.

The only threat to this pathway of food was the municipality as he operated on public land and his greatest fear was eviction and the loss of the business that had been in his family for years. Sanjay stated that he lived everyday “with a black spot in his heart” as he feared for his livelihood security. The only solution was the municipality's acknowledgement of the authority and legitimacy of traders in Raisethorpe. He said that the municipality should demarcate areas for each trader and put up infrastructure. He was

willing to pay rent for a spot. Sanjay lived in fear as he had witnessed traders being evicted from public land. He could trade on privately owned land, as property owners dislike the idea of traders operating business outside their stores. He was “on thin ice” while other traders were trading on private property and were not threatened with losing their businesses.

Sanjay was prompted by the researcher and asked to elaborate on other problems that affect and threaten his business. He insisted that the only threat was the municipality’s lack of action. He pointed out that the municipality determined how one was affected by the weather and by crime. The municipality’s lack of interest in developing secure infrastructure for traders meant that traders and their goods were exposed to the elements of the weather. The local municipality could turn into a collaborator if it promoted the needs of the traders.

6.7.4 Drawing frequently eaten food as compared to preferred food

Sanjay stated that his family enjoyed meat, chicken and fish and a range of vegetables (appendix O, picture O.3). Meat, chicken and fish were eaten once every week, alternating every week. There was nothing he wished to eat more frequently. However, he did state that in times of need he ate “from his table” meaning he ate goods bought for his business, he consumed only goods that were scarred or beginning to go soft.

6.7.5 The Coping Strategies Index

Sanjay stated that his household ate less expensive food all the time. He never borrowed food or money to buy food and never bought food on credit. He used money reserved for the business all the time (almost everyday). He ate goods reserved for the business very often, about three to six days a week. He never sent household members to eat elsewhere or to live with relatives. The family never ate smaller portions and he never ate at the expense of non-working family members. Money was never rationed to buy prepared food and he ate eat less than three meals a day about one to two days a week. He never skipped entire days without eating and household members were never sent out to beg.

He did state that they let small children eat rather than adults about three to six days a month. Sanjay had a CSI score of 55 (appendix O.4).

6.7.6 The trading site

Sanjay operated his business from a gazebo and displayed his goods on tables that he assembled and packed away every day (appendix O, picture O.5). He used the toilet at the pawnshop or at the garage opposite the road from his site. He usually got water from a supermarket that also chilled water for him.

6.7.7 Strengths and weaknesses of the business

The strengths of his business lay in selling quality as opposed to quantity. Cleanliness and a positive attitude towards customers were strong points of his business. He could make his business grow by increasing buying capacity and expanding. He would like to operate from two tables rather than one but was scared of being evicted by the municipality, in this way lack of demarcated areas and legal trading sites restricted business growth. Lack of appropriate shelter and operating space (appendix O, picture O.6) was the only element that had a bad impact on Sanjay's business. To avoid spoiling of fresh produce, goods had to be sold quickly at lower prices. This also meant that fresh produce spoiled faster as there were no storage facilities.

6.7.8 The visionary exercise

Sanjay would like to own a completely furnished house, a car and a van (appendix O, picture O.7). He did not think that business would improve with time. In order for his business to improve, the municipality needed to provide him with bigger space and appropriate shelter. His motto was "why improve in five years when you have been running the business the same way for fourteen years". If he expanded his business he needed to buy directly from wholesalers in bulk as this meant spending less and selling lower-priced goods which ultimately meant greater savings and income. Keeping abreast of market prices was very important. He kept track of market prices in every city as

prices were not the same in every city. Connections with farmers in different cities were crucial to avoid mark-ups and inflated prices. A good vehicle and willingness to travel to different cities at all hours was also important to get the best deal. In his words’ “you had to play detective to get to the bottom of the chain, it’s the only way you win and prosper”.

6.7.9 The Mancala Game

Sanjay traded thirteen hours per day from Monday to Saturday (appendix O, picture O.8). On Sunday he closed at five, with the local supermarket. He visited the market on Monday and on Thursdays to buy one box of seasonal fruit; two pockets of onions; ten pockets of potatoes and ten crates of tomatoes. Sanjay invests R1500 in his business every week (week one to week four). The Game revealed that his business was fairly constant. He usually earned a total income of R2100 every week, from this he considered R700 as profit. In an average month he earned around R2800.

Table 6.11 Sanjay’s financial information attained from the Mancala Game

	WEEK ONE	WEEK TWO	WEEK THREE	WEEK FOUR
INCOME SPENT	R1500	R1500	R1500	R1500
TURNOVER	R2100	R2100	R2100	R2100
CONSIDERED PROFIT	R700	R700	R700	R700

6.7.10 The resource tree

Information attained from the resource tree (appendix O, picture O.9) appears in table 6.12.

Table 6.12 Sanjay’s household’s Budget

EXPENSES	WEEKLY	MONTHLY
Food	R250	R1000
Toiletry	R100	R400
Medical needs	R25	R100
Savings	R200	R800
Total	R700	R2300
INCOME	WEEKLY	MONTHLY
Trading	R700	R2300 (R2500- R500 transport to the market)
Difference

The savings were used for necessities during the week, although they did try and save for emergencies. The money he reserved for food was also used to buy refreshment at the trading site.

6.8 CASE EIGHT: Rehana Sathar

6.8.1 The semi-structured informal interview

Rehana Sathar was a 27-year-old Indian female who ran a video and DVD stall in Raisethorpe. She had been married for five years and had a two and a half-year-old daughter. Rehana left school in grade eight and had minimal formal work experience. She worked for a shoe factory for four and a half years and for a clothing store for eight months prior to becoming a trader in Raisethorpe.

Rehana started trading in January 2004. Before engaging in street trading her husband hawked DVDs. Rehana approached a well established trader in the Raisethorpe area for a trading spot to sell her goods and was “given a spot” on public land. Rehana and her husband started engaging in street trading as a means of earning a livelihood and maintaining a household. Previously, her husband could not find employment and they were forced to live apart, she used to live with various family members for different periods of time. Engaging in trading was a means of coping with unemployment and financial difficulties and a means of keeping the family together.

To start the business Rehana’s husband borrowed R1000 from a friend and bought stock on credit to offer a range of products and titles. The couple was still paying off this loan as well as the interest at R300 per month. During the course of 2003 they were forced to take another loan for R500 and were paying R450 in total on loan repayments per month.

Rehana believed that trading “helped her keep a home, pay the bills and keep a shelter over her head”. Even though her business was struggling and “sometimes she just goes home with taxi fare” she was glad that the business was maintaining her husband’s interest. Her experience as a street trader was ambiguous. She felt that even though

trading assisted her in meeting the basic needs of the household “there was a lot of stress about making ends meet”.

6.8.2 The household resource map

Rehana and her family lived in a one-bedroom house with an inside toilet and piped water (appendix P, picture P.1). She had a small kitchen and one large room divided into a lounge and a bedroom. The fridge; a two-plate stove and television were jointly owned by Rehana and her husband. In times of crisis she turned to her sister in Johannesburg who helped her to pay rent and a trader friend who gave her loans between R100 and R200. Rehana received a food parcel from a community organisation once a month.

6.8.3 Conceptual map of access to and threats to food security

Rehana’s main source of food was trading (appendix P, picture P.2). For her business to continue as primary source of food the following conditions had to be met:

- Proper infrastructure or good weather;
- Customers;
- Access to supplies;
- Access to small loans.

The following threats existed along this food pathway:

- Extreme weather conditions that damaged videos and DVDs;
- Unreliable suppliers who reclaimed stock if debts were not paid;
- Unreliable supplies (unsatisfactory merchandise);
- High interest on small loans;
- Inability to take another loan due to high debt repayments.

Inability to access more loans was the greatest threat to the business. Extreme weather conditions made it difficult to conduct business without appropriate shelter and were ranked as the second threat to her business. Rehana used a gazebo to reduce exposure to extreme weather but she had no solution to the severe financial crisis she was experiencing.

6.8.4 Drawing frequently eaten food as compared to preferred food

Rehana's household's diet was restricted to cabbage, beans and lentils (appendix P, picture P.3). She reported that she found it difficult to differentiate between preferred and not-preferred food as "food was food", but she did report that she would like to eat more meat such as sausages and take-away food.

6.8.5 The Coping Strategies Index

Rehana could not differentiate between eating less preferred food or less expensive food. She borrowed food or money to buy food from friends on average three to six days a week and bought food on credit almost everyday. However, she never used money reserved for the business and never sent household members to eat elsewhere but sent her daughter to live with relatives. She ate smaller portions at meal times daily and gave her husband a chance to eat first each day. She ate less than three meals a day, which had become a habit and very often skipped entire days without eating. Rehana never sent household members to beg, rationed her money or bought prepared food. She let her daughter eat rather than herself about once a week. She also received food parcels from a religious organisation. Rehana had a CSI score of 170 (appendix P.4)

6.8.6 The trading site

Rehana operated her business from a gazebo and displayed videos and DVDs on a table (appendix P, picture P.5). She sat on a small crate. She carried water with her and used a pay toilet in the arcade a few meters away.

6.8.7 Strengths and weaknesses of the business

Strengths of the business were selling the latest videos and DVDs. To expand the business she required a capital boost to buy a bigger range of videos and DVDs. Crime had affected her business significantly. Rehana stated that people frequently pretended to be browsing and when she turned her back customers walked away with goods. Sometimes during drunken fights, her table collapsed and her goods are thrown in the midst of shoppers who eagerly try to assist her but ended up walking away with her

goods. Exposure to heat and rain damaged DVDs and she had to close early to avoid losing her stock (appendix P, picture P.6).

6.8.9 The visionary exercise

Rehana would like to own a house and “have a nice car to move around” (appendix P, picture P.7). She would like to open a small shop from her house and sell goods that were not sold by the neighbouring tuck-shop such as cigarettes, vegetables and ice cream. She estimated that she needed R300 capital to start her home business. She also dreamt off opening a formal shop in Raisethorpe selling and hiring videos and DVDs. She hoped to incorporate fruit and vegetables and cell-phone accessories in her video and DVD shop. She reasoned that this would generate constant income. To achieve her goals she needed financial assistance and was unwilling to borrow money as the interest was devastating her finances.

6.8.10 The Mancala Game

Rehana traded from 10 am to 7 pm from Monday to Saturday. On Sunday’s she closed at five. She spent R30 for transport each day and paid R150 for storage each month. She stored her goods in a takeaway close to her stall. Rehana’s business operated with small amounts of capital. Table 6.13 presents information attained from the Mancala Game.

Table 6.13 Rehana’s financial information attained by the Mancala Game

	WEEK ONE	WEEK TWO	WEEK THREE	WEEK FOUR
INCOME SPENT	R45	R45	R45	R45
TURNOVER	R120	R65	R120	R120
CONSIDERED PROFIT	R75	R25	R75	R75

6.8.11 The resource tree

Information attained from the resource tree (appendix P, picture P.8) appears in table 6.14.

Table 6.14 Rehana’s household budget

EXPENSES	AMOUNTS
Rent	R400 (sister pays)
Fridge	R250
Food	R150
Lights	R250
Interest on loan	R450
Total	R1100
INCOME	AMOUNT
Trading	R0 (R200- R400 for transport and R150 for storage)
Family (variable)	
Difference	-R1100

Rehana lived in a state of financial crisis although she had various sources of assistance. Her sister paid her rent and bought food occasionally. Her brother sometimes paid her accounts.

6.9 CASE NINE: Hussein Shaik Ebrahim

6.9.1 The semi-structure informal interview

Hussein was a 45-year-old Indian male who sold maize in Raisethorpe. He was separated from his ex-wife and lived in Northdale. Hussein had grade seven education and formal work experience as he worked for various shoe factories. After remaining unemployed for a while, a trader friend gave him the idea to sell seasonal vegetables. He had no formal education to run the business, but gained substantial experience from running his business over fourteen years. A fellow trader assisted Hussein when he first started out. She gave him ten dozen maize cobs to sell and told him to give her back the cost and to keep the profit. He gradually covered the cost of the supplies and used the profit to keep his business going.

Hussein’s business was not operating at maximum efficiency since a stroke two years ago. After the stroke it took some time for him to recover and he lost most of his assets. He was previously able to drive and sell fresh fruit and vegetables around Northdale and the surrounding suburbs. Since the stroke he was unable to do this and was partially paralysed and had scaled down his business. Trading helped him meet his needs for “cigarettes, soap, and food”. Without trading he would not be able to make ends meet and

maintain his quality of life. He received a disability pension that paid for a DVD player each month. His experience of trading was that it was a “hard days work and not for everyone”.

6.9.2 The household resource map

Hussein rented one room where he had a bed, two wardrobes, a kist, DVD player, hi-fi and two plate stove. He had a bank account and saved a substantial amount of money. His ex-wife had access to this account and stole his money when they separated. He also had a van worth R35000, which he bought with cash from an inheritance; but it was destroyed during a family squabble. Hussein also had savings which he kept at home. He used this to buy another van, which he gave to his ex-wife. She uses the van for her own trading business.

Prior to having a stroke Hussein had access to savings to assist him in times of need. He hawked from a van and earned R700 a day. In a crisis Hussein turned to his ex-wife and two fellow traders for assistance. His ex-wife helped him by going to farms and purchasing maize for him. The other two traders helped him by employing him when he had no maize to sell and had no way of making money to get him through the day. They paid him R30 a day and this covered his daily food and transport costs. Recently (December 2004) a trader loaned him R250 to purchase stock, he stated that if he did not get any capital he would have pawned his cell-phone for the capital.

Hussein believed that his savings had protected him from utter devastation in the past. During 2003 he was able to save R18000 that he used when he did not have stock to sell. In 2004 he was unable to save any money as other traders were selling maize at a lower price than he was. As a result his business was slower than expected.

6.9.3 The conceptual map of sources and threats to food security

Hussein's main source of food was monetary income (trading and pension) (appendix Q, picture Q.1). In order for him to buy food with money gained from trading the following conditions had to be met:

- Access to daily fresh supplies;
- Transport to buy supplies;
- Good health;
- Assistant to help with the heavy work;
- Good customers.

However, his business was exposed to various threats:

- Unreliable transport;
- High cost of hiring transport;
- Rising petrol prices;
- Temperamental health as he had suffered a stroke;
- High levels of competition;
- Extreme weather conditions.

For his grant to contribute to his needs he needed to go for an annual health review which the Department of Social Security used to evaluate his disability status and renew his grant application. Due to the severity of his stroke he did not think that his grant was threatened. Trading was the most important source of food. Problem with transport was the most important threat to his business followed by high levels of competition and ill health. He thought of solutions to some of the threats, he negotiated with the competition to sell the same goods at a standard price to avoid competition. He hired transport and he hired an umbrella to protect himself against the extreme sunlight

6.9.4 Drawing frequently eaten food as compared to preferred food

Hussein ate whatever he preferred every day, provided he had R30 to buy meat or chicken and little vegetable to make a meal. His trader friends often gave him tomatoes and potatoes. Food bought with the R30 was eaten for supper and breakfast the next day.

6.9.5 The Coping Strategies Index

Hussein never ate less preferred or less expensive food. He hardly borrowed money or money to buy food from friends (once a week). He never bought food on credit and never ate the goods he bought for his business. He did use the money he reserved for his business twice a month. He never lived with relatives or ate elsewhere because there was no money to buy food. He never ate smaller portions. He did ration his money and bought smaller quantities of food to cook for the day (all the time). He never ate less than three meals a day and never skipped entire days without eating. He never begged. Hussein had a CSI score of 17.5 (appendix Q.2).

6.9.6 The trading site

Hussein traded outside a busy supermarket and takeaway (appendix Q, picture Q.3). He collected water from the supermarket. He used to have a wooden table that displayed his goods but this was stolen and used for firewood in winter. He supported his small table with four crates. He displayed ten dozen cobs at a time and kept the rest on the floor.

6.9.7 Strengths and weaknesses of the business

Regular customers and his friends were the strengths of the business. Without the assistance of this network of friends he would not be able to operate his business as they assisted him with transport to farms; small loans and with casual employment. Unreliable transport and unreliable helpers weakened his business. When there were problems with his ex-wife's van he had no stock to sell, and when his helpers did not come to work he had to do a lot of manual labour that was not recommended for someone who suffered a stroke.

Crime affected Hussein's business. In winter he had to close early (by 4:30) and as a result he lost his afternoon customers. He feared being an easy target for criminals. Problems with public transport also affected his business. Public taxis stopped at 6 pm and as he depended on public transport to get home, he had to close his business early to

catch the last taxi. If he missed the taxi he had to call a private taxi that cost him R30. His friends took him home at a cost of R20.

6.9.8 The visionary exercise

Hussein would like to own a house and buy another van so he could resume hawking. He would like to attain what he lost prior to suffering a stroke that included a three-bedroom house, four vans and a car. In five years time he desired five stalls and to “go back on the road with a loud-speaker selling different fruits and vegetables”. He would like to trade full-time as before, not seasonally and only with maize as he was doing presently. To achieve his goals he needed his business to grow as well as financial help. He could not formally borrow money as he was a state grant recipient. If he could diversify his stock he could reach a bigger market and higher income.

6.9.9 The Mancala Game

Hussein traded from 8 am to 7 pm from Monday to Saturday (appendix Q, picture Q.4). On Sunday he traded from 8 am to 4 pm. He spent R7 a day on transport. He sold 50 dozen of maize cobs a day at R20 a dozen. The Game revealed that in every week Hussein spent R600 in his business and made a considered profit of R2700. He explained that his business was constant given that unexpected problems with transport did not arise. In a very good month Hussein earned an income of R10800 (R2700 X4 weeks).

6.9.10 The resource tree

Information from the resource tree (appendix Q, picture Q.5) appears in table 6.15.

Table 6.15 Hussein’s household budget

EXPENSES	WEEKLY	MONTHLY
Rent		R400
Food	R210	R900
Furniture account		R340
Clothing		R150
Total	R600	R1790
INCOME	WEEKLY	MONTHLY
Grant		R740
Trading	R2700	R9240 (R10800-R120 for transport – R1440 for assistants’ wages)
Total	R2700	R9980
Difference		R8190

6.10 CASE TEN: Vanitha Govender**6.10.1 The informal semi-structured interview**

Vanitha Govender was a 34-year old female trader who sold cosmetics in Raisethorpe. She was divorced and living with a partner. She had one child from her previous marriage and was also taking care of her partner’s son from a previous marriage. Vanitha had a grade 12 certificate and wanted to study public relations but never had the financial means to study further. She worked for a shoe factory for eight years and was retrenched when the company scaled down. After losing her job Vanitha could not find employment and she “had no option” but to join her partner in his informal business. Vanitha decided to use the money from her provident fund as capital for the business. She used three and a half thousand to buy cosmetics, hats and jackets. This money was the only source of capital. She stated that “trading has helped me in a big way, to pay rent, school fees, buy stationary and school clothes. Without trading you feel lost, how are you going to provide for the family, what’s going to happen?”

Vanitha and her partner traded in cosmetics, shorts, hats and jackets. When they started their business they sold goods from the boot of the car in a car park. However, the tailor in the building complained that they were competing with him. They approached an owner of a supermarket for permission to trade outside his shop and had been there for five months. She negotiated with other traders to share the trading area. However, the availability of their trading site was on a “first come first served” basis.

Vanitha and her partner had no formal training in running a business. Their experience of the Raisethorpe area was not pleasant. Vanitha recalled the tension and conflict over trading space and the types of goods they were selling. Some traders told them they could not trade in cosmetics as they were competing with them. She stated that “people in the area don’t want to give us a chance; there is a lot of back chatting”.

6.10.2 The household resource map

Vanitha and the family shared an outbuilding with another woman (appendix R, picture R.1). They had one bedroom and kitchen. The toilet and bathroom was shared with the other resident. She had piped water and electricity. She complained that the bathroom was unhygienic as it was prone to flooding, bath water accumulated around the toilet and the children were vulnerable to infections resulting from this.

There was a fridge, a television and a stove in the home. These belonged to Vanitha and the car belonged to her partner. They decided to sell the furniture from their previous marriages to make a fresh start. The couple had no investments, no savings and no bank account.

6.10.3 The conceptual map of sources of and threats to food security

Vanitha’s household’s main source of food was income from trading and unemployment insurance (appendix R, picture R.2). In order for her business to provide her with the means to buy food the following conditions had to be met:

- She had to have reliable transport;
- Advice on how to manage her business;
- Financial means;
- Customers;
- Pleasant attitude;
- Diverse stock to impress and meet the needs of the market.

There were various threats along this pathway:

- Prices of supplies;
- Spoilt goods (lipsticks melt in the sun);
- Threatened with eviction by the shop owner;
- Lack of operating space;
- Unbearable working conditions;
- High levels of competition.

The other source of food for the household was the unemployment insurance fund (UIF) payment. This was an unsustainable source of income as she was only eligible for it for nine to twelve months. She ranked her UIF money as the most important source of food for the house followed by trading income. Her greatest ranked threat to food security was termination of unemployment insurance. Her second ranked threat was damage to goods by exposure to the weather. This resulted in loss of stock and income. She investigated ways of authorising her trading site as a solution to the problems she experienced. As her main source of food was through monetary income, she was severely affected by rising prices of food and non-food items such as school fees.

6.10.4 Drawing frequently eaten food as compared to preferred food

Vanitha stated that her family did not eat a varied diet (appendix R, picture R.3). She drew pictures of potatoes, chicken, mutton, peas and cabbage. She would ideally like to eat more meat, chicken and sausages. She added that she did not buy in bulk for the entire month or week but bought small quantities as money became available.

6.10.5 The Coping Strategies Index

Vanitha stated that her family ate less preferred and less expensive food all the time. They never bought food on credit and never borrowed food or money to buy food from friends or relatives. She used money reserved for the business to buy food all the time

(everyday). She never sent household members to eat elsewhere, but sent household members to live with relatives very often (three to six days a week). She always ate smaller portions (everyday). However, she never rationed money to buy prepared food, she never ate less than three meals a day, never skipped entire days without eating, never sent household members to beg and never let small children eat rather than the adults. Vanitha had a CSI score of 62.5 (appendix R.4).

6.10.6 Stage four: the trading site

Vanitha ran her business outside a supermarket (appendix R, picture R.5). She displayed her goods on a table, had a stool to sit on and an umbrella for protection against the weather. She carried her own water and used a toilet at the garage across the road from her site or the toilet at a bar about fifteen meters away from her trading site.

6.10.7 Strengths and weaknesses of the business

Vanitha believed that the strength of the business was selling items that attracted female shoppers (appendix R, picture R.6). Her table was neat and presentable, which appealed to customers. She also put prices on goods to make her stall more formal. She could improve the business by getting a better spot, a proper tent or gazebo and a bigger table. High rates of crime negatively affected her business. The area was infested with drug addicts who “smoked drugs” and deterred customers from shopping in the area.

6.10.8 The visionary exercise

In five years time Vanitha would like to own a house, she did not like paying rent (appendix R, picture R.7). She would also like a car and her children to have their own rooms as they slept in the kitchen. To attain her goals Vanitha was seeking other “good employment as two incomes were better than one”.

In five years she would like to have “two businesses in one”, a formal business selling cosmetics, clothing and a small take away selling hot dogs; cake and tea. To attain this

goal she had to save and be “money wise”. Vanitha also added that it was essential for her to get formal employment to save money and that “a regular income and stability was essential”.

6.10.9 The Mancala Game

Vanitha traded from 9:30 am - 18:00 pm in the afternoon on Fridays and Saturdays. She put R20 petrol in her car every trading day. Table 6.16 presents financial information from the Mancala Game. In a typical month Vanitha earned around R725.

Table 6.16 Vanitha’s financial information as attained by the Mancala Game

	WEEK ONE	WEEK TWO	WEEK THREE	WEEK FOUR
INCOME	R300	R100	R300	Carry over stock
SPENT				
TURNOVER	R550	R125	R550	
CONSIDERED PROFIT	R250	R25	R250	R200

6.10.10 The resource tree

Information from the resource tree (appendix R, picture R.8) appears in table 6.17. The difference of R115 was used for bread and milk, there was no money left for savings.

Table 6.17 Vanitha’s household budget

EXPENSES	AMOUNT
Rent	R500
Food	R600
School fees	R100
Total	R1200
INCOME	AMOUNT
Trading	R575 (R725- R150 for transport)
UIF	R740
Total	R1315
Difference	+R115

6.11 CASE ELEVEN: Venilla Naidoo

6.11.1 THE INFORMAL INTERVIEW

Venilla Naidoo was a 45-year-old street trader who traded in track suits, ladies underwear, and children's clothes. She had been an entrepreneur for a while and ran many businesses such as selling traditionally prepared nuts, samoosas, vegetable and clothes in Durban. She moved to Pietermaritzburg hoping to make more money than the informal sector. Her mother was frequently ill and she had to take over household chores, therefore, she never completed school.

She started her business with R100. At first she stood at the parcel counter of a supermarket and displayed her goods on hangers. Thereafter she made a table to display the goods outside the supermarket. Venilla started trading in Raisethorpe in 2000. She found it difficult to get going as a street trader. She was evicted from her first spot; thereafter she spoke to the owner of a supermarket and got permission to trade outside his parcel counter.

She initially engaged in street trading to earn an income as her husband was very ill and could not work. She also enjoyed being her own boss and the independence. Street trading income was the only income for the household for most of her married life. Venilla claimed that she bought food; paid for water and electricity; educated and paid for her children's weddings with her income from street trading. In Raisethorpe, she was harassed by other street traders and was a victim of crime on many occasions. Tense relations and high levels of crime impacted negatively on her business.

6.11.2 The household resource map

Venilla lived in a two-bedroom flat (appendix S, picture S.1). The television; fridge; freezer; washing machine; micro-wave and lounge set were jointly owned by Venilla and her husband. In times of need she turned to a trusted friend in Durban to lend her money.

6.11.3 The conceptual map of sources of food and threats to food security

Venilla had two sources of food (appendix S, picture S.2.) She depended on her income from street trading and on pension to purchase food. At the time of the interview she had not received her pension for three months because of a review. In order for her informal enterprise to provide her with food the following conditions had to be met:

- She had to have a shelter for her goods;
- A table to display the goods;
- Cash to purchase stock;
- Stock to sell and attract customers;
- Customers had to be interested in buying her goods;
- She had to have transport money to travel to Durban and purchase stock.

Various threats existed along this pathway of food:

- Extreme weather conditions which damage stock;
- Rising transport costs (reducing profit);
- Crime (people stealing from her table).

Venilla depended on her pension to purchase food and capital to buy stock. Since her pension had stopped she was dependent on her husband's pension. Her most significant threat to food security was rising food prices as she purchased all of her food. Venilla ranked street trading as the most important source of food and extreme weather conditions as the most significant threat to street trading as a source of food. She had devised solutions to problems experienced in extreme weather conditions. She tied goods onto the table with elastic bands to prevent them from flying away. She was thinking of putting up a stronger shelter and more secure table as her current table collapsed very easily.

6.11.4 Frequently eaten food as compared to preferred food

Venilla ate a varied diet of rice, vegetables, curries, fried foods, mutton, and chicken regularly (appendix S, picture S.3). She wanted to eat seafood such as crabs and prawns more often.

6.11.5 The Coping Strategies Index

Venilla never ate less preferred or less expensive food for a lack of money. She borrowed money about once a week to buy food. She bought food on credit twice a week and used money reserved for the business to buy food about three times a week. She never sent her husband to eat elsewhere, never ate smaller portions and never let her husband eat first due to a lack of sufficient food. She rationed her money and bought prepared food about three times a week and ate less than three meals a day every day. However, she never skipped entire days without eating and never relied on donations, begging or food aid. Venilla had a CSI score of 43 (appendix S.4). Venilla stated that she was in debt to a friend from whom she had borrowed money for her son's wedding. As she was in financial difficulty she bought food on credit from Woolworths and had not paid her rent; and water and electricity bills.

6.11.6 The trading site

Venilla ran her business from a little space outside a supermarket (appendix S, picture S.5). She hung her goods on the gates of the supermarket and displayed some goods on a makeshift table of cardboard.

6.11.7 Strengths and weaknesses of the business

Strengths of her business were regular updating of her stock and selling fashionable items. A low mark up helped her to sell more goods at a faster pace.

6.11.8 The visionary exercise

Venilla had a vision of owning a small one bedroom home (appendix S, picture S.6). To achieve her dream she needed to save money and improve her business by reaching a bigger market. Her business dream was to rent a small shop in Raisethorpe in which she could keep her stock permanently and have a secure base of operation.

6.11.9 The Mancala Game

Venilla traded from 9:00 am -17:00 from Monday to Saturday and from 9:00 am – 15:00 pm on Sundays (appendix S, picture S.7). Every week she spent R1000 in buying stock, her earnings varied each week. Table 6.18 summarises Venilla’s business finances. Venilla earned around R1950 in a typical month.

Table 6.18 Venilla’s financial information as attained by the Mancala Game

	WEEK ONE	WEEK TWO	WEEK THREE	WEEK FOUR
INCOME SPENT	R1000	R1000	R1000	R1000
TURNOVER	R1500	R1400	R1350	R1700
CONSIDERED PROFIT	R500	R400	R350	R700

6.11.10 The resource tree

Information from the resource tree (appendix S, picture S.8) appears in table 6.19. Transport costs were associated with travel to Durban to buy goods. For this reason it was considered a business cost and deducted from the estimated profit. Once R280 was deducted from the estimated income from street trading, the turnover from street trading was reduced to R1670. So Venilla earned R1670 in a typical month.

Table 6.19 Venilla’s household budget

EXPENSES	AMOUNT
Woolworths	R300
Lottery	R400
Rent	R1200
Funeral cover	R120
Lights	R300
Food	R800
TOTAL	R3210
INCOME	
Trading	R1670 (R1950-R280 for transport)
Grant	R740
TOTAL	R2410
DIFFERENCE	-R710

6.12 CASE TWELVE: Safoora Suleiman

6.12.1 The informal interview

Safoora Suleiman was a street vendor who sold snacks such as samoosas. She was married with four children, three were still at school. She had a grade seven education and limited formal work experience. She worked from 1982 to 1992 as a switchboard operator and decided to trade informally after losing her job. Her husband was also unemployed and there was no income in the home. She was dependent on her mother for help. She started selling samoosa pastry but money was minimal and she was “living day to day”. She could not purchase food or see to her children’s needs.

Prior to trading in Raisethorpe, Safoora traded at the Debby Market from 1992 to 1995. She traded in Raisethorpe from 1996 to 2005. Her husband joined her in her business for a while and helped advertise by shouting out specials and attracting customers from Debby Market. Without her husband’s courage and support she would not have remained as a trader in Raisethorpe. She had gradually diversified her business from selling samoosas to vedas (flour and lentil fried snack). Thereafter she started taking orders for frozen samoosas and vedas.

Safoora reported that trading income was vital to household survival. Her husband’s salary paid the electricity bill and her trading income paid for food, travel expenses, clothing and the furniture account. She stated “my entire household had been maintained by my samoosa business”. She had no business training and ran her business without record keeping or planning.

6.12.2 The household resource map

Safoora lived in Copesville, a low income residential area. She had a three bedroom home with piped water; electricity and inside toilet (appendix T, picture T.1). There were various assets within the home such as a television; fridge; microwave; video machine; kitchen cupboard; table and chairs; food processor and a bedroom and lounge set. These assets were jointly owned by Safoora and her husband. She specifically noted that she bought the video machine with her “samoosa money”. Safoora reported that if she were

faced with a crisis she would turn to her husband, her brother or her close friend and repay them when she could.

6.12.3 The conceptual map of sources of food and threats to food security

Safoora's household accessed food through income from street trading and her husband's salary (appendix T, picture T.2). For street trading to remain a viable pathway of food the following conditions had to be met:

- She had to purchase packets for the samoosas;
- She had to have money for transport;
- Customers;
- Umbrella to protect her goods from the weather;
- A gas cylinder to fry on site.

Various threats jeopardise street trading as a source of food:

- She had to deal with difficult customers;
- Harassed by drunken men;
- Bad weather forced her to close early as the food was damaged in rainy conditions;
- Her gas cylinders were faulty and sometimes did not work;
- Street children stole samoosas from her table.

For her husband's salary to remain a source of food the following conditions had to be met:

- There had to be a demand for her husband's skills;
- The income had to be of a level that met some basic needs of the family;
- The employment had to be stable.

Safoora ranked street trading as the most important source of food. Difficult customers were the most significant threat, followed by drunken men who harassed her, faulty cylinders and the weather as the least significant threat. She reported that she hoped to save to purchase an umbrella to protect her and her goods from extreme weather. Rising

food prices and rising stock prices were the most significant threats to her household's food security status.

6.12.4 Frequently eaten food as compared to preferred food

Safoora's household consumed vegetable frequently and meat less frequently (appendix T, picture T.3). Mutton and beef were usually given to her every month by the local mosque's charity organisation. She would like to eat fish, sausages and chicken more often.

6.12.5 The Coping Strategies Index

Safoora ate less preferred food three to four times a week. She borrowed money to buy food at least once a week and bought food on credit three to four times a week. She did not separate business money from household money and used all the money she had for food and stock. She never kept money aside for her business specifically. Safoora never sent her children to eat elsewhere, rationed food or skipped meals and never sent household members to beg. Everyone ate until they were satisfied. Her CSI score was 40 (appendix T.4).

6.12.6 The trading site

Safoora traded from the shade of a supermarket (appendix T, picture T.5). To start her informal food enterprise Safoora needed gas cylinders and a food processor. Her brother bought the cylinders and she later bought a food processor on credit. Since beginning her business in Raisethorpe she had bought new cylinders on credit and paid off the debt within three months.

6.12.7 Strengths and weaknesses of the business

A steady loyal customer base and high quality food were the strengths of her business. Street children who stole her goods and toppled her table while running away weakened her business as they destroyed her stock and scared customers away.

6.12.8 The visionary exercise

Safoora hoped to diversify her range of goods from snacks to fish cakes, and crushed ginger and garlic (appendix T, picture T.6). To diversify she would have to employ an assistant and needed more money. She hoped to cement her yard and put up a wall around her property and purchase a bed for her son.

6.12.9 The Mancala Game

Safoora's traded on Friday and Saturdays and her capital investment and turnover was consistent throughout the month. The Mancala Game revealed that she earned R2080 in a typical month. Safoora also stated that she never kept financial records or even mentally noted how much money was spent and how much was acquired each month from street trading. Information from the Mancala Game is presented in table 6.20.

Table 6.20 Safoora's financial information obtained from the Mancala Game

	WEEK ONE	WEEK TWO	WEEK THREE	WEEK FOUR
INCOME SPENT	R380	R380	R380	R380
TURNOVER	R900	R900	R900	R900
ESTIMATED PROFIT	R520	R520	R520	R520

6.12.10 The resource tree

Information obtained from the resource tree (appendix T, picture T.7) is presented in table 6.21. Safoora paid R178 a month for transport; this was subtracted from her trading income as a business cost. Her income from street trading was estimated at R1902.

Table 6.21 Safoora's household budget

EXPENSES	AMOUNTS
Toiletries	R105
School fees	R240
Consumer credit	R500
Electricity and water	R600
Food and household goods	R500
TOTAL	R1945
INCOME	AMOUNTS
Street trading	R1902 {R2080-178 (transport to trading site)}
Salary	R700
TOTAL	R2602

6.13 CONCLUSION

This chapter presented individual case studies of twelve street traders in Raisethorpe, Pietermaritzburg. Innovative qualitative methods were used to collect detailed information on personal history; period of time the street trader had been engaged in street trading; household relationships and assets; how the household accessed food and threats to sources of food; household food security; the environmental conditions in which the trader operated; strengths and weaknesses of the micro-enterprise and income and expenditure of the micro-enterprise and the household. These aspects of street trader livelihoods were researched to answer research questions set out in chapter one.

The research questions guiding this study were to evaluate street trading as a food and livelihood security strategy; whether street traders had sufficient access to food for household consumption; whether street trading reduced vulnerability to hunger and whether trading income was used to meet household needs. The following chapter analyses these twelve case studies in terms of these research questions and discusses key findings about street trader livelihoods in Raisethorpe. These findings are then linked to sustainable livelihoods analysis in chapter eight and to reinforce policy recommendations in chapter nine.

CHAPTER SEVEN: COMPARISON AND ANALYSIS OF CASE STUDIES

This chapter provides an analysis of the [12twelve](#) case studies. Figure 7.1 shows the distribution of the [12twelve](#) cases according to the Coping Strategies Index scores. The Coping Strategies Index scores ranged from 0 to 170.

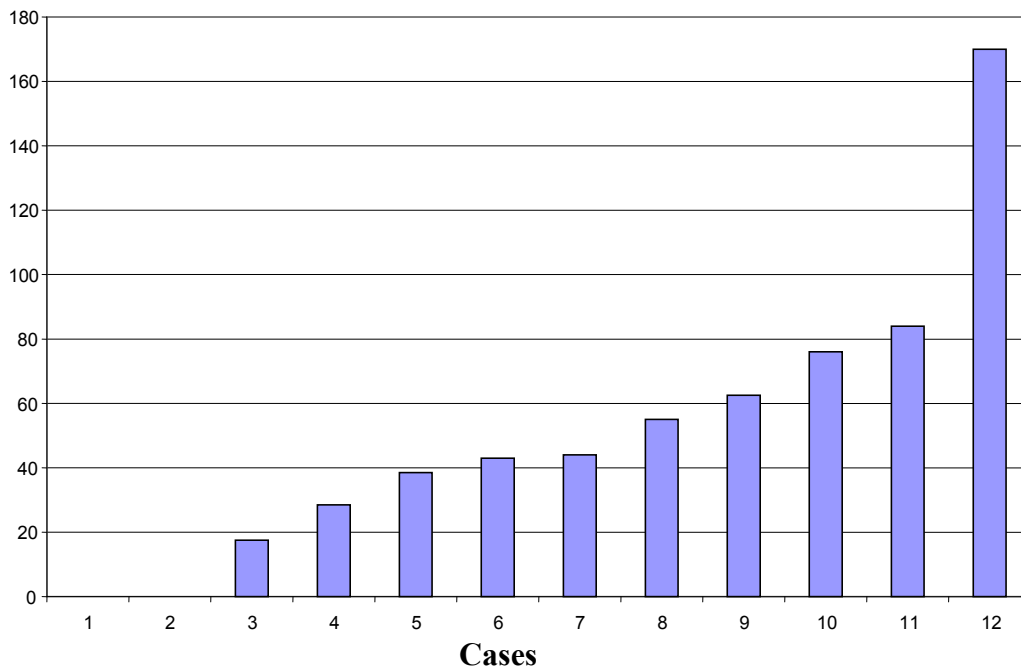


Figure 7.1 Coping Strategies Index scores for cases in Raisethorpe, 2005.

To facilitate discussion the cases were assigned to one of four groups. Cases with zero scores were assigned to the seemingly food secure group (group one) as the two cases in this group did not make use of any food related coping strategies investigated. Scores ranging from 17 to 44 were placed in the relatively food secure group (group two). Cases ranging from 54 to 84 were placed in the relatively food insecure group. Case [12twelve](#) was the only case with a score of 170, indicating the use of severe food related coping strategies and was placed in the food insecure group (group four).

These groups are used for within and between group analyses. Since group four consisted only of case [12twelve](#), it will be discussed in the between group analyses. Only the seemingly food secure group, relatively food secure group and relatively food insecure group will be discussed in the within group analysis. Table 7.1 contains household financial information for the seemingly food secure, relatively food secure and relatively food insecure group. This table will facilitate within group discussion.

7.1 THE SEEMINGLY FOOD SECURE GROUP

The seemingly food secure group consisted of two traders with zero scores for the Coping Strategies Index Scores, implying they had access to sufficient preferred food for a healthy life. For Premie and Joe money gained from street trading provided access to a variety of preferred and sufficient food to feed themselves and dependents. Joe only accessed food through the income he earned from street trading and spent R400 [of his](#) income on food per month.

For Premie access to food was through her pension, wages and street trading. She stated that her oldest son's salary was used to pay the house bond that made more [of her income](#) ~~money~~ available for food and household needs. Her pension was combined with the income she received from trading to pay for household expenses. Unlike Joe she spent significantly more on food every month (approximately 59 [percentper cent](#) of her income from trading).

Both Joe and Premie did not use food related coping strategies investigated in this study. Although Joe bought small quantities of cooked food every day, he did not engage in this strategy because he did not have enough money to buy all the ingredients for a meal but because it was more convenient given that he was single and [“did not enjoy cooking”](#). ~~In T~~the absence of food related coping strategies does not mean that these traders did not engage in coping strategies of a different nature. Premie and Joe used coping strategies such as pawning and repurchasing assets, drawing on networks of social capital and depending on savings in times of need. These coping strategies were not directly food related and hence not captured by the Coping Strategies Index.

Table 7.1 Household income and expenses for the three groups, Raisethorpe, 2005

Name and case no.	Profit	Total household income	Total household expenses	% contribution of trading income to household expenses	Food expense per month	<u>Per cent</u> of income from trading spent on food	<u>Per cent</u> of total income spent on food
Household income and expenses for the seemingly food secure group							
Joe (Two)	R8000	R8000	R8000	100%	R400	5%	5%
Premie (Three)	R1850	R2590	R2160	85%	R1100	59%	42%
Household income and expenses for the relatively food secure group							
Hussein (9)	R9240	R9980	R1790	100%	R900	10%	9%
Sheila (6)	R410	R1610	R1020	40%	R400	98%	25%
Safoora (12)	R1902	R2602	R1945	98%	R500	26%	19%
Venilla(11)	R1670	R2410	R3120	52%	R800	48%	33%
Shireen (5)	R1150	R2350	R2230	52%	R400	35%	17%
Household income and expenses for the relatively food insecure group							
Sanjay (7)	R2300	R2300	R2300	100%	R1000	44%	44%
Vanitha (10)	R575	R1315	R1200	48%	R600	96%	46%
Lungile (1)	R570	R910	R410	100%	R300	53%	33%
Nadia (4)	R820	R1920	R1700	47%	R650	79%	34%
Food insecure trader	R200 (-)	R200	R1100	1.8%	R150	75%	75%

Premie indicated that she relied extensively on networks of social capital in times of need. Her family loaned her money to start her informal business and she also borrowed money from family to keep her business going on many occasions. This strategy of borrowing money to buy food was not captured by the Coping Strategies Index because Premie did not directly rely on family for money to buy food. According to her, she borrowed money from family to buy stock for her business that in turn generated income to buy food.

Joe did not have family or friends to turn to if he was in dire need of cash. His only source of support was his savings. Unlike Joe, Premie did not have substantial savings to rely on in a crisis situation. Premie managed to “put aside” about R400 every month but used the money sometimes within the month, for “van repairs, doctor’s fees and medicines”.

Another strategy used by Premie and Joe was converting assets into cash for business capital and food. Assets were interchanged for cash that ~~in turn~~ was invested in the business to generate income for use in the household. Joe initially started his business by pawning his television for R500 and used this money to buy potatoes, tomatoes and onions. Once he had covered the cost he re-purchased his television. He owned many other assets such a cellular phone, fridge and stove. He stated that if his livelihood was threatened he would ~~not hesitate to~~ pawn his assets.

Premie constantly used her assets to acquire cash to buy fresh produce. The money gained from the sale of the fruit and vegetables was used to buy food and to pay for some of her expenses. Since beginning her business she had relied on this strategy to provide food for her family. She has pawned jewellery, gas cookers and a television to sustain her access to food. Assets acted as a buffer for Joe and Premie against destitution. These were a form of security that saved dependents from starving.

Assets were always interchanged for stock that maintained the cash flow to buy food. Selling or pawning assets reduced the likelihood of using food related coping strategies in

the household. The cycle of pawning and repurchasing assets trapped Premie and Joe in a perpetual cycle of vulnerability. The routine of selling and buying assets did not strengthen their livelihoods nor did it contribute towards creating sustainable access to food as it provided for short-term food security. The loss and gain of the same assets instead of gaining new and more valuable assets did not consolidate their lives nor did it provide security for the future. The ultimate danger to their food security lay in losing their assets, having nothing or very little to interchange for cash and being unable to generate income for food or livelihood resources.

This group appears to have access to sufficient food for household consumption because neither Premie nor Joe experienced a lack of food to feed themselves and their dependents. Access to sufficient food was attained by the use of non-food related coping strategies such as the pawning of assets and borrowing money to sustain the income generated by the informal enterprise. Nevertheless, it is undeniable that Premie and Joe used street trading to provide for their basic needs. The income Joe received from trading paid his rent, clothing and allowed him to save. Premie's income from street trading contributed 85 percent per cent towards water and electricity, health foods and burial insurance. Her pension of R740 (in 2004) was insufficient to cater for her food expenses of R1100 per month. For Joe and Premie, street trading was the only way of coping with unemployment and low income levels and the only means of accessing food and livelihood resources.

7.2 THE RELATIVELY FOOD SECURE GROUP

The relatively food secure group consists of five street traders who, according to their Coping Strategies Index scores, had reasonable access to food to feed themselves and their dependents. According to table 7.1, income gained from street trading also met household expenses and contributed substantially towards basic needs such as water, electricity, rent and health care.

Street trading income was the main source of food for all of the street traders in this group, meaning that street trading had evolved into an adaptive strategy as these people

were using an income based coping strategy on a permanent basis (Davies, 1993). According to table 7.1, Hussein had the highest income gained from street trading and the lowest percentage spent on food. Compared to Hussein, Sheila had the lowest income level in the group and spent the highest proportion on food. Sheila earned R410 in an average month and spent 98 percentper cent of income on food. According to table 7.1 Sheila's income matched the household's food expenses and implies that trading income was used exclusively for food.

The other source of income for Sheila was her daughter's wage of R1200 that was used for household expenses such as rent (R700), electricity (R150) and transport (R120). Hence, the income from street trading supplemented the low salary. Rising prices, whether for food products or transport costs, would significantly increase the likelihood of the members of this group experiencing hunger given that they were meeting their minimal food needs.

Compared to Sheila, Safoora reportedly generated enough money from informal enterprise to supplement her household's low income and provide a variety of foods for all family members. Safoora's household accessed food and met basic needs through her income from street trading and her husband's salary. Income from street trading contributed 26 percentper cent towards meeting the household's food needs and 98 percentper cent towards school fees, transport, clothing, rent and electricity. If the family depended on the income of R700 (salary) they would most likely be starving, as there were three children to feed, clothe and educate.

Like Safoora, Venilla and Shireen used the income from street trading to supplement low incomes. Venilla would not meet her food needs if she depended on her husband's state grant and would most likely be eating less preferred food or experiencing hunger. Venilla spent R800 on food in an average month and trading income contributed almost half (48 percentper cent) towards meeting the household's food needs and 52 percentper cent towards household expenses such as rent, electricity and funeral insurance. The data suggested that Venilla was dependent on street trading to cater for all her needs.

Shireen's situation was similar to Sheila and Safoora in that her household accessed food through income gained from street trading and wages. Her food expenditure of R400 a month was almost half that of Venilla's (R800) and almost the same as Safoora's (R500) even though their total incomes were in the same range (R2350-R2603). The difference is attributable to Venilla buying preferred foods that were more expensive and Safoora's regular food donations which meant that less money was used to buy food as compared to Shireen who did not receive food donations and therefore spent more money on food. Apart from providing for Shireen's food needs, street trading also contributed more than half or 52 ~~percent~~per cent towards her basic needs such as child care, school fees, hospital fees, and electricity.

Each trader in the relatively food secure group was dependent on the income earned each day for food. To counter the threat of being unable to access food through income, various food related coping strategies were used to provide food for the household. Table 7.24 provides a list of coping strategies used by traders in the relatively food secure group and the frequency.

According to table 7.2, eleven coping strategies were used by the relatively food secure group to manage with limited access to food. As table 7.2 suggests, the most common strategy used by four of the five traders in this group ~~was using~~used money reserved for the business to buy food ~~when there was no money to buy food~~. The strategy of using money reserved for the business to buy food was used by Hussein, Sheila, Venilla and Safoora and implied that perhaps street traders in this study did not differentiate between household and business capital. Money earned was not saved but used immediately for food with the hope that tomorrow would bring more customers and more money. This strategy also implied that the profit was used up quickly with no other option but to use money kept aside for stock. There is an inherent vulnerability to food insecurity in this strategy that makes these traders depend on money every day to feed themselves and their dependents.

Relying on less preferred or less expensive foods was a strategy popular with three of the five traders. Sheila, Shireen and Safoora used this strategy almost everyday. The consistent use of this strategy implied that these traders had some money to access food and therefore no household members went hungry, but they also did not consume food they preferred. Eating less preferred foods all the time warded off hunger but did not reduce vulnerability to food insecurity neither did it satisfy these traders.

Only two traders in the relatively food secure group had access to preferred food (Hussein and Venilla) and both rationed money to buy smaller portions of food almost everyday. For example, Hussein used R30 from his daily income to buy small quantities of food such as potatoes, tomatoes, half a loaf of bread and chicken or meat. Hussein and Venilla bought small quantities of food because of affordability; they believed buying small quantities of food was cheaper. They could not afford bulk buying even though it was cheaper in the long-term.

Table 7.2 Coping Strategies used by traders in the relatively food secure group, Raisethorpe, 2005

Coping Strategies	Number of traders using the strategy	Frequency of use by case study number		Severity Weighting
Rely on less preferred/expensive food.	3	5, 6 and 12	Almost every day.	2
Borrow food or money from a friend/relative to buy food.	3	9, 11 and 12	1 day a week.	2
Buy food on credit.	2	12	Three to six days a week.	3
Use money reserved for the business for food.	5	6	One day a week.	2
		5 and 9	Two days a week.	
		11 and 12	Almost everyday.	
Eat goods bought for the business because there is no money to buy other food.	2	6	Two days a week.	2
		12	One day a week.	

Send household members to eat elsewhere.	1	5	Almost everyday.	3
Send household members to live with relatives.	1	5	Almost every day.	3
Eat smaller portions.	1	6	Almost every day.	3
		11	One day a week.	
Ration money to buy prepared food.	2	9 and 11	Almost every day.	2
Eat less than three meals a day.	1	11	Almost every day.	3
Rely on food parcels from an organisation.	1	12	One day a month.	3

1= least severe, 2= intermediate (not so severe), 3= intermediate (quite severe), 4= most severe strategies

Venilla and Safoora borrowed money to buy food at least once a week. The focus group assigned this strategy a severity weight of two meaning this strategy did not indicate a severe lack of food for household consumption. However, when use of this strategy was considered for the month, Safoora and Venilla relied on accessing food by borrowing money for four days of the month. This implied that for one week of every month, access to food depended on the regular goodwill of friends lending money for food regularly.

Venilla and Safoora were the only two traders in this group who bought food on credit. Buying food on credit was considered quite severe and assigned a severity weight of three by focus group participants. Venilla relied on credit one day a week and Safoora relied on credit three to six days of the week, which was almost every day. Venilla bought food on credit from Woolworths and paid R300 monthly towards this account from her husband's disability pension. Although the severity of purchasing food on credit from a top-end food store can be questioned, the underlying principle remains the same, that Venilla bought food on credit because of a lack of cash. In fact, purchasing food on credit from a store such as Woolworths is more expensive in the long-term, owing to interest charged on credit purchases and the negative consequences of being unable to repay the debt such as accrued interest and blacklisting, especially since she pays the debt with her husband's pension, and not income from trading. Safoora paid her account

piecemeal from her income from street trading. Buying food on credit was expensive, but it was the only option to sustain the household.

Using one strategy at a time to access food did not severely affect food security, but when these strategies were combined as in the case of Safoora and Venilla, household food security became unstable and the likelihood of experiencing hunger was heightened. For instance Safoora used money reserved for the business at least one day a week, she borrowed money from friends one day a week, bought on credit three to six days of the week, received food donations once a month and ate business stock one day a week. Venilla borrowed money to buy food one day a week, used money reserved for the business almost everyday, rationed money to buy small quantities of food almost everyday ate less than three meals everyday and bought food on credit one day a week. Combining food related coping strategies indicated severe lack of income to access food for the household. These strategies were “putting food on the table” and warded off hunger.

Shireen had the highest Coping Strategies Index score in this group that indicated the use of quite severe coping strategies. She also had the lowest income from street trading after Sheila. Shireen ate less preferred foods everyday. She also sent her children to live with relatives on week days. Shireen’s family had to split up because there was insufficient food to feed all family members. The lack of food could be related to low levels of income. Prior to trading the family had an income of R1200 per month and even with additional income from trading of R1150 there was still insufficient food to feed everyone. In Shireen’s case low income led to the use of severe coping strategies. Unlike Shireen, Hussein used money reserved for the business to buy food and rationed his money to buy small quantities of food everyday. This implied that a higher income permitted the use of less severe coping strategies and provided access to preferred food.

The trend of higher incomes permitting more access to food and the use of less severe coping strategies did not apply to all traders. Sheila had the second lowest [Coping Strategy Index](#) score and yet had the lowest total income from the group and the lowest

food expense. She engaged in coping strategies that were classified/rated as moderately severe and quite severe. For instance, like Shireen she ate less preferred food all the time, ate business stock because there was no money to buy food at least two days a week and consumed smaller meals to make food last (quite severe). Both Sheila and Shireen had low incomes but while Sheila engaged in less severe coping strategies, Shireen used quite severe strategies. The difference was attributable to Shireen having two dependents and Sheila having none. The implications were that for lower income households the higher the number of dependents the less money was available for food which made the use of food related coping strategies imperative. The greater the number of dependents, the greater the severity of the food related coping strategies used within the household.

This group is relatively food secure as they accessed food through income gained from street trading and a mixture of food related coping strategies of moderate severity. They used their income and specific coping strategies to ward off immediate hunger, but vulnerability to experiencing hunger was still present given their dependence on daily income. Food related coping strategies were used to prevent hunger, but the strategies used by this group inadvertently increased the likelihood of experiencing hunger in the future since they were based on cycles of credit, borrowing, eating smaller meals and rationing meals. These strategies were not sustainable and access to food was constantly threatened by factors discussed in the previous chapter such as lack of access to loans and a volatile working environment.

No traders in this group reported experiencing hunger. Four traders had access to sufficient food to feed their dependents. Two traders had access to preferred food while three constantly relied on less preferred foods. Only Shireen had to send her children to live with relatives but still met the food needs of the remaining members. Street trading income paid for 52 [percentper cent](#) to 100 [percentper cent](#) of household expenses, most of these expenses were basic requirements for shelter, clothing and transport. Although there was great insecurity in relying on street trading to pay for essential needs given the unpredictable nature of this form of work, it was apparent that street trading was helping

this group to access food and to meet their household needs in the absence of other more stable opportunities.

7.3 THE RELATIVELY FOOD INSECURE GROUP

The relatively food insecure group consisted of four traders who were not accessing sufficient food to feed themselves and their household members because of very low income levels. All the traders in this group depended on income from trading to meet their basic needs. Income gained was very low ranging from R570 to R2300 per month and supplemented with other sources of income such as social grants and unemployment insurance. None of these traders had household members in formal employment. These households had no access to a stable source of income from either wages or salaries, which kept total household income low and resulted in a shortage of food for household consumption.

Income from street trading was the only source of income for Sanjay. He had the highest income and the lowest percentage of income spent on food in this group. ~~However, Of~~ the R2300 he earned in an average month from street trading, almost half or 44 ~~percentper cent~~ was spent on food. In addition, he depended on this income for ~~all+00 percent of~~ his household needs such as toiletries and health care. Sanjay had the highest income in this group because he did not have expenses such as rent, water and electricity as he lived with his father.

Vanitha received an income from street trading and R740 from unemployment insurance, nevertheless, her total income was much lower than Sanjay's. Even though she had three dependents, like Sanjay, her food expenses for the month were low. In total she spent 96 ~~percentper cent~~ of her income from street trading on food, indicating a relatively high dependence on this income for food. In Vanitha's case her income from trading was combined with income from her unemployment insurance to pay for rent, water, electricity and school fees. Vanitha's low income level compelled her to compromise between proper housing and ~~meeting~~ other essential needs such as food. She lived in a

shared one-roomed apartment with poor water and sanitation. Due to a lack of space her children slept in the kitchen.

Compared to Sanjay, Lungile had the lowest income from street trading and spent the lowest [percentper cent](#) of income from trading on food. Like Sanjay, Lungile depended on trading income for all her needs such as gas, paraffin and clothing. Even though Lungile's income was almost the same as Vanitha's, her expenditure of food was half that of Vanitha's and Nadia's. Lungile's low food budget was even more striking given the fact that she had eight dependents and the only other sources of income in the household were the two child support grants that her sister received. Lungile was the most food insecure in this group as she used only her income to buy food and pay for household expenses. Due to her low income she had to make a trade-off between [meeting](#) basic needs and feeding household members, as a result she could not afford electricity and used paraffin for lighting and gas for cooking.

Lungile, like Nadia could not afford to pay for electricity as she had to feed and provide for four dependents. Compared to Lungile, Nadia's household had three sources of income from maintenance payments, pension and street trading. Nadia was very reliant on the income gained from street trading as this contributed 79 [percentper cent](#) towards buying food for household consumption as compared to Lungile who spent 53 [percentper cent](#) of income from trading on food.

All traders in this group spent significant proportions of their incomes on food (44 [percent](#) to 96 [percentper cent](#)) indicating that their income from trading was largely spent on accessing food for household consumption. Minimal income provided minimal access to food and to manage with a lack of access to sufficient food to feed themselves and their dependents these traders engaged in many food-related coping strategies. As discussed in the previous section, the coping strategies used by participants in this study were ranked and weighted by focus group participants in terms of their severity, less severe strategies were weighted two, while more severe strategies that indicated a lack of

sufficient food were weighted three. The coping strategies used by traders in the relatively food insecure group appears in table 7.3.

In this group, women used more severe food related coping strategies, indicating a shortage of food to feed all dependents. Nadia and Lungile used this strategy once or twice a week while Vanitha ate smaller portions of food everyday. Nadia, Lungile and Sanjay let small children eat first at least once or twice a week. Lungile and Nadia ate less than three meals everyday. Both women skipped lunch so that there would be food available for supper. In Lungile's case even school going children did not take lunch to school and only ate breakfast and supper.

Lungile had to send her nieces to eat at the neighbour's house for at least one day a week, similarly Vanitha sent her children to live with relatives for three to six days of the week as there was insufficient food for consumption.

Nadia and Lungile mostly engaged in food related coping strategies that were quite severe (severity weight of three) that meant that they were unable to access sufficient food and experienced a severe shortage of food for household consumption. Both traders ate smaller portions at meals, let children eat rather than adults, and skipped meals to make food last as long as possible. In addition to these strategies, Lungile and Nadia borrowed money to buy food about three to four days a month. These women and Sanjay often used money reserved for their businesses. Lungile and Sanjay used business funds to buy food three to six days of the week while Nadia only used this coping strategy about once a week. Using business funds to buy food indicated that any money earned or acquired was used up immediately for food.

Table 7.3 Coping strategies used by the relatively food insecure group, Raisethorpe 2005.

Coping strategies	Number of traders using this strategy N=12	Frequency of use by case number		Severity weighting
Rely on less expensive/ preferred food.	4	7, 1, 10 and 4	Everyday.	2
Borrow food or money to buy food.	2	1 and 4	Less than 1 day a week.	2
Use money reserved for the business to buy food.	4	1, 7, 10	Everyday.	2
		4	1 to 2 days a week.	2
Eat goods bought for the business because no money to buy food.	2	4 and 7	3 to 6 days a week.	2
Send household members to eat elsewhere.	1	1	1 to 2 days a week.	
Send household members to live with relatives.	1	10	3 to six days a week.	3
Eat smaller portions.	3	10	Everyday.	3
		1 and 4	1 to 2 days a week.	
Ration money and buy prepared food.	1	4	1 day a week.	2
Eat less than three meals a day.	3	1, 4 and 7	Everyday, 3 to six days and 1 to 2 days a week for case 7	3
Let small children eat rather than adults.	3	1, 4 and 7	3 to 6 days a week.	3
Rely on food parcels from an organisation.	1	1	1 day a week.	3
Rely on monetary donations to buy food for your family or yourself	1	4	1 day a week.	3
Rely on food given to you by family and friends.	1	4	3 to 6 days a week.	3

1= least severe, 2= intermediate (not so severe), 3= intermediate (quite severe), 4= most severe strategies

The most common strategy used by traders in this group was relying on less preferred food or less expensive food everyday (severity weight of two). Although this was not a

severe strategy the underlying implication was that access to any kind of food whether preferred or not was limited because there was insufficient income to purchase food and meet basic needs simultaneously.

The traders in this group were food insecure prior to becoming street traders. All traders in this group lost access to food because employment was terminated. All had been primary breadwinners of households, and since monetary income was the primary means of accessing food most of these traders had experienced hunger and decided to engage in street trading as a means of providing for themselves and their dependents.

By combining the income gained from trading with other sources of income and integrating food related coping strategies with these, traders in this group had managed to access more food than they would have if they were not trading, but food was insufficient to feed all household members. They ~~were~~ barely ~~met meeting~~ basic needs for shelter, education, and health care. ~~Nevertheless, However,~~ their children were still in school and they had safe housing. Without income from trading their situation would have been much worse. For instance, they would have been homeless; using firewood for cooking and their children would have been out of school.

These traders were still likely to experience hunger and so were their dependents. Even though street trading had saved them from utter devastation, they were still vulnerable to hunger. For the traders in this group, minimal income was better than no income at all, and even though the income from trading barely met their basic needs, it had saved them from utter destitution and starvation. The food insecure trader is discussed in the next section.

7.4 DO STREET TRADERS HAVE ACCESS TO SUFFICIENT FOOD FOR HOUSEHOLD CONSUMPTION?

Household food security is defined as the ability of a household to access sufficient food of adequate quality and quantity that is culturally preferred for all household members at all times in a sustainable manner (Gillespie & Mason, 1991). For many urban households

in South Africa access to food is primarily through cash income from employment (Beall & Kanji, 1999; de Klerk et al., 2004) and household food security or insecurity is dependent on levels of total household income (Maxwell, 1998).

For participants in this study, access to food was mainly influenced by levels of household income, sometimes gained from multiple sources. However, As the previous section demonstrated, access to food for household consumption was gained by integrating income with various coping strategies, some of which were food related and others based on inter-household exchanges of cash and food. Arnall et al. (2004) argue that relying on informal safety nets such as inter-household exchanges of food and cash reduces vulnerability to poverty and are important coping strategies adopted by poor urban households.

The food related coping strategies used by the four groups were placed in four stages according to levels of severity reflecting household food insecurity (Tulane, 1992). Table 7.4 presents stages of coping strategies. The first stage consisted of eating less preferred foods, eating less than three meals a day and taking loans from family and friends. Selling non-productive assets, taking loans from informal lenders and skipping meals were indicative of the second stage of food insecurity. In the third stage, some assets were sold or pawned and children were sent to live with relatives. The fourth stage indicated complete destitution in which the entire household is in danger of dissolution. Household members relied on external assistance from organisations for food.

The seemingly food secure group had access to sufficient and preferred food for all household members at all times. The households' in the seemingly food secure group had access to income from salaries, pension and street trading and access to networks of social capital that provided access to cash for business capital and food. This highlighted the fact that access to food was not solely a factor of economic access, but social access through friends and family played a vital role in how food and other resources were accessed (FAO, 2002).

In addition, the seemingly food secure group had profitable businesses that provided higher levels of income for food and expenses. The seemingly food secure group used three types of coping strategies commonly used by low income urban households including income pooling, income related strategies and exchanging assets for cash (Maxwell, 1998).

Premie's household depended on income from the informal sector, the formal sector and from state grants. This income was then pooled to meet household expenses. Selling or pawning non-productive assets is indicative of the second stage of household food insecurity, after households have already altered their consumption patterns (Corbett, 1988; Tulane, 1992). ~~However,~~ The seemingly food secure group did not alter consumption; instead they pawned assets before depriving themselves of food. Another unique characteristic of the seemingly food secure group was that they opted to pawn assets that were both productive and non-productive (FAO, 2002). Premie pawned cooking equipment that she used for her business in order to buy a vehicle to transport her to and from the market to buy goods to sell at her stall. She also pawned her jewellery. Before assets were sold or pawned they were ranked in terms of their value and future contribution to income generation and business security (Drinkwater, 2003).

Table 7.4 Stages of coping strategies used by the four groups, Raisethorpe, 2005

Stages of coping strategies	Coping strategies	Seemingly food secure (n=2)	Relatively food secure (n=5)	Relatively food insecure (n=4)	Food insecure (n=1)
One	Eating less preferred food.	None.	Safoora. Shireen.	All.	Yes . X
	Eating less than three meals a day.	None.	Venilla.	Vanitha. Lungile. Nadia. Sanjay.	Yes . X
	Eating smaller portions.	None.	Sheila.	Vanitha. Lungile.	Yes . X
	Let children eat first.	None.	None.	Vanitha. Lungile. Nadia.	Yes . X

				Sanhay.	
	Taking loans to buy food from family and friends.	Premie.	Venilla. Safoora.	None.	Yes.✗
Two	Selling/pawning non-productive assets.	Premie.	None.	None.	Yes.✗
	Taking loans from informal lenders.	None.	None.	None.	Yes.✗
	Skipping meals.	None.		Lungile. Nadia	Yes.✗
	Sending children to eat elsewhere.	None.	None.	Lungile. Vanitha.	Yes.✗
Three	Selling of productive assets.	Premie.	None.	None.	Yes.✗
	Sending children to live with relatives.	None.	Shireen.	Vanitha.	Yes.✗
Four	Complete destitution.	None.	None.	None.	Almost

The seemingly food secure group was able to maintain access to food because of higher income levels and multiple sources of income, which when pooled, increased the amount of money available for food. Interchanging assets for cash ensured ready access to cash. This showed that the greater the number and value of assets a household owned, the less vulnerable they were to experiencing food insecurity as assets increased the households resilience to negative consequences of crime (Dallimore, 2003; Gillespie & Loevinsohn, 2003). For this group, street trading provided access to sufficient food for household consumption. Compared to other groups (discussed below), access to more than one source of income, liquid assets and higher levels of profit made more money available for food and eliminated the need for food related coping strategies.

Like the seemingly food secure group, the relatively food secure group accessed food for household consumption through social grants, wages and street trading. Traders in the relatively food secure group teetered between experiencing occasional hunger and having sufficient food for consumption. In order to prevent hunger, household heads engaged in food related coping strategies.

For the relatively food secure group, the inability to purchase sufficient food resulted in the use of first and third stage coping strategies such as eating less preferred food, eating less food, borrowing money and using money reserved for the business to buy food and sending children to live with relatives (Tulane, 1992; FAO, 2002). Shireen and Venilla were the only traders who used two coping strategies that indicated considerable shortages of food. Shireen sent her children to live with relatives because there was insufficient food for everyone. This meant that occasionally she had to hungry. Venilla ate smaller meals and skipped lunch everyday.

Food access was threatened by low income for the relatively food insecure groups. This group did not have access to sufficient food for household consumption and experienced hunger. All traders had other sources of income but did not have access to income from formal employment. Low levels of income created a severe shortage of food and resulted in the use of more severe coping strategies than applied by the relatively food secure group.

Traders in the relatively food insecure group engaged in coping strategies from the first, second and third stage. It was expected that this group would engage in strategies that were more severe such as selling assets and sending children to live elsewhere permanently. [However, The relatively food insecure](#) ~~this~~ group had relied mainly on consumption strategies because they lacked the necessary assets which could be sold for cash or because sending children away on a permanent basis was a last resort (FAO, 2002). All traders in the relatively food insecure group ate less preferred and less expensive foods as compared to three traders from the relatively food secure group. In addition, Vanitha, Lungile and Nadia let their children eat first on a regular basis. Lungile and Nadia were worse off than the others in the group as they also skipped meals everyday in addition to using other severe food coping strategies.

The use of these combined coping strategies clearly indicated a severe lack of food for adequate consumption for traders and their dependents. Access to food was so

constrained that Vanitha and Lungile ate small portions and let their children eat first when the household had food and children in both households were sent out to eat with family and neighbours at least twice a week, which indicated that at times there was no food at all within the household.

Rehana was the only food insecure trader. She used coping strategies from the first, second and third stage and was not very far off from entering the fourth stage of complete destitution. She was a unique case in this study because she had the highest Coping Strategies Index score and spent 75 ~~percent~~per cent of her income from trading on food, which indicted a significant vulnerability to hunger as she was spending more than half of her income on food (Tulane, 1992). In Rehana's case it was clear that access to food through income was a risk. She earned R200 that was insufficient to pay for household and business expenses. She was spending more than she earned, which was an indication of destitution (Hossain, 1987).

Compared to the other groups, Rehana had no other source of income from formal employment or social grants and depended on her family to pay her rent and multiple account payments. Her dependence on food parcels from religious organisations in Northdale and on her family's assistance for survival signified that household food insecurity was severe and the immediate security under threat (Tulane, 1992).

Rehana used the same coping strategies as other traders but used these strategies everyday as compared to once or twice a week. Rehana borrowed money to buy food from friends, bought food on credit almost everyday and borrowed money on high interest twice in 2004 from an informal money lender to buy business goods (stage two of coping strategies). Like Shireen, Vanitha and Lungile, Rehana often sent her daughter to live with relatives, ate smaller portions of food, and let her daughter and her husband eat first almost everyday. The most severe strategy she engaged in was skipping entire days without eating as there was insufficient food for her daughter and husband. Rehana was dependent on monthly food parcels from a religious organisation; and turned to borrowing money and buying food on credit. Rehana borrowed money from anyone who

would lend to her. She was repaying two loans at R450 a month with interest and she was in debt to a local tuck-shop. Rehana had trapped herself in a perpetual cycle of credit which combined with her low income, undermined the sustainability of the household and pushed her into destitution.

Rehana used coping strategies that implied a clear lack of cash to access food and a severe shortage of food to feed herself and her family. She was hungry and ill, but what mattered to her most was that she was able to feed her family and “keep a shelter over our head’ even though there was ‘a lot of stress about making ends meet’”. In this case it was difficult to ascertain the contribution of street trading towards her basic needs. She kept emphasising that street trading provided her with the minimal income she needed to survive. Prior to trading her husband could not find employment, which forced her into trading but did not improve their situation. She was surviving on the goodwill of her family and close friends who paid her rent, lent her money to buy food and regularly took her daughter in.

All traders in this study had low levels of income before engaging in street trading. For some, street trading was a means of supplementing low income levels and for others it was a means of earning an income in the face of unemployment. For the seemingly food secure group, access to sufficient food was provided by the many sources of income and the scale of the informal enterprise. The more profitable the informal enterprise was, the more food secure the traders were. However, these traders were still exposed to situations that threatened access to food. In such instances they used non-food related coping strategies to maintain access to food. The pawning of assets for cash to invest in business goods to generate income was used if there was no cash to invest in the business in “hard times” and when traders had been victims of crime and lost significant assets such as a vehicle. For the seemingly food secure group, access to food was provided by these non-food coping strategies, social capital and income. Assets, however low in value, maintained access to food. For example, assets such as cell-phones or televisions were readily pawned for cash to restock and to purchase food.

The income levels of the relatively food secure group did not vary significantly from the seemingly food secure group as the traders in the relatively food secure group also had more than one source of income from wages/salaries and social grants. The only difference between the seemingly food secure and relatively food secure groups was that the traders in the relatively food secure group had more dependents to provide for and this group used coping strategies to manage with limited access to sufficient food.

The most common coping strategies used included using business funds to buy food and relying on less preferred food. These coping strategies were not indicative of a severe lack of food as household members did not generally experience hunger. Two cases in this group were likely to experience hunger occasionally but managed to maintain minimal food for themselves through rationing food and sending children to live with relatives. Unlike the seemingly food secure group the relatively food secure group did not pawn or sell assets if they experienced a shortage of food, this was due to members in this group having few assets such as basic household furnishings and nothing of value that they could or were willing to sell.

Access to food was at risk for the relatively food insecure because of very low income levels. The relatively food insecure group earned much less from street trading than traders in other groups and in two cases income from street trading was the only source of income. The data in table 7.5 suggests that as income decreased so did access to food for household consumption, increasing Coping Strategies Index scores. The relationship between high Coping Strategies Index scores and low levels of income indicated that as income decreased so did the quantity and types of foods households accessed. Lower household incomes in the range of R250 – R1315 signified the use of more severe food coping strategies. This was illustrated in Rehana's case. She had the highest Coping Strategies Index score and the lowest household income. Lungile had the third highest Coping Strategies Index score and the second lowest income of all participants in this study. The data also suggested that lower Coping Strategy scores were associated with higher levels of income between R8000-R10000, as in the case of Joe and Hussein.

Table 7.5 suggests that more severe coping strategies were used in households with two or more dependents. Motloung and Mears (2002) argue that high dependency ratios in poor households increase levels of household poverty while Seramuga-Zake and Naude` (2002) found that larger household sizes (with children under the age of 15) increased the levels of poverty of urban and rural households. This substantiates the finding that households with two dependents and low incomes applied much more severe coping strategies than others with relatively intermediate incomes and dependents. Premie and Sheila also had incomes in the low to intermediate range but also had low coping strategies scores. This could be attributable to having no child dependents and more working household members that increased income and made more money available for basic needs.

As table 7.5 shows, all traders in the relatively food insecure group and the food insecure trader had dependents, mainly children, while only two in the relatively food secure group had dependents to provide for. The data leads to the conclusion that low incomes combined with high numbers of dependents leads to the use of more severe food security coping strategies and greater vulnerability to hunger.

Most traders in this study were food insecure as they spent between nine and 44 [percentper cent](#) of total household income on food and five and 98 [percentper cent](#) of trading income on food. This finding corresponds to other studies that reported that low income households spent between 44 [percentper cent](#) and 66 [percentper cent](#) of total household income on food (Arnall et al., 2004) and between 60 [percentper cent](#) and 80 [percentper cent](#) of total household income on food (Maxwell, 1998).

Table 7.5 Income levels and Coping Strategies Index scores for traders in Raisethorpe, 2005

Trader	Coping strategy index scores	Total household income	Number of dependents
Joe	0	R8000	0
Premie	0	R2590	0
Hussein	17.5	R9980	0
Sheila	28.5	R1610	0
Safoora	40	R2602	4
Venilla	43	R2410	0
Shireen	44	R2350	2
Sanjay	55	R2300	3
Vanitha	62.5	R1315	3
Lungile	76	R910	8
Nadia	84	R1920	4
Rehana	170	R200	2

For households in this study, food was not the only essential basic need. Most traders wanted their children to stay in school and have a better chance of a good education than they did. This strategy was noted in Safoora, Vanitha, Lungile, Venilla and Nadia's cases. Women traders kept their children in school at the expense of better housing, clothing and food. The desire of poor women to sacrifice household needs such as food and proper housing for education is consistent Yunus (1984) and Chen's (1986) findings of low income villages and rural women in Dhaka City, Bangladesh. [In this current study on street traders,](#) the need for education was prioritised as was expenditure on school fees, educational material and transport costs to schools. Money that should have been used for food was reallocated to meet educational needs.

By prioritising specific needs over others, less money was available for food. Traders integrated food related coping strategies with tradeoffs for adequate housing, electricity

and food needs and this eventually became an adaptive strategy for most households. This finding concurs with the finding of Ruel et al. (1998) [who found that](#): Low income women who continuously balanced household needs managed to do so because of access to credit from relatives, merchants, moneylenders, friends and government institutions, [supporting Katona-Apte \(1988\)](#). Borrowing money from friends and moneylenders for food and capital for street trading was a strategy used by several women in this study. Continuous borrowing to meet household and business needs meant that women street traders in this study were continuously in debt, supporting the findings of Katona-Apte (1988). Although low income households accessed food they did so through a risky combination of credit, coping strategies and trade-offs that ultimately threatened the immediate and future sustainability of households (FAO, 2002).

De Weerd (2002) found that people living and working in close proximity to each other often form risk sharing networks. Risk sharing networks can be defined as mutual systems of support by lending money, sharing food or other resources. The traders in this study have formed risk sharing relationships where the primary purpose was to help each other with cash for food and stock, transport to markets and occasional employment. The discovery of risk sharing networks in this study proves that informal safety nets or coping strategies based on social capital were important for accessing food and cash in times of need, especially for women (Muthwa, 1994).

Street trading provided access to income to purchase food for the traders and reduced the likelihood of experiencing hunger. However, street trading is only one of a multitude of mechanisms that poor urban households use to access food (Hossain, 2005). All traders were vulnerable to food insecurity prior to becoming street traders because of low income levels or in some cases no income, due to the inability to find formal employment. All traders were previously unemployed; four received government grants (disability pensions, child support grants and unemployment insurance). Of the twelve traders interviewed, four had household members in formal employment in low-paid work. Traders supplemented low incomes with street trading to access basic needs.

7.5 DOES STREET TRADING REDUCE VULNERABILITY TO HUNGER?

For participants in this study the decision to engage in street trading was clearly motivated by low income and the inability to access food and meet other livelihood needs. Households in this study used income gained from street trading to buy between five and 98 [percentper cent](#) of food such as lentils, rice, pulses, potatoes and vegetables, similar to poor urban households in Dhaka City, Bangladesh (Hossain, 2005).

Due to the varying levels of profit gained from each informal enterprise and the unique characteristics of each household, access to sufficient food for household consumption for each trader also varied. For the seemingly food secure group, street trading provided [access to](#) sufficient and preferred foods for all household members. This group was food secure and had adequate food intake but at the same time was very vulnerable to food insecurity (FAO, 2002). In the case of the relatively food secure group, street trading provided access to food but not at all times. Two cases (Venilla and Shireen) experienced occasional hunger and other members engaged in food related coping strategies that meant that they did not experience severe shortages of food for themselves and dependents but did run short of food. The food secure group experienced occasional hunger and had adequate food most of the time but were vulnerable to hunger (FAO, 2002).

The relatively food insecure group experienced recurring episodes of hunger. This group had inadequate food intakes, and were using severe coping strategies. There was a shortage of food for household consumption and three traders in the relatively food insecure group (Vanitha, Lungile and Nadia) were likely to experience hunger at some time each day. For the relatively food secure and the relatively food insecure groups, street trading provided access to insufficient food. Their situation could have been worse if there was no income from street trading. In this case they would have been starving and destitute. Street trading provided minimal income to purchase food for minimal consumption.

The food insecure trader was worse off than any of the other groups as the income gained from trading ~~was~~ barely meeting basic needs. Rehana experienced chronic hunger as she had inadequate food intake and a high risk of worsening food insecurity (FAO, 2002). She experienced hunger everyday and was on the verge of destitution. ~~For her,~~ Street trading was barely assisting her to survive and ~~did~~ not contributing substantially to her basic needs because her profit was too low and there was not enough money for food or other necessities.

Street trading reduced the likelihood of experiencing hunger for the seemingly food secure, relatively food secure and relatively food insecure groups. However, it did not eradicate hunger or vulnerability to experiencing hunger. Hunger was still experienced by the relatively food secure and relatively food insecure groups to varying levels, depending on their incomes and number of dependents. For the traders in this study, street trading provided short-term food security. Similar to street traders in Accra, Ghana, (Ruel et al., 1999; Maxwell et al., 2000), each trader in this study depended on income earned each day for food, which in turn, depended on how much he/she earned, and how much money was left after deducting transport costs (Ruel et al., 1999; Maxwell et al., 2000). In most cases, food was accessed through income and food related coping strategies that plunged some into debt and left others hungry.

Vulnerability to food insecurity was also influenced by multiple negative long-term multiple inter-related factors such as the nature of work, location, profitability of business and access to working capital. Skinner (2000b) reports that the greatest obstacle faced by street traders has been lack of capital, theft and criminal violence, poor infrastructure and high competition. Many traders in this current study stated that to improve businesses they required access to capital or small amounts of credit. Ruel et al. (1998) found that in Bangladesh and Tanzania street traders stated that access to credit was essential for business expansion.

Manning (1996); Nair (1996); Mbona (1997) and Lund (1998) document crime as the greatest obstacle to the livelihoods of street traders. Crime plagued traders in the

Raisethorpe area. Five traders in this study reported having money or items stolen from their tables or being robbed at knife-point. This finding supports Skinner's (1999) finding that street traders are victims of crime. Furthermore, study participants reported that when goods or money were stolen it significantly affected their ability to buy food and business stock. Similarly, when goods are confiscated by municipal officials traders reported that it took them a long time to save money to rebuild their businesses (Skinner, 1999).

Traders operated in a highly competitive environment. Competition over customers, space and between formal shops and informal enterprises reduces the profit margin and create conflict between rent paying shop owners and government authorities (Maxwell, 1998). In this regard, street traders face immediate and future vulnerability to food insecurity as low income impacts on immediate food consumption. A lack of employment security makes them vulnerable to a shortage of food in the near future (FAO, 2002).

The profitability of the informal enterprises determined levels of household food security, but only for traders with high or traders with low income levels. Households with relatively middle incomes (above R1100) and other incomes from employment or social grants (or both) were relatively more food secure as combined incomes provided greater access to food. Traders such as Joe and Hussein who earned R8000-R10000 were food secure, Hussein used minor food related coping strategies. On the opposite side of the scale Vanitha, Lungile, Nadia and Rehana earned incomes below R820 and experienced hunger. These were also households with no sources of income from formal employment and depended on income from street trading and state financial assistance. Rehana had the lowest income from street trading and no other source of income and was the most food insecure of all. Hence income levels largely determined household food security for all traders.

Street trading was a food security coping strategy for all low income households in this study. However, street trading was more important for households with no members in formal employment, those that depended on social grants and those who had no income

at all. For those who had no sources of household income street trading provided up to 76 [percentper cent](#) of food needs. The little income gained from street trading was vital in providing access to food, even though food accessed was insufficient at times to feed everyone in the household. Without street trading, these households would have been consistently hungry, if not destitute.

Vulnerability to hunger was influenced by factors other than income. Research has shown that households that experience income shocks are likely to rely on savings, failing that households turn to social and physical assets for survival (Dallimore, 2003). The number and value of assets a household has, the availability of family and friends and savings significantly determines whether it will recover from shocks (Motloun & Mears 2002). Khan (1984) stated that savings protect low income households from increased price shocks which reduces the need for using food coping strategies like skipping meals and rationing food (Aliber & Modiselle, 2002).

In this light, all traders were vulnerable to food and livelihood insecurity because only one possessed savings that could be sold for substantial amounts of cash. Eleven traders owned basic physical assets that were regularly pawned for cash. The seemingly food secure group was better off than the other groups because they sold assets for cash for immediate survival (Tulane, 1992). Once assets were pawned, re-purchasing them depended on whether the traders had recovered to a normal level of functioning, which given the nature of street trading, and irregular income, cannot be guaranteed.

Only one trader in the seemingly food secure group had savings that could be used in an emergency situation. Traders in other groups owned fridges, stoves, televisions and basic household furnishings. In a study conducted by Dallimore (2003) in Northern KwaZulu-Natal the most common items low income households saved for was food followed by school expenses. These were also the basic needs of the street traders interviewed in this study. Eleven street traders who participated in this current study had no money left to save after paying monthly accounts.

Social capital refers to the networks of trust and relationships that exist among people and communities that people depend on for survival (Putnam, 1995:67, cited by Ruel et al., 1999). Low income women in particular, rely extensively on relatives, neighbours and friends for loans and money for food (Katona-Apte, 1988) and depend on local shopkeepers for credit to procure food (Ruel et al., 1998). Women traders in this study relied on fellow traders and neighbours for small loans, food and transport in times of need. Integrating economic access to resources with social access had become a livelihood strategy for the majority of poor urban households and played a significant role in reducing vulnerability to hunger (Hossain, 2005). Savings and assets constituted a large part in countering vulnerability and the lack of these revealed that the households in this study were likely to suffer significant negative impacts if faced with a crisis.

7.6 DOES STREET TRADING PROVIDE ACCESS TO BASIC HOUSEHOLD NEEDS?

Investigating access to basic necessities such as water and sanitation, electricity and shelter is more a part of livelihoods analysis than food security (Drinkwater, 2003). Analysing a household's access to food, education, water and sanitation and housing was important as each impacted on household wellbeing and functioning (Tulane, 1992). In addition, household access to basic needs sheds considerable light on the effectiveness of street trading as a coping strategy and whether it provided households with enough cash to use for these necessities. Apart from providing for food, street trading income also covered basic household needs for all of the groups discussed above. The income from street trading contributed more towards water, electricity, education and health care than it did towards food for all households.

For higher income households earning between R8000 and R10000 street trading income contributed 100 ~~percent~~per cent to household and personal needs. In these cases, street trading income was the only source of income. Middle income households with incomes ranging from R2602 and R2160 depended on street trading for 52 ~~percent~~per cent to 98 ~~percent~~per cent of household expenses. One trader in the middle income category met all ~~100 percent of~~ his needs with trading as this was his only source of income. Lower

income households with incomes between R1920 and R1315 met 40 ~~percent~~per cent to 47 ~~percent~~per cent of their needs with street trading. Only one trader with the lowest income of R910 met ~~all 100 percent of~~ her expenses with street trading, but in this case a significant portion of her needs such as electricity and sufficient food were unmet because there was not enough money to meet these needs.

Although street traders in this study appeared to ~~be~~ meeting their needs, these were their minimal needs compromised by low income and unsatisfactory access to livelihood resources. Traders appeared to ~~be~~ meeting between 100 ~~percent~~ and 40 ~~percent~~per cent of their livelihood needs but in most cases this ~~percent~~percentage represented their basic needs. For instance, ~~Lungile met all 100 percent of~~ her household needs with trading income but could not afford regular meals and electricity. Vanitha met 48 ~~percent~~per cent of her basic household and personal needs with trading income but lived in unsatisfactory conditions.

The fact that street traders depended on their incomes from trading to meet minimal needs made them vulnerable to livelihood insecurity, especially the three traders who engaged in street trading as a primary livelihood strategy. Depending on an informal enterprise for a living made one extremely vulnerable to food insecurity as income was irregular and was earned in small amounts. The business was unsustainable given high levels of competition, exposure to crime and the elements that affected business hours and destroyed goods. These factors threatened the income generation potential of the business, ~~and the money that street traders earned and the quality and quantity of food and other necessities they accessed. It was imperative to acknowledge that street trading was an integral part of how many low income households earned and supplemented household income and gained access to money for basic needs.~~In the absence of ~~street trading~~this income, many low income households in this study would not be able to afford rent, education for children, food, water and electricity.

7.7 SYNOPSIS

This study has shown that low income households use street trading as a coping strategy to access food and basic needs but they struggled to survive because of low income levels and minimal access to food and other resources. This finding was supported by the argument that low income households are compelled to engage in “strategies of desperation” (Napier & Mothwa; 337, undated) such as street trading to survive, not to improve their welfare and wellbeing (Hossain, 2005). Lund (1998) and Skinner (2000a and b) stress that even though street trading brought minimal income, the urban food insecure, especially women, were forced to engage in it because of the inability to find formal employment. Similarly Rogerson, (2000a), Napier and Mothwa (2001) and Mayrhofer and Hendriks (2003) stated that most people were “pushed” into informal activities because of unemployment and the urgent need to access food and household requirements.

It is apparent from this study that street trading and engaging in more lucrative income opportunities in the informal economy generally was a means of coping with the lack of employment opportunities. Various studies (McKeever, 1998; Rampershad, 2002; Dewar, 2005) have reported that street trading was beneficial as it created employment for the economically marginalised and reduced poverty.

The 12 twelve traders interviewed for this study engaged in income pooling, diversifying income sources, pawning assets and altering consumption patterns based on income levels and household size. From the definition of the term ‘coping strategies’ it was expected that people regarded as vulnerable to food insecurity would engage in one or many coping strategies until they were able to re-establish themselves or until they had recovered from the impact of income shocks (Rugalema, 2000). This study has shown that street traders had been using these strategies for many years to deal with problems of structural unemployment and their inability to access well paying jobs (Arnall et al., 2004). It is for this reason that street trading has become an adaptive strategy as people tried to deal with changes in their economic situation and greater changes in the economy (Ruel et al., 1998) by diversifying their income and sources of food to reduce the likelihood of experiencing hunger (Beall & Kanji, 1999).

The data collected in this study reveals that low-income households eventually integrated coping strategies and adaptive strategies to access food and livelihood needs. Street trading became a livelihood strategy for most traders who were unable to access sufficient income due to low education levels and lack of marketable skills (Seramuga-Zake & Naude, 2002). This finding is substantiated by Grown ~~&~~ Sebstad (1989: 941) who reported that low income households engaged in a “mix of individual and household survival strategies created over time to access livelihood resources”. Therefore, street traders remained vulnerable to food insecurity as they depended on survival strategies to access food.

Most micro-enterprises are ~~termed thought of as being~~ survivalist enterprises because ~~of~~ the minimal income earned ~~each month, and because this income~~ is low and barely enough to sustain business activities and the household. Lund (1998) reported that the income gained from street trading was between R250 and R600 a month. Devey et al. (2003) reported that over 70 ~~percentper cent~~ of informal economy workers earned less than R1000 a month and 50 ~~percentper cent~~ of informal economy workers earned less than R500 a month. From an income perspective, street traders who earned less than R1000 were termed as survivalist, but those who earned less than R500 were considered worse off (Lund & Skinner, 1999; Devey et al, 2003; Hunter & Skinner, 2003) and hence street trading became synonymous with survival (Nesvag, 2000; Rogerson, 2000a).

Two important questions arise from this study. First, are those streets traders who earn more than R1000 each month not survivalist and therefore food secure? Second, are those traders earning less than R1000 food insecure? Seven of the ~~12-twelve~~ participants earned more than R1000 from their micro-enterprises each month ranging from R1150 to R8000 and five earned less R1000 ranging from R200 to R820. Those who earned less than R1000 came from the relatively food secure group and the food insecure group.

Those who earned less than R1000 in this study had high Coping Strategy Index scores (as the majority were from the relatively food insecure and food insecure groups) that

indicated that they were not accessing sufficient food for household consumption and were indeed enterprise survivalists. For these traders, street trading was a food security coping strategy, it provided access to minimal food, but as Rugalema (2000) argues, they struggled to survive due to their extremely low levels of income.

Except for two traders earning R9000 and R8000 per month, the income of the five traders who earned above R1000 ranged between R1150 and R2300. Although these traders had higher incomes and [would](#) not be classified as survivalist, they still struggled to earn money because of the pressures exerted on them by low capital investment, lack of skills and lack of supportive infrastructure. Both categories of traders (those who earned above R1000 and those who earned below R1000) were still vulnerable to livelihood failure and struggled to survive.

This study found that regarding access to food, street traders struggled to survive. To transform these livelihoods from mere survival to sustainable livelihoods requires serious attention and policy interventions from government (Skinner, 1999; Skinner, 2000b; ILO, 2002; Dewar, 2005). These include the provision of infrastructure and access to credit and training facilities (Chandra et al., 2001). Studies have shown that skills development improves the ability of street traders to cope in times of crisis (Leach et al., 1999). A study by Mayrhofer [and](#) Hendriks (2003) found that street traders in Pietermaritzburg wanted access to improved infrastructure and credit rather than business training, a finding which is consistent with this study. In addition, access to credit could assist traders when they are faced with negative situations such as the confiscation of goods, rotting of supplies, crime and when there are too many household expenses and not enough money to buy business goods (Skinner, 2000).

Rogerson (2000a), Motloung [and](#) Mears (2002), and Skinner [and](#) Valodia (2003) argue that developing the informal sector is imperative in stimulating local economic development and alleviating poverty through employment generation. The role of street trading in alleviating household food insecurity should not be ignored especially since this study has shown that trading income contributed towards five [percent](#)—and 98

~~percent~~per cent of household food needs ~~and s well as~~ between 47~~percent~~ and 100 ~~percent~~per cent of other basic needs. The income gained from trading also supplemented incomes from the formal economy that indicated it was a strategy households used to counter vulnerability to hunger (Maxwell, 1998; Devey et al., 2003). This finding is important because street traders are typically ~~the only~~ breadwinners and require ~~various~~ support ~~interventions~~ to attain food and livelihood security (Devey et al., 2003).

Without the ~~correct~~necessary appropriate policy interventions the informal sector ~~will~~ould continue to be a “temporary refuge for workers in times of unemployment and that informal jobs are taken because underemployment is better than unemployment, subsistence preferable to starvation” (Simon, 1984: ~~p~~ 570). This argument highlights the core reasons why people engage in the informal economy to prevent hunger and starvation. McKeever’s (1998) reasoning complements Maxwell (1998) who states that the informal livelihoods and coping strategies of urban dwellers assuage the impacts of increasing food insecurity. ~~Hence~~ I improving the conditions in which the poor earn their money will ultimately increase their ability to gain access to food.

CHAPTER EIGHT: LIVELIHOODS ANALYSIS OF STREET TRADERS IN RAISETHORPE

8.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter analyses livelihoods of street traders in Raisethorpe. The implication in this analysis is that improving micro-enterprises results in greater food and livelihood security through the generation of cash for basic needs. The organisation of this chapter follows the description of the Learning about Livelihoods Framework discussed in chapter two. An analysis of assets and capabilities of each trader household is provided followed by examination of common productive livelihood activities of traders. The external environment is analysed in terms of the positive (enabling influences) and negative factors (vulnerability context) arising out of various levels (household, provincial and national) and sectors (economic, social, political/institutional and the built/natural environment) and the effect these have on the lives of street traders.

8.2 ASSETS

Assets are the resources used to earn a livelihood (de Satge`, 2002). Social assets include relationships with family; friends and reciprocal networks of sharing within communities (de Satge` et al., 2002: 99). Social assets also refer to claims on family, the community or the state for financial assistance, service delivery; or provision of labour on communal land (de Satge` et al., 2002: 99). Material assets refer to assets that people “own, control or have access to” including land; cash resources; livestock; access to credit; equipment

and infrastructure such as water and sanitation (de Satge` et al., 2002:100). Street traders in this study had a limited range of livelihood assets. Table 8.1 presents social and material assets and capabilities of each trader. Each trader's household had a unique set of assets that were used to generate income and as security in times of shocks.

Table 8.1 Assets, capabilities and limiting factors for street traders in Raisethorpe, 2005

	Joe	Premie	Hussein	Sheila	Safoora	Venilla	Shireen	Sanjay	Vanitha	Lungile	Nadia	Rehana
Capabilities	Accounting skills, financial skills.	Household labour. Trading knowledge.	Trading knowledge. Financial skills.	Household labour. Trading knowledge.	Cooking skills. Household labour.	Trading skills. Shared labour.	Sewing skills. Trading skills. Household labour.	Trading skills. Shared labour. Financial skills.	Matric education. Work skills. Shared labour and knowledge.	Trading skills. Cooking skills.	Cooking skills, trading skills, and shared labour.	Trading skills, shared labour.
Social assets	None.	Extended family, immediate family for money.	Ex-wife, trader colleagues, for money, transport and employment.	Borrows cash from her daughter for stock.	Husband, brother, religious organisations for cash and food.	Friends for cash for household and business.	Husband and brother for food and financial assistance.	Father provides cash assistance and housing.	Sister for cash.	None.	Mother, trader colleagues for cash and food.	Sister, brother, trader colleagues and religious organisation for food, cash and financial assistance.
Material Assets	Appropriate housing; television set; cell phone; fridge; radio; trading income and savings.	Three bedroom house; television set; vehicle; stove; DVD player; food garden; trading income; pensions and wages.	Appropriate housing; radio, DVD player, hi-fi, and stove; trading income; pension and savings.	Appropriate housing; television; fridge; stove; trading income and wages.	Appropriate housing; television, fridge; microwave; food processor; video machine; radio; trading income; wages; credit and lottery earnings.	Appropriate housing; television; fridge; microwave; freezer; washing machine; cell phone; trading income; pension; credit; lottery earnings.	Appropriate housing; lacks proper water facilities; television; fridge; two plate stove; food garden; trading income and wages.	Appropriate housing; television; fridge; DVD; vehicle and trading income.	Television; fridge; stove; vehicle; cell phone; unemployment insurance and trading income.	Appropriate housing; business phones; child support grant and trading income.	Appropriate housing; television; cell phone; stove; fridge; food garden; maintenance income; trading income and pension.	Appropriate housing; fridge; two plate stove; trading income and access to credit.
Limiting factors	No support structure in times of crisis, no networks of assistance.	Poor health, no savings.	Poor health. Inadequate household labour. Substance abuse.	Poor health. No savings. Lack of support structure.	Poor financial management. Dependence on credit.	High credit. Lack of household labour.	Poor health.	Lack of capital.	Lacks appropriate housing. No support structure. No savings.	Lacks financial skills. Poor health. Inadequate labour.	Inadequate household labour.	Dependence on credit and donations for food.

8.2.1 Social Assets

This study provides evidence of the supportive role of social networks in attaining cash for household and business use. Social networks in this study refer to relationships within the immediate family (sons, daughters, husbands, wives, daughter-in laws) and extended family (uncle, aunts, nieces and nephews) as well as relationships between friends or people who have a working relationship.

De Weerdt (2002) reported that people who live or work in close geographical proximity form risk sharing networks. Dercon (2001) reported that informal group-based risk sharing is particularly important for dealing with the consequences of income risk and helps to smooth consumption in times of shock. Risk sharing networks are similar to informal safety nets that characterise mutual support between family and friends in terms of cash, food and clothing in times of hardship (Devereux, 1999).

Street traders in this study formed risk sharing relationships with each other and with family members. The dependence on immediate family for financial assistance was demonstrated in Premie's; Hussein's; Nadia's; Shireen's; and Rehana's cases. In all four cases, family networks were crucial in securing cash for business activity after suffering particular shocks such as physical illness (heart attack and stroke), theft of goods or important assets such as vehicles. Similarly, Cross et al. (1998), cited by Maluccio et al. (1999) reported that individuals in KwaZulu-Natal frequently relied on social networks for business capital; consumption smoothing; and investment in income generation projects in times of shock. Social networks also played a key role in helping street traders in this study satisfy personal goals and responsibilities such as paying for children's education and marriage ceremonies.

Social networks amongst traders in Raisethorpe were based on a shared experience of need and mutual assistance. Street traders who had insufficient access to food depended on the 'donations' of scarred vegetables from colleagues. Accessing donations from the wider community during religious holy months was also practiced to access food or cash.

Evidently, social networks were crucial in accessing cash for food, personal obligations and capital for business activities. In addition, relations of trust and reciprocity between family and amongst traders facilitated access to food for household consumption; material assets; and transport to purchase stock. Mitlin (2000) reported that mutual support reduced vulnerability to livelihood insecurity. Social networks provided the support necessary to sustain street trading and prevented households from experiencing hunger. It is also appropriate to note that street trading, as an informal income generation strategy, depended on social networks and the goodwill of people to help and support each other.

8.2.2 Material Assets

Material assets refer to equipment, shelter and infrastructure that facilitated livelihood activities and access to credit and savings that street traders were able to access and accumulate with the income from street trading. Equipment that street traders used to generate livelihoods were related to types of goods sold. Street traders that sold food had gas cylinders used to cook or fry food. Other essential equipment such as spoons, dishes and gas cylinders were carried to the trading site daily. This meant that food street traders (2); had to carry a lot of equipment with them in public taxis daily. One trader lived in Raisethorpe and used a trolley to transport chicken, dishes, spoons and knives to the site daily. Street traders who traded in vegetable and fruit (5); clothing (1); accessories and clothing (2) and underwear (1); had no equipment to assist them in their livelihood activities. One trader who offered a telephone service had only one phone to operate.

For food street traders, transporting goods to the site everyday was an inconvenience. Public taxis were usually over-loaded and space for parcels or bulky goods such as gas cylinders was limited. Lack of infrastructure in Raisethorpe was the main difficulty traders experienced. There was no infrastructure for traders to store their goods, no tables or shelters. Due to the lack of infrastructure traders had to pay for storage at local shops which varied from R30 to R150 a month and depended on goodwill of shop owners.

As seen in table 8.1, assets that street traders owned were very similar. All traders owned common household assets such as televisions, fridges and stoves except for one trader. Income levels did not influence asset ownership. Only two traders (Safoora and Premie) owned houses, the others rented. Eleven traders had appropriate housing, meaning that they lived in safe secure houses with potable water and sanitation. Electricity was accessible to all homes but it was unaffordable for one trader who cooked on a gas cylinder.

Street traders had access to schools, hospitals and clinics. There were high schools and primary schools within the vicinity of their homes and children did not have to travel far to schools. There is a clinic within Raisethorpe and Northdale hospital is approximately one kilometre from Raisethorpe. Of the street traders who complained of ill health, three made use of Northdale hospital whereas two preferred to use private doctors. Mountain Rise police station is about two kilometres from Raisethorpe.

Access to credit was vital to engaging in street trading as a livelihood strategy. Eight street traders borrowed money from family and friends, three used savings and one used retrenchment payment as micro-enterprise start-up capital. This finding corresponds to Ligthelm's (2005) findings that people running spaza shops sourced capital from friends; family; savings and retrenchment payments.

Various sources of income were also primary sources of food since food was accessed through cash, presented in table 8.2. Five traders received state assistance either through pensions, disability grants or child support grants. One trader had access to unemployment insurance, which was the primary source of food for her household.

Pensions were used by three street traders as secondary sources of cash to access food. Pensions were an important source of cash to purchase micro-enterprise stock for all three traders. Pensions were used to finance the micro-enterprises in the absence of credit sources and social assistance. From the three traders who received pensions, one stated that her pension and her husband's pension were invested in stock for the micro-

enterprise. The second stated that the pension was mainly used for food; while the third stated that the pension was used to pay his debt for buying a DVD player on credit. Pensions were an invaluable source of material assets for the traders in this study.

Table 8.2 Sources of food and threats to food security for street traders in Raisethorpe by response rate, Raisethorpe, 2005

Sources of food	Threats to sources of food	
Street trading (11) (primary)	Harassing customers (drunk men) (1); Theft/crime/violence (4); Lack of space (2); Storage problems (1); Competition (7); Problems with shelter (1); Unreliable vehicle (2); Too few customers (1); Unstable market prices (1); Spoilt or rotten supplies (3); Fear of eviction (4); Low profit levels (10); Faulty stock (1); Faulty equipment (2); Extremes of weather (7).	Harassment by shop owners (2); Lack of recognition as business people (12); Racism and jealousy (12); Lack of infrastructure (12); Damaged goods due to exposure to the weather (5); Rising stock prices (3); Alcoholism and substance abuse (2); Unreliable suppliers (1); Lack of capital (2); High interest on loans (1); Unbearable work environment (1); Lack of business skills (4); High costs of hiring transport (2).
Wages/salary (2) (secondary)	Lack of skills (3); Unaffordable transport to work (2);	Low wages (1); Lack of skills (3); Steady job (2);
Pension (3) (secondary)	Fear of cessation (1).	Death due to poor health (3).
Child support grant (1) (secondary)	Age of children (1); Corruption (1).	Good health to fetch grant (1).
Unemployment insurance (1) (Primary)	Only available from 9-12 months pending reapplication.	
Home garden (1) (secondary)	Pests and insects (1); Expensive to service garden equipment (1).	Increasing labour costs (1); Monkeys eating produce (1); Rising prices of chemicals (1).
Friends/family (3) (secondary)	Quiet business (1).	Very rotten vegetable (1).
Maintenance (1) (secondary)	Husband will stop paying (1); Waste time in court (1).	No money for transport to court (1);
General threats to monetary income	Rising food prices (10); Rising non-food prices (4).	Rising petrol prices (4); High levels of debt.

Income from street trading was the primary source of food for eleven street traders. This finding implied that income from street trading was the primary determining factor of access to food and determined the quantity and quality of food accessed. This finding is corroborated by the fact that as Coping Strategies Index scores increased (indicating

increasing levels of food insecurity) the less likely street traders were to eat food that they preferred and the more likely they were to experience hunger.

Three households in this study received income from wages or salaries. In all these cases, wage levels were low and income from street trading supplemented this income. Street traders considered wage income as secondary sources of income and not the main source of household survival. Income from street trading was the primary source of household livelihood.

The sources of food presented in table 6.2 corresponded to the types of capital. For three street traders, assistance from social networks (social assets) was a secondary source of food. In addition, two traders planted food gardens for household consumption and one trader sold the garden produce for extra cash. Material assets such as radios, cell-phones, and televisions were readily exchanged for cash at a local pawn shop to purchase stock and food for household consumption.

8.2.3 Human capabilities and limitations

Human capabilities refer to skills, knowledge, health status and the ability of household members to secure a livelihood (de Satge` et al., 2002: 98). Street traders in this study, as in other studies (Lund, 1998; Skinner, 2000b; Devey et al., 2003) had very low levels of literacy. Of the twelve street traders only one had completed grade twelve, the others had left school in grade seven or eight. Street traders who kept financial records and who demonstrated some financial skills had higher levels of income and lower Coping Strategies Index scores.

Joe, Premie and Hussein reported that they were very aware of their business income and expenditure. Joe and Hussein kept financial records whereas Premie mentally noted her income. These traders also had the lowest Coping Strategies Index scores and the highest levels of income. This finding implied that financial skills lead to higher levels of income and improved food and livelihood security for three traders in this study.

Although all street traders in this study reported that they were pushed into street trading by lack of other opportunities; some had realised the potential to capitalise on skills they already possessed. Women street traders who traded in food had developed cooking skills as a result of the divisions of labour within households. Women street traders knew how to cook and this skill enabled them to earn an income and improve the food and livelihood status of their households. But these capabilities were limited by factors in the external environment that are discussed shortly.

Households with members in wage labour or those that had access to other sources of cash such as pensions had higher income levels (in most instances street trading income supplemented low income) and more access to food than those with no income from pensions or wages. Conversely, having a second household member in informal employment as a partner in the informal business, and none in formal employment increased household food and livelihood insecurity.

The capabilities of street traders were limited by a range of factors. For street traders who had the initiative to progress and develop into bigger formal enterprises there was no support structure such as access to credit to invest in stock and cash to purchase vehicles. Some traders reported they required business advice to budget and work out income and expenses and to run a bigger enterprise such as a shop. For three street traders, poor health induced by heart attack or stroke reduced the time and energy they could invest in the micro-enterprise and also increased expenses on special foods and assistants at the trading site.

8.3 Livelihood activities

Street trading was the primary productive livelihood activity investigated in this study. Street trading was an income generation strategy engaged in to secure livelihoods. The number of productive activities households engaged in depended on the assets they had access to and capabilities to use them. Although street trading was the primary livelihood strategy for the breadwinners of the household; other household members engaged in

unskilled work as shop assistants; sale assistants and skilled work such as estate agents and spray-painters.

Reproductive activities referred to a range of domestic activities such as child care, cooking, cleaning, washing clothes, shopping and running the home (de Satge` et al., 2002: 63-65). Female street traders in this study were breadwinners and home managers. Female street traders who had help at home (daughters or daughters in law) or who had no dependents traded full-time. Female street traders who had no help at home began trading at mid-day, after completing household chores. Two female street traders traded only from Thursday to Saturday because they felt that other days were too quiet for business and spent the day at home doing chores. For street trader couples, males began trading early in the morning while their wives joined in later in the day after completing household chores.

From the nine female street traders interviewed for this study, one was food secure, four were relatively food secure, three were relatively food insecure and one was food insecure. Due to household responsibilities it was assumed that female street traders were more food insecure as they spent less time in productive activities and therefore had less time for income earning. However, having more members in other employment compensated for the time females spent in household duties and therefore determined household food and livelihood security.

8.4 Factors in the external environment that undermined livelihood security and increased vulnerability to livelihood security at the household level

The process of generating a livelihood is influenced both positively and negatively by multiple factors (economic, social, institutional and natural factors) present in all levels of the environment, from household level to national level (de Satge` et al., 2002: 66). Household livelihood security for street traders was simultaneously enhanced and undermined by a range of external influences in the local environment. This section concentrates on factors present in the work environment or local environment of street

traders that increased vulnerability to livelihood security and threatened sustainable access to food.

Table 8.3 Factors in the external environment that undermined livelihood security and increased vulnerability to livelihood insecurity at the household level and local level, Raisethorpe, 2005

Levels of the environment	Built environment	Social environment	Political environment	Economic environment
Household Level	Poor quality housing; Dependence on basic energy sources for lighting and cooking.	Ill health; Alcoholism; Over-crowding; Hunger.	Powerlessness;	Low wages; Unemployment/un-deremployment; Rising food prices; Rising transport costs; Unaffordable services.
Local Level	Exposure to waste and pollution; Poor infrastructure; Poor water and sanitation.	Racism and jealousy; Crime and violence; Ill health; Harassment; Competition.	Unresponsive municipal leadership; Insecurity of tenure; Poorly interpreted and integrated policy; Lack of capacity to enforce policy.	Unemployment. Low wages; Limited local economic opportunities; High transport costs; High costs of living.

The street trading section of table 8.2 presented a summary of threats to food security in the work environment of street traders that contributed to vulnerability at the household level. Table 8.3 is more specific and categorises threats to livelihood security at the local and household level and highlights factors present in the built; natural; social; and economic environment that contribute to livelihood vulnerability.

The most significant threat reported by all traders at the local level in the built environment, was a lack of operating infrastructure such as tables, shelters, water and sanitation and storage facilities. The absence of infrastructure lead to stock losses such as melting cosmetics, rapid dehydration of fresh produce; and malfunctioning merchandise such as videos which were damaged because of exposure to heat or rain. Street traders believed that the difficulties experienced by lack of infrastructure diminished the income gained from street trading as they had to pay for storage and sometimes could only recover the cost of the stock.

At the local level in the social environment, high levels of competition over space; and customers compelled street traders to lower prices; further diminishing profits. Street traders experienced personal threats of assault and robbery. Street traders in Raisethorpe were vulnerable to crime as goods were displayed on insecure tables that were easy to topple. The exchange of cash between customers and traders attracted thieves who stole purses and goods from street traders.

The personal cost of theft was reported by street traders to have caused them constant worry and anxiety and one trader had to be treated for anxiety and depression. The livelihood threats experienced by street traders in this study corresponded to problems experienced by spaza shop owners reported by Ligthelm (2005). Ligthelm (2005) reported that shortage of stock and finances was the most severe problem followed by high crime rate and burglary; severe competition and small number of customers; unavailable or expensive transport; lack of water and electricity; and high stock prices. It appears that informal businesses; whether home-based or street-based, experience the same constraints to business sustainability and growth.

In the political environment, insecurity of tenure and fear of eviction was a significant threat for four street traders. Street traders recounted the harassment they experienced as they searched for space to trade. They were harassed by shop owners and other street traders who did not want competition. One street trader stated that he “lived everyday with a black spot in his heart” as he feared the municipality would evict him from public

land. The remaining eight traders did not report fear of eviction as they were trading on private premises and had obtained the permission of shop-owners to trade immediately outside shops. Nevertheless, some street traders feared that shop owners would change their minds given the high levels of crime and congestion in the area.

Lack of employment opportunities and low levels of income were the most significant threats for street traders in terms of local economic environment. All traders reported that they were pushed into street trading as a means of survival and lack of alternative opportunities. Low levels of income impacted negatively at the household level. Low income levels caused five households to experience transitory hunger and one household to experience chronic hunger. One household could not afford to pay for electricity and used paraffin for cooking and candles for lighting. This family also lived in an overcrowded house with insufficient living space for nine members. Another family also lived in unsatisfactory housing which was too small for their family of four. At the local and household level low income levels also meant a strain in paying for public transport from home to the trading site and back again.

The municipality, as a structure operating in the local political environment, has the opportunity to effectively regulate street trading in Raisethorpe. However, the municipality's lack of interest led to congestion, unregulated competition and high levels of crime. By ignoring street traders in Raisethorpe as business people and failing to regulate informal economic activity, the municipality undermined the livelihoods of street traders. de Satge` (2002) argues that how pro-poor a country's local policies are determines the lives of ordinary people. In reference to this study, high transport and service costs undermined the livelihoods of street traders as they struggled to meet other needs such as food and proper housing.

8.5 VULNERABILITY INDUCED THROUGH SHOCKS AND STRESSES AND ABILITY TO RECOVER

Vulnerability refers to a range of factors that place people at risk of becoming food insecure. The degree of vulnerability is determined by exposure to risk factors and ability to cope with or withstand stressful conditions (Committee on World Food Security, 1998). Shocks in this study were health related such as strokes; heart attacks; physical injury resulting from assault; loss of a breadwinner and theft of material assets (vehicles and money). Two street traders had experienced health related shocks and felt their livelihoods were undermined through diminished health, the inability to work long hours, more expenses for health care and special foods and the necessity to hire extra labour at the trading site.

Health related shocks significantly undermined the livelihoods of two street traders in this study. Alderman (1998) reported that consumption smoothing is more difficult with persistent shocks such as health problems that have lasting consequences. Major health shocks (stroke and heart attack) led these street traders to lose their homes and their vehicles. After suffering health shocks these traders explained that they had no one else (human capital) to take over their stalls. Social assets (extended family) played a key role in providing cash to restart the micro-enterprise for one trader.

Material assets, in the form of savings enabled one street trader to resume trading after a shock. However, this trader was unable to resume trading at the previous scale as he had lost his productive capabilities (vehicles) and his stroke had partially crippled him and therefore limited his physical capability. He could not drive to the markets and purchase goods to sell. For other health related shocks such as stabs the inability to work ceased all economic activity and dependence on savings was the primary factor influencing survival and re-entry into street trading. Ultimately, the impact of a health shock is determined by the type of illness suffered and the assets that street traders have at their disposal. Material (savings, loans and credit) and social assets influenced recovery from health shocks and facilitated re-entry into street trading.

Shocks related to income, such as loss of a breadwinner, (male street trader who was head of the household) forced the partner street trader to scale down the business, severely reducing the income gained from street trading. The reduction in income gained from street trading did not increase household food security as there was another source of income from wages. This household had a low Coping Strategies Index score that indicated sufficient food for household consumption.

The theft of productive material assets such as vehicles affected income generation as traders were unable to travel to the market and to outlying farms to purchase fresh produce. They had to hire transport twice a week, which was unaffordable. To purchase a vehicle, cash was accumulated from the sale of other material assets such as jewellery and loaned from family members.

Crime was rife in Raisethorpe and many street traders in this study were victims of theft of goods or cash. The theft of cash negatively affected their ability to purchase food for household consumption and stock. Dependence on family or friends for cash was common, so was selling general material (televisions) and personal material assets (cell-phones) for extra cash.

Vulnerability to the negative impacts of shocks is determined by the assets that a household has at its disposal and its ability to recover to an appropriate quality of life (Farrington et al., 2002). Social assets (friends and family) were the first source of assistance for street traders in this study. For some traders who lacked social assets, material assets (savings or sources of credit) were the only source of assistance. However, only three street traders had savings for emergencies. Material assets including cell-phones, televisions and jewellery were sold for cash in the absence of savings and networks of assistance.

Different types of assets reduced vulnerability to the negative impacts of shocks. But street traders in this study remained vulnerable to shocks. Social and material assets reduced the likelihood of experiencing negative impacts such as chronic hunger,

homelessness or destitution. Street traders experienced these shocks as single events, if they experienced multiple shocks simultaneously they would not cope as their social systems and financial stores would be exhausted. It is difficult to determine recovery to a pre-shock standard of living. Street traders in this study lived an insecure life and exposure to these shocks had deepened their insecurity (de Satge, 2002). What is evident is that each shock reduced the ability to recover by draining meagre assets at their disposal. Therefore, vulnerability to food and livelihood insecurity for these traders remained high.

Street traders in this study operated without supportive infrastructure in the built environment. Pressure to generate income in the absence of supportive fixed infrastructure such as tables and shelter presented as stresses in the environment. Infrastructure is essential to facilitate economic activity; tables are important for displaying goods; for preparing food and for aesthetic purposes. Shelter is important for comfort and privacy. Water and sanitation is important for appropriate waste disposal for personal hygiene and to satisfy human needs. Lack of basic infrastructure in Raisethorpe undermined livelihood potential by exposing street traders to on-going stresses such as exposure to heat and rain, the anxiety of theft and violence (which had health repercussions), and lack of storage facilities (paying extra for storage or transporting goods everyday).

Inferior education was also a stress that street traders in this study experienced. Lack of education and marketable skills limited human capabilities and undermined livelihood potential through the inability to secure well paying employment. Low levels of education limits the type of work people can do and traps them in cycles of food insecurity and hunger. Shocks can also become stresses as they become frequent and progressively undermine the ability of people to recover and cope. For two street traders who suffered health related shocks, frequent illness became a stress as street traders had to deal with illness on a daily basis (pain, shortness of breath and high blood pressure). The stress of illness in turn impacted negatively on their labour capability and reportedly reduced their income levels.

The vulnerability context in this study was influenced by a range of factors from the household environment to the local environment. Lack of appropriate infrastructure in the built environment was a stress contributing to livelihood insecurity. But people are not hapless victims of stresses (de Satge`, 2002). Street traders in this study acted positively to reduce their susceptibility to negative impacts of threats present in their work environment. Table 8.4 presents an overview of the solutions that street traders in this study had implemented to reduce their exposure to the risks they experienced in Raisethorpe.

Table 8.4 Quick fix solutions posed to livelihood threats implemented by street traders in Raisethorpe by response rate, Raisethorpe, 2005

Quick-fix solution	Number of street traders using the quick-fix solution
Planting a food garden;	3
Investigating ways to authorise trading site ;	2
Negotiate with competitors to set standard price ;	2
Hiring transport when van is broken down;	2
Umbrella to protect against heat;	2
Regular health check ups/eating healthy food ;	2
Maintain friendly attitude with customers at all times;	2
Securing goods to table by elastic bands to prevent them from flying ;	1
Securing table to gate to prevent it from collapsing;	1
Using a gazebo;	1
Lowering prices of goods;	1
Taking a combe everyday to avoid getting robbed;	1
Increasing prices of goods;	1
Shop around for cheapest prices;	1
Repeatedly replacing worn out shelter.	1

Street traders in this study were determined to succeed and made many attempts to secure livelihoods. From table 8.4 it is apparent that each trader had a unique approach to securing his/her livelihood. The most common idea shared by three female street traders was planting a food garden for household and commercial use. Two of these traders reported that their gardens were producing good crops and herbs which they used for home consumption and income generation. Food gardens minimally reduced the likelihood of experiencing hunger by providing food and income to buy food.

8.6 FACTORS IN THE EXTERNAL ENVIRONMENT THAT ENHANCED LIVELIHOOD SECURITY AND PROMOTED RESILIENCE AT THE HOUSEHOLD AND LOCAL LEVEL IN RAISETHORPE

According to the Learning about Livelihoods Framework, factors present in the external environment enhance livelihood security through enabling influences (de Satge' et al., 2002: 66). Enabling influences enhance livelihoods through policies or programmes such as social welfare schemes. Enabling influences build resilience to shocks and stresses as they empower people to manage risk and the effects of shocks and help build sustainable livelihoods. Table 8.5 summarises factors in the various levels of the external environment that enhanced livelihood security and increased household resilience to shocks and stresses.

Resilience is defined as the ability of a household to absorb shocks and stresses without suffering negative impacts or resist and recover to an acceptable standard of living after experiencing shocks or stresses. (Glavovic et al., undated). Resilience to shocks and stresses is determined by household assets and livelihood activities (Carney, 1998: 7-8). A household with more diverse assets and livelihood activities is more resistant to shocks and stresses and more likely to recover than a household with limited assets and livelihood activities (de Satge' et al., 2002: 69). Enabling influences enhance livelihoods by building resilience to shocks, but not necessarily contributing to sustainable livelihoods.

An enabling influence at the household level in the built environment was access to appropriate housing that met human needs for comfort, safety and security. Two traders complained of unsatisfactory housing. One reported that her home was too small for her family and her children had to sleep in the kitchen. Another trader complained that she did not have access to water and had to get water from a tap in the yard. Nevertheless, street traders in this study had access to appropriate infrastructure such as water and sanitation and electricity (unaffordable for one).

Table 8.5 Factors in the external environment that enhanced livelihood security and promoted resilience at the household level and local level, Raisethorpe, 2005

	Built environment	Social environment	Political environment	Economic environment
Household level	Appropriate housing; Water and sanitation.	Support of religious organisations; Support of family and friends; Education of children.	Empowerment of women.	Social grants; Lottery group.
Local level	Negotiating with shops and garages for water and toilet use.	Mutual support; Lottery group; Social grants.	Trading on private land with permission from owners.	Social grants; Lottery group.

Religious organisations distributed food parcels to three street traders. This freed up cash for other expenses and provided food such as meat that was expensive and otherwise unaffordable. Street traders helped each other whenever they could with food for household consumption and cash to purchase food and stock. At the local level, mutual assistance was an enabling influence rather than a coping strategy because traders depended on each other for small cash loans (with no interest) and food. This network of support, enforced by gender identity, encouraged female street traders to form a lottery group that enabled them to acquire extra cash for food and to pay off debts thereby warding off hunger and financial strain. Haddad and Maluccio (2002) reported that in KwaZulu-Natal, membership in financial and non-financial groups led to higher incomes and increased wellbeing of household members. At a social level social grants were a secondary source food for four households (see table 8.2) that warded off hunger and malnutrition.

At the household level in the political environment, women street traders felt empowered as breadwinners and financial contributors to their households. This was an enabling influence as they felt they could do much more for themselves and their children. Sotshongaye and Moller (2000: 124) also reported that in KwaZulu-Natal unemployed women who gardened for subsistence and sale felt empowered as they were “busy doing something, no matter how little” for their families. Slater (2001) reported that in Cape Town women engaging in urban agriculture for a living felt empowered to take control of

the household and promote community development. Street traders in this study believed that by educating their children they could enable them to live a better quality of life.

Social grants were very significant in the economic environment at the household and local level. Cash from state transfers was used as capital to purchase stock in the absence of formal loans. Devereux (2002) reported that state transfers increased household food security by increasing money to purchase food; invest in household food gardens and use this money as capital for informal trading. Investment in informal trading increased the value of the transfer and generated profit for food and basic needs. Lund (2004) reported that women in KwaZulu-Natal also invested their pensions in income generating activities such as sewing garments.

In this study, pensions and unemployment insurance enabled informal economic activity as state transfers provided a form of cash safety net. Street traders in this study felt they could rely on their pensions and therefore buy stock on credit and diversify (although minimally) and pay off their debts on payout day. Street trader couples (two couples) combined their pensions as capital for stock and lived off the profit of the micro-enterprise during the month. At the household level, the child support grant (one recipient) provided cash for school fees and clothing. Child support grants enabled children to acquire an education and increased their prospects for a better quality of life.

Some shop owners in Raisethorpe were sympathetic to the needs of street traders and granted them permission to trade on their land and provided them with water. This provided street traders with a degree of tenure security and peace of mind. Tenure security encouraged street traders to diversify stock and expand stalls. Although they were limited by space and cash they felt more confident about their success than those on municipal land. Street traders believed that tenure security improved livelihood prospects by securing enterprises and that they had a better chance of earning more money and living a better life. Mitlin (2000) reported that security of tenure encouraged people to invest without fear of losing their assets.

As discussed here, enabling influences in various levels of the environment enhanced livelihood security of street traders in many ways:

- Social grants reduced food insecurity and acted as a safety net for economic activity;
- Social networks reduced the likelihood of experiencing hunger and provided necessary cash to sustain economic activity;
- Increased independence and self worth of women street traders;
- Tenure-security lead to greater investment in micro-enterprise and better livelihood prospects.

8.7. LIVELIHOOD OUTCOMES OF STREET TRADERS IN RAISETHORPE

Factors presented above enhanced livelihood security and built resilience against the negative impacts of shocks, but these enabling influences did not build sustainable livelihoods. Livelihood sustainability is defined by the degree and quality of human capabilities, and household assets as well as by the ability to cope with and recover from shocks and stresses (Chambers & Conway, 1992). Street traders remained vulnerable to livelihood security because:

- Of multiple threats and stresses present at the local (work) environment and their high levels of susceptibility to threats in the vulnerability context and the likelihood of experiencing negative impacts;
- They lacked sufficient access to material assets including loans and infrastructure to consolidate economic activity; secure livelihoods and cope with further shocks.

In addition, as reported by Kassim and Hendriks (2002), threats in the vulnerability context combined with limited business skills; low capital investment and poor management undermined business sustainability for street traders in this study. The effects of the vulnerability context and of enabling influences on livelihoods are best understood by a livelihood continuum. Figure 8.1 presents the desirable and less desirable livelihood outcomes of street traders in Raisethorpe. The left side of the continuum represents unsustainable livelihoods and decreasing livelihood security while the right

side moves towards sustainable livelihoods. Threats (shocks and stresses), social and material assets and enabling influences interacted with each other in various levels of the environment to produce desirable and undesirable outcomes.

The enabling influences discussed above produced positive livelihood outcomes such as improved food and livelihood security and for some traders, asset accumulation (savings; vehicles; gas cookers; microwaves and household furniture). With income from street trading some street traders were able to progress in stages from satisfying minimal consumption needs to investing in human capabilities (education, health), social assets and eventually in productive income generating material assets (Devereux, 2002). Income from street trading increased the purchasing power of households in this study and enabled street traders to allocate income to livelihood needs other than food.

The enabling influences presented in table 8.4 interacted with and facilitated street trading to produce other positive outcomes that, in turn, enhanced the livelihoods of street traders. An example of this enabling effect is the impact of social grants. Social grants provided cash to invest in the business; extra cash produced was used to purchase food and other livelihood necessities. Street trading progresses from being a coping/adaptive strategy to an enabling influence at the point when factors in the external environment start to support and promote it.

If street trading can be seen as an enabling influence it can also be seen as a stress that undermined livelihoods. Kassim and Hendriks (2002) reported that informal enterprises often failed to support adequate livelihoods. We have seen from the vulnerability context that street trading presented street traders with multiple challenges such as exposure to crime and lack of access to capital. Threats in the environment diminished social and material assets and undermined street traders' ability to sustain households and their livelihood strategy by reducing the income generated. Consequently, undesirable livelihood outcomes such as hunger; ill health; and low income levels constrained progression towards sustainable livelihoods.

As observed from figure 8.1 street traders in Raisethorpe were positioned centrally on the livelihood security continuum. All traders exhibited desirable and undesirable outcomes and were not moving towards sustainability. Were they then moving towards unsustainable livelihoods? The answer is not so simple. The income gained from street trading (however minimal) enabled street traders to access food, water and electricity, to pay for housing and education for their children. Similarly, Shackleton and Shackleton (2004) reported that informal traders use trading income for school fees and to purchase food. Using income from informal economic activities to pay for school fees was also reported by DfID (2000) and Sotshongaye and Moller (2000). Devereux (2002) reported that informal traders used profit from informal economic activities to purchase food and basic needs.

On the other hand, low income levels were equated with minimal access to basic livelihood needs. Lund (1998) reported that income from informal economic activities was used for *basic* family needs. Food insecurity and livelihood insecurity were part of street traders' daily lives. However, because of the unstable work environment, their high exposure to shocks and stresses and meagre assets, they were more likely to suffer negative impacts and hence regress to unsustainable livelihoods.

Vulnerability was compounded by low productivity (low returns to capital) and high risk associated with failure in income and decrease in consumption levels (Devereux, 2002). Low returns to livelihood activities means limited impact on income smoothing and increased food and livelihood insecurity (Dercon, 2001).

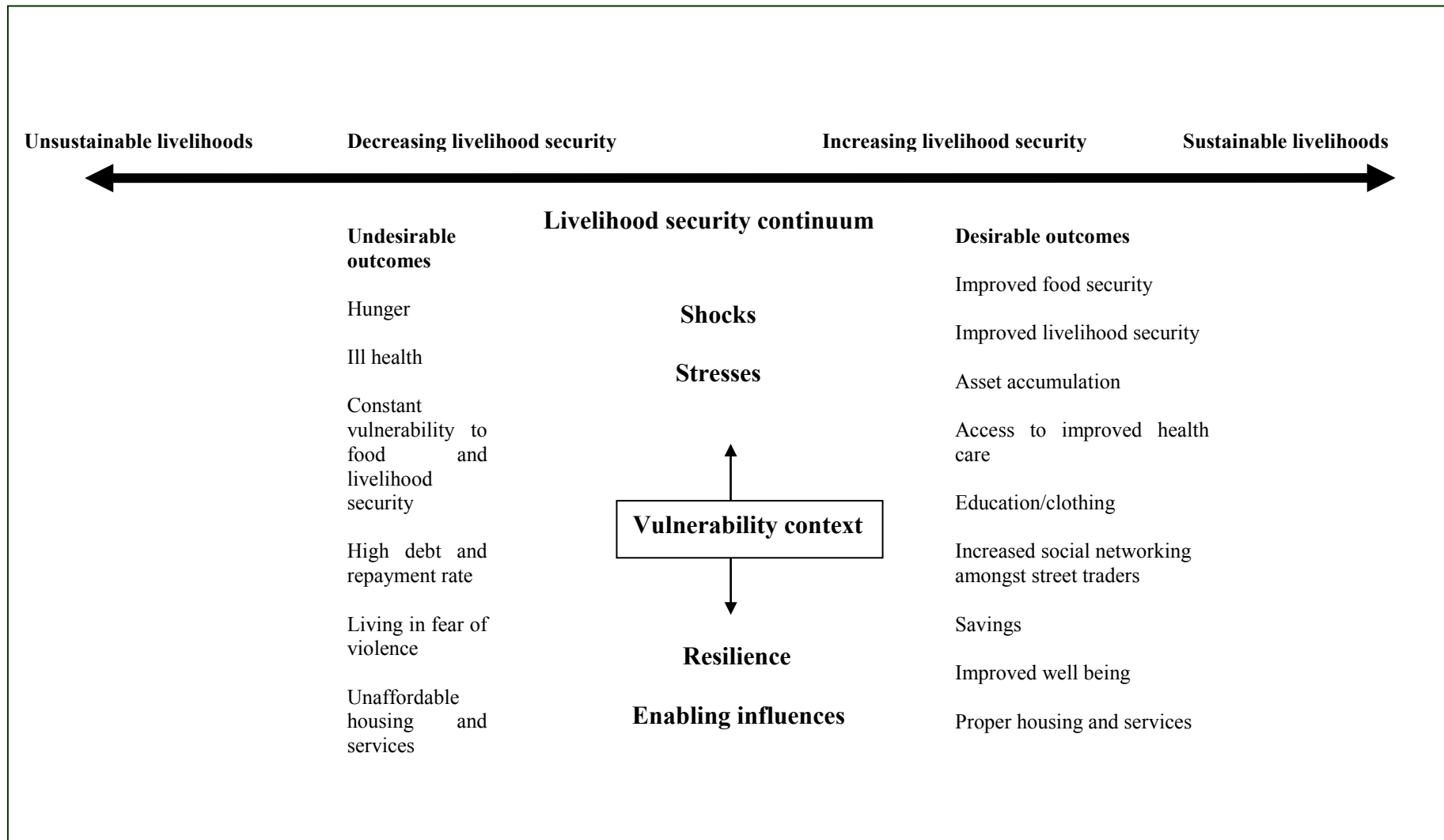


Figure 8.1 Livelihood security continuum

Shackleton and Shackleton (2004: 662) argue that informal trading did not provide sustainable livelihoods for all households in their study as informal traders remained poor because of limited assets and lived on a “day to day subsistence basis and continued to be vulnerable”. To secure the livelihoods of street traders multiple interventions are required. Table 8.6 presents the ideas generated by street traders on securing their livelihoods. Participating street traders unanimously agree that infrastructure such as toilets, storage facilities, taps, tables and shelter were urgently needed to secure their livelihoods. Participants believed that infrastructure would save them money by reducing the need for gazebos and reducing damage to stock. Increased police presence was a necessity to reduce crime and theft and create a safe; conducive working and shopping environment.

Business advice was preferred by some compared to actual education due to literacy levels and time constraints. Competition had to be monitored to prevent market saturation and over-trading of specific items. Street traders in Raisethorpe formed the Raisethorpe Traders Association that was defunct at the time of the study. The main purpose of this organisation was to restrict competition by limiting the items that each trader sold. Members of the Raisethorpe Traders Association reported that this method of regulating competition was effective for a while and should be reinstated

Table 8.6 Development ideas generated by street traders for securing their livelihoods, Raisethorpe, 2005

Recognition by the municipality as legitimate traders- owning or renting trading sites; Infrastructure development – shelter, tables, piped water, toilets; Increased police presence; Storage facilities; Business advice; Support of local customers; Regulated competition; Access to capital/credit with low interest; Repayment of loans in small amounts.

Access to credit for emergencies and capital for business growth was essential for business sustainability and livelihood security. Street traders reported that they knew they were not eligible for loans from commercial banks as they lacked salary slips and formal

work. However, none of them were aware of Khula Finance or Ithala that provided loans to micro-entrepreneurs.

8.8 UNDERSTANDING HISTORY, COPING AND ADAPTIVE STRATEGIES IN THE VULNERABILITY CONTEXT

A legacy of deprivation contributed to long-term livelihood insecurity and vulnerability for street traders in this study. Participating street traders were vulnerable to livelihood insecurity as they lacked resources to cope with change and lacked a range of livelihood options and assets to generate a sustainable livelihood (de Satge`, 2002). Eleven street traders in this study explained that they grew up in low income households and were removed from school to earn extra money for the household. Serumaga-Zake and Naude` (2002) reported that lack of education is a major determinant of urban poverty. From an early age street traders in this study were exposed to stresses at home such as chronic food insecurity, alcoholism and abuse.

Traders were trapped in cycles of deprivation; food insecurity; and vulnerability. Most traders had little work experience in low skilled and low paying work and were more at risk for shocks and stresses and more likely to suffer negative impacts resulting from shocks and stresses as they lacked material assets. Growing up in a context of deprivation limited the range of livelihood options and assets and increased vulnerability to livelihood insecurity. In times of shock street traders had limited access to material and social assets to effectively deal with and recover from the shock. The lack of assets and options, resulting from diminished capabilities, pushed street traders into the informal sector. All traders reported that they engaged in street trading as a coping strategy to deal with the shock of losing employment. A lack of options and assets; resulting from prolonged deprivation; forced people into street trading as a survival mechanism.

Ideally, coping strategies are short-term responses to shocks implemented to help the household survive in a difficult situation with the hope that the household will return to a normal level of functioning (de Satge`, 2002: 157). Davies (1996) reported that coping

strategies are strategies used in desperate times. People with a history of deprivation engage in low skilled low paying work and when faced with income shock may engage in street trading for the lack of other options. As a coping strategy, street trading did not have the capacity to better the lives of the participating street traders. Rather, street trading trapped people in a web of food insecurity and vulnerability by providing people with minimal income; and not improving their poor quality of life. Street trading provided access to food and livelihood needs but did not improve or secure livelihoods.

Adaptive strategies are long-term changes in behaviour and practice in response to continuing social and economic stresses and the experience of risk (de Satge` et al., 2002: 157). Davies (1996) argues that adaptation of particular strategies usually occurs in vulnerable households that use coping strategies as part of normal behaviour and adaptive strategies refer to a permanent change in the way households earn a living. In response to the failure to secure paid work and the experience of hunger and deprivation resulting from low incomes; street trading gradually evolved from a coping strategy to an adaptive strategy for eleven of the 12 street traders in this study. Income deprived people are unlikely to abandon informal economic activities that have demonstrated some (although minimal) potential to generate income (Kassim & Hendriks, 2002).

The adaptation of street trading from a coping strategy to a livelihood strategy was gradual and influenced by aspirations and assets of street traders to generate livelihoods. Street trading required very little capital investment and low skills levels and was easily accessible as a livelihood strategy for all study participants (Lund, 1998).

Ironically, lack of assets in turn limited the effectiveness of street trading as a livelihood strategy. Olsen and Larsen (2003) reported that lack of land and labour (natural capital) limited the income gained from informal economic activities. Low income levels in turn make it impossible to save and secure assets which make street trader households more vulnerable to crisis (Mitlin, 2000). Lack of access to finances, formal sources of credit, limited skills and tenure insecurity increased vulnerability to livelihood security. The development challenge is to recognise the potential of street trading to create sustainable

livelihoods as street traders are unlikely to prosper without effective intervention from the private and public sector in terms of skills development and supportive policy.

CHAPTER NINE: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study evaluated street trading as food and livelihood security strategies and determined the household food security role of street trading in terms of the value and use of income for essential needs among traders in Raisethorpe, Pietermaritzburg. Seven qualitative tools were refined and adapted to collect data on multiple themes. The seven qualitative tools included drawing, mapping, budgets, the Coping Strategies Index, SWOT analysis, semi-structured and key informant interviews. Twelve street traders in Raisethorpe were selected according to a list of criteria. These traders were then divided into four groups according to their Coping Strategies Index scores that ranged from 0 to 170. The food secure group consisted of two traders with CSI scores of 0. The relatively food secure group consisted of five traders with scores from 17 to 44. The food insecure group consisted of four traders with scores from 54 to 84. One trader with an extremely high score of 170 was classified as food insecure.

The seemingly food secure group; relatively food secure group; relatively food insecure group; and food insecure trader had varying levels of access to food depending on sources of income; number of household members in formal employment; ownership of material assets; access to social networks; the number of years engaged in trading; financial skills; and number of dependents. Multiple factors enabled the seemingly food secure group to access preferred food for household consumption at all times. Reliable support networks from family and friends, household members in formal employment, years of ‘on the job’ training and experience were the defining characteristics of food security for one trader while good business skills and substantial savings determined food security for another. The seemingly food secure group maintained access to food because income pooling increased the cash available for food.

The relatively food secure group accessed food for household consumption through social grants, formal sources of income and street trading. Traders in this group teetered between experiencing occasional hunger and having sufficient food for household consumption. To avoid hunger, household members engaged in various food-related

coping strategies such as eating less preferred foods, eating less food, borrowing money, using business money to buy food and sending children to live with relatives.

Access to food was threatened by low levels of income for the relatively food insecure group. This group did not have sufficient food for household consumption and experienced hunger. All traders had access to other sources of income but did not have access to income from formal employment. Low levels of income created a severe shortage of food and resulted in the use of severe coping strategies than those applied by the relatively food secure group. This group relied mainly on consumption strategies because they lacked assets that could be exchanged for cash or because sending children away on a permanent basis was a last resort. All traders in the relatively food insecure group ate less preferred food as compared to three traders in the relatively food secure group.

The food insecure trader consisted of one trader who had no other source of income other than street trading. This trader depended on family and trader friends for cash for food and household expenses. Dependence on food parcels from religious organisations and family assistance for survival indicated that household food insecurity was severe. This trader used coping strategies used by other groups but used them on a daily basis. Lack of sufficient income to purchase food compelled the trader to skip entire days without eating and rely on credit to access food. Skipping entire days without eating was the most severe strategy used in this study.

The number of income sources determined household food security status. The seemingly food secure group and the relatively food secure group had incomes from pensions, salaries and street trading income. Multiple sources of income increased the cash (material assets) available to access food; purchase stock for trading and access livelihood needs. The relatively food insecure group had very low levels of income. This group earned much less from street trading than traders in other groups and for two cases income from trading was the only source of income. An important finding is that as incomes decreased so did access to food for household consumption. The relationship

between high Coping Strategies Index scores and low levels of income indicated that as income decreased so did the quantity and type of food households accessed. Lower household incomes in the range of R250 to R1315 signified the use of more severe coping strategies. Lower Coping Strategies Index scores were associated with higher income levels between R8000 and R10 000.

Another significant finding is that more severe coping strategies were used in households with two or more dependents. Households with two dependents and low incomes applied more severe coping strategies than others with relatively intermediate incomes (R1610 to R2602) and dependents. Some households with incomes in the low to intermediate range had low Coping Strategies Index scores. This finding was attributed to having no child dependents and more working household members that increased income and made more money available. Low income households with high numbers of dependents were more vulnerable to food insecurity and used more severe coping strategies to maintain access to food. Households with middle incomes (above R1100) and other source of income from employment or social grants (or both) were relatively more food secure as combined incomes provided greater access to food. Households with incomes below R820 experienced hunger; these were also households with no sources of income from formal employment and those that depended heavily on income from street trading and social grants. Income largely determined household food security for all street traders.

Street trading provided cash for rent, school fees, water and electricity, household furniture and appliances, clothing, petrol, public transport and personal toiletries. Although street traders appeared to be meeting their needs, these were minimal needs. For example street trading income provided cash for paraffin and candles but was not sufficient for electricity. Trading income paid the rent, but for a small cramped flat with insufficient living space, poor water and sanitation.

All street traders were vulnerable to hunger prior to engaging in street trading. Street trading reduced the likelihood of experiencing hunger for traders in this study. For the seemingly food secure group, street trading income accessed sufficient and preferred food

for household members. Two cases in the relatively food secure group experienced occasional hunger. The relatively food insecure group experienced recurring episodes of hunger. This group had inadequate food intake and used severe food related coping strategies. This group experienced a severe shortage of food and were likely to experience hunger everyday. For the relatively food secure and relatively food insecure groups, street trading provided access to food but food was insufficient for all members of the household. The food insecure trader experienced chronic hunger everyday and was on the verge of destitution.

Although street trading reduced vulnerability to hunger it did not eradicate the risk of experiencing hunger. Hunger was still experienced by these traders to varying degrees, depended on incomes and the number of dependents. For traders in this study, street trading provided short-term food security or a daily net that prevented hunger. Vulnerability to hunger was influenced by low productivity, irregular incomes and exposure to negative long-term elements such as the nature of work, threats in the working environment and lack of access to material assets. Street traders in this study faced immediate and future vulnerability to food insecurity as low income impacted negatively on food and livelihood security. Lack of employment security also increased vulnerability to consumption shortfalls.

Street traders were vulnerable to livelihood insecurity as they lacked the material assets that could be sold for substantial amounts of cash. Only one trader in the seemingly food secure group had savings that could be used in an emergency. Otherwise traders owned basic household furnishings, televisions, fridges and stoves.

In the absence of savings and access to credit, risk sharing networks amongst traders were vital in accessing cash for food and stock. Families played a key role in accessing cash for re-entering street trading after suffering shocks. Material assets such as jewellery and televisions were readily sold or pawned for cash to buy stock for the micro-enterprise. Material assets were important to the cash flow for household and business sustainability. Material assets and social assets reduced vulnerability to shocks and the

experience of negative impacts such as chronic hunger and homelessness. These shocks were experienced as single events. If experienced simultaneously, they would be unable to cope as their financial stores and social systems would be exhausted.

9.1 CONCLUSIONS

This study aimed to trace the impact of street trading income on access to food and how this income assisted traders in meeting their basic needs. This study found that profitability determined household food security. Without income from street trading many households would have been food insecure and experiencing chronic hunger. Even though street trading provided minimal income, this income led to improved food and livelihood security, except for one trader. Therefore, street trading provided food for household consumption through:

- Access to preferred and less preferred food for household consumption;
- Reduced likelihood of transient and chronic hunger;
- Increased cash resources of household;
- Supplemented low income levels and reduced the severity of food related coping strategies that were applied;
- Access to shelter, water and sanitation; and
- Accumulation of productive and non-productive assets (for some).

By nature, street trading is a precarious, unstable livelihood strategy. Multiple threats present in the work environment and the inability to cope with shocks due to weak and overstrained assets constrained the potential of street trading as a lucrative and sustainable income generation strategy. These constraints manifested as:

- Occasional and transient hunger;
- Nervous disorders, high blood pressure;
- Reliance on credit;
- High household debt; and
- Cycle of selling and repurchasing household assets.

The positive and negative livelihood outcomes of street traders presented here paints a contradictory picture. Street traders live precarious lives. Food security and livelihood security fluctuate on a daily basis. Street traders in this study floundered between decreasing livelihood security and increasing livelihood security, with each shock more likely to reduce coping ability. Street trading improved access to food, but not overall livelihood security.

9.2 POLICY IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR SUPPORTING STREET TRADING AS A LIVELIHOOD STRATEGY

Despite the above mentioned constraining factors, the results of the study showed that street trading had positive impacts on household food and livelihood security. This suggests that if an action can be taken to resolve the multiple obstacles to street trading (from access to finance and credit, need for education and training, infrastructure and service provision and competition and over-trading) the positive impact of street trading on food and livelihood security could be improved.

It is recommended that municipalities take an active interest in street traders from a developmental perspective and adopt a consistent policy approach to dealing with informal traders. Unlike the policies of the past a more supportive, favourable approach should be adopted towards survivalist enterprises. An advantage of directly supporting survivalist enterprises is that they not only create employment but address poverty. Harsh evictions of street traders from illegally occupied sites achieve nothing, except reduced economic growth.

It is recommended that street trading be recognised as a survivalist strategy that requires further investigation and measures to improve incomes to ensure food security for vulnerable groups. In this light, it is recommended that the Msunduzi Municipality develop trading sites with secure tenure and appropriate infrastructure. Traders in this study were willing to pay to secure such sites. The following recommendations are made regarding street trading in Raisethorpe:

- The Raisethorpe Traders Association should be revived to represent the interests of the traders and liaise with the Informal Trading Unit at the Msunduzi Municipality.
- Sites in Raisethorpe should be demarcated so traders can apply for these.
- Infrastructure such as toilet facilities, access to water and sheltered tables.
- Adequate pedestrian space should be retained on pavements and should not be less than 2.5 meters wide.
- All traders should register with the Msunduzi Municipality and apply for permits to trade.
- Unemployed traders and pensioners and those traders already established in Raisethorpe should be given preference for permits.
- Conditions should be attached to the permit such as responsibility to keep the area clean and dispose of waste in municipal bins.
- No trader should block entrances to shops or bus ranks.
- Traders should be categorised into the type of goods they are selling and attain approval relating to the type of goods to be sold as certain goods (such as chickens) have greater impacts in terms of hygiene and public nuisance. Food street traders should be exposed to hygiene standards and obliged to abide by them.
- Failure to abide by rules results in withdrawal of permit.
- Rentals should be charged for use of public land according to the size of the trading site and the economic potential of the area.
- Permits should be cancelled if the site is not occupied for a calendar month.
- Site sharing should be allowed. Part-time traders could take turns using one trading site, for example Trader A trading from Saturday to Tuesday and Trader B trading from Wednesday to Saturday.
- The process of ‘formalising’ informal traders should be broadly representative, including residents of Raisethorpe, the local ward councillor, informal traders, business owners, micro-enterprise credit institutions (Ithala) and researchers working in the informal sector.

- Trader related education should be an integral and compulsory part of the policy. The Msunduzi municipality should procure service providers to provide skills in book keeping, buying strategies, marketing strategies, banking, and managing credit. Trading-related education facilitates transition from survivalist to formal, sustainable businesses.
- Strict monitoring by the municipality in terms of rules attached to permit type and fining if not adhered to.
- Training opportunities, for example, in business skills should be outsourced to qualified service providers to enhance the sustainability of street enterprises.

The recommendations suggested here are practical and necessary not only to improve the economic situation of Raisethorpe but also to secure the livelihood of street traders.

9.3 ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTION IN TERMS OF THE WIDER CONTEXT

Although extensive research on street trading has been conducted since the early 90s, most research is based on demographic information about street traders; and interventions at local government level that are needed to secure street trader livelihoods. Most often, street trading is included with other informal activities as part of the informal economy, and analysed as such. It is widely accepted that street trading is a survivalist activity; and the reasons for such classification include low skills and capital investments that yield low profits.

What is less known and researched is how this profit is used within the household and what needs, if any, are met by income gained from street trading. So too, studies on informal income strategies, like those presented in table 3.9, do not directly investigate total income earned and the contribution of informal income to food and livelihood security. For example, of the eight studies presented in table 3.9, only five provide monthly earnings (not necessarily an estimation of profit). Additionally, only three of the eight studies report that informal income is spent on school fees and health care. Four studies presented in table 3.9 report the beneficial uses of informal economic activities such as supplementing low wage income. None of the studies in table 3.9 report the

percentage of income allocated to food and other livelihood needs. Since the percentage of income allocated to purchase food for consumption is an indicator of household food security, the percentage of total household income and micro-enterprise profit used to purchase food is essential to determine food security status of all informal economy workers, including street traders. The link between informal income and household food and livelihood security has not been directly researched in current studies in the informal sector.

Likewise, current studies on informal income generation strategies have failed to recognise that the generation of informal livelihoods occurs through a continuum of activities from sourcing capital to deciding on the type of informal enterprise; calculation of earnings and eventual expenditure of this income on basic needs for maintenance of the household. To investigate street trader livelihoods, street trader needs have to be investigated in relation to household needs; the type of enterprise has to be explored; including the environment in which the enterprise operates. Additionally, the profit has to be calculated from the actual invested costs and then separated from the general household economy. Not only is the value of enterprise profit or loss an indicator of enterprise sustainability, but an indicator of household food security or insecurity. The continuum of activities involved in generating informal livelihoods needs to be explored to provide an accurate reflection of the level of livelihood security and to determine food security status.

Although the review of street trading studies presented in chapter three is by no means exhaustive, no study investigated the continuum of activities involved in street trader livelihoods to sufficiently enable a livelihoods and food security analysis. Therefore, current research on street trading leaves many unanswered questions. Exactly what is minimal 'survivalist' income used for? How is the profit allocated to various household needs? How much is spent on food? Is street trading income sufficient to feed all household members? Does this income make any significant contribution to street trader livelihoods? This study used in-depth qualitative research to explore these critical questions.

A serious omission in street trading literature is a critical evaluation of street trading in terms of its contribution to household food and livelihood security. A strength and original contribution of this study is that it aimed to fill this gap by analysing street trading as a household food and livelihood security coping strategy.

A further contribution to wider literature is the analysis of street trading in the Msunduzi Municipality. Unlike other cities, such as eThekweni or Durban; that have commissioned extensive research on the state of informal trading, information on street trading in Pietermaritzburg were research dissertations from the University of KwaZulu-Natal and one report commissioned by the Msunduzi Municipality. This study integrated information from these sources with newly collected data to provide a comprehensive analysis and current status report on Informal Trading Policy; key trading locations and analysis of the role of street traders in the city's economy. Through this research, published newspaper articles increased public awareness on the food insecurity status of street traders and urgent policy interventions required to secure their livelihoods.

The final contribution of this study to wider street trading literature is in terms of methodology. Innovative participatory tools were adapted and applied to elicit information on profit; types of foods eaten (and whether this was preferred food); sources of household income; items that this income was spent on and enterprise strengths and weaknesses. Qualitative and participatory tools including mapping; participatory budgets; SWOT analysis; drawing; the Coping Strategy Index; and semi-structured and key informant interviews were used to determine the household food security role of street trading. The combination of qualitative and participatory methods created an innovative research design previously unused in the field of informal economy and street trading research. Therefore, this study has pioneered the use of participatory methods to explore street trader livelihoods and is first study to attempt to link street trading; livelihood security and food security.

9.4 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This study has found that lack of skills; inappropriate infrastructure and limited access to credit may impede micro-enterprise growth and negatively affect livelihood security. This study has found that business profitability was positively linked to food security status. Further research should compare food and livelihood security of street-based traders who have appropriate infrastructure and those who operate without shelter, water and sanitation. This comparison will ascertain the impact that infrastructure has on livelihood security of street traders. In addition, research on the impact of credit, small loans and skills training should be carried out individually to determine whether access to credit and skills training promotes micro-enterprise growth and whether enterprise support leads to improvement in household food and livelihood security. The economic linkages between the formal and informal economy; and the contribution of informal enterprises to the formal economy should be researched to evaluate actual contribution of small informal enterprises to local economic development and to the formal economy.

These recommendations for further research will provide evidence for the continuing debate of whether street trading can be a feasible livelihood strategy for low income households and hopefully get municipalities moving in a positive direction.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Interview Transcript of Mr Babu Baijoo, President Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Business, 23 April 2007

1. What is the Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Business (PCB's) stance on street trading in this city?

The Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Business has adopted a supportive, proactive stance on street trading in Pietermaritzburg (PMB). Street trading is by nature a survivalist trade and should be supported through a regulated and controlled environment. However, street trading has become an opportunity exploited by formal businesses. It is possible that 50% of street traders are fronting for formal business owners. This is illegal and has to be stopped. The PCB encourages the Msundusi Municipality to create and adopt a developmental policy that will support street traders.

2. What is the current street trading environment in PMB?

The current street trading environment is not an enabling one. People who should be qualifying for legal sites are not benefiting. Instead, formal business is benefiting as most street traders are fronting for established South African and foreign business owners. The city is also not doing enough in terms of infrastructure (water and waste disposal facilities). It appears that a trader union, the African Chamber of Informal Business (ACHIB) has become more than a watch-dog for the street trading community in PMB. There are reports from certain traders that ACHIB is forcing street traders to become members of the organisation and then ACHIB becomes the supplier of goods. Street traders are coerced, firstly into becoming members, and then to purchase supplies from ACHIB affiliates. Another problem is that immigrant importers have usurped the independence of street traders. Instead of a street trading business being owner-operated, these foreign traders have 'employed' street traders. In essence, these street traders are not independent owner-operators but informal employees of formal businesses. Goods, which are imported from China, India,

Pakistan and other countries are stored and unpacked each day by these foreign traders. Professional people such as teachers and policemen are also reportedly employing people to run a street trade enterprise for them while they are at day jobs. The telephone trade is most commonly exploited by professionals as it is more lucrative compared to retail and food vending. These illegal activities are a direct consequence of lack of monitoring capacity of the Msundusi Municipality.

3. How many street traders are there in PMB?

The last survey conducted in 2005 to inform a developmental policy for street trading in PMB, estimated that there were 600 registered traders and between 3000-4000 unregistered traders operating throughout Pietermaritzburg.

4. What is the role of street traders in the city economy?

The actual monetary contribution of street trading to the city economy cannot be quantified. The inability to estimate the economic contribution of street trading is compounded by the fact that street traders are unregistered with the South African Revenue Service (SARS) or any other regulatory body and hence the lack of available statistics that could assist in quantifying the extent of the economic contribution, to the city's economy.

5. Where are the officially designated trading areas?

The entire city of PMB ought to have demarcated trading sites. From the city's central business district (CBD) into the CBDs of suburbs. In Raisethorpe the demarcated trading areas are between Mysore Road and Naidoo Road, only yet it should be extended equally and consistently throughout the city. However, there is a degree of contradiction, for example, no trading is allowed outside government buildings, yet traders operate outside schools and municipal offices in the city and in suburban areas. The central problem is that there is lack of monitoring and enforcing capacity. Traffic wardens and municipal security are charged with removing illegal traders, however they have been accused of being selective in the areas they choose to

visit and implement trading regulations and inconsistent in applying policy regulations.

6. Profile of street traders in PMB

According to the survey by the NDC, most traders are Black women between the ages of 18 and 40.

7. Is the street trading policy developed in the late 90's still in use?

Yes. The policy is informed by legislation, such as the Business Act to guide and regulate street trading.

8. How many phases of implementation were there to this policy?

Mr. Baijoo suggested the researcher speak to Mr. Mandla Sithole at the Licensing Department of the Msundusi Municipality.

9. Would you say that this policy was successful in clearing up the city and regulating street trading in Pietermaritzburg?

The policy was too regulatory and essentially the policy is one of restriction, so it is not enabling and not developmental. Policy formulators tried to base the policy on the Business Act to ensure economic rights but in a restrictive environment. . It is not successful as it has failed to ensure that people benefiting from a micro-enterprise are the poor and unemployed. A new developmental approach is needed. The central question that needs to be asked is 'how can we develop street traders?'

10. What elements constitute an enabling environment?

A developmental policy and an innovative approach is needed. For example, the 'cocoon concept' has been used in many developing countries. It works on the premise that you establish a market for traders and provide them with all the resources they require such as training, capital and access to markets to nurture them. A section 21 company is established within the designated market area to monitor and regulate the traders within the market. This company then provides particular services

such as sourcing goods and marketing. Micro- enterprises are left within the ‘market cocoon’ to grow until they reach a certain monetary threshold, thereafter they graduate into a ‘formal business’. You need training and proper water and sanitation infrastructure to operate efficiently as a micro-enterprise. In sum, three aspects create an enabling environment, a developmental policy, training, and environmental issues such as clean water and sanitation.

11. Has there been any new developments regarding street trading policy in Pietermaritzburg?

The last development (please check on this) was the Informal Trade Development Management Plan put forth by the Youth Enterprise Development Project and the Natal Debt Corporation for the Msundusi Municipality in 2005. This was a good developmental approach to creating an enabling environment; however the policy has not been adopted yet.

12. Is the policy implementing unit still the Economic Development and Growth Unit?

Yes.

13. What progress has been made in negotiations with Msundusi College to provide training for registered traders?

Mr. Baijoo could not comment as this is a municipal issue. The topics to be covered in training should be book keeping, environmental education such as keeping the environment clean (proper waste disposal), food safety and such, depending on what the trader sells.

14. How significant is Raisethorpe in the overall trading landscape in Pietermaritzburg?

Raisethorpe is hugely differentiated between formal stores and informal enterprises operating from the street and from proper buildings. Failsworth Road and Manchester Road (about 1 kilometre from the Raisethorpe CBD where this study was conducted)

constitute a business district that offers diverse goods (mostly imported from China and India) for sale to hawkers, general consumers and businesses from all provinces (mostly Eastern Cape). These goods are cheap and usually bought in bulk. Street traders involved in retail, would mostly purchase their goods from stores in the Failsworth/Manchester Road area. However, the actual monetary value spent by street traders cannot be ascertained. Raisethorpe is extremely important in the overall landscape of trading because of the intense economic activity that takes place within the Raisethorpe CBD and the surrounding areas, namely Manchester and Failsworth Road.

APPENDIX B

Interview Transcript of Mr. Samson Gabela, Program Officer in the Economic Development and Growth Unit in the Msunduzi Municipality, Pietermaritzburg, 5 October 2006

1. Which division is in charge of regulating street trading in Pietermaritzburg?

The Economic Development and Growth Unit is the lead agent in implementing the informal street trading policy of the Msunduzi Municipality in Pietermaritzburg. This unit works with other units such as Traffic and Security and Waste Management and Parks and Recreation

2. Can you please describe the current Street Trading Policy?

The informal street trading policy was devised by the Informal Trading Task Team in 1998 and provincial by-laws pertaining to the health and road traffic departments. The Informal Trading Task team consisted of Pops Chetty (Chairman), Msunduzi Municipality's Strategic Executive Manager (Rob Haswell), The process manager for enterprenuerial development and black economic empowerment (Mr Gengan), the traffic and security unit and the licensing unit.

3. Which division implements the Street Trading Policy?

The Msunduzi Municipality's Economic Development and Growth unit is in charge of implementing the informal street trading policy in Pietermaritzburg. This unit receives complaints about illegal traders, complaints are reported to the traffic and security unit based at the traffic department in Mkondeni. The supervisor of the traffic unit receives the complaints and sends his officers to investigate. If the traffic and security unit discover that the trader is illegal, they follow a three step procedure.

- Advise the trader that they are illegal and should dismantle their stalls and leave.
- If they unit returns (during their daily monitoring rounds) and discovers the trader is still there they issue the trader a written warning to vacate the illegally occupied area.

- If the trader persists, the traffic and security unit dismantle the stall, confiscate the goods and issue a receipt for the goods to be collected after the trader has paid a fine.

4. Some problems you have had with implementation of the Street Trading Policy?

The traffic and security unit is notorious for brutal evictions. One of the reasons for their brutality is because they are not sensitised or trained to manage conflict situations. One of the current aims of the Economic Development and Growth Unit is to propose that enforcement personnel are based within this unit and not with the road traffic department. The aim of this proposed change is to ensure that enforcement officers are trained in conflict resolution and negotiation skills and to ensure that complaints of illegal traders from the public are resolved quickly. Currently the economic development and growth unit does not have the power to send enforcement officials to address complaints. The CDGU has to relay the complaint to the supervisor who in turns passes the complaints to the enforcement officers of his traffic and security unit. The time taken to assess complaints vary and often time consuming.

5. If I wanted to engage in street trading what steps would have to be followed?

Steps in becoming a legal informal street trader:

- An individual approaches the license department of the Msunduzi Municipality on the 5th Floor of AS Chetty Building, 333 Church Street.
- If there are a site is available he/she would be given the site depending on what he/she intends to sell as there are by-laws regarding goods that can and cannot be sold at certain parts of the city.
- If there are no sites, the individual will be referred to Samson who will ask the individual to take him to the site he/she wishes to trade in.
- At the prospective site Samson will assess the site in relation to pavement size and by-laws.
- If the site is suitable, Samson will demarcate the site and issue the site with a number.

- The trader is issued with a card which is a substitute for a license but operates on the same principle. The card has the traders photo, site number and account number.
- The trader will have to pay rent for the site. For telephone vendors the cost is R60 per month and for other traders (food, clothing, arts and crafts, sweets) the rent is R15 a month. Telephone traders pay a higher rent as their profit margins are higher than other traders.

6. Who is responsible for training street traders?

In the current informal street trading policy the municipality is responsible for training street traders. The Msunduzi Municipality is liaising with Msunduzi College to provide courses in bookkeeping to registered traders.

APPENDIX C

Interview Transcript of David Gengan: Strategic Manager for Entrepreneurial Development and Black Economic Empowerment (BEE), 20 April 2007

1. Has the municipality made an attempt to establish an Informal Trading Division?

The Municipality is in the early stages of establishing a street trading unit complete with admin personnel. A group of officials will monitor and enforce regulations.

2. Are there any new developments regarding street trading in Pietermaritzburg?

The Market Square facility is being built. This will house 98 traders off the streets. Traders will have stalls with electricity and storage and will be ready by early June 2007.

3. What is the current street trading environment in Pietermaritzburg?

The Economic Development and Growth Unit deals with applications, issues licenses but has no capacity to monitor. Bylaws regulate street trading but owing to a lack of staff we cannot enforce bylaws. Street trading is in a critical situation, more people are coming onto streets and cannot be accommodated. To regulate street trading, we have to get a team to monitor consistently.

4. How severe are capacity constraints that effect implementation, regulation and enforcement of policy?

Very severe, constraints don't allow work to be done.

5. How many street traders are there in Pietermaritzburg (licensed and unlicensed)?

There are about 3500 trading illegally throughout the city. Another problem is that we have to police formal business operating as informal traders, formal traders coming onto the streets.

6. What is the role of street traders in the city economy?

Street traders operate in the second economy, but this does not deplete their importance. Street traders have to procure goods to sell, they buy from markets, they are part of the supply chain. Quite a lot are breadwinners, paying school fees, municipal charges. This needs research. One of the rules of street trading is that the license holder must not have a job elsewhere, street trading income is usually the only source of income.

7. How many phases of implementation were there?

Three. 1- Church Street Mall, 2, inner and outer areas of the central business district (CBD), and 3 residential areas. Phase three has not been undertaken yet.

8. Would you say the policy was successful in clearing up the city?

Initially, but the city is overrun by street traders; we could not monitor the vast numbers taking to the streets. The Informal Trading Task Team has been revived to handle the situation.

9. Would you say that the Msunduzi Municipality has created an enabling environment for street traders?

We are on our way there.

10. In an earlier interview the Programme Officer for Informal Trade stated that the Municipality was liaising with Msunduzi College to train licensed traders, what progress has been made?

Firstly we need to get staff, then we need to determine legal traders, thereafter we can offer a training programme. The municipality will facilitate a training programme while service providers will do the actual training.

11. This study focussed on street trading in Raisethorpe, along Old Greytown Road. How significant is Raisethorpe in the overall trading landscape of Pietermaritzburg?

The Raisethorpe CBD is a direct result of the Group Areas Act and the way PMB was designed as an Apartheid city. Indians could only engage in commercial activity in Raisethorpe and downtown (bottom end of Church Street). Apartheid facilitated the growth of the Raisethorpe CBD. Raisethorpe developed as a natural business area over the years. Businesses target aspects of Indian life such as food and clothing. People who shop at Raisethorpe are the low to middle income group and find their needs are met at local supermarkets, saving taxi fare to town.

12. What are the legal trading areas in Raisethorpe?

Street trading in Raisethorpe is illegal at the moment. However when the time comes to demarcate sites in the third phase of implementation, trading already operating there will have first preference as in the case of Church Street Mall. Street traders are a huge pull factor, they attract people to formal shopping areas as was the case in Debbi Place. Prior to Debbi Market being built informal traders used to trade from cars on an un-tarred, muddy area. Eventually, even formal shops motivated for a formal area to be built for traders. It is doubtful whether formal shops operating in Debbi Place will survive if the stalls built for informal traders had to close down, that is the extent of the contribution of street traders to the economy of local shops and the city.

APPENDIX D

LETTER TO RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS



Dear Mr, Mrs.....

I am a student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg campus. I am about to begin my research on the impact of street trading on household welfare and would like you to participate in my study. You will be asked general questions on household composition, education, future goals and aspirations and types of foods eaten in your household. You will also have lots of fun drawing pictures. As a token of appreciation for your time, you will be paid per hour for your help. All information you share with me will be strictly confidential.

I will strive to share the plight of street traders with policy makers by publishing the research results in newspapers, in journals and in a report or presentation to the Msundusi Municipality.

I hope we can work together to better the lives of street traders in Raisethorpe.

Thank you,

Quraishia Abdulla

APPENDIX E

RESEARCH GUIDELINE

Research methodology: guidelines and questions to be used in each case study

This guideline is to be used by researchers when conducting research with street traders. It provides three kinds of information, firstly the questions to be asked, secondly the procedures to be followed and lastly notes for the researcher in the actual research process. It is divided into six stages as described below.

Stage one: The informal interview (10-15 minutes)

Note to the researcher: be very informal, make conversation about the weather and ask him/her whether he/she would like to have something to drink before starting.

Explaining the purpose of the research

Explain that the purpose of the research is to find out whether street trading is an effective livelihood strategy, is it used to meet the household needs such as food, school fees, water and electricity, savings and assets? Tell the trader that they can remain anonymous or adopt a pseudonym and that he/she must ask questions if he/she is confused.

Convince the trader that the standard or quality of the drawing is not under examination, only the information that it portrays is of importance to the research.

Personal Information

1. Can you please state your full name?
2. Tell me a little about yourself such as your likes, dislikes, hopes, hobbies and future plans.
3. Are you married?
4. How many children do you have?
5. How old are your children? (From current marriage or previous, age of children, educational status)

6. What is your current address and how long have you lived there? (Probe for previous addresses and reasons for moving)
7. What highest standard did you finish in school? (If did not complete probe deeper)
8. Did you enrol for any other courses after school to further your education?
9. Tell me a little of your work experience.

Information regarding trading

1. How long have you been trading?
2. Have you been at the same spot for all this time? (Probe where else traders does business during the month such as flea markets)
3. Have you been trading in the same goods or have you diversified throughout this time? (seasonal fruit, vegetables)
4. What are the main reasons you went into trading? (What did he/she hoped to gain from trading, push/pull factors)
5. How do you feel trading has helped you manage the household and meet the needs you just mentioned? (If not why has trading not helped the household, and if yes how has it helped, why does the trader think trading is helping him/her cope or manage the household?)
6. Have you had any training in how to run your business (yes, no or experience gained from family business, formal training).
7. Can you tell me some of your experiences as a trader or owner of a small business?

Stage two: Drawing the household map

(30-45 minutes)

It is advised that before beginning the research process the accessories to be used such as the colour pens, colour boards and pages should be placed out on the table. The researcher should sit close to the trader to guide the drawing process and to facilitate the discussion after the drawing. Each map in the exercise should take 15 minutes to complete followed by a brief discussion in which the participant explains the drawings to

you. The maps should also have lines and arrows showing the relationship between the various people or things under discussion.

Questions

2.1 Please draw your household as it is now in as much detail as you can.

[Encourage detail: Draw the bedrooms, the bathroom/s, kitchen and lounge. You can draw the surrounding garden and what is planted in it. Give details such as what you use for cooking (wood, electricity, coal) and how you get water for bathing and cooking (inside taps, outside tap, stream)]

Discussion

2.2 Draw for me the people that live in your house using different colours or arrows to show relationships. For example use red for yourself, your partner and children, green for a grandparent, and pink for your sister or brother.

Discussion

2.3 Draw the assets that you have in your house. Assets are things of value like cars, radios, jewellery, cell-phones, fridges and stoves.

Discussion

2.4 Who do these belong to? Draw arrows from the assets you have drawn to the people who own them. If the person is not living in the house draw them with a different colour.

Discussion

2.5 Imagine a story: if something bad happened to you like the loss of a family member or someone stole your goods, car, or something happened to your house or if you could not trade anymore. Draw the people and organisations you would be able to turn to for help.

Discussion

Stage Three: conceptual map household access to food (1 Hour)

Note to the researcher: this map has five phases you are required to hold the pen and complete the exercise with the information gained from the trader. Make sure the map has the pathways of food drawn on it.

3.1 Think of all the ways that the household gets food. For example food may be bought from a grant, from money gained from your son/daughter from wages and from your income as a trader.

3.1.1 Take each source of food and place them in zones.

3.1.2 Now discuss the prior conditions for each food source to exist. For example for wages to be used in the house the husband has to have a job and for food to be grown there has to be land and a good harvest.

3.1.3 Now take these conditions and place them in the map zones.

3.1.4 Now ask the participant to identify all the threats that exist along each food pathway. For example if the household's main source of food is through wages, threats could be things such as unemployment, low wage levels and rising prices. The threats are listed next to the nodes.

3.1.5. Ask the trader to rank the sources of food from the most important source of food to the least important. This can be written down on free space on the map.

3.1.6 Now list the threats to the main source of food in order of importance. The aim is to identify the biggest threat to the household's main sources of food. This is written next to the ranked sources of food.

3.1.7 Ask the trader if he/she has used or developed any innovative ways to deal with these threats or if he/she has not thought of ways, brainstorm the some solutions or ways of combating these threats to the sources of food and note them.

Drawing

The participant can draw the following him/herself.

3.2.1 Please draw for me the food you eat most often in your house.

3.2.2 Draw the food you like to eat more often.

The coping strategies index

Note to the researcher: explain that you are going to ask him/her a series of questions about how the house manages in times where money is short to buy food. They may use some strategies or no strategies at all. Make sure you tell the participant that this is a standard way of finding out how trading is helping the household.

3.3.1 Refer to the coping strategies index and ask the participants the questions relating to the coping strategies that they use in times of need.

Stage four: The trading site

(45 minutes)

Note to the researcher: Encourage the trader to include everything associated with a days trading activities such as where he/she uses the toilet, where he/she gets water and where he/she throws waste such as meilie skins and boxes.

4.1.1 Draw your trading site in detail you can be as creative as you like.

4.1.2 Draw for me how you first started as a trader.

4.1.3 Draw what you needed to start your business

4.1.5 Draw where you got these resources from. You can use arrows to show what you needed and who you got them from.

Stage Five: identifying the strengths and weaknesses of the business

(30 minutes)

Note to the researcher: some traders may have already mentioned this in the course of the discussion and feel like it's a waste of time to draw these. In this case confirm what has been discussed and note the answers.

5.1.1 Think for a while of the good things of your business, the things that keep it going. Example maybe you are in a busy place or sell something in demand. Can you think of ways you can improve your business to make it grow? Draw these.

Discussion

5.1.2 Think of the things that have a bad impact on your business or the things that make it difficult to do business. Draw these for me in as much detail as you can.

Discussion

The visionary exercise

(30 minutes)

Note to the researcher: inform the participant that this section will focus on the life of the trader.

Discussion

5.2.1 Draw how you would like your household to be 5 years from now in which things have changed for the better in as much detail as you can.

Discussion

5.2.2 What would you need to make these good changes possible? (Question)

Discussion

5.2.3 Draw for me where you would like your business to be 5 years from now in which things have changed for the better.

Discussion

5.2.4 What would you need to make these good changes possible? (Question)

Discussion

Stage six: budgeting games

(1 hour 15 minutes)

6.1 The Mancala Game

Note to the researcher: inform the participant that you are going to play a game that works out how much money goes into the business and how much profit is made each month. Explain the procedures that each tomato represents one box and each potato represents one pocket and the like. Explain that the game is played by placing pictures in the appropriate cups and that the game measures activities, resources used, resources sold and total weekly income. Make sure the all details are recorded appropriately on the game sheet or on a separate piece of paper. Encourage discussion as the game progresses.

6.2 Resource tree

Note to the researcher: inform the participant that we are going to draw a tree with the roots as the various sources of income and the branches as the various expenses. It is important that the income gained from trading discovered in the Mancala Game be added as income from trading.

6.2.1 Discuss the households various income and expenses. Write these on the roots and the branches so that the participant can see this.

6.2.2 Now transfer the various sources of income and expenses to a table that lists the income and expenses and then work out the difference to establish a household budget.

Conclusion

Thank the participant for taking part in the research process. Remind them that if you need additional information you will approach them. Tell them that you are going to present the research results to them as a group and give them back their drawings with their individual results in a file. They can decide then if they would like to use a pseudonym. Reassure them that you will keep in touch and that they can always get in touch with you if the need arises.

APPENDIX F

FOCUS GROUP ATTENDEES

ATTENDANCE REGISTER OF FOCUS GROUP PARTICIPANTS

NAME	ORGANISATION
Mr B Padayachee	Divine Life Society
Mr Singh	Divine Life Society
Mrs Maharaj	Sai Movement
Ms Maharaj	Sai Movement
Pastor David Naidoo	Woodlands Methodist Church
Dr Sooliman	Gift of the Givers
Mr Y Rajah	Gift of the Givers

APPENDIX G

INVITATION TO FOCUS GROUP PARTICIPANTS

To Whom It May Concern:

Invitation to attend a focus group discussion concerning the severity levels of coping strategies used by food insecure households in Pietermaritzburg

I am conducting research to fulfil the requirements for a Doctor of Philosophy degree at the University of KwaZulu Natal (Food Security Programme). I am investigating the contribution of street trading to household food security. The central question guiding this research is: is street trading an effective coping strategy for food insecure households? Other areas that focus on the working environments of street traders, their needs and support requirements will also be investigated in this study.

One of the main research tools used in this study is the coping strategies index. The coping strategies index investigates the frequency and severity of the coping strategies used by households when there is not enough food to meet the needs of the household. Coping strategies in this study are food or consumption related and refers to the different methods that households use to survive when they are faced with a crisis. The coping strategies used in this study have been adapted to the local context after speaking to traders that participated in my study.

In the coping strategies index, the frequency measures the number of times the household used the various strategies in the last thirty days. In the coping strategies used in this study, if the household used the coping strategy everyday, the frequency score was seven (for each day of the week). If a strategy was used three to six days a week it was assigned a frequency score of 4.5 (this score is the mid range of 3-6 days a week). If a strategy was used one to two days it was assigned a value of 1.5, and if a strategy was used about one day a week it was assigned a score of 0.5. For a coping strategy that was never used it was assigned a value of 0.

Apart from assigning frequency scores to the coping strategies, the severity level of each strategy also has to be determined. Households engage in a range of coping strategies some of which range from eating less preferred food to skipping entire days without eating and thus differing in levels of severity. Accordingly, only a focus group consisting of community stakeholders,

religious groups, non-governmental organisations, welfare institutions and academics who have worked with food insecure people or street traders, can determine the severity level of the coping strategies used in this study.

Your assistance is therefore required to attend a focus group discussion where you will interact with others to rank the coping strategies used in this study in terms of severity. For example, you will be presented with all of the coping strategies (a to q) that appears below and asked to rank them in terms of four categories:

1. Least severe
2. Not so severe
3. Quite severe
4. Most severe

The coping strategies index

In the past 30 days, if there have been times when you did not have enough food or money to buy food, how often has your household had to:	All the time. Every day	Very often 3/6 days	Once in a while 1-2 days	Hardly at all < 1 day a wk	never	Raw Score	Severity Weight	Final Score
Relative Frequency of Score	7	4.5	1.5	0.5	0			
a. Rely on less preferred/ expensive food	7						1	7
b. Borrow food, or money from a friend/relative to buy food								
c. Buy food on credit								
d. use money reserved for the business to buy food								
e. eat goods bought for the business								
f. Send household members to eat elsewhere								
g. Send household members to live with relatives								
h. eat smaller portions								
i. Feed working members at the expense of non working members								
j. Ration the money and buy prepared food								
k. Eat less than 3 meals a day								
l. Skip entire days without eating		4.5					4	18
m. Send members to beg								
n. Let small children eat rather than								

adults								
o. Rely on food parcels from an organisation								
p. Rely on monetary donations to buy food for your family or yourself								
q. rely on food given to you from family or friends								
TOTAL HOUSEHOLD SCORE (CSI)								

For example, the group may decide that that eating less preferred food is not that bad and may place it in category one and that skipping entire days without eating is the most severe way of dealing with less food and place it in category four. The main purpose of the coping strategies index is to determine the level of household food insecurity. Once all of the coping strategies have been assigned a number, they will be multiplied with the frequency score (number of times the strategy was used in the last month) and totalled at the bottom for a final score which will reveal the level of food insecurity, the higher the final score on the index the higher the level of household food insecurity.

Your participation and valuable input in this focus group will be most appreciated. It is anticipated that you should make yourself available for ninety minutes. The focus group will be held in a location that is accessible to everyone. Tea and muffins will also be served. If you are interested in attending this focus group please contact me by e-mail or telephone. The time, date and venue will be sent to those who express an interest in attending the focus group in due course.

Thank you for your time and assistance

Date: 16 February 2005 (Wednesday)

Time: 9:00 – 12:00

Quraishia Abdulla (M.Soc.Sc) 0733650464 (mobile)
 Food security programme 0333912434 (home)
 University of KwaZulu Natal 962109161@ukzn.ac.za
 Pietermaritzburg
 3201

NOTE:

Food insecurity: refers to a situation in which a household does not have access to sufficient food (because of a lack of money, unemployment or otherwise) to meet the food requirements of the family.

Coping strategies: refers to the different methods the household head engages in to access food for the household.

There are many types of coping strategies such as borrowing food or money to buy food, taking food on credit and even eating smaller portions at meals. The strategies used indicate the level of household food insecurity.

APPENDIX H

COPING STRATEGIES INDEX SCORE SHEET

THE COPING STRATEGIES SCORE SHEET

Participant number:

COPING STRATEGIES	SEVERITY SCORE
a. Rely on less preferred/ expensive food	
b. Borrow food, or money from a friend/relative to buy food	
c. use money reserved for the business to buy food	
d. eat goods bought for the business	
e. Send household members to eat elsewhere	
f. Send household members to live with relatives	
g. eat smaller portions	
h. Feed working members at the expense of non working members	
i. Ration the money and buy prepared food	
j. Eat less than 3 meals a day	
k. Skip entire days without eating	
l. Let small children eat rather than adults	
m. Rely on food parcels from an organisation	
n. Rely on monetary donations to buy food for your family or yourself	

o. rely on food given to you from family or friends	
p. Buy food on credit	

CATEGORY CODES:

1= least severe

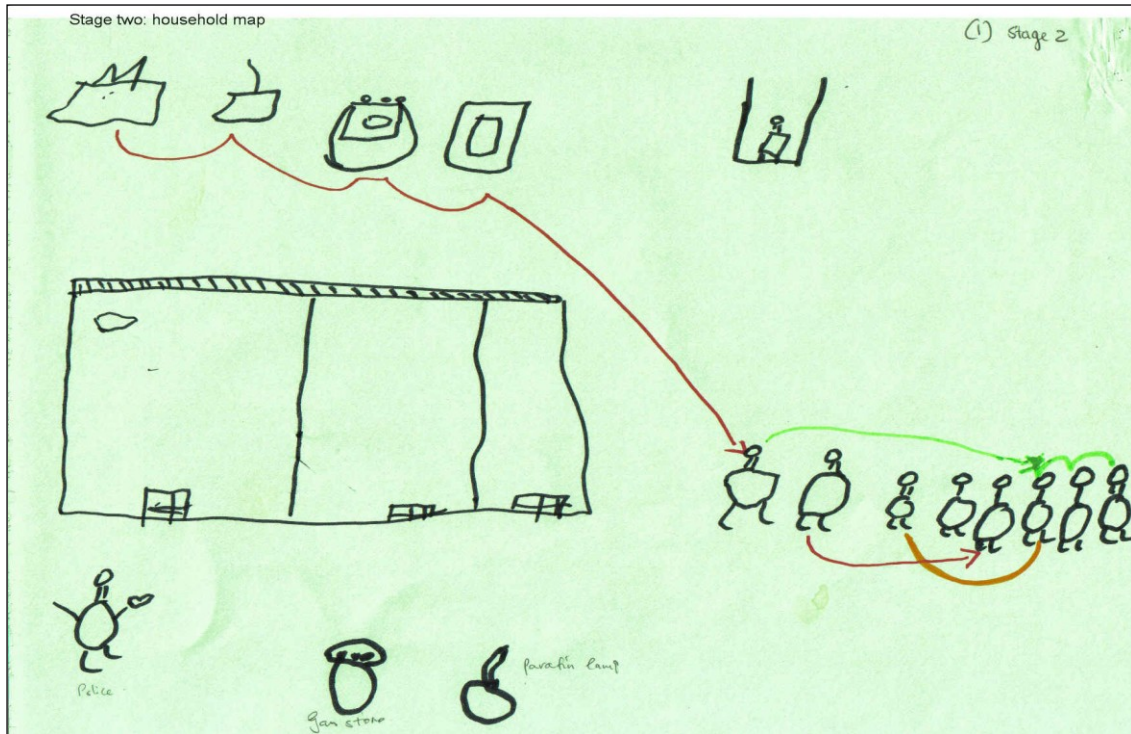
2= moderately severe

3 = severe

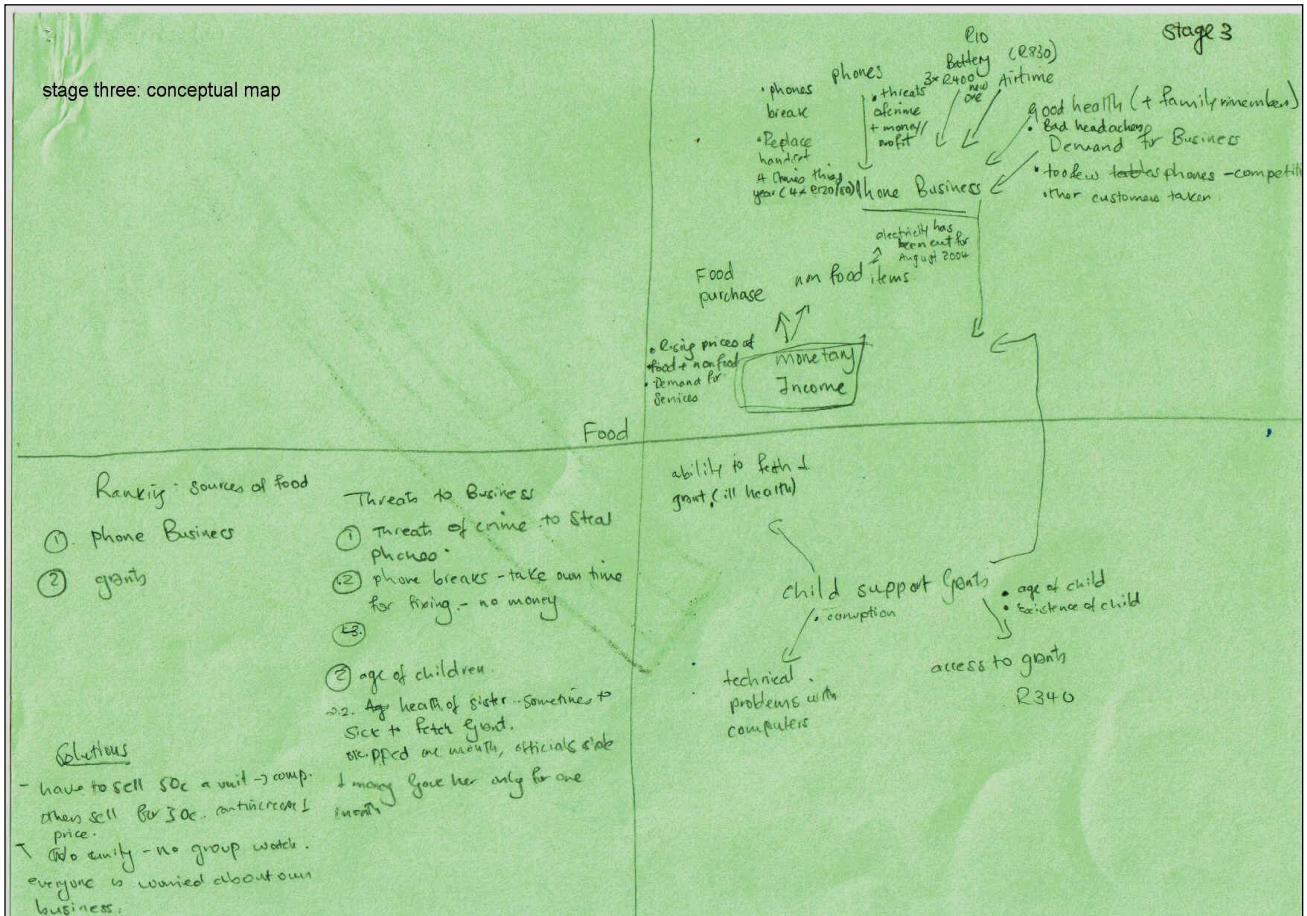
4= most severe

APPENDIX I

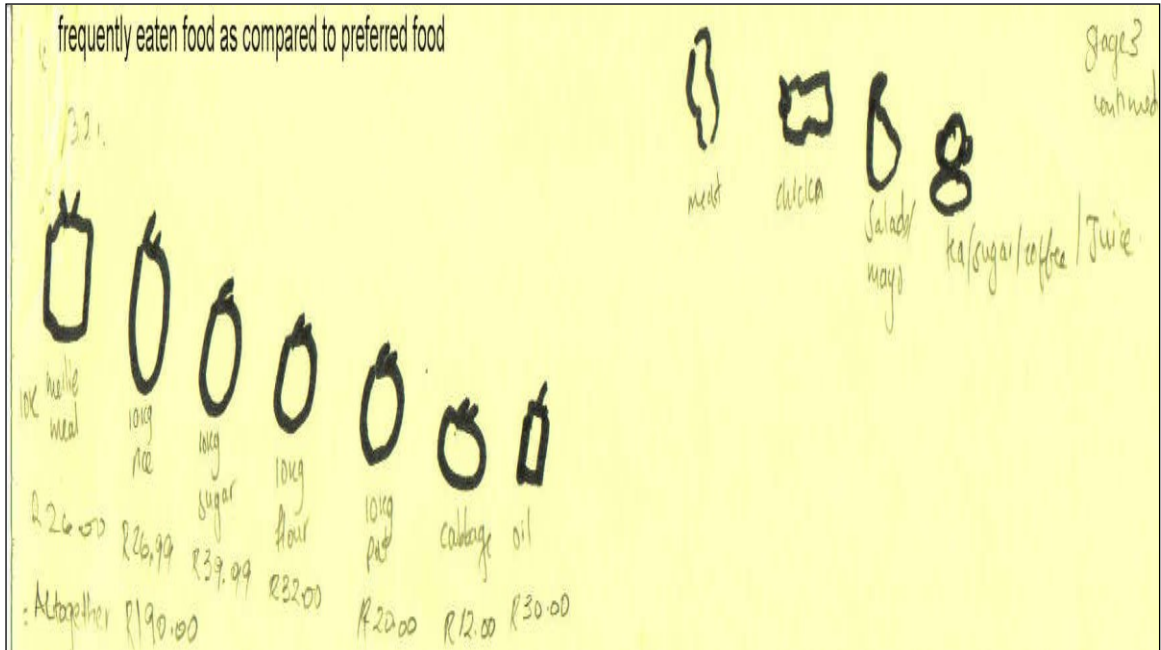
PHOTOGRAPHS AND DRAWINGS OF LUNGILE MADONDO



I.1 Household resource map



I.2 Conceptual map of sources of food and threats to food security



I.3 Frequently eaten food (maize meal, sugar rice and cabbage) as compared to preferred food (meat, chicken, salad and mayonnaise).

I.4 Lungile's Coping Strategy Index

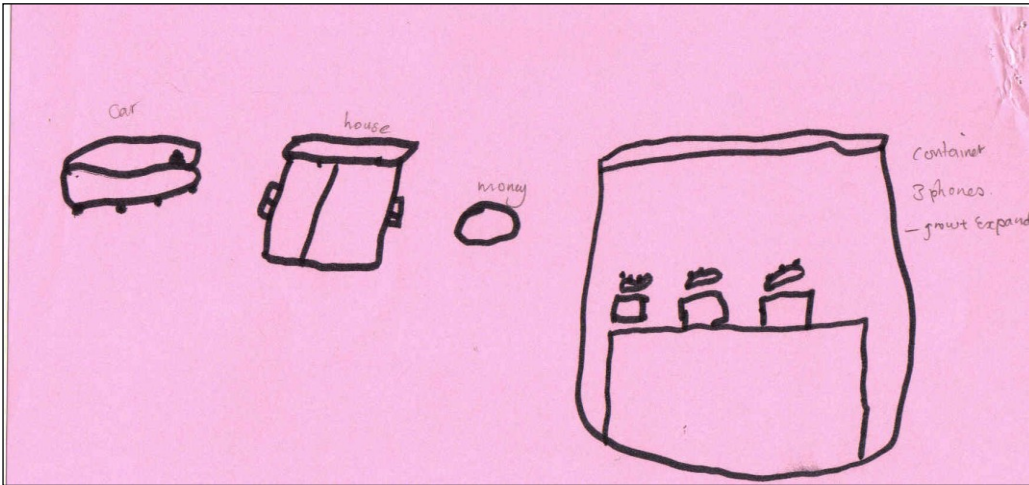
In the past 30 days, if there have been times when you did not have enough food or money to buy food, how often has your household had to:	All the time, everyday	Very often, 3-6 days	Once in a while 1-2 days	Hardly at all <1 day a week	Never	Raw score	Severity weight	Final score
Relative frequency score	7	4.5	1.5	0.5	0			
Rely on less preferred/expensive food	✓					7	2	14
Borrow food, or money to buy food from a relative/friend to buy food			✓			1.5	2	3
Buy food on credit					✓	0	3	0
Use money reserved from for the business to buy food						7	2	14
Eat goods bought for the business because there is no money to buy other food						0	2	0
Send household members to eat elsewhere			✓			1.5	3	4.5
Send household members to live with relatives					✓	0	3	0
Eat smaller portions			✓			1.5	3	4.5
Feed working members at the expense of non-working members					✓	0	3	0
Ration the money and buy prepared food					✓	0	2	0
Eat less than 3 meals a day	✓					7	3	21
Skip entire days without eating					✓	0	3	0
Send household members to beg					✓	0	3	0
Let small children eat rather than adults		✓				4.5	3	13.5
Rely on food parcels from an organisation				✓		0.5	3	1.5
Rely on monetary donations to buy food for family or yourself					✓	0	3	0
Rely on food given to you by family or friends					✓	0	3	0
Total household CSI score								76



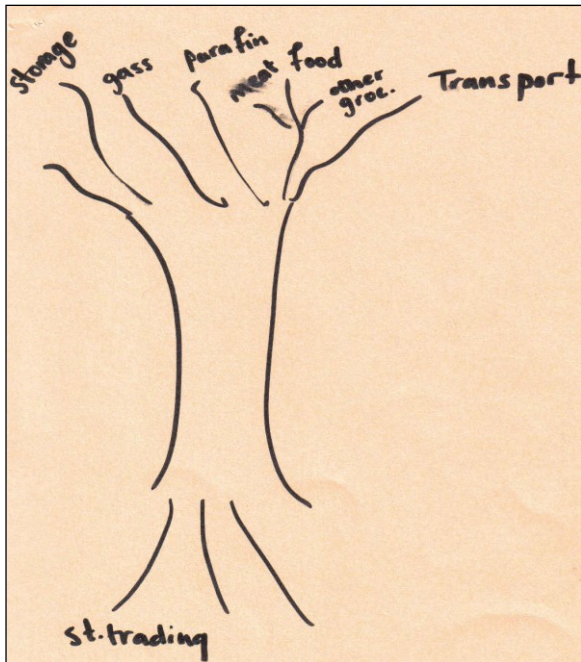
I.5 Lungile's daughter at Lungile's trading site



I.6 Competition, theft and ill health weaken her business



I.7 The visionary exercise: a container to operate her business



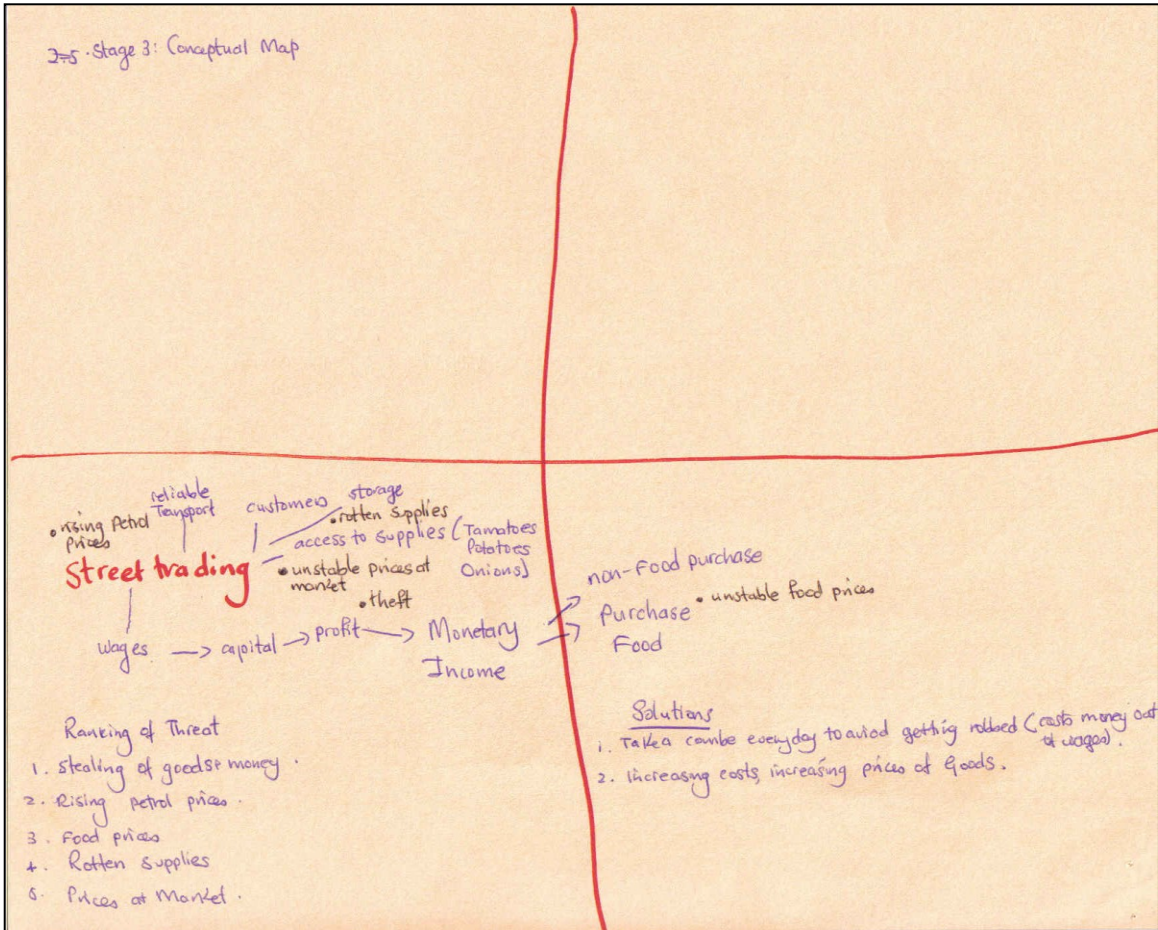
I.8 The resource tree

APPENDIX J

PICTURE OF JOE'S TRADING SITE AND DRAWINGS



J.1 Household resource map and assets (radio, fridge, television and cell-phone)



J.2 Conceptual map of sources of food and threat to food security



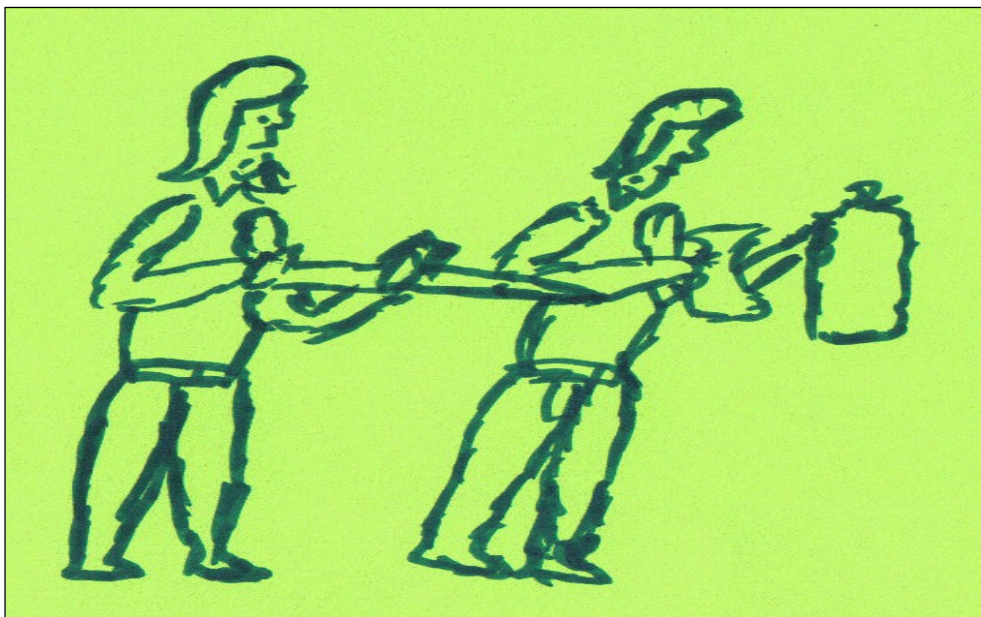
J.3 Preferred food: bread and chicken with tea

J.4. Joes Coping Strategy Index

In the past 30 days, if there have been times when you did not have enough food or money to buy food, how often has your household had to:	All the time, everyday	Very often, 3-6 days	Once in a while 1-2 days	Hardly at all <1 day a week	Never	Raw score	Severity weight	Final score
Relative frequency score	7	4.5	1.5	0.5	0			
Rely on less preferred/expensive food					✓	0	2	0
Borrow food, or money to buy food from a relative/friend to buy food					✓	0	2	0
Buy food on credit					✓	0	3	0
Use money reserved from for the business to buy food					✓	0	2	0
Eat goods bought for the business because there is no money to buy other food					✓	0	2	0
Send household members to eat elsewhere					✓	0	3	0
Send household members to live with relatives					✓	0	3	0
Eat smaller portions					✓	0	3	0
Feed working members at the expense of non-working members					✓	0	3	0
Ration the money and buy prepared food					✓	0	2	0
Eat less than 3 meals a day					✓	0	3	0
Skip entire days without eating					✓	0	3	0
Send household members to beg					✓	0	3	0
Let small children eat rather than adults					✓	0	3	0
Rely on food parcels from an organisation					✓	0	3	0
Rely on monetary donations to buy food for family or yourself					✓	0	3	0
Rely on food given to you by family or friends					✓	0	3	0
Total household CSI score								0



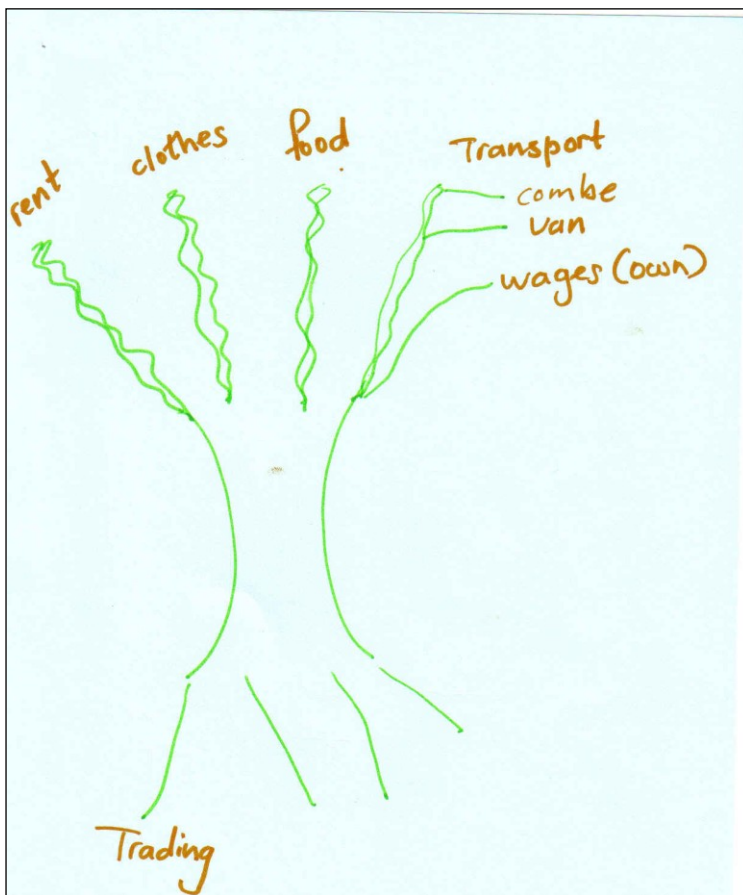
J.5 Trading site along the pavement



J.6 Crime has a negative impact on Joe's business



J.7 visionary exercise: a shop and a van



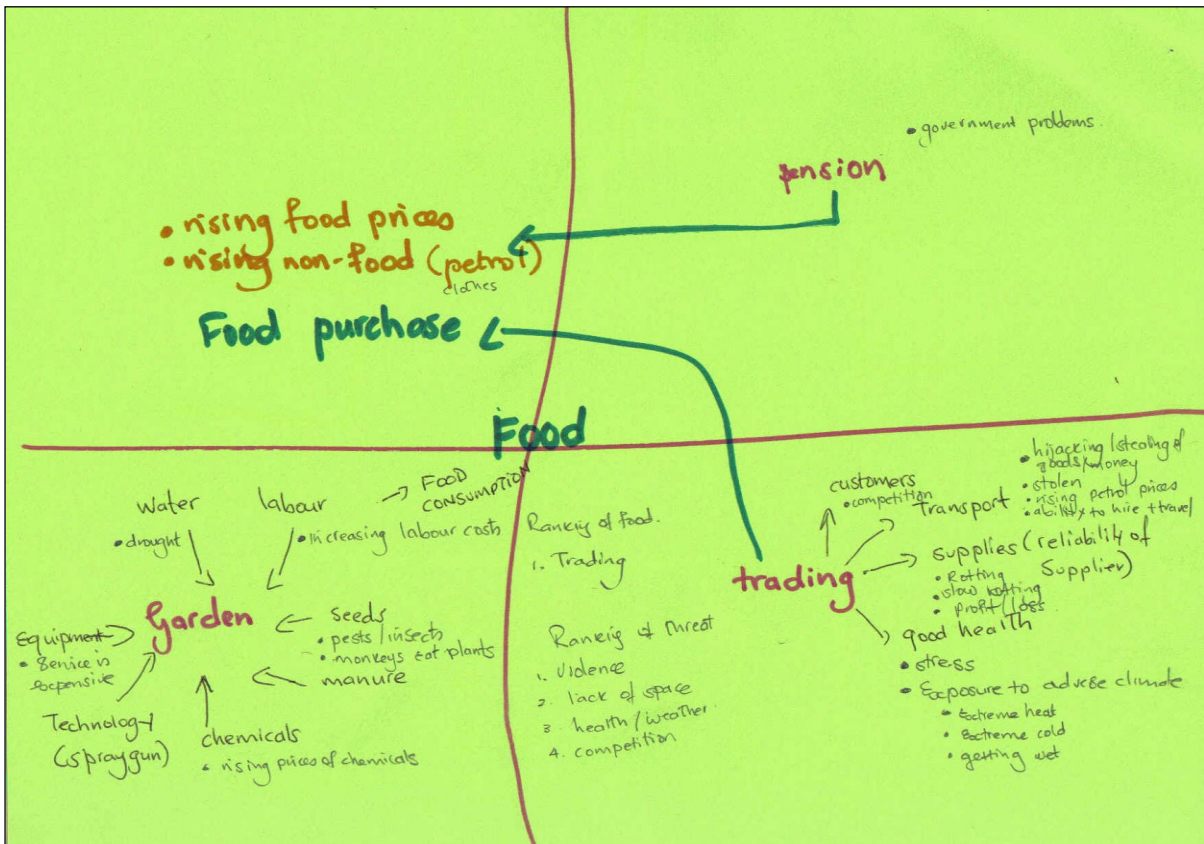
J.8 Resource tree

APPENDIX K

PHOTOGRAPHS AND DRAWINGS OF PREMIE SUKDAWH



K.1 Household resource map



K.2 Conceptual map of sources of food and threats to food security



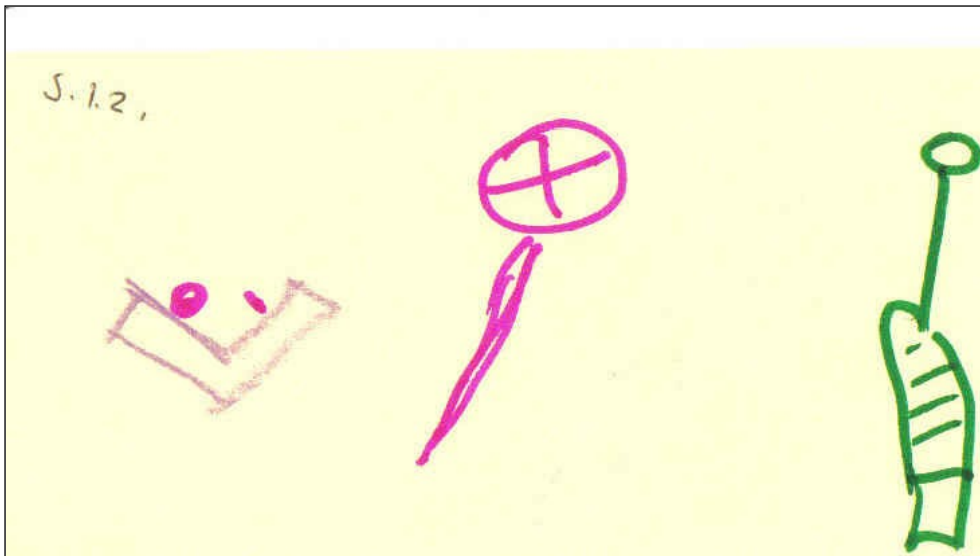
K.3 Frequently eaten preferred food: fish, traditional bread and curries

K.4 Premie's Coping Strategy Index

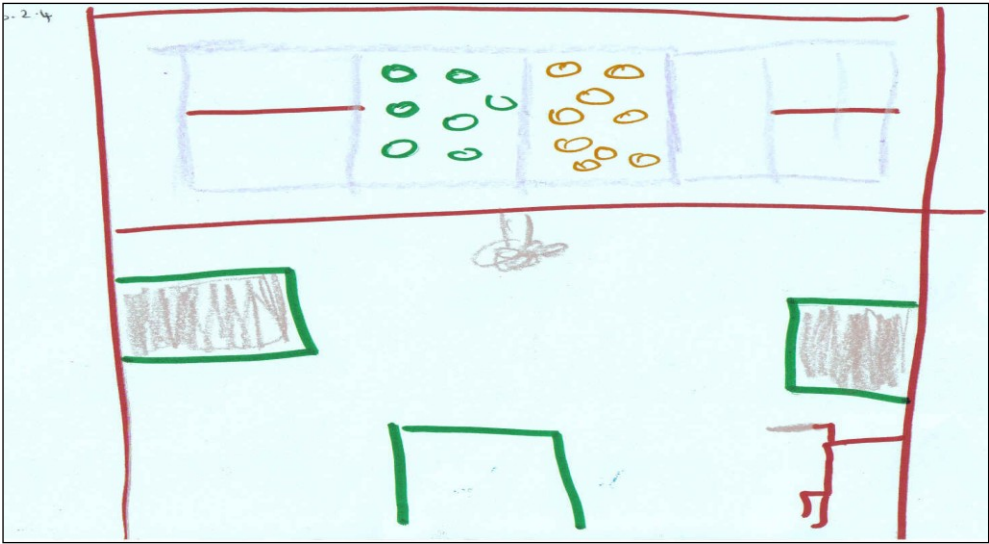
In the past 30 days, if there have been times when you did not have enough food or money to buy food, how often has your household had to:	All the time, everyday	Very often, 3-6 days	Once in a while 1-2 days	Hardly at all <1 day a week	Never	Raw score	Severity weight	Final score
Relative frequency score	7	4.5	1.5	0.5	0			
Rely on less preferred/expensive food					✓	0	2	0
Borrow food, or money to buy food from a relative/friend to buy food					✓	0	2	0
Buy food on credit					✓	0	3	0
Use money reserved from for the business to buy food					✓	0	2	0
Eat goods bought for the business because there is no money to buy other food					✓	0	2	0
Send household members to eat elsewhere					✓	0	3	0
Send household members to live with relatives					✓	0	3	0
Eat smaller portions					✓	0	3	0
Feed working members at the expense of non-working members					✓	0	3	0
Ration the money and buy prepared food					✓	0	2	0
Eat less than 3 meals a day					✓	0	3	0
Skip entire days without eating					✓	0	3	0
Send household members to beg					✓	0	3	0
Let small children eat rather than adults					✓	0	3	0
Rely on food parcels from an organisation					✓	0	3	0
Rely on monetary donations to buy food for family or yourself					✓	0	3	0
Rely on food given to you by family or friends					✓	0	3	0
Total household CSI score								0



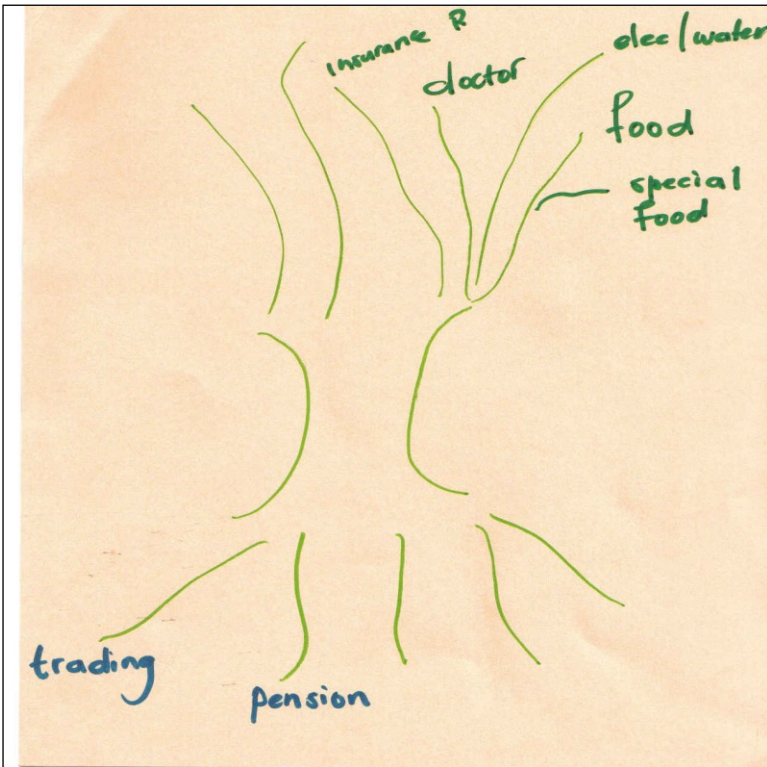
K.5 Premie at her trading site, operating in the shade of a bakery



K.6 Crime and violence have a negative impact on her business



K.7 The visionary exercise: a formal vegetable shop



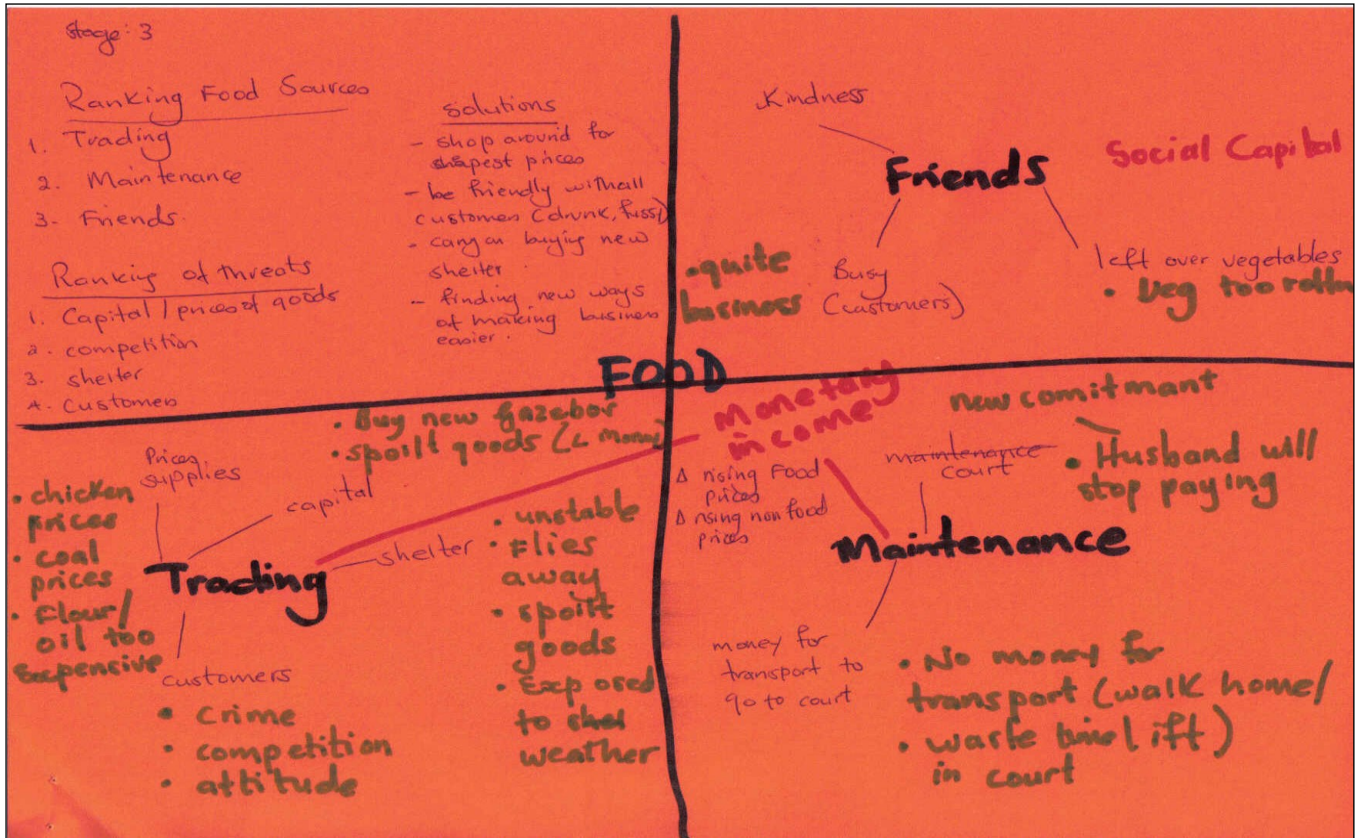
K.8 The resource tree

APPENDIX L

PHOTOGRAPHS AND DRAWINGS OF NADIA JIHANGIR



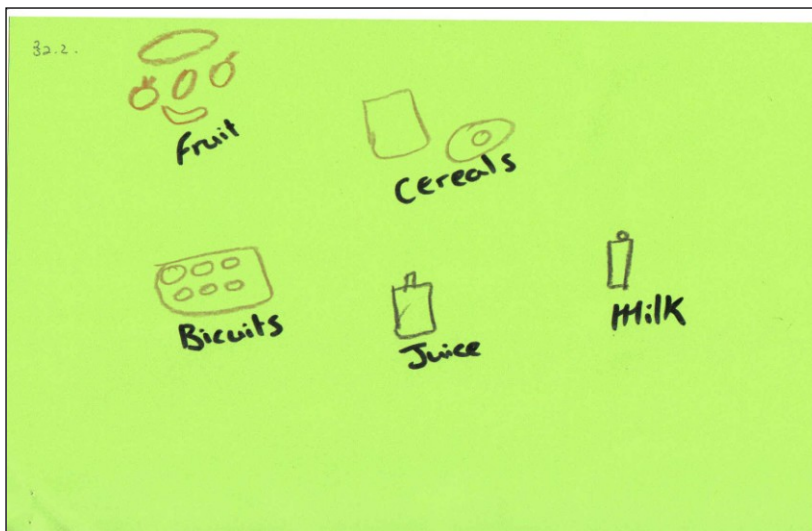
L .1 Household resource map



L.2 Conceptual map of sources of food and threats to food security



L.3 Frequently eaten food (left): cabbage; potatoes; and fish. Preferred food (below): fruit; biscuits; milk and juice

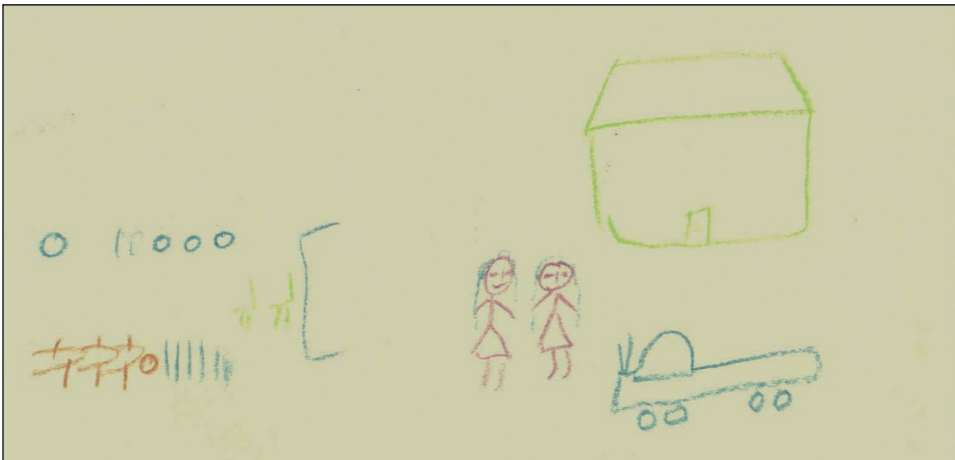


L.4 Nadia's Coping Strategy Index

In the past 30 days, if there have been times when you did not have enough food or money to buy food, how often has your household had to:	All the time, everyday	Very often, 3-6 days	Once in a while 1-2 days	Hardly at all <1 day a week	Never	Raw score	Severity weight	Final score
Relative frequency score	7	4.5	1.5	0.5	0			
Rely on less preferred/expensive food	✓					7	2	14
Borrow food, or money to buy food from a relative/friend to buy food			✓			1.5	2	3
Buy food on credit					✓	0	3	0
Use money reserved from for the business to buy food			✓			1.5	2	3
Eat goods bought for the business because there is no money to buy other food		✓				4.5	2	9
Send household members to eat elsewhere					✓	0	3	0
Send household members to live with relatives					✓	0	3	0
Eat smaller portions			✓			1.5	3	0
Feed working members at the expense of non-working members					✓	0	3	0
Ration the money and buy prepared food				✓		0.5	2	1
Eat less than 3 meals a day	✓					7	3	21
Skip entire days without eating					✓	0	3	0
Send household members to beg					✓	0	3	0
Let small children eat rather than adults		✓				4.5	3	13.5
Rely on food parcels from an organisation					✓	0	3	0
Rely on monetary donations to buy food for family or yourself				✓		0.5	3	1.5
Rely on food given to you by family or friends		✓				4.5	3	13.5
Total household CSI score								84



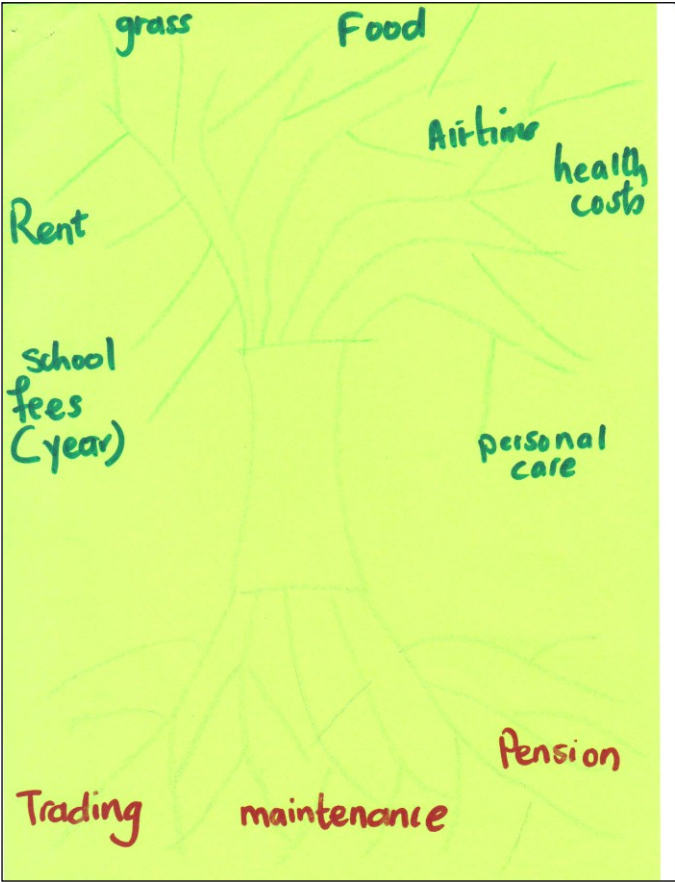
L.5 Nadia at her trading site



L.6 Visionary exercise: a car and home



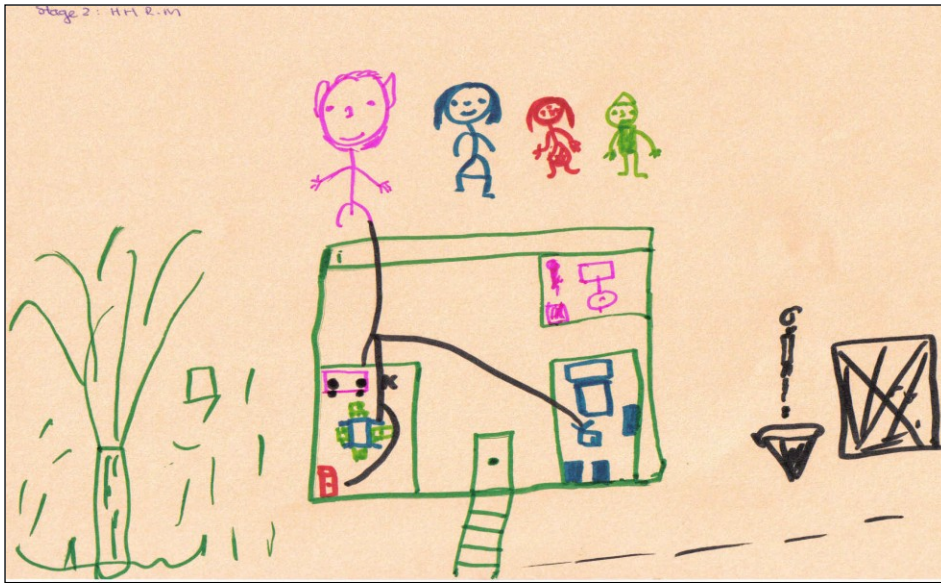
L.7 Nadia playing the Mancala game



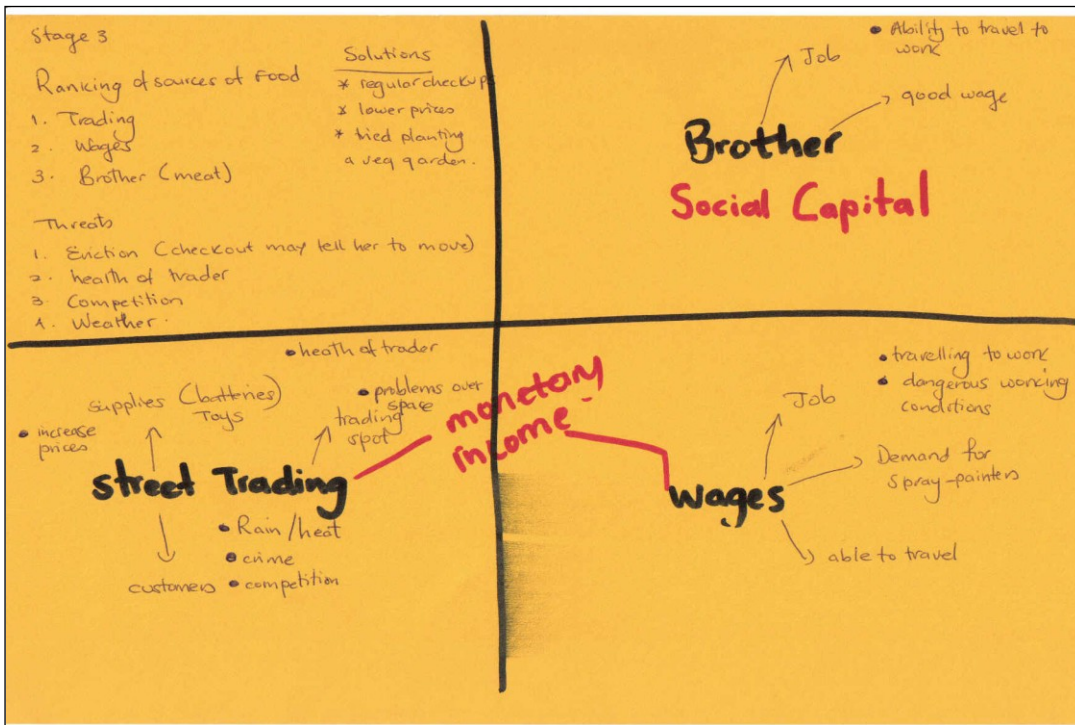
L.8 The resource tree

APPENDIX M

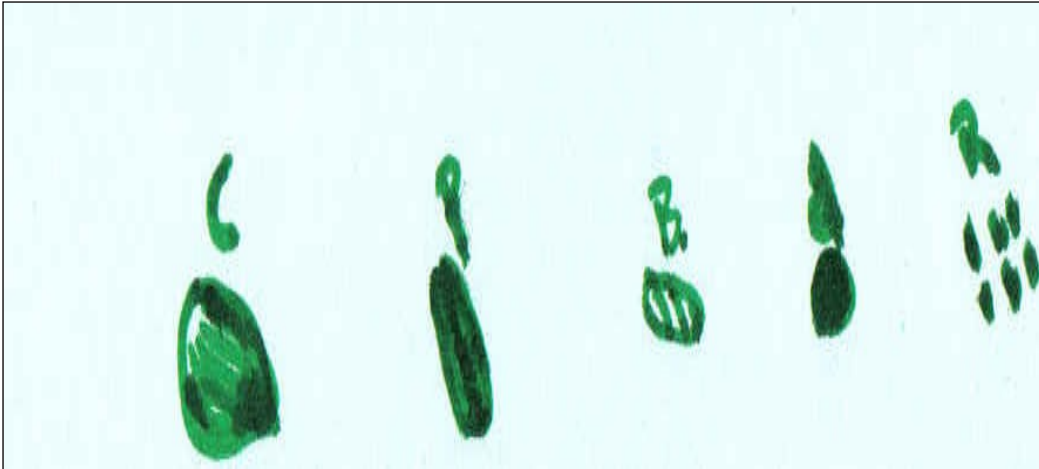
PHOTOGRAPHS AND DRAWINGS OF SHIREEN MOHAMMED



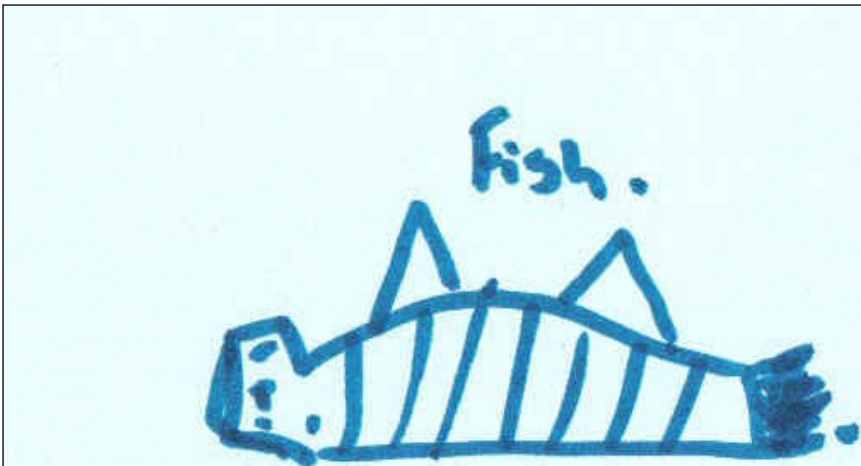
M.1 Household resource map and family



M.2 Conceptual map of sources of food and threats to food security



M. 3 Frequently eaten food (above): beans and cabbage. Preferred food (below): fish



M.4 Shireen's Coping Strategy Index

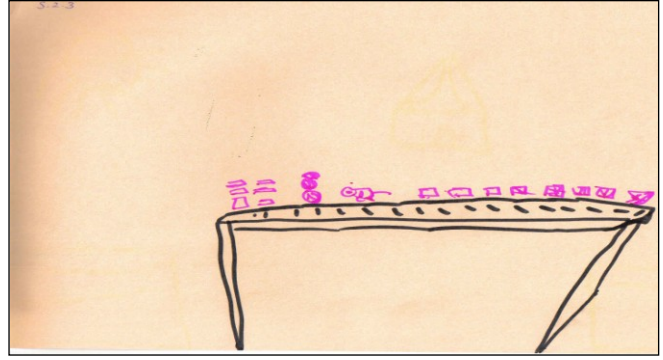
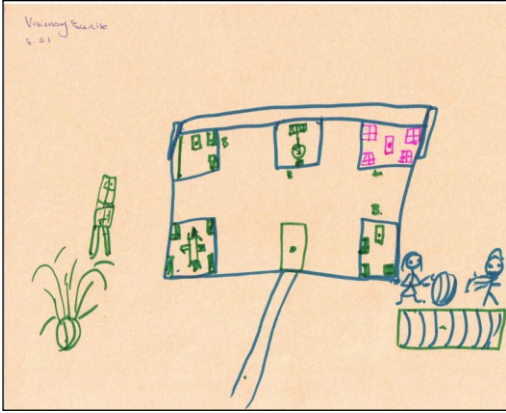
In the past 30 days, if there have been times when you did not have enough food or money to buy food, how often has your household had to:	All the time, everyday	Very often, 3-6 days	Once in a while 1-2 days	Hardly at all <1 day a week	Never	Raw score	Severity weight	Final score
Relative frequency score	7	4.5	1.5	0.5	0			
Rely on less preferred/expensive food	✓					7	2	14
Borrow food, or money to buy food from a relative/friend to buy food					✓	0	2	0
Buy food on credit					✓	0	3	0
Use money reserved from for the business to buy food			✓			1.5	2	3
Eat goods bought for the business because there is no money to buy other food					✓	0	2	0
Send household members to eat elsewhere		✓				4.5	3	13.5
Send household members to live with relatives		✓				4.5	3	13.5
Eat smaller portions					✓	0	3	0
Feed working members at the expense of non-working members					✓	0	3	0
Ration the money and buy prepared food					✓	0	2	0
Eat less than 3 meals a day					✓	0	3	0
Skip entire days without eating					✓	0	3	0
Send household members to beg					✓	0	3	0
Let small children eat rather than adults					✓	0	3	0
Rely on food parcels from an organisation					✓	0	3	0
Rely on monetary donations to buy food for family or yourself					✓	0	3	0
Rely on food given to you by family or friends					✓	0	3	0
Total household CSI score								44



M.5 Trading site alongside the pavement



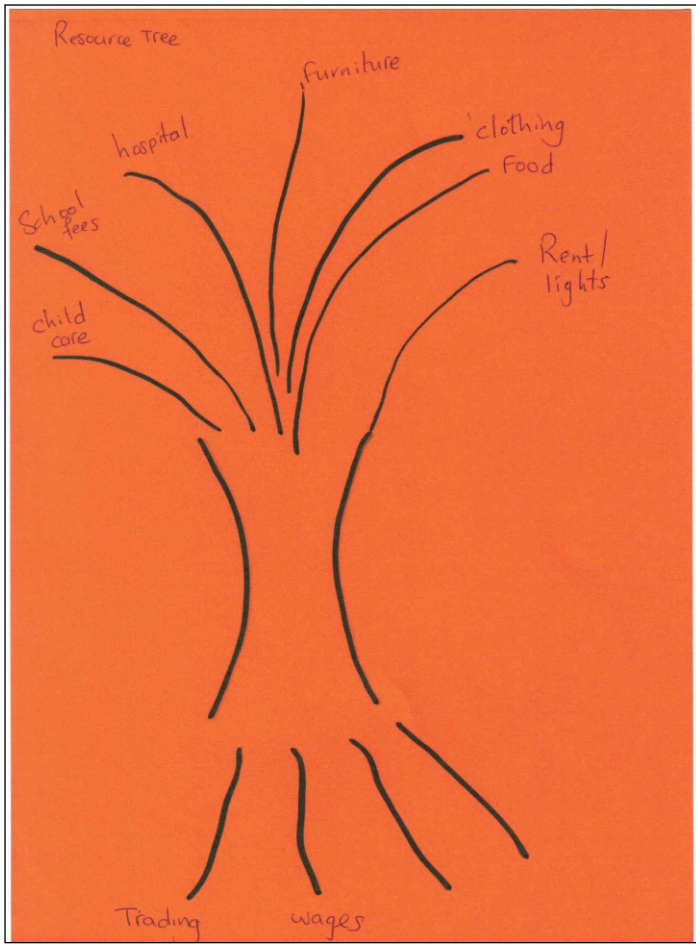
M.6 Lack of space and the weather impact negatively on Shireen's business



M.7 The visionary exercise: a dream home and opposite, selling a range of goods



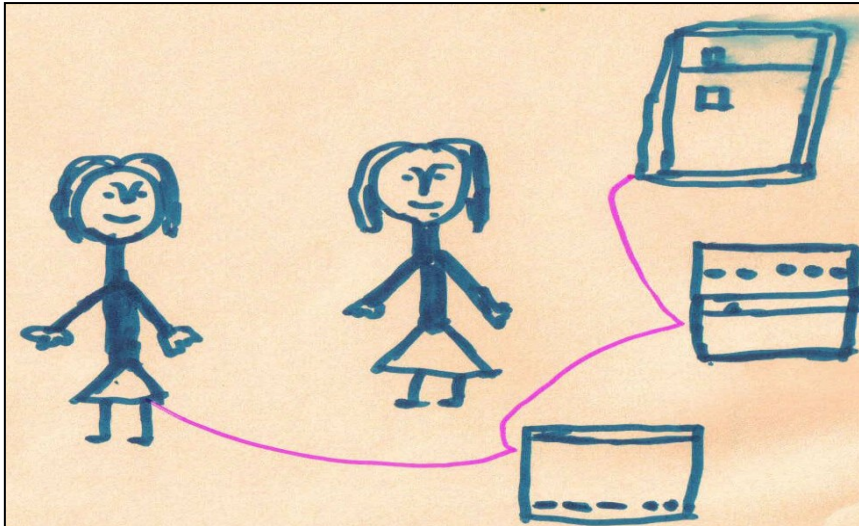
M.8 Shireen playing the mancala game



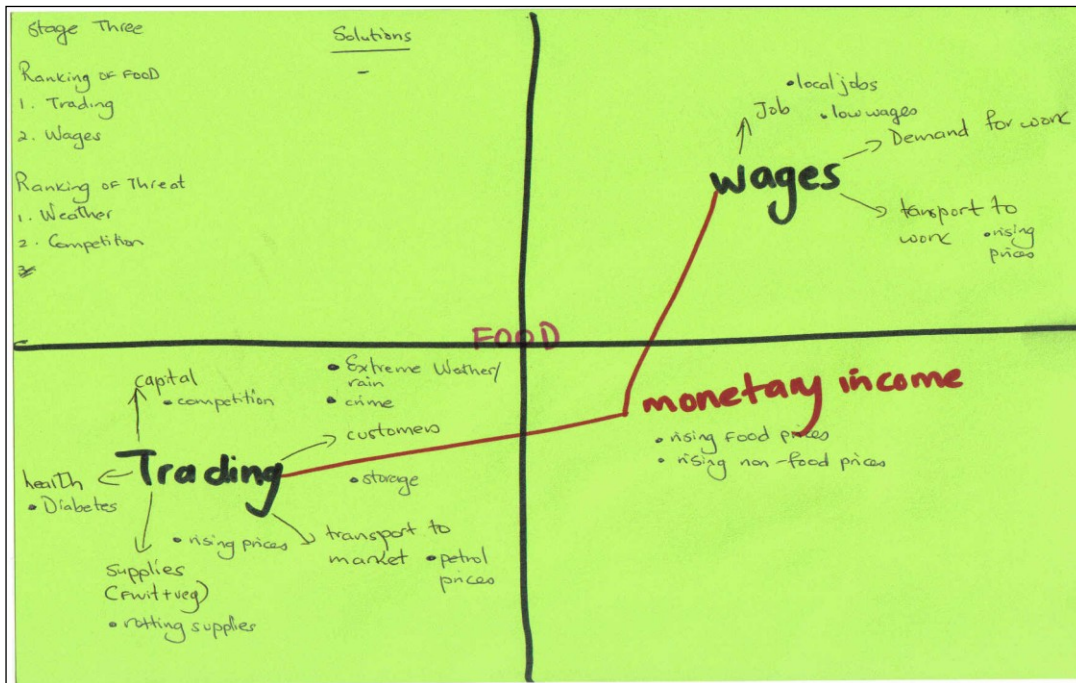
M.9 Shireen's resource tree

APPENDIX N

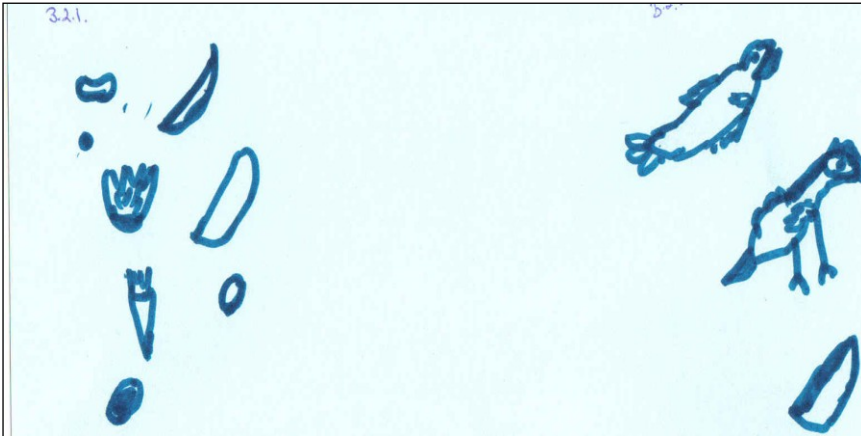
PHOTOGRAPHS AND DRAWINGS OF SHIELA SEWPAUL



N.1 Household resource map



N.2 Conceptual map of sources of food and threats to food security



N.3 Frequently eaten food (beans, cauliflower) compared to preferred food (meat and chicken)

N.4 Sheila's Coping Strategy Index

In the past 30 days, if there have been times when you did not have enough food or money to buy food, how often has your household had to:	All the time, everyday	Very often, 3-6 days	Once in a while 1-2 days	Hardly at all <1 day a week	Never	Raw score	Severity weight	Final score
Relative frequency score	7	4.5	1.5	0.5	0			
Rely on less preferred/expensive food		✓				4.5	2	9
Borrow food, or money to buy food from a relative/friend to buy food					✓	0	2	0
Buy food on credit					✓	0	3	0
Use money reserved from for the business to buy food			✓			1.5	2	3
Eat goods bought for the business because there is no money to buy other food			✓			1.5	2	3
Send household members to eat elsewhere					✓	0	3	0
Send household members to live with relatives					✓	0	3	0
Eat smaller portions		✓				4.5	3	13.5
Feed working members at the expense of non-working members					✓	0	3	0
Ration the money and buy prepared food					✓	0	2	0
Eat less than 3 meals a day					✓	0	3	0
Skip entire days without eating					✓	0	3	0
Send household members to beg					✓	0	3	0
Let small children eat rather than adults					✓	0	3	0
Rely on food parcels from an organisation					✓	0	3	0
Rely on monetary donations to buy food for family or yourself					✓	0	3	0
Rely on food given to you by family or friends					✓	0	3	0
Total household CSI score								28.5



N.5 The trading site, on the edge of a pavement



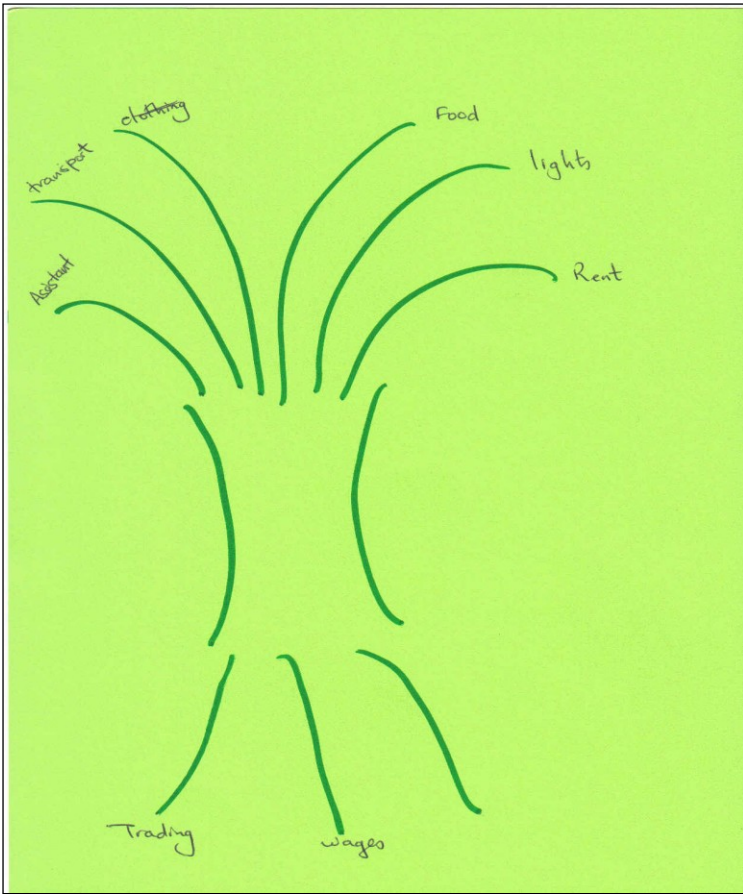
N.6 The weather has a negative impact on Sheila's business



N.7 The visionary exercise: selling a range of goods and opposite (left), Sheila hopes to own a house (right)



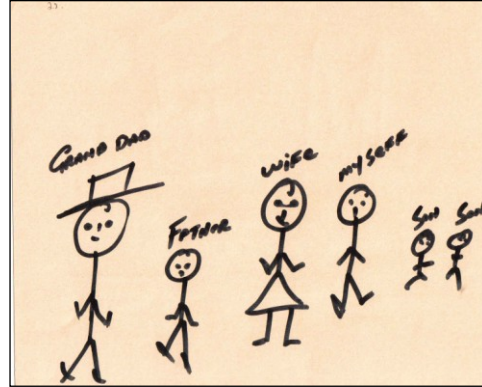
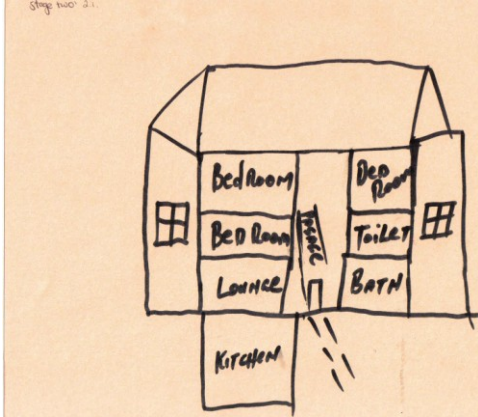
N.8 Sheila playing the mancala game



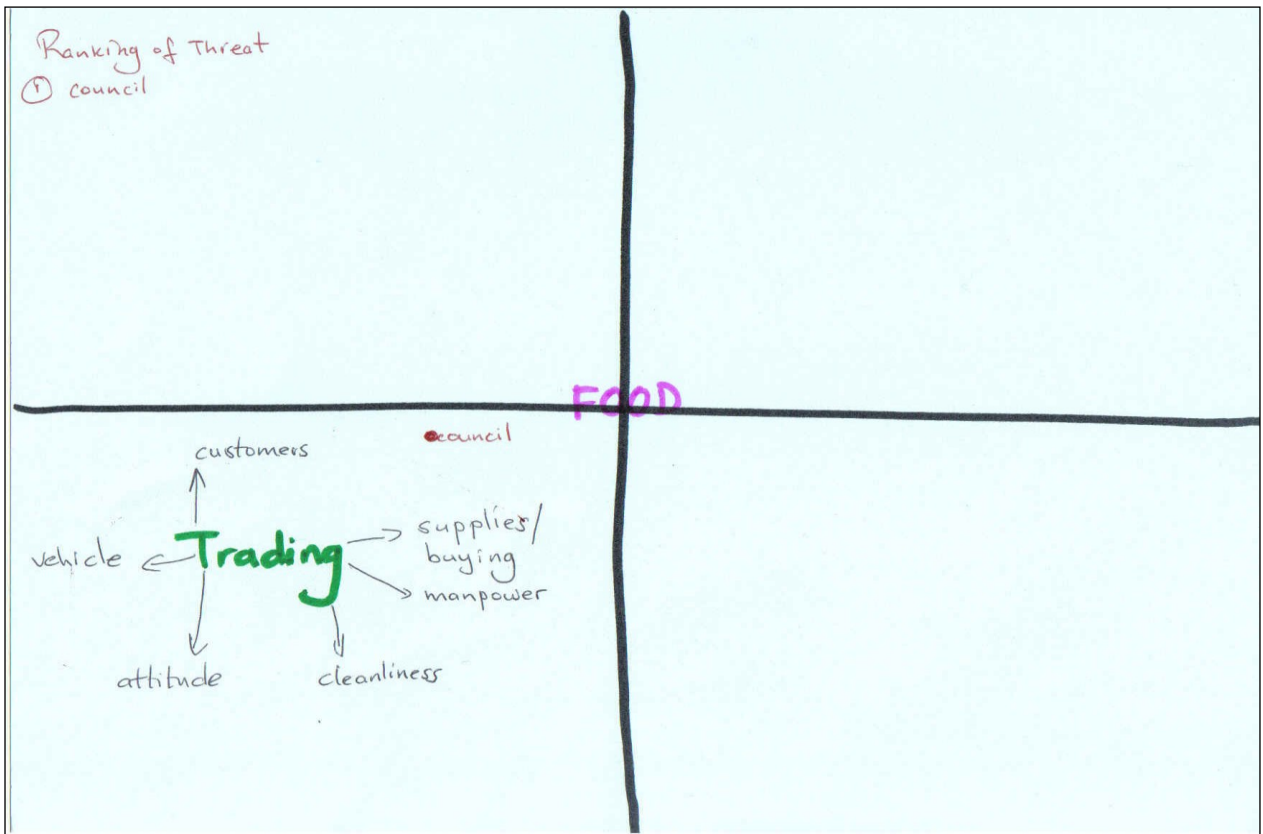
N.9 The resource tree

APPENDIX O

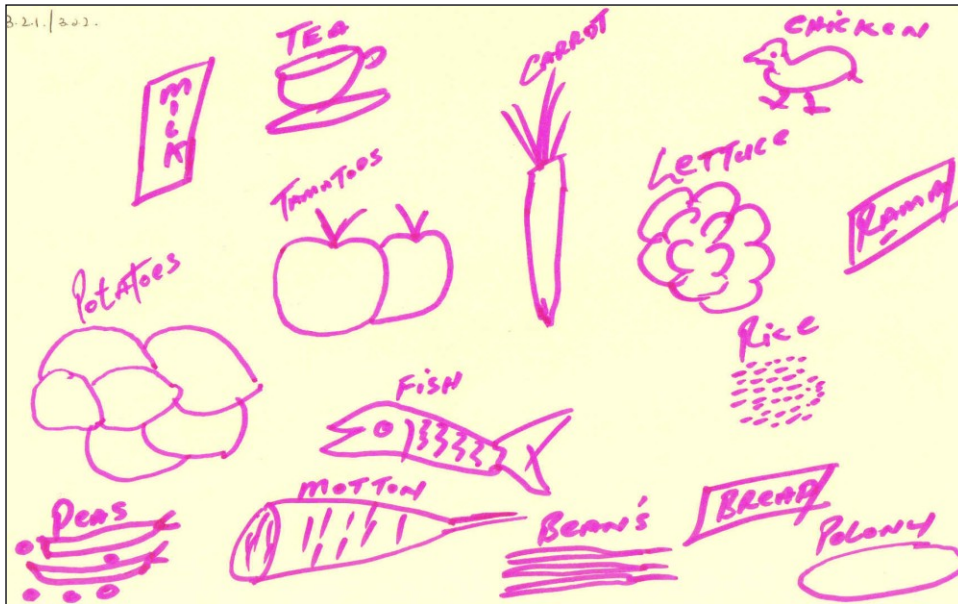
PHOTOGRAPHS AND DRAWINGS OF SANJAY SEWDUTH



O.1 Household resource map showing assets and family members



O.2 Conceptual map of sources of food



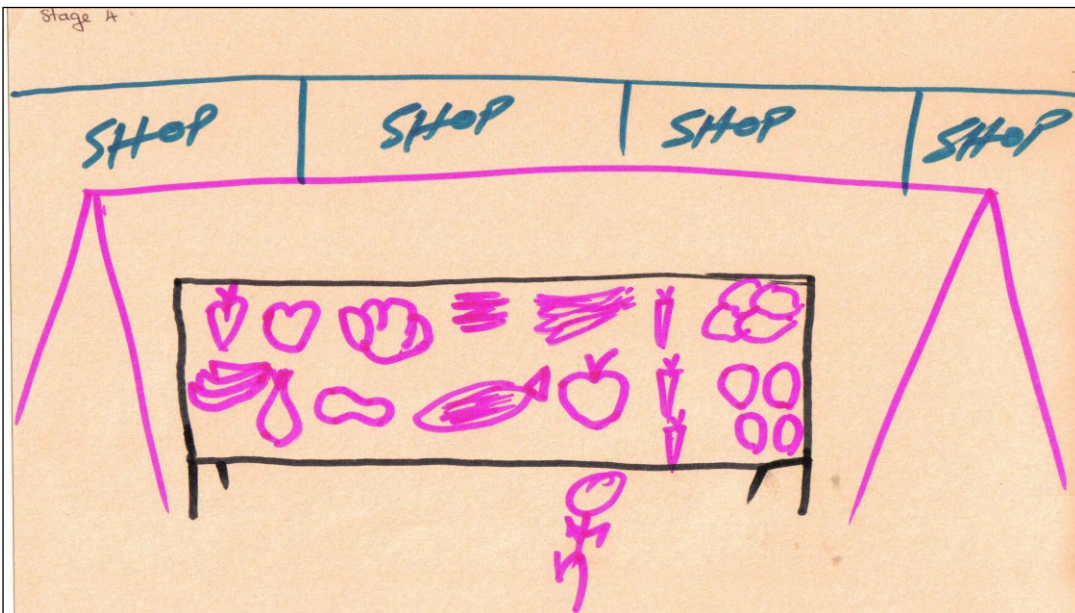
O. 3 Frequently eaten food in Sanjay's home: fish; potatoes; tea; milk; bread; mutton; chicken; rice and beans

O.4 Sanjay's Coping Strategy Index

In the past 30 days, if there have been times when you did not have enough food or money to buy food, how often has your household had to:	All the time, everyday	Very often, 3-6 days	Once in a while 1-2 days	Hardly at all <1 day a week	Never	Raw score	Severity weight	Final score
Relative frequency score	7	4.5	1.5	0.5	0			
Rely on less preferred/expensive food	✓					7	2	14
Borrow food, or money to buy food from a relative/friend to buy food					✓	0	2	0
Buy food on credit					✓	0	3	0
Use money reserved from for the business to buy food	✓					7	2	14
Eat goods bought for the business because there is no money to buy other food		✓				4.5	2	9
Send household members to eat elsewhere					✓	0	3	0
Send household members to live with relatives					✓	0	3	0
Eat smaller portions					✓	0	3	0
Feed working members at the expense of non-working members					✓	0	3	0
Ration the money and buy prepared food					✓	0	2	0
Eat less than 3 meals a day			✓			1.5	3	4.5
Skip entire days without eating					✓	0	3	0
Send household members to beg					✓	0	3	0
Let small children eat rather than adults		✓				4.5	3	13.5
Rely on food parcels from an organisation					✓	0	3	0
Rely on monetary donations to buy food for family or yourself					✓	0	3	0
Rely on food given to you by family or friends					✓	0	3	0
Total household CSI score								55



O.5 The trading site on the edge of the pavement



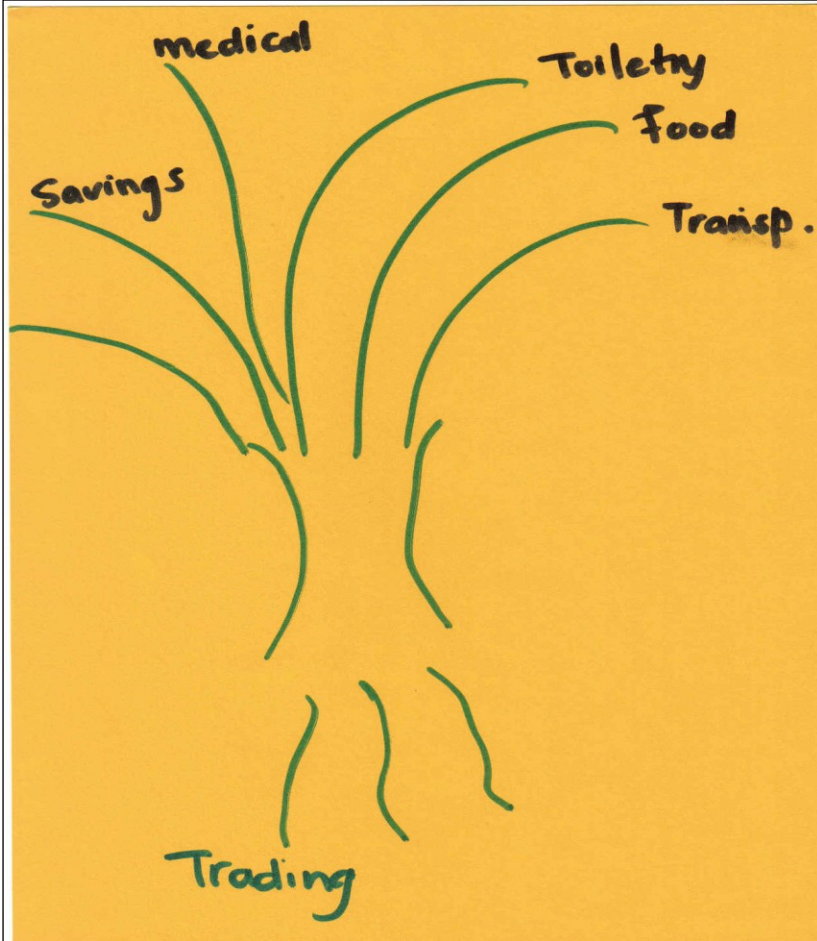
O.6 Lack of space has a negative impact on Sanjay's business



O.7 The visionary exercise, Sanjay would like to own a house and more vehicles



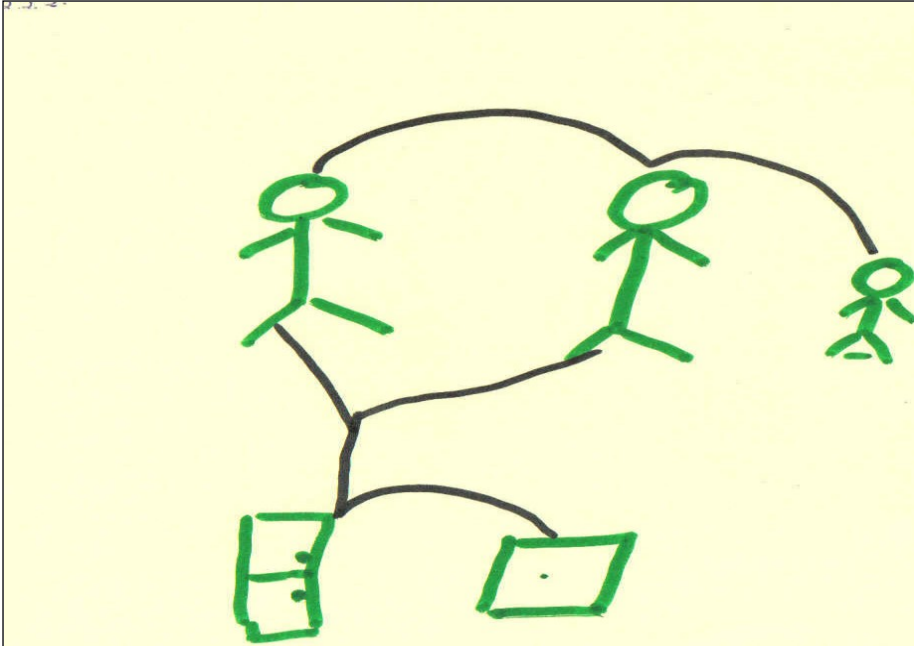
O.8 Sanjay playing the Mancala Game



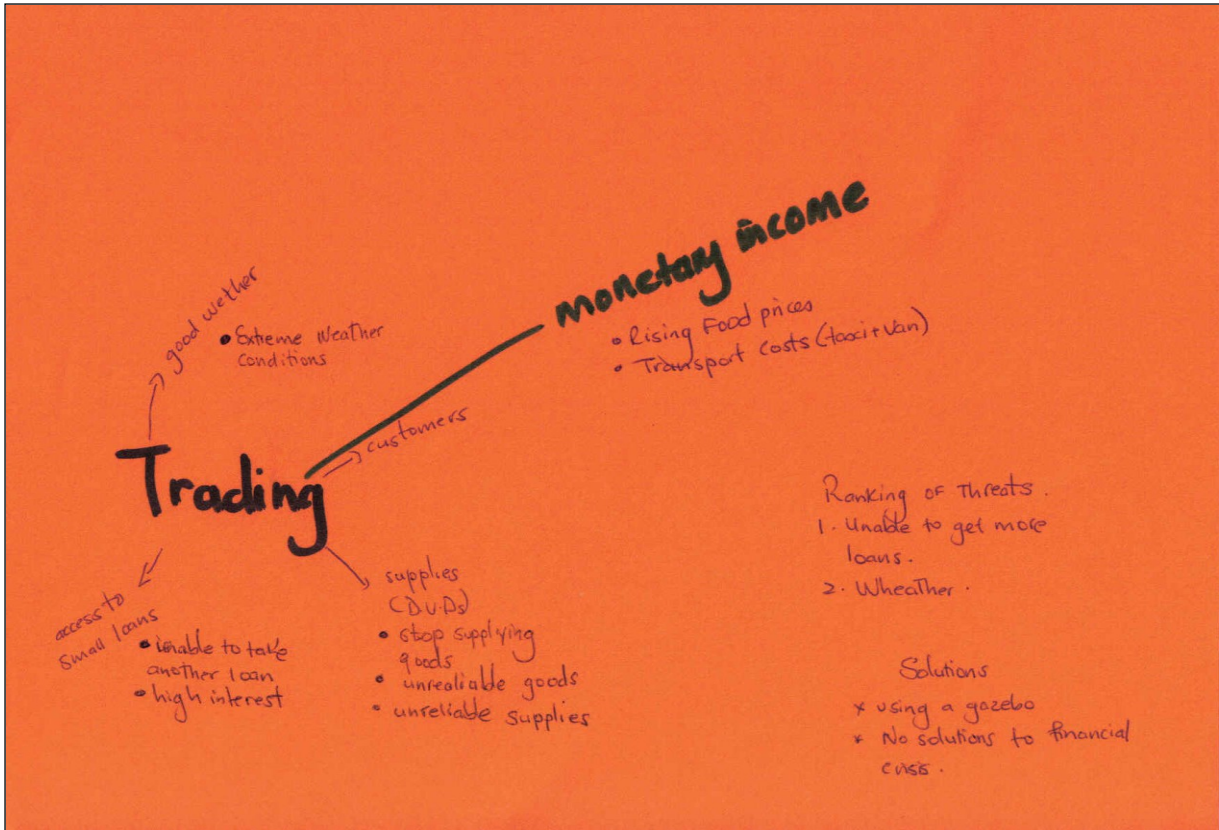
O.9 Resource Tree

APPENDIX P

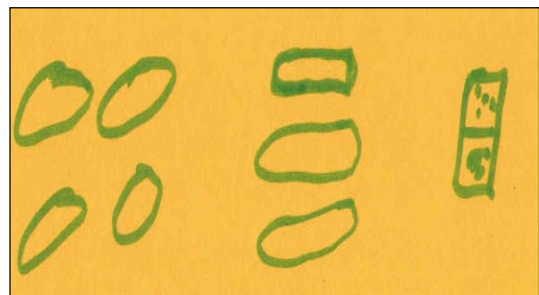
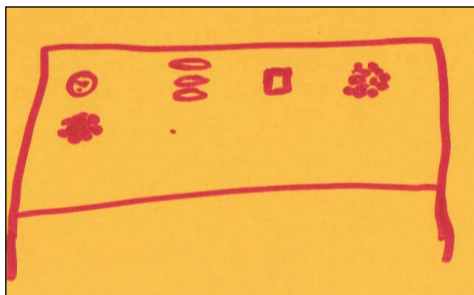
PHOTOGRAPHS AND DRAWINGS OF REHANA SATHAR



P.1 Household resource map showing assets and family members



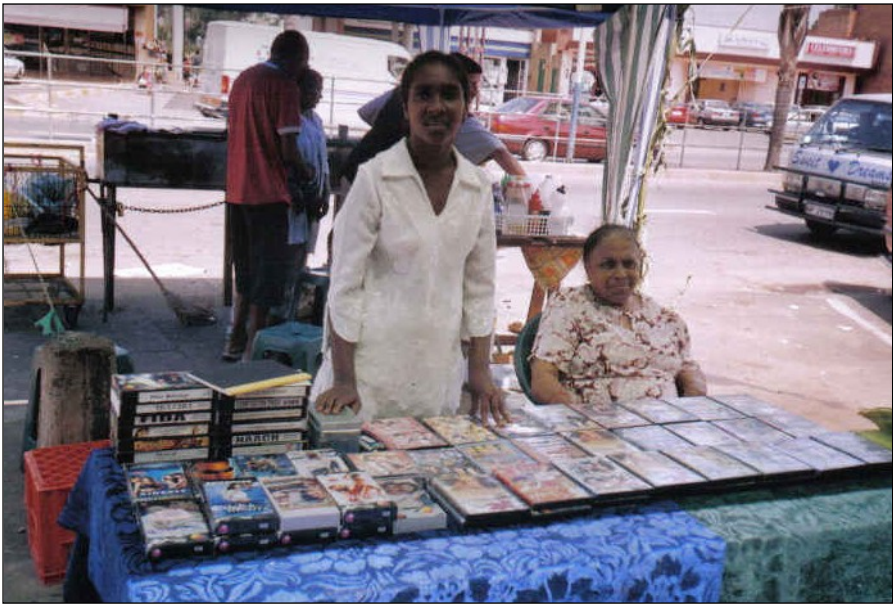
P.2 Conceptual map of sources of food and threats to food security



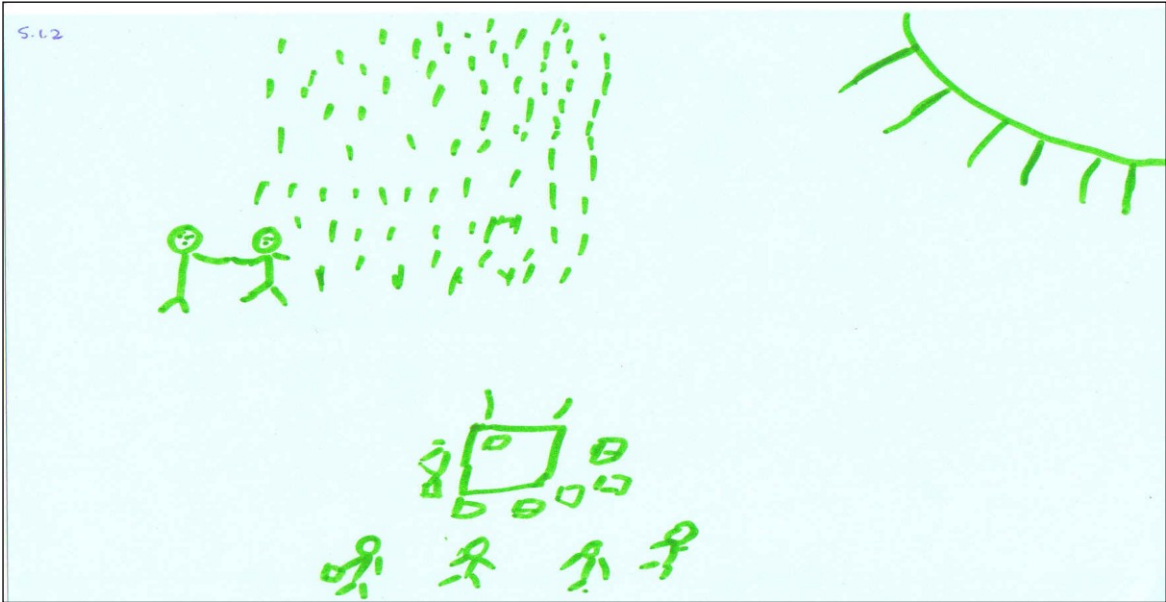
P.3 Frequently eaten food above (left) such as beans and cabbage and preferred food (right) such as meat and sausages

P.4 Rehana's Coping Strategy Index

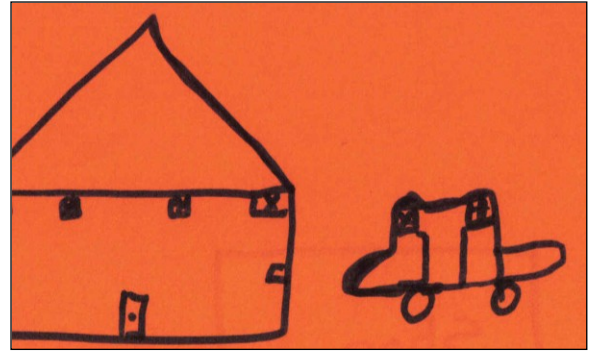
In the past 30 days, if there have been times when you did not have enough food or money to buy food, how often has your household had to:	All the time, everyday	Very often, 3-6 days	Once in a while 1-2 days	Hardly at all <1 day a week	Never	Raw score	Severity weight	Final score
Relative frequency score	7	4.5	1.5	0.5	0			
Rely on less preferred/expensive food					✓	0	2	0
Borrow food, or money to buy food from a relative/friend to buy food		✓			✓	4.5	2	9
Buy food on credit	✓					7	3	21
Use money reserved from for the business to buy food	✓					7	2	14
Eat goods bought for the business because there is no money to buy other food					✓	0	2	0
Send household members to eat elsewhere					✓	0	3	0
Send household members to live with relatives	✓					7	3	21
Eat smaller portions	✓					7	3	21
Feed working members at the expense of non-working members	✓					7	3	21
Ration the money and buy prepared food					✓	0	2	0
Eat less than 3 meals a day	✓					7	3	21
Skip entire days without eating		✓				4.5	3	13.5
Send household members to beg					✓	0	3	0
Let small children eat rather than adults				✓		0.5	3	1.5
Rely on food parcels from an organisation		✓				4.5	3	13.5
Rely on monetary donations to buy food for family or yourself					✓	0	3	0
Rely on food given to you by family or friends		✓				4.5	3	13.5
Total household CSI score								170



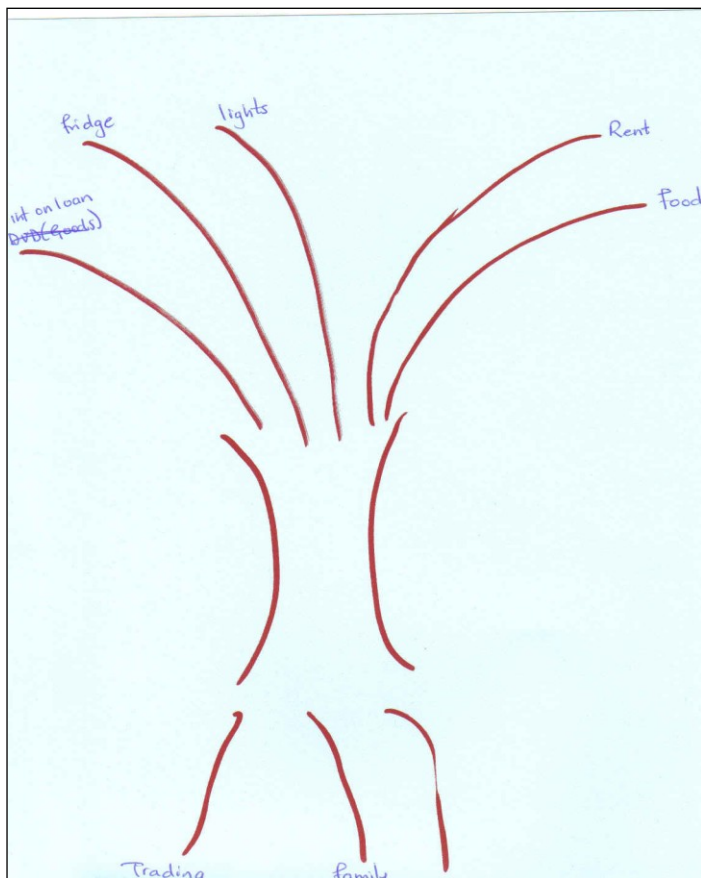
P.5 Rehana at her trading site



P.6 The weather and crime have a negative impact on Rehana’s business



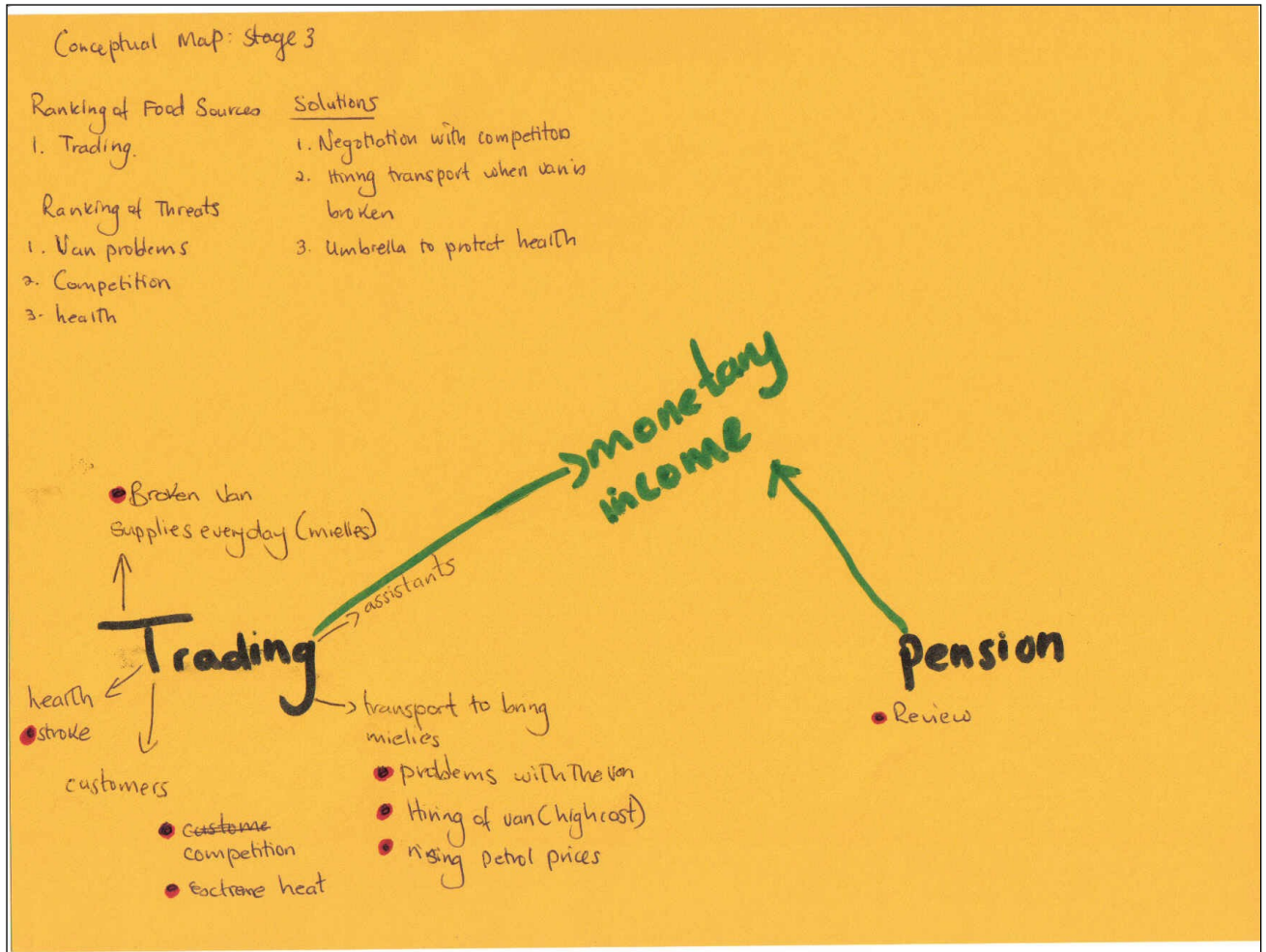
P.7 The visionary exercise: a formal shop (left) and a home and a car (right)



P.8 The resource tree

APPENDIX Q

PHOTOGRAPHS AND DRAWINGS OF HUSSEIN SHAIK



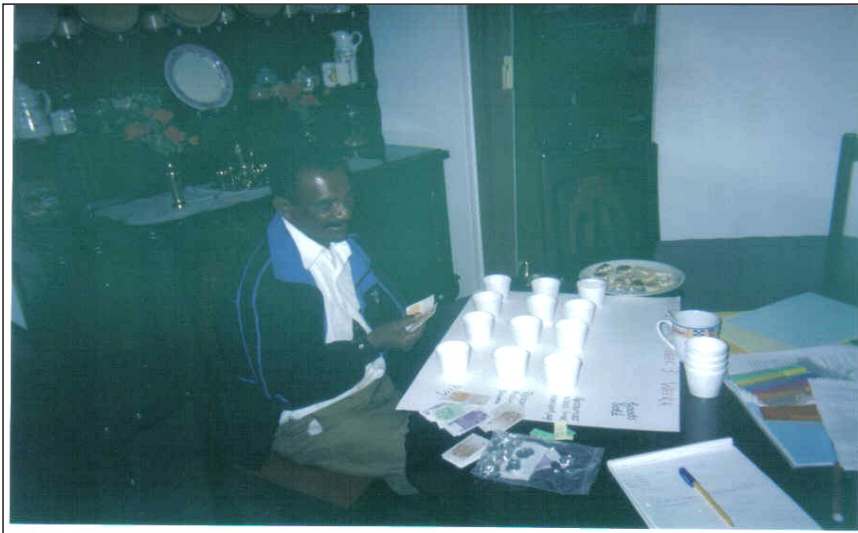
Q.1 Conceptual map of sources of food and threats to food security

Q.2 Hussein's Coping Strategy Index

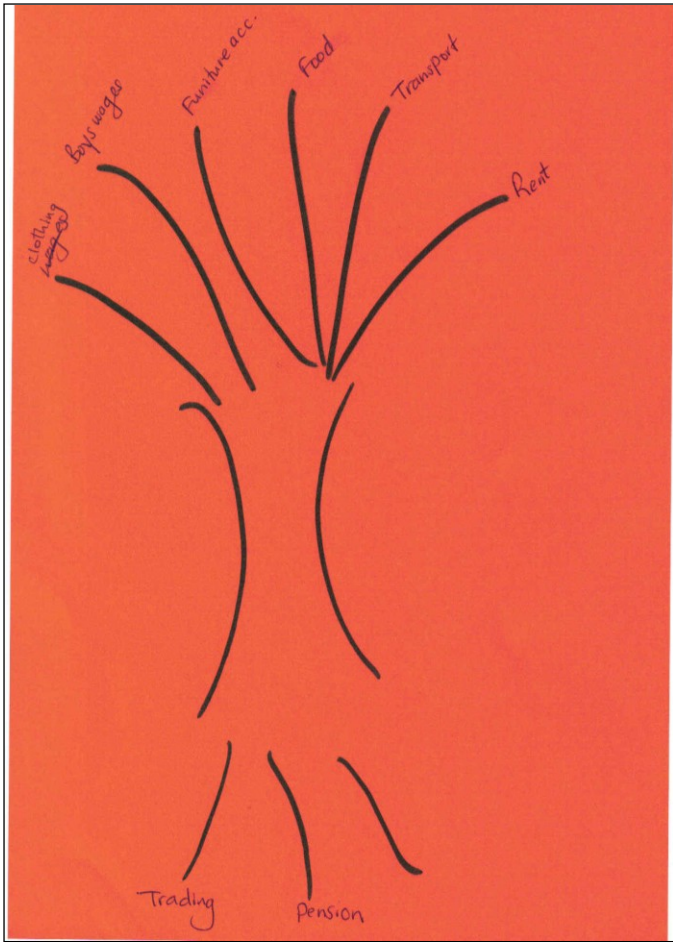
In the past 30 days, if there have been times when you did not have enough food or money to buy food, how often has your household had to:	All the time, everyday	Very often, 3-6 days	Once in a while 1-2 days	Hardly at all <1 day a week	Never	Raw score	Severity weight	Final score
Relative frequency score	7	4.5	1.5	0.5	0			
Rely on less preferred/expensive food					✓	0	2	0
Borrow food, or money to buy food from a relative/friend to buy food				✓		0.5	2	1
Buy food on credit					✓	0	3	0
Use money reserved from for the business to buy food			✓			1.5	2	3
Eat goods bought for the business because there is no money to buy other food					✓	0	2	0
Send household members to eat elsewhere					✓	0	3	0
Send household members to live with relatives					✓	0	3	0
Eat smaller portions					✓	0	3	0
Feed working members at the expense of non-working members					✓	0	3	0
Ration the money and buy prepared food		✓				4.5	2	9
Eat less than 3 meals a day					✓	0	3	0
Skip entire days without eating					✓	0	3	0
Send household members to beg					✓	0	3	0
Let small children eat rather than adults					✓	0	3	0
Rely on food parcels from an organisation					✓	0	3	0
Rely on monetary donations to buy food for family or yourself					✓	0	3	0
Rely on food given to you by family or friends			✓			1.5	3	4.5
Total household CSI score								17.5



Q.3 Hussein and his helper at his trading site on the edge of the pavement



Q.4 Hussein playing the mancala game



Q.5 The resource tree

APPENDIX R

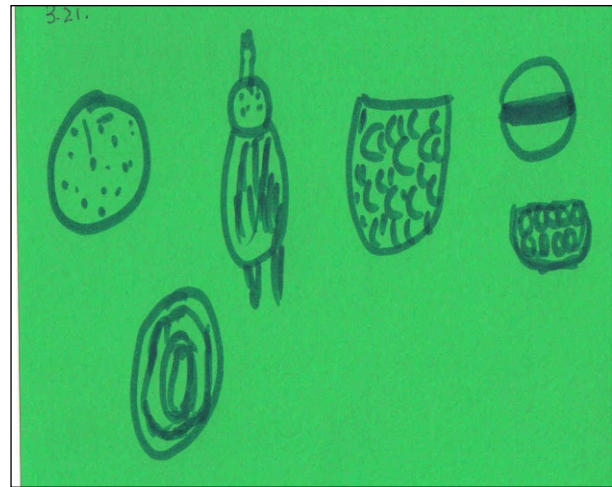
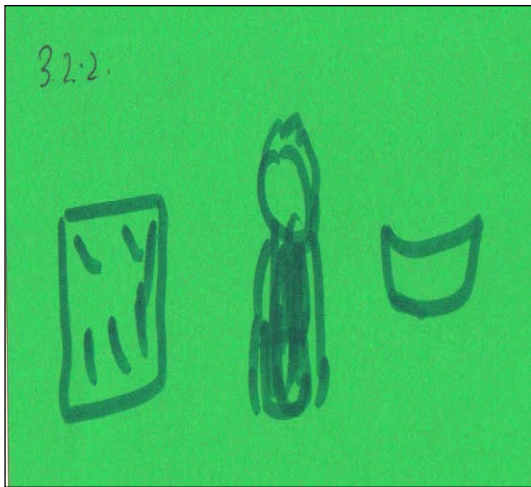
PHOTOGRAPHS AND DRAWINGS OF VANITHA GOVENDER



R.1 Household resource map



R.2 Conceptual map of sources of food and threats to food security



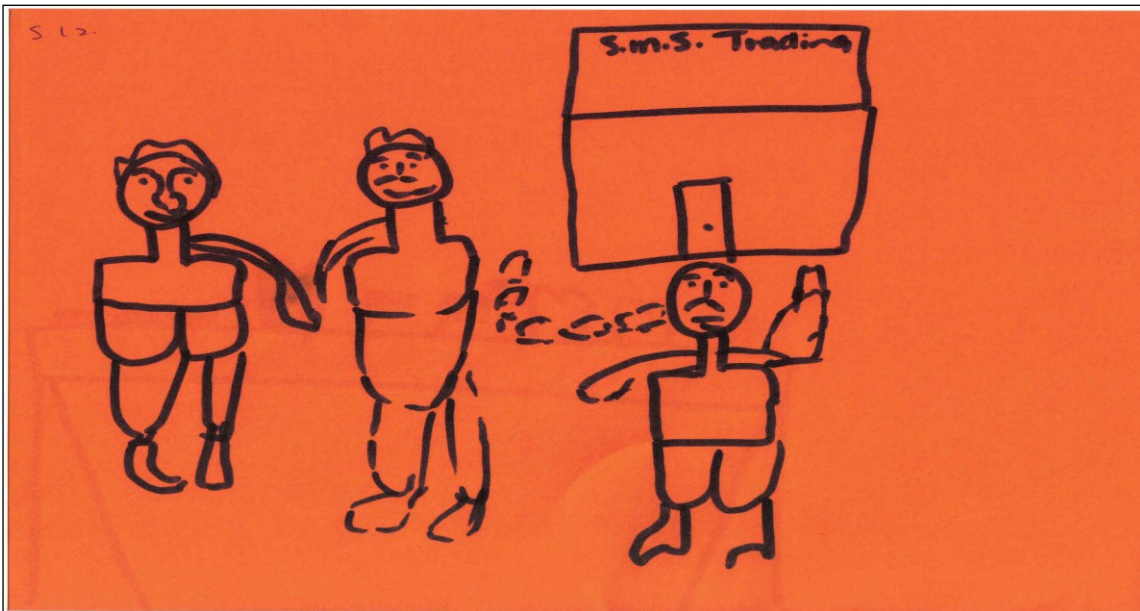
R.3 Frequently eaten food in Vanitha's home (left) include mutton and potatoes while she would like to eat more meat and chicken (right)

R.4 Vanitha's Coping Strategy Index

In the past 30 days, if there have been times when you did not have enough food or money to buy food, how often has your household had to:	All the time, everyday	Very often, 3-6 days	Once in a while 1-2 days	Hardly at all <1 day a week	Never	Raw score	Severity weight	Final score
Relative frequency score	7	4.5	1.5	0.5	0			
Rely on less preferred/expensive food	✓					7	2	14
Borrow food, or money to buy food from a relative/friend to buy food					✓	0	2	0
Buy food on credit					✓	0	3	0
Use money reserved from for the business to buy food	✓					7	2	14
Eat goods bought for the business because there is no money to buy other food					✓	0	2	0
Send household members to eat elsewhere					✓	0	3	0
Send household members to live with relatives		✓				4.5	3	13.5
Eat smaller portions	✓					7	3	21
Feed working members at the expense of non-working members					✓	0	3	0
Ration the money and buy prepared food					✓	0	2	0
Eat less than 3 meals a day					✓	0	3	0
Skip entire days without eating					✓	0	3	0
Send household members to beg					✓	0	3	0
Let small children eat rather than adults					✓	0	3	0
Rely on food parcels from an organisation					✓	0	3	0
Rely on monetary donations to buy food for family or yourself					✓	0	3	0
Rely on food given to you by family or friends					✓	0	3	0
Total household CSI score								62.5

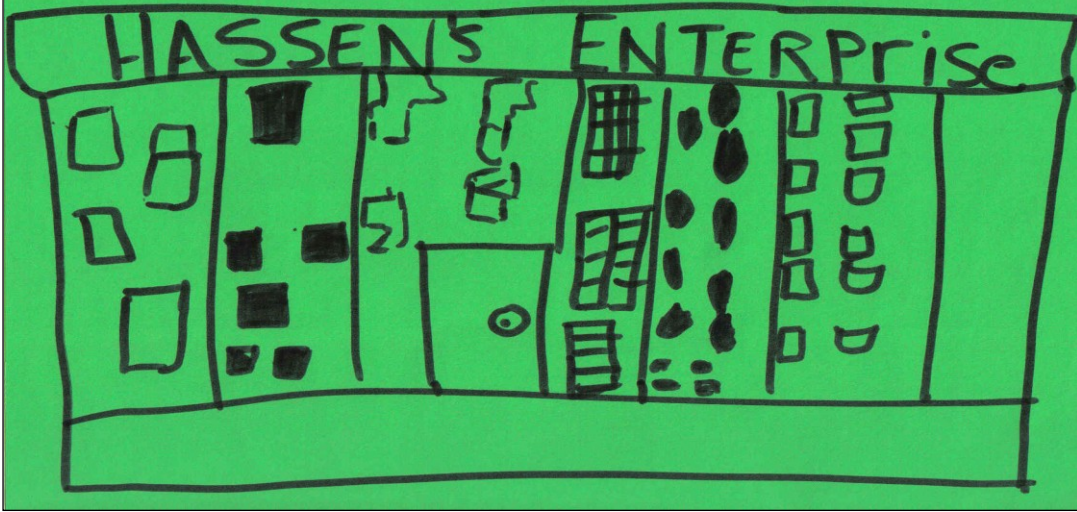


R.5 The trading site

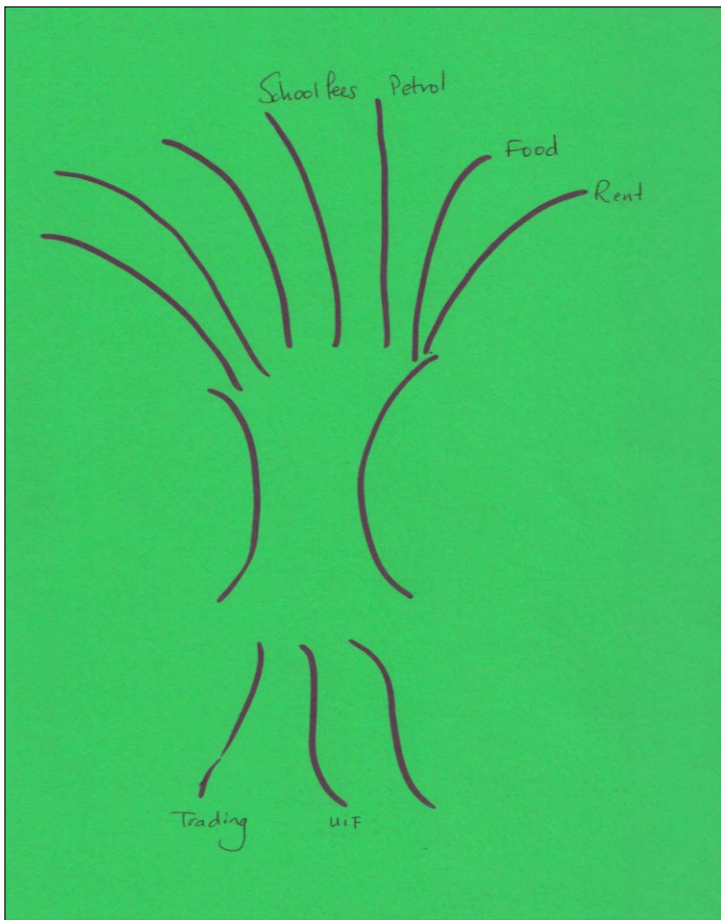


R.6 Conflict over space and customers had a negative impact on business

S.2.2



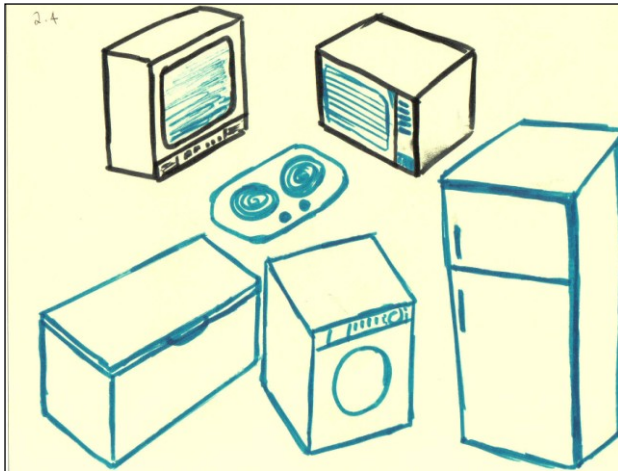
R.7 The visionary exercise: a formal shop



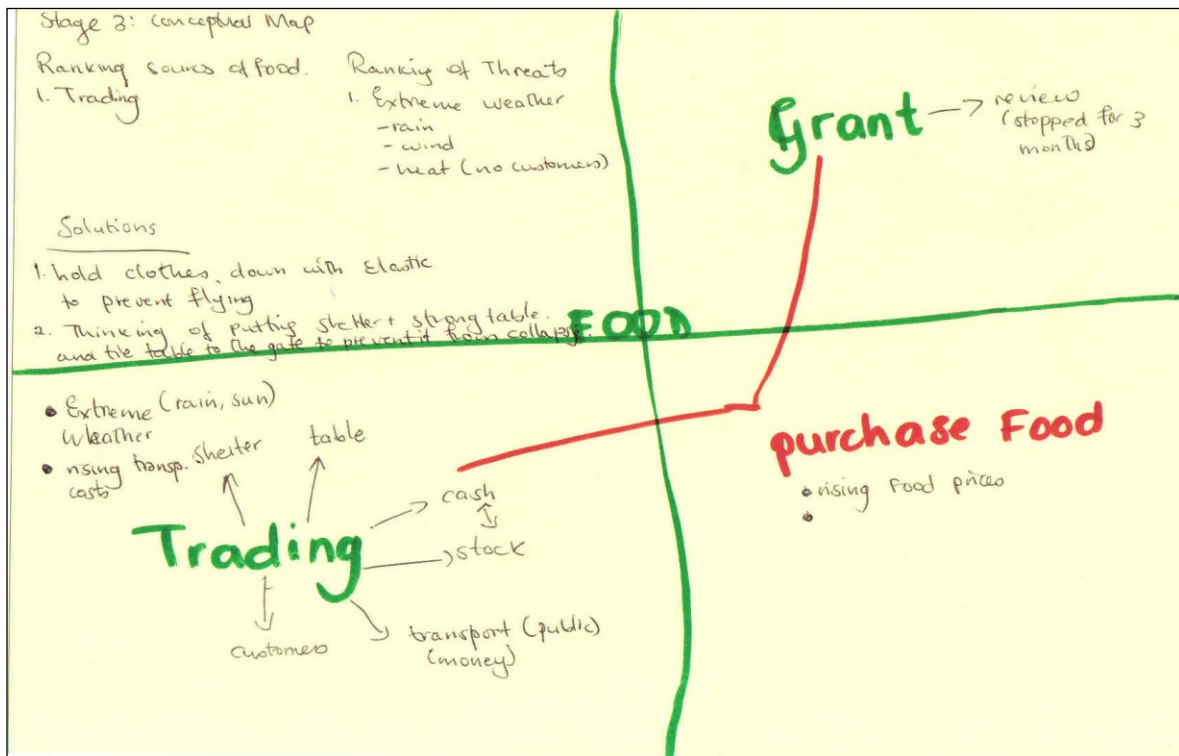
R.8 The resource tree

APPENDIX S

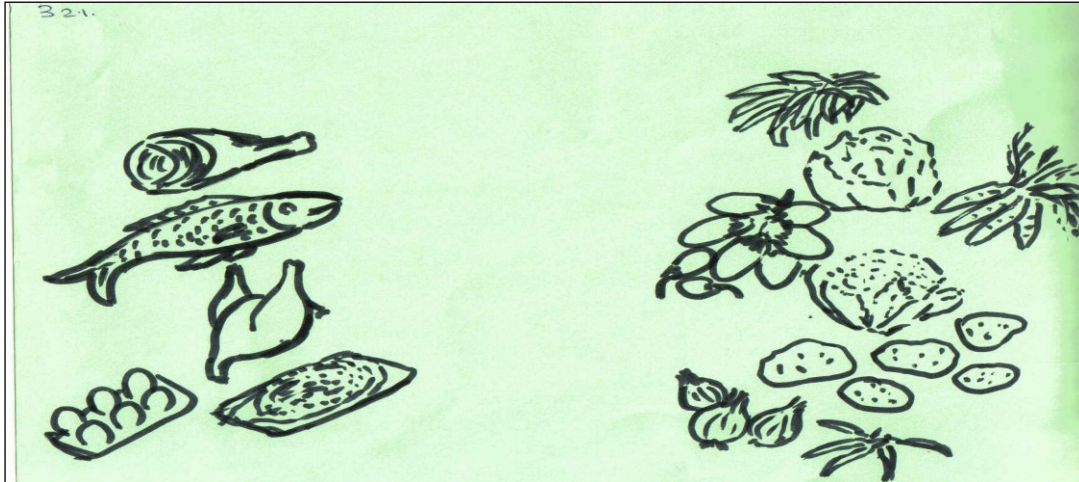
VENILLA NAIDOO



S.1 Household assets and resource map (right)



S.2 Conceptual map of sources of food and threats to food security



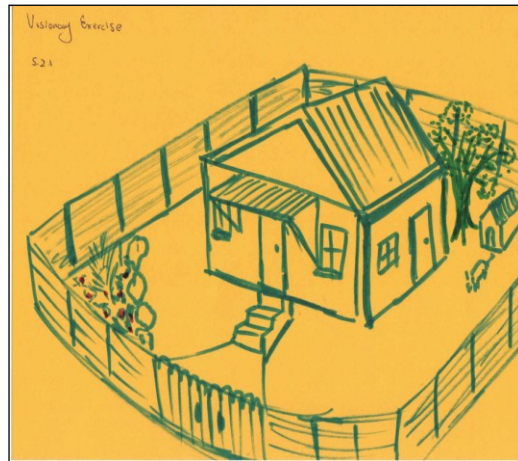
S.3 A variety of food is frequently eaten (left): fish; chicken and eggs. Seafood and a range of vegetables was preferred (right)

S.4 Venilla's Coping Strategy Index

In the past 30 days, if there have been times when you did not have enough food or money to buy food, how often has your household had to:	All the time, everyday	Very often, 3-6 days	Once in a while 1-2 days	Hardly at all <1 day a week	Never	Raw score	Severity weight	Final score
Relative frequency score	7	4.5	1.5	0.5	0			
Rely on less preferred/expensive food					✓	0	2	0
Borrow food, or money to buy food from a relative/friend to buy food				✓		0.5	2	1
Buy food on credit				✓		0.5	3	1.5
Use money reserved from for the business to buy food		✓				4.5	2	9
Eat goods bought for the business because there is no money to buy other food					✓	0	2	0
Send household members to eat elsewhere					✓	0	3	0
Send household members to live with relatives					✓	0	3	0
Eat smaller portions					✓	0	3	0
Feed working members at the expense of non-working members					✓	0	3	0
Ration the money and buy prepared food		✓				4.5	2	9
Eat less than 3 meals a day	✓					7	3	21
Skip entire days without eating					✓	0	3	0
Send household members to beg					✓	0	3	0
Let small children eat rather than adults					✓	0	3	0
Rely on food parcels from an organisation					✓	0	3	0
Rely on monetary donations to buy food for family or yourself					✓	0	3	0
Rely on food given to you by family or friends				✓		0.5	3	1.5
Total household CSI score								43



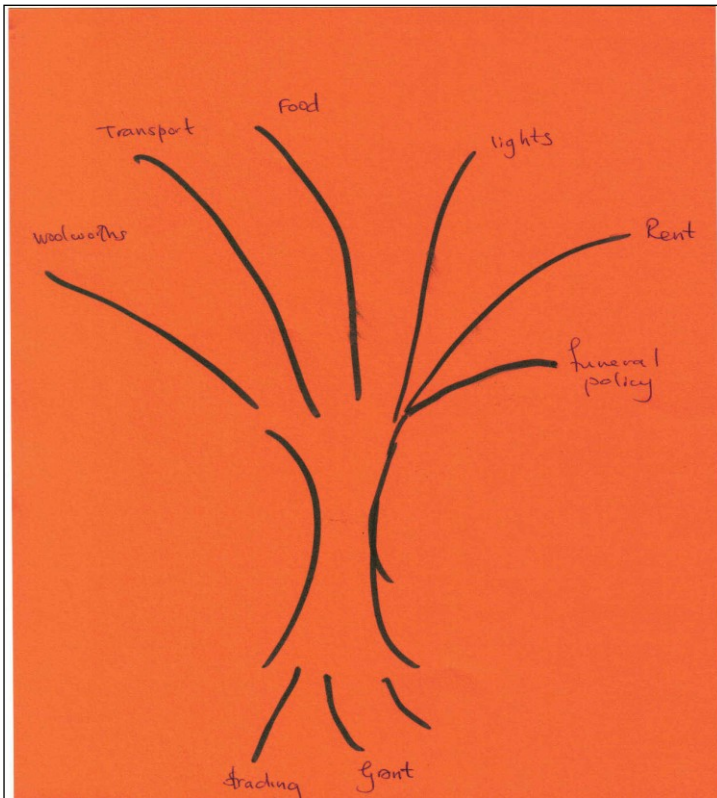
S.5 Trading site, goods hung on the gates of a grocery store



S.6 The visionary exercise: a formal shop (left) and a home with a garden (right)



S.7 Playing the mancala game



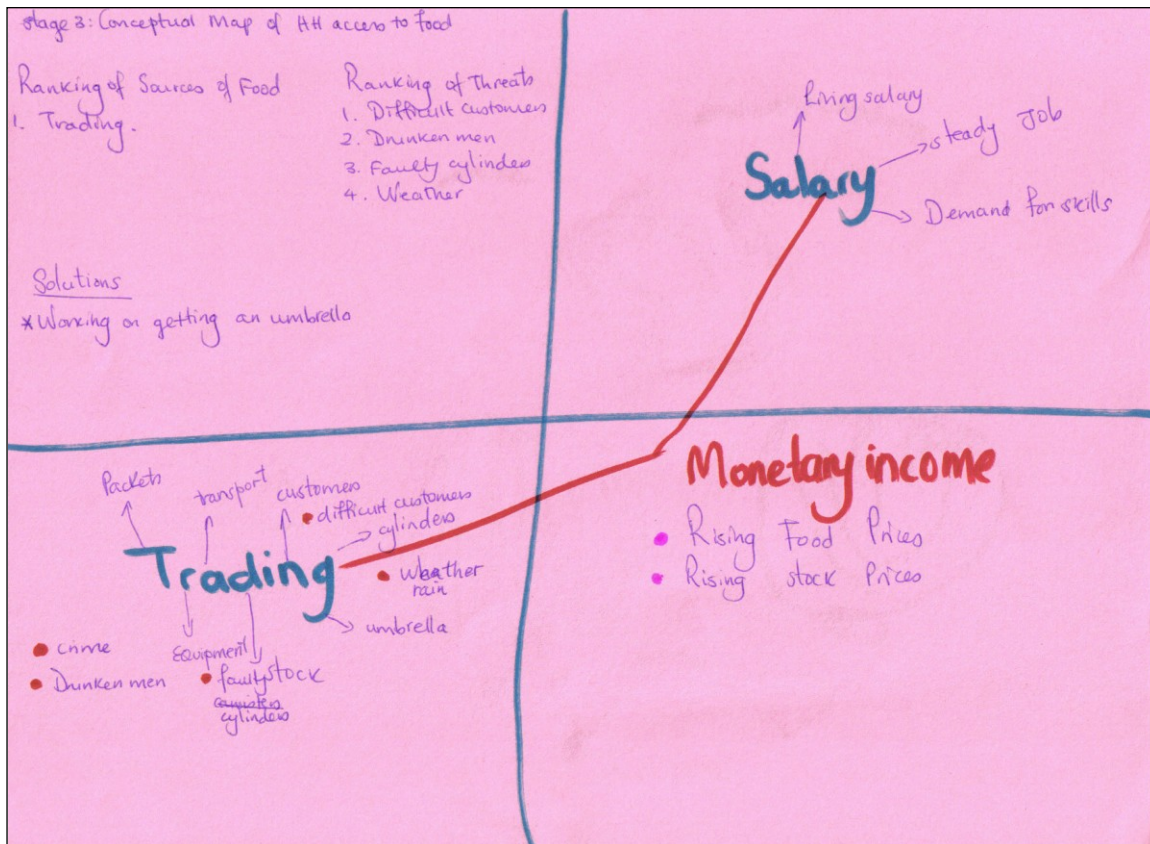
S.8 The resource tree

APPENDIX T

PHOTOGRAPHS AND DRAWINGS OF SAFOORA SULEIMAN



T.1 Household resource map



T.2 Conceptual map of sources of food and threats to food security



T.3 Cabbage and beans were consumed more frequently (above) while fish and meat were preferred (below)

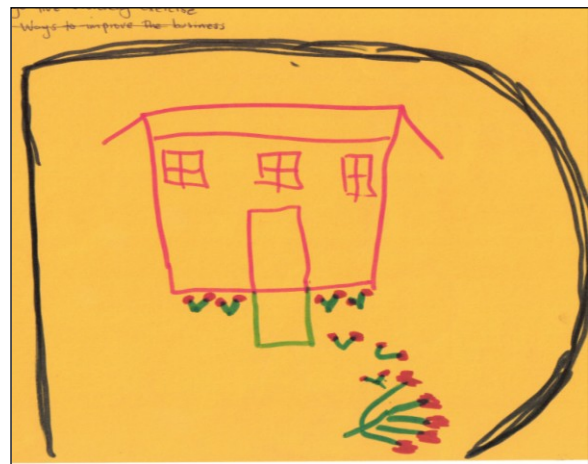


T.4 Safoora's Coping Strategy Index

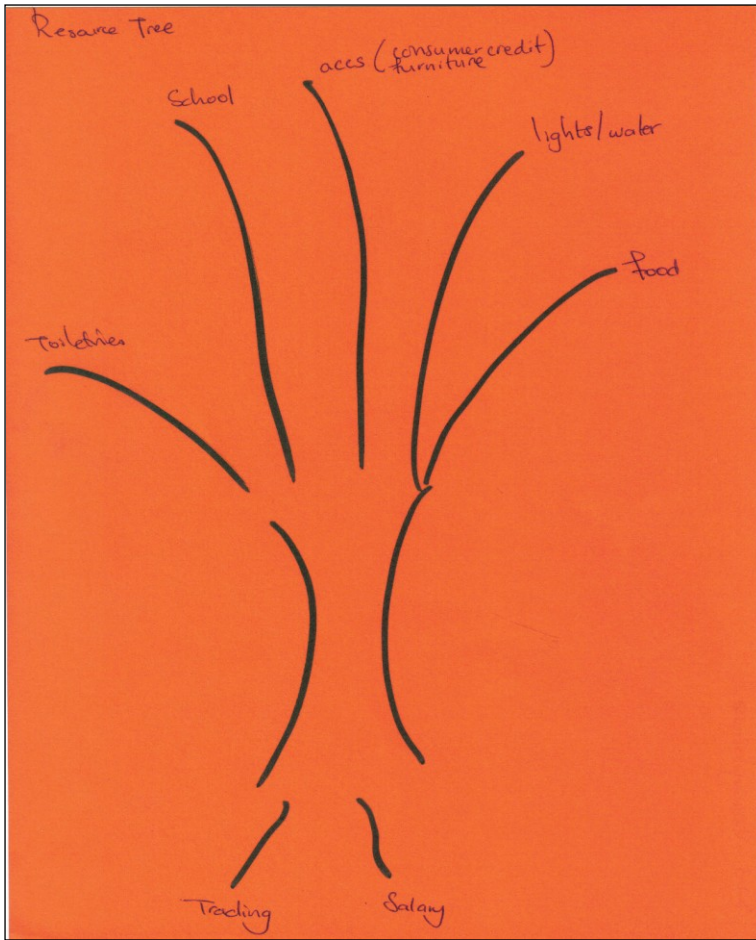
In the past 30 days, if there have been times when you did not have enough food or money to buy food, how often has your household had to:	All the time, everyday	Very often, 3-6 days	Once in a while 1-2 days	Hardly at all <1 day a week	Never	Raw score	Severity weight	Final score
Relative frequency score	7	4.5	1.5	0.5	0			
Rely on less preferred/expensive food		✓				4.5	2	9
Borrow food, or money to buy food from a relative/friend to buy food				✓		0.5	2	1
Buy food on credit		✓				4.5	3	13.5
Use money reserved from for the business to buy food	✓					7	2	14
Eat goods bought for the business because there is no money to buy other food				✓		0.5	2	1
Send household members to eat elsewhere					✓	0	3	0
Send household members to live with relatives					✓	0	3	0
Eat smaller portions					✓	0	3	0
Feed working members at the expense of non-working members					✓	0	3	0
Ration the money and buy prepared food					✓	0	2	0
Eat less than 3 meals a day					✓	0	3	0
Skip entire days without eating					✓	0	3	0
Send household members to beg					✓	0	3	0
Let small children eat rather than adults					✓	0	3	0
Rely on food parcels from an organisation				✓		0.5	3	1.5
Rely on monetary donations to buy food for family or yourself					✓	0	3	0
Rely on food given to you by family or friends					✓	0	3	0
Total household CSI score								40



T.5 Safoora and her daughter at her trading site



T.6 The visionary exercise: appropriate shelter (left) and a fence for her home (right)



T.7 The resource tree