The relationship between the informal and formal sector:

A comparative case study of the dynamics that exist between construction sites and female street food vendors in Cape Town

Research Report

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ABSTRACT

This research explores the relationship between the formal and the informal sector with specific focus on the relationships between the vendors who are located at construction sites, construction companies and their workers. The research also explores how local authorities and legislation impacts on these relationships. This is a comparative case study that is based on three medium sized construction sites and a total of five vendors. The relationship between the workers and the vendors can be described as one of mutual dependency. The relationship between the vendors and the construction companies, represented by the site managers, can be described as imbalanced with the vendor relying on the site manager for support, acceptance and development opportunities. Little initiative is taken by the site managers to leverage off the vendors’ presence in order to exploit the benefits they bring to the site. Local legislation is moving towards encouraging the formal sector to find solution that benefits both the formal and informal sector. The attitude of the local authorities is to work in a positive win-win manner with both sectors.

Key words: formal sector, informal sector, relationship, development
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GLOSSARY OF TERMS

**Shop Boy (also Tea Boy):** An informal system on construction sites, where a normal construction worker is designated to take orders and collect money from the other workers in the morning, go to the local shop to purchase tea snacks and/or lunch and deliver the food to the site for the workers.

**SMME:** Small, medium and micro enterprises.

**Spaza Shop:** An informal convenience shop normally located in a township, selling normal household goods. Their existence is due to formal stores being difficult to access or too expensive” (Bisseker, 2006).

**Tea Boy:** See Shop Boy.

**Unincorporated:** An organisation that is an entity but has not been granted formal corporate status via incorporation. e.g. sole traders.
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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION
RESEARCH AREA AND PROBLEM

Given the rising concern over the lack of development of the informal sector in South African and the limited research that has been done on informal food traders in, it seems imperative that South Africa develops a better understanding on this sector of the economy, what role it plays and how it can be leveraged for the future development of South Africa. “Society has become more and more aware of the importance of studying it” (Gerxhani, 2004, p. 268).

This research aims to contribute to the growing concerns and the body of knowledge of the relationship between the formal and informal sectors in South Africa as “the informal sector is conceivably the most dynamic aspect of the urban development process in sub-Saharan Africa” (Acho-Chi, 2002, p. 133)

South Africa has a number of growth challenges which are “exceedingly complex, multidimensional, and deep-rooted, and are to a large extent shaped by the legacy and social structures of apartheid” (The World Bank, 2012, par. 5). The country still faces high levels of sustaining inequality as well as high rates of open unemployment and relatively limited informal employment (Heintz & Posel, 2008; The World Bank, 2012). It is also due to South Africa’s political history which focused on the development of the white minority urban population to the exclusion of the much larger black population which denied them the opportunity to make an acceptable living and the freedom of movement (Lund, 1998). In addition, there is a “mismatch of skills between what the township populations can offer and formal sector requirements” (The World Bank, 2012, par. 6).

The existence of food vendors located at construction sites are part of the informal sector. Informal enterprises are unincorporated, lacking formal registration, small (employ less than five or less than ten people) and lacking in formal accounts and taxes (Skinner, 2008, Sparks & Barnett, 2010). Due to the large amount of labourers who operate work on a construction site and who earn close to minimum wage, sometimes in locations where food is not easily accessible, informal food vendors have identified a gap in the market where they can serve a captured market for fixed period of time while the construction is underway. Despite the dirty and temporary working environment, a construction site is a formal place of work whereas the food vendors are informal entrepreneurs. These vendors find a gap wherever there is a construction site that is located at a distance away from an appropriate source of food and snacks. The type of interaction is opportunistic on the part of the vendor. This phenomenon
can be observed in the major cities in South Africa, such as Johannesburg and Cape Town. The vendors who are located at construction sites in Cape Town are the focus of this paper.

The relevance of this topic is made clear in Potts’ (2008) paper on the urban informal sector in Sub-Saharan Africa, where she discusses the concept of dualism that exists in developing countries between the formal and informal sectors. The formal sector is capitalist, modern, “dynamic [and] progressive” (Potts, 2008, p.152). Potts (2008) contrasts this with the other sector describing it as “‘subsistence’, or ‘peasant’…marginal [and] characterised by pre-capitalist modes of production, often depending on family labour, was unsophisticated in its operations and production patterns, used low technology and had low levels of productivity” (p.152).

The interest in these informal vendors stems from the close juxtaposing of the formal and informal sector in South Africa. The contrast between these two sectors is glaring and obvious. Potts (2008) suggests that an element of dependency could exist in these kinds of relationships. What is the attitude of the formal sector towards having the informal sector operating in such close proximity to their place of business?

One might expect, almost two decades into post-Apartheid South Africa and with the new economic and political regimes that characterise the country today, that the way these women operate their businesses would have changed or progressed in some form. Yet it still persists. This research is relevant as it will attempt to give some insight into why is there a disconnect between the development of the formal sector and the slow, or arguably non-development, of this part of the informal sector. The vendors’ sustained existence must mean that they are fulfilling a positive economic role and yet they appear to remain peripheral. What are the dynamics of the relationship between the construction site and the vendors, two entities with such different characteristics?
Primary research question:

What characterises the way the informal and formal economies in Cape Town engage and interact with each other?

This question looks at the relationship between two distinct and very different types of business sectors in South Africa. It aims to establish what interactions take place, what determines the natures of those interactions, what agreements are constructed (tacit or explicit) and whether the two sectors benefit from the other’s existence.

Sub-research questions:

What are the dynamics of the relationship between the construction company and the female vendors?

What characterises the relationship between the construction workers and the vendors?

What influence do local authorities have on the dynamics between the vendor and the construction site?

The sub-research questions focus on a single phenomenon where the formal and the informal sector meet, the construction site. They look at three specific groups of stakeholders and the relationships and influences that exist in that environment. The aim is to understand how the vendors operate and describe the kind of environment these vendors operate in. From this place of understanding, the researcher examines what drives the interactions and behaviours of the vendors as well as how their interactions with the formal sector (the construction company and their workers) impact on the success and growth of their business. The interactions that will be focused on are with the construction company and, separately, with the employees of the company. Lastly, the researcher explores the influence of legislation on the relationships of stakeholders under study.

In terms of scope, the study is restricted to vendors who position themselves specifically at building sites. These vendors are either located directly outside the site or within its boundaries. Their clientele are primarily builders.
The scope of this research is limited geographically to the Cape Town region due to time and resource constraints. The research focuses on only a select number of vendors in order to study them in depth.

There are geographical constraints related to this research topic that affect the outcomes of the research. For example, due to the cultural differences that exist across South Africa, the results that surface in Cape Town may not necessarily be replicable in other large metropolises such as Johannesburg, Durban or Bloemfontein. For further research, it would be interesting to examine the differences between these metropolises.

RESEARCH ASSUMPTIONS

There are a number of research assumptions that have been taken into account while completing this research report. They can be divided into three broad categories: research topic assumptions, research approach assumptions and research result assumptions.

The topic itself makes the assumption that this is an important field of study and that there is more research that one can do on this topic. Specifically, the topic assumes that this research and the outcomes will be of broader interest as it will add to the field of knowledge about the informal sector in South Africa and its interplay with the formal sector. It will also create new knowledge about the interactions that take place between construction sites and female food vendors. To the researcher’s knowledge, no explicit and focused research has been done on this specific part of the informal sector.

In terms of research methodology, the researcher assumed that the interactions with the various stakeholders will elicit results that are worth further exploration. This means that the data gathered will be found worthy of including in a research report and may stimulate further research on the subject. A substantial list of further research topics has been generated as a result of the research process undertaken. In addition, due to the constraints of this research report, the researcher has not been able to explore all the intricacies and dynamics that have been uncovered during the research. It is evident that the research has elicited results that are worth further exploration.

The researcher assumed that the majority of food vendors at building sites are female and that they would be easily found in the Cape Town region. All the vendors sourced were females.
Vendors were fairly easily found once the researcher exposed herself to a number of sites and learnt about the type of sites at which vendors are located.

The researcher correctly assumed that the vendors would all be black people as they are the demographic group that dominates the poorest sector in South Africa. The researcher did not assume that all the vendors would be South African, yet all the vendors that were studied were locals.

The researcher also assumed that the main stakeholders would be willing to engage with the researcher and share their stories and business insights. The researcher assumed that the vendors would trust the researcher and her research goal and therefore provide information that was accurate to their environment and experiences. In all cases, the researcher found that this was so and has no reason to think otherwise. The researcher assumed that she would be able to engage sufficiently with the construction workers in order to elicit adequate content about their interactions with and perceptions of the female street food vendor. Unfortunately, the researcher believes that language barriers prevented her from discovering the more subtle dynamics that exist on site. The researcher relied on observations and interpretations from the vendor for information as well as interviews with the few workers who could speak English and who were willing to engage with the researcher.

Further research has been proposed that explores how different and additional information could be gathered while conducting the same research.
RESEARCH ETHICS

As described in the research approach, this study relies on human interaction (interviews, informal focus groups and ethnography) as the primary source of information. In this regard, therefore, a strict level of ethical conduct was established upfront and maintained throughout the research process.

The researcher made every attempt to protect the identities of researched subjects. The locations of the construction sites have been omitted, photos have been edited and the names of the individuals who took part in this study have been changed in order to protect their identities.

The researcher has made every effort not to alter the setting in which the research took place or manipulate the study or findings. Special effort has been put in to accurately portray the complexity of the environment that was under study. The researcher has attempted to remove judgement and prejudice during the entire research process or acknowledge them where the researcher cannot resolve them. The research has tried to be aware of preconceived notions and mental models that may distort the outcomes or intentionally influence of the research in a particular direction.

Finally, an Ethical Clearance form was approved by the University of Cape Town’s Ethics in Research Committee and the researcher has endeavoured to follow all associated rules and guidelines.
INTRODUCTION

This literature review serves to address what is already known about the field of study, explore what concepts and theories are relevant, assess what research methods and strategies have been used in previous studies in the field or related fields and discover any gaps in the research (Bryman & Bell, 2007). The researcher proposes to achieve this by first looking at the dual market theory, including its definition, and how the theory has progressed and changed since its inception. The review will then look at the informal sector in an international context as well as in a South African context. The impact of local authorities will be discussed and finally an assessment will be provided of the research that has been done to date specifically on food vendors with a specific focus on female food vendors.

DUAL MARKET THEORY

The dual market theory emerged as a result of criticism of established economic theory (Harrison & Sum, 1979). Lewis (1967) described a dual economy as one in which “a modern capitalist sector expands relatively to a traditional subsistence sector at a real wage which remains constant over a long initial period” (p. 15). Simply put, this means that the progressive, advanced sector of society experiences development and growth in comparison to the more self-sustaining, self-reliant sector.

Andrisani (1973) believed that there was a glass ceiling between a labour market that is perceived as subordinate and a more superior sector that is enforced by law and procedures that have been practiced by government and the business sector. “Dual market theory contends that a large body of workers is involuntarily confined to substandard jobs in a secondary labour market which is separated from the main stream or “primary” sector by impenetrable boundaries imposed by institutionalised discrimination” (Andrisani, 1973, p. 3).

As described in Andrisani’s (1973) definition, early thinking on the theory only looked at primary and secondary jobs as the two main groupings. Primary jobs are well paid, have good working conditions and opportunities for promotion or higher paid positions, while secondary jobs are characterised by “low wages, bad working conditions, unstable employment, and little opportunity for advancement” (Dickens & Lang, 1985, p. 792). The theory is based on the tenets that most jobs resemble either one of these categories and that primary jobs are in almost always in short supply (Dickens & Lang, 1985).
Over twenty years later, Heintz and Posel (2008) agree with Dickens and Lang’s definition but argue that the formal and informal sectors can be described as a type of dual market. They argue that, in terms of wage inflexibility and regulatory interventions, the formal sector is structured in a manner that denies economically active people access to formal employment. Therefore, the informal sector allows the labour market to clear as there are characteristically no barriers to entry. Heintz and Posel (2008) argue that South Africa can be aptly placed within the definition of a dual market country that characterises less developed countries. However, in Ligthelm’s (2010) paper on entrepreneurship and the sustain ability of small businesses in Soweto, Johannesburg, he argues that “since the mid-1990’s…dualism has gradually faded towards integration with the modern economic system. Dual market and the level of integration between the two sectors will be the basis for the study of this proposed research paper.

Potts (2008) makes an interesting argument about the definition of a dual market economy which forms part the inspiration for this research proposal. She argues that the definition exaggerates the disconnect between the two sectors and that “merely exhibiting different characteristics [does] not mean that the two [do] not experience the same underlying economic forces. Nor [does] it mean that there [is] no relationship of dependency involved” (p. 152). This means that even if a relationship is not evident, some kind of reliance must exist, even if it is not explicit. One can therefore deduce from this that the lack of development or the decline of one of these sectors would have an impact on the other. The size of this impact would be determined by how strong or weak the bonds between the two sectors are.

The dual economy theory is relevant to the given topic as South Africa’s history is rife with institutionalised discrimination described by Andrisani (1973) and the country is still feeling its ramifications. The South African economy has experienced 3.2% Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth rate since 1993 which has been largely focused on “manufacturing, services, mining and agriculture” (Trading Economics, 2012, par. 1). South Africa has been described, in similar terms to the dual economy theory, “as a two-tiered economy; one rivalling other developed countries and the other with only the most basic infrastructure” (Trading Economics, 2012, par. 1). The street vendors at construction sites are an example of kind of dual economy that exists in South Africa. The construction companies develop buildings to a similar standard to that which is developed in First World countries whereas the vendors presence and modus operandi is akin to that of a trader in a Third World country. The
question to be asked is, would the South African GDP growth rate be higher if the bonds between the sectors were stronger, as described by Potts, and therefore encourage the speedier development of the informal sector.

THE INFORMAL SECTOR

Spring (2009) maintains that it is useful to understand the differences between the formal and informal sectors.

The formal sector is described by Potts (2008) as dynamic, capitalist, capital intensive and progressive. Rada (2010) describes the formal sector as modern and highly productive with the informal sector being subsistence based and with low productivity.

Although, a common and universal definition of the informal sector does not exist, the term has been around since the 1970’s (Spring, 2009). Potts (2008) argues that the informal sector is the marginal sector that uses “pre-capitalist modes of production” (p. 152), is unsophisticated and has low levels of technology and production.

Informal enterprises, specifically, can be defined as unincorporated, lacking formal registration, small (employs less than five or less than ten people) and lacking in formal accounts and taxes (Skinner, 2008; Sparks & Barnett, 2010).

Informal employment, specifically, can be described as any role that “lacks a set of social protections and/or enforceable employment contracts” (Heintz & Posel, 2008, p. 27). Spring (2009) cites service and production organisations and street vendor sales as examples of business activities that can form part of the informal sector. Maiti and Marjit (2008) describe informal employment slightly differently as “the non-criminal production of goods and services that utilizes unorganized workers at a market-determined wage with no restrictions on profitable retrenchment” (p. 453). The primary goal of the informal sector is to create employment and generate incomes (Sparks & Barnett, 2010). Rural dwellers who seek self-employment, newly urbanised people, unemployed or retrenched people, housewives seeking additional income, immigrants and first time entrepreneurs are all attracted to the informal sector (Iheduru, 1998).

The informal sector is a common characteristic in less developed countries (LDC’s). Maiti and Marjit (2008) suggest that 70%-80% of the developing countries’ populations may be engaged in informal employment. In Africa, the informal sector makes up an average of 44%
of the Gross National Product (Gerxhani, 2004). Research indicates that it is the main sector of employment and the numbers of people who are employed in this sector is increasing (Potts, 2008; Acho-Chi, 2002; Lyons & Snoxell, 2005). This is due to rapid population growth. Africa, as a whole, continues to experience rapid urbanisation (Lewis, 1967; Fonchingong, 2005). Tostensen, Tvedten and Vaa (2001) contend that “cities and towns are growing faster than anywhere else [but] large scale urbanisation is a fairly recent phenomenon” (p. 8). Unfortunately, it has occurred without the substantial growth in formal sector manufacturing positions that was typical of First World countries urban population growth which meant that the formal sector was not able to cope with the population influx from rural areas (Potts, 2008; Sparks & Barnett, 2010; Daniels, 1998). This has resulted in a larger than expected informal sector. Fonchingong (2005) also suggests that an increase in urban poverty as well as cash dependent urban lifestyles have helped to increase the numbers. On the other hand, Tostensen et al (2001) argue that it may also be due to national governments’ lack of effort to develop urban development policies.

CHALLENGES FACING THE INFORMAL SECTOR

The informal sector and those who operate in it face a number of challenges. In South Africa, in particular, the urban informal sector is “new and relatively undeveloped” (Potts, 2008, p. 154). This statement is supported by Heintz and Posel (2008) who maintain that South Africa’s labour market is different from its Sub-Saharan counter-parts as it has high rates of unemployment and lower levels of informal employment. Other countries including those in Asia and Latin America experience higher levels of informal employment although they have similar per capita income rates (Heintz & Posel, 2008). Heintz and Posel (2008) grapple with the question of why the South African labour landscape is characteristically so different. “If there are no barriers to entry into informal employment, why is open employment so high and employment in the informal sector so low?” (Heintz & Posel, 2008, pp. 28-29). 98% or 2 million small businesses make up the total number of businesses in South African and yet 87% of them are survivalist and operate outside the formal economy (Le Roux, 2006).

In South Africa, the urban influx described in the previous section, has been exacerbated by the high degree of landlessness among rural people (Lund, 1998). Skinner (2008) contends that the number of people who are engaged in informal sector activities has increased since
the end of Apartheid. She argues that a significant proportion of these people are street traders (Skinner, 2008). In addition, South African locals face the challenge of an increasing number of immigrants from other African countries who are also engaged in informal sector activities (Skinner, 2008). Ngiba, Dickinson, Whittaker and Beswick (2009) found that among fruit traders in Nataspruit Market, Ekurhuleni, the rivalry among the traders and the threat of new entrants were both high. Competition is intense due to low product differentiation.

Another challenge faced by individuals in the informal sector is that upward movement within the informal sector is limited due to low education levels, and lack of access to capital and business networks (Spring, 2009; Brand, du Preez, & Schutte, 2007). Micro-entrepreneurs in the informal sector tend to only have some primary school education (Lund, 1998; Spring, 2009; Hansen, 2004). 10% of Johannesburg street traders have no education at all (Lund, 1998). They also rarely have any formal sector work experience (Spring, 2009).

Ngiba et al (2009) discovered that transportation of stock is an enormous challenge faced by traders, especially when their place of work is not close to their homes.

Other more characteristic challenges faced by individuals in this sector include “competitive market conditions (such as lack of customers, the increasing number of competitors as immigrants flood into the country, and rising cost of inputs and supplies), and inadequate premises from which to operate their businesses” (Iheduru, 1998, p. 81). Brand et al (2007) agree with Iheduru and add that electricity, telephones, water and sanitation as general services are also difficult to access.

To exacerbate this situation, Sparks and Barnett (2010) reason that sub-Saharan Africa ranks highest in the world for the number of requirements to establish a new business. This means that the barriers for upward movement or return to the formal sector are made all the more difficult in addition to the previously mentioned factors.

RELATIONSHIP WITH THE FORMAL SECTOR

The relationship between the formal and the informal sector is multifaceted and varied. The literature on the relationship between the informal and formal sectors recognises that many complicated associations exist between the two (Mlinga & Wells, 2002). Ngiba et al (2009) argue that “regardless of the sector, the formal economy would, in general, enjoy a dominant relationship with the informal sector.”
power relationship over the informal economy” (p. 465). Sparks and Barnett (2010) argue that there should no longer be a debate elevates the formal sector over the informal. Rather, society needs to focus on how the relationship between the two can be leveraged. Rada (2010) reasons that the bonds between the formal and informal sectors can be strong in some economies and weak in others. There must be various market characteristics that determine how these two sectors behave towards, interact with and respond to each other. Maiti and Marjit (2008) note that it is “interesting to see how the prospects of profitable trading opportunities alter the organizational relationship between the formal and the informal sectors within an economy” (p. 455). This would be an example of a way to strengthen the ties and linkages between the two sectors.

On the other hand, Mlinga and Wells (2002) describe the connection between the two sectors in a different way: as “backward” and “forward” connections (p. 272). “Backward linkages from the informal sector involve trading of goods produced in the formal sector by the informal sector, so that the informal traders act as a link between formal producers and customers. Forward linkages from the informal sector involve the production of goods and services in the informal sector for use in the formal sector” (p. 272). The vendors at construction sites operate as backward connections. Apart from home cooked food, they trade in goods bought from stores which they sell to their customers who are primarily construction workers.

Mlinga and Wells (2002) argue that “since it is the informal sector which operates outside the legal system, this will actually reflect how the informal sector is accepted by the formal sector” (p. 272). For example, formal traders in Kenya believe that informal traders “hinder the efficient operation of cities and prevent progress engendering growing congestion, accelerating land use change and straining infrastructure and services” (Lyons & Snoxell, 2005). The formal sector, in this case, is negatively affected by the presence of informal traders.

The performance of the formal sector influences the informal sector. “Pressure in the formal economy (e.g. slow growth, high inflation, legislation, or low foreign investment) can lead to an increase in unemployment figures, which in turn increases the number of survivalist SMMEs” (Brand, du Preez, & Schutte, 2007, p. 191). This is why Brand et al (2007) have sought a solution that supports micro-businesses to eliminate early risks and address some of the challenges mentioned in the previous section, thereby helping them to form part of the
formal economy. “The suggested business framework is aimed at fulfilling this role by integrating informal SMMEs with formal economic activities” (Brand et al, 2007, p. 191). Their hypothesis states: “SMMEs in the second economy struggle to survive, but when affiliated to a legal business entity (based on the concept of the business framework), they have the opportunity to grow in a sustainable manner and contribute to the formal economy” (Brand et al, 2007, p. 191).

Spring (2009) makes an interesting observation about the movement between the formal and informal sectors when she notes that movement from the formal back to the informal sector occurs when businesses fail or workers are retrenched. This observation is particularly relevant in the harsh global economic climate that South Africa is currently dealing with.

LOCAL AUTHORITIES’ IMPACT ON THE INFORMAL SECTOR

As street vendors’ businesses are reliant on access to public spaces, it is access to this public space that makes their presence contentious (Skinner, 2008). They are the most visible aspect of the informal sector (Lund, 1998). Therefore, their perceived backward existence creates tension in countries that are undergoing rapid modernisation (Skinner, 2008). Urban authorities have historically not supported the concept of the informal sector as it is unplanned and ignores regulation (Potts, 2008; Skinner, 2008). The informal sector has a negative reputation and many operators in this sector are presumed to be conducting or supporting illegal activities (Potts, 2008). Thus, traditionally, informal trading has been discouraged and traders have often been subject to forced removals from their chosen business location (Potts, 2008).

Zambia has a history of unsuccessful street vending policies and has experienced many highly publicised confrontations between the vendors and local authorities (Hansen, 2004). The informal sector in South Africa faced similar treatment to that of Zambia. Vendors were historically openly harassed and forced to move their trading location more than once an hour (Lund, 1998). Interestingly, the forced removal of street traders in Lusaka, Zambia, did not prevent the vendor’s return to their previous location and showed that these traders ignored whatever legislation was in place (Hansen, 2004). The relationship between the authorities degraded to such a point that even when the government developed a market specifically for the vendors, it was shunned and largely unused (Hansen, 2004).
Sparks and Barnett (2010) argue that governments need to recognise the importance of the informal sector and make an effort to encourage its progress and find ways for the formal sector to create opportunities for the informal sector as well as reduce the previously mentioned barriers that restrain mobility from the informal to the formal sector. Recently, some governments have, in fact, changed their stance and have started providing sites and services to the informal sector, like providing business registration opportunities (Spring, 2009). Tinker (1997) shows that municipal and national governments have changed their policies due to the social, cultural and economic benefits created by this sector. For example, some local authorities are taking more positive actions to support the vendors by providing education about food hygiene and health (Tinker, 1997). Unfortunately, Daniels (1998) believes that despite these good intentions the number that can be helped is limited in comparison to the numbers in existence.

The Zambian experience, as described by Hansen (2004), shows just how difficult it can be to be supportive of the informal sector. Hansen (2004) argues that one of the errors the government made, in this case, was to employ an inflexible and homogenised approach to dealing with the traders and not making an effort to differentiate between the different kinds of traders and their activities. Based on Horn’s (1998) paper on micro-entrepreneurs in Zimbabwe, it is likely that she would suggest that it is the fault of both the government and the vendors. She would argue that vendors should also play an active role in addressing the challenges they face. Zambia’s failure to implement appropriate policies to bridge the gap between the formal and informal sector shows how a government’s approach can widen the gap and cause even further neglect of the informal sector (Himbara, 1998).

The reasons for governments’ general attitude change could be attributed to an increased understanding of the informal sector and acknowledgement of its positive characteristics. Himbara (1998) provides the following list of positive characteristics: requires a small initial capital requirement, uses private savings, conducts own skills training without use of government funds, acts as a training ground for entrepreneurs, and lastly, fulfils key functions such as providing basic consumer goods and services for everyday life. These characteristics may have provided some kind of incentive for government to invest time and effort in the development of the sector.

In South Africa, the Amended Business Act gave local authorities a lot more independence and decision making power over how they managed street trading (Skinner, 2008). Local
authorities could set up their own by-laws to manage street traders (Lund, 1998). In Durban, for example, by the end of 2007, the local policy suggested “building the capacity of existing organisations by developing a support service that helps traders by advising them how to become more democratically constituted and offering practical help such as providing venues for meetings” (Skinner, 2008, p. 237).

With respect to the location of street vendors in Cape Town, the by-laws state:

No person, excluding a peace officer or any other official or person acting in terms of the law, shall when in a public place intentionally block or interfere with the safe or free passage of a pedestrian or motor vehicle. (City of Cape Town, 2007, p. 1352)

This law ensures that the location of the vendors is restricted to areas that are off side-walks. It is particularly relevant to street vendors who are typically located in public areas such as sidewalks, open ground, parking lots, intersections, taxi ranks. This law means that they are restricted as to where they can locate their mobile business.

The below quote is an example taken from the City of Cape Town by-law that describes restrictions placed on informal vending in public areas. This law shows an attempt to impose formal laws around an informal economy.

The City may, after consideration and consultation and implementing the necessary enabling licensing system, designate public places, public roads or road intersections where no person shall, display or offer for sale any goods or produce except as may be prescribed by the City, provided this will not apply to the selling of newspapers at intersections or to the sale of goods by non-governmental organisations or developmental organisations which may apply for exemption for all their traders. (b) Notwithstanding paragraph (a), the City may issue licenses for the sale of goods and produce and in so doing; the City may limit the number of permits for an area and stipulate such conditions as it may from time to time prescribe. (City of Cape Town, 2007, p. 1354)

What seems to be missing from the local by-laws is any kind of interventions that support the vendors. Acho-Chi (2002) argues that local authorities need to clearly define who these traders are and develop interventions that will “promote self-reliance of poor urban communities” (p. 134). In addition, Lund (1998) maintains that existing laws that are
supposed to target micro-enterprises lack focus on street vendors. For example, the National Small Business Act (1996) makes no mention of, or provision for, street vending despite the apparent focus on medium, small, very small and micro- businesses.

STREET FOOD VENDORS

Street vending is the most common form of informal sector employment (Sparks & Barnett, 2010). In particular, mobile street food vendors play an important role in the informal urban economy. Acho-Chi (2002) discusses that mobile vendors act “as a food energy-support instrument to the urban poor and local economic activities” (p. 131) by providing “inexpensive, varied and nutritious food” (p. 133).

In Acho-Chi’s (2002) study done on mobile vendors in Kumba, Cameroon, he describes the characteristics of a mobile food vendor:

“It is a home-based enterprise carried out in makeshift structures or stalls along the street by isolated, self-reliant individuals who meet the nutritional needs of the urban poor. Food preparation and service occur at different sites, with the home-prepared foods transported to meet clients at, often unauthorised, locations within the urban area that constitutes the spatial market” (p. 132).

Iheduru (1998) names two types of participants in the informal sector: survival or fall back, and planned and contemplated. Brand et al (2007) define a survivalist as “a category of SMMEs whose owners started a business because they could not keep or acquire employment in the wage economy” (p. 191). Lund (1998) agrees with this definition by stating that “most people – men and women – are pushed into the informal economy in South Africa through need rather than by choice” (p. 29). Ligthelm (2010) describes it as “business formation aimed at survival or escaping from a situation of unemployment and poverty” (p. 137). Lund (1998) describes street-based traders as survivalists who differentiate themselves in the informal sector from the likes of vendors selling luxury goods in a flea market.

One can deduce from Acho-Chi’s definition that a huge determining factor of mobile street food vendors’ business success is the location from which they decide to run their business (Acho-Chi, 2002). Location decisions are based on potential customer’s decision to bring their business to the closest shop (Acho-Chi, 2002). The cost of transportation to the chosen
location of the food that will be sold has an impact on the range of food that can be sold by
the vendor (Acho-Chi, 2002).

Robson (2001) agrees that a vendor’s success is their ability to develop and utilise networks
especially in the sourcing of goods and finding vending locations. In Lyons and Snoxell’s
(2005) paper on informal traders in Nairobi, they discovered that traders “deliberately create
and adapt their networks, opportunistically building relationships of trust in the marketplace
which enable them to survive” (p. 1077).

The location and movement specific definition provided by Hiemstra, van der Kooy and
Frese (2006) does not explicitly allow street food vendors who locate themselves at
construction sites into their definition. They describe vendors who operate from a single
strategy location, such as popular markets and intersections, as stationary businesses
(Hiemstra et al, 2006). Vendors who prepare and sell their food from their own home are
residential. Lastly, vendors who prepare food at home and sell it in the city by moving around
on bike or on foot are ambulatory vendors. The vendors that the researcher proposes to study
could be considered stationary businesses but due to the temporary nature of the building site,
they could also possess some ambulatory characteristics. These food vendors could be
considered to be temporary stationary as they possess an element of mobility.

Tinker (1997) reasons that cultural attitudes affect what food is sold, who it is sold to and
when it is sold. Lund (1998) claims that only 3% of vendors sell food that they produce
themselves. Products made in the informal sector are sometimes cheaper than those that are
produced in the formal sector (Potts, 2008). Often, more expensive items are divided up and
sold individually so that poor people can afford them (Potts, 2008). For example, a single
cigarette will be sold to a customer or a quarter or half a loaf of bread. Lund (1998) referred
to a study done in Johannesburg CBD that discovered that the most common good sold at the
time was food followed by fruit and vegetables, and then clothing. Acho-Chi (2002) states
customers make their food selections based on “transport costs, food prices, quality and
quantity of food and credit incentives influence” (p. 147). Potts (2008) also reasons that
informal vendors bring items from formal retailers to areas where the formal sector does not
operate. “Traders of any size who buy from the rural areas and sell in towns and urban areas
often provide linkages in terms of moving agricultural and craft products toward the city…”
(Spring, 2009, p. 19). The female food vendors at construction sites, which the researcher
proposes to study, do just this. The researcher believes that they bring cheaper food from
informal areas to formal areas so that workers can eat affordable food that is preferable to their tastes. A part of this research will be to confirm such statements.

Skinner’s (2008) report states that in 1998, the average profit earned by these traders was R102 a week. However, the majority of the traders earned less than R60 a week. Skinner (2008) reasons that these low earnings show that there is a correlation between poverty and the street trader sector. This aligns with Lund’s (1998) research that found street traders earning well below R600. Tostensen et al (2001) suggest that poor urban dwellers may bolster their income through casual work, support from relatives or debt.

Lund (1998) says that street traders usually work long but regular hours and that their busiest times are when workers are heading home. This may be so for street vendors located at sites such as taxi ranks. However, the author would argue that this may be different for the vendors that sit at construction sites. They may also experience a busy period over lunch time. Lund (1998) also reasons that the busiest time of the year is over holiday seasons whereas this may be the slowest time of the year for the vendors under study as construction companies halt activities over that period.

Some of the problems that street vendors face include lack of shelter, lack of access to fresh water and sanitation facilities, storage, dirty work conditions and crime (Lund, 1998).

Unfortunately, very little research was done on street traders in South Africa prior to the 1990’s because it was illegal so there is little understanding of how the environment has changed over a period of more than twenty years (Skinner, 2008). In addition, informal workers such as domestic workers, people who work from home, street traders and people who rummage for reusable goods in waste are not typically included in surveys or recorded at all (Budlender, 2011). This aligns with the previous discussion around government’s attitude toward traders.

WOMEN IN STREET VENDING

Street vendors are usually single-person, independent businesses, the majority of which are run by females (Acho-Chi, 2002; Budlender, 2011; Lund, 1998; Skinner, 2008; Sparks & Barnett, 2010). Only 3% of street traders are classified as formal workers or engaged in formal employment (Budlender, 2011). This statistic relates to Lund (1998) who states that very few street traders are employed by formal trade. African women make up 60% of the
workers in the informal sector (Lund, 1998; Iheduru, 1998)). In addition, almost 90% are African and almost 60% are engaged in food vending (Skinner, 2008). Updated research shows that as many as 70% of street traders are female (Budlender, 2011). In contrast, typically, the majority of non-South African vendors are men (Skinner, 2008).

It is clear the gender plays a role the informal entrepreneurial sector (Lund, 1998). Based on the Durban research, Skinner (2008) argues that the activities that females are involved in are often the less lucrative types of business activities. In Africa, most female-owned businesses are micro and small-scale within the informal sector (Spring, 2009). These businesses have been characterised as having fewer employees and shorter longevity than male owned informal businesses (Spring, 2009).

Spring (2009) argues that there are several factors that hinder the progression of women from informal vending to a more formalised business or alternate and more lucrative employment. These include a lack of education and business skills, an inability to find profitable markets, government regulations, a lack of networks and contacts and lastly, competition and political influences (Spring, 2009). Female vendors are more likely to have no experience in the formal sector than male vendors (Lund, 1998).

Horn (1998) outlines ten tenets of female micro-entrepreneurs as found in a study done on this sector in Harare, Zimbabwe.

1) Gender affects entrepreneurship (Horn, 1998). The first tenet is a generalisation of the features which have been discussed above. Unfortunately due to the limitations of the research approach, this issue could not be explored in extensive detail and only in respect to the way it influences the relationship between the vendor and the construction site.

2) Female vendors take risks (Horn, 1998). The researcher sought to understand the level of risk the vendors take from a background perspective and if it affects the construction site dynamics.

3) Women create opportunities for themselves (Horn, 1998). The third tenet shows how women look for gaps in the market to create a business. The vendors under study show how much effort women are willing to put in to create a successful business. They have created a business and accessed a market in the formal sector that is otherwise inaccessible to the informal sector.
4) Women do not have the opportunity to apply for capital so they rely on their partners, relatives, money-lenders, and personal savings (Horn, 1998). This point speaks to the support or lack of support offered by government to encourage micro-entrepreneurship in South Africa.

5) “Entrepreneurship requires market intelligence and reliable wholesalers” (Horn, 1998, p. 140). How do the vendors find the construction site or find out about it? Who or what is their source of market information? Where do they source their stock from that they are still able to make it affordable to construction workers after preparation and transportation? These questions delve into the unknown and unseen informal networks that exist to make the informal economy function.

6) Vendors need knowledge of clientele and their preferences (Horn, 1998). Due to the limited quantity of inventory a mobile vendor can hold, they need ensure that what they are purchasing aligns closely with what their customer want to eat.

7) Women learn entrepreneurial skills from experienced traders (Horn, 1998). They adapt trading and marketing techniques to their business location (Horn, 1998). Women invent new ways to keep customers and to make profits (Horn, 1998). These three tenets address business acumen and the ability to keep a business running.

10) Women need to be free of domestic chores in order to engage in entrepreneurial activities (Horn, 1998). Due to the limitations of the research, the home life of the vendor is not a particular focus of this study but was looked at in order to understand the background of the vendor.

Horn’s (1998) ten tenets suggest that there is some level of business planning involved in order to make the business a success. On the other hand, in a study done by Hiemstra et al (2006) on urban street food vendors in Vietnam, results showed that the business owners did not do much planning. Little is known about the South African female food vendors and what determines their business success (luck, location or considered and conscious business planning).

CONCLUSION
This literature review aimed to provide some context to the area of research under discussion. It started by looking at the dual market theory which has progressed and changed since the 1960’s to relate to current economic and social dynamics.

The review then looked at the informal sector from an international and local perspective. This provided an understanding of the characteristics of the sector and how it has changed. The researcher used this section to outline the challenges facing participants in the informal sector. Understanding the relationship between the formal and informal sector as well as understanding the impact local authorities have on the sector is of utmost importance to this research paper as it provides the initial contextual understanding for the research.

Finally the review looked at street vendors in particular as well as the role females play in the sector. The purpose of this section is to understand the characteristics of the vendors and the business challenges and decisions that they face. It also looked at the increasing importance and impact women are having in the sector.

From the research conducted, it is clear that the female food vendors at construction sites are not seen as different from other food vendors despite the fact that a lot of the issues and considerations that they face in their place of work appear at face value to be different from other food vendors. This research will examines how these differences impact on how they are treated by the formal sector, namely the construction sites?

Fonchingong (2005) maintains that “little is known about the effect of women’s food vending activities on livelihoods, employment, empowerment, poverty reduction and influence on gender relations at the level of the household and beyond” (p. 244). Little information exists on the specific characteristics of female food vendors in Cape Town. This shows how huge the gap in academia is and how little understanding academia has about what role these women play in society. Are these women merely earning enough to support themselves and their dependents or are they garnering significant returns for their efforts? What is the impact that they have on the construction sites? This gap in the literature had an impact on the chosen research methodology for this study. Interviews supported by background literature would not suffice for this topic. A methodology that would enable a far more in-depth study was required to gain an initial understanding of the phenomenon and subsequently to answer the research questions.
Finally, various academics suggest that understanding the relationship between the formal and informal sector is important and of value to society. Tostensen et al (2001) highlight that the “understanding processes of inclusion and exclusion” (p. 23) is important especially as urban authorities’ attitudes towards the informal sector change and progress. Skinner’s (2008) study reasons that “the livelihood activities of street traders [are] critically shaped by a complex interplay of national and local government policy approaches, combined with pressure from both formal business and collective action among street traders” (p. 228). Lastly, in their paper on trade liberalization, production organization and the informal sector of the developing countries, Maiti and Marjit (2008) note that while their previous research discussed the “impact of trade reforms on informal wage and employment, very few studies have actually looked at the organizational dynamics of the interactions between formal and informal sectors at a micro level” (p. 455). This also steered the researcher towards the research methodology that was chosen. The researcher has attempted to understand the dynamics to the smallest of details.

All of this research and all of these academics point towards a need for more understanding of the determinants and incentives that influence the interaction between the formal and informal sectors. This research aims to start filling the gap.
This research paper is qualitative and inductive and will be based on grounded theory. This is theory building research. Eisenhardt (1989) argues that “theory building research is done as close as possible to the ideal of no theory under consideration and no hypothesis to test” (p. 536). Grounded theory is “designed to develop a well-integrated set of concepts that provide a thorough explanation of the social phenomena under study” (Corbin & Strauss, 1990, p. 5). It is “a way of generating theory through research data rather than testing ideas formulated in advance of data collection and analysis” (Dey, 2010, p. 80).

By following this strategy, the researcher remained open to all information, observations and conversations. The advantages of using a quantitative approach are that the researcher can use “intuition, imagination and interpretation” (How to...analyse qualitative data, n.d.). This allows the researcher flexibility when engaging with the phenomenon that will be studied. It also aligns with grounded theory that requires that “phenomena are not conceived as static but as continually changing in response to evolving conditions” (Corbin & Strauss, 1990, p. 5).

A qualitative approach allows the research to be more iterative and overlap the analysis stage with the data collection stage (How to...analyse qualitative data, n.d.). This means that the researcher was able to start analysing the data that is collected from each construction site before moving on to the next site. This aligns with the iterative process of grounded theory which means that “data collection and analysis proceed in tandem, repeatedly referring back to each other” (Bryman & Bell, 2007, p. 576).

This approach also incorporates a number of different research methods such as interviewing, ethnography, focus groups and documentation analysis (Bryman & Bell, 2007). For the purposes of this research, the interviewer made use of ethnography and interviewing.

Qualitative research makes use of interpretivism which “respects the differences between people and the objects of natural science… and requires the social scientist to grasp the subjective meaning of social action” (Bryman & Bell, 2007, p. 17). Due to the explorative nature of this study, being open to the differences and subjectivity of the relationships on site is an integral part of the study. This also allows the researcher to give the participants of the research a “voice” (Bluhm, Harman, Lee, & Mitchell, 2011, p. 1880).
Lastly, qualitative research embodies constructionism in its approach which “implies that social phenomena and categories are not only produced thought social interaction but they are in a constant state of revision” (Bryman & Bell, 2007, p. 22). The researcher chose ethnography as a researcher method in order to understand the social interactions and the changes (and patterns) that occur in at construction sites.

RESEARCH DESIGN, DATA COLLECTION METHODS AND RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

RESEARCH DESIGN

Bryman and Bell (2011) term research design as the “framework used in the collection and analysis of data” (p. 40). A comparative, case study design was used to conduct the research for this paper. A case study “entails the detailed and intensive analysis of a single case” (Bryman & Bell, 2011, p. 59). A case study approach is the most relevant method based on the four applications of case studies described by Yin (2009). Yin (2009) states that case studies are used to “explain the presumed causal links in real-life interventions that are too complex for survey…Describe an intervention and the real life context in which it occurred. Illustrate certain topics within an evaluation…in a descriptive mode…[and] enlighten those situations in which the intervention being valued has no clear, single set of outcomes” (p. 20).

A case study approach was appropriate as this is an exploratory paper and requires in-depth analysis as opposed to high-level analysis of the question. This approach is more beneficial to academia. Including the comparative element into the research design means that identical methods were used in three contrasting cases (construction sites) (Bryman & Bell, 2011). The units of analysis are the site managers, construction workers and street vendor or vendors located at the sites. The following table details the minimum number of stakeholders required to be analysed, observed and engaged with per site:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stakeholder</th>
<th>Number interviewed/interacted with</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Site manager</td>
<td>x1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction worker</td>
<td>x10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food vendor</td>
<td>x1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The outcome of this kind of research enabled the researcher to develop concepts and propositions on how concepts relate to each other and encouraged the researcher to “consider what is unique and what is common across cases” and conduct a “theoretical reflection on the findings” (Bryman & Bell, 2007, p. 63).

**DATA COLLECTION METHODS AND RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS**

Primary data will be gathered through ethnography and qualitative interviews. The research instruments used were interviews, journaling, photography, semi-structured interviews, primary documentation analysis and a focus group. Data was recorded using field notes, voice recordings, photographs and diagrams.

Qualitative interviews were conducted with the list of stakeholders outlined in Appendix D. “The interview…pervades and produces our contemporary cultural experiences and knowledges of authentic personal, private selves” (Rapley, 2010, p. 15). The researcher followed a less structured form of interviewing in order to encourage the interviewees to provide meaningful responses that are not “in predesignated form, either the precoded responses…or analytically prespecified categories of concern with respondents’ experience and social worlds” (Seale, Gobo, Gubrium, & Silverman, 2010, p. 203). These interviews provided context and background to the relationships being studied as well as insights into the perceptions of the site managers and the influence local authorities have over the food vendors. Further details about the goals of these interviews are provided in the Research Instruments section. Interview guideline questions can be found in Appendix B.

An interview was conducted with a subcontractor on a construction site who is also a former street vendor in Cape Town. The purpose of this interview was two-fold. Firstly, he had insights into the dynamics that existed on site. His previous experience in street vending meant that he had a keen interest in the vendors who conducted their business at construction sites. Secondly, he was able to provide a broader understanding of the informal sector, informal entrepreneurship and the dynamics of street vending in Cape Town from his personal experience as well as his perceptions of one of the case study vendors.

From a document analysis point of view, the researcher reviewed relevant South African laws as well as Western Cape by-laws in order to understand the legal dynamics that vendors face when positioning themselves in an urban or industrial or developed area to conduct their
business. Local authorities on street vending were interviewed to understand how street vendors are managed in Cape Town (See Appendix D).

Ethnography, occurs when the “participant observer immerses…herself in a group for an extended period of time, observing behaviour, listening to what is said…and asking questions” (Bryman & Bell, 2011, p.426). This kind of research is designed to understand what the people under study do, think, say and “how they understand their world” (Delamont, 2008, p. 206). Fieldwork refers to the data collection stage of the ethnographic approach and involves actually going out into the field (Delamont, 2008). Participant observation in ethnography is observing, interviewing and immersing oneself in the research environment (Delamont, 2008). “Participant does not mean doing what those being observed do, but interacting with them while they do it” This study was conducted through partial immersion, which means that the researcher returned home at night. (Delamont, 2008, p. 206).

This partial immersion manifested itself through spending four days on each construction site and with the vendors. The researcher positioned herself close to the vendor’s table or store. In some cases, it was appropriate to locate herself behind the counter with the vendor in order to keep out of the way of the general operations of the business. In order to engage with the workers, the vendor would sometimes position herself closer to the workers or on the periphery of the queuing. This only happened on the second or third day once the workers became used to seeing the researcher and were no longer surprised by her presence on site.

In order to build rapport with the vendor, the researcher first asked the vendor about themselves. The researcher also volunteered information about herself and was open to any questioning about her background. One vendor commented that is was nice to learn from each other. The researcher also bought food from the vendor in order to show that she was interested in everything about her. The researcher dressed in loose, unbranded clothing that sometimes had a UCT logo on it to remind the participants where the researcher was from. The researcher walked to the sites so that driving a vehicle alone did not impact on the relationships that were required to be forged in order to conduct the research. The researcher carried a clipboard and did not use electronic devices to record observations and the vendors’ contributions for similar reasons.

Building rapport with the workers was more difficult. Many workers would not greet or make eye-contact with the researcher; instead they often asked the vendor about who I was and what I was doing there. If there were no workers who seemed willing to engage in a
conversation about the vendor and her role on site, the researcher used her relationship with the vendor to be introduced to the workers and to engage with them. The researcher also made herself available at tea and lunch times when the workers were not so focused on getting food before it finished.

The process of data collection involved three key stakeholders:

1) Vendors

Initially, a study was conducted on the vendor. The vendors were engaged with in an informal manner. Information was gathered in a conversational manner as opposed to formal questioning. The information that the researcher elicited from the vendor throughout these conversations is outlined in Appendix B. An understanding of how their operations work, what they offer, their pricing strategy, and their target market was garnered.

The themes that will be focused on with these stakeholders are:

1. Vendors trader’s background
2. Vendor’s business model and operations
3. Perceptions of interaction with the formal sector
4. Acceptance in the environment in which they operate
5. Characteristics of everyday gestures and interactions
6. Experience of prejudices
7. Perceptions of the support (or lack) from public bodies

These themes also formed the basis and line of questioning for the site manager and construction workers.

2) Construction workers

The second group of stakeholders are the construction workers, who are the main target clientele of the vendors. Data gathered from the builders was on an informal basis through observation while they bought food from the vendor and while they ate lunch. One informal focus group was conducted with a group of workers. The data gathered from the construction workers is outlined in Appendix B.

3) Construction company site manager
The third group of stakeholders is the construction company. For the purposes of the study, the site managers at the building location represented the construction company. From this grouping, the research sought to understand their opinions of the vendors, whether there is any interaction between them and the vendors and what the interaction, if any, is based on or characterised by. The questions that the site managers were asked are outlined in Appendix B.

SAMPLING

One needs to be careful when choosing cases for a study. “Cases may be chosen to replicate previous cases or extend emergent theory, or they may be chosen to fill theoretical categories and provide examples of polar types. While cases may be chosen randomly, random selection is neither necessary, nor even preferable” (Eisenhardt, 1989, p. 537). Random selection was not used to conduct this research. “In grounded theory, representativeness of concepts, not of persons, is crucial” (Corbin & Strauss, 1990, p. 9). In order to achieve the representation desired, a number of different sampling methods were used throughout the research process.

Purposive sampling was the first sampling method used. This is a form of non-probability sampling. Building sites were selected based on the fact that there was a vendor located at the construction site (either right outside the construction site perimeter or just inside). The reason for purposive sampling is to ensure that the sample is selected in a “strategic way so that those sampled are relevant to the research questions being posed” (Bryman & Bell, 2007, p. 442). Some building site locations were provided by contacted construction companies or discovered through exploration.

Medium-sized construction sites, with 200-250 workers, were selected. These sites had enough workers on to provide enough business for a vendor to make a living but the site was small enough that the construction company would not create a formal vending relationship. Smaller sites were visited to assess if vending took place at sites with 60 or fewer workers (Somerset Road and N2 Hospital). There was no evidence of vending activities. Some larger construction sites were visited in the City Bowl but there were no vendors located near these sites due to proximity to appropriate local stores and permanent city vendors.

The difference in the three sites was determined by the vendors. The researcher chose three sites where the vendor(s) was located outside the site boundaries and where the vendor(s) was located inside the site boundaries. This is in line with Eisenhardt’s (1989) thinking that
“given the limited number of cases that can usually be studied, it makes sense to choose cases such as extreme situations and polar types in which the process of interest is ‘transparently observable’” (p. 537).

Participants of the research were not sought on a random basis. They were selected using stratified sampling. The site managers were chosen as they represent the site management and construction company management perspective. This enabled the researcher to compare and contrast the responses. Workers were chosen and studied on a random basis as the opportunity presented itself.

For the interviews that were conducted, the researcher used snowballing to source the appropriate sample of local authority players. The initial interview was conducted with a ward councillor who then provided the researcher with a list of three other relevant stakeholders who represent local authorities and who work with the informal sector.

**RESEARCH CRITERIA**

The following research criteria were deemed relevant in conducting this research: reliability, validity, credibility, confirmability, ontological authenticity, and fairness.

“Reliability is concerned with the question of whether the results of a study are repeatable” (Bryman & Bell, 2007, p. 41). As this is qualitative case study research, the results cannot be assumed to be repeatable. However, in order to make the study as repeatable as possible, the ethnographic approach to the research has been documented in detail. The ethnographic process can be found in Appendix E.

“Validity is concerned with the integrity of the conclusions that are generated from a piece of research” (Bryman & Bell, 2007, p. 42). Joppe (2000, cited by Golafshani, 2003) states that “validity determines whether research truly measures what it was intended to measure” (p. 599). For the purposes of this research, concept validity is of prime importance. Abowitz and Toole (2010) extend Joppe’s definition for concept validity by asking if “the indicators capture the expected relationships among the concepts being researched” (Abowitz & Toole, 2010, p. 109). In order to ensure that the validity of the results is maintained, the researcher utilised Grounded Theory that ensures the “constant comparison involved with reflexive data collection and analysis” (Bluhm et al, 2011, p. 1871). This was done not only through journaling but also through the immediate review of all newly gathered data.
In addition, “central to ethnography is the constant and tiring process of reflecting” (Delamont, 2008, p. 214). Delamont (2008) proposes that this is the way that the researcher will strive to achieve validity and reliability.

Credibility focuses on how believable the findings of the research are (Bryman & Bell, 2007). Throughout the research activities, the researcher will attempt to document as many of the findings as possible. Any findings that seem extreme will be researched further and ideally backed up by alternate sources.

Confirmability focuses on the degree to which the values of the researcher have interfered with the research outcomes (Bryman & Bell, 2007). The researcher will aim to withhold judgement while conducting her research. She will also engage with her supervisor on this matter throughout the research process to ensure that as much objectivity as possible is maintained.

Ontological authenticity focuses on research participant’s reaction to being part of a research study and the increased levels of awareness they experience as a result (Lincoln, Lynham, & Guba, 2011). The researcher will endeavour to ensure that the research participants feel comfortable while they are under observation and also attempt to recognise behaviours and reactions that may be out of the ordinary due to the presence of the researcher.

According to Lincoln, Lynham and Guba (2011), fairness is a “quality of balance” that ensure that “all stakeholder views, perspectives, values, claims, concerns and voices” are evident in the text (p. 122). The absence of a stakeholder’s inputs could be viewed as a form of bias (Lincoln, Lynham, & Guba, 2011). The researcher will make every attempt to include all stakeholders inputs as is relevant to the research questions and alternatively ensure that relevant inputs are documented for further research.
As the data collected is all qualitative, a qualitative data analysis approach was adopted. Analytic induction is when the researcher “seeks universal explanations of phenomena by pursuing the collection of data until no cases that are inconsistent with a hypothetical explanation…of a phenomenon are found” (Bryman & Bell, 2007, p. 575). As a case study approach was adopted and three building sites were visited, analytic induction was not the correct approach to follow to analyse the data. Instead, as mentioned in Research Approach and Strategy, grounded theory was used to analyse the data.

This approach aligns with ethnographic content analysis which is “an approach to documents that emphasizes the role of the investigator in the construction of the meaning of and in texts…there is an emphasis on allowing categories to emerge out of the data and on recognising the significance for understanding meaning in the context in which an item being analysed…appeared” (Bryman, 2008, p. 276). Appendix A describes the high-level steps that will be taken to analyse the data.

As “data collection and analysis proceed in tandem” (Bryman & Bell, 2007, p. 576), the researcher was able to adapt her questions and method of engagement on the different sites as well as on consecutive days on the same site in order to elicit ensure that relevant issues and insights from the previous day or site were included (Corbin & Strauss, 1990).

The first step in analysing the data was to break it down into small elements (sentences) and note the concepts that emerge (How to...implement grounded theory, n.d.). This is called open coding (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). “Codes are devised which capture and covey meanings, evinced though close examination of comparisons between different parts of the data” (Dey, 2010, p. 84). The categories were then divided into further distinguishing properties. Constant comparison was done throughout the process to ensure that all potential categories emerged, to guard against bias and to achieve a higher degree of accuracy and consistency. (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). Next, “in axial coding, categories are related to their sub-categories and the relationships are tested against the data” (Corbin & Strauss, 1990, p. 13).

Lastly, selective coding was used to establish the relationship between the main category or concept and the various sub-categories (How to...implement grounded theory, n.d.). This analysis can be found under Research Analysis and Discussion. The data analysis process
was complete when all the categories fitted into a single main category and all the data aligned with the emerging theory (How to...implement grounded theory, n.d.).

Apart from coding, memos were used to record the researcher’s ideas, insights and thoughts about the data in order to help with the “formulation and revision of theory during the research process” (Corbin & Strauss, 1990, p. 10). Diagrams were also used to record the researchers understanding of the relationships between the different concepts (How to...implement grounded theory, n.d.). These diagrams can be found in Appendix F.
CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH FINDINGS, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION
INTRODUCTION TO THE CASE STUDIES

CASE 1: OFFICE PARK

The Case 1 site is located within a business district and near a large shopping centre. There are approximately 250 workers on site.

The first vendor, Patty, has a grade 8 education and is married with four children between the ages of 9 and 20. She grew up in Lange and speaks Xhosa and English. Patty is a food vendor because she loves cooking and makes more money doing this than in formal employment.

Patty positions her bare and rusty trestle table (which is stored on site when not in use) outside the property of the construction site on the grass between the site boundary and the pavement. She drives her goods to the site in her old Mercedes and sells it between 09:30 and 11:00 from Monday to Saturday. This ensures that she is there to feed the workers during their tea time at 10:30 when they eat their largest meal of the day. She serves only cooked food such as vetkoek and liver, chicken, meat stew, pap, vegetables, coleslaw and fish. The menu varies every day. The food is served with serving spoons out of large Tupperware containers. The meat stew is heated up on a gas stove housed in a cardboard box on the ground. Cold drinks are kept cold in a large cooler box with ice. The food is served into polystyrene containers or into plastic packets. Sometimes Patty’s husband or sister-in-law helps her. Patty does not keep any kind of financial records for her business but her husband tracks the shopping slips. Workers gather eagerly around the table; there is no queue. There is general banter and occasionally some louder voices. Workers sit on the grass nearby and eat their meals. This is the first time Patty has sold her food at a construction site.

The other vendor on this site is Candy. Her husband has passed away. She supports six children and can speak Xhosa and almost no English. Candy is a food vendor because she needs to support her children.

She sits in a similar location but on the other side of the entrance to the site. She sits behind an old chip board counter on which to place her goods for sale. She sells cigarettes, chips, stamp mielies, chicken, bread and peanuts which she transports to site by taxi. Candy arrives on site at 07:00 and leaves at 11:30. She serves the cooked food in polystyrene containers. Candy does not do any financial record keeping for her business. Unlike Patty, a crowd of workers do not gather around Candy’s table at tea time.
A shop boy system also operates on this site.

CASE 2: SPORTS GROUND

The construction site is located in an isolated area. The closest shops are upmarket restaurants, a large bottle store and a Woolworths. The closest Pick n Pay about 2kms away. There are approximately 250 workers on site.

Tammy is married with one child. She has her matric from Queenstown in the Eastern Cape where she grew up. She can speak English and Xhosa. She lives in Khayelitsha with her family and mother-in-law. Tammy is a full time employee of the construction company in her role as tea lady and she runs a spaza shop on site. She had the idea to start the shop for the workers because the shops were too far away. Tammy is the only vendor in this study who is currently engaged in formal employment and also running an informal business. She opened she shop because she likes cooking and “want to be a business woman in food.”

One can see the “Tammy’s Shop” Coca-Cola branded sign from over the construction site fence. Her spaza shop is located inside one of the small spare containers neighbouring the site management offices. She opens her shop twice a day: for half an hour during tea time and half an hour during lunch time, Monday to Saturday. A note on the shop door communicates these times. Tammy takes all the profits from her shop. She transports the bulk food goods to site once a week on a sub-contractors truck and stores them in the construction company kitchen where she prepares the cooked food. Coca-Cola deliver cold drinks to her twice a week, Albany deliver bread to her every morning and Mobile Snacks deliver chips and

FIGURE 1: TAMMY INSIDE HER SHOP
sweets. She also serves cigarettes, polony, Russians, chicken and skaakop. The cooked food menu varies daily. Tammy does not keep any financial records for her shop. Food is served in plastic packets or the workers bring their own Tupperware containers. The workers crowd into the store during their tea time but they eat outside or near their locker room container.

**CASE 3: UNIVERSITY**

This construction site is located on a university campus. There are about 250 workers on site. The closest stores for food are on campus but are out of bounds for the workers who are not permitted to move around on site. The next closest shop is about 2.5kms away.

Julie’s husband has passed away. She left school when she was 12 because her parents thought that there was little point if she was going to get married. She grew up in King Williams Town in the Eastern Cape and can speak English and Xhosa. She has three children aged 20, 24 and 29 respectively. Her oldest child has a job and the other two sometimes help her vend. Julie is a food vendor because she needs “money for bread, for food, electricity... for a better life. She works less hours vending than as a domestic worker and earns more money. She can also leave earlier and do more work at home.

Julie’s station is located inside the construction site boundary between the fence and the site management office. She sits under an awning and uses an overturned construction spool as her table base, a scrap piece of door as the table top and plastic to cover it. She carries her goods to site every day by bus and by taxi. She keeps her drinks cold in the foreman’s fridge.
on site. She is on site from 09:30 until 15:30 Monday to Saturday. She serves fruit, bread, peanuts, sweets, chips, chicken, vetkoek (plain, liver, mince or polony) and drinks (2l, 500ml, large cans). She serves the same thing every day. She writes down how much money she has every day to see if the business is “going or not going”. Her two youngest children sometimes help her on site. Her clients are the construction workers as well as students and ground staff from the university who she serves through the fence.

Cathy is the other vendor on site. She does not have a husband and left school in Standard 2. She comes from Ncobo in the Eastern Cape and can speak Xhosa and broken English.

Cathy’s shop is located inside her “bungalow” (a large wendy house) near the centre of the building site admin buildings. It is not visible from the boundary of the site. She transports her daily goods by taxi but hires a truck to move her “bungalow” to new construction sites. Cathy cooks on site using gas but prepares vetkoek dough at home. She has two fridges for food and drinks and sells a large variety of goods off shelves at the back of the “bungalow” (detailed in Appendix C). Cathy is on site from 08:00 until 16:00. She serves workers through a window in the bungalow. Food is served in polystyrene containers or plastic packets.
EVIDENCE OF THE SITE MANAGERS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE VENDOR

The following two sections present evidence of how the site managers view their relationship with the vendors and secondly, how the vendors view the relationship with the site managers.

On arrival on site, the site managers displayed different attitudes towards the vendors. At the office park site, when the researcher notified the site manager that she would be on site for a few days, the site manager was quick to point out that “we have nothing to do with them…we are not responsible for them…they sit outside.” The under-current of his language was that of not wanting to be associated with them in any way. The university site manager expressed similar inclinations but was more welcoming. When the researcher arrived at the sports ground site, the site manager immediately said, “Come and meet the owner herself” and personally took me to the shop.

The site managers show a lack of knowledge about the vendor’s modus operandi. “I think they have areas. If she goes into town, she would be stepping on their territory” (University site manager, 2012). They also showed a lack of insight into what they serve. A site manager stated that “the other lady does vetkoek” (University Site Manager, 2012), when in fact both the vendors on site serve vetkoek. At the sports ground site, the site managers do not know that Tammy is even making cooked food. “It depends on what you sell. If you are selling what Tammy is selling which is chips and sweets and cold drink, there are no health risks really” (Sports Ground site manager, 2012).

The site managers showed varying levels of support for the vendors. The office park site manager provides no evidence of direct support for the vendors. The university site manager (2010) argued that “it’s a benefit for the workers; it’s not a real benefit for me. It’s more admin for me.” Their admin is providing electricity to Cathy and fridge space to Julie. The Sports Ground site manager (2012) “opened up the area for her to operate in and do what she wants to do” and agreed that they will help if needed.

The site managers also showed a lack of interest in maintaining a relationship with the vendor going forward. When asked what will happen to the vendor when the site is complete, the university site manager said that “they move on”. He dismissed any kind of responsibility for
encouraging the vendor to follow them to the next site. “But it’s not an arrangement with us. Not at all” (University site manager, 2012).

When pressed about taking the business relationship to the next level, the site managers at the university site displayed a reluctance to entertain formalising the relationship with the vendors. “It is getting away from our core business which is not catering. It’s construction. This just serves as a service” (University site manager, 2012). The site manager at the sports ground site had not considered what the impact of closing down Tammy’s shop may be once the site is finished. They do not display evidence of having thought about how they can help her continue her business. “Depends on a lot of things. Depends on the site. A lot of the time, the client or the project doesn’t allow a shop because of various reasons” (Sports Ground site manager, 2012). The focus of the site manager’s thinking process is on the client and the setup of the next site as opposed to Tammy and her needs. For example, she may be used to the additional income she receives from the site by the time the site closes. Losing this income will have an impact on her life. She currently uses the money to pay her accounts and buy groceries. She uses her salary to pay for school fees for her child.

EVIDENCE OF THE VENDORS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SITE MANAGER

Two of the vendors reflected on the support that the site managers gave them. Tammy said to the researcher prior to an interview the site managers that “they support me. They also buy from me. You will hear when you speak to them.” Julie stated that the site manager told her, “I want to support you. I know you suffer.” He checks if the business is fine when things are quiet (Julie, 2012). Cathy said that “the site managers support me. They gave me electricity.”

When asked how Julie found the site, she said that “the site manager phoned me and told me where to go.” The site manager says that Julie came to him to ask to sell her goods on site. Patty says that when she arrived on site she asked for permission to set up outside. She could sell if she had a Health permit and so long as she got a table from which to sell her food off. The site manager was unaware that this conversation had taken place and believed that she has just “pitched up” (Office park site manager, 2012).

All of the vendors said that they felt accepted on the site where they operated from. Cathy said that “business is better, it is a good site.” What is questionable is whether this feeling of acceptance has to do with the attitude of the site management or the vendors’ relationship with the workers.
FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE THE RELATIONSHIP

In order to understand the factors that influence the relationship between the site manager and the vendor, the researcher attempted to understand why site managers allow the vendors to operate on or near the site as well as understand what other elements could influence the relationship. The following factors emerged.

**Decreased risk and increased working hours**

The site managers who were interviewed gave a number of reasons why they allow vendors to operate on or near their site. One of the biggest advantages is that they help to reduce the amount of down time workers take during their tea and lunch breaks in order to go buy food off site. The Sports Ground site manager said that “it’s a good idea because there are no shops around for the guys on site and it makes it easier for them as well…” This increases total work hours of each worker. Reducing the need for workers to go off site reduces the total risk of the company as construction companies are responsible for the safety of their workers during working hours even if they are not physically on the site. Their presence also reduces the workers reliance on the “shop boy” or “tea boy” system which also affects working hours. This is also an informal system whereby a worker is allocated the role for the week. He spends the morning taking orders and money from the workers as well as heading off site to purchase the food from a nearby store (taxi ride distance). The food usually arrives in time for tea at 10:30. Without a vendor on site, this informal system has advantages such as reducing the amount of off time workers take to buy food. It also reduces the risk taken on by the business, which is liable for the workers’ safety during work hours. “Often the tea boy isn’t back so they are waiting…so they take a longer tea time and you lose a lot of production” (University site manager, 2012).

**Service with little impact**

The site managers tolerate their presence because the vendors are able to “provide a service” (University site manager, 2012) while not interfering with site operations.

**Acknowledgement of potential**

The site managers see potential in the women. This is shown by the following two statements from the university and sports ground site managers respectively. “Julie, are you going to
open up shops on all the sites?” “She took an idea that she made herself and ran with it. It shows her potential.”

**Lack of consideration for legislation**

The site managers are lenient in terms of legislation. The site managers do not have a problem with the vendors unless the local authorities, Environmental Health or university property owners do. “I said if the [university] has a problem with it, I would have to evict her” (University site manager, 2012). “If you get shut down for health reasons…I am going to have to pack you up” (University site manager, 2012).

**The size of the site**

The size of the site is determined by the number of workers required on site on a daily basis. This has an impact on how formalised the relationship is between the vendor and the construction company. During the construction of Green Point stadium, for example, there were over a thousand workers on site. There were four camps on site with large canteens set up in each camp where the cooking and vending took place.

The office park site used to have a larger number of workers but by the time Patty arrived on site, there were fewer workers as the construction “is mostly glass and concrete” (Subcontractor, 2012). Despite this, Patty sold all the food she produced.

Smaller sites, such as the construction of apartment blocks, do not have a large enough labourer contingent to warrant a vendor’s presence.

**Location of the site**

If a site is located close to an appropriate store such as a Pick n Pay, community shop or spaza shop, there is little need for a vendor to be on site or near the site. As they are not needed and do not provide a scarce service, there is little incentive for the site managers to develop any kind of relationship with the vendor that would encourage her presence.

**Location of the vendor**

The location of the vendor on the site determines level of involvement with the site manager and therefore the nature of the relationship.
Patty and Candy were located outside of the construction site and therefore had little to no interaction with the site manager. So long as they were not located in an area where their safety could be threatened or where they interrupted the flow of business, they were largely ignored by site management.

Julie and Cathy were located inside the boundaries of the construction site. Julie was located out of sight and at the border of the construction site property between the fence and the management building. Interaction with the site managers involved them stipulating where she could set up and where she was allowed to move (i.e. she had to remain on one side of the road only). This interaction was primarily to ensure her safety on site. Previously, Julie sat at the site. Cathy’s “bungalow” is located in a more prominent spot inside the construction site. Due to the more formal nature of her vending business,
Vending requirements

The vendor’s requirements to operate her business determine the level of involvement with the site manager and therefore the nature of the relationship.

Despite Cathy’s large physical presence on site, requirements for space for her “bungalow” and need for electricity and waste disposal (fat and oil from cooking vetkoek) and her more formalised manner of running her business, the relationship with the site management is not a partnership or formalised. The level of interaction between site management and Cathy so far has been little. This may increase in the future, albeit in a negative fashion, due to the problem of fat waste blocking up the drains. Cathy has already received a warning after university’s health and safety company conducted an audit of the site.

Patty has no requirements from site management as she stations her business outside the construction site. She only stores her fold up trestle table on site which the workers help her with. She has formed a relationship with the health and safety officer as she is trying to find a new site or a container on a site in which to run her business.

Tammy set up her store using a container room on site. She has no requirements from the site managers. They support her but have not been asked for help or offered help. “She has total
freedom…She is part of the family” (Sports Ground site manager, 2012). Tammy uses site electricity.

**What the vendor sells**

This does not seem to have a large impact on the relationship between the vendor and the construction site managers. The site managers at the sports ground site and at the university site did not know exactly what the vendors were serving or charging. The site manager at the office park does not purchase goods from the vendors. However, Patty mentioned that an employee in the office sent someone to buy food for them. It is the “white man’s diet” (vetkoek with chicken inside). The site manager at the university site buys Coke from Cathy every day. He used to purchase drinks from Julie but “the other lady is actually cheaper” (University site manager, 2012). Cathy sells a 2l Coke for R15 and a 1.5l Coke for R11, whereas Julie sells a 2l drink for R13.50. Not a few minutes before, the same site manager stated that “Julie does Jives and cheaper cold drinks” (University site manager, 2012). Price and taste is the determinant. Site management are patrons of Cathy because she sells products that they want to buy.

**Presence of another vendor on site**

There is little evidence in the study to suggest that the presence of more than one vendor has an impact on the relationship with the site manager or the construction company.

The university site manager played a role in encouraging a discussion between the new vendor and the current vendor to take place when Cathy arrived on site after Julie. He asked them to speak to each other and come to some agreement. The lack of further involvement on the part of the site manager was shown when he said “I think they have worked something out. I don’t know what she says” (University site manager, 2012).

One incident showed how the site manager could have an impact on one vendor because of the actions of the other. The university site manager blamed both the vendors for the fat waste issue and would remove both of them if necessary. The running of Cathy’s business could potentially have an impact on the future of Julie’s business on site.
FINDINGS ABOUT THE CONSTRUCTION WORKERS

The relationship between the workers and the vendor is important, not only because the workers are the main clientele of the vendors but because although the majority of the workers are engaged in formal employment, they mostly come from the same cultural background as the vendors. This is shown by the fact that most of the communication happens in Xhosa.

EVIDENCE OF THE WORKERS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE VENDOR

Evidence of how the workers view the relationship with the vendor came mostly from observations made during the research process, conversations with the workers and an informal focus group. There were numerous occasions that showed that the workers support the vendors.

Although it seems superfluous to say that the vendors have repeat customers when their customer base is only 250 odd workers large, on the sites where there were two vendors, over a period of a few days, repeat customers for a vendor became evident. For example, the same workers sit with Julie every day in the shade and eat together. The vendors were never short of assistance in setting up their vending stations. A worker swept Julie’s vending area after wind made the area dusty and full of leaves. Different workers help Julie carry her ware to her station when she arrives on site and the site security guard helps Patty every day to set up her table.

Workers help to facilitate the storage of the vendors’ goods and equipment on site. Patty stores her trestle table inside the building site. Julie stores her non-perishable goods in the foremen’s area and they allow her to make use of their fridge to keep her cold drinks cool.

While on site, the researcher was asked repeatedly where Tammy and Patty were when they were not around at the expected time. This shows that the workers have a schedule and that the vendor is an important part of their schedule. Does this show an element of dependence? They notice when the vendor is not around. Otherwise, workers waited near where Patty sets up her table for her to arrive.

The workers help the vendor in other ways in addition to offering their patronage. Workers collected scrap wood for Patty for a braai and helped her put it in her car. The store
(inventory) worker brought matches for Patty to light her gas stove. A worker offered Patty their cellphone to use when she forgot her polystyrene take-away containers at home.

Workers help the vendors source an appropriate site where a vendor is needed. After Patty was prevented from operating her business at the Belville bus depot, a worker who bought food from her there, told her where to find the site. Cathy’s “cousin-brother” (a crane operator on site) brought her to the site. According to the site manager, Julie knew a quantity surveyor from a previous site at another tertiary institution who helped her find this site.

There was some evidence of workers not supporting the vendors. When Tammy first opened her shop, she served the workers food in Tupperware containers provided by the construction company. But she found that the workers did not return the Tupperware containers and either threw them away or lost them. They showed little respect for Tammy, her business and the property of the construction company. Now, workers bring their own Tupperware container if they want to purchase cooked food. Some workers were dishonest towards the vendors. For example, Patty gave credit to some workers and then they never returned to her to pay her back.

**EVIDENCE OF THE VENDORS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE WORKERS**

The vendors trust the workers. Tammy does not charge the workers for the deposit on the bottles but workers need to return the bottles to her. Only employees who work for the company she works for receive this privilege. There is more trust between them because she knows they will bring them back. She is also able to track who has not returned their bottle and asks for them before she sells more. She trusts them to return the bottles but she still needs to remind them.

Julie also shows trust towards the workers on the site she operates on. She stores her cold drinks in a fridge inside the management building which is out of her site. Workers collect their own drinks from the fridge. She trusts them to take what they have paid for. The site tea lady keeps check for Julie on what the workers are taking but she does not necessarily know what the worker has paid for.

The vendors rely on the support of the workers for the successful running of their business and to reduce their “struggle” (Patty, 2012) to make a living. They rely on them to do some of the heavy carrying and to help them store items on site that are not worth carrying home every day (tables, non-perishables). On a previous site, where Julie was stationed outside the
boundaries of the site, she relied on the workers to put her goods over the fence at night for safe storage so she would not have to take them home every day. She trusted them not to take her goods once she had left.

As mentioned earlier, the vendors offer credit. Patty gives credit to the workers she knows. Cathy and Julie give weekly credit to workers which they track in a book. This makes sense as workers get paid weekly or biweekly. If Tammy does not have change for a worker, she lets them take a cold drink. If a worker does not have money for her, she trusts them if they say that they will come pay her later.

Patty looks at the prices of similar food in the shops and makes sure she charges less. Although this ensures that she is able to get customers, it also shows an understanding of how price sensitive the workers are. A similar meal from Pick n Pay would cost R35-R39 whereas Patty charges R20-R25 and also makes sure that she gives bigger servings. She also focuses on feeding the workers food that they want. She varies the menu every day. She wants them to eat healthily. Her husband observes that, “we know what they want to eat. We know the tastes. We have been eating like this since we were little.”

Julie greets everyone and gets up to hug some of the employees. She says that “if you are in business, you must love everybody…you must hug.” She plays a motherly role on site. Julie describes herself as the “mamma” on site.

Both Patty and Tammy give leftover food to the workers who are still around. Patty stated that if “she looks after them then they look after her.”

FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE THE RELATIONSHIP

In order to unpack the factors that influence the relationship between the workers and the vendor, the researcher attempted to understand what why the workers support the vendors as well as understand what other elements could influence the relationship. The following factors emerged.

Diet

The workers support the vendors because they provide a diet that is required for physical labour (high protein and high carbohydrate). See list of goods sold by each vendor in Appendix C. This diet is what the workers are used to and is the food that they have grown up with.
Price

The vendors are sensitive to the financial constraints of the workers and price their food at appropriate levels that cover their costs but that are also affordable for the workers (see Appendix C). Workers earn between R100-R180 per day (Subcontractor, 2012). Architect (2012) stated that “here is someone who brings the market closer to them, which is so sweet and pretty and human…”

Patty prices her meals higher than the other vendors as she offers more in the way of vegetables, choice and taste. Her target market would be the workers who earn R160-R180 per day (Subcontractor, 2012)

Convenience

The vendors offer convenience to the workers. They provide cold drinks that are close by (especially when it is hot). They provide additional food to complement food brought from home. They are located close by for small purchases such as cigarettes and sweets. The vendors are also available out of tea and lunch times if the workers have had to work through lunch. Workers can also ask the vendor to reserve food for them in advance, especially if they know something is in short supply and that they are going to be late for tea or lunch. The vendors are convenient for the workers as it removes the need for them to walk a distance or catch a taxi to a store to buy lunch. This saves them money and time.

Credit opportunities

Unlike formal retail outlets such as Pick n Pay and Spar, vendors provide credit opportunities for the workers. If they are not able to pay the vendor, that day or that week, they can very often pay the following day or on the Friday when they are paid. Julie offers the service of paying for food for a week in advance. This helps the worker to manage their expenses for the week.

The vendor also offers desperate workers the opportunity to earn their credit for food by helping the vendor set up their station.

Influence

In comparison to a formal food outlet, the workers can influence what the vendor serves and tweak the offering to their tastes and needs. “In winter, they will ask for pap” (Julie, 2012).
When looking at the factors that influence the relationship between the vendors and construction workers, similar themes emerge to the ones discussed in the section about the dynamics that exist between the construction company and the vendors as well as some additional themes.

**Size of site**

The size of the site dictates the ability for a vendor to make enough money to run a business due to the number of labourers on site. The more workers there are on site, the more demand there is for the goods the vendors sell. Patty experienced this when there was a rush on her table when she arrived on site and then as the number of workers reduced, there was longer an urgent need for the workers to rush to get their food at the beginning of the break before the food ran out.

**Location of site**

The location of the site dictates how large a gap in the market the vendor fills. If there is a store close by, the workers have more choice and do not have to support the vendor. A worker said that he buys food from Patty when he has money and then uses the shop boy to get R4 bread from Pick n Pay when he does not have any money. There are no shops close to the site Julie and Cathy operate on or the site Tammy operates on therefore, all three vendors are ensured business every day.

**Location of vendor**

The vendors under study operated in two locations:

- outside the boundary of the site
- inside the boundary of the site (open air and in a container)

There is no evidence to suggest that the location of the vendor has an impact on the relationship between the vendor and the workers. Architect (2012) commented on the vendors who sit outside the boundary of the site: “They are on the outside but they cross boundaries on different levels. Yes, there is the physical boundary but they really integrate…they don’t have to sit on the inside”.

**Vending requirements**
The more help a vendor needs from the workers to operate her business, the more interaction and relationship building is required. Once Cathy is set up on site, she requires no help to run her business. Like Tammy, the heavy goods, such as the cold drinks are delivered to her on site. Candy also does not require help to run her business. Julie requires daily help to ensure that her vending station is well kept and to carry her new goods. Patty requires help to set up and put away her trestle table.

**Vendor station set up**

The interaction between Cathy and the workers is minimal and more formal. She serves them through the window of her “bungalow” where she is raised and the workers are looking up to her between bars. There is an element of separation. There is no evidence of banter or informal conversation taking place.

Tammy’s shop is in a small container. There is little room to sit inside or nearby for workers to enjoy their tea close to Tammy. The workers simply pay for their purchases and leave. Although there is some banter and informal conversation taking place, it is short-lived due to the pressure of the space requirements in the shop.

Julie sits on a plastic chair at her overturned spool “table” under her awning. Workers sometimes take her chair if she stands up. There are concrete blocks around the spool for workers to sit on to eat their lunch. Julie sweeps her area to ensure that it is tidy and ensure that all the litter is in the black garbage bag tied to the fence. There is open concrete space in front of her station. Julie’s vending station setup means that she is able to offer the workers a place to socialise and relax in a manner that they are familiar with. Her awning provides shade and the concrete blocks, overturned bucket and polystyrene block offer seating around her table. Despite being the vendor with the least sophisticated stations set-up, she has many repeat customers and customers that stay at her station for their entire tea and lunch break due to the environment she has created.

Much like Julie, Patty’s station is just a trestle table. Although there are no seats for the workers to sit on, there is still grass on the pavement. Workers feel comfortable to help themselves to drinks from the cooler box.

Although Candy is in a similar location to Patty, there is less space around her for workers to sit. Workers are seldom at her table and if they are, they do not stay there for long.
**Personality of the vendor**

The personality of the vendor has an impact on the relationship between the workers and the vendor. Previous discussion has shown how caring and motherly Julie and Patty are. Workers enjoy being around them because they are happy and sociable. Despite the fact that Patty is only on site for two hours a day, she has a positive impact on the workers day. Tammy, on the other hand, is “strict” (Sports Ground site manager, 2012). She appears calm and serious when running her shop. This is her space to be in charge and in control. Cathy displays a similar personality to Tammy when she is running her business. Candy is reserved and quiet. She displays little emotion when running her business. She does not engage in much conversation.

Architect (2012) described the interaction between the workers and the vendors:

> It’s such an extreme industry on the one side and then you have these women who just go and connect with the workers which is such a rare thing because the workers are kind of ignored…It’s acknowledgment of interaction and humanity that happens on the site where they are under strict control all the time and this is a space where they can laugh and joke a bit. It’s also a female presence that I guess is somehow good for the situation…

**What the vendor sells**

What the vendor sells could be particularly important and have an influence on her relationship with the workers if there is another vendor on site however, apart from Patty who serves a full cooked and balanced meal (meat stew, chicken, rice, pap, vegetables) and Cathy who sells a far broader range of products; the vendors all sell almost exactly the same goods right down to the same brand of cigarettes, sweets and chips (see Appendix C). Areas in which the vendors could influence the workers to buy more from them would be in terms of cooked food. Julie proudly stated that she serves larger vetkoek than Cathy. She also serves some vegetables with her chicken. Cathy does not offer chicken liver or mince with her vetkoek but rather a mince patty.

It is not evident how these small differences had an impact on the relationship with the workers.
**Presence of another vendor**

There is no evidence to suggest that the presence of another vendor affected the relationship between then vendor and the workers. But it does mean that the potential number of customers per day per vendor is reduced. At the university site, a worker commented that he would alternate between the two vendors to make sure that they both got support in their business.

On both sites where there were two vendors, there seemed to be little to no interaction or relationship between them. Julie seemed reluctant to speak about Cathy apart from mentioning her bigger vetkoek. This showed an element of competition between the vendors. Porter (2008) argues that “competition is one of society’s most powerful forces for improving conditions in many fields of human endeavour” (p. xi). University site manager (2012) commented on the shared customers after the arrival of Cathy on site:

> She is not happy, I know. I don’t think Julie would have sustained the fall because they have equal trade. They are both doing a bit of business. She maybe would have grown but she has always been this small. She only bought a couple of 2ls and some 500ml and some chips and that kind of stuff so she has never grown but maybe she would’ve.

This shows that the addition of competition to the site, unlike Porter’s (2008) argument has not necessarily had a positive effect on Julie or on her relationship with the workers.

**Vendor’s background**

All the vendors come from a similar cultural and socio-economic background to the workers on site. Further research has been proposed on the role this could play on the relationships on site.

**Length of time on site**

There was no evidence to suggest that the length of time the vendor was on site affected the relationship between the workers and the vendor. The length of time the vendors had been on site ranged from 2 weeks to almost a year.

**Role of the vendor on site**
This section has been included due to the unique and interesting nature of Tammy’s set up. She is officially the tea lady on site and yet she is now also a business woman running a spaza shop. She plays two roles on site.

Tammy keeps the store locked and only opens it during tea and lunch times (as requested by the site managers) so workers rely on her for access to the microwave, even if they are not purchasing from her. A worker comments that there should be two microwaves. There is a blurry line between Tammy’s spaza shop and the space being a kitchen or a canteen for the workers.

There were several instances that led the researcher to believe that Tammy’s dual role on site influenced how the workers responded to her. There was general complaining from the workers when they are purchasing good from Tammy. Workers asked for discounts when the cold drinks are warm due to late delivery from Coca-Cola. On a particularly windy day, a worker comments, “Tammy brought bad luck; she brought the wind.” A site manager gave Tammy an oven which is located in the shop waiting to be taken to her home. A worker said that she must first cook on site with it before she takes it home. One morning the workers were crowding inside the store. Tammy got them to move backwards and form a queue. She told a worker to “wag” (wait) and that he is being rude. When the researcher is not around, Tammy say that everyone asks, “Where is your friend?” This seems to be patronising of both Tammy and the researcher. On arrival on site, a worker attempts to deter the researcher by joking that “the shop is not open today.”

Throughout the duration of the study, a single worker defended Tammy. He told her to get pepper spray for all the workers that are giving her problems. Could it be that the workers begrudge paying their salary to Tammy as they know she is making money off them and still doing her other job and earning a salary there? Are they jealous of her and the fact that she is earning two salaries? Are they jealous that she has the opportunity to earn more money? Are they jealous that the site managers support her? There is a contradiction happening on this site. The workers purchase goods from Tammy every day, they support her business, they need her and yet, she is treated in the manner described above.
FINDINGS FROM THE LOCAL AUTHORITIES

CITY OF CAPE TOWN POLICY TOWARDS INFORMAL TRADING IN CAPE TOWN

Economic Development (2012) and Ward Councillor (2012) both describe the informal sector policies in the City of Cape Town as based on free market economy theory. “We are all part of one economy” (Economic Development, 2012). “We are competitive, we are capitalist. If you want to be better than the other guy, you have to work” (Ward Councillor, 2012). Economic Development (2012) argues that there should be no problem with a fruit and vegetable vendor selling goods at a Fruit & Veg City, for example. If they are trading in a designated trading area and have the required permits, the city has no right to move them on. There are three different categories that define trading areas (Ward Councillor, 2012):

- prohibited area: no vending is allowed
- restricted trade: demarcated areas only e.g. yellow lines in city centre
- open to trade: anyone can trade in this location

There are areas in Cape Town where street vending is prohibited completely (e.g. South Peninsula Municipality) and there are newer areas in Cape Town where there are no controls at all, for example Khayelitsha (Safety and Security, 2012). The new by-law for informal trading focuses on allowing people to trade because they are adding value to an area or “at least just not having a deleterious impact” (Safety and Security, 2012). The current policy towards informal traders dictates location only (Economic Development, 2012). It does not stipulate duration of time a vendor may spend at that location or what they sell.

The City of Cape Town receives pressure to act on the informal sector from a number of different stakeholders. The South African Police Service (SAPS), “informal traders, formal traders, all ask us to take action against the other informal traders (Safety and Security, 2012). Formal traders argue that the informal vendors are putting them out of business. Parow is an example of a neighbourhood where informal trading has “strangled, killed, decimated, wiped out” a formal trading area (Safety and Security, 2012). The owners of the shops can no longer find tenants for their stores because there is nothing that they can sell that the informal vendors are not already selling and selling cheaper (Safety and Security, 2012). This issue has a knock-on effect because the lack of formal business means that no rates are being paid which means that council receives less money and therefore cannot deliver services to the
area (Safety and Security, 2012). The formal business influences the informal sector through City Improvement Districts (CIDS) whereby a company pays a levy for additional law enforcement and cleansing.

Despite the previously mentioned pressure, law enforcement for the informal sector “err on the side of inaction” (Safety and Security, 2012). However, this approach means that they get a lot of complaints about the officers being “too lenient…too gentle. But the moment we take action, somebody else will complain” (Safety and Security, 2012). There is a fine balance between doing too much to manage the vendors and not doing enough. Safety and Security (2012) has an interesting insight into what inaction could mean:

> Just standing at arm’s length and ‘Ag shame let him trade, leave him alone’, that’s not actually helping anybody. It’s not helping the broader community because it has a negative impact, and it’s certainly not helping the actual trader because there he sits next year, and the year after, and the year after there’s no developmental steps for him to gradually move to a formal trader with security, a secure premises around him, a lockable facility where he doesn’t have to cart his goods home and then… you trap him in permanent subsistency.

The new approach to informal trading is to draw revenue from the traders’ permits which “links automatically back to a certain proportion of law enforcement staff being added…now there’s a direct relationship between an informal trader’s presence and the law enforcement’s presence. So suddenly, the informal trader has a community benefit” (Safety and Security, 2012). The new approach also encourages the movement of people from the informal sector into the formal sector and move people from being a survivalist into the informal sector (Ward councillor, 2012). It aims to remove or break down the barriers of the dual economy described by Andrisani (1973) in the literature review.

The City of Cape Town acts as the enabler between the formal and informal sector. Trading plans are put together for different areas which dictate what trading happens in that area, where it happens, what the stall could look like etc. In order to put together a trading plan, various parties are consulted including the formal sector such as retailers, the informal sector such as informal trading unions and local law enforcement. Economic Development (2012) agrees that the legislation can be “blinkered” at times and needs to be tweaked. For example, a business was conducting renovations that would impact on the safety of the vendors located
on the street at. The business requested that the vendors be move down the road for the period of construction. The legislation is such that if they vendors moved out of their designated locations, they would be trading in a restricted area and therefore trading illegally despite their reason for moving.

There is evidence of the formal sector taking individual action to support the informal sector. Economic Development (2012) cited an example of a business located in the CBD who is about to unveil their plan to work with the street vendors who are stationed at of their place of business. They have plans to support the 16 or so vendors through activities such as branding their carts and offering them overnight storage space in their parking garage. This is an example of a business in the formal sector that is taking a more active role in their relationship with the informal sector and taking a far more proactive approach by creating a more formal agreement in order to work towards a win-win situation.

Safety and Security (2012) cited an example of encouraging a shopping centre to draw the informal vendor into a space inside where they could manage them and make their business look aesthetically pleasing and therefore not deter customers from coming into the centre. He says that he has facilitated about three interventions such as this successfully.

THE VENDORS’ PERSPECTIVE

None of the vendors have ever been told to move or leave their vending location at the construction site by local authorities.

Patty has had experience with them. She used to sell her food on site at the bus terminal in Belville and worked there without a license. She was selling food on the “wrong side” and then she sold food out of her car. All the kiosks were full so there was no demarcated space available to her. The officials gave her warnings. When they told her to leave the area, they took everything from her (food, Tupperware, utensils etc.) to prevent her from running her business there again. She said that they were “aggressive”. This is why she is now vending at construction sites on the suggestion of a construction worker who was passing her previous vending location.

Cathy and Julie currently operate their business on university property but inside the boundaries of the construction site. Due to the visibility of Julie’s operations, university security came to see her business. She told them that she only sells to the workers and was therefore is allowed to run her business. Julie still sells goods through and over the
construction site fence to students, ground staff and other labourers who are on the campus. For example, an electrician drove to Julie to buy lunch for his workers based on the other side of the campus.

None of the vendors have been asked for a Health certificate by local authorities. Patty and Candy are the only two vendors who have one. Are the other vendors taking a risk by not having one? So far it seems not to have affected their operations. Patty questioned “how can they sell food to people without it? You know why you must have a health and safety certificate, when people get sick; they know where they can find you. They must go to see your house.” Patty was previously engaged in formal employment the restaurant industry which explains why she understands the importance of a food certificate and was also able to meet all the requirements to qualify for one.

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LOCAL AUTHORITY PERSPECTIVE

The vendors operate in no man’s land. The Informal Trading by-law focuses on fixed locations. The business site of these vendors moves as construction sites are temporary. Law enforcement of street vending is focused on areas where there are a lot of vendors and vending reoccurs in that area (for example, Green Market Square or the Grand Parade). The vendors that are stationed outside construction sites are not located in areas where vending normally takes place. “They are unlawful. The law doesn’t provide for them” (Safety and Security, 2012). Law Enforcement (2012) argues that the vendors could “trade in those areas provided they don’t infringe on any of the other by-laws like causing an obstruction, causing a danger…” They are isolated. It is only a viable vending location due to the presence of the construction site.

Safety and Security (2012) argues that “traders are far more impacted upon by other traders than by formal traders.” This statement is interesting in the context of the presence of another vendor on site and how that impacts the dynamics of the relationships on site. Safety and Security (2012) states that there should not be a problem with vendors inside construction sites because those sites have a “whole package of rights.” He argues that it is fine because “it is not going to cause a problem and no one is going to complain about it.” He went on to argue that the vendor who arrived first might complain about a new vendor. But that even for the vendors located outside the construction site “nobody’s going to complain about that.”
Vendors who locate themselves within the boundaries of the construction site are on private property and are therefore free to trade with the workers (Economic Development, 2012). If they are preparing food, they will need to have a Hawking in Meals license. If the vendors sit outside of the construction site, they will need to have a permit and an allocated vending station. Ward Councillor (2012) believes that they would have to be treated on a case by case basis due to not being able to control where the construction site is in relation to a vending site. This is in line with Hansen’s (2004) thinking that a homogenised approach to dealing with the traders and a lack of differentiation between them and their activities can be counter-productive for the informal sector.

ENVIRONMENTAL HEALTH’S PERSPECTIVE:

Environmental Health’s primary role is to “ensure that people live in an environment that won’t have a negative impact on their livelihood” (Environmental Health Practitioner (EHP), 2012). With this in mind, two pieces of legislation apply to the vendors under study. To prepare, cook and sell food, they are required to have a “Hawking in Meals” licence, as stipulated by the Business Act (EHP, 2012). This licence is applicable as they are not conducting their business in a built environment. The second piece of legislation is where Environmental Health plays a role. A Certificate of Acceptability (COA) proves that a health inspector has been to the point where food has been prepared and sold and is satisfied with the conditions in terms of the food hygiene guidelines (EHP, 2012). It also proves that the vendor has been trained in food preparation hygiene. Simply put, the legislation says that “if someone is selling food, they must be licensed” (EHP, 2012).

Challenges in enforcing compliance

The practitioner agrees that hawkers have the right to earn a living in terms of the constitution but when Environmental Health try to restrict their trade due to non-compliance, the hawkers argue that they are in breach of this right. EHP (2012) argues that you are within your rights but you cannot put other people at risk because every person has their own set of rights.

Vendors are often not aware of the legislation and what they need to have in place in order to comply. The low barriers to entry into food vending means that they “mushroom.” (EHP, 2012). Only if Environmental Health finds the vendor will they start the process with them to be licensed and certified. Often, the vendors move locations the day after Environmental Health has found them and started to engage with them about compliance. Vendors relocate
because of fear, they feel that they are in trouble, they do not want to go through the
certification hassle to make some money and they feel uncomfortable having a stranger
inspect their home kitchen (EHP, 2012).

There are two types of food traders, permanent traders and mobile traders. Enforcing
legislation and conducting spot checks is easy when the location of the vendor is known as is
the case with permanent traders. Conducting spot checks on mobile vendors is a challenge as
often they are not located or no longer located in the area that they provided on the licensing
document. “Mobile vendors are the ones that are missed in the loop” (EHP, 2012). Vendors at
construction sites are part of this category. They “are the type of vendors that we tend to miss
because they are stand alone. Imagine if we can go to every business complex to check if
there are any vendors inside. It becomes impossible. We only know of those people when
they approach us to apply” (EHP, 2012). This is the type of food vendor that the female food
vendors under study are. They are hard to track and easily avoid law enforcement.

**Guidelines for informal food trading/hawking**

Environmental Health attempts to be reasonable in the guidelines that are provided for this
type of business. They attempt to be practical and make it easy for the vendor to be hygienic
while keeping compliance with the guidelines as cheap as possible so as not to prevent them
from being able to run their business. For example, although running water is a requirement
where food is prepared, a public tap in close proximity, 25 litres of water in a clean container
or even in an old 5l ice-cream bucket that has been cleaned are all fine. Their main aim is to
ensure that the vendor understands why the regulation is in place.

Table 2 outlines the guidelines provided by Environmental Health for Informal Food
Trading/Hawking (City of Cape Town, 2012). It attempts to analyse the current status of the
food vendors against these guidelines. It is to be noted that Patty and Candy have had the
location where they prepare their food inspected and not the site from where they serve the
food and Tammy makes use of the construction site kitchen to store and prepare the food she
sells in her shop which is in a separate container. As the kitchen Tammy uses is close to her
vending site, it is included in this analysis. This analysis is based on the vending station at the
construction site.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Guideline</th>
<th>Patty (Office park)</th>
<th>Candy (Office park)</th>
<th>Tammy (Sports Ground)</th>
<th>Julie (University)</th>
<th>Cathy (University)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) A valid “hawkling in meals” trading licence and “certificate of acceptability” must be obtained from your nearest Environmental Health office</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Suitable containers for the storage of clean and waste water (25 litres)</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>Y (access to site running water)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no food prepared on site)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) All working surfaces must be of a smooth, washable, and impervious material</td>
<td>Y (metal surface)</td>
<td>N (wooden surface)</td>
<td>N (wooden surface in shop)</td>
<td>Y (plastic sheeting)</td>
<td>Y (kitchen-like countertop)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(kitchen counter tops in kitchen)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) Clean aprons or overalls must be worn</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) Braai-tongs or food handling utensils must be used</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(a plastic packet is mostly used to cover hand when dealing with food)</td>
<td>(a plastic packet is mostly used to cover hand when dealing with food)</td>
<td>(a plastic packet is mostly used to cover hand when dealing with food)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6) Cooked or raw meat displayed must be covered and stored separately at all times</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7) The name and address of the hawker must be displayed</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8) A basin, liquid hand soap and clean towels (disposable) for hand washing</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no food prepared on site)</td>
<td>(no food prepared on site)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(dish washing liquid)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9) A refuse container for the storage of refuse</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>present) Y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10) A coolbox with ice or ice blocks for the storage of raw meat and other perishable products, and the temperature is to be maintained below 10 °C</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>present) Y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(a fridge is used where food is stored and prepared)</td>
<td>(a fridge is used where food is stored and prepared)</td>
<td>(use of site fridge and CocaCola fridges)</td>
<td>(use of own fridge and site fridge)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11) A suitable place for the storage and washing of equipment must be provided</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>present) N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(storage and washing of equipment takes place away from site)</td>
<td>(storage and washing of equipment takes place away from site)</td>
<td>(storage and washing of equipment takes place away from site)</td>
<td>(no suitable place for washing of equipment is available)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12) A floor or ground cover to prevent the soiling of the ground surface</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>present) Y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13) Only gas or electric equipment may be used for cooking</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>present) Y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(no food is cooked on site, gas for heating up stews)</td>
<td>(no food is cooked on site)</td>
<td>(no food is cooked on site)</td>
<td>(gas)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14) Squeeze bottle containers for sauces</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>present) Y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15) An umbrella or shelter for shade and coverage of the cooking area</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y (construction container)</td>
<td>present) Y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(awning)</td>
<td>(construction container)</td>
<td>(awning)</td>
<td>(awning)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(wendy house “bungalow”)</td>
<td>(construction container)</td>
<td>(awning)</td>
<td>(construction container)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5 out of 9</td>
<td>4 out of 9</td>
<td>9.5 out of 14</td>
<td>5 out of 10</td>
<td>10 out of 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 1: ANALYSIS OF THE VENDORS BUSINESS IN TERMS ENVIRONMENTAL HEALTH GUIDELINES
From this table, one can see that most of the vendors are struggling to meet all of the guidelines. More of the guidelines are applicable to Tammy due to her access to a kitchen on site. Cathy is able to meet more of the guidelines as she has her own “bungalow” on site, the more advanced set up of her shop and the increased amount of equipment she uses. Julie and Candy both have the least advanced and most simple station setups. Appendix G provides additional comments provided by Environmental Health to help the vendors comply with legislation. It also provides reasons as to why certain guidelines are in place.

**Environmental Health and the formal sector**

The formal sector rarely calls in EH to blow the whistle on a vendor. In the EHP’s (2012) experience, no site manager has ever phoned to complain about a vendor on their site. The only time that they get notification from the formal sector is when someone is trying to take someone to court or is going through a compliance process themselves and want to draw attention away from them and towards someone who is also not compliant. For example, office centres or factories sometimes phone to say that is someone is selling food on their property or outside their gate. Generally the complaint is because they want to get rid of them rather than wanting them to be compliant. The environmental health practitioner has not received any phone calls from construction companies complaining about the food vendors under study.
RESEARCH ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

DEFINING THE VENDORS IN THE INFORMAL SECTOR

As mentioned in the introduction to this paper, several academics, such as Skinner (2008), Sparks and Barnett (2010), Spring (2009) and Potts (2008), have contributed to the definition of an informal enterprise. Although there is no final definition, in Table 1, the researcher has attempted to analyse the vendors businesses in relation to the definitions that were discussed.

Ward Councillor (2012) differs in his definition of informal economy from Lund (1998) and Iheduru (1998). He believes that survivalists are not classified within the definition of the informal economy. They sit below it. They are “the outsiders who are living hand to mouth”. Ward Councillor (2012) sees survivalists as “not investing” and “not developing”. He sees three tiers in the definition: “survivalist, informal sector and formal sector”. This definition helps to differentiate the vendors slightly as well as understand further why they are in that situation. Save for Tammy, all the vendors could be classified as survivalist traders. The researcher first assumed that Patty was not a survivalist, as there are two cars in her household, until Patty said that she uses up all the money every day. “We do that, it is our culture…There is no other way” (Patty, 2012). Cathy, seemingly more established, makes R1000 profit per month. This seems to be a small amount considering that she has a complete shop and supports children. Following the fact that Patty identified herself as a survivalist and is potentially the most well-off vendor, one could classify Cathy as one as well.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Vendor</th>
<th>Lacking formal registration</th>
<th>Unincorporated</th>
<th>Small</th>
<th>Lacking formal accounts</th>
<th>Technology use</th>
<th>Dependent on family labour</th>
<th>Level of productivity</th>
<th>Survivalist</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Office park</td>
<td>Patty</td>
<td>Y (has a Health Permit)</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Not evident</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Yes (evidence: uses up money every day for her family)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Candy</td>
<td>Y (has a Health Permit)</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Not evident</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Yes (evidence: cannot find alternate employment)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports Ground</td>
<td>Tammy</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Limited internet usage and cellphone usage</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>No (evidence: Tammy and husband have formal employment)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>Julie</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Limited cellphone usage for advance orders</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Yes (evidence: no other income, no transport, supporting two children)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cathy</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Not evident</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Yes (evidence: cannot find alternate employment)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 2: THE VENDORS BUSINESS IN TERMS OF THE DEFINITION OF THE INFORMAL SECTOR**
RELATING THE CONCEPTS TO EACH OTHER

Using this understanding of the vendors businesses, the following discussion attempts to relate all the different findings and themes that have been presented to each other in order in order describe the relationships and the phenomenon under study in its completeness with the ultimate goal of understanding this part of the relationship that exists between the formal and the informal sector. See Appendix F for a diagram of the various concepts and themes that emerged from the data collection and how the researcher has attempted to relate them to one another.

The need for a vendor on site is dependent on several factors, one being the location of the site. Is the site in close proximity to an appropriate store (e.g. Pick n Pay)? It also depends on the requirements and budget of the client who may stipulate that a formal canteen be set up which would therefore close the gap in the market for an informal vendor. The site may also be located close to a local community shop that the client requires the site to support for the duration of the construction. The size of the sites studied, in terms of the number of workers, means that there is ample business for a vendor to make money. The size of the sites, however, is not large enough to warrant effort from the construction company to formalise a relationship with a vendor and, for example, provide them with their own container within the boundaries of the site.

In terms of location, the close proximity to appropriate food stores may mean that there is little incentive for the site manager to engage with the vendor and keep them around. Table 3 relates the size of the site to the location of the site. One can see that there are three main instances where the size and location of the site make it viable for a vendor to be on site and a fourth possible instance which depends on the client’s requirements. In the four scenarios (shaded in green), there is a large enough gap in the market for the workers to need a vendor and support them thereby incentivising a relationship to form between them. There is little incentive, however, for a site manager to form any kind of relationship with the vendor based on these criteria apart from when a medium site is located inside private property. Brand et al (2007) would argue that these women are struggling to survive and struggling to run a successful business because they are not “affiliated with a legal business entity” (p. 191) despite the fact that they are located right outside or inside the boundaries of one. These women are sitting on the door step of an opportunity “to grow in a sustainable manner and contribute to the formal economy” (Brand et al, 2007, p. 191).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size of site</th>
<th>Large site (&gt;350)</th>
<th>Medium Site (350&gt;x&gt;150)</th>
<th>Small site (&lt;150)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close to shops</td>
<td>No need for vendor. (but client may make formal canteen arrangements)</td>
<td>No need for vendor.</td>
<td>No need for vendor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium distance to shops (e.g. short taxi ride ~2km)</td>
<td>Need for a vendor (but client may make formal canteen arrangements)</td>
<td>Need for a vendor.</td>
<td>Market is too small for a vendor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Far from shops</td>
<td>No need for a vendor. Formal canteen arrangements will be made.</td>
<td>Need for a vendor.</td>
<td>Market is too small for a vendor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inside private property (e.g. University grounds)</td>
<td>No need for a vendor. Formal canteen arrangements will be made.</td>
<td>Need for a vendor</td>
<td>Market is too small for a vendor.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 3: SIZE VS LOCATION OF SITE

Following on from this, the location of the vendor’s business is of critical importance to the relationship with the workers. Their close proximity to the workers means that they are the most convenient source of food, snacks, cigarettes and drinks. Offering convenience to the workers is a critical part of the relationship between the two parties.

The location of the vendor has an impact on their requirements for support from the construction company and the workers and therefore the relationship. The location also has an impact on the legality of their business. If a vendor is located outside the boundaries of the site, they are answerable to local authorities. Site management is able to step away and not take responsibility for whether they are compliant with legislation as they are located outside of their area of responsibility. The site manager also does not need to worry about the safety of the vendor.

The location of vendor changes the vending requirements and therefore support needed by the vendor from the workers. If the vendor is located outside the boundary of the site, the vendor may need more assistance than if they are located inside, for example, to store equipment overnight instead of carrying it to and fro every day. This helps overcome the
challenge to running a successful business that Ngiba et al (2009) mentioned in their study on fruit vendors. This support occurs not because of the relationship with the construction company but because of the relationship with the individual workers on site. In this scenario, the vendor has minimal impact on the site and site management.

If the vendor is located inside the boundaries of the site, the site manager may have more of an influence and be more knowledgeable about the support that the vendor gets from the construction company. This is due to the increased management task that the site manager takes on by allowing the vendor inside the premises. The vendor may have the same overnight storage requirements but this time it occurs with the site manager’s knowledge or consent. The vendor may also be privy to additional support based on their location, for example, the use of the site fridge, electricity or running water.

The location of the vendor has two important benefits site management. By being located outside the boundaries of the site or taking up minimal space on site, it means that their presence has minimal impact of the successful running of the site. In addition, their location ensures reduced risk and increases working hours as workers do not need to go off site to get food or rely on the “shop boy” system.

If one looks at the vendors’ requirements in more detail, what the vendor sells and where they choose to do their food preparation determines what kind of vendor station setup they create and therefore what kind of requirements for support the vendor has. The vendor may have requirements that require the involvement of the site manager. For example, Cathy requires space on site, electricity and running water in order to run her shop. One might expect that a vendor that has more requirements from a site manager would have a better working relationship with them. However, there is no obvious relationship between the site managers and Cathy. “I know even less about her” (University site manager, 2012). Other vendors may have requirements that require the involvement of the workers only, for example, the carrying of new stock onto site or the storage of a table overnight.

What the vendor sells may be advantageous in developing a relationship with the site manager if they sell something that the site manager wants. It may help to put them in a position where more of their vending requirements can be met, as was the case with Julie who was able to use the site’s fridge to keep the drinks cold. Julie was fortunate that she arrived first on site and was able to set up this arrangement because with the arrival of Cathy, the site manager now purchases from her.
This introduces the next concept that influences the relationships on site: the presence of another vendor. How does the presence of another vendor impact on the relationships on site? What other factors are involved? In the two cases where there were two vendors on site, there seemed to be little to no interaction between the vendors. Does this hint at the intense rivalry that Ngiba et al (2009) discovered occurs between traders who sell undifferentiated products?

At the office park site, the vendors sold completely different food, apart from chicken. At the university site, the vendors sold very similar items (see Appendix C) despite the fact that the site managers had encouraged a discussion to take place between the two vendors about what was sold so that they could both earn a living. Care for the vendors was shown by the site managers in this case. They wanted to ensure that both vendors could run a viable business. The reason why this intervention on the part of the site manager took place was because the vendors were located inside the boundaries of the building site.

In terms of the workers, one would consciously alternate between the vendors and support both and others would frequent the same vendor every day. As the vendors’ locations were of no impact, they sold similar food and offered same credit terms; it was of no matter to them which vendor they frequented. So, it is possible that workers choose a vendor for different reasons, such as the setup of the vending station and the personality of the vendor. Although, a vendor does not have complete control over the setup of their vending station (due to location, mobility and financial restrictions), Julie has created an environment around her station that is welcoming and encourages workers to remain at her station for the duration of their break. There is seating and shade and an environment where one can socialise. She is outgoing and likes to speak and be around people. This aligns with the previously mentioned Kenyan study where Lyons and Snoxell (2005) found that an overwhelming majority believed that making new friends is important when arriving in a market with social contact being the main driver. Julie has set up her station to meet these needs. She has created an environment where she can form relationships with the workers on the site. She does not want to be just a vendor on the site. Cathy’s “bungalow” in comparison is closed off and does not have the shade or seating that Julie offers. She is also quiet and does not engage in much conversation with her customers.

A vendor who takes an interest in the workers’ diets and needs, who speaks to the workers and takes an interest in their lives and a vendor who sells food that is balanced, meet the workers needs and is well priced seems to make for a successful business. Workers are more inclined to support the vendor because she is nice to be around and she serves good food.
However, if the vendor is quiet, reserved, calm, strict, it does not deter the workers from supporting the vendor so long as she is selling food and drinks that they want as prices that they can afford.

What the vendor sells has an impact on the daily diet of the workers. Further research has been proposed to unpack the diet of the workers. Offering food that the works want at a price that they want is of critical importance to the element of convenience that they offer the workers. In addition, offering the informal credit opportunities and the ability to positively influence the vendors, (for example: what cooked food they offer) has an enormous impact on the convenience factor and therefore the business the workers give to the vendors.

The activities of Environmental Health aligns with Tinker’s (1997) comment that some local authorities are taking more positive actions to support the vendors by providing education about food hygiene and health. Yet, they are also facing the challenge outlined by Daniels (1998) that despite these good intentions the number that can be helped is limited in comparison to the numbers in existence. One can see by the manner in which the vendors run their business that they are lacking in this education and the knowledge of what to do to qualify for a COA from Environmental Health.

UNDERSTANDING THE RELATIONSHIPS

Potts (2008) argues that the definition of a dual market economy exaggerates the disconnect between the two sectors and infers that even if a relationship is not evident, some kind of reliance must exist, even if it is not explicit. This paper has made clear where the elements of reliance in the various relationships exist as well as why they exist. It is evident that there is minimal development in street food vending at construction sites, but what would the decline of female street food vendors mean for construction companies and their workers? How would it impact the workers and therefore the construction company? The vendors rely more on site management’s acceptance of them than site management rely on the vendor’s presence in the everyday running of their business. They are clearly dependent on the construction sites but how dependent are the construction sites on the presence of the vendors? The size of the impact would be determined by how strong or weak the bonds between the two sectors are. The lack of evidence to describe the relationship with the site managers from the vendors’ perspective may show the distance in the relationship. Could the distance in the relationship be caused by the racial background, language barriers and cultural
differences between the two parties (see areas for further research)? One could argue that without the existence of the vendors, the shop boy system would kick in and the site management would barely notice a difference. The disadvantages and advantages of the vendors would be replaced by the disadvantages and advantages of the shop boy system. There is no balance in the relationship and any mutual give and take is not leveraged.

Sparks and Barnett (2010) argue that there should no longer be a debate that elevates the importance of the formal sector at the expense of the informal sector. Rather, society needs to focus on how the relationship between the two can be leveraged. From the attitude displayed by the representatives of the local authorities, they are well on their way to working towards leveraging the relationship. Policy, however, has not yet extended to encouraging the advancement of the relationship between construction companies and street vendors and from the attitude exhibited and comments made by the site managers, construction companies are not (yet) actively finding ways to advance the relationship for the betterment of the situation of the vendors on their own. Perhaps, it is because the construction companies do not see the enormous benefit these vendors can have (and some do have) on the morale, wellbeing, motivation and physical health of the workers. Maiti and Marjit (2008) note that it is “interesting to see how the prospects of profitable trading opportunities alter the organizational relationship between the formal and the informal sectors within an economy” (p. 455). The prospects of profitable trading opportunities on construction sites have generated the presence of the vendor but, apart from the case of Tammy, there has been little action on the part of the construction company to enhance the organisational relationship and leverage the benefits they receive through the existence of vendor as would be proposed by Spark and Bennett (2010). This is surprising as the disadvantages to having the vendors on site are few and have little real impact. These vendors are a stark difference to the Kenyan case where formal traders complained about the vast negative affect the traders were having on the development of the cities (Lyons & Snoxell, 2005).

The impact that the site managers could have on the vendors business and their success going forward is huge. It takes such a little bit of effort on their part to have a large impact on the vendor. For example, Julie used to sit at the fence and she “struggled”. She had the help of the workers to put her goods over the fence into the construction site every night so it is safe. Now the she is sitting inside the construction site, she does not have to carry so much to the site every day. She can use the fridge and store her non-perishables on site. Architect (2012) had the following comments to make about the relationship:
It can be such a small thing…They don’t have to interfere with the mechanism. They can just provide shelter and basic facilities, make sure she has water to cook with, shade, things like that…and safety. She can store her stuff with them…It’s such a small thing…

From the vendors’ perspective, they suggest that they are receiving the support that they need. As the relationship is not formalised however (none of the vendors have a formal agreement with the site managers), the future of the relationship is questionable. Most of the vendors do not know which site they will be working at next. None of the site managers mentioned that they would take action to ensure the vendor came to their next site. The site managers at the university site suggested that the vendors rather develop a relationship with the workers and they find out from them where they are going to next. “There is no arrangement with us” (University site manager, 2012).

From the vendor’s perspective, Cathy, with the “bungalow” has more incentive to plan ahead on her own due to the more advanced nature of her business. She is going to a Durbanville site next. Patty was in discussions with a foreman to try to find a new site for her and a container. Two weeks after the initial study, she still did not know which site she would be going to next, despite the reduced business she was experiencing at her current site. There was no longer the rush to the table to get food that existed before. She did know that a lot of the workers were going to the site in Sea Point. The future of Tammy’s business is tenuous despite her unique employment circumstances and being the vendor who receives the most support from the site managers.

Yet, the workers who buy from Tammy complain and purchase from her begrudgingly. It is because they have no other easy choice of where to purchase food? Has support of the site managers pushed away the support and the close relationship that would have been in place had the workers seen that this was a woman just trying to make a living like the other vendors? Tammy is different from the other vendors. She is not survivalist. She is not just trying to make a living. She can do that with her salary. She is trying to be more than that. Could the workers resent her for that? There is no evidence of this kind of resentment from the workers on the other sites. In fact, there is no evidence of any kind of negativity towards the vendors on the other sites.

WHAT THE FINDINGS MEAN IN THE BROADER CONTEXT OF SOUTH AFRICA
“Dual market theory contends that a large body of workers is involuntarily confined to substandard jobs in a secondary labour market which is separated from the main stream or “primary” sector by impenetrable boundaries imposed by institutionalised discrimination” (Andrisani, 1973, p. 3). Although South Africa left this behind at the end of Apartheid, the country is still dealing with the effects it had on society (Brand et al, 2007). Despite the fact that Patty and Julie are doing their job voluntarily, they both said that they struggle. Cathy argues that she has “no choice.” Their businesses remain at a survivalist level because the part of the formal sector with which they interact with does not see enough potential or any advantage in making an effort include them in the main stream sector.

Individuals in the informal sector struggle to move upward within the informal sector due to low education levels, and lack of access to capital and business networks (Spring, 2009). Micro-entrepreneurs in the informal sector tend to only have some primary school education (Lund, 1998; Spring, 2009; Hansen, 2004). Of the vendors under study, only one of them, Tammy, had finished school. She seemed to be the most well-off, earning two incomes and her husband earning an income as well. Julie and Cathy spoke about starting up their business from the smallest quantity of goods (a six pack of drinks and some cigarettes). This is how a survivalist starts a business with no access to capital. The vendors sit on the door step of a business network opportunity and yet they are unable to leverage the relationship to their benefit. All these factors prevent the upward movement of these vendors into a more formalised business or the formal sector and represent the hardship the informal sector faces in South Africa.

Spring (2009) noted that sometimes movement out of the formal sector and back into to the informal sector occurs when businesses fail or workers are retrenched. The formal sector is structured in a manner that denies economically active people access to formal employment (Heintz & Posel, 2008). In the case of the vendors under study, the formal sector denied economically active people access to formal employment that enabled the vendor to earn a decent living. Patty and Julie’s movement from the formal sector to the informal sector was motivated by the fact that they could earn more street vending and in Julie’s case, work fewer hours. In the context of South Africa, it may be an enormous problem if this is occurring on a broader scale than just the isolated cases that have been studied in this report. Further research has been proposed.
The reasons for government’s general attitude change towards the informal sector can be attributed to an increased understanding of the informal sector and acknowledgement of its positive characteristics. The lag in the attitude change could be attributed to the fact that Informal Sector Law Enforcement is “forever dealing with the conflict side of it instead of dealing with empowering side” (Safety and Security, 2012). In addition, South Africa’s political history presents a challenge to “the present government to implement innovative solutions that promote business development and create employment opportunities” (Brand et al, 2007, p.188). The concern area therefore is the private sector and their attitude towards the informal sector. If the construction companies under study are representative of the formal sector, the lack of effort on their part to leverage the benefits provided by the informal sector. Further research has been proposed to establish more broadly what the attitude of the formal sector is towards the informal sector.
RESEARCH LIMITATIONS

One of the largest limitations of following a case study approach, even a comparative case study approach, is that the findings cannot be applied generally to other cases. This research can only form a basis from which further research can be conducted. For this reason, Appendix E provides a detailed account of the ethnographic process that was undertaken and proposals for future research are provided at the end of this paper. “Particularisation rather than generalisation constitutes the main strength of case studies” (Bryman & Bell, 2007, p. 61). This similarly applies to the fact that purposive sampling, as a non-probability approach to sampling, was used to conduct this research.

An issue with conducting this research using ethnography hinges around how active or passive the researcher is in the environment. Despite attempting to dress “down” and not draw attention to herself, it is clear that the researcher was not part of the environment. The researcher found it necessary to participate to some degree in order to make the research participants feel comfortable in her presence. In this kind of environment, a failure to engage and participate may lead to a perception of real interest and a loss of credibility (Bryman & Bell, 2007). It will hinder building trust between the participants and the vendor. This participation may mean that the interactions that are observed are tainted by the researcher’s presence. For this reason, throughout the journaling process, the researcher made notes where there was interaction with her, where she was spoken about but not addressed directly and where her presence seemed to make little of no difference to the events taking place.

The potential reluctance of the food vendors to share information, especially in terms of profits and their business operations was taken into account as a limitation. Yet, the researcher did not experience any hint that the vendors were not happy to talk about their business. Due to the lack of accurate and extensive record keeping on the part of the vendors, there was no primary data to analyse. The researcher attempted to document as least some of the accounts in order to get an idea of their profits. These numbers are detailed in Appendix C.

The researcher was aware that the stakeholders may show and tell her what they think she wants to hear (Delamont, 2008). This may have led to a skewed perception of the environment under study. For example, when the conversation was in Xhosa and the researcher asked the vendor to translate, she naturally gave a filtered version of the conversation, only sharing the bits that were most important to her or the bits she thought
would be most relevant to the study. This is why the researcher spent at least four days on each site. This allowed for more trust to be built and for more in depth conversations to be had. The researcher found that sometimes the most interesting information about the dynamics on site only emerged on the fourth day.

Cultural predispositions of and potential language barriers between the researcher and the participants had an influence on the research results. Candy could not speak any English or Afrikaans and despite attempts to greet her every day, even in her first language, Xhosa, she was not forthcoming about trying to communicate with the researcher. Finally, the researcher used the store (inventory) worker from the construction company and the other vendor to translate questions. The researcher attempted to greet the construction workers in Xhosa or Afrikaans where necessary in order to open lines of communication. Because the language of the majority of the workers and all the vendors is Xhosa, this was the language spoken throughout their interactions. This meant that the researcher missed out on a lot of conversation and dynamics. Further research has been proposed due to this limitation.

Due to language barriers, the researcher was not able to gather an in-depth understanding of many of the workers perceptions of the workers. The analysis on their relationship with the vendor is largely based on observations and fewer conversations than were ideal as outlined in the sampling section. Further research has been proposed to understand if this omission would impact on the research findings of this report.
CHAPTER 5: RESEARCH CONCLUSIONS

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The vendors are accepted on site because they are needed and because they are seen to have little impact on the successful management of the site. They are needed not only by their main customers, the construction workers but they are also needed by the site managers. They offer tangible yet subtle benefits that the site managers are aware of but do not necessarily acknowledge the importance of (risk reduction and increased working hours). The vendors also offer more intangible, humane benefits for the workers that would ultimately have a positive impact on production levels such as balanced food that keeps them healthy and gives them energy to work and food that is part of their culture and upbringing. The vendors also play a role in keeping the workers happy and motivated by offering them a space in their day to relax instead of travelling to get food and enjoy their lunch together. The vendors offer the workers quality time within their work day.

The relationship between the site managers and the vendors can be described as amicable but distant. The vendors feel accepted and, in most cases, supported. Their relationship with the workers can be described as one of trust, understanding, care and mutual dependence.

Architect (2012) described the relationship quite aptly when she stated:

> It’s such a small thing that has such a big impact on so many people’s health, food security, emotional okayness. There are all these things that she represents to them. And mutually they provide that opportunity to her. To feel like she has a role in life, a purpose, to look after them. It’s a mutual relationship. Money changes hands but there is more to it...

Despite this, these women could be described the forgotten women of South Africa’s developing society and the informal sector. These women operate on no man’s land. The law does not extend to this phenomenon. Local authorities do not recognise or cater for this particular gap in the market that these women are filling and work is yet to be done to encourage development in this phenomenon. The women should comply with the Business Act and apply for “Hawking in Meals” licenses but as they are generally not visible for long periods of time, that compliance is even not a necessity.

Little is done independently on the part of construction companies to leverage off the work that these women are doing. They are largely ignored. The architect who has been quoted throughout this report incidentally is female and “super pro-socialist” so her comments came
from a place of understanding of both the site management and the plight of the women. The comment that stood out the most was “it’s such a small thing” (Architect, 2012). The impact that the workers have on the lives of the vendors is huge and the impact that the vendors have on the lives of the workers is also huge. The point the architect is making is that the potential impact that the construction companies could have on the lives of the vendors is also great.

Finally, to address the main research question that is the driver of this paper research: what characterises the way the informal and formal economies in Cape Town engage and interact with each other? The vendors offer a meeting point between the township and the formal place of work that is the construction site. From the evidence and the attitude of the interviewees, it is clear that local authorities and legislation is well down the path of being more inclusive and encouraging manner of dealing with the informal sector. “We need to know how [the informal sector] works not only so we can start to get our finger on the scales of the economy but also in terms of what we can do to help develop that further” (Ward Councillor, 2012). Construction workers and people who are employees of the formal sector but are from a similar socio-economic background as informal traders understand the informal sector and the difficulties that face them. They know how to support them. The construction companies are lagging behind local authorities and the workers in terms of leveraging off a relationship with the vendors. However, there is some evidence of the formal sector moving towards establishing a win-win relationship with the informal sector but widespread action is yet to take place.
FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

The list below provides some areas that the researcher uncovered during the research process which could be of potential interest for further research:

- This study could be replicated in other large South African metros to understand how the results are similar or if they differ.
- The diet of the construction worker, what they eat, what they need, what is available to them and what they can afford would be an interesting aspect of this phenomenon to study.
- How would the outcomes of this research differ if the vendor and the site manager were from the same racial and/or cultural background? If a case can be found where this occurs, it would be interesting to compare the results to this research.
- How would the outcomes of the research differ if the researcher was of the same ethnic origin as the vendor and the workers or if the researcher could speak and understand Xhosa?
- What factors or initiatives are in place to develop or improve the informal entrepreneurial sector in Cape Town?
- How does the cultural and socio-economic background of the vendor affect the dynamics of the relationships on site?
- What are the factors that drive movement between the formal and informal sector? What enable people to move from the informal sector to the formal sector and what causes people to move out of the formal sector?
- What is the formal sector’s attitude towards the informal sector?
BIBLIOGRAPHY


APPENDIX A: DATA ANALYSIS PROCESS

1. Collect Data
2. Coding
3. Concepts
4. Comparison
5. Categories
6. Theoretical
7. Hypothesis
8. Hypothesis Testing
9. Theory Formation
10. Answering of Research Questions

(adapted by author from Loos, 2010)
APPENDIX B: DETAILED RESEARCH QUESTIONS

VENDOR

- **What is the vendor’s story? Who are the informal vendors?**
  - What are the profiles of the food vendors? (name, age, education, number of children or number of dependents, household size, marital status)
  - Where do they live?
  - What is their background?
  - What education have you received? What languages can you speak and read and write in?
  - Why are they doing this for a living?
  - What did they do before this?
  - Have they ever been engaged in formal employment? What kind? Why are they no longer in formal employment?
  - “How are they coping with their food vending activity?” (Fonchingong, 2005, p. 244)
  - “What are the contributions of these food vendors to their respective households?” (Fonchingong, 2005, p. 244)
  - What are the risks you face in running your business and how do you deal with them?
  - Are you the sole breadwinner in your home? What other income do you get?
  - Do you enjoy what you do? Why?

- **How do the informal vendors operate their business?**
  - What was the motivation for starting the business?
  - What food is served? Is it the same food every day? How varied is the “menu”?
  - How did they determine what food they would offer? What were the considerations?
  - How is the price of the food determined?
  - How do they transport their ware to the site?
  - How do they know about the site? How far did you travel to get to this site?
  - How many hours per day are spent working? What time is spent conducting each activity
○ How many customers do you serve in a day?
○ How long has the business been running for?
○ How did the vendor set up their business?
○ Where did the vendor get their initial capital and equipment to start the business?
○ How does the vendor track how well the business is doing? Making a profit/loss/breaking even.
○ Where does the vendor see the business in the future? Going concern? Closing the business? Is it a long/short term solution?
○ Would the vendor give up their business if they were offered stable employment in the formal sector?
○ Does the vendor’s family help with the running of the business?
○ What does the vendor do with the left-over food that has not been sold during the day?
○ What does the vendor do over the holiday season (Christmas and Easter) and on weekends?
  ○ Has the vendor ever been a victim of crime in the course of running your business?
• “Do the activities of these food vendors translate into an improvement in living standards?” (Fonchingong, 2005, p. 244)

• What are the dynamics of the relationships on the construction site?
  ○ Does the vendor interact with the site managers or anyone in charge from the construction company?
  ○ How can the interaction be described? (with the site manager/construction company)
  ○ What is the nature of the discussion? (e.g. instructive, discussion)
  ○ Does the vendor ask for permission to sell their goods to the builders?
  ○ Does the site manager ever interfere with or enable the running of the business in any way?
  ○ Does the vendor feel accepted here?

• What is the impact of the local authorities on the vendor’s business?
  ○ Do the police ever speak to the vendor while they are running their business?
Do the police / local authorities tell the vendor what they may or may not do and where they may or may not locate their business?

Has the vendor ever been told to move their business or leave an area completely?

What did they do after this happened? Did the vendor ever return to the location they were told to leave?

Has the vendor ever been given support by the local authorities to make running their business easier?

### SITE MANAGER

- Are you aware of the presence of the vendor at the building site?
- Do you have any interaction with the vendor?
- Does a formal/informal agreement exist between the construction company and the food vendor?
- How does the vendor impact on the management of the site?
- Are there benefits or disadvantages in having a vendor at the building site?
- Is the vendor included or excluded from site operations?

### CONSTRUCTION WORKER

- Do you bring lunch from home?
- Do you buy food from the vendor?
- What do you purchase?
- How much do you spend?
- If the vendor wasn’t there, from where would you get your lunch?
- Do you see the same food vendors at different construction sites?
- What is your relationship with the vendor?
- How often do you buy food from the vendor?
- Do you like the food the vendor sells?
- Does the vendor give you good service?
- Have you ever seen a male food vendor? Are there male food vendors at construction sites?
LOCAL AUTHORITY

- What influence do local authorities have over the food vendors?
- What is the attitude of local authorities towards food vendors who operate in near formal locations?
- How do the vendors respond to interference (in a negative and positive sense) from local authorities?
- Does racial background, gender or country of origin affect how the food vendor’s are treated by local authorities?
- What influence does location have on how vendors are treated by local authorities?
- If relevant, does the type of relationship that exists between the food vendor and the construction company influence the local authority’s reaction to the vendor?
- How has the policy towards food vendors in this location changed in the past?
- How do you see the current policy for food vendors in this location changing in the future?

ENVIRONMENTAL HEALTH

- What is your role?
- What is the process to apply for licensing and certification? (Health Permit)
- Do you make exceptions to the guidelines?
- How do informal vendors qualify for a permit?
- How are the vendors inspected? Enforcement? Sampling?
- How often does one have to renew one’s certificate?
- Are there different certificated for delivery and cooking food on site?
- How has the policy towards cooking food/food delivery in public spaces changed?
  - What was it like? Where is it going?
- Do people report illegal food vending? Who?
- What role does the formal sector play in informal food vending controls?
- How are vendors on construction sites dealt with?
- How does the legislation support the informal vendors?
### APPENDIX C: VENDOR PRICING LISTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Food</th>
<th>Patty</th>
<th>Candy</th>
<th>Tammy</th>
<th>Julie</th>
<th>Cathy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chicken meal</td>
<td>R 20.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicken and samp</td>
<td></td>
<td>R 18.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meat meal</td>
<td>R 25.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish meal</td>
<td>R 20.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vetkoek</td>
<td>R 2.00</td>
<td>R 2.50</td>
<td>R 2.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vetkoek and liver/mince</td>
<td>R 5.00</td>
<td>R 6.00</td>
<td>R 6.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vetkoek and polony</td>
<td>R 3.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russians</td>
<td>R 3.00</td>
<td></td>
<td>R 4.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Battered fish</td>
<td>R 5.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicken leg and thigh</td>
<td>R 10.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicken leg</td>
<td>R 6.00</td>
<td>R 10.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicken thigh</td>
<td>R 8.00</td>
<td>R 7.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skaapkop</td>
<td>R 18.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polony/slice</td>
<td>R 1.00</td>
<td>R 1.00</td>
<td>R 1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nik Naks</td>
<td>R 1.00</td>
<td>R 1.00</td>
<td>R 1.00</td>
<td>R 1.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simba Chips</td>
<td></td>
<td>R 4.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stylos</td>
<td>R 1.00</td>
<td>R 1.00</td>
<td>R 1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spookies</td>
<td></td>
<td>R 2.50</td>
<td>R 2.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crack a Snack</td>
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<td>R 1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Popcorn</td>
<td></td>
<td>R 1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bread (loaf)</td>
<td>R 9.50</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bread (half loaf)</td>
<td>R 4.00</td>
<td>R 4.50</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peanuts</td>
<td>R 2.00</td>
<td>R 2.00</td>
<td>R 2.00</td>
<td>R 2.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweets</td>
<td>30c</td>
<td>30c</td>
<td>30c</td>
<td>30c</td>
<td>20c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chicago cigarettes</td>
<td>Stuyvesant cigarettes</td>
<td>Fruit (apples)</td>
<td>Lemon Creams</td>
<td>Grandpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>R 1.00</td>
<td>R 2.00</td>
<td>R 1.00</td>
<td>R 2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>R 1.00</td>
<td>R 2.00</td>
<td>R 2.00</td>
<td>R 2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>R 1.00</td>
<td>R 2.00</td>
<td>R 2.00</td>
<td>R 2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drinks</td>
<td>Patty</td>
<td>Candy</td>
<td>Tammy</td>
<td>Julie</td>
<td>Cathy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2l</td>
<td>R 15.00</td>
<td></td>
<td>R 13.50</td>
<td>R 15.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>R12 (R10 no deposit)</td>
<td></td>
<td>R 11.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1l</td>
<td>R 11.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500ml</td>
<td>R 8.00</td>
<td></td>
<td>R8 (R6.50 no deposit)</td>
<td>R 6.00</td>
<td>R 8.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large can</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>R 8.50</td>
<td>R 7.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## APPENDIX D: INTERVIEW LIST

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Stakeholder Group</th>
<th>Organisation</th>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Reference term</th>
<th>Date Interviewed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Local authority</td>
<td>City of Cape Town</td>
<td>Business Area Management, Economic Development, City of Cape Town</td>
<td>Economic Development</td>
<td>26 November 2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Local authority</td>
<td>Cite of Cape Town</td>
<td>- DA Ward Councillor - Informal Sector Task Team - Economic, Environmental and Spatial Planning</td>
<td>Ward Councillor</td>
<td>20 November 2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Local authority</td>
<td>City of Cape Town</td>
<td>Environmental Health Practitioner</td>
<td>EHP</td>
<td>29 November 2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Local authority</td>
<td>City of Cape Town</td>
<td>Safety and Security: Law Enforcement</td>
<td>Safety and Security</td>
<td>29 November 2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Local authority</td>
<td>City of Cape Town</td>
<td>Law enforcement: Informal Traders</td>
<td>Law Enforcement</td>
<td>29 November 2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Construction Management</td>
<td>Construction Management Company</td>
<td>Site Manager: Sports Ground</td>
<td>Sports Ground site manager</td>
<td>20 November 2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Construction Management</td>
<td>Construction Management Company</td>
<td>Site Manager: University site</td>
<td>University site manager A</td>
<td>24 November 2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Construction Management</td>
<td>Construction Management Company</td>
<td>Site Manager: University site</td>
<td>University site manager B</td>
<td>24 November 2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Construction Management</td>
<td>Construction Company</td>
<td>Site Manager: Office park</td>
<td>Office park site manager</td>
<td>28 November 2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Construction site stakeholder</td>
<td>Tiling Company</td>
<td>Sub-contractor and former food vendor</td>
<td>Sub-contractor</td>
<td>5 November 2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Construction site stakeholder</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Architect</td>
<td>Architect</td>
<td>6 November 2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Vendor: Cathy</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>University site</td>
<td>Cathy</td>
<td>13, 15, 16, 20 November 2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Vendor: Julie</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>University site</td>
<td>Julie</td>
<td>13, 15, 16, 20 November 2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Vendor: Tammy</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Sport grounds</td>
<td>Tammy</td>
<td>7-9 &amp; 12 November 2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Vendor: Candy</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Office park</td>
<td>Candy</td>
<td>1, 2, 5 &amp; 28 November 2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Vendor: Patty</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Office park</td>
<td>Patty</td>
<td>1, 2, 5 &amp; 28 November 2012</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX E: ETHNOGRAPHIC PROCESS

Herewith is a detailed account of the research process that was followed by the researcher. The account if provided in the form of instructions so that the research process can be easily repeated in future studies.

**Day 0**

- Contact construction company and source list of construction sites in chosen area
- Conduct site visit to establish presence of vendor on site
- Approach vendor if at site or approach site manager if vendor is inside the site in order to establish if study can be conducted on site
- Conduct introductory conversation with vendor or site manager by covering the following topics:
  - Introductions
  - Research intentions
  - State how the research will be conducted (ethnography) for 3-5 days
  - Request permission to research the vendor in such a manner
  - Communicate when researcher will be on site
  - Establish what the best time to arrive on site would be. There are advantage to different arrival times:
    - Arrival before vendor means researcher can observe the set up process and the response of the workers to the arrival of the vendor
    - Arrival after vendor has set up means the researcher can immediately have a conversation with them
- If vendor has been approached first, approach site manager to communicate your intentions. The site manager may refer the researcher to another stakeholder who has more dealings with the vendor.
- Request an interview with site manager (and additional stakeholder if necessary) on Day 3 or 4 once a basic understanding of the vendor and site dynamics has been established.
- Despite this being the “set-up day,” make sure to take note of any interesting observations. E.g. site manager’s/vendor’s response to the researcher’s request to be on site.

**Day 1**
Return to site as communicated

Notify the site manager of your presence in order to start building rapport

If vendor takes the initiative, allow her to locate the researcher where she feels comfortable. The researcher can move around on following days if the positioning is not optimal.

Start the conversation with the vendor if she is open to it, alternatively observe her working if she is busy. Try not to interfere with her normal routine.

Make eye contact with and greet anyone who comes past in order to start building trust with the workers. At this stage, they will likely be surprised by the researcher’s presence.

Observe the vendor’s activities and the workers engagement with the vendor over tea time and lunch time.
  o How does the vendor serve the workers?
  o How do the workers respond to the environment the vendor has created?
  o Do the workers stay with the vendor or eat elsewhere?
  o What is the nature of the conversation that takes place between the vendor and the workers?

Do not ask the vendor all your questions on the first day. Allow for some of the information to emerge in conversation over time.

Day 2

Vary arrival time slightly to ensure that no valuable observations are missed.

Continue the conversation with the vendor.

Continue observations of the workers.

By this stage the workers will be more comfortable with the researcher being on site, use this opportunity to have conversations with them about the vendor.

Vary the researcher’s location. Stand in a different place so as to observe the interactions from a different angle and to open up opportunities for new conversations. E.g. if seated behind the vendors table on Day1, stand in front of the table but to the side on Day 2.

Day 3

Visit site manager to arrange time to conduct interview.

Ensure researcher has gathered all minimum required data as per Appendix B.
**Day 4-5**

- Use these days to gather any outstanding information.
- These can be the most important days in terms of real understanding of the dynamics on site as all the stakeholders are completely relaxed in the researchers presence.

**General**

- Use a clipboard or book to take down notes.
- Write down everything!!!! Write down all conversations and all observations, no matter how insignificant they seem at the time. All the content helps to build towards an overall understanding of the phenomenon.
- Try to spend at least two hours on site per day.
- Avoid wearing sunglasses so that the vendor and construction employees can see your eyes.
- Wear loose fitting clothes that are appropriate for a construction site. This is important especially if the researcher is female.
- Be willing to share information about yourself. This helps to build rapport.
- Do not interfere with the activities of the vendor and do not help, within reason. If helping the vendor builds rapport and trust, a limited amount of interference may be tolerated.
- Sample the vendor’s food. Try choosing something that they have identified as something that they make well.
- If the workers ask about the researcher, be open and honest about what you are doing there. All parties seemed comfortable (and amused) with the fact that the researcher was doing research and a project on the vendor.
- Review and capture all notes that have been taken at the end of each day to:
  - track what information is still outstanding according to Appendix B
  - start picking up trends, interesting dynamics
- Keep a journal of thoughts, questions and general observations throughout the research process.
APPENDIX G: ENVIRONMENTAL HEALTH COMMENTS REGARDING HAWKING STRUCTURES (CITY OF CAPE TOWN, 2012)

- Where food is prepared or stored, semi-permanent structures must be rodent proofed by the best available means.
- Where food is prepared, all interior surfaces of walls, sides or ceilings as well as the surface of floors that form part of or enclose the food preparation area must have no open joints or seams and must be made from smooth, rust-free, impervious materials.
- The structure must have adequate natural light and ventilation.
- Where food is prepared, a minimum of 25 litres of clean fresh water must be provided in a container preferably with a tap as well as a receptacle to contain any waste water. The waste water must be disposed of in a manner so as not to cause a nuisance or health hazard.
- In structures where food is prepared, excluding fruit and veg traders or traders selling factory wrapped goods, a wash hand basin must be provided for the cleaning of hands.
- Toilet facilities must be made available within a reasonable distance.
- Semi-permanent structures must be provided with refuse receptacles with close fitting lids. Refuse is to be removed on a daily basis to avoid rodent, fly or smell nuisances occurring.
- Depending on what the structure is to be used for, the Environmental Health section reserves the right to call for any additional requirements that may be applicable.
- All "Hawking in Meals" Licence Applications within Cape Town cost R10.00. All "Hawking in Meals" licence holders are to comply with the requirements set out in the Regulations Governing General Hygiene Requirements for Food Premises and the Transport of Food - R 918 of 1999.

source: City of Cape Town, 2012