



**UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE**

Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences
Institute for Social Development

**Exploring livelihood strategies employed by women street food vendors in
Gaborone, Botswana.**

A mini-thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Development Studies at the Institute for Social Development. Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences, University of the Western Cape.

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Abstract

The informal economy has continued to increase in developing countries, giving jobs and income to marginalised groups, the majority being women. The rise of the informal sector is perpetuated by exclusionary social policies and the continued increase in unemployment. In Botswana, street food vending, the most visible form of the informal sector trading, has evolved to be a survivalist activity that women populate. Increasing poverty levels, gender inequalities, and high unemployment rates have resulted in poor urban women being vulnerable to the stresses and shocks caused by these factors. Street food vending is therefore pursued by women to mitigate their vulnerability. Additionally, street food vending allows for more flexible working hours, thus accommodating women's community, household, and productive roles. Despite women's substantial contribution to Botswana's informal economy, the government has not done much to support them. At present, formal policies, processes or facilities which specifically accommodate women in Gaborone's street food vending business sector have not been put in place. Although extensive research has been done on informality with respect to policies and market access, few studies evaluate the relationship between gender, poverty, and employment in Botswana. To address this gap in the literature, this study explored the livelihood strategies employed by women street food vendors, together with their challenges, and coping mechanisms in Gaborone Main Mall. The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF) was utilised in this study as a theoretical lens and framework through which to critically analyse the specific ways in which women in the street food vending business make a living in Gaborone. The SLF considers the nature of poor urban women's contribution to community and household income, as well as, their participation in Botswana's economy. This study employed a mixed-methods approach. The quantitative method of data collection utilised 42 purposively administered questionnaires. The qualitative methods included 20 purposively sampled semi-structured interviews, a purposeful sample of 8 vendors for the photovoice data, and participant observation. The findings show that Gaborone Main Mall's informal food system is organised on socio-economic interactions influenced by power and gender relations between the Gaborone City Council (G.C.C), Street Vendors Association, and women. The study also establishes that women encounter challenges in sustaining their livelihood as street food vendors in the face of policy limitations. To survive, women mainly operate based on their availability of social capital. The research proposes that women's participation in the street trading business should be comprehensively understood, and the particular needs of women should be considered. The study argues that policies should be put in place by both

local and national government to reduce the challenges that women face as street food vendors, and which ultimately affect their efforts to reduce their vulnerability and to sustain their livelihood.

Keywords

Sustainable livelihoods

Livelihood strategies

Vulnerability

Coping mechanisms

Gender

Informal sector

Street food vending

Street vendors

Gaborone

Botswana



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Declaration

I declare that *Exploring livelihood strategies employed by women street food vendors in Gaborone, Botswana* is my own work, that it has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged as complete references.

Serati S. Mogobe

Signed.....

February 2020



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Dedication

I dedicate this work to all women, it is your time to rise.



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Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to give all glory to God Almighty for granting me with the strength and guidance to undertake this study. Through Him, this achievement was possible.

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

AfDB	African Development Bank
AFSUN	African Food Security Urban Network
C-BRTA	Cross Border Road Transport Agency
CSO	Central Statistics Office
DFID	Department for International Development
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations
G.C.C	Gaborone City Council
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ICLS	International Conference of Labour Statisticians
IDB	Inter- American Development Bank
IDEA	Independent Democracy of Informal Economy Association
IEMS	Informal Economy Monitoring Study
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
NDB	National Development Bank
OPEC	Organisation of the Petroleum Exporting Countries
PCW	Philippine Commission on Women
SEWA	Self Employed Women's Association
SL	Sustainable Livelihoods
SLA	Sustainable Livelihoods Approach
SLF	Sustainable Livelihoods Framework
SMME	Small Medium and Micro Enterprises
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UN-HABITAT	United Nations Human Settlements Programme
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
WIEGO	Women in Informal Employment: Globalising and Organising

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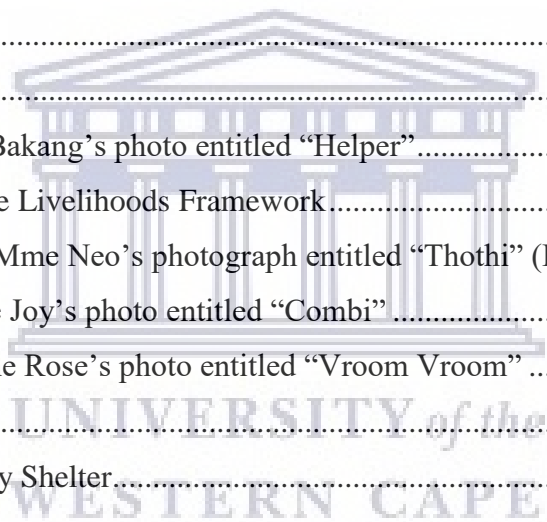
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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Overview and rationale of the study

In recent decades the world has witnessed the growing informalisation of work. Approximately 86% of the population of Africa are employed and generate their livelihoods from the informal economy. The share of informal activities in some African countries is higher for women than for men (International Labour Organisation [ILO], 2002). Women in Botswana, for example, constitute more than half of the informal sector and have significantly contributed to the country's economic growth (Central Statistics Office [CSO], 2008). The informal sector is dominated by women because of exclusionary neo-liberal social policies, engendered by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) policies, coupled with unemployment (Chen et al., 2004; Chant & Pedwell, 2008). Additionally, female-headed households have increased due to the growing dependence of households on women's income, which has resulted in the rise of informal work (Lekoko & Garegae, 2006). Despite women's contribution to the informal sector, little has been done by national and local governments to assist them to achieve economic recognition within the international development community. This omission is the result of women's over-representation in informal activities (e.g. domestic work, street vending and care work) that are often invisible and difficult to measure (ILO, 2002). As a result, an accurate representation of women in the informal sector is unavailable in a number of national statistics, highlighting the gender bias of informal employment.

The most popular form of informal sector trading is street vending. It continues to be a large employer of urban women seeking to overcome and escape the cycle of unemployment and poverty. As such, street vending is a source of income for people who are not employed in the formal economy. While Botswana has seen a growth in women street vendors in the past decade, the precise figure has not been recorded (Lekoko & Garegae, 2006; Biao, 2017). Street food vending, in particular, is important in generating income for women operating in this sector as more and more urban poor women enter the business of selling food to sustain their families (Roever, 2014). Although the Botswana government has taken significant steps to support the informal sector since 2017, women street food vendors continue to work in unfavourable conditions and live in uncertainty with limited access to resources (Gaetsewe, 2018). The marginalisation of women in Africa's urban areas, therefore, limits women's access to those opportunities that have the potential to improve their livelihoods (Jaiyebo, 2003; UN-HABITAT, 2006). The lack of formal sector jobs has led women to enter the informal sector. To them, informal work serves as a survivalist strategy and provides opportunities to engage

in basic activities that generate income. The informal sector leaves women without benefits such as health insurance, medical aid, and pension (Skinner et al., 2018). Women in the informal sector are also faced with poor working conditions, and with lower income than those in formal employment. Thus, the focus on, and support of, women's role in the urban areas, more particularly within the informal sector, highlights the need to increase women's independence, contributes to women's economic empowerment, and ultimately enhances their opportunities to escape the poverty trap.

The insight developed by the study to understand livelihood strategies used by poor urban women in the business of street food vending is intended to assist in informing policy and practice initiatives focused on livelihood sustenance. Such insights are critical at a time when the Botswana government is increasingly making efforts to alleviate poverty. There is limited research that focuses on the specific challenges women street food vendors experience in carrying out their triple roles- the reproductive, productive, and community managing roles (Chen, 2001). In tandem with this, the study examines the gendered social norms and practices of the structures that shape Botswana's society, and the particular norms and practices that perpetuate the challenges that women street food vendors face. Lastly, to understand how poor urban women manage poverty, the study analyses the coping strategies they use to combat stresses and shocks under which they operate. This exploration, in turn, draws attention to the need for creating a gender-sensitive environment to accommodate women's access to resources.

1.2 Background and contextualisation of the study

Botswana, situated in Southern Africa, has a population estimated at 2.3 million, occupies a land area of 582 000 square kilometres (C-BRTA, 2018]). Botswana is considered a medium-income country, having achieved impressive economic performance since independence in 1966 (United Nations Development Programme [UNDP, 2014]). While the country has maintained a high economic growth rate since the 1990s, almost half of the population remains either poor or vulnerable, and it is these challenges that have contributed to the growth of the informal sector (BOTA, 2012; Moffat & Kapunda, 2015).

In 2011 a quarter of Botswana's population were living in the capital city, Gaborone (Statistics Botswana, 2011). People tend to migrate to Gaborone due to the availability of resources and facilities, making it easier to find employment or start a business (Biao, 2017). However, with increased migration, the city faces many challenges that contribute to the increasing poverty of urban dwellers. Problems facing urban residents include inadequate housing, unemployment,

and food insecurity. In Botswana, as in many developing African countries, women are the sector of the population most affected by poverty and unemployment. Impelled to find alternative sources of income, urban poor women resort to selling vegetables, fruits, snacks, and cooked food on the streets of Gaborone (Biao, 2017). Street food vending is attractive to these women due to the low cost of entry and the flexible hours it offers. Labour statistics in Botswana do not include women street food vendors, making it difficult to quantify with precision the degree of their involvement in the informal trading sector. However, when observing the streets of Gaborone, the clear impression one has is of women visibly supplying a range of different goods and services in street vending activities, contributing to the perception of them as constituting an essential aspect of the economy.

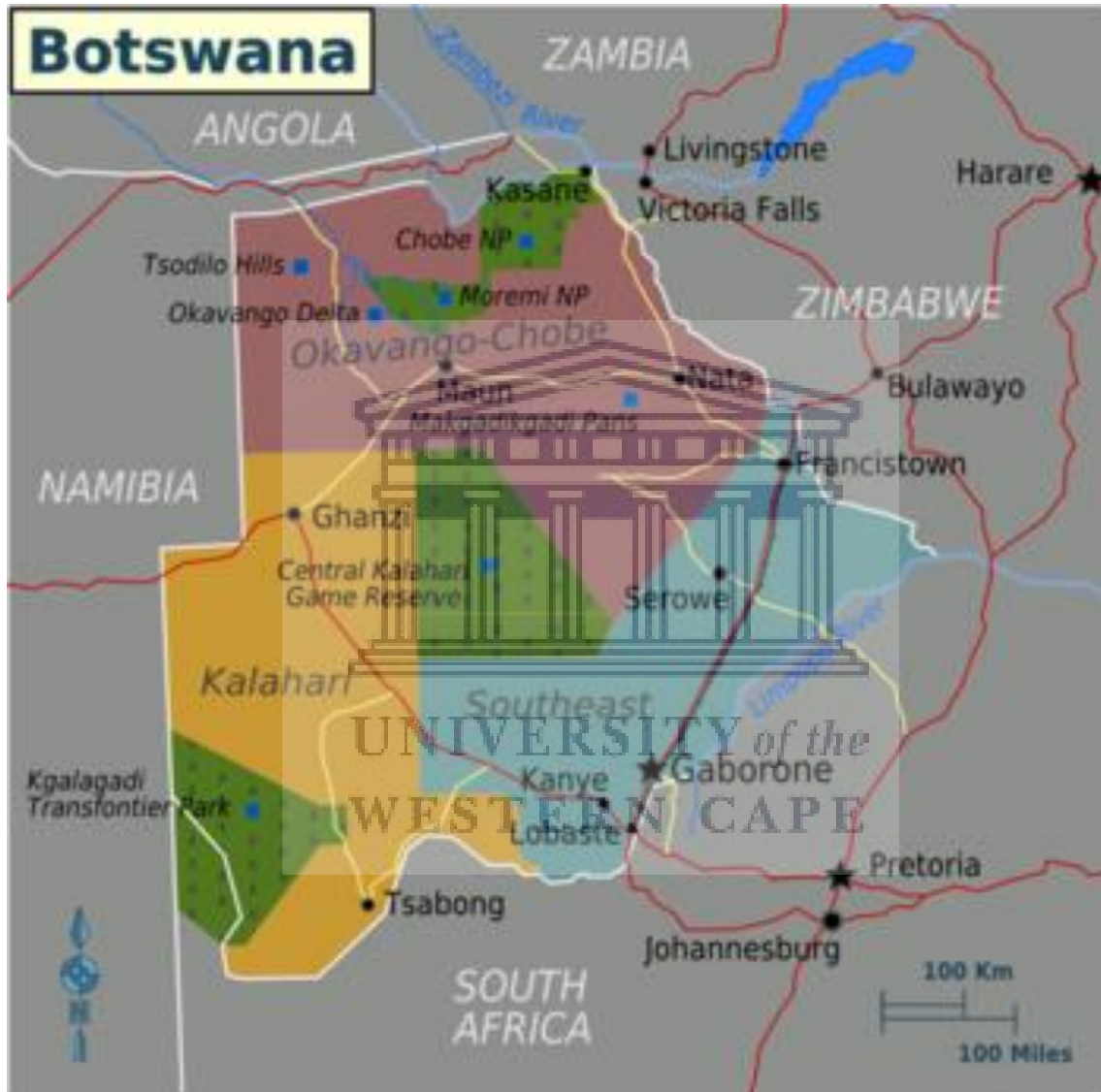
In the past, street vending has been met with massive repression by the Botswana government as well as by municipal authorities and private businesses. For example, established businesses around Gaborone's railway station, city centre, and bus terminals have repeatedly complained that street vendors steal business from them (Malema, 2011). In response to this kind of antipathy and repression, in 2002, Gaborone witnessed 2000 people from the informal sector march against unfair treatment by authorities (Lekoko & Garegae, 2006). The demonstrators blamed the police and Gaborone City Council of harassment and confiscating their products, which the demonstrators saw as ultimately denying them their one source of livelihood. The demonstrators included hairdressers, cobblers, and street cooks. In an interesting turn of events, in 2017 the Botswana government formally acknowledged the importance of street vending as a means to curbing the high unemployment rate in the country. The previous president, Ian Khama, ordered the Gaborone City Council to eliminate restrictive street vending policies to ensure the survival of micro-businesses in the city. Since then the Botswana government has continued to develop measures focused on supporting the informal sector. However, women-owned enterprises receive less priority in terms of this support. Furthermore, the government has yet to provide strategies that promote and protect the rights of women street food and other vendors from the challenges they face while trying to earn a livelihood.

1.3: Gaborone Main Mall: The Study Area

Street vendors strategically locate themselves in areas that draw customers to their business establishments. In Gaborone, these areas include big malls, shopping centres, transportation modes, and main roads (Lekoko & Garegae, 2006). The study focuses on women street food vendors located in Gaborone at the Main Mall, which is the first mall in Gaborone. The planning of the mall was carried out in the early 1960s, in preparation for Botswana's

independence in 1966. The Main Mall¹ is host to several supermarkets, clothing stores, business offices, and restaurants. Shows, exhibitions, and street vendors line the mall's open walkway on both sides, as seen in Figure 1.2. The Botswana parliament borders the mall to the west, and the civic centre and Gaborone City Council (G.C.C) to the east (Figure 1.3).

Figure 1.1: Map of Botswana



Source: Mooty (2019)

¹ The Gaborone Main Mall has three different names: The Gaborone Main Mall, Main Mall and the Mall. In this study the Main Mall will be used as it is commonly used in official documents.

Figure 1.2: Image of the Main Mall



Source: Apex Properties (2019)

Figure 1.3: Map of the Main Mall



Source: Perry- Castañeda (2005)

1.4 Problem statement, Research questions, Aim and Objectives of the study

1.4.1 Problem Statement

In the past decade, there has been a rise in unemployment and continued poverty of women globally (ILO, 2018). Botswana is no exception. Botswana women are increasingly migrating to urban areas such as Gaborone with the hopes of securing employment to earn a livelihood. Due to the harsh realities of urban life, these women resort to informal income-generating activities. More than 70% of women who relocate to urban areas and cannot get employment in Botswana's formal sector engage in informal activities in order to generate and maintain their livelihoods (Siphambe & Okurut, 2011). As was mentioned in the previous section (1.2),

the Botswana government has made significant moves to acknowledge and to offer support to the informal sector. Despite these efforts, however, women street food vendors remain unprotected, isolated, and unorganised, especially in urban areas like Gaborone. The purpose of this research is to explore the livelihood strategies employed by women street food vendors and highlight gender-related challenges and opportunities that these women encounter in an urban environment. An analysis of the living conditions and urban livelihoods of women has the potential to contribute to improving knowledge about, and understanding of, urban livelihood strategies in Africa.

1.4.2 Aim and Objectives and Research questions of the study

The study aims to explore how women street food vendors in Gaborone access livelihood assets to organise their lives as well as to understand their challenges and coping strategies with events they encounter when vending. The research aims to produce essential data for policymakers and highlight the importance of the sector, in order to put in place appropriate policies that allow for the improvement of women's standard of living. It also fulfils an under-researched area in the literature on women street food vendors in Gaborone. It will do so by outlining a gendered examination, focusing on women street food vendors as independent individuals taking on decisions to secure their family's economic well-being.

To realise the above aim, the objectives of this study sought to:

1. Establish the socio-economic characteristics of women street food vendors in Gaborone.
2. Identify challenges faced by women street food vendors in Gaborone.
3. Identify the strategies adopted by women street food vending to cope with stresses and shocks.

More specifically, the study sought to answer the following research questions:

1. What are the socio-economic factors that determine the existing livelihood strategies of women street food vendors?
2. What are the challenges faced by women street food vendors?
3. What coping mechanisms do women street food vendors adopt?

1.5 Structure of the thesis

This study is divided into six chapters.

Chapter one is the introductory chapter of the study. The chapter gives a background to the study and the study area. The chapter also highlights the research problem, aim, objectives and questions.

Chapter two gives a detailed review of relevant literature on the informal sector. The literature review focuses on the emergence, significant themes, and trends in the informal sector. The chapter also focuses on the contribution that street vending and street food vending have on sustaining the livelihoods of women from a global perspective.

Chapter three presents the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework, which is the theoretical approach that underpins the study. The chapter provides a definition of the individual concepts and links the approach to the study.

Chapter four focuses on the research methodology used in this study. The chapter provides details and justification of the research design and data collection methods employed in order to answer the research questions.

Chapter five provides the findings of the study generated from the fieldwork. Findings are linked to the objectives of the research, existing literature and theoretical approach.

Chapter six presents conclusions based on the findings of the study. The chapter makes recommendations on improvements to the livelihoods of women street food vendors in Botswana.



CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The informal economy is a global phenomenon which is made up of a range of economic activities that are not protected nor recognised under any legal and official bodies (ILO, 2002). Statistically, women dominate street vending which is the most prominent form in the informal sector. This chapter reviews the literature on the informal economy, the gendered aspect of informality, as well as the productive role of poor urban women engaged in street vending.

The chapter begins by defining the informal sector. The second section gives an overview of the various schools of thought, which is important in understanding the historical development of informal activities in the economy. The factors contributing to informality are reviewed, followed by a brief discussion on the gender dimensions found in the informal economy. The last section of the chapter focuses on women in street vending, which presents a preliminary discussion for the current study.

2.2 Defining the informal sector

Keith Hart, during the late 1960s, defined the informal sector as “economic activities outside the organised labour force” (Hart, 1973, p. 68). In 1972, the concept of the informal sector was redefined by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) in the Kenya Mission Report on chronic unemployment. Unlike Hart (1973), who used the informal sector and informal economy interchangeably, the ILO used the ‘informal sector’ as a broader concept (Ojong, 2011). The Kenya Mission report characterised informal activities by a) low skills; b) unregulated and competitive markets; c) dependence on indigenous resources; d) labour-intensive and adaptive technology; e) family ownership; f) small scale operations; and g) no entry-level (ILO, 1972). Botswana’s 2007 Informal Sector Survey Report, on the other hand, characterises an informal business as; not registered with any legal bodies; the business is either mobile or in the owner’s residence; expenditure which is not easily distinguishable from the household; employed five or less paid employees; and possess either informal accounts or none (CSO, 2009).

In 1989 Hernando De Soto, a former Peruvian economist, published his book “The Other Path”, which investigated Peru’s informal economy. De Soto (1989) found that following World War II, Peru experienced an increase in urbanisation and a lack of government safety nets to support growth. He found that Peru’s informal sector employed close to 500 000 people, and an estimated 83% of the markets in Lima were built by informal entrepreneurs (De Soto, 1989).

The author anticipated that the informal sector in developing countries would eventually transition to being full market economies where state regulation would be dismantled to allow for informal activities to flourish. Unlike the works of Hart and De Soto which focus on developing countries, Castells and Portes (1989) study this phenomenon in several continents including Europe and North America. They argue that the informal economy is “unregulated by the institutions of society, in a legal and social environment in which similar activities are regarded” (p. 12).

Another important concept is informal employment which gained popularity in the early 2000s. The 17th International Conference of Labour Statisticians (ICLS) defines informal employment as all work carried out in both informal and formal settings during a specific period (ILO, 2003). These people include all persons working informally in formal enterprises (e.g. construction workers), and paid employees working in households (e.g. domestic workers) (Swaminathan, 1991).

Formal sector employment opportunities have failed to expand in comparison to labour force growth. For example, since the 1990s, the formal sector in Sub Saharan Africa employs less than 30% of the labour force. In contrast, the informal sector employs more than 70% (ILO, 2002). With that being said, informal activities are connected to the formal sector in many ways and the need to include these activities in modern economic opportunities is vital. In this study, informal sector, informal economy, and informal employment are used interchangeably to mean the participation in economic activities that involve the numerous types of non-cash and cash transactions in an unregulated setting. The next section discusses the different schools of thought of the informal sector.

2.3 The theoretical origins of the informal sector

As a result of the different historical views regarding the inception of the informal economy, and the growing importance it had on a global scale, theorists needed a systematic way to understand it. Four main schools of thought emerged in an attempt to categorise the variances of the concept. Each approach provides a different conceptual view for the informal sector and offers explanations for the inception of informal activities.

2.3.1 The dualist school of thought

The dualist theory is based on the “Lewis Turning Point” coined by W. Arthur Lewis in 1954. According to this theory, low-income countries would create adequate and innovative jobs to take up surplus labour from the traditional economy, which would lead to a change where

wages rise above the subsistence level (Lewis, 1954). In other words, the informal economy is a bridge through which workers pass while transitioning from one sector to another. For example, the agricultural sector has significantly reduced its workers, and the displaced labour move to cities to take part in informal economic activities such as domestic work and street vending which become a primary source of income (Arizpe, 1977).

This perspective was reinforced post-WWII when most industrialised countries adopted the welfare system. The welfare state system was based on the fact that all industrialising nations, regardless of their socioeconomic structures, go through an evolutionary process caused by economic and technological growth on the occupational system (Quadagno, 1987). Backhouse and Bateman (2012) explain how this evolutionary process called for the government to invest in public works and hire the unemployed and, once full employment had been achieved by government intervention, the market mechanics could then operate freely. For a time, the welfare system worked and full employment was achieved by industrialised countries through the adoption of Keynesian based policies. Some argue that the dualistic approach is outdated and other theories have taken precedence to try and explain the informal economy.

2.3.2 The structuralist school of thought

In the mid-1970s the economic crisis occurred which saw the demise of the welfare state. It was during this time that Alejandro Portes and Caroline Moser disputed the dualist view and popularised the structuralist model. The structuralists argue that the informal sector serves to minimise labour costs and input which will subsequently raise the competition among the larger businesses (Moser, 1978; Castells & Portes, 1989).

There were various events that led to the economic crisis, which consequently contributed to the large-scale informality of the workforce across the globe. The first one was the massive economic implications triggered by the Vietnam War. For the first time since the Great Depression, high unemployment and unprecedented inflation persisted, with governments seemingly helpless to control either. The second was the OPEC embargo which resulted in the increase in oil prices, subsequently increasing unemployment (OPEC, 2019). The United States, backed by the Bretton Woods monetary system and the Marshall Plan, experienced a significant increase in its exports which essentially made it the dominant power in the world economy (Baker, et al., 1996). In addition to the increasing export of goods, the US saw the expansion of industrial growth from sectors such as the automobile industry. The US with its European allies promoted capitalism throughout the rest of the world arguing that the free trade

regime led to full employment. Studies by Lee and Dyckman (1970) support this theory by showing a 0.5% decrease in the American unemployment rate.

In 1965 the conflict between Vietnam and the US escalated. This caused the US government to increase war spending, leading to the rise of inflation which subsequently caused unemployment to skyrocket (Kreiger, 1987). Other scholars imply that the oil price hike and the embargo caused the rise of the informal sector. Amadeo (2018) states that firms chose to cut back on their labour force so as to reduce their costs because of higher oil prices. Large capitalist firms exploit the informal economy by demanding that sectors reduce production costs (more so wages) so as to increase the formal sector's competitiveness (ILO, 2002; Chakrabarti & Kundu, 2009). Britain, like the United States, was facing inflation and high unemployment in the 1970s. Citizens of both countries had lost confidence in left-wing ruling parties and thus looked to conservative administrators to reform their national economies. It was in these economic conditions that Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan became heads of state, imbued with neoliberal ideologies. Neoliberal policies included tax cuts, privatisation, deregulation, an insecure and flexible labour market, and the weakening of trade unions (Kreiger, 1987). Unemployment increased at an alarming rate; however, in Thatcher and Reagan's view, resources would be poured into those businesses that could better compete in the international arena. As unemployment increased so did the informal activities in both developed and developing countries.

The structuralists have contributed two main ideas to the debate on the informal sector. The first being that the informal sector and the formal sector cannot exist without the other. This is because with globalisation low-income countries require informal labour to take advantage of high demand by producing products at a lower cost. Chen (2007) states that retrenched labour force often transitions into informal work when the public sector goes through rationalisation, or formal firms close down. Secondly, compared to the formal sector, the informal sector has a larger workforce number, hence why it is crucial for development (Roberts, 1993).

2.3.3 The legalist and voluntarist schools of thought

Lastly, there are the legalist and voluntarist schools of thought which are quite similar in that both concentrate on micro-entrepreneurs who intentionally evade government regulations, however, the reasons differ. The legalist theory, which was made popular by De Soto between the 1980s and 1990s, holds that the informal sector consists of small business owners who trade informally so as to evade operational costs and tax (Chakrabarti & Kundu, 2009). According

to this school of thought, government regulation suppresses private enterprise (De Soto, 1989). Legalists believe that government rules cater for the formal sector and, in so doing, encourage the self-employed to operate outside of the set rules in what Chen (2012, p. 5) calls “their own informal extra-legal norms”. An example by Leonard (2000) details how an informal worker can be exploited by a formal firm. The author describes how a woman working as a tailor, producing only for her community, progresses to supply for clothing stores. The woman in this example has other deadlines for a number of stores and is therefore helped by her friends and family (the invisible labour). The invoice that she gives the clothing company, however, does not include these costs. Purcell (1991) similarly noted that the formal sector is able to manipulate informal and unemployed workers because of their allegiance with governments. Devey et al. (2003) demonstrates how South Africa has basic principles of the legalist approach. In the apartheid era, informal activities grew due to the government’s rules and regulations. Many Black South African’s best alternative was to join the informal economy rather than to work for an oppressive government (Devey et al, 2003).

Voluntarists, however, hold the view that micro-entrepreneurs, who after weighing the benefits of working formally against working informally, choose to participate in the informal sector (Chen, 2012). They further state that informal workers do not blame government regulations but rather choose to operate in the informal sector so as to avoid tax and other legal regulations. Workers move freely between formal and informal employment (Heintz, 2012). Kay (2011) observes that both the voluntarist and legalist approaches are important in that they encourage people to strategise and invent new ways to earn income and accumulate capital.

Recently the different methodologies are combined to create an integrated approach. Scholars and policymakers agree that because of the many layers the economy has, no one school of thought can be used to explain it. This is seen in the informal sector having both positive and negative attributes simultaneously. Bacchetta et al. (2009) state that the informal economy is different depending on the country and therefore the importance of the different views becomes relevant in that regard. Generally, different perspectives are used to describe and understand informality in various settings. However, though each theory explains the cause of the informal sector, they rarely concentrate on gender disparities in the informal economy. This study uses the debates to understand the causes, composition, and nature of street vending; however, they fall short in explaining the different realities, issues, and problems of women street vendors.

2.4 The Informal sector in the global context

Since the informal sector was popularised in the 1970s, international organisations have become increasingly interested in informality as it has been linked to poverty and inequality. Understanding the informal sector is important in reducing inequality and poverty (Chen, 2017). Charmes (2012) records that between 1984 and 1999, the informal economy in Sub Saharan Africa increased to approximately 87%. Charmes (2012) further states that between 1994 and 2010 Latin America and Asia noted a 5.5% and 4.5% increase in informality. Vanek et al., (2014) further state that informal employment represents more than 80% of non-agricultural employment in South Asia. The informal economy is more prominent in Africa, with a proportion of 86% (ILO, 2018). Based on the ILO (2018) study the Middle East came second, Asia third, the Americas fourth and Europe is shown to have the lowest percentage of informality. The informal sector's importance stems from it being a source of livelihood to marginalised groups, more so women who lack proper social safety nets, skills, and formal employment (Yelwa & Adam, 2017).

Reports by international organisations show the growing trend of informality in European countries as well. Ireland, UK, Poland, and Austria constitute roughly 97% of the total informal economy in Europe (Hazans, 2011). According to Slavnic (2010), the prevalence of informality in the region is due to the increase of immigrants while Hazans (2011) attributes it to lower education and skill. Portes and Haller (2010), on the other hand, argue that the implementation of market reforms and privatisation after the recession of the 1980s has been the cause of the growth in informality. Glovackas (2005) adds that informality is deeply rooted in primary sectors such as agriculture as seen in Georgia. While there are a several contradicting views of the prevalence of the growth in Europe's informal sector, the focus should be on the growing nature of the sector in the past couple of years. The fact remains that the informal sector is not only a developing country topic but also an issue of industrialised countries. It is, therefore, important not only to look at the debates on causes of informality but also on how informality persists on a global level.

In Latin America, the industrialisation processes of the 1960s brought economic growth and also a rise of informal economic activities (Rosenbluth, 1994). Latin America experienced job losses due to the adoption of neoliberal policies because many sectors were unable to compete against international companies, and this resulted in businesses laying off workers, who turned to the informal sector to make a living. However, recent reports by the ILO (2013) show that the informal sector has contributed to an increase in the region's economic growth and a decline

in unemployment rates. Although such progress is commendable, there are still a number of informal workers in the Caribbean and Latin America, and the pay is low and informal sector work is precarious.

Latin American countries show a positive correlation between the informal sector and the level of government intervention through the implementation of taxes and restrictions on the labour market. Unlike the above ILO (2013) report which found the informal sector to contribute significantly to the economic growth of numerous Latin American countries, Loayza (1997) found that the growth of the economy was negatively impacted by the increase of the informal as government resources were used for this sector instead of being used elsewhere. Other analysts contend that the Latin American informal economy represents a survivalist strategy for the poor due to changes in the labour market implemented by the state (Vuletin, 2008). Youth unemployment on the continent exceeds 40% (Herranz, 2018). Notably, most of the youth engage in informal activities to sustain themselves and their families. Argentina's informal workers are estimated at 7.2 million, which is about 47% of its working population (Deneulin, 2015). The Argentinean government has taken measures to address rising informality by engaging the private sector in the inclusion of the informal sector into its economy.

The Caribbean region consists of a diverse group of countries, yet they share similar historical experiences due to their location. Caribbean countries experienced an extended period of growth between 1950 and 1980 contributed by the primary sector. Unfortunately, the recession from 1980 and 1985 dropped the growth rate by approximately 2.5% per annum (Peters, 2017). In order to deal with the economic recession, governments of Caribbean countries implemented the Structural Adjustment Programme. These policies sought to bring national income into line with national expenditure to attain macro-economic balance. Unfortunately, the Structural Adjustment Programmes worsened the general conditions of people in these countries. Countries such as Jamaica and the Dominican Republic for example, after adopting the structural adjustment programme resulted in them devaluating local currencies which ultimately pushed the prices of both locally produced and imported commodities. Additionally, the reduction of government expenditures in Jamaica and the Dominican Republic reduced the provision of social services and formal jobs. People turned to the informal sector for basic income as in the case of Jamaica (IDB, 2006). Between 2000 and 2001 Jamaica's informal sector was 43% of its GDP (Peters, 2017). In 2012, the informal sector in Barbados was between 33% and 46% of GDP (ILO, 2017).

The informal sector is an important source of employment in Latin America and the Caribbean. It should be further analysed in the broader societal situation. As a means of socioeconomic development, the urgency to understand this phenomenon is important in order to identify the degree it can be used as a positive tool to better the living conditions of the region. One cannot ignore the diversity of Caribbean and Latin American countries and should, therefore, include the very different forms of informal activities in each country.

Africa, like Latin America, saw a major acceleration of urbanisation after WWII. Locals were encouraged to move to cities because marketing controls limited the immediate returns to farmers who specialised in crop production (Austen, 1987). Urban employment paid for higher direct and indirect returns than rural enterprise and hence a large number of migrants went looking for such opportunities. Upon arriving into the urban area, however, only a few obtained positions in the formal sector (Austen, 1987). The now urban dwellers were forced to find work as casual labourers, petty traders and small-scale jobs.

In the 1960s, as America experienced an acute crisis of inflation, aid to developing countries declined, increasing desperation and resentment (Mondale, 1974). Africa also suffered severely from oil price hikes as the costs of food skyrocketed resulting in a total increase in import costs. In order to curb the economic collapse of developing countries, the IMF provided oil loans to the poorest countries. Sub Saharan Africa countries, like most developing countries, were forced to adopt structural adjustment policies which included government spending reduction, currency devaluation, wage, privatisation of public enterprises, and trade liberalisation (Mhone, 1996). The informal sector was seen as entrepreneurial and banked on competition to regulate the market. Western countries had always set the price of developing countries commodity prices as well as the price of their imports and so Africa was already used to unfair terms of trade (Mondale, 1974). The continued rise of inflation in imported goods prices raised commodity prices as well as tax increases in developing countries.

In Sub Saharan Africa the informal economy accounts for two thirds of non-agricultural employment (Chen, 2017). There are, however, variations in different sub-regions as well as different countries. For example, in Namibia, the share of non-agricultural employment is 44% compared to South Africa which is reported to be 33% (Vanek et al., 2014). The African Development Bank (2013) states that women and youth are mainly found working in the informal sector. This is due to governments' inability to provide formal employment opportunities in the face of a rising population and urbanisation (Mhone, 1996).

Studies report the size of Nigeria's informal economy to constitute close to 60% of GDP between 2004 and 2005 (Ogbuabor & Malaolu, 2013). Researchers attributed the recent rise of informality to population growth, unemployment, and taxation (Medina, et al., 2016). The informal sector has been an antidote to unemployment with the creation of close to 2.5 million jobs between 2012 and 2014 (Phillips Consulting, 2014). Because of the poor regulation of the informal sector, workers are able to avoid taxation and increase their home earnings. The non-payment of taxes, however, results in fewer funds available for the state to provide public goods and services as well as improve infrastructure (Ogbuabor & Malaolu, 2013).

The Botswana Central Statistics Office (CSO) (2007) defines the informal sector business as not registered with the registering body, having less than five paid employees, usually located in an owner's home and unable to differentiate business expenses from that of a household. The Botswana government has recognised the informal sector as key to poverty alleviation and the reduction of unemployment. Policies such as The Small Medium and Micro Enterprises (SMME) and Financial Assistance have been implemented in an attempt to develop the informal sector. Despite such efforts, Mannathoko (2011) reported that over 70% of informal businesses conducted under the SMME failed within eighteen months of operation. National studies have shown an estimated increase of 72% in informality from 1999 to 2007 (CSO, 2007). Moffat and Kapunda (2015) contribute this rise to high levels of unemployment with 40% of individuals entering the sector due to unemployment, 35% because of entrepreneurial aspirations and 25% because of the need of higher wages. Botswana's informal sector has grown by more than 10% between 1991 and 2015, most of them women, (Medina et al., 2016; Gaetswe, 2018), and although the government recognises the importance of the informal economy, there has not been an effective way to measure the size, drivers, prevalence, and impact on residents of informal employment. This study, therefore, is focused on the impact informal activities have on Botswana women, especially in the street vending business. The next section will give an overview of gender dimensions in the informal economy.

2.5 Gender dimensions of the informal sector

Since the expansion of globalisation, neoliberal policies, and urbanisation in developing cities, women are increasingly entering employment. However, Heintz (2006, p. 1) reveals that they are more "concentrated in lower quality, irregular and informal employment" that increase the risk of poverty for women in comparison to men. The section highlights studies that have analysed the gendered roles, constructs and power structures which affect women and men differently in the informal sector.

Social structures of femininity and masculinity have continued the prominence of gender inequalities. These structures generally limit women's role to looking after the household and being inferior to the man. Women face the triple burden of work which involves their roles as homemakers, formal or informal workers, and community workers. The triple role has robbed women of their agency in that it has limited them from going into other forms of economic enterprises while men's activities are seen as more productive such as construction jobs. The triple role also does not take into account the contributions that none income-generating activities done by women make to the economy. According to Kabeer (1997), women who engage in unpaid and paid work are double burdened when there is a lack of acknowledgement in public policies of women's time consuming unpaid work, as well as their participation in remunerated work. For example, 2.4 million rural women in the Philippines render unpaid family work (EILER, 2015). In terms of earning differences in informal work, women are commonly found at the lower end than men. UNIFEM's Progress of the World's Women 2005 provides data on women informally employed. The following was derived from the survey:

[T]he proportion of women workers engaged in informal employment is generally greater than the proportion of men workers; women are concentrated in the more precarious typed of informal employment; and the average earnings from these types of informal employment are low, generally lower than men's in a given employment and not sufficient in the absence of other sources of income to raise households out poverty (UNIFEM, 2006).

The literature reveals that in most of Central America, the gap in gender earnings is greater in the informal economy than the formal economy. Silveira and Clara (2003) estimate women's average pay in the informal sector to be not more than 55%. Female dominated sectors are often paid lower than male dominated ones (ILO, 2013). In Chant's (2006) view gendered earning differences are associated with society's view of women's unpaid work for their reproductive role. Women's participation in the informal economy is influenced by the family work which falls on their head when they take up their main carer role. This is significant in women choosing the kind of remunerated work they are able to do. A report by Samman et al (2016) for example, found that the strain of balancing childcare and work compels women to take lower-quality jobs. Gender inequalities confine women to jobs with limited access to social protection, poor working conditions and which yield lower returns. Almost all the studies

concerning informally employed women reveal that they are struggling for their family survival. Barrientos (2002), on the other hand, ascribes the differentials in earning to differences in the worker or job characteristics. The author goes on to point out that if a woman (or man) has lower levels of education, for example, their earnings would be lower regardless of gender. The current study builds on this growing literature on gender and the informal sector. Kabeer (2008) states that the gender-specific social and biological vulnerabilities cause men and women to have different vulnerability profiles. After childbearing, women with no access to maternity benefits are forced to prematurely return to work, putting their children's and own health at risk (Lund, 2007). Filipino women occasionally enter in and out of jobs due to the need to maintain their reproductive and productive work (PCW, 2014). Most laws do not make provision for maternity protection for women in the informal sector. International bodies are encouraging governments to ratify their laws so as to include women involved in informal work.

Studies present evidence of gender division in the informal economy. Women are mainly found in the 'invisible' areas of the informal economy such as domestic workers, homemaker, and street vending. For example, in Latin America and the Caribbean, women are concentrated more in domestic work (Ulrichs, 2016). Informal activities in construction and transportation show very few women in those sectors. Generally, informal activities in these two sectors remain male-dominated (ILO, 2017). In South Asia, however, the trend is reversed as a substantial number of women work in construction (Ulrichs, 2016). In the informal manufacturing sector, women account for a higher share than men in all regions except for Sub Saharan Africa. In 1991, for example, the majority of women informally employed in Zimbabwe were engaged in retail and wholesale, which accounts for close to 79%, while manufacturing accounts for less than 8% (ILO, 2017). Finally, Nsteane (2004) indicates over 70% of women in Botswana are engaged in the informal sector.

There is a substantial amount of literature drawing attention to the disadvantageous position women have in the informal sector. Abbot and Sotelo (2014) state that generally women in the informal economy face challenges like those mentioned above, a lack of legal protection, poor working conditions and low income, however, these issues are prevalent in women street vendors. This is because street vendors are one of two main groups in the informal sector. The current study addresses the links between women, poverty and street vending, focusing on Botswana, where studies of this nature are limited.

2.6 Women and street vending

Street vending is defined as a common activity where men or women sell various products on the street to earn a living (Chen, 2001). Previous studies on street vendors often concentrate on the economic and social characteristics of the vendors. In most cases, street vendors are a vulnerable group who have been forced into the sector because of unemployment or economic recession (Roever, 2014). They are a multidimensional group and composed of various segments. For example, permanent vendors operate in fixed locations such as bus stations and shopping malls, mobile vendors regularly change locations while roadside vendors use the road sidewalks and corners for income-generating activities (Biao, 2017). Additionally, street vendors compared to the general public are characterised by lower education levels (Lekoko & Garegae, 2006; Reddy, 2007). Sub Saharan African women tend to have low levels of skills and formal education, are less often employed by the formal sector, and have the highest productive rates, which push them to street vending (Bhorat et al., 2002; Lalthapersad-Pillay 2004). Age groups are also used to characterise people employed by the informal sector and street vendors. Studies in Uganda and Niger found middle-aged poor people to populate the street vending business (Namugumya & Muyanja 2012; Otoo, et al., 2012). Institutions such as the ILO (2018) further add that age and education have a direct link to informality.

With the increasing urban migration, street vending has emerged as the most visible face of the informal economy. For poor urban women, it is important for their livelihoods (Roever & Skinner, 2016). Although street vending is a survivalist activity for women, studies reveal that more than 65% of street vendors contribute to government revenue (Roever 2016; Hunt 2009). Street vending accounts for a substantial share of a country's economy where the leading sector of employment is trade (Muiruri, 2010; Roever & Skinner, 2016). In Sub Saharan Africa for instance, trade accounts for more than 40% of all non-agricultural informal employment. Studies also show that trade through street vending is an even more important source of employment for women in the region (ILO, 2018). Sub Saharan African women dominate the street vending business due to various reasons. For example, one reason is that some women are able to earn above-average earnings from vending (Bromley & Mackie, 2009). Additionally, women migrate to urban areas to become street vendors and derive their livelihoods such as the case with women in Nairobi (Kinyanjui, 2014).

Street vendors provide a wide range of services that serve the needs of the general population. They are usually assembled in public spaces for the customer's convenience and play a key role for the urban poor who are not afforded the financial resources to buy at supermarkets

(Roever & Skinner, 2016). Similar to street vending in general, street food vending serves an important source of income and livelihood for African women. Street food vendors are an essential segment in the urban food provisioning system of Botswana. Actors in this informal sector include people involved in the production, cooking, and transport of the food (Wipper & Dittrich, 2007). According to the African Food Security Urban Network (AFSUN), 70% of households in Sub Saharan cities bought food from informal vendor. A study by Crush and Frayne (2011) in 11 Southern African cities concluded that households close to 70% purchase food every week from informal enterprises. The majority of African women in the street vending business sell fruits, vegetables, snacks, cooked foods and beverages (Lalthapersad-Pillay, 2004; Ohiokpehai, 2003; Cohen et al., 2000). This, therefore, highlights the necessity of street vending as a livelihood strategy for urban poor women especially.

Although street vending contributes to the economy, WIEGO (2008) has collected data providing evidence that street vendors are excluded from laws and policies globally. With no protection from the state, street vendors constantly face harassment. Street vendors selling in city centres, for instance, are confronted with municipal authorities and police, unlike street vendors in residential areas (Wongtada, 2013). Food vendors, specifically, are harassed by authorities that accuse them of congesting urban locations, avoiding taxes, and selling low-quality foods while creating safety and health risks (Bromley & Mackie, 2009). Reports have listed Zimbabwe, Angola, and Mexico as some of the countries where this harassment persists (WIEGO, 2001). The need for clean and modern cities by municipal authorities is behind policies for ongoing harassment. For example, Eidse et al (2016) document Hanoi's street vending ban. Other studies examine other actors behind the displacement of street vendors. Analysts blame private institutions for the evictions and relocations. For example, the emergence of the private sector in Nairobi's CBD led to the displacement of street vendors in the area (Morange, 2015).

Although there is limited data on the gender dimension of the sector, women have the highest participation in street vending. Gender is, therefore, an important determinant of the informal sector. Despite this, little has been written on gender in the street vending aspect. Some literature has called for interventions to close the gender gaps in the informal economy. The Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) (2013) has called for: 1) the provision of enabling technologies and infrastructure that provides women with extra time for economic activities, and 2) eradicating women discrimination with regards to resource accessibility. To ignore this

large segment of the informal economy is to disregard more than half of the workforce employed by the informal sector globally.

Street vendors' ability to improve their working conditions and ultimately increase their income rests on their ability to organise themselves into an alliance that serves their needs. Street vendors associations globally have been successful in defending the rights of members and influencing policies. In India, for example, The National Association of Street Vendors was key in persuading the Government of India to adopt a supportive national policy on street vendors (Muiriri, 2010). Another organisation in India is the Self Employed Women's Association (SEWA) which, as the name suggests, is targeted specifically for all poor women working in the informal sector. SEWA started in 1972 and has grown to provide healthcare, childcare, insurance and training for its members (Muiriri, 2010). In Botswana, there is a lack of organising among women in the informal sector, let alone among street vendors. The lack of organisation among women increases their vulnerability by removing their social assets where the connection of people in society adds to improving livelihoods. Globally, there have been various studies on women in the street vending business. For example, these studies have focused on gender sensitivity of the street vending sector (Berry, 2009; Roever, 2010; Kawarazuka et al., 2016), and on the informal sector as a survivalist strategy for women dwelling in the urban areas of Gaborone, Botswana (Batsalelwang, 2015). In sum, studies on women street vendors have revealed the unequal distribution of opportunities that continue to hold them back. An examination of urban Botswana women's access to resources and the challenges they face in managing their livelihood has not been done. In order to fill this gap, this study explores the livelihood strategies employed by women street food vendors in Gaborone.

2.7 Summary

This chapter has appraised literature on the informal sector and women. The historical development of the concept is examined. The chapter then introduces street vending as a segment of the informal sector. The linkages of women in the street vending business are reviewed. Street food vending is also looked at as a livelihood strategy for women. The next chapter focuses on the theoretical framework used in the study.

CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the theoretical framework that guided the research. The theoretical framework is a guide for a study and grounds it in theoretical constructs (Grant & Osanloo, 2014; Adom et al., 2018). The aim of the theoretical framework is to provide structure in showing the focus of the research and the link to the problem statement. The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA) highlights the importance of a household's choice in being able to convert one asset into another. This approach is useful in the current study because it discusses the strategies and assets that women street food vendors engage in to build and sustain their livelihoods. This chapter first details the history and definition of the SLA followed by an overview of the components that make up the SL framework. The chapter then discusses the advantages and disadvantages of the framework before applying the SL framework to the study and finally the chapter summary.

3.2 The history and definition of the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework

The Brundtland Report, also known as "Our Common Future," was published in 1987 following the 1983 World Commission on Environment and Development. The report focused on three important sustainable development features, namely, social equity, environmental protection, and economic growth (Muralikrishna & Manickam, 2017). The report defined Sustainable Development as being able to meet the needs of the present generation without depleting resources that will meet the needs for future generations (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987). Development practitioners argued that the livelihoods of those dependent on the resources also needed to be accounted for. In 1992, Robert Chambers and Gordon Conway co-authored a discussion paper with the hopes of improving the livelihoods of marginalised groups, while addressing the different dimensions of sustainable development. For them, a livelihood "consists of capabilities, assets (including material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living" (Chambers & Conway, 1992, p. 7). Therefore, a livelihood is sustainable if it is able to recover from and cope with shocks and stresses as well as have the ability to maintain and enhance its capabilities and assets both for current and future generations (Krantz, 2001).

The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF) was originally used to analyse human lives and structures that shape people's well-being in rural areas; it is now used in both rural and urban areas. The framework is also used to identify ways in which assets and capabilities can be enhanced while people's vulnerabilities are reduced. According to Anand and Sen (1997), the

SLF focuses on community participation and draws on enhancing people's capabilities and entitlements. The three commonly used frameworks are those by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), CARE International, and the UK Department for International Development (DFID). The three will be discussed below.

3.2.1 The UNDP Framework

In the mid-1990s the UNDP opened a Livelihoods unit to promote sustainable livelihoods (Brocklesby & Fisher, 2003). Livelihoods in the UNDP framework are tools people use to make a living through their means, activities, entitlements, and assets. For a livelihood to be sustainable it should be able to recover from shocks and stresses, be economically effective, ecologically sound and socially equitable (Holloway & De Satge, 2002). Recently the UNDP has focused more on governance issues than Sustainable Livelihoods.

3.2.2 CARE's Framework

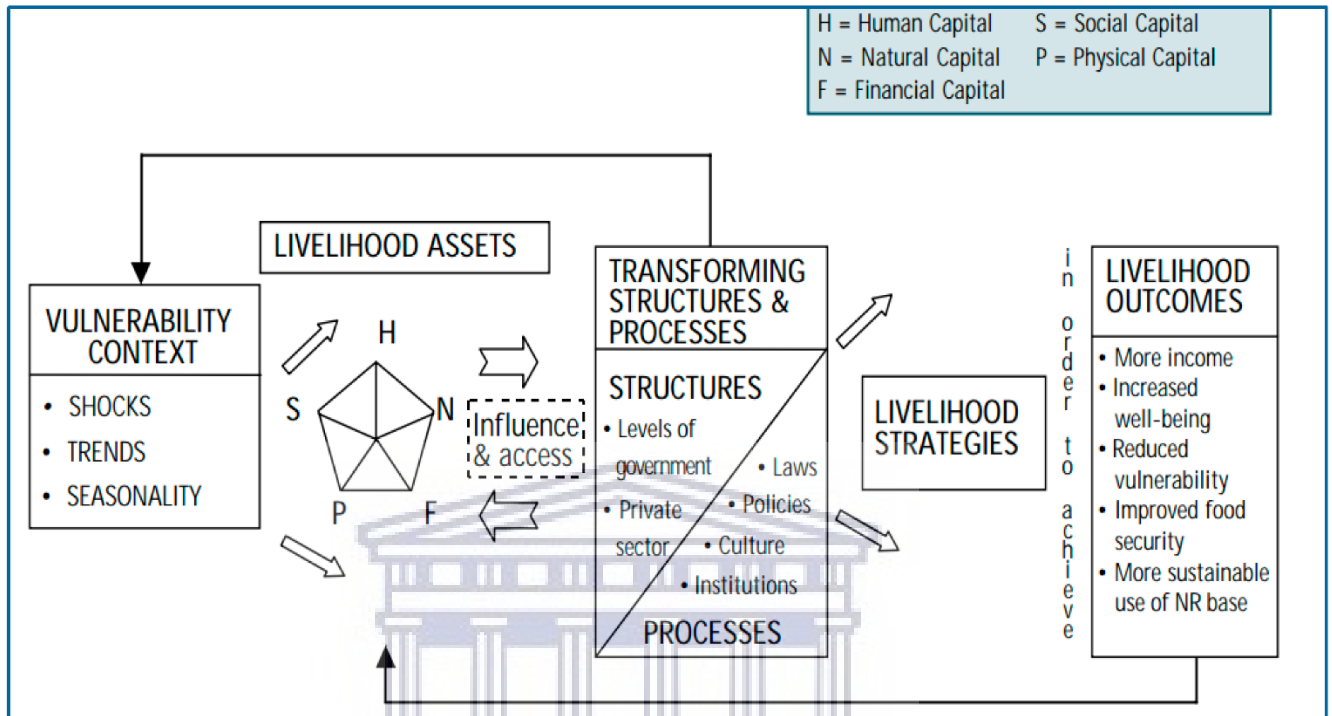
CARE International is an international non-governmental organisation that implements the livelihood approach. Similar to the UNDP, CARE began using the SLA in the mid-1990s. CARE's SL framework is used as a tool to examine ways in which 1) a household accesses resources, 2) members have access to the resources, and 3) assets are used to reduce shocks (Brocklesby & Fisher, 2003). The advantage of using this framework is that it allows for other SL frameworks to be used within their framework as this contributes to the growth of the SL approach. However, the difficulty with using the model stems from the complexity in organising a range of sequential, interlinked activities in other country offices and in institutionalising the skills required for the livelihoods approach.

3.2.3 The DFID Framework

The most widely used SL framework is that of the UK Department for International Development (DFID). Drawing from the ideas in the World Commission on Environment and Development report, DFID's main aim is to eliminate poverty in developing countries. It uses the SL framework as a tool to better understand the livelihoods of poor and marginalised households. The goal is to find ways to eliminate or reduce the contributing factors that form as a catalyst for poverty (de Silvia, 2013). Women street vendors face numerous challenges in making a living. For example, oftentimes women street vendors are solely responsible for taking care of children, which can negatively impact their time at work. This research adopts the DFID SL framework as it allows a holistic understanding of external and internal

relationships that affect a household's livelihood activities. A diagram of the DFID model is found below:

Figure 3.1: Sustainable Livelihood Framework



Source: DFID (2001)

a) Vulnerability Context

The vulnerability context refers to the external environment where people live. Chambers (1992, 6) defines vulnerability as:

Defencelessness, insecurity and exposure to risk, shocks and stress...and difficulty in coping with them. Vulnerability has two sides: an external side of risks, shocks and stress to which an individual or household is subject and an internal side which is defencelessness, meaning a lack of means to cope with damaging loss.

It looks at the different ways a household copes with critical trends, shocks and stresses present in their external environment (Allison & Horemans, 2006; Holloway & De Satge, 2002). Shocks are spontaneous events that affect an individual or household's livelihood security. Examples of shocks include theft, financial crises, political violence and instability, outbreaks of infectious diseases, a fire that destroys crops, the untimely death of a household's breadwinner due to an occupational hazard or a traffic accident. Stresses, on the other hand, are trends that hinder a livelihood opportunity. Included in these are health, transport,

education, and public services. Other scholars include the depletion of natural resources, climate change and political instability as stresses. Seasonality is the shifts in prices, production and employment opportunities which affect marginalised groups.

The vulnerability context is mostly used to analyse and understand the vulnerability levels of poor urban dwellers (Moser, 1998). It considers the available assets for the poor to use and sustain themselves as a way of living. In this study, the vulnerability context is used as an instrument to guide the researcher in identifying women street food vendors' assets, risks and the different ways the available capital can ease the numerous risks. Understanding these trends is important to track the effects they have on future generations. The DFID model is significant in that it highlights the different ways people use their livelihood assets in relation to their vulnerability context; in short, the DFID SL Framework's ultimate goal is to adopt livelihood strategies which favour the desired standard of living.

b) Livelihood Assets

The Livelihood Assets are presented as a pentagon in Figure 3.1 above. This shows the variation in people's capitals. The SLA places assets as important factors that poor urban dwellers need so that they maintain sufficient income to live. The SLA identifies five main capital assets which are also called livelihood building blocks. These assets are Human, Social, Physical, Financial and Natural (Allison & Horemans, 2006). People require access to various capitals in order to pursue their livelihood strategies; in the case of the urban poor, access is likely to be limited. Accessibility to different livelihoods assets by different households results in them having to make tradeoffs. The framework acknowledges that capitals are both developed and ruined because of seasonality, trends, and shocks. Assets are also influenced by transforming processes and structures which will be detailed later in the section.

Human capital refers to a combination of skills, abilities and a good physical state which one possesses to engage with different strategies, and satisfy their aims and objectives to sustain their livelihoods. Put differently, it is assessed looking at people's health, skills, education and knowledge (Timalsina, 2012). Human capital determines the quality and quantity of the available labour force. This is determined by family size, level of education, leadership ability and health status. Human capital is complemented by education and training; it, therefore, is an important resource for households to secure their livelihoods. According to a study on street vendors in Johannesburg, 80% of the participants chose vending due to lack of skill or availability of formal employment (Lund, 1998). A study by Hamukoto (2016), however, shows that some street vendors were able to use their entrepreneurial skill which they acquired

during the years to improve their businesses. Participants from a Nepal study suggest that street vending gave a “window of learning opportunities” (Timalsina, 2012, p. 16). Njaya (2014), on the other hand, argues that the increase in graduates turning to street vending as a form of income signifies a waste of educated human capital. Women are more inclined to drop out of school because of puberty and care responsibility associated with the triple role of women. Participants in Otto et al.’s (2007) studies state that basic education empowers them with the necessary skills to effectively run their micro-businesses. The research, therefore, shows the relationship between human capital and street vendors’ performance and implies that the vendor’s education affects their livelihood outcome.

Social capital is the social resources used by people to fulfil their objectives (Scoones, 2009). Social capital focuses on the connections between groups of people, allowing for shared resources to flow among them. Social assets are vital for other forms of capital to survive because of “the limits of individual actions in solving problems” (Njaya, 2015, p. 99). This may include group membership, social support and accessibility to societal institutions. A person has access to products, assistance or information depending on their network structure. Khatiwada (2013) observes that an individual’s relationship with the society they belong to may be advantageous in that it lowers the costs of business. Rahman and Junayed (2017) found that almost 55% of street vendors in Dhaka, Bangladesh are members of various community organisations. Research on women food street vendors in Noord Street, Johannesburg revealed that vendors relied on each other to survive the wrath of the Metro Police (Maketha, 2010). Women street food vendors use social capital as a problem-solving strategy in their environment. It is important to know how they mobilise their social assets in the industry of street food vending to survive.

Physical capital represents basic infrastructure such as tools and equipment, required for people to make a living. The importance of gaining access to appropriate equipment for households may increase incomes. Rakodi (2002) also adds that access to public space is identified as an important aspect of physical capital for urban poor dwellers. Similarly Brown and Lloyd (2002) describe one of the main features of physical capital to be limited access to public space by the urban poor. Women street food enterprises in Niger face challenges accessing physical equipment such as transport and secure shelter (Otoo et al., 2010). A study by Rahman and Junayed (2017) record an estimated 62% of street vendors in Dhaka, Bangladesh have a permanent structure for vending and an estimated 92% used mobile shops to trade. Furthermore, the study recorded limited accessibility to drinking water and the use of toilets.

Ellis (2000) describes roads, pipelines, and electricity as playing an important role in enhancing people's livelihoods.

Financial capital includes access to financial resources such as savings, wages, and loans. Financial resources influence a household's investment in business enterprises, housing, education, and health. Analysts conclude that poor urban dwellers derive their financial income from labour which they find to be a core asset (de Silvia, 2013). Microfinance offers a choice to street vendors, especially women. Financial services diversify income sources for women street vendors enabling them to manage their ongoing expenses. Bhowmik and Saha (2011) found that more women joining street vending are supported by financial institutions in the form of loans and grants. Also, financial institutions are more likely to finance women than men because women utilise the loan amount more economically than men (Bhowmik and Saha, 2011). Cohen (2011) adds that financial institutions are vital for women street vendors in that when in there is a financial crisis they can take out a loan to counter the problem. Apart from banks, there are informal financial services that lend out money to microenterprises.

Kibuuka (2016) lists a few examples found in South Africa. The first is money lenders, who, according to Kibuuka (2016), mostly operate from home and provide loan applications that are simple. Money transfers also take place between family and friends and transactions between family and friends are likely to carry low interest. Kibuuka (2016) also lists saving groups which Coetzee (1997) points out are formed for a specific purpose. Development practitioners have argued that financial capital is the least available asset to marginalised populations. The study will, therefore, seek to uncover the extent to which women street vendors have access to financial capital and how this may improve their economic and social well-being.

Rakodi (2002) and Makheta (2010) explain that natural resources are regarded as less important when looking at the urban environment unless the particular population depends on urban agriculture. Natural capital refers to resources used by people to generate means of survival such as water, land, and air. These resources are used to create additional benefits. Research shows vendors in the urban area have low possession of natural capital (Makheta, 2010).

c) Transforming Structures and Processes

When considering livelihood approaches it is important to factor in policies, laws, organisations, and institutions that can improve people's lives. Transforming structures and processes looks at accessing various kinds of assets, livelihood strategies and sources of influence and decision- making bodies; the terms of exchange between various assets; and

returns (economic and otherwise) to any given livelihood strategy (DFID, 1999). The tables below are examples of structures and processes that impact livelihoods.

Table 3.1 Transforming Structures

Public Sector	Private Sector
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Quasi-governmental agencies/Parastatals • Judicial bodies (courts) • Executive agencies (ministries, departments) • Political (legislative) entities at different levels from national to local 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Commercial enterprises and corporations • Civil society/membership organisations (of varying degrees of formalities) • NGOs (local, national, international)

Source: DFID (1999)

DFID (1999) define structures as institutions responsible for public and private institutions responsible that are tasked to develop and implement laws and policies that will indeed affect livelihoods. Although all structures are important in impacting livelihoods, some are more capacitated than others. As can be seen from Table 1 above, political institutions are entrusted to make laws that strengthen the poor's existing livelihoods. More importantly, the DFID (1999) observes that the poor are not well-informed on government processes. This discourages them from seeking reforms necessary for the betterment of their livelihoods.

Table 3.2 Transforming Processes

Power relations	Culture	Institutions	Legislation	Policies
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Caste • Class • Gender • Age 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social beliefs and norms 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Rules of the Game” within structures • Markets • Institutions regulating accessibility to capital 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Domestic • International agreements 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Regulatory • Redistributive • Sectoral • Macro

Source: DFID (1999)

Processes are key in that they provide or restrict access to capital, are responsible for the way society interacts with each other and use markets to entice people in making decisions that affect their livelihood strategy (DFID, 1999). A common problem is that the processes that guide the poor's livelihoods result in them being socially excluded.

d) Livelihood Strategies

Livelihood strategies according to Ellis (1998) include economic, cultural and social choices that make up the character of a household. Brown et al (2006) explain the multidimensional aspect of a livelihood. This is because livelihood strategies of marginalised people are often diverse and complicated. For example, a household is engaged with a mix of activities that do not always constitute a distinct livelihood but instead may suggest various activities within the same livelihood. Alemu (2012) and Neves and Du Toit (2013) have classified livelihood strategies and activities as follows: natural resource or land-based activities, labour market-based activities, and non-labour sources of income. This study will focus on labour market-based activities because under this falls formal and informal economic activities. Livelihood strategies are largely driven by the availability of assets a household or individual possesses as well as the influence of the transforming structures and processes (DFID, 1999). It is, therefore, the goal of development agencies to promote the range of livelihood strategies to reduce their vulnerability (Mago, 2018).

Street vending is vulnerable in nature (Cargoklu & Eder, 2006). Women street food vendors are largely impacted by their vulnerability to seasonal variations, stresses and shocks. For example, vulnerability for women street food vendors includes caring for dependents, working long hours as well as lacking working infrastructure (Steel, 2008). A study in Dehli, India categorised vulnerability into two. The first included street vendors who have control over their predicament such as working hours and the second were vendors that did not have control over events such as taking care of dependants (Dabir-Alai, 2004). The income of women street food vendors is also influenced by their diversity of products especially when droughts occur and various foods are not available to sell. Additionally, government and private structures determine options for choice of livelihood strategies for women street food vendors. According to Khan (2003), government and private structures neglect the poor adding to their vulnerability. Livelihoods of street vendors in Cusco, Peru for example, were at stake as municipal authorities made it difficult for them to work in the streets because of the negative impact it had on tourists (Steel, 2008). This study uses the SL framework to take a closer look at these institutions and how they affect the livelihood strategies of women street food vendors.

e) Livelihood Outcomes

The DFID (1999) defines livelihood outcomes as achievements of livelihood strategies. Examples of outcomes include asset accumulation, income, improved food security and health, increased well-being, as well as high social status (one's position in the community and social hierarchy) and low vulnerability (DFID, 1999; Serrat, 2008; Mago, 2018). For example, an increase in income returns due to informal economic activities, as will be looked at in this study, relates to the idea of "economic sustainability of livelihoods" in the framework (DFID, 1999). Increased well-being, on the other hand, is affected by accessibility to services, social inclusion, and self-esteem to name a few. DFID (1999) states that poor people's livelihoods are unsustainable and in most cases, they are unable to shield themselves from adverse effects of the vulnerability context. Livelihood outcomes help development practitioners understand the reason why people make the choices they do and predict the possible action they will take in response to new opportunities.

3.3 The core principles of the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach

The sustainable livelihood approach framework emphasises fundamental principles that are widely accepted as rules governing the approach. These principles are that SLA has to be people-centred, responsive and participatory, multi-level and have partnerships that are both dynamic and sustainable (Mazibuko, 2013).

Ashley and Carney (1999) explain that to achieve development the SL approach needs to be people-centred. The writers highlight the need for people to be at the centre of all development practices. Poverty elimination and growth will only be achieved if practitioners understand the dynamic between different groups of people, their current livelihood strategies and the social environment they live in, and their ability to adapt (Ashley & Carney, 1999).

The second principle is that it should be participatory and responsive. People should be at the forefront of all decision making when it comes to establishing strategies to help them. Practitioners should have tools that will facilitate their listening and responding to the poor (Ashley & Carney, 1999).

The third principle states that there should be a link between micro and macro levels. This ensures that the micro-level activity promotes effective development for the people and the environment. The macro-level structures and institutions on the other hand support local people to build on what they already have (Allison & Horemans, 2006).

Lastly, SL is to be conducted in partnerships that are both dynamic and sustainable (Toner and Franks 2006). This means that both the public and private sectors are involved to find a balance between economic, institutional, social and environmental sustainability. These partnerships should recognise the need to quickly and effectively respond to people's situations as well as developing long term commitments (Ashley & Carney, 1999).

SL frameworks provide a way of ensuring that private and public organisations understand the many livelihood factors and prioritise helping the people (Allison & Horemans, 2006). The framework emphasises outcome. A sustainable livelihood looks at an individual's ability to improve and maintain their living standard, reduce their vulnerability to external trends and shocks meanwhile ensuring that their activities maintain their resources (Ashley & Carney, 1999).

3.4 Limitations of using the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework

At the very heart of the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework is the need for poverty eradication. This has caused specific biases within the approach which has opened up room for criticism. The SLF does not make provision for the influence and actions of the richer actors in the field (Small, 2011). Wealthy players and governments are seen as the structures and processes that are used to transform the livelihoods of the poor, often adversely. There is usually a gap between the design and implementation of the livelihood approaches (Patnaik & Prasad, 2014). Sud (2003) also mentions that governments have made a habit of predetermining choices of livelihoods with the poor not being involved. Programmes have been said to have inappropriate programme designs due to a top-down approach. Participation and lack of trust may distort the outcome of a sustainable livelihoods approach as participants may not trust the process of intervention.

To add on, critics also suggest that the SL framework is not concerned with historical events in which more can be understood if we identify the circumstances that led to the existing social institutions (O'Laughlin, 2002). The Sustainable Livelihood Framework is seen to be more of a framework and is not linked to any theory of social or economic change (Small, 2011). It relies on a series of international development models and ideas such as participation, empowerment, holism, and equality (Allison & Horemans, 2006). Furthermore social difficulties are unable to be defined because it is unable to link ideas into a theoretically consistent whole.

By focusing on elements such as reduced vulnerability which is a non-income aspect of livelihoods makes measuring certain aspects challenging (Ashley & Carney, 1999). For example, the ability to recover from a shock or stress depends on the characteristics of the shock or stress. Measuring capitals within the Sustainable Livelihoods approach is also unclear. A question that has been raised is if all capitals are required to be measured? The element of context specificity needs to be considered when looking at these questions. Development practitioners are challenged frequently to create programmes that generate anticipated results to make SL more effective.

3.5 Strengths of using the SL Framework

As stated by Holcomb and Rothenberg (1993), a livelihood system is the mix of individual and household strategies developed over a period. It strives to use people's available resources such as skills, property, time as well as opportunities like friendship networks, group and organizational membership. Additionally, the SL is a popular toolbox to use for researchers and development practitioners across the world as it brings different disciplines together (Singh & Gilman, 1999). Today the livelihoods system approach is used by governments and nongovernmental policymakers as well as researchers. It is also informed by commitment to action and deep field engagement as it focuses on a bottom-up approach to dealing with social issues and highlighting the nature of poverty (Dube, 2017). The approach is focused on highlighting what people have rather than what they lack (Dube, 2017). Because of the layered character of the approach, it shows the importance of poor people's activities in relation to the vulnerability context (Krantz, 2001). The livelihoods approach is also geared at encouraging choice, opportunity, and diversity (DFID, 1999).

3.6 Applicability of the SLF to the study

Livelihood assets are the basic unit that help women in achieving self-sufficiency. Women achieve their objective and become self-sufficient by investing in various assets. The framework allows the study to determine the key capitals that women street food vendors use in an effort to move toward a sustainable livelihood. While in reality all capitals are complex and interconnected, the framework is used to group them into specific categories so that women's challenges, barriers and strengths are better analysed and understood. Additionally, the SL framework prompts a comprehensive understanding of livelihoods, therefore, poverty is not only defined in terms of lack of income and consumption, but also includes the lack of human and social assets necessary to meet these needs (DFID, 1999; Neefjes).

As previously highlighted there is a critical link between the contribution that women make to the informal sector and economic growth. However, government programmes and initiatives have consistently failed in supporting women in this area. Gender issues need to be prioritised to implement programmes in a gender-equitable way. The informal sector allows for women to better perform their reproductive tasks as the sector allows for more flexible hours. Women, more specifically income earning mothers, must simultaneously manage childcare, domestic work, community activity, and their income-producing work. The advantage of the informal sector is that such mothers can have their business at home or open markets to which children can be taken. However, a number of developing countries are patriarchal and find that men dominate the informal sector and earn more than women vendors as is the case in the city of Barishal in Bangladesh (Rahman, 2019). To improve women's income-earning opportunities, one needs to understand the range of women's work activities which include the productive and community managing as well as the way that women manage to balance each activity against the others. The livelihoods approach seeks to understand women's nature in the informal sector and the contribution they make to the national, community and household income (Holcomb & Rothenberg, 1993).

Several women move from rural areas to urban areas because of economic hardships. These hardships are characterised by poverty and unemployment (Ntseane, 2000). Rapid urbanisation has caused pressure on urban services and facilities which have become a challenge for the Botswana government. Government interventions should be specifically tailored to help women in the business of street food trading overcome challenges of Botswana's competitive economy. The study, therefore, will take into account how women street food vendors utilise their assets to cope with crises and if institutions and policies are put in place to improve the ability to cope and recover from such events. Because poverty is not static, Moser (1998) highlights the issue of vulnerability and argues that people move in and out of relative poverty. The author acknowledges that poor people may have limited access to financial assets and that they use other assets to ensure their survival.

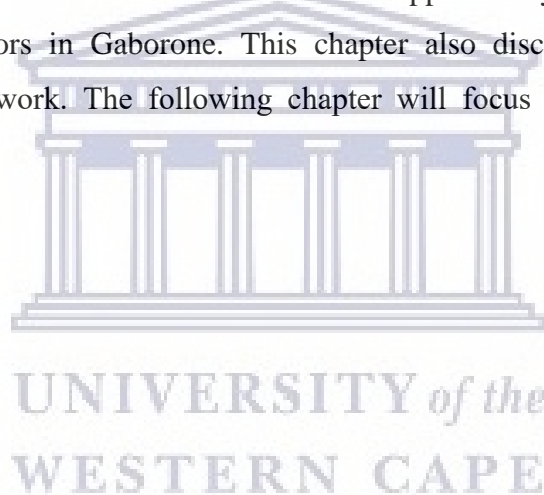
In this study, the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework is used to assess the contribution to livelihood sustainability made by women street food vendors through their existing livelihood strategies. Because the framework is people-centred, women street food vendors can share their experiences about factors that affect their livelihoods. This should help in the identification of appropriate entry points for support of livelihoods. The study identifies the aspects of seasonality, shocks and trends that are essential to the livelihoods of women street food vendors

in Gaborone. This will, in turn, help us better understand the impact of the above factors and how they can be minimised.

The study highlights the inter-relationships between the different capitals used by women street food vendors in the city. Because of the influence of transforming structures and processes has on the entire framework, the study also analyses the public and private structures, as well as policies on the livelihoods of women street vendors. All these factors affect the livelihood strategies employed by women street food vendors in Gaborone.

3.7 Summary

This chapter reviewed the SLF to contextualise the present study so as to establish a framework for analysis. The framework is useful in understanding the various assets that are possessed by women street food vendors in Gaborone and the challenges they encounter. This chapter detailed the components of the SL framework and their applicability to the current study on women street food vendors in Gaborone. This chapter also discusses the strengths and weaknesses of the framework. The following chapter will focus on the study's research methodology.



CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a detailed description of the research methodology used in the study. The chapter first discusses the research design before highlighting the instruments used for data collection. The population and sampling methods will also be discussed in detail. The chapter then outlines the data analysis and presentation formats used in the study. Finally, the ethical considerations of this study are discussed before the chapter summary.

4.2 Research design

The research design addresses the ‘why’ and ‘what’ questions in a study (Fischer, et al., 2011). It is the first step the researcher takes in organising and planning the research process once the research problem and research aim have been outlined. Bhattacharjee (2012) provides three categories of research design: descriptive, explorative, and explanatory. Exploratory research identifies the magnitude of a particular situation or environment and sheds light on a subject area with little existing research (Bhattacharjee, 2012). Exploratory research is known to have a high degree of flexibility so as to scope out the nature and extent of the problem. Descriptive research, on the other hand, gives an in-depth documentation of a phenomenon of interest. It describes what exists, looking at the factors in a situation (Lambert & Lambert, 2012). Lastly, explanatory research seeks to understand observed behaviour, problems and phenomena. This category of research answers the why and how types of questions (Bhattacharjee, 2012). The current study uses an explorative approach so as to better understand the livelihood strategies adopted by women street food vendors in Gaborone. Additionally, the approach was chosen to raise awareness of this particular phenomenon which has a limited amount of studies.

4.3 Research methodology

Research methodology, according to Kitchin and Nicholas (2000), uses set procedures and rules to study a situation or phenomenon. It is about linking theory with practice. Quantitative and qualitative research methods are the dominant research approaches. Depending on the researcher, they can be applied independently or used together. Most recently the field of mixed methods research has gained popularity among social scientists. In this study, the mixed-methods approach was developed by using quantitative and qualitative methods, arguing that both approaches could be used interchangeably with one another (Wisdom & Creswell, 2013).

4.3.1 Qualitative research approach

Qualitative research according to Strauss and Corbin (1990) is any type of research that generates findings not reached by way of statistical processes or other quantification means. This entails a study about people's lived experiences, emotions, behaviour and lives. According to Anafi (2000), qualitative research is important in exploring individual attitudes, perceptions, conceptions, and priorities on a certain topic. Qualitative methods seek to understand social realities (Limb and Dwyer (2001). It combines a number of interpretive techniques that seek to explore evidence of the world as it is lived (Morse and Richards, 2002). One major disadvantage of using this kind of research is that findings cannot be generalised to a larger population because the data gathered is from a small sample. The advantage of using qualitative research, however, is that it depends on human experience and therefore the issues covered can be evaluated in-depth and with greater detail.

4.3.2 Quantitative research approach

Quantitative research collects numerical data to generalise it across sections of the population or it is used to explain a particular phenomenon (Babbie, 2010). It intends to control, explain and predict a phenomenon by answering questions on relationships with quantifiable variables (Leedy, 1993). Quantitative research provides a macro view in that it involves large sample sizes and is appropriate in situations where systematic, standardised comparisons are needed (Babbie, 2010). It is also said to be more credible than qualitative research because its goal is to limit extraneous variables within the study's internal structure. One other advantage is that quantitative research can be standardised when testing (Duffy, 1995). The disadvantage of using quantitative research is that it cannot account for non-numerical data such as behaviour, beliefs and feelings. Therefore it cannot be used to explain social phenomena.

4.3.3 Mixed methods approach

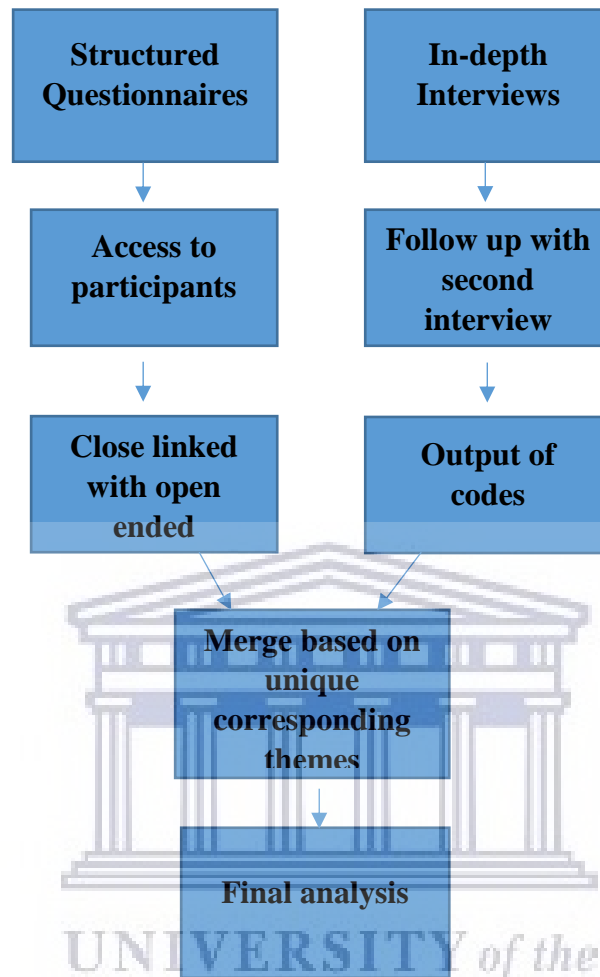
Onwuegbuzie and Leech (2004) describe the mixed methods approach as a bridge between qualitative and quantitative methodology. The mixed methodology is advantageous in that it offsets the weaknesses of qualitative and quantitative research methods, thereby enhancing the validity of the research (De Lisle, 2011). By using mixed methods, researchers are not restricted when answering research questions. Mixed methods are a pluralistic, complementary and inclusive form of research (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). Although using mixed methods is beneficial, it does have some drawbacks due to it being time-consuming, expensive, and labour intensive (Driscoll et al., 2007; Neuman, 2014).

After looking at the strengths and weaknesses of the qualitative and quantitative approach, the researcher combined the strengths of both methods in data collection by using various tools to capture rich data that expands the current literature on the topic. This study, however, is largely qualitative in nature. The qualitative research was particularly important for this study as it enabled a comprehensive understanding of women street food vendors' behaviours, attitudes, assumptions, and lived experiences. Participant observation, photovoice data and semi-structured interviews were the qualitative methods used. The quantitative methods comprised of the administration of questionnaires with women street food vendors. Quantitative methods played a small role in the form of basic descriptive statistics to analyse demographic characteristics, as well as the income and employment data of women street food traders.

4.4 Data Collection Methods

Data collection can be divided into primary and secondary. The most important method of collecting primary data is fieldwork (Timalsina, 2007). Primary data is original in character and is collected for the first time (Babbie, 2010). Methods used to collect primary data include observation, interviews, questionnaires and focus group discussions. Secondary data, on the other hand, already exists and has been collected and analysed by another party. According to Timalsina (2007), secondary data can be published or unpublished data and is important when analysing and giving inference of some empirical knowledge. Secondary data sources include research journals, government publications, books and research reports (Babbie & Mouton, 2008). This study uses sequential mixed methods data collection strategies. In sequential designs (see Figure 4.1), quantitative data is first collected before statistical methods are used to identify the findings that will be expanded in the qualitative stage.

Figure 4.1: Sequential Mixed Methods Design



Source: Driscoll et al., 2007

The study uses structured questionnaires, semi-structured interviews, photovoice data and participant observations before data analysis. Details on the methods of data collection used in the research will be looked at in the next section.

4.4.1 Quantitative Data Collection

Structured questionnaires

A questionnaire may be defined as a fixed set of questions that follow are themed so as to gather precise data about one or more specific topics (Babbie, 2010). With a structured questionnaire, close-ended questions are used to collect survey information and structural numerical data. This study used a structured questionnaire in the form of dichotomous and multiple-choice questions. Dichotomous questions are useful in that they provide clear, unequivocal responses because there are only two categories of response. Multiple-choice

questions, on the other hand, lays out a list of options intended to reflect the most probable answers given (Cohen, et al., 2007). The disadvantage of using multiple-choice questions in the study was that the researcher had to clarify questions due to their coding. The advantage of using dichotomous and multiple-choice questions is that they were coded quickly and aggregated to give frequencies of respondents. The questionnaire also had a few open-ended questions in order for the researcher to obtain additional information.

The use of structured questionnaires is advantageous because they require less effort and a large number of people can be reached at low cost with less time (Schmittmann, et al., 2013). The limitation of a structured questionnaire is that it cannot be helpful when seeking information about complex behaviours of research subjects and can pose problems for people with limited literacy (Cohen, et al., 2007). The study used structured questionnaires to retrieve information on the costs of running a business, the site of the vending business, the profile of women street food vendors, and the demographic characteristics. 1. The researcher administered 42 questionnaires to purposefully selected women street food vendors at Gaborone Main Mall. The questionnaire consisted of 23 questions and was mostly written in Setswana, the local language with a few questions in English. When the respondents had challenges in answering a question, they asked the researcher for assistance.

4.4.2 Qualitative Data Collection

Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews were utilised in this study to elicit women street food vendors' and key informants' perspectives on the topic. This allowed the researcher to ask questions on complex issues and learn more about the contextual factors that govern women's experiences. Twenty women street food vendors were interviewed and the interview lasted between 20 and 60 minutes. Although the questions were pre-determined, other questions evolved as the interviews progressed and a large amount of detail was generated. One disadvantage of using semi-structured interviews, however, is that open-ended questions may take more time to analyse (Cohen, et al., 2007).

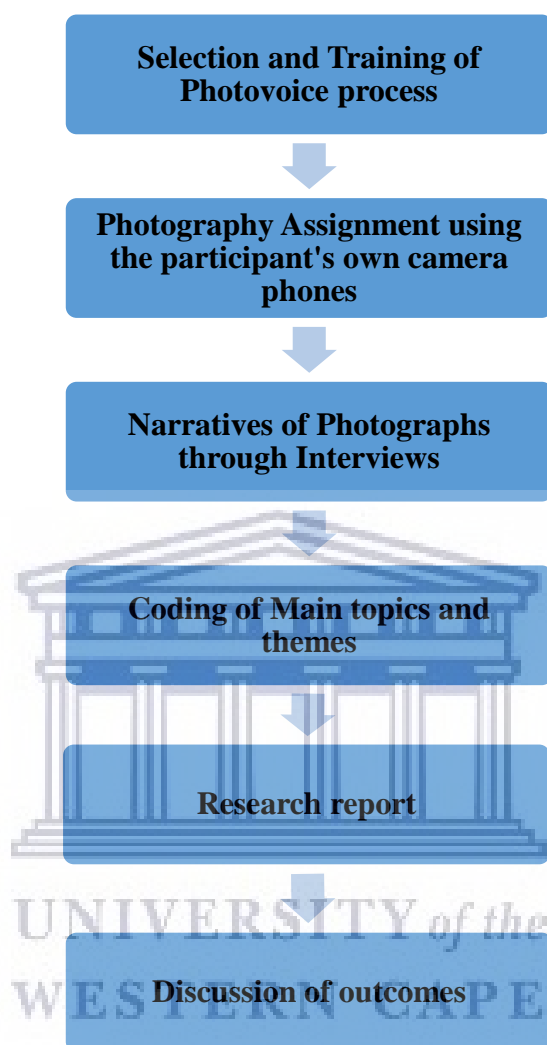
As stated above this study also selected two key informants to take part in the study. Key informants are regarded as knowledgeable people who impart important information for the study (Timalsina, 2007). Key informant interviews were held with the Gaborone City Centre representative and the chairperson of the Street Vendors Association in Gaborone Main Mall. The informants have direct knowledge of working with women street food vendors in

Gaborone Main Mall where the study was conducted. They were interviewed in an effort to understand the respondents' views on the increase of street food vending and the policies geared towards this sector. Each interview was recorded using an audio recorder to add to the accuracy, trustworthiness, and consistency of the data.

Photovoice

Photovoice was used in the study to complement the data collected from the semi-structured interviews. Photovoice uses photographs taken by the participants as a tool to enable them to tell their stories. Photovoice is “a process by which people can identify, represent, and enhance their community through a specific photographic technique. It entrusts cameras to the hands of people to enable them to act as a recorder, and potential catalysts for change, in their own communities” (Wang & Burris, 1997, p. 369). After the initial semi-structured interviews, eight women were selected to participate in photovoice. The researcher explained photovoice to each participant separately. Because photovoice provides cameras to participants, the researcher modified this method by requesting the participants to use their own camera phones. Participants were then asked to photograph aspects of their lives that they felt improved or decreased their livelihood strategies in relation to street food vending. The participants were asked for permission to take any object, person or place that referred to the topic. Pictures were taken in a week and forwarded to the researcher. The researcher then conducted follow up interviews to explore and learn more about the narratives behind the pictures that were taken. Photovoice was important in this study as women street food vendors were able to express themselves through a visual representation of their own experiences. Figure 4.2 below shows the modified photovoice process by the researcher.

Figure 4.2: The modified Photovoice process for women street food vendors in Gaborone



Source: Adapted from Wang & Burris (1997)

Participant Observation

Observation was used to examine women street food vendors in their daily working environments. Jones and Somekh (2004) state that observation entails watching an event unfold and recording the researcher's views of the occurrences. Before circulating the questionnaire, the researcher observed the various activities that took place at the street vendors' stalls in Gaborone Main Mall for two weeks. Notes were taken of the times when the stalls were busy and this informed the researcher of the times when it would be suitable to administer the questionnaires. The strength of observation is that "the use of immediate awareness, or direct cognitive, as a principal mode of research thus has the potential to yield more valid or authentic

data” (Cohen, et al., 2007, p. 396). Bailey (1994), on the other hand, suggests that observation is problematic because of the difficulties in measurement. However, since this is largely a qualitative study, the intention was not to measure observation but rather to acquire insight on women street food vendors’ lived experiences. Participant observation was particularly useful in this study as it helped the researcher better understand women street food vendors’ behaviours within the context in which they work. Photographs were also taken – with the consent of participants – during observation in order to illustrate the research findings.

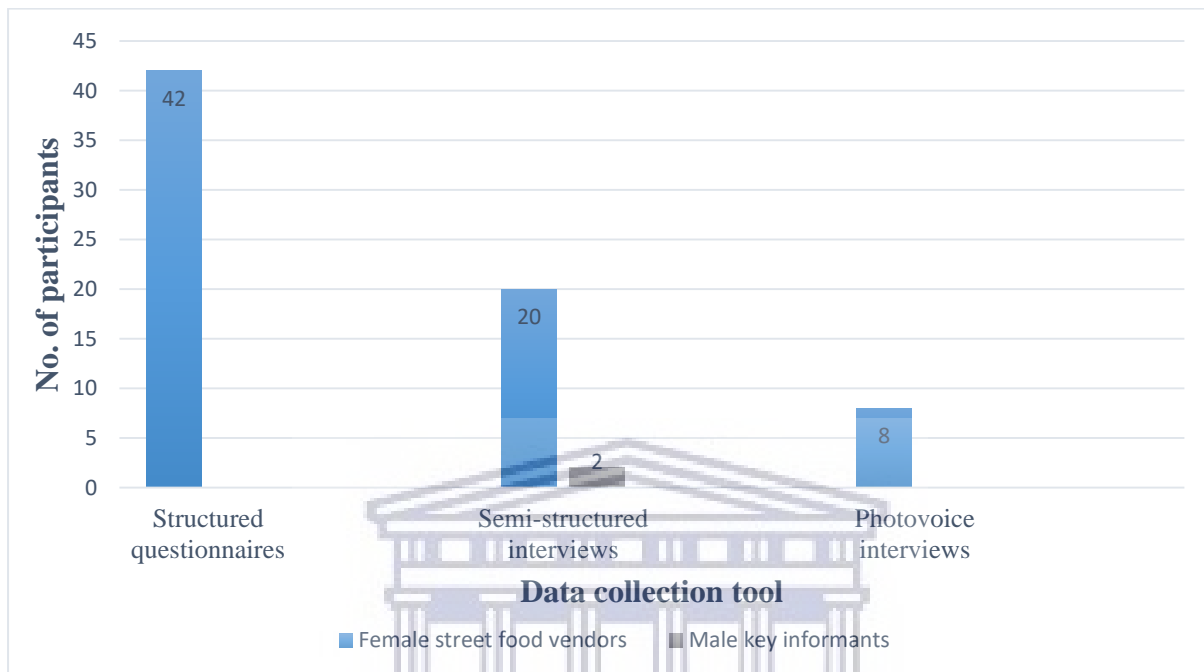
4.4.3 Collection of Secondary Data

The researcher drew on information derived from the Labour Survey collected by Botswana’s Statistics Office. This gave a picture of the employment status of women in the street vending business. Records were also collected from Gaborone City Council on their by-laws which contribute to challenges women face in the informal sector.

4.5 Population and Sampling

The population includes the groups of people that meet certain criteria in a study (Burns & Grove, 2003). This study based its sample from women street food vendors in Gaborone. A sample is a small portion taken from the population study. Purposive sampling is defined as a “strategy in which particular settings, persons or events are selected deliberately” (Maxwell, 1996, p. 69). Babbie and Mouton (2008) further add that purposive sampling is non-probability sampling where the researcher deliberately selects participants who are well-informed on the research. Twenty women street food vendors were selected based on their knowledge of the topic. The sample included women selling fruits and vegetables, cooked food, snacks, and sweets. Although 42 structured questionnaires were administered, time and budgetary constraints limited the study to conducting twenty semi-structured interviews. There is a high level of street vending activity in Gaborone Main Mall and this is why it was purposefully selected for the study. Gaborone Main Mall houses private and public organisations, and street vendors provide goods and services to most of their workers. Figure 4.3 below shows the methods of data collection used by the respondents.

Figure 4.3: Methods of data collection used by respondents



Source: Author's compilation based on field data

4.6 Data analysis

Data analysis is the process of “bringing meaning to raw, inexpressive data” (Marshall & Rossman, 2006, p. 157). Raw data has no meaning unless the researcher interprets the data by means of describing phenomena and linking it to a concept (Cohen, et al., 2007). Data analysis requires the researcher to organise and familiarise themselves with the data, identify themes, code as well as interpret the data. In the social sciences, qualitative or quantitative methods of data analysis are used. Cohen et al (2007) define qualitative data analysis as an approach that uses the research respondent's opinions and views of situations, connecting regular similarities, themes, patterns and categories (Cohen, et al., 2007). Quantitative data analysis, in contrast, requires the researcher to apply critical and rational thinking to turn raw numbers into meaningful information (Neuman, 2014). This study gives the qualitative analysis a higher priority and falls under a qualitative-dominant mixed analysis. The use of both quantitative and qualitative methods provide richer data interpretations.

4.6.1 Quantitative Data Analysis

This study utilised the quantitative data analysis to present the data collected from structured questionnaires. Descriptive statistics was used to present the demographic, education and employment background of the respondents. The data collected from the questionnaires was first coded and put into an Excel spreadsheet. The researcher thoroughly inspected the dataset for errors, in an effort to ensure the integrity of the data. The data was then imported into STATA version 12 to facilitate the statistical analysis. Because of the different variables being compared, a tabular presentation was used to assimilate the information. The statistical commentary of the analysis includes an explanation of the frequencies and percentages from the tables. Firstly, the study uses quantitative analysis which then informs the subsequent qualitative analysis element (Onwuegbuzie & Teddlie, 2003).

4.6.2 Qualitative Data Analysis

Qualitative data analysis includes breaking up data into easy to manage parts before coding it and looking for patterns and themes (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003). Shenton (2004) emphasises how important it is in qualitative studies to start analysing data while in the field. The researcher frequently analysed her notes during fieldwork to identify emerging patterns while the information was still fresh. Thematic data analysis was used. According to Braun and Clarke (2006), thematic analysis is a process of identifying, analysing and reporting patterns from qualitative data. The researcher followed the thematic steps suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006):

Step One

To start, the researcher transcribed all recorded audio of the interviews before translating them from Setswana into English. The researcher then read and re-read the transcriptions and field notes to become familiar with the data. Emerging patterns from the data were also noted.

Step Two

When analysing data, the researcher needs to find patterns that explain casual links in the dataset. Categorising the data allows the researcher to compare and contrast the patterns that emerge and make sense of them. The researcher generated preliminary codes according to the research questions. A table was used to present the data in an organised and meaningful way.

Step Three

The identified codes were then grouped together into themes. The sample size was manageable therefore the researcher categorised the responses from the interviews until prominent themes were identified. Themes are defined as important concepts that are modelled from the research question and capture patterns in the responses found in the data (Ryan & Bernard, 2003; Leedy & Ormrod, 2010).

Step Four

After gaining certain insights, the initial codes were reviewed. The researcher classified and categorised notes taken during the interview sessions that correspond with concepts of the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF), to make it meaningful. The process of analysis involved searching for connections between the raw data and the SLF concepts.

Step Five

The themes were finally refined and the findings were compared and interpreted according to the themes. After going over the categories that were refined from the information, the researcher was in a position to interpret the data.

Step Six

A final report was written by the researcher in the last step. The report included themes that contributed to answering the research questions, which were refined when writing the thesis. The themes that appeared from each dataset were discussed separately so as to establish recurring ones. The results were discussed and interpreted through cross-referencing the literature review and theoretical framework.

4.7 Ethical considerations

Ethical guidelines are important to consider in order to protect participants. Flewitt (2005) explains how considering ethical issues are important when researching vulnerable people such as (women) street vendors and children. The author goes on to say that ethical guidelines are needed to protect people from the harshness of research. The study commenced once the researcher obtained the ethical clearance from the University of Western Cape's Economic and Management Sciences Higher Degrees Committee and the Senate Higher Degrees and Ethics Committees. Permission was also sought from the Ministry of Local Government which is the office responsible for approving all research conducted in Botswana. Once permission was granted by the Ministry the researcher conducted the study. The ethical guidelines stipulated

for conducting this type of research were strictly adhered to. Babbie (2010) and Bryman (2012) consider there to be four main categories that researchers should follow when conducting a study. These principles are informed consent, voluntary participation, protection from harm and the right to privacy. These principles guidelines are discussed below;

4.7.1 Informed consent and Voluntary participation

According to Babbie and Mouton (2008), the participants are entitled to full disclosure about the research. In order to adhere to this guideline, the researcher stated clearly that they represented the University of the Western Cape and showed the participants their student card for identification purposes. The researcher also provided the participants with information sheets obtained from the University of what the research was about with the contact details of all the necessary parties including those of the researcher and the researcher's supervisor. The researcher explained to the respondents that the study was strictly for academic purposes and that even if they consented to participate, they could withdraw from the study at any point for whatever reason. The researcher explained to participants in photovoice that the photographs taken would only appear in the research if they gave consent. Participants were told to inform every person who appeared in the photographs, of the purpose of this study.

4.7.2 Protection from Harm and Right of Privacy

The researcher assured the participants that they would be free from any form of psychological and emotional harm. The researcher also provided contact details of a counsellor at the University of Botswana who agreed to assist the respondents should the questions asked in the study trigger any adverse effects in them in any way. Another way of protecting participants is by ensuring confidentiality (Bryman, 2012). The researcher protected the confidentiality of the respondents by using pseudonyms so their identities would not be revealed (Schutt, 2009). Furthermore, the transcripts from the interviews were secured and kept in the form of soft copies in the researcher's personal computer which was password protected. When conducting the interviews of the photovoice participants the researcher requested they sign release forms for the photographs to be published in the study. If the participants did not have any objections to any of the above, the researcher asked for their permission to proceed with the study.

4.8 Summary

This chapter described the research approach used to conduct this study. It provided details on the study design, research methodology, data collection methods, and data analysis procedures.

Research ethics were properly observed in this study. The next chapter presents the findings of the study.



CHAPTER FIVE: DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

5.1. Introduction

In order to identify the livelihood strategies of women street food vendors, this chapter presents the discussion of the major findings obtained in the field guided by the research questions. The objectives of the study sought to 1) establish the socio-economic characteristics of women street food vendors in Gaborone; 2) identify challenges faced by women street food vendors; and, 3) identify the strategies adopted for coping with on-going events. The chapter first describes the determinants of livelihood strategies before exploring the challenges and coping mechanisms of women. This analysis is achieved by presenting the quantitative data in the form of descriptive statistics and qualitative quotes which are used to explain the quantitative findings (Sale, et al., 2002). The chapter is informed by four sets of data that was collected: structured questionnaires, semi-structured interviews, photovoice data, and field observation. Graphs, tables, photographs, and descriptive narration are used to illustrate the findings.

The study administered structured questionnaires to 42 purposefully selected women street food vendors. Of the 42 participants who completed the structured questionnaires, 20 of the respondents were purposefully sampled to conduct the qualitative in-depth interviews. The photovoice respondents (8 women) were also purposively sampled from the in-depth interview list. Moreover, key informant interviews were held with the chairperson of the Gaborone Main Mall Street Vendors Association and the Gaborone City Council representative. Both the key informants were male. In Botswana's culture, it is encouraged for elders to be called with a title, "Mme" for women and "Rre" for men. This study will incorporate Botswana's culture by using titles before the pseudonyms of the participants. The interpretation of the findings is supported by triangulating the literature review and drawing on the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework.

5.2 Determinants of livelihood strategies

As mentioned in the previous chapters, women street food vendors are influenced by their vulnerability context and access to the various assets when deciding on their livelihood strategies (Scoones, 1998; De Satge, 2002). The next section will examine women street food vendors' economic and social characteristics in Gaborone as factors that determine the livelihood strategies employed. The current study highlights four groups of determinants: age; street food vending activity; education and business skills; and income and family status.

5.2.1 Age

The age range of women street food vendors was used as a variable so that the vendors' experiences in different age categories could be captured in relation to their livelihood strategies. Age affects women's livelihoods and poverty level in terms of participation in the labour force at different stages of the life course (Mekonen et al., 2016; Vera- Sanso, 2008; Chant 2007). Table 5.1 below depicts the age distribution of the participants who filled out the structured questionnaire.

Table 5.1 Age distribution of women street food vendors

Age women of vendors	Freq.	Percent
Under 25	5	11.9
25-44	25	59.52
45-64	11	26.19
65 and over	1	2.38
Total	42	100

Source: Author's compilation based on field data

The participants' ages ranged between under 25 and 65 or above years. Within the sample, the largest proportion of vendors (59.5%) fell within the age range of 25 to 44 years. Those between 45 and 64 years of age were 26.2%. The results show that majority of the participants were among the working age population. People who are between the ages of 15 and 64 are defined as the working population (UN, 2002). Participants who were under the 25 years age range were 11.9% followed by 65 and over age range with only 2.4%. The age ranges of women street food vendors are consistent with previous studies done in Gaborone which found younger and middle-aged street food vendors (21-40 years) to populate the business in Gaborone (Chicho-Matenge and Ongori, 2013). The age ranges of street food vendors in other countries also tend to be middle-aged working women. For example, in Kampala, Uganda, it is 21-40 years (Namugumya and Muyanja, 2012) and 38-52 years in Kossai, Niger (Otoo, et al., 2012). A similar pattern was recorded in Pakistan's informal sector where women reach their maximum earnings between the ages of 35 and 54 years (Kozel and Alderman, 1990). These results reveal that younger participants enhance their livelihood by being more innovative, therefore reducing their vulnerability, compared to older respondents. For example, as a coping strategy, younger women like Mme Nkamo (**Interviewee 20**) used innovative ideas to sell a range of different products and create unique prepared dishes to gain a competitive advantage.

Mme Nkamo is a 26 young lady, who graduated in Hospitality from Botho University in January 2019. She has been a vendor for less than a year. Though she has little experience, her human capital is high. While she waits to receive feedback from her job applications, Mme Nkamo sells honey to take care of her child. In Botswana, it takes the unemployed a long time to find a job (Matandare, 2018). She leaves her child at her sister's house when she goes to sell at the Main Mall. Using her social capital, she got the idea of selling honey from one of her friends at school because it is not common on the streets. Mme Nkamo documented the importance of her livelihood strategy through her photograph of honey (see Figure 5.1 below).



Figure 5.1: Honey- Mme Nkamo’s photo entitled “Honey”

Caption: “This honey feeds my child” (Interviewee 20²)



Figure 5.1 shows how selling honey contributes significantly to Mme Nkamo’s livelihood security. Mme Nkamo depends entirely on the income she gets from vending honey to support her child. Selling honey requires little start-up capital and so it was easy to get into. Daba and Wolder (2016) also reveal that selling honey in the informal sector is advantageous for urban poor women because of the low entry requirements. For unemployed young women, selling honey is a ready source of cash in desperate times, as honey can be sold in local markets such as the Main Mall in Gaborone. This enables young women to be part of an income-generating

²² This study uses several interviewee quotations and photovoice data. Pseudonyms and interviewee numbers are used to preserve confidentiality of the respondents and making it easier to navigate the data analysis.

activity that provides income to support them in difficult times. The flexible hours of selling honey also allow Mme Nkamo to drop off job application letters when necessary. Additionally, selling honey is unique to the Main Mall which has forced Mme Nkamo to draw on human capital from her hospitality degree in order to sell her products by engaging with her customers, therefore, increasing her sales. One of the main skills taught in the hospitality degree is customer engagement which helps her share stories on the benefits of honey. The skills have not only influenced Mme Nkamo's profit but also enabled her to support her family. Similarly, Zakaria's (2009) study on the livelihood strategies of women in Ghana found that younger female respondents are more likely to reduce their vulnerability to external stresses, shocks, and seasonality, thereby enhancing their livelihood outcome. In addition, the current study shows that the economically active group reflects the high unemployment rate in Botswana. Since 2008 the Botswana labour market has been characterised by high and increasing unemployment (Matandare, 2018). Therefore street food vending has become an important avenue through which women earn a living and support their families.

Past studies show that older families gravitate more to work that is riskier, but better-rewarding, as other members of the household can hedge against risks, reducing their household vulnerability to stresses and shocks (Gonzalez de la Rocha & Gantt, 1995). This could be a factor explaining the majority of adult workers found in the street food vending business. Another explanation of women joining the street food vending business later in the life cycle is due to the triple role of women. According to Samman et al (2016) women are more likely to first take up the roles of caring for others (childcare and community role) before engaging in income-generating activities. The care role of women places a large demand on women's time with a study by Charmes (2016) revealing that women spent more than 30 minutes on child care daily while men spent less than 10 minutes. Older participants indicated that before joining the informal sector they relied on accessing their social capital such as husbands and relatives for income to survive. Older workers are those people still working at the age of 65 years and over (UN, 2002). Botswana's mandatory retirement age is between 60 and 65 years.

As seen in Table 5.1 above, the 65 and over age range has the lowest percentage (2.38%) with only one participant. When asked the reason she had taken up selling cooked food at the Main Mall, Mme Jo, aged 66 responded, "I worked in the HR department for the government but I am now a pensioner. With street food vending there is no such thing as retirement age so I decided to start doing it to add to the money I get from my pension" (Interviewee 15).

Previously cited works note how elderly people are subject to labour market discrimination which increases their vulnerability (Valenzuela, 2003; Chant, 2007). Findings from this study's in-depth interviews, however, suggest that older participants not only use age as a competitive advantage but are also more inclined to engage in livelihood diversification activities. The effect of age also has a positive effect on the success of the street food vending business. This is because older participants have acquired high levels of financial and human capital (resources and skills), which increases their chances of success. For example, Mme Carol, 62 years, is a single parent who lives by herself and has been vending on the street for more than 10 years. Now that her child is older and has moved out, she occasionally sends money to help out her relatives who live in the village. Mme Carol sells cooked mmidi (corn), sweets, soft drinks, and airtime. When asked what other livelihood activities she does in order to sustain herself, she responded as follows:

When I finish here [at the Main Mall] I go to the bus rank to sell my corn if I have any remaining on the day. I leave with some of the other ladies here to the bus rank. We leave the bus rank around seven or eight in the evening. I also sometimes go to football matches to sell there. I have been doing this for a long time so I know. The real money is when there is a football match at the Stadium. (Interviewee 17)

Age also has a significant role in Botswana's traditional culture. Respect for age and for the elderly is a national social ideal. Because older people have lived longer, they claim the right to be respected by the youth on the basis of seniority. Elder vendors seemed to control the vending activities in the spaces they were in using age as a strategy. During the study, it was observed that younger women street food vendors tended to pass up customers to older vendors when older women told them to. This shows an increase of vulnerability to younger vendors while a reduction of vulnerability to older vendors.

The fact that most women in the sample are in the productive age range suggests the primary cause of women's invisibility in the labour force is the gendered division of labour in society and the associated unpaid care work. This suggestion is emphasised by reasons given by the respondents during the in-depth interviews. One of the participants, Tshedi, aged 30 said: "I left my job at an advertising agency in 2017 before they could fire me. The company was not doing so well and I knew they were going to let me go. Usually, we [women] are the first to be let go in such circumstances" (Interviewee 12). Additionally, the patriarchal system that governs Botswana explains why women street food vendors work later in life once all

reproductive duties such as housework and childcare are taken into account Similarly, Simphambe and Okurut (2011) found that tradition and culture contributed to the marginalisation of women as they are expected to get married, bear kids and look after the family.

5.2.2 Street food vending activities

Generally, women tend to sell food because they are more knowledgeable about food preparation that they learn from home. Fellows and Hilmi (2011) state that in many African countries, street food vending enables women to earn an income and become more self-reliant. However, due to the lack of national statistics on street food vendors in Botswana, the share of women street food vendors can only be guessed. The women in the study were all self-employed. Table 5.2 below shows a summary of the main list of street foods sold at the Main Mall. The main types of food are broken down as follows: cooked food (83.3%), snacks and beverages (7.1%), uncooked food (4.8%) and fruits and vegetables (4.8%).

Table 5.2: Street food vending activities

Type of street food	Description	Freq.	Percent
cooked food	Stew or curries made from beef, lamb, chicken, and goat. Seswaa (pulled beef), magwinya (fried doughnuts), phaphata (doughnut made from wheat flour), madombi (dumplings), mafresh (fried potato chips), rice, paleche/pap (cooked maize meal), bogobe (cooked sorghum) cooked vegetables, fruit and vegetable salads, hot dogs (with various sauces), mmidi (cooked corn kob).	35	83.33
fruits and vegetables	Bananas, oranges, potatoes, tomatoes, onion, carrots, strawberries, lemons, broccoli, cucumber cabbage, spinach, grapefruit, sweet corn, garlic, ginger, mint, plums, peaches, pomegranate.	2	4.76
Snacks	Crisps, sweets, ice pop, soft drinks (soft drinks are sold either in 330 or 440 ml cans).	3	7.14

	Other vendors provide 330ml cups and straws and pour the drinks in the cups at a lower price, fruit smoothies, lemonade, madila (sour milk), segwapa (biltong).		
uncooked food	This mostly refers to traditional food. Mophane worm, Makgomane (squash), Magapu (melons), ntshe (sweet reed), ditloo (beans), dinawa, morogo wa Setswana (bean leaves), thepe (local spinach), green millies. Mosuthwane (sorghum rice).	2	4.76
Total		42	100

Source: Author's compilation based on field data

The results suggest that women resort to selling cooked food due to the relatively low capital expenditures, quick turnover, and constant cash earnings. Additionally, the sale and consumption of prepared street food around the globe has increased in recent years (Gengaiyah et al., 2018). Fellows and Hilmi (2011) report that large cities in developing countries are increasingly trying new foods to sell in order to get a competitive edge. Such is the case with a 28-year-old respondent called Mme Neo who sells fruit and vegetable smoothies. Field observation revealed that she was the only respondent to sell smoothies in the Main Mall. She started her business with the help of another street food vendor who sells fruits and vegetables. The fruit and vegetable vendor sells Mme Neo her overly ripe and old stock at a discounted rate which she uses to make the smoothies. She also uses a blender from her house which confirms studies by Gamielien and Van Niekerk (2017) which state that street vendors use the same equipment they use domestically to lower business costs. She plugs in her extension cord at one of the shops in the Main Mall, and in exchange, occasionally offers the staff free smoothies. This implies that women street food vendors can easily access and share resources through bonding and bridging social capital subsequently increasing their livelihood security. She does not have children but lives with her mother and helps with household groceries with the money she gets from vending. She has applied for a youth grant from the government and is waiting for a response. In addition to having a competitive advantage, Mme Neo relies on access to her social capital: relationships with her supplier, shop staff, and mother as being important in sustaining her business. She has only been in business for less than a year. When asked about the competitive advantage of her business, her response was:

I am thankful. I had no idea it would succeed because it is a healthier alternative to the regular magwinya (fried doughnuts) and mafresh (fried potato chips) that people like eating in the morning. People line up from 10 am for my smoothies. I know that more people will start selling smoothies now that they see it is prosperous. That's why I hope the government will give me the [youth] grant so that I grow the business to other locations in Gaborone (Interviewee 1).

The results above are in agreement with the findings from the study conducted by Abenakyo et al. (2007) that stated if a person actively participates in a heterogeneous group, such as Mme Neo's relationship with the shop staff and supplier, for example, they are linked to higher asset accumulation and income. Mme Neo's productive age has also allowed her to reduce vulnerability by becoming an innovative entrepreneur and improving on her livelihood sustainability (Neumark & Johnson 1997).

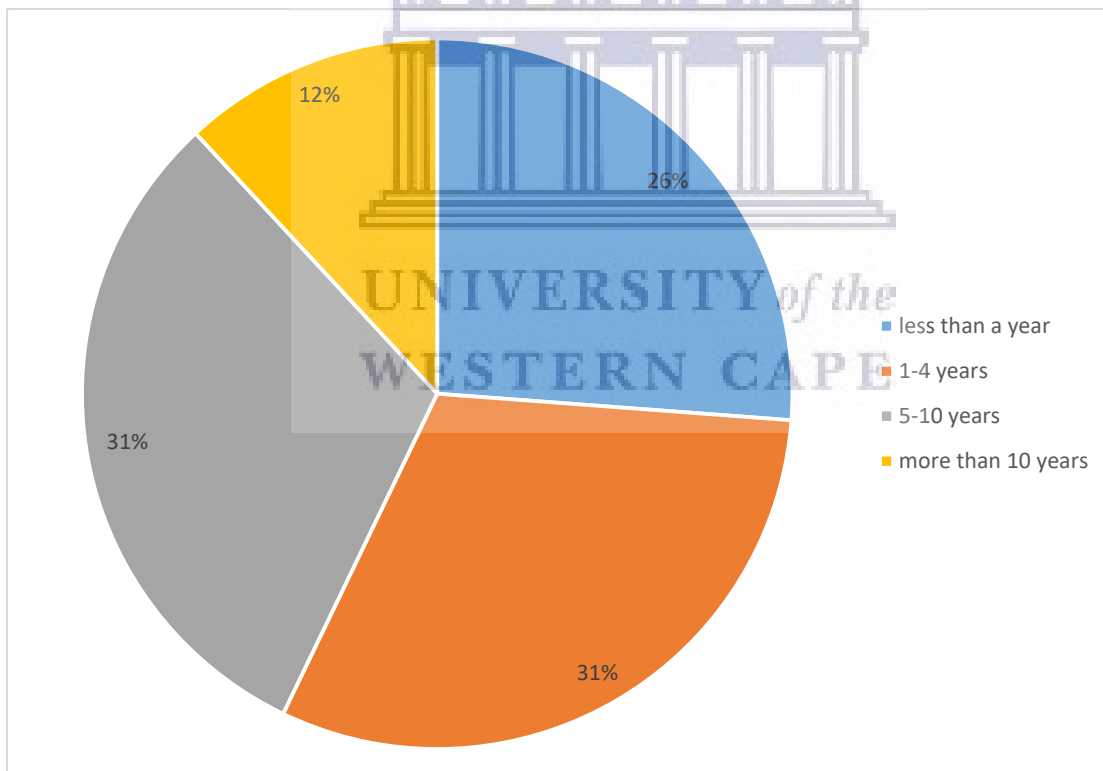
The type of street food a vendor sells will determine the labour required. Mme Carol mentioned earlier, sells mmidi (corn) and snacks. This requires her to work long hours from early morning until late evenings. Mme Neo, on the other hand, sells smoothies only in the mornings. Her target market are people who do not have time to make a good breakfast and therefore buy smoothies as a healthy option. The study found that the majority of the participants work long hours, over all months of the year. The average peak time for street food vendors in this study was between 12 noon and 2 pm when workers are on their lunch break. Vendors are also busiest from Mondays through to Fridays. Saturdays and Sundays are usually off days for women who sell cooked food because businesses are closed on the weekend. Participants that sold snacks and uncooked food said they only took Sunday off. This is because, for street vendors that sold uncooked food, their target market were people who did their groceries shopping at the weekend and complimented their grocery shopping from the supermarket with traditional Setswana food which they sold on the streets.

Vendors who sold snacks, on the other hand, targeted customers who went to restaurants in the area and would occasionally buy cigarettes or airtime for their cellphones. During their days off, women street food vendors are usually obligated to take up their unpaid roles as community and care takers, leaving them overworked and highlight the unequal distribution of roles that holds back women in advancing in other areas of their lives. This study suggests that women spend more time working than men when combining paid and unpaid work. This result seems reasonable because of the patriarchal system that governs many developing countries,

favouring men than women (Samman, 2016; Chen, 2017). On the other hand, the study revealed that other street vendors such as Mme Wame (Interviewee 6) and Mme Carol (Interviewee 17) used the weekend to engage in part-time jobs such as catering for events or selling food in other locations to reduce their vulnerability and increase their income. By diversifying their livelihoods, Mme Wame and Mme Carol reduce risks related to low income from street food vending. Different sources of income other than street food vending is a means to increase their household income and sustain their families.

Interestingly many participants noted that April to July (winter season) were the busiest months because people tended to eat more during these months. For example, Mme Jo said, “Winter is a busy season for me. I think because it is cold people eat more” (Interviewee 15). The data also shows the importance that years of vending plays in building human and social capital. Figure 5.2 presents the number of years the women street food vendors have been vending.

Figure 5.2: Number of years in street food vending business



Source: Author’s compilation based on field data

The majority of respondents had been in the business for between 1 and 10 years. Participants said they liked street food vending because it provided them with independence, a chance to earn more money, flexible times and the ability to make better childcare arrangements.

Surprisingly, although the earnings are low, the majority of participants do not want to enter different markets or look for formal employment which offers better earning opportunities. When asked why she wanted to stay working in street vending which gave her fluctuating revenue, Mme Rose said, “Last week I went to a funeral on Friday and came back to work on Wednesday. I do not have to fill out forms for leave. I can just go as I please” (Interviewee 13).

One other participant who has worked in the sector for more than 10 years is Mme Botho. She sells *diphaphata* (doughnut made from wheat flour) and spreads either peanut butter, margarine or jam on them. Since starting her business Mme Botho has only sold *diphaphata* at the same location. Her target customers are office workers on tea break which is between 10 am and 11 am. Mme Botho wakes up at 5 am, and with the help of her family, cooks *diphaphata*. Her partner drops her off at the mall at 8 am on his way to work. Although her partner has helped her sustain their household she states that “The father of my children and I have been together for a long time but there are things I do for myself with the money I make from selling *diphaphata*” (Interviewee 9). Mme Botho documented the value that vending food brings to her in the photograph (Figure 5.3) below:

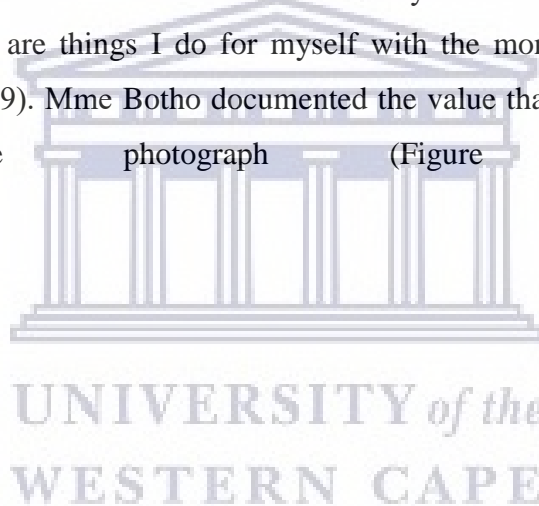


Figure 5.3: Mansion-Mme Botho’s photo entitled “Mansion” (in Letlhakane village)

Caption: “I built this all by myself with no help. I am planning on making a multi-res [multi-residential housing] and rent it out to people” (Interviewee 9)



From the above results, human and social capital are significant for Mme Botho’s livelihood. Her partner’s income is able to help her provide for the household, therefore, allowing her to save the income she gets from street food vending to invest in physical capital such as Figure 5.3. Years of honing her human capital by improving her *phaphata* making skills as well as building on her social capital (forming a loyal customer base) have allowed Mme Botho to reduce her vulnerability and sustain her livelihood.

5.2.3 Education and business skills

Women who drop out of school directly join the informal sector (Gengaiyah, et al., 2018). It is, therefore, important to understand the role that education and business skills play in enhancing human capital to reach high performance and productivity in women's street food businesses. The questionnaire results on education indicate that the majority (54.7%) of the participants completed senior and tertiary levels of education. Thirty-three percent had completed junior high school while 11.9% had attended primary school.

Table 5.3 Education level

Education	Freq.	Percent
Primary	5	11.9
Junior high	14	33.33
Senior high	9	21.43
Tertiary/Vocational training	14	33.33
Total	42	100

Source: Author's compilation based on field data

The high percentage of women street food vendors who have completed higher levels of education is not surprising because education is a high priority for the Botswana government. Statistics show adult literacy rates in Botswana increased substantially between 2003 and 2015 (UNICEF, 2017). In contrast, results from other studies found that street vendors were not highly literate: for example, in three cities in Niger, the majority of women street food vendors had no formal education (Otoo, et al., 2012), three cities in Uganda attained primary education only (Namugumya & Muyanja, 2012), while Martins (2006) reports the majority of street food vendors in Gauteng province, South Africa attained secondary school education. Reports also show that at secondary school level, girls are more likely to leave school due to teenage pregnancy, family duties, in house chores, and caring for elderly members or children (Grote, 2015; Makwinja, 2017). This is consistent with the results of this study, which show a high percentage of women having completed junior secondary compared to the lower levels of senior secondary graduates. Studies in Thailand found that some women entering the street food vending business had completed tertiary education, and obtained additional certificates of finance and food safety to help increase their business profits (Gengaiyah et al., 2018). In this study, however, the majority of the interviewees did not obtain any additional certificates to complement their existing tertiary qualifications for their business. Findings also suggest that

younger participants often had attained higher education levels compared to older women street food vendors. Similarly, Nani (2016) found that highly educated younger people in Botswana, South Africa, and Zimbabwe participated in urban street trading. Additionally, results from the interviews with university graduates in this study revealed that if they were offered a job from the formal sector they would take it. This suggests that they joined street food vending because of unemployment rather than voluntarily. These findings also highlight the differences with the older vendors (Mme Rose mentioned earlier) who joined the street vending sector voluntarily. Consistent with these findings, a study in KwaZulu- Natal by Posel and Todes (1995) found younger people in the street vending business wanted more formal jobs, revealing that the youth would like more stable income and benefits that come with working in the formal sector.

The study found that most participants did not have access to formal business training to improve their business. In-depth interviews revealed that the majority of the participants found practical knowledge they gained from working on the streets more important than the theoretical knowledge they would find in books. When asked where she attained her business skills, Mme Carol's response was, "I have been working for many years in this business, that is how I have managed to keep loyal customers" (Interviewee 17). Only three respondents had completed tertiary qualifications in accounting, marketing, and hospitality. They used these qualifications to transform their businesses. It was noted, however, that negotiating the price with suppliers and costing retail prices was underpinned by experience rather than their qualifications.

Interestingly, most participants purchased their goods from the same supplier and did not have the ability to negotiate price without the backing of other vendors. One of the participants, Mme Fifi, stood out because she bought her products from suppliers in South Africa and Malawi. Mme Fifi is a 38-year-old female who has a Bachelor's degree in Accounting. Her husband is Malawian and they sell vegetables and fruits in the Main Mall. They store their products at Tlokweng which is approximately 13 km from the Main Mall. Mme Fifi used to work for the Botswana government but left her job to join her husband in the street food business. Since joining the business, she has noticed a growth in revenue. They also accessed their social capital by receiving close to P100 000 (US\$9 169. 53/R136 535.50) from their relatives to purchase a cold room where they store the vegetables and fruits. Having a cold room has helped reduce their losses. She works from Sunday to Friday and does not go to work on Saturday due to religious reasons. During the week she wakes up at 5 am to ready her child

for school, drops him off, and starts working from 7 am until 7 pm each day. On Sundays, she starts working from 10 am until 5 pm. She has registered their business with the G.C.C. When asked if the fact that she had an accounting degree helped their business, Mme Fifi's explanation was:

I have a competitive advantage because my vegetables and fruits are of the best quality. I also have an accounting background so I maintain the books for the business. My husband is from Malawi so he sources the vegetables from suppliers he knows from Malawi and South Africa. Before I joined my husband in this business he was making losses. He did not have an accountant and the pricing was just off until I joined. You can actually say I saved the business (Interviewee 4).

This reflects that human capital in the form of a specialised tertiary degree increases revenue. The skills and knowledge gained from school and past experience led her to contribute positively to her vegetable business. However, in this case, of significance also is the high level of social capital that she accesses from being married and the money she received from her relatives. The study implies that having a spouse contributes to the business performing well. This is perhaps because of the joint decision making in the business and household. Previous studies corroborate the current findings. For instance, Kebede and Odella (2014) found that previous working experience and education which are human capital variables did not influence the income of women street traders in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia alone. Instead, access to both education and social capital such as marriage is significant in determining women street vendors' profit. In contrast Mme Joy, a 58-year-old hot dog vendor found being single to increase her profits. When asked what her main source of livelihood activity strategy was after she divorced her husband, she said that she had to look after her sons so she went into street vending full time. Below, in a picture (see Figure 5.4) she took of her hot dog stand, Mme Joy describes what motivated her to move into the street food vending business full time.

Figure 5.4: Joy’s hot dog stand- Mme Joy’s photo entitled ‘A hot dog stand’

Caption: “I left my husband because he was beating me up. I started this business to look after my children. My children are married with their own families now and although they say they can look after me I want to make money for myself” (Interviewee 19)



The above photovoice data revealed that being married does not always lead to women increasing their revenue in their businesses. The norm in Botswana’s society is usually marked with male violence against women (Mookodi, 2004). In the case of Mme Joy, the abuse by her husband led to reduced revenue from her business. In Botswana, decisions are commonly made by husbands and even if the women work, the husbands take their income. Once Mme Joy divorced her husband she had more disposable income to take care of her household needs.

When asked about pricing, most of the respondents said there were no significant price changes in food annually. The majority of participants fix their prices based on the price of competitors

without calculating the cost of ingredients, transport and utility bills. Most of the vendors, however, were hesitant to increase the food prices because they did not want to lose customers. Because of the fixed price, some vendors identified important marketing techniques that they used to retain and gain more customers. One of the techniques was using innovative cooking methods. One of the interviewees, Mme Wame, is aged 35 and has completed her senior secondary school education. She started the business in 2015, after getting tired of working temporary jobs that did not pay her well. She sells traditional cooked food such as samp, *bogobe*, *koko ya Setswana* (Setswana chicken) and pumpkin. She starts preparing the food with her sister between 4 am and 5 am to be at the Main Mall at 1 pm. Although Mme Wame has not received any training in running a business she offers home-cooked setswana meals to her customers. When asked if her unique traditional dishes were a marketing strategy, her response was “Batswana like traditional food and although it takes time to make, and the ingredients are expensive, I never leave this place with food. They buy it all so I am making money at the end” (Interviewee 6). She also noted that customers gave her valuable feedback that she incorporated to enhance the taste of food, adding to her human capital.

This study found that participants bought their foodstuffs to sell from wholesalers as a coping strategy. Wholesalers are reasonably priced compared to supermarkets. Respondents mentioned cooking gel to be an important product that they used constantly. Ethanol cooking gel (Figure 5.5) is an organic-based product made from sugar cane. Charcoal and gas stoves are prohibited by the government due to the G.C.C street vendors bylaw (2013) which state to “Ensure that no smoke, fumes or other substance odours, or noise emanating from his or her activities associated with informal trading causes pollution of any kind.” Cooking gel does not emit toxic gasses when burning and is used to keep food warm in chafing dishes (pictured in Figure 5.6). Hot dog vendors also use cooking gel for their hot dog stands. One of the participants, Mme Joy (Interviewee 19), noted that the cooking gel did not last long and throughout the years she found it more economical to buy in bulk from the wholesalers than getting individual bottles.

Figure 5.5: Cooking gel



Source: Photograph taken by Author (May 2019)

Figure 5.6: Chafing dishes



Source: Photograph taken by Author (May 2019)

5.2.2 Income and family status

During the administering of the questionnaires, it became obvious that obtaining information on monthly revenue would prove difficult. Women street food vendors do not separate business and other financial obligations because the money they get from vending is small and unstable. In other words, the revenue that women street food vendors make is more a survivalist income. Mme Thuli confirms the precarious and subsistence character of street food vending, stating that “I don’t know how much I make in a month. I take it one day at a time” (Interviewee 5). For the purpose of this study, monthly income from food vending was estimated because not

all goods are sold each day. Vendors were then asked to give an estimate of the cost price of each item as well as sales made in a month, taking into account profits and losses. In addition, each vendor indicated how much they spent on items used in preparation such as transport, food containers, and plastic forks. This was then subtracted from the estimated revenue to give the monthly income.

Table 5.4 Income

Monthly Income in Botswana Pula (BWP)	Monthly Income in US Dollars (US\$)	Monthly Income in South African Rand (ZAR)	Freq.	Percent
less than P500	less than US\$ 45.81	less than R680.99	6	14.29
P500-P1000	US\$ 45.81-US\$93.44	R680.99-R1355.18	9	21.43
P1000-P1500	US\$93.44-US\$140.16	R1355.18-R2032.78	9	21.43
P1500-2000	US\$140.16-US\$183.25	R2032.78-R2717.24	8	19.05
more than P2000	more than US\$183.25	more than R2717.24	10	23.81
Total			42	100

Source: Author's compilation based on field data

Table 5.4 above reveals that 14.3% of respondents earn less than P500 (US\$45.81/R680.99³) per month. Approximately 24% of the respondents generate higher returns of more than P2000 (more than US\$183.25/ R2 717.24) of the monthly income. However, the majority (85.7%) of women street food vendors earn between P500 (US\$45.81/R680.99) and P2000 (US\$183.25/ R2717.24). The global poverty line is \$1.90 per day (World Bank, 2015). Below the US\$ 1.90 (P20.33/R27.56) per day poverty line reflects that a person is unable to meet their minimum nutritional, clothing, and shelter needs. Using this poverty line for the analysis, the results reflect that the majority of the respondents do not live in extreme poverty. The study made comparisons by calculating monthly income relative to the poverty line. Based on the US\$1.90 (P20.33/R27.56) per day poverty line, an individual requires \$US 57 (P609.90/R82.80) (calculated as US\$ 1.90 x 30 days⁴) per month to make ends meet. Table 5.4 above only shows

³ Converted on the 28 of November 2019 using Morningstar for Currency and Coinbase for Cryptocurrency on google.

⁴ Calculations showing Pula and South African Rand will be detailed in the Appendix

6 out of the 42 participants living under the poverty line. However, the vendors' monthly income is only enough to take care of their basic needs. This contradicts findings by Dipeolu et al. (2007) and Chicho-Matenge & Ongori (2013) who found that street food vending yielded a substantial monthly income for Botswana street vendors.

The data above reveals that street food vendors' income is not enough to take care of both household consumption and business needs. Respondents confirmed the low income, reporting that they have to pay rent and send money to their families. Most vendors cook at their homes resulting in high utility bills. Mme Gosiambe is a 40-year-old, single parent of three young children. When asked what she did with the money she gets from food vending, Mme Gosiambe responded that "The income I get pays for water, food, and electricity for my family" (Interviewee 14). Participants stated that their income had increasingly gone down which can be due to the rise of unemployment and the increase in informal activities in the country (Casale and Posel, 2002; Cohen, 2012; Mabilo, 2018). Because the women restrict their expenses to cover basic needs their expenditure is low on clothing and other luxurious items. They also admitted to waiting for sales so they could buy items for cheaper as a way to cope. These findings are consistent with those of Metasebia Mulugeta (2009) which underline that female-headed households in Wolenchiti, Ethiopia rely on buying cheaper goods to sustain their livelihoods. The respondents noted that because of the low revenue from food vending on the street, supporting their families and children was challenging. They explained how travelling to see their children was sporadic due to financial and time constraints. This study found that younger children were the ones usually sent to live in the village because vendors were unable to sustain their responsibilities of vending with childcare. One participant described how limited time with her children affected her psychologically as she could not live up to her responsibility of a caretaker. When asked how she was able to maintain her responsibility of being a mother with street food vending, Mme Connie said, "My daughter calls my mother 'mama' and calls me by name. I go see her every holiday and every time I go back she has grown so much. It is really hard" (Interviewee 25, March 2019). With that being said, she was happy that she had support from her mother in looking after her child while she worked. Her access to social capital meant that she is able to take up her productive role in order to look after her family.

Table 5.5 Marital Status of women street food vendors

Marital status	Freq.	Percent
Single	25	59.52
Cohabiting	8	19.05
Married	7	16.67
Divorced	1	2.38
Widow	1	2.38
Total	42	100

Source: Author's compilation based on field data

The study also indicated that respondents who were single had taken up more responsibilities for their children and other family members. Most of the single women street food vendors had other relatives living with them. Table 5.5 above indicates that the majority of women street food vendors (59.5%) were single, followed by 19.1% of participants who lived with their partners but were not married. However, close to 2.4% of women street food vendors were either widowed, divorced or separated. Studies by Mmasechancha (2017) in Polokwane and Chicho-Matenge and Ongori (2013) in Gaborone also found that the majority of respondents engaged in street vending were single. These results indicate that women street food vendors are mainly breadwinners for their families and chiefly operate survivalist businesses using their earnings for basic family needs. Like Mago's (2018) study that indicates single female vendors to be poorer and more vulnerable than married ones, this study shows women who receive support from their spouses or partners to be better off than those who were single, divorced or widowed. The interviews showed that married female street food vendors received money to start a business from their husbands or partners suggesting that they participate in street food vending as a livelihood strategy to complement their partner or husband's wages.

Table 5.6 Children and or dependants

Dependants	Freq.	Percent
2-4	17	40.48
5-7	22	52.38
8+	2	4.76
only myself	1	2.38
Total	42	100

Source: Author's compilation based on field data

Table 5.6 above shows 52.4% of women street food vendors had between 5 and 7 dependants to support. This was then followed by 40.5% who had between 2 and 4, while 4.8% supported 8 and above people. Results show that a high percentage of women street food vendors are sole breadwinners supporting large families. Lastly, only Mme Carol from the sample supported herself (2.4%). The study revealed that women street food vendors who lived alone had less domestic responsibilities and financial commitments. Mme Carol lives alone and has time to fully participate in vending activities because she is not constrained by family and community roles, This indicates that women have found street trading to be a main livelihood strategy to sustain themselves (Wipper & Dittrich, 2007).

Having dependents and children also benefits women street food vendors. Chen and Doane (2008) provide empirical support that suggests that contributing family workers and self employed workers make up the majority of the informal sector in developing countries. A similar study found that female-headed households drew on their social networks and community members to sustain their living (Mulugeta, 2009). Therefore accessing social capital in the form of family is an important entity in reducing the vulnerability of a household and sustaining women's livelihood. The present study found that respondents who lived with their children and other dependants relied on them to provide free or inexpensive labour and this decreased production costs. Mme Bakang is aged 50, and a single mother of four, and has two teenage daughters and two younger children in primary school. For the study she documented the photograph below (Figure 5.7) to show an important element that helps with her street food vending business:

Figure 5.7: Helper- Mme Bakang's photo entitled "Helper"

Caption: "My children help me cook sometimes I am thankful for them" (Interviewee 11).



Many of the prepared dishes that the participants sold required long hours of cooking preparation and accessing social capital such as family helps save time for other things. Similarly, Mago (2018) and Mabilo (2018) found that the urban poor place their family in their informal businesses so that they grow their revenue. Additionally, women street food vendors who migrated from rural areas kept in touch with their rural ties because they relied on them during emergencies. Mme Gaone is a single mother aged 33. After completing junior high she worked as a cashier for a couple of years at one of the local shops. She then decided to migrate to Gaborone and sell local produce at the Main Mall. She has been selling uncooked food such as *mophane* worms and Setswana vegetables for approximately 5 years. When asked how important providing for her family back in the village was to her, she said: "I have to work for

my relatives back at home because they look after my children throughout the year” (Interviewee 10).

Previous literature has revealed that women’s involvement in community-based organisations is important for the urban poor to reduce their social and economic challenges (Khan, 2003; Hossain, 2005). The access of social capital in the form of membership in *motshelo* (an informal rotating savings schemes) and Thusanang Bagwebi street vendors association was high in the current study. These findings reflect those of Rudd (2000) and Pretty (2003) that state mutual agreements of norms and values build confidence and respect among members of an institution to invest in collective activities that benefit the whole. The fact that the majority of participants in this study are members of the street vendors association is reasonable because women are vulnerable and need an organised body to help them manoeuvre the stresses and shocks of the street vending business. Additionally, *motshelo* provided another means of financial capital to the group members, for instance, one participant contributed P200 per month to the savings scheme which benefitted one vendor in the group for that specific month. The extra finances were used to buy more raw material or business equipment. Mme Gaone described the support she gained from the *motshelo*:

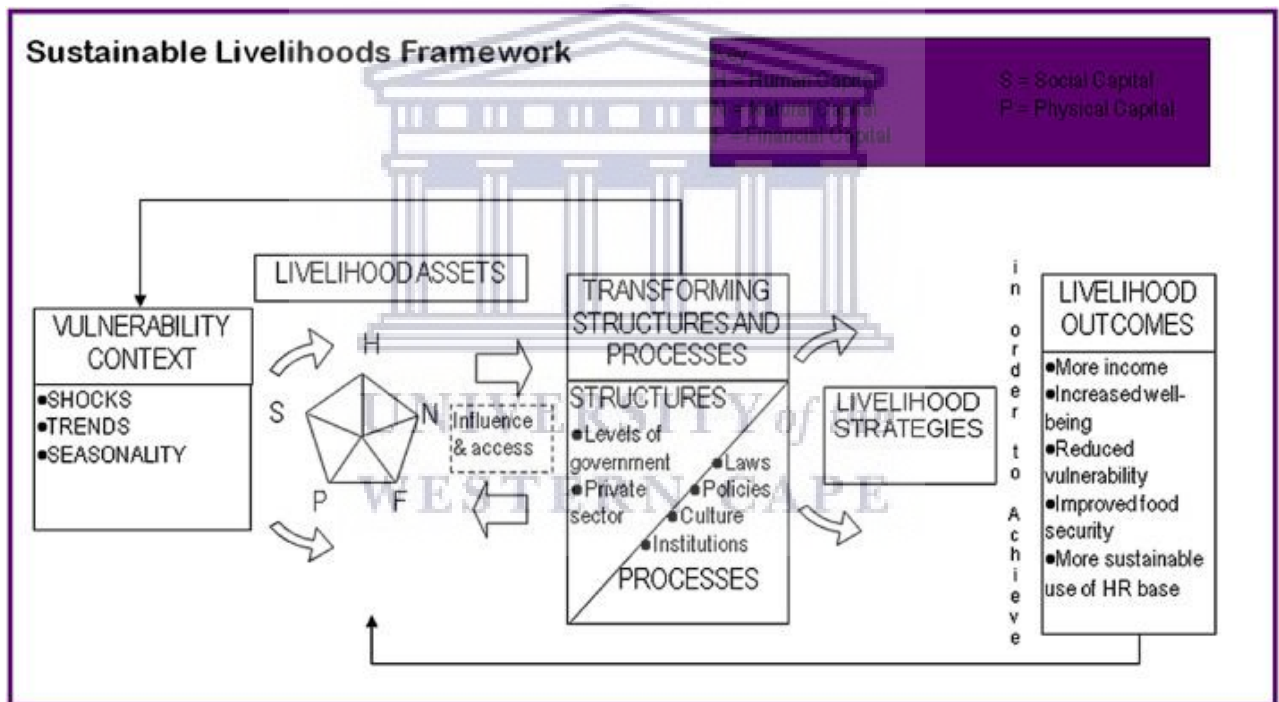
Because I am a breadwinner for my family, I have no other income except this business. So the *motshelo* that I joined is with some ladies here. I rely on the *motshelo* and I contribute to it per month. It even helped contribute towards my sister’s wedding (Interviewee 10).

As Mme Gaone indicates above, accessing social capital by becoming a member in a rotating savings scheme serves to reduce vulnerability from shocks and stresses in ongoing events while also building financial capital that can be accessed in the future. Other studies also recognised rotational loan schemes as a strategy to help women in Nhu Quynh, Vietnam (Phung, 2004). Informal networks also include some cage and store owners who, have agreed to store working capital such as tables, chairs, and gazebos for the women street food vendors. In return, vendors agree to give them a plate of food when they are late to pay the monthly holding fee. Social networks, therefore, become critical power tools for women street food vendors in negotiating storage space. The next section will examine the challenges and coping mechanisms used by the participants.

5.3 Challenges and coping mechanisms adopted by women street food vendors

This section discusses the challenges faced by women street food vendors. Constraints on women street food vendors have resulted in a limitation of livelihood opportunities and therefore increasing vulnerability. In trying to address the challenges and coping strategies, the analysis will draw on the vulnerability context in greater detail. Figure 5.8 below will assist in assessing the overall vulnerabilities of women street food vendors. Vulnerability is integrated in the everyday lives of society. The extent to which vulnerability occurs varies according to accessibility to livelihood assets and gender for example (Sultana, 2014; Turner, 2016; Giolo, 2019). The SLF is helpful in understanding vulnerability, as livelihood assets are key in women street food vendors adaptability to socioeconomic change.

Figure 5.8: The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework



Source: DFID (2001)

The discussion also highlights the coping strategies that the vendors employ while assessing the effectiveness of street food vending in sustaining the livelihoods of women. By focusing on understanding the constraints that vulnerable groups such as women street food vendors encounter will possibly develop national policies, strategies, and institutions to improve increased well-being. Challenges were grouped into three themes, namely, infrastructure, economic, and institutional.

5.3.1 Infrastructural challenges

The absence of basic working facilities such as toilets, storage space, water, and shelter are considered major challenges for women street food vendors globally. The lack of services affects women street food vendors more than vendors selling durable goods (Roever, 2014; WIEGO, 2019). In addition, participants also identified basic urban infrastructure around Gaborone as a common problem. For example, the unplanned rationing of electricity in the vendors' homes meant that they were unable to cook, and the result was a loss of customers and revenue. Timalisina (2012) similarly found that the lack of electricity prevented access to income generation for street vendors in Nepal. Like electricity, participants found water rationing to be a problem in sustaining their livelihoods. Botswana is currently enduring one of the worst droughts making water a valuable commodity (Davies et al., 2017). To deal with the crises, the Botswana government has resorted to rationing water, particularly in domestic households. Participants revealed that the uncertainty of water being available was stressful. Mme Neo, a smoothie vendor, documented water as an important element in sustaining her business. Figure 5.9 below is a photograph she took to document a physical asset she found important in sustaining her business.

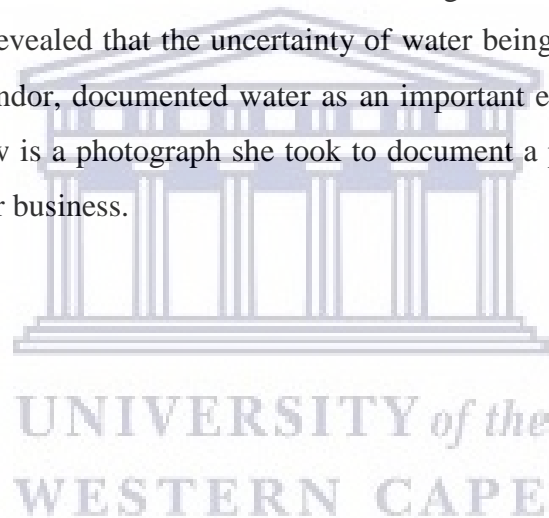


Figure 5.9 Lack of water- Mme Neo’s photograph entitled “Thothi” (Drop)

Caption: “I cannot cook without water and with the recent drought, the government has been rationing water so I have to sometimes buy water at home and buy water while here [at the Main Mall] to stay hydrated” (Interviewee 1).



The water shortages caused socioeconomic stresses which meant participants had to travel to access water from relatives and shops. This, in turn, weighed down on street food vending activities with reduced income from buying water. Other respondents stated that when they experienced water rationing they did not go to work. This, in turn, meant that they could not trade and earn an income. As a way to cope with this, respondents said they either worked long

hours to make up for the days not having worked or diversified their livelihoods by finding alternative income-generating activities such as domestic work.

For women especially, lack of access to sanitary facilities increases the vulnerability of women's health. A study by The World Bank (2017) found that approximately 13% of the world's female population was unable to use a toilet to go to the bathroom or manage menstrual hygiene. It was, therefore, not surprising to find women street food vendors having a more stressed experience when confronted by water scarcity and poor sanitation. Carr (2019) also found that a large number of vendors in Durban, South Africa, and Nakuru, Kenya pay to use public toilets daily. In this study, interviews revealed that participants did not have readily available toilets to relieve themselves during the day because toilets were either a distance away or they cost money to use. For example, Mme Mpho, a 55-year-old widow who sells cooked food says that "I sometimes walk to the Council to use their toilets. It is a bit far from my stall and I have bad knees. I would rather sit here until I have to go home" (Interviewee 18). Respondents added that in order to cope with the lack of access to sanitary facilities they limited what they ate and drank at work. Additionally, during their menstrual cycles, women street food vendors require the frequent use of clean toilets, which creates problems for them. The absence of proper sanitation facilities has increased women's vulnerability to health risks such as infections. The Gaborone City Council has not focused specifically on women's sanitation needs because Botswana's access to political decision-making is mainly that of a man. When asked about the lack of toilet facilities in the Main Mall, the council representative said:

We are going through some restructuring. We want to upgrade the Main Mall and therefore things like toilets and water supply will be implemented in the new structure. I can't say much about that but this just to say that we are slowly making changes. For now, we do not have a problem with the vendors using toilets here [at G.C.C].

In response to the statement by the council representative, participants mentioned how unsanitary and poorly maintained the council toilets were. This results in hygiene problems for women. Without access to clean sanitary facilities, women face increased vulnerability (Lucia et al., 2007). The outcome of safe sanitation, on the other hand, will see women street food vendors healthier, more productive vending food and have time for their other roles such as child care. Unfortunately, as it stands poor urban women street food vendors enjoy fewer opportunities to take part in decision-making about the type of sanitation facility they would like to have. For participants that worked at night, safety was particularly important. As a

coping strategy participants revealed that they left early if they needed the toilet ultimately reducing their risks in getting harmed but forgoing potential income.

The continued negotiations with the government through the street vendors association has led to the elimination of restrictive street vending bylaws. Women who in the past have been limited by gender responsibilities now claim certain parts of the Main Mall as their own. This transition, of course, happened with years of struggle with police and municipal authorities. For those women that have been vending for more than 10 years, they have now penetrated the Main Mall and have claimed as their own. Although this has led to the increased well-being of street vendors, participants revealed that they still lacked access to storage space and shelter. The storage of food is particularly a challenge because it needs cold storage. For vendors that sell fruits and vegetables, maintenance of good quality produce means different items require certain storage temperatures. To cope with the lack of storage spaces participants indicated various strategies. Mme Fifi, for example, accessed her social capital by borrowing money from her relatives to buy a cold room for the storage of her fruits and vegetables.

Other respondents pay Chinese shops or cage keepers at the Main Mall to store their stock when they leave to go home. Respondents reported that the lack of storage facilities imposes a financial strain on them taking away from their financial capital. Vendors pay approximately between P300 to P500 (US\$27.57/R408.70- US\$45.96/R680.52) per month. For most street vendors that is the majority of income, they made from their monthly sales. Participants stated that they sometimes left their equipment on the streets, not taking it into storage to save their income. This exposed them to risks such as theft. Additionally, other vendors offered the staff in shops a plate of food when they did not have money to store their equipment. Reports done in other street vending studies corroborate the present findings which reveal the income used to rent out storage space increased their vulnerability (Kusakabe, 2006; Skinner, 2008; Malik, 2017; Mishra, 2018). Cooked and raw food (usually hot dogs), were transported to and from home using private cars, taxis, cabs, and pushcarts. Evidence showed that close to 95% of women use public transport in the form of cabs and combis while less than 5% use private cars. Responses from the photovoice interviews showed the importance that transportation had on women street food vendors' livelihood outcome. For example, Mme Joy submitted a photograph of a combi (Figure 5.10) reflecting on the meanings that transportation had to her sustaining her livelihood.

Figure 5.10: Combi - Mme Joy's photo entitled "Combi"

Caption: [I] use the [combi] every day and it helps me get to work and go shopping for my business.



Another participant, Mme Rose also submitted a photograph (see Figure 5.11 below) reflecting the importance of transportation as a coping strategy to deal with the challenges of transporting her goods from storage to the working site.

Figure 5.11 Pushcart - Mme Rose’s photo entitled “Vroom Vroom”

Caption: “Wherever I go, it goes carrying my stuff”



The photovoice data from Mme Joy (Figure 5.10) and Mme Rose (Figure 5.11) emphasise the status of physical capital in the form of cars, pushcarts and storage facilities as important livelihood assets capable of reducing poverty and improving the standard of living of women street food vendors. Stalls were not equipped with proper facilities for the storage of cold or hot food. Because refrigerators are prohibited in the Main Mall, cold foods such as raw hot dogs and drinks were kept in cooler boxes stacked with ice. In summer, for cold temperatures to be prolonged vendors are forced to constantly stock up on the ice, which increases their expenditure.

Participants were also asked how frequently they purchased food and snacks for their business. The majority of the vendors said that they made weekly purchases of perishable goods such as chicken, meat, vegetables, and fruits. The vendors revealed that they could not purchase particular items in large quantities because if they were not sold it would be a loss for them and the food goes bad. During the in-depth interviews, lack of shelter was also identified as a

significant problem. Similarly, a study in Indonesia found a major challenge for street vendors to be a lack of shelter in urban spaces (Kurniawati, 2012). Where shelter did exist, in the form of shade from buildings, trees, gazebos, and umbrellas, it was inadequate in protecting women street food vendors and the food they sold. Access to shelter was particularly necessary in Gaborone because the hot sun affected the participants' work. Respondents selling prepared food, fruits and vegetables constantly had to throw away goods because they were damaged by the sun. During the rainy season (usually from the beginning of December until the end of February) some respondents without shelter said they did not go to work, causing them to lose sales. Figure 5.12 below shows examples of the different shelters that women street food vendors have in the Main Mall.

Figure 5.12: Shelter





Source: Photograph taken by Author (May 2019)

When asked about the lack of shelter and storage facilities the council representative said:

We have initiatives that aim to combat such challenges. We encourage street vendors to work from home and we have made the process very easy to get licences to trade at their houses. These programs are especially geared to help street food vendors, salons and barbers. These businesses need a great deal of working capital and having to carry it every day from their houses is straining for them.

Upon hearing this, vendors said they did not know of these initiatives. Additionally, they did not want to move their businesses because their client base was at the Main Mall which would mean a loss of income. This is understandable because street vendors are critically dependent on convenient access to customers and the majority are unable to accumulate enough revenue to invest in their businesses or pay for rent (WIEGO, 2012). Vendors also mentioned that for emergencies they put away extra money to use cabs to transport their work materials from the Main Mall to their homes which eats away at their revenue. Studies done in Kathmandu, Nepal; Masvingo, Zimbabwe; and in Mount Frere, South Africa also found that lack of shelter and storage facilities for street vendors leads to reduced revenue and increases poverty (Timalsina, 2012; Mago, 2018; Matenga, 2018).

5.3.2 Economic challenges

Approximately 95% of the respondents did not receive any capital from the government. Two participants received assistance in the form of chafing dishes and other cooking equipment from the government youth grant. Only 5 women received assistance from private businesses in the form of gazebos. One of the participants, Mme Tshenolo states, “Orange Money (a private business) gives us these gazebos for shade, but I also think it is for marketing” (Interviewee 3).

Figure 5.13: Orange Money Shelter



Source: Photograph taken by Author (May 2019)

To cope with the lack of support from government and private businesses studies by Cohen (1986), Bhowmik (2005) and Saha (2009) state that street food vendors depend on money lenders for credit. In this study, however, participants found it easier and more economical to use their social network for assistance. Participants also mentioned that they depended on family and friends to provide pots and chafing dishes if they were unable to raise it for themselves. Mme Rose was one of the participants who relied on her neighbour to lend her income:

I live next to a member of parliament. She helps my daughter and me a lot. Sometimes when it rains she offers us a lift and drops me off at my stall. When I do not have money for stock. I go and knock on her door. I always ask for P200. That's all I ever need to get me going (Interviewee 13).

The dependence on relatives and friends indicates that there is an important social network that allows them to increase their revenue and reduce their vulnerability. Respondents also mentioned financial institutions and their unfavourable terms as a challenge for them. Approximately 90% of the study participants had not received help from banks or any other formal money lending institution. When asked why they did not go to banks for assistance they said the rates they were offered were not favourable to them. One of the women street food vendors, Mme Gosiambe, for example, responded as follows:

I know what banks do. I want nothing to do with them. They claim to want to help you and take advantage of us by charging high interest. We wanted to buy a trailer for the business but NDB [National Development Bank] asked us for 50%. We never went back. (Interviewee 14).

These findings are consistent with other studies that found financial agencies to have unfavourable terms not suited for small businesses (Berry, 2009; Gumparathi & Manickavasagam, 2010; Njaya, 2014). As mentioned earlier, the revenue that the women get does not allow for further investments into the business. Most of the participants reinvested in their households rather than improving their business.

Approximately 38% of study participants tended with permits while 62% did not have permits. Lack of permits becomes a constraining factor for women street food vendors who place themselves illegally. This is because vendors with a permit are placed in less competitive

locations by the Street Vendors Association. During the interviews, participants revealed that more people had started selling at the Main Mall and they faced too many competitors because of this. Women street food vendors face a stronger competitive context because of low entry requirements in the sector. An increase in vendors meant more conflict over working sites and the uncertainty of selling off one's stock which led many to work longer hours. Competition from supermarkets and restaurants was also identified as a problem for women street food vendors particularly those selling prepared food and uncooked traditional food. Participants linked the government's decision not to regulate street vendors and unemployment with the increase in competition. Women street food vendors who had been working for a long period also revealed that unlike their newer counterparts they were able to secure a fixed location to sell their food. Newer street food vendors, on the other hand, lacked a permanent location and were forced to regularly change locations. This led to reduced vulnerability and increased their well-being. Likewise, Darroch (2005) and Coleman (2007) found that access to physical capital such as space had a significant positive impact on street vendors' well-being. Respondents said the street vendors association and the government should ask new entrants to go somewhere else because the Main Mall was full. When asked about the regulation of street vendors at the Main Mall the Gaborone City Council representative responded as follows:

Women street food vendors are not regulated. Actually, street vendors, in general, are not regulated. The previous president His Excellency Ian Khama instructed us to stop harassing street vendors because they are Batswana that need jobs. We, therefore, can not enforce any laws on them, instead, we can only encourage them to get licenses...therefore we do not have much of say on who stays and who goes [at the Main Mall].

An outcome of competition in the study is that women street vendors do not want to engage in collective organisation which yields more profitable ventures. For example, the chairperson from the Gaborone Street Vendors Association mentioned how there was Emang Basadi Women Association which aimed to influence changes where women were subordinate and suffered unequal opportunities. Emang Basadi had programmes where between 4 to 5 women vendors collectively requested for financial assistance from the association. The interviews revealed that none of the women applied for the programme although the majority of them had heard of it. When asked why they did not sign up for it they said it was risky to work with their competition. This, however, contradicts findings earlier in the chapter which found the same women in a savings rotation group with the same people they mention being risky. A study by

Agadjanian (2002) in Bolivian city La Paz, also reveals that extreme competition hinders cooperation among vendors increasing their vulnerability. In dealing with competition, participants diversified their income sources. Married participants, for example, mentioned that their husbands were involved in other income-generating activities. Female-headed household participants worked longer hours, sold unique foods or used their age as an advantage.

Another significant factor identified during the interviews was the fluctuating demand from customers. Respondents stated that low demand was a major problem for them. Challenges around demand at the Main Mall varied mainly by years vending and age. Vendors that had been in operation for a year or less were far more likely to identify low demand as a major problem. This is likely due to competition from vendors who have been in the business for a longer period therefore already having loyal customers. Age also plays a part because as mentioned earlier in the chapter, younger vendors due to culture are more inclined to give away customers in fear of upsetting their older competitors. While some vendors complained of low demand, majority of the participants interviewed did not lack customers and when they did due to seasonal changes they would sell different foods or change locations such as Mme Tumi, aged 44, “When there is no mophane worm I replace it with segwapa (biltong).” Diversifying products is, therefore, a coping strategy for vendors.

The level of resources available to women street food vendors in making a living is quite difficult. Participants revealed that they face numerous risks with few financial resources. They added that they use Orange Money⁵ to save as best as they can along with borrowing money from relatives and friends to meet their household needs. Although they usually need a lump sum of excess money from what they save they do not loan money out from informal money lenders or banks out of fear to be in debt. By contrast, Cohen et al (2000) found that women India’s informal economy borrow money on a regular basis from various informal lenders. When asked if they were not tempted to borrow money from informal lenders when faced with financial shocks, participants indicated that during such times they only borrowed from those close to them who loaned them money without interest.

⁵ Orange Money permits clients to receive, send and store money using their cellphone numbers from Orange. An Orange Money account can be opened without a bank account and can be used to deposit and save money, withdraw cash and transfer money. The minimum amount one can have in the account is P1.00 (ZAR 1.35/US\$0.094)

5.3.3 Institutional challenges

The majority of women street food vendors had not been employed before they began the food vending business (61.9%). Only 16 out of 42 respondents had work experience and 1 participant from that group had previously been an accountant. Women street food vendors generally lack business skills (Njaya, 2014; FAO, 2016). The majority of the participants took an interest in street food vending as a business when seeing family and friends catering. Interviews revealed that participants did not go to school for cooking although few had previously been employed in the food business (15%). This confirms previous literature that states street food vendors go through informal learning processing to acquire skills (Njaya, 2014). Participants also indicated that food vending was a business they naturally came into. This is linked to female gender roles and identity where historically women have been assigned to do household cooking duties (Arizpe, 1977; Holm et al., 2016). It, therefore, does not come as a surprise that participants were ‘naturally’ drawn to this industry which is predominately a female occupation (Simpson, 2014). This in turn automatically affects a person’s level in society, therefore determining the access a person has to social privilege (Alfers, 2006). Not only were participants' business knowledge and skills limited but few of them had a formal bookkeeping system.

Women street food vendors require these business skills to run a successful business. Carr and Chen (2002) show that without these business skills many urban poor women fall to the lower ranks of the informal economy which in this instance is street food vending. The lack of skills produces a situation in which women are forced into similar business ventures which drives prices and profits down. Participants stated that they do not have access to training facilities. The representative of the Street Vendors Association rebuked this statement to say “We offer business training for our members. Most of the members do not show up. For non-members, of course, they do not know we have such services.” The ILO (2007) found urban poor women in the informal sector do not have time for formal training as they have to deal with domestic duties at home. One participant confirmed this by saying “They either hold their meetings during working hours or after work. Both times are impossible. I won’t go to a meeting during working hours because I need the money and after work, I have to rush home to start cooking for my children” (Mme Botho, Interviewee 9). In response to this, the Street Vendors Association representative noted there were no other times to have the meetings.

While the street vendors association is active, it does not specifically focus on women's concerns. The role of the street vendors association appears to be increasingly unimportant. When asked how many members of women the street food vendors association had, the representative states: "I am not sure but they make up the majority." Evidence shows that majority of the interviewed participants were members of the Gaborone Street Vendors Association. According to the interviews, the association has not helped them at all. For those participants who were not members, they do not want to pay the annual membership fee which they say takes away from their revenue. When asked about the membership fee, the chairperson of the street vendors association responded to say: "The annual membership fee is P50. The majority of these women make P50 in less than an hour each day. They can afford to join but they just don't want to." The challenge with the street vendors association in Gaborone is that it has a limited role and therefore members are not encouraged. The association provides an institutional base for communication between the street food vendors and government. However, it fails to provide services that both the council and private business are incapable of providing for women street food vendors such as loans. When the Gaborone Street Vendors Association representative asked about this responded as follows:

We are still a small organisation and do not have the funds to help vendors financially...members pay P50 annually and membership is low at the moment. We also had to hire a lawyer for the association and he also needs a lot of money (April 2019).

This is different from the Self Employed Women's Association (SEWA) in India which has close to 1 million female members. SEWA's aim is to help members with credit, childcare, skills training and legal aid (Abbot and Sotelo, 2014). However, SEWA was established in 1972 and the organisation has grown significantly since then, giving it a powerful voice to advocate for women informal workers in national debates. Interestingly, however, the chairperson of the street vendors association did note that the members usually increased when they had a problem with the council or police:

Membership usually increases when street vendors have a run-in with the law. Before street vendors were unregulated, every time the council or police took their things they would come join the association so we help them. Now that the council does not bother us, membership is low (April 2019).

Women, therefore, make use of social capital when they have a problem by joining the Street Vendors Association. Women street vendors thus cope with disagreements with police and municipal authorities by joining a street vendors association (Bhowmik, 2005; Njaya, 2014; Mago, 2018).

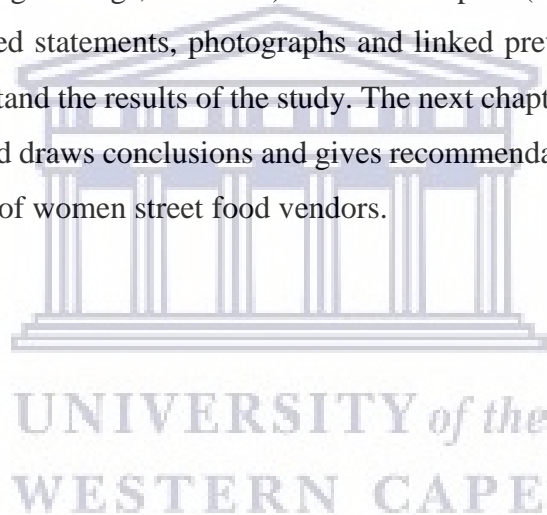
Interestingly, the fact that both key informants from the street vendors association and the council were men was concerning and highlighted the structural social gendered issues in the informal sector which gives authority to male figures for female issues. Although both institutions make provision for street vendors, there is no specific help for women. When the G.C.C representative responded asked about this: “We are in the process of making bylaws that will include women especially. We are just waiting for the Ministry of Local Government to approve them.” These findings are different from the literature on Latin America and Asia which show governments making purposeful measures to help women street vendors. For example studies by Riquelme and Valenzuela (2005) examined innovative approaches by the Chilean government to provide preferential access to a family stipend to women in extreme poverty. Similarly, in Cambodia street vendors institutions such as IDEA joined forces with StreetNet and Solidarity Center to host women street vendors' leadership programme with the aim to empower women members (Kharate, 2018). Results from the interviews showed the majority of women street food vendors from the study did not seek help from the council and relied more on friends and family for help.

The above findings contributed to the last challenge which was participants face limited access to information. Participants did not fully comprehend or know the municipal bylaws they were governed under. Interestingly, they did not proactively seek to understand or find out about them because of the lack of confidence they had in the G.C.C. This makes it difficult for municipal authorities and the street vendors association to uphold the law smoothly. For example, Although G.C.C has been lenient in allowing street food vendors to place themselves illegally in the Main Mall, they have experienced an increase in rubbish. Gaborone Main Mall has many trash cans, however, skips (large trash cans) are limited and located in certain areas of the mall. Evidence of boxes, vegetable, and fruit peels were scattered around the site. Upon further probing it was noted that the Gaborone City Council offers free trash bags for the street vendors' rubbish with the hopes that street cleaners hired by the government will have a less taxing job when they make the rounds to clean up daily. The results from the interviews show that most of the vendors did not know of the free trash bags offered by the government. Only

one participant from the 20 interviewed was observed picking up their litter. Participants revealed that there were people that came to clean up during the evening and that is how they dealt with the litter.

5.4 Summary

Street food vending is one of the many livelihood strategies that urban women engage in to meet their livelihood outcomes and reduce their vulnerability to poverty. The findings showed that high levels of unemployment have led women to sell food on the street so as to support their households. This chapter used empirical data to answer the research questions of the study. The findings of the study reveal that street food vending is a crucial livelihood strategy for women in Gaborone. The ability for a woman to start street food vending is directly related to the ability to have access to physical capital (e.g. space, permits), human capital (e.g. skills, health), financial capital (e.g. savings, motshelo) and social capital (e.g. friends, family). The chapter used graphs, quoted statements, photographs and linked previous literature on street vending in order to understand the results of the study. The next chapter summarises the major findings of the research and draws conclusions and gives recommendations that might assist in improving the livelihoods of women street food vendors.



CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Introduction

The study aimed to explore the various livelihood strategies executed by women street food vendors in Gaborone to maintain their family economic well-being. This chapter presents the summary, conclusions, and recommendations based on the findings. The discussions have been guided by the research questions. The limitations of the study are also mentioned before the concluding remarks of the study.

6.2 Summary of Main Findings

6.2.1 Characteristics of women street food vendors

The findings revealed that women street food vendors mainly traded cooked food. This accounted for 83.3%. All vendors had completed either primary, secondary or tertiary education. Interestingly the study found that 59.5% of the respondents were aged between 25 and 44 which is the economically active group. These findings reflect the high unemployment in Botswana. Close to 12% of women street food vendors were younger than 25 years which suggests that most people in this age group do not consider vending because they are still in school. Regarding the marital status of the participants, the majority (59.5%) were single. The study also found that the majority of the respondents had between 2 and 4 dependants to look after.

6.2.2 The use of capital assets by women street food vendors

Previous research has explored the relationship between livelihood strategies and capital assets. From the previous research, it was discovered that people are prevented from engaging in strategies that generate more opportunities due to the lack of access to capital (Carter & Barrett, 2006). This presents a popular view that the urban poor lack access to adequate assets for them to rearrange their livelihood with aspirations beyond survival. In this study women street food vendors that had access to more assets were able to engage in street food vending that generated more income which subsequently meant better livelihood outcomes. The study found that women street food vendors use various livelihood strategies to access four capital assets (i.e. physical, financial, human and social). It is also worth noting that the different livelihood assets

are conceptually related and influence each other frequently in the study. Given that participants did not have access to natural assets the study does not include it.

Based on the study, participants are found not to be highly vulnerable to health risks. This study identified only one participant to have knee issues while the rest of the women did not have any major health problems. Most participants stated that they went to their local clinic if they were unwell. Other respondents mentioned that they usually went to the Extension 2 Clinic which is located at the Mall because it was not only close to their place of business but also because it is 24 hours and they could go to it after work, unlike the local clinics. As mentioned above all of the participants had attended formal education at some point, mainly because Botswana offers free basic education. However, most participants did not have access to entrepreneurial skills which would benefit their business. The participants mentioned the lack of skills as an important factor that contributed to them not improving their livelihoods. Having entrepreneurial skills would also allow women street food vendors to pursue alternative livelihood strategies. Findings also suggest that vendors picked up business skills the longer they traded.

Social capital in the study refers to networks of interaction such as personal relationships with family members, other street food vendors, neighbours, and the street vendors association. *Motshelo*, which is an informal rotating credit and savings scheme, was also important for participants. Respondents used it as a credit and saving tool. The study found that women street food vendors used *motshelo* to save as well as to invest in their businesses, which usually meant increasing stock with the money they received. Interestingly although participants were happy to join the *motshelo* with other vendors most of them did not trust other members when it came to selling. They stressed that because the sector was becoming saturated everyone, including their friends was competition. Participants reported that living with their children and other relatives is important for them because they helped with cooking (inexpensive labour). Vendors also revealed that if they were unwell their children looked after the stall. Married respondents, on the other hand, highlighted how their husbands engaged in income-generating activities. This helped in supporting the family financially. The findings signify the importance of family as inexpensive labour. The importance of social networks was also found in the neighbourhoods where participants lived, where one participant revealed to rely on her neighbour when she was low on money. Women's involvement in the street vending association is minimal.

Women street food vendors as mentioned before do not have access to any credit except for informal credit which in most cases tends to be inadequate for investment purposes. This is consistent with studies by Dessalegn and Akilu (2002) who state that the informal sector provides limited opportunities for growth. This study highlights the financial insecurity that women street food vendors have and the fact that participants are primarily dependant on food vending activities only; and at the same time, they are not actively looking to change their livelihood system. Those women that sold *mmidi* (corn) revealed that after 6 pm they took their remaining corn to sell at the bus rank.

Results reveal that possession of physical assets such as chafing dishes improved the quality of the food by making it warmer for a longer period of time which customers appreciated which consequently increased their revenue. Although income from street food vending helped some participants build houses it was either because the money was substituted with their partner's income, *motshelo* or they had been in the food vending business for over 10 years in order to be able to build the house. The findings found that participants lacked access to infrastructural services; however, with the right space, they were able to place themselves at the right location and access more customers. Food vendors also stated the importance of transportation such as combis, cabs, private cars and trollies in getting them and their goods to work.

6.2.3 Challenges facing women street food vendors

Street food vending provides a livelihood for urban poor women. The participation of women in the street food vending business at Gaborone Main Mall has been on the rise due to unemployment, divorce or separation from spouse and insufficient income to take care of basic needs for the household. Respondents were forced into street food vending because of their failure to find work or lack of sufficient income to take care of their basic needs. There are several challenges women street food vendors face in their business which subsequently hinders the success and profitability of the business.

Participants depended on street food vending to support their livelihoods. For most of the respondents, street food vending was the main source of income. Looking at the monthly income of women street food vendors' evidence shows that most respondents make more than the monthly minimum wage in Botswana; however, the need to maintain dependants takes away from that. Respondents had to bear the cost of looking after their children and other dependants which then translated to reduced income for the household, creating difficulty in sustaining one's livelihood. This is due to the lack of financial support from the children's

fathers and non-income earning relatives. Because the majority of respondents depended on a single income they lacked a safety net in terms of an additional income, therefore, increasing their risk to economic shocks and stresses and reducing their financial vulnerability. Participants revealed that the income they made from street food vending does not afford them the luxury to expand their business. Most of them had not even thought of improving their business. Findings in this study mirror those found by Otoo et al (2012) that found street food vending to be a survivalist strategy geared to providing the household basic needs and not profit maximisation.

Women street food vendors revealed that their incomes had increasingly declined over the years since they began their vending business at the Main Mall. It is because of the increasing unemployment in the country and the lack of jobs in other sectors of the economy. In addition, participants revealed that street food vending requires less investment and yet has instant returns for women than other income-generating activities this has led to increased competition marked by market saturation. This is because the Mall has a high density of people due to private and public offices based in the area. Other challenges revealed included weather conditions. Empirical findings showed that women street food vendors who mostly sold cooked food complained about exposure to the sun which affected the quality of the food. Additionally, fluctuating demand caused by changing seasons further adds to women street food vendors' vulnerability in Gaborone.

Participants revealed the lack of access to infrastructure such as clean water, shelter, storage space, toilets, and waste removal. The findings highlighted the difficulty in finding a less competitive space in the Mall to sell from. Participants also mentioned the challenge of frequently needing to stock up as well as having to throw away food that had not been bought. In addition, women street food vendors revealed the need to work long hours as a coping strategy. Interestingly some participants also added rude customers who tried to negotiate lower prices or stole from their stalls to their list of problems. However, most participants stated that they were not harassed by council authorities. Instead, the Botswana government had instructed the G.C.C to help vendors as much as possible. Respondents also explained how the street vendors association did not have enough power to make a significant change to their livelihoods and hence majority did not join it.

This study also found that the lack of information available to participants caused them to lose out on opportunities beneficial to improving their business. Lastly, women street food vendors,

for the most part, were neglected by private institutions. Respondents stated that when requesting for a loan, banks had high interest rates that they could not pay back. Private businesses provided some food vendors with shelter such as umbrellas and gazebos however respondents revealed that they were mostly for marketing and did not help them in any other way.

6.3 Recommendations

The study recognises the importance of the street food vending business as the main livelihood strategy for women in the study. The Botswana government has opened up the streets for women to sell food freely in the hopes of reducing poverty levels among the urban poor. However, the Gaborone City Council treats men and women the same, meaning that it neglects to realise the unique needs of women. The city council needs to de-masculine the policies and bylaws by embracing the differences between men and women and recognising the impact that women have in the street food vending business.

The need for associations such as SEWA is required for women vendors. The current street vendors association in Gaborone Main Mall does not have a leading role in negotiating women street food vendor's livelihoods. Although majority of women are members of the association, the study reveals that the association has no power and vendors remain inactive. By creating an association specifically designed to help out women vendors will collectively work together to reduce their vulnerability and improve their livelihoods.

The city council and street vendors association need to provide educational programmes to teach vendors about business skills as well as hygienic aspects of the business. Training should be conducted in a manner that will not remove women street food vendors from their business site and reduce the time to carry out their other roles. Additionally, better hygiene for women street food vendors requires the improvement of sanitation facilities at the Main Mall. City planners need a people centred approach by bringing in women street vendors to design bathrooms that are suitable for them and their work environment.

The current study noted that women street food vendors also experienced high levels of vulnerability due to working long hours. Women street food vendors working late are more vulnerable to theft and violence. City planners should also put in place procedures that counter the work environment risks and dangers that women face.

The local and national government should study the social and economic characteristics of women in the street food business so that they understand the triple role of women and design policies that target specific groups of women. Women divide their attention between street vending, community services and child care and so different situations require different solutions. For instance, because the Botswana government does not provide child care facilities, some of the women in the study had their children living with their grandparents. Such services could assist women street food vendors.

6.4 Limitations to the study

This study purposefully sampled 42 women street food vendors in Gaborone Main Mall thus the results are not representative of Botswana's general population. The limited sample size also affected the photovoice data collection method as it did not permit a large enough group of respondents to ensure diversity. Additionally, a number of photographs were taken by each photovoice participant, however, during the follow up interview, a limited number of photographs were discussed due to time constraints. The extent of street food vending activities is immense and this study is limited to the few sold at the Main Mall. A further limitation was time. It was a challenge to build a relationship with women street food vendors because they believed the study to be for the Gaborone City Council. Therefore a large part of the field study was spent earning the participants' trust. Lastly, women street food vendors are involved in multiple roles. Participants were selling at the Main Mall one day and not there the next and it was difficult to schedule an interview with them.

6.5 Conclusions

Street food vending serves as the main source of livelihood for the majority of women in the study because it is an easily accessible avenue for income. In an effort to show the importance in understanding the nature of livelihood strategies within urban Botswana this study examined the primary livelihood strategies employed by women street food vendors to maintain poverty reduction based on the returns from street food vending. The focus was on the determinants that affect which livelihood strategies were adopted in Gaborone Main Mall. The study also explored the challenges faced by women street food vendors and their coping strategies. The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework was used as the theoretical approach underpinning the study. The vulnerability context was looked at in greater detail when assessing the challenges and coping mechanisms employed by the traders.

The income from selling food is unpredictable making women vendors highly vulnerable and insecure. The findings from the study suggested that urban poor women use their socioeconomic characteristics such as dependants, age, marital status and education as determining factors for adopting their livelihood strategies in an effort to improve their well-being. Additionally, the triple role that women take on also influences the livelihood strategies adopted. In other words, women are influenced by their role as a care taker, productive role and community management role. Majority of women in the study are sole providers and continue to juggle the productive role by working as a street food vendor and care taker, looking after dependants and children.

In an effort to increase their income women go searching for other income sources. Livelihood diversification strategies are an important aspect of reducing poverty for women (Berry, 2009). The study found that women engaged in livelihood diversification strategies such as selling food in other locations over the weekend to provide additional income to be used among their households. The study suggests that accessing social capital in the form of family and friends was the support that women street food vendors used the most in their livelihood and business.

Women street food vendors are limited by structural institutions and factors when adopting their livelihood. In the study, for example, young women were forced to adopt cultural norms and increased their vulnerability by passing over customers to older vendors. Another structural institution that did not benefit the participants was the street vendors association. The reason for this is the lack of representation of women specifically women street food vendors in Gaborone Main Mall. There are no formal trainings and programmes designed to help women by the association.

The study has also revealed that illegality of street vending was not enforced. The importance of accessing public space without the worry of harassment from the Gaborone City Council and police is rewarding. The decision of the Botswana government to allow street vending as a livelihood strategy is vital as it reduces vulnerability and increases the well-being of women. However, development policies and laws do not clearly support women street food vendors. Women in the study faced infrastructural, economic and institutional challenges. The infrastructural challenges that women face are lack of access to sanitary toilets, storage space, and water. Structures such as toilets in the Main Mall are built without women in mind, increasing women's vulnerability to health problems. Economic challenges refer to lack of support from the government. The Gaborone City Council and Street Vendors Association are

yet to draw up bylaws and policies that cater to women street food vendors. Currently, the policies put in place are designed by men for men in the informal sector. Institutional challenges are then discussed. Women will continue to be vulnerable and poor until local and national governments actively try to understand and improve the environment in which women street food vendors work.



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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Research Instruments

Appendix A1: Women street food vendors questionnaire



Private Bag X17, Bellville 7535, Cape Town, South Africa
Telephone : (021) 959 3858/6 Fax: (021) 959 3865
E-mail: pkippie@uwc.ac.za

Dear Madam

My name is Serati Mogobe and I am currently doing a Masters program in Development Studies at the University of Western Cape. I am working on my mini thesis which seeks to explore livelihood strategies employed by women street food vendors in the Main Mall. I would appreciate it if you would voluntarily participate in the study by completing the attached research questionnaire. Please note that all information will be preserved with strict confidentiality.

I appreciate your time and patience to complete the questionnaire.

Thank you.

Yours sincerely

Serati S Mogobe

(Researcher)

Section A: Demographics

Please mark with (X) the appropriate box

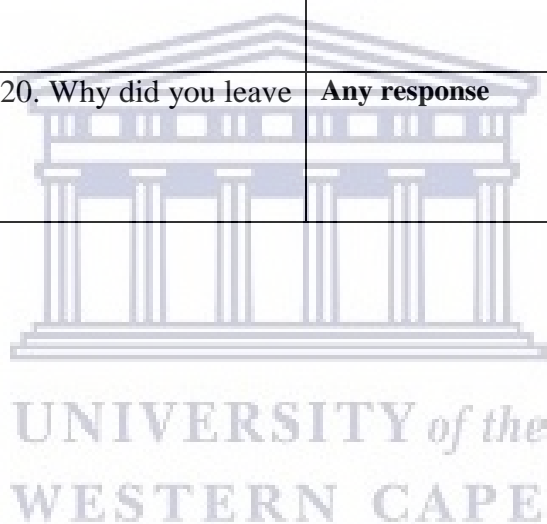
	Questions	Responses	
1	What age group do you belong to?	Under 25	1
		25-44	2
		45-64	3
		65 and over	4
3	What is your Marital status?	Single	1
		Married	2
		Cohabiting	3
		Widowed	4
		Separated or Divorced	5
4	Educational status	No school	1
		Primary school	2
		Junior Secondary school (Form 1 to Form 3)	3
		Senior Secondary school (Form 4 to Form 5)	4
		Tertiary or vocational training	5
5	Employment status	Employed in the informal sector only	1
		Employed in formal and informal sectors	2
		Unemployed	3
		Retired	4
6	What is your main source of income?	Any response	
7	What is the monthly income from street food vending?	Less than P500	1
		Between P500 and P1000	2
		Between P1000 and P1500	3
		Between P1500 and P2000	4
		More than P2000	5
8	How many dependents or children do you take care of?	2-4	1
		5-7	2
		8 and more	3
		Only myself	4

SECTION B: Street Food Vending Business

8	What do you sell?	Vegetables and Fruits	1
		Cooked Foods	2
		Uncooked Foods	3
		Snacks	4
9	Have you always sold these items during your time as a street food vendor?	Yes	1
		No	2
10	Do you face any seasonal imbalance in the arrangement of your sales?	Yes	1
		No	2
11	What are the times you get most activity from street food vending?	Between 07:30 and 11:00	1
		Between 12:00 and 15:00	2
		Between 16:00 and 19:00	3
		After 19:00	4
12	How many years have you been in the street vending business?	1-4 years	1
		5-10 years	2
		Less than 1 year	3
		More than 10 years	4
13	What mode of transport do you use for work?	Public transport	1
		Private transport	2
14	Does your food vending activities contribute to household income?	Yes	1
		No	2
15	What do you spend the money on?	Any response	
16	Do you receive support from a government program?	Yes	1
		No	2
17	If yes in Q16, What facilities have been provided for by Gaborone City Council	Shelter	1
		Space	2
		Space and Shelter	3
		None	4
18	Do you receive additional support other than a government institution?	Yes	1
		No	2
19	If yes in Q18, from whom?	Private institution	1
		NGO	2
		Other (please specify)	

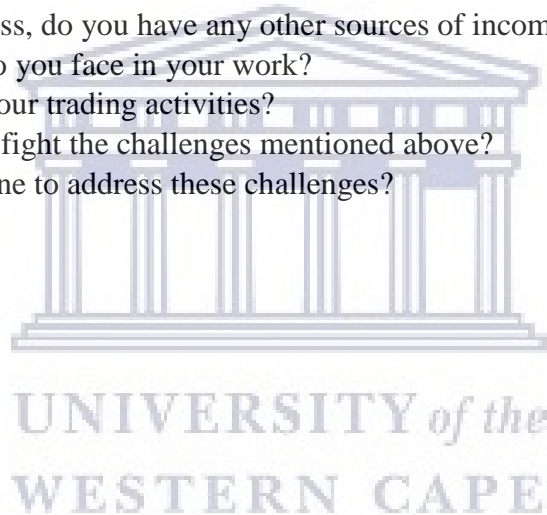
SECTION C: Employment background

20	Were you formally or informally employed by before starting the business?	Yes	1
		No	2
21	If code is 1 for Q20. Was it in the public or private sector?	Yes	1
		No	2
22	If code is 1 for Q20. For how long was this?	Any response	
23	If code is 1 for Q20. What was your occupation or job title?	Any response	
24	If code is not 1 for Q20. Why did you leave your job?	Any response	



Appendix A2: Women street food vendors interview guide

1. How much money do you make from your business per month?
2. Does the money you get change from month to month? How does it change and what are the reasons for it to change like that?
3. Do other people in your household work?
4. Does the income you generate as a street food vendor sufficient to cover household needs such as food, rent, clothing, health and education?
5. Is the money you get enough for you to save some of it after covering household needs?
6. Are you a member of any club that saves money? Do you use the bank?
7. Are you a member of the Street Vendors Association? How has it helped/ not helped you?
8. Has the street vending business enabled you to afford some assets that you could afford before you started the business?
9. Do you get any assistance from family, friends, government, donors or private companies for your business?
10. Besides this business, do you have any other sources of income?
11. What challenges do you face in your work?
12. What laws affect your trading activities?
13. What do you do to fight the challenges mentioned above?
14. What should be done to address these challenges?



Appendix A3: Street Vendors Association interview guide

1. What is the aim of the Gaborone Street Vendors Association?
2. What role do you play in the Street Vendors Association?
3. What problems do you face while working as a representative of the Association?
4. How does the government kana Gaborone City Council treat those issues? And how do you deal as a vendor's representative?
5. How many members of women street vendors do you have?
6. Are women active members of the Association?
7. How important do you think street vending as a poor woman's livelihood strategy?
8. What programmes and actions are you adopting to protect women street food vendors livelihoods?



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Appendix A4: Gaborone City Council interview guide

1. How is the Gaborone City Council dealing with situation of women in the street food vending business?
2. Do you see any problems by increasing women in the informal sector?
3. What kind of problems do you face as the Council when it comes it street vending in the Main Mall
4. How do you deal with such issues? What challenges do you encounter when dealing with them?
5. How important do you think street food vending is a livelihood strategy for women in Gaborone?
6. What are the possible causes do you think of the increase in women street food vendors at the Main Mall?
7. What programmes do you have specific to helping women street food vendors at the Main Mall or the whole of Gaborone?
8. How are you addressing the problems that women have selling in the Main Mall?
9. Do you have any suggestions regarding improving women's situation in the informal sector to reduce their vulnerability?



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Appendix A5: Photovoice guide

Photo 1

Please mark with (X) the theme that best reflects your photo

How being a women street food vendor impacts your life

A photo which reflects the challenges of being a women street food vendor

A photo which reflects the support I receive as a street vendor (It can be from a person or object)

A photo which represents what I need to improve my life

Reflections below on the photo:



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Appendix B: STATA DO-FILE

log using womenfoodvenquest.log

doed

label define Age 1 "Under 25" 2 "25-4" 3 "45-64" 4 "65 and over"

label variable age "age"

label define natureoffoodvendingactivities 1 "Under 25 years" 2 "25-44 years" 3 "45-64" 4 "65 and over"

label variable natureoffoodvendingactivities "Streetfood variety"

label define maritalstatus 1 "single" 2 "cohabiting" 3 "married" 4 "divorced" 5 "widowed"

label variable maritalstatus "marital status"

label define educationlevels 1 "primary" 2 "junior" 3 "senior" 4 "tertiary or vocational"

label variable educationlevels "education level"

label define noyearsstreetvending 1 "less than a year" 2 "1-4 years" 3 "5-10 years" 4 "more than 10 years"

label variable no years streetvending "no years vending"

label define nopeopleinhousehold 1 "2-4" 2 "5-7" 3 "8 and more" 4 "only myself"

label variable nopeopleinhousehold "dependants"

label define typeofvendor 1 "no permit" 2 "permit"

label variable typeofvendor "licensing"

label define incomepmonth 1 "less than 500" 2 "500-1000" 3 "1000-1500" 4 "1500-2000" 5 "more than 2000"

label variable incomepmonth "monthlyincome"

label define transport 1 "public" 2 "private"

label variable transport "modeoftrans"

label define doesthegovernmenthelp 1 "no" 2 "yes"

label variable doesthegovernmenthelp "govhelp"

tab age

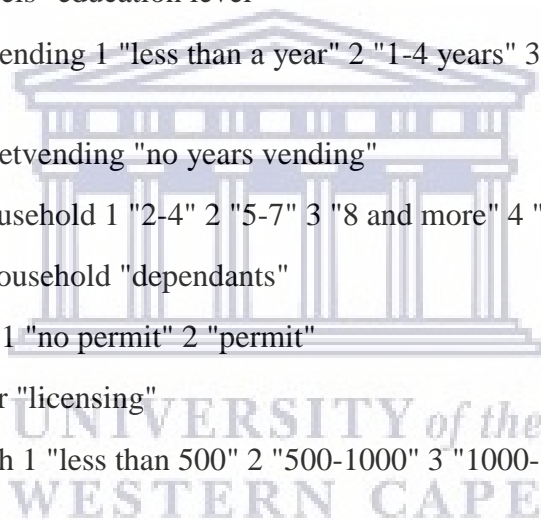
tab natureoffoodvendingactivities

tab noyearsstreetvending

tab educationlevels

tab incomepmonth

tab maritalstatus



tab nopeopleinhousehold

tab typeofvendor

tab transport

tab typeofvendor

graph pie, over(noyearsstreetvending)



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Appendix C: Sample of transcript

Women street vendor interview

Site or Location: Main Mall
Participant type: Snack Vendor
Interviewee ID: 7
Age: 45
Gender: Female
Date of interview: 25 March 2019
Name of Transcriber: Serati
Audio file name: Main Mall_Interviewee 7_Mme Jane (45 years) (25 March)
Duration of audio file: 00:14:26

Serati: How much do you make a month in your business?
P: Around three thousand in a good month.
Serati: Do your profits in this business change or are they the same every month?
P: No, they do change.
Serati: Okay. Does the man of the house work?
P: Yes.
Serati: Is the money you make here enough to pay for rent, food, the kids' school fees or do you combine your money with that of the man of the house?
P: We combine household expenses but I use my own money for the business.
Serati: Are you able to save something with the money you get from the business.
P: Of course. The money I get from my business is more than enough. I can even go on holiday!
Serati: Are you a member of Street Vendors Association?
P: //Inaudible (04:48)...yes.
Serati: Do they assist you?
P: Street Vendor Association? Yes.Well sometimes.
Serati: How do you get assistance?

P: He is the one who takes in our complaints, and takes them to the council.

Serati: Does they do anything else?

P: I really don't know. He has never helped me specifically. I just know that he takes our complaints if we have any.

Serati: Are you in a *motshelo* (financial scheme)?

P: Yes.

Serati: How has it helped you?

P: It had helped a lot. I am in a motshelo with these women here. I know by the end of year I will have money for Christmas.

Serati: Where else do you save your money?

P: With Orange Money at Barclays.

Serati: Has your business helped you to build or do anything for yourself in life?

P: Yes.

Serati: How do people treat you? Do they see you doing an important job?

P: They are condescending.

Serati: They are condescending? Who is condescending?

P: Customers. They usually look down on us because of this job

Serati: What about your family? Or people back at home?

P: Oh. Well back at home they are fine. They respect me because I bring food to the table. In the village nobody really cares what you do as long as you can feed thm you are fine.

Serati: Do you get any assistance from anyone at home or the council about the business?

P: At home.

Serati: What do they assist you with?

P: Sometimes, since we work with stock, when it is low they can top me up.

Serati: Okay.

P: Yes.

Serati: Are you getting any source of income elsewhere?

P: Excuse me?

Serati: Anywhere else?

P: Okay, besides the man of the house?

Serati: Yes.

P: No, it is just the business and at home.

Serati: Do you love your business?

P: Very much. I love it very much.

Serati: What made you start this business?

P: The children my dear. The man of the house was not making enough so I had to help.

Serati: If you could get a job somewhere, would you leave the business and go for it?

P: No, I could never work, I am too old.

Serati: Where do you live?

P: In village X.

Serati: How do you commute to your business?

P: I use buses.

Serati: How long does it take to get here?

P: It takes about an hour. I leave village X at about 7 am and I get here around 8:30.

Serati: What time do you wake up then?

P: I wake up round about 5am everyday. I don't work on weekends so I sleep in then.

Serati: Okay. Where did you get the tables from?

P: I bought everything I have here.

Serati: What toilets do you use?

P: We ask from the Council.

Serati: This one here?

P: Yes.

Serati: Are they suited for your needs? Do you think they are in a good condition for women to use?

P: They are disgusting. There are times when the toilets don't even have water. That's all I will say about them. I don't want to get into trouble.

Serati: When you knock off, what do you do with your stuff?

P: We have storage, where we keep our things. I store them with the cage guys.

Serati: When you get sick, where do you go?

P: I go to local clinics. I hardly get sick though. Maybe I cold here and there but nothing that requires me to go to the clinic.

Serati: Where do you take your children when they are unwell?

- P: I also take them to the clinic. My children are strong like me though so they hardly need the clinic. They are old too so they take themselves to the clinic.
- Serati: What kind of challenges do you meet with in your business?
- P: Money. The money I get from this business fluctuates. I sometimes make good money, other times I make nothing. It is frustrating especially if you want to budget.
- Serati: What happens if you don't make ends meet?
- P: I rely on the man of the house and other relatives.
- Serati: What laws affect your kind of work? The bylaws.
- P: Like arranging our things properly.
- Serati: Is there any food items that the Council prohibits you from selling?
- P: Yes Ma'am. Where we have to use fire but otherwise it does not prohibit us from anything really.
- Serati: How do you manage the challenges you come across?
- P: My sister, it is not easy.
- Serati: What do you think could be done to assist women street vendors with the challenges that you meet with?
- P: Support from government and other institutions. People should stop looking down on us and try help us. Customers should also buy from us and not go to supermarkets.
- Serati: We are done. Thank you so much.
- P: Yes Ma'am.
- Serati: I greatly appreciate it.

END OF AUDIO

Appendix D: Foreign currency conversions and poverty level calculations
Foreign conversion and monthly international poverty level formula.

International poverty line is US\$1.90 per day

Formula used to calculate monthly poverty level in US\$, BWP, ZAR

Date of conversion: 28/11/2019

Conversion source: Morningstar for currency and coinbase for cryptocurrency on google

Conversion to Pula: US\$1.90- P20.33

Conversion to Rand: US\$1.90-P27.56

Formula for monthly international poverty level in US\$: US\$1.90 x 30 (days)

Formula for monthly international poverty level in BWP: P20.33 x 30 (days)

Formula for monthly international poverty level in ZAR: R27.56 x 30 (days)



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