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Exploring gender-based spatio-temporal patterns of informal street vending

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1 Gendered Spatio-Temporal Patterns of Informal Street Vendors: A Case Study in

2 Fangshan District, Beijing, China

3

Abstract: Many studies have shown that, due largely to family and cultural influences, women 4 5 prefer part-time and flexible employment, which aligns with the nature of informal street vending. However, unlike many other workers, female vendors must consider the temporary 6 7 use of space and co-produce an ever-changing environment that interacts with a diverse range 8 of people with heterogeneous demands, a phenomenon that has received little research attention. 9 Using spatial-temporal behavior mapping and on-site observations at three street spaces in Fangshan District, we examined the spatio-temporal behavioral patterns of female vendors and 10 explored gender differences in the types, modes, spatial meanings, and times of informal 11 12 vending in the Chinese urban context. Our results indicate that when vending space is limited, 13 male vendors tend to cluster; female vendors are more dispersed, and more likely to occupy spaces with unfavorable selling environments. When there are fewer female vendors on the site, 14 15 female vendors sell closer to the inner side of the street, while male vendors occupy positions 16 further away from the street. Most female vendors sell relatively lightweight and small goods with low profit margins. Male vendors tend to occupy fixed stalls and utilise heavy transport 17 18 equipment, while female vendors are more likely to be flexible in location and use lightweight 19 transport equipment. Moreover, female vendors are more likely than male vendors to operate 20 during weekdays and in daylight hours than on the weekends and at night. Our study provides 21 a scientific basis for creating an inclusive, vibrant, and healthy urban environment by 22 considering the overlooked groups of informal female vendors and their temporary uses of 23 space.

24

25 Keywords:

26 Informal street space; Gender differences; Street vending behavior; Spatio-temporal data; GIS

28 **1. Introduction**

Urban space is not neutral, but distinctly gendered (Massey, 2013). Female groups often adapt their employment and their behavioral activities to suit their use of space based on their own perceptions (Valentine, 1992). Female vendors in informal street markets are more likely to choose part-time, temporary, and flexible forms of informal employment, often due to family or cultural factors, and consistent with the temporary and dynamic nature of their work. This is significantly different from the nature of more formal types of employment. A female vendor working in an informal street market is making an adaptive dynamic choice.

36 Some research has revealed gender differences among vendors operating in informal street 37 markets in terms of mobility behavior, selling behavior, and the temporal, spatial, and relational strategies they use to maintain access to public space (Adama, 2020; Mao, 2022; Ortese et al, 38 39 2016). However, these studies tend to focus on distinguishing types of vendors based on their behavioral strategies and context and their impact on public space and urban planning, while 40 41 ignoring the impact of gender differences among vendors on informal street space. How female 42 vendors adjust their spatio-temporal behavioral patterns of selling in dynamic informal street 43 spaces, within the gendered constraints of family and culture, remains unclear. From the spatial perspective, it is important to conduct dynamic, real-time, micro-level research on the 44 45 behavioral activities of male and female traders in urban informal spaces.

46 Our study was designed to fill this knowledge gap and to extend research on the gendered 47 variability of behavioral patterns of vendors in informal street spaces. To understand the 48 patterns and empirical foundations of female spatio-temporal behavior related to multiple forms 49 of employment, we sought to answer the following research questions:

- 50 considering the informal street vending profession as an adaptive dynamic choice, what are the spatial and temporal behavioral patterns of female vendor groups in street 51 52 vending spaces?
- 53

How do the types, methods, and timing aspects of vending used by women's groups 54 operate in a complex, ad hoc and dynamic network?

In this paper, using spatio-temporal behavioral data from three street vendors in Fangshan 55 District, Beijing, we describe our use of spatio-temporal behavioral mapping (STBM) to 56 57 compare the spatio-temporal behavior of female and male street vendors in time as well as 58 space. We make several valuable contributions. We explored informal street vendors' daily spatio-temporal behaviors from a micro point of view, producing novel data that can enrich the 59 planning and management of informal spaces. In addition, our focus on gender differences in 60 61 the vendor community enables a re-examination of urban space construction and policies from a gender perspective, can guide the creation of an equal and inclusive selling environment for 62 63 female vendors, and provides a scientific basis for enhancing urban vitality through better street 64 vendor.

65

66 2. Literature review

2.1 Informal street vending in urban spaces 67

In global contexts, informal street vending is widely recognized as one of the most prevalent 68 forms of economic exchange (Peimani and Kamalipour, 2022). Vendor groups influence 69 70 people's walking and purchasing behavior through the daily rhythms and spatial layout of their 71 selling behavior, which in turn has an impact on urban spatial planning (Sun, 2021). In China,

72	informal street vendors have always represented a challenge for governance in urban spaces
73	due to their "temporary" and "dynamic" characteristics, but they are also a common and largely
74	accepted form of urban daily life. Previous research on informal street vendors has focused on
75	spatial planning, urban governance and policymaking in relation to the general behavior of
76	vendors (Mao, 2022; Ortese et al., 2016). Scholars have noted that some informal vendors sell
77	poor-quality goods in unhygienic conditions (Huang et al., 2014), others that a lack of effective
78	licensing and practice management pose distinct problems for urban spatial governance (Li et
79	al., 2018), including street congestion and uncertainty (Xue and Huang, 2015).
80	Vendors' spatio-temporal behaviors are closely linked to the spatial planning of streets and
81	urban governance, a relationship that has been ignored in previous investigations of this topic.
82	Groups of dynamic street vendors usually gather spontaneously in urban commercial districts
83	or neighborhoods to provide residents with convenient and affordable shopping choices,
84	adopting various selling methods, product typologies, and selling times to form their own
85	unique and flexible selling strategies (Sun et al., 2018). Groups of street vendors build group
86	pluralism in urban society and present an increasingly complex urban social dynamic (Recchi,
87	2021). In recent years, local governments in China have introduced urban policies that
88	encourage the emergence of temporary stalls and street vendors (Yang et al., 2018). In May
89	2023, the Chinese Central Civilization Office issued a policy excluding temporary roadside
90	businesses, street markets, and itinerant vendors from the National Civilized Cities Assessment,
91	which is intended to promote the development of civilized cities and urban spaces as part of a
92	move to improve economic and social services within regulated urban contexts, signaling a
93	positive governance perspective on informal street vending. As urban researchers within the

94 Chinese context, we argue that this culturally well-established and appreciated economic, urban 95 spatial practice offers vital service provision within Chinese neighborhoods. We contend that it 96 is important to explore and understand the spatial, temporal, and dynamic behaviors of urban 97 street vendors in order to influence the planning and management of urban space to place 98 greater value on the service vendors provide in Chinese contexts.

99

100 **2.2 Gender differences and behavioral patterns**

101 Gender-based research, one of the core products of social and cultural studies in Western 102 contexts, often involves socio-spatial phenomena (Wang and Xu, 2021). The spatial distribution of urban policy, economic activities, and social relations in particular contexts often results in 103 interactions between these factors that influence gender relations and space use (Massey, 2013). 104 105 Thus, both in China and the West, in metropolises and smaller urban centers, women's spatial agency and experience will vary and is often distinctly different from men's (Chai, 2003; Sun 106 et al., 2019; Ta et al., 2019). Women are typically much more concerned than men about 107 108 potential threats and personal safety (Zhou, 2014), and consequently limit their access to and daily use of urban public space (Wesely and Gaarder, 2004). Furthermore, women and men 109 110 differ in their perceptions of the urban environment, particularly high-mobility spaces (Han et al., 2023). Women often consciously avoid traveling alone and reduce the amount of time spent 111 in streets with low connectivity (De Koning, 2009). Many studies have focused on occupation 112 of and behavior in high-mobility urban spaces and spatial safety, exploring gender differences 113 114 in spatial access, length of stay, and subjective spatial experience (Kwan, 2013).

115 The extensive literature on gendered behavioral activities highlights that gender differences in

high mobility spaces and spatial security are substantial. However, much of the gender 116 behavioral activity gap has long been attributed to the familial and socio-cultural constraints 117 118 that women face in employment settings. As the socio-economic structure of Western countries has changed, women's participation in the labor market has generally increased (Hanson and 119 120 Pratt, 1988), a structural change that has given rise to spatial and temporal constraints on 121 women's employment in urban contexts. Esping-Andersen (2019) pointed out that in some countries, women's wider participation in the labor market has not diminished inequality. 122 123 Women's and men's labor supply and demand differ significantly, because women are more 124 likely to experience job disruption and irregular employment trajectories throughout their 125 working lives (Ferragina, 2019). For example, to balance family and work relationships, women are more likely than men to opt for informal forms of employment that are part-time, temporary, 126 127 and highly flexible (Mao, 2019). This corresponds to the employment characteristics of street vendors in informal Chinese contexts. Many women must balance multiple daily activities such 128 as work, household responsibilities, and childcare, and as a result are often more restricted in 129 130 their spatio-temporal behaviors than men (Wang and Xu, 2021). In addition, women's daily 131 travel tends to be centered around domestic needs. Women travel more frequently than men, 132 but the distance, time, and speed of traveling are typically lower (Gu et al., 2012). Gender differences in vendors' behaviors have subtle effects on urban spaces. In informal street 133 134 spaces, female vendors' spatio-temporal behaviors are more limited than men's. A better understanding of the spatial and temporal behaviors of male and female vendors is needed to 135

- 136 optimize policy planning for urban informal streets.
- 137

3. Methodology 138

139 3.1 Research design

140 Our review of the literature and identification of its shortcomings suggested that we should delve into the urban informal street space to observe daily street life behaviors, using the STBM 141 142 methodology for data collection. The research design took full account of street space with dynamic characteristics, and enabled analysis of the spatio-temporal behavioral patterns of 143 gender differences in vendors through comparisons at the temporal, spatial and spatio-temporal 144 145 levels. We explored the spatio-temporal behavioral patterns of female street vendors, and 146 gender differences in vending patterns (type, method and time).

3.2 Study sites and their characteristics 147

Fangshan District is located in the southwest of Beijing, and has a total area of 2019 square 148

149 kilometers. In 2021, Fangshan District had a residential population of 1,131,000 people; the

male/female ratio in Fangshan District was 0.94. 150

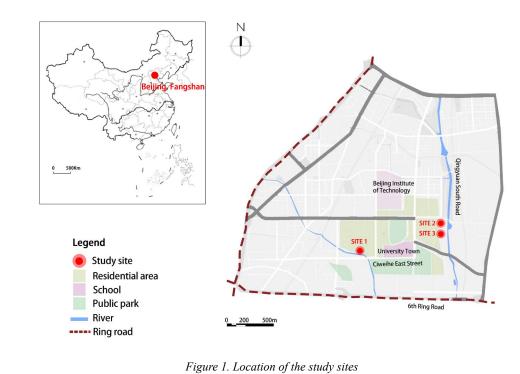
This study began with on-site observation of a range of common informal vending spaces in 151

152 Fangshan District, which allowed us to determine the following site criteria:

- high mobility high flow of people, high activity behavior, and high heterogeneity of 153 • behavioral activities; 154
- 155

location near residential areas.

156 Based on these criteria, we selected three streets in Fangshan District as study sites. The spatial distribution of the three sites and their surroundings are illustrated in Figure 1, and their 157 158 characteristics are listed in Table 1.



1 igure 1. Docution of the study sites

	Site 1	Site 2	Site 3
Location	Located on the outer section of the district, adjacent to the university campus to the east and the river to the south	Close to the crossroads outside the main entrance to the neighborhood, east of the park	Located in the middle of two neighborhoods, east of the park
Observed area	406 sqm	279 sqm	289 sqm
Spatial characteristics	Less developed street Low spatial enclosure 20 meters wide Wide space	One-way street High spatial enclosure 7 meters wide Approaching the crossroads	One-way street High spatial enclosure 7 meters wide Middle of the street
Photos of the site			

¹⁶³ Note: Photo taken on 23 August,2022.

164	Site 1 is part of a two-way carriageway that is not yet open to traffic, with green belt to the
165	north and south, low levels of enclosure and a street width of 20 meters. It is close to the main
166	entrance and exit of a neighborhood. Sites 2 and 3 are part of the same non-motorized
167	carriageway, with green belt and the main carriageway to the west, and a footway to the east.

Compared to Site 1, Sites 2 and 3 have greater enclosure, with a street width of seven meters. 168

Site 2 is close to the main access points of two neighborhoods, and Site 3 is close to the 169

170 secondary access point of one neighborhood.

171 3.2 Spatial temporal behavior mapping and on-site observations

172 We adopted mixed research methods, following the STBM model (Sun et al., 2020). We 173 photographed the sites using a tripod-mounted camera at fixed points, and recorded observations of the spatial environment, gender differences, and behavioral activities at each. 174 175 The research had four phases: pilot study, data collection, geographic information system (GIS) 176 database establishment, and data comparison/dimension establishment with statistical analysis. Pilot study: we conducted fieldwork on a series of common informal vending spaces in 177 Fangshan district, identified three pilot sites based on the selection criteria defined earlier, 178 179 conducted spatial mapping of the sites, and drew field base maps for each using computer-aided 180 design.

181 Data collection: using STBM methodology, we took fixed-point photographs during four time 182 slots (6:30-7:30, 10:30-11:30, 16:30-17:30, 18:30-19:30) over nine days (20-28 August 2022, including weekdays and weekends). Each observation period lasted for one hour, based on the 183 daily rhythm of behavioral activity at the study sites. We generated 468 images for each site, 184 totaling 1,404 fixed-point observation. 185

186 GIS database creation: The database had five categories: site, date, time period, gender, and type of sale. After establishing the database, containing the 1,404 fixed-point observation 187 188 photographs, the first image was selected for entry in the unit of two photographs in 10 minutes. (If the first image did not allow recognition of crowd information, the second photo per unit 189

190 was selected for entry.) We entered 756 photos from the three sites to the database.

191 Data comparison dimension establishment and statistical data analysis: We compared the

- 192 data related to three comparison factors: time, space, and Spatial-Temporal comparison.
- 193 **3.3 Data analysis**

194 We used statistical analysis, spatial analysis, photo analysis research methods to make temporal,

195 spatial and spatio-temporal comparisons between male and female vendors. Temporal

196 comparisons were between different times of the day and weekends versus weekdays. Spatial

- 197 comparisons were between the three sites. Spatio-temporal comparisons were between the three
- 198 sites at different times of the day, and between the three sites for weekends and weekdays. The
- 199 outcomes of these comparisons were combined in analyses of the patterns of gender differences

200 of the vendors by categories of vending, types of vending, and vending activity times.

201

202 4. Empirical findings

Fixed-point observations yielded 13,000 marker points for the three sites in the GIS database (Table 2). The activities captured in each image were categorized into five major types with 33 sub-types. The total number of marker points for the vendor groups was 4,665 (Table 3), with

206	1,914 in Site 1, 1,505 in Site 2, and 1,246 in Site 3.
200	1,911 m Site 1, 1,200 m Site 2, and 1,210 m Site 3.

207

Table 2. Gender distribution of marker points, sites 1-3

	J						
8.20-8.28	Male	Female	M/F	F/T			
Site 1	3125	3047	1.03	49.4%			
Site 2	1653	1753	0.94	51.5%			
Site 3	1841	1581	1.16	46.2%			
Total	6619	6381	1.04	49.1%			

208 Note: M/F: Male/Female; F/T: Female/Total.

209

210 4.1 Gender differences across sites

Table 3 shows the gender distribution of the vendor groups across the three sites. There were more male vendors than female vendors overall, and at sites 1 and 3, and fewer male vendors than female vendors at site 2. Site 3 had the greatest disparity in the ratio of male and female vendors. The male/female ratio for vendors observed at the three sites is similar to the male/female ratio of the population of Fangshan District.

216

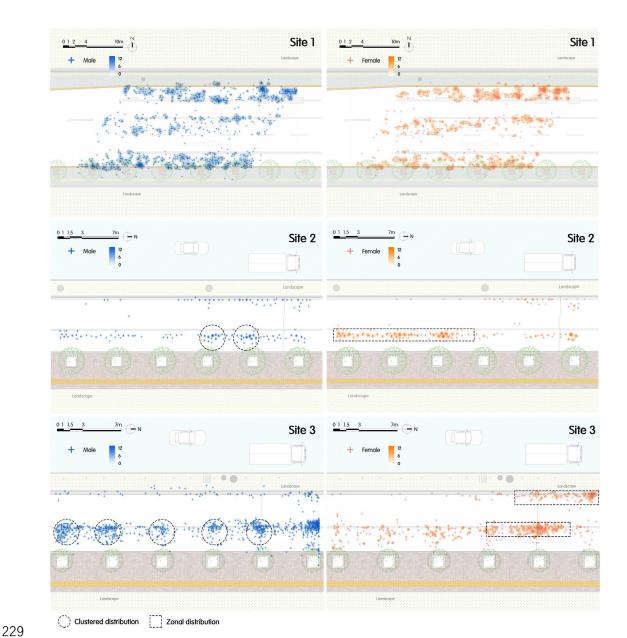
Table 3. Gender distribution of vendors, sites 1-3

8.20-8.	.28 Male	Female	M/F	F/T
Site	1 1051	863	1.22	45.1%
Site 2	2 707	798	0.89	53.0%
Site	3 779	467	1.67	37.5%
Tota	1 2537	2128	1.19	45.6%

217 Note: M/F: Male/Female; F/T: Female/Total.

The spatial characteristics of the three sites are as follows. Site 1 has a 20-metre-wide street with adequate vending space resources. Site 2 and Site 3 are both 7-meter-wide streets with relatively few vending space resources; however, Site 2 is located at a crossroads and is a more favorable vending space. Site 3 falls in the middle of the street. Combining with behavioral mapping (Figure 2) showed that in site 1, which is open and rich in

222 combining with behavioral mapping (Figure 2) showed that in site 1, which is open and fich in 223 vending space resources, there was no obvious difference between the spatial behavioral 224 characteristics of male and female vendors. When the space is narrower (sites 2 site 3), male 225 vendors show a tendency to cluster, whereas female vendors are more dispersed in a linear 226 distribution at the edges of the space (on the side of the street where the selling environment is 227 unfavorable).



230

Figure 2 The spatial distributions of male and female vendors at sites 1 and 3

231

.g.

We believe that the patterns shown above are related to the spatial characteristics of the site. Site 1 is more open, with wider streets, so the vending space is more flexible. Sites 2 and 3 have narrower streets and constrained vending space, restricting women's vending locations. In addition, the intersection at Site 2 has a high flow of people and is an advantageous vending location, and was mostly occupied by male vendors. In contrast, female vendors were mostly located in spaces with unfavorable vending environments. This finding is in line with Menon's

- 238 (2016) idea of "capacity constraints"; in informal street spaces, female vendors' freedom of
- 239 movement is limited by socio-cultural or gender norms.
- 240 Next, we used behavioral mapping to compare spatial and behavioral aspects of gender at a
- 241 micro level for the four time periods at each site (Figure 3).

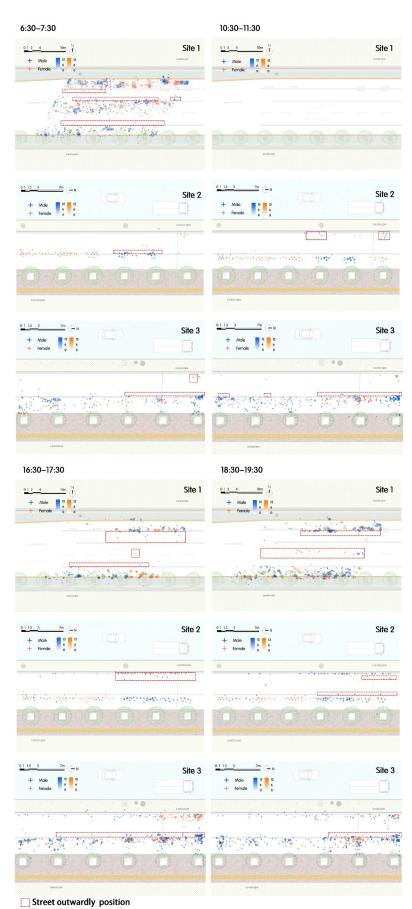




Figure 3 The spatial distribution of vendors by time of the day

Behavioral mapping showed that during the four time periods of the day when the numbers of female vendors were low, they operated closer to the inner edges of the street, while males occupied more outwardly oriented positions. At the time of day when the number of female vendors at each site was highest, there was a clear tendency for female vendors to occupy street frontage. Hence, we argue that informal female vendors are more constrained in their choice of vending locations.

251

252 **4.2 Gender differences in vending product typologies**

253 We created nine categories of goods being sold: cooked food, food cooking, groceries, fruit, vegetables, meat, seafood, pets and plants (P&P), and sundries. Cooked food, food cooking, 254 255 meat and seafood were designated "more profitable", while fruit, vegetables, sundries and P&P 256 "less profitable". Table 4 shows the distribution of the nine types of commodities sold in the three sites by vendor gender. Higher proportions of female than male vendors sold fruit, 257 vegetables, groceries, sundries, seafood, and insects. The proportions of female vendors selling 258 259 fruit, sundries, and P&P were higher than 0.5 at site 1, and similarly for groceries and vegetables 260 at site 3 and for fruit and groceries at site 2. All these vending types are low-quantity, perishable 261 and low-profit goods.

262 The finding that female vendors mostly sell less profitable items is in line with Adama (2020).

Female vendors are usually more cautious and careful in business and are less willing to financial risks than their male counterparts; they are more inclined to choose low-margin, easy-

- to-sell goods to minimize inventory build-up and potential financial losses (Amankwaa, 2017).
- 266 Many female vendors focus on developing relationships and trust with their customers in order

to gain long-term profitability via repeat patronage, despite low margins (Menon, 2016).

268

269

_	Table 4. Distribution of gender of vendors in different vending categories								
8.20-8.28		Site 1			Site 2		Site 3		
	Male	Female	M/F	Male	Female	M/F	Male	Female	M/F
Cooked food	164	135	1.21	179	70	2.56	14	7	2.00
Food cooking	120	13	9.23	0	0	/	0	1	0.00
Groceries	6	5	1.20	19	0	/	20	26	0.77
Fruit	156	150	1.04	98	337	0.29	343	106	3.24
Vegetables	462	365	1.27	340	287	1.18	392	324	1.21
Sundries	60	97	0.62	55	96	0.57	10	3	3.33
Meat	31	34	0.91	0	0	/	0	0	/
Seafood	49	59	0.83	0	0	/	0	0	/
P&P	3	5	0.60	16	8	2.00	0	0	/
Total	1051	863	1.22	707	798	0.89	779	467	1.67

270 Note: M/F: Male/Female; P&P: pet and plant.

271

272 We found that of the nine types of vending, vegetables, fruit, sundries, and P&P belonged to the lighter type, whereas cooked food, food cooking, groceries, meat, and seafood belonged to 273 274 the more burdensome type. The proportions of female vendors selling vegetables, fruits, groceries, and P&P were higher than 0.5 at all three sites (Table 4). 275 276 The findings also suggest that female vendors mostly sell lighter and smaller items. Cla (2018) 277 found that the behavioral activities of female vendors are directly related to physiological factors and physical activities. Female vendors can move and unload light goods rapidly, using 278 279 little equipment, and small-sized goods are easy to store, transport and display. This also 280 explains why there were fewer female than male vendors in the cooked food, meat categories. We believe that female vendors' selection of goods to be sold is consistent with the nature of 281 provisional choice; they use public space to sell in a way that takes account of their (on average) 282 283 lower physical strength.

285 **4.3 Gender differences in vending modes**

Table 5 shows the distribution of vending methods by gender across the three sites. We 286 287 randomly selected a sample of photographs taken at the three sites on the same day for comparative analyses. At all three sites, male vendors (labelled in red) have more fixed stall 288 289 locations and a larger per capita footprint; female vendors (labelled in yellow) have flexible 290 stall locations and a smaller per capita footprint. Moreover, the photographs show that most male vendors used varied and relatively complex equipment for transporting and selling goods 291 292 (e.g., cars, pickup trucks, carts), while most female vendors used one type of less sophisticated 293 equipment (e.g., human-powered or electric tricycles).

Our study was supported by sentinel observations as well as data, following Cla (2018). We 294 295 suggest that gender differences in vending behavior are closely related to physiological factors. 296 Women face more limiting factors when engaging in physical activity, i.e., they are more likely to be fatigued than men for the same amount of time and at the same intensity of physical 297 298 activity. As a result, vendors selling the same type of goods in different spatial environments 299 will have different gender ratios, and this difference is related to the effect of space on physical 300 activity. Differences in means of transport also have a direct impact on floor space and duration 301 of selling in the street. Stalls that are fixed and larger in size are more attractive to customers and have a greater capacity for them, while women's unstable and smaller size presents 302 303 unfavorable aspects in terms of attracting customers. At the same time, the findings of this study reaffirm the closeness of female vendors' choice of less profitable, lighter, and smaller items in 304 305 terms of type of vending with physiological factors and physical activity.

Table 5. Vendors, vending stalls, and transport equipment by gender



Legend: Male vendor Female vendor

308

309 **4.4 Gender differences by time**

310 4.4.1 Weekends and weekdays

311 We calculated the mean daily number of vendors by gender over the weekend and weekdays,

312 generating the distribution shown in Table 6. The mean daily number of female vendors was

- 313 higher during the week than at weekends at all sites. In contrast, the mean daily number of male
- vendors was much more similar on weekdays and weekends, and higher on weekends at site 2.

Table 6. Vendor numbers on weekdays and weekends by gender

Location	Gender	Average vendor (weekday/5 days)	Average vendor (weekend/4 days)
	Male	122.8	109.3
Site 1	Female	103.6	86.3
	M/F	1.19	1.27
	Male	74.6	83.5
Site 2	Female	94.6	80
	M/F	0.79	1.04
	Male	89.2	83.3
Site 3	Female	63.2	37.8
	M/F	1.41	2.21

317 Note: M/F: Male/Female; weekday/5 days: total number of weekday/5 days; weekend/4 days: total number of weekend/4 days.

Fewer female vendors were observed on weekends than weekdays. This is likely to be due to 318 319 childcare duties: women can work when children are in school during the week, but must care 320 for them at weekends. Other authors have shown that the social division of labor influences 321 gender differences in vendor activity (Ross and Bird, 1994), and that women are more likely 322 than men to work part-time (Maffii et al., 2014). While they may sell goods on the street alone 323 or with a partner during weekdays, Chinese women are likely to work part-time on weekends. In addition, deep-rooted cultural influences mean women usually have more family 324 325 responsibilities, such as childcare and housework, than men (Kwan, 1999). Women may prefer to organize their work on weekdays so that they can spend more time with their families at the 326 weekend. 327

328

329 4.4.2 Differences in the gender of vendors at different times of the day

Table 7 shows that the average number of female vendors peaked at 6:30–7:30 at Site 1, 16:30–

17:30 at Site 2, and 16:30–17:30 at Site 3 (162), all daytime hours. Overall, more female

332 vendors were observed during daytime than evening periods.

333

Location	Gender	Time of day				
	-	6:30-7:30	10:30-11:30	16:30-17:30	18:30-19:30	Trend
	Male	599	0	170	282	
Site 1	Female	573	0	88	202	`
	M/F	1.05	/	1.93	1.4	\checkmark
	Male	152	160	207	188	
Site 2	Female	169	202	221	206	
	M/F	0.9	0.79	0.94	0.91	\checkmark
	Male	92	183	246	221	
Site 3	Female	113	112	162	117	
	M/F	0.81	1.63	1.52	1.89	

336 Note: M/F: Male/Female.

This temporal pattern is inextricably linked to women's perceptions of the safety of their environment (Han and Sun, 2023; Mao, 2019); spaces with high mobility and uncertainty can be perceived as threatening (Bork-Hüffer et al., 2016). Perceived safety risk is higher during evening hours than daytime hours. Women are generally more concerned about their safety than men, especially in less open or unstable areas (Zhang et al., 2021).

342

343 **5. Discussion and conclusion**

344 We examined the spatial occupation of street vendors as an adaptive dynamic choice through a 345 combination of physical observation and spatio-temporal behavioral mapping. We explored the 346 spatial and temporal behavioral patterns of female vendors in informal street spaces, and the differences between their type, mode, and timing of vending and those of their male 347 counterparts. We found that when vending space is limited, male vendors cluster. Female 348 vendors are more dispersed and tend to occupy spaces with unfavorable selling environments. 349 In addition, when there are fewer female vendors at a site, they sell closer to the inner side of 350 the street, while male vendors occupy positions further away from the street. Female vendors 351 mostly sell lower-margin, lighter and smaller types of goods; male vendors are more likely to 352

occupy fixed stalls and use heavy transport equipment, while female vendors have more mobile
stalls and lightweight transport equipment. Finally, the mean number of female vendors is
higher on weekdays than on weekends, and in the daytime than in the evening.

356 The study's two research questions were answered by comparing and analyzing female spatial-357 temporal data obtained through the STBM method. As an informal occupation with the 358 characteristic of provisional choice, street vending differs from other forms of employment that have the characteristic of permanent choice. Moreover, women, due to family or cultural factors, 359 360 tend to prefer part-time, temporary, and flexible informal employment, which accords with the 361 nature of street vending. This is consistent with the fact that the female vendors in our study were more likely to be active during weekday and daytime hours. Vending, as a provisional 362 choice, offers women flexibility and control, but places higher demands on women's behavior 363 364 and activities in public spaces. Female vendors prefer low-margin, lightweight and small goods that are easy to store, transport and display, and tend to use basic transport equipment, which 365 makes it easy to move their stalls and gives them a high degree of flexibility in their location. 366 367 This contrasts with male vendors, who tend to use heavy transport equipment and occupy fixed 368 stalls.

Our study shows that female and male vendors use informal street spaces differently. Female vendors' use of informal street space is shaped by the type of selling, the method of selling, and timing, adapted to their physiology, the social division of labor, and the safety of their environments. We provide a fine-grained picture of the behavioral activities of female vendors in informal street spaces in urban China, going beyond studies of informal street spaces that focus only on government policy, urban spatial planning, and the general behavior of vendors.

It is crucial that gender is considered in the formulation and implementation of urban planning 375 and authority policies related to street vending. We recommend that urban planners and 376 377 managers seek to optimize the use of informal street vending space in cities to create an equitable and inclusive vending environment for female vendors that enhances urban vitality. 378 379 This research has several limitations. Line-of-sight obstructions, site facilities obstructions, and light and shade conditions affected some image data, but were minimal overall. Photographs 380 381 with repeated occurrence of the same vendor were repeated several times to ensure an accurate 382 count of the number of people captured. In the subsequent statistics, we follow the calculation 383 of the number of people is proportional. In order to study gender behavioral differences and their causes in informal vending spaces in more depth, future researchers could add semi-384 structured interviews and other methods of personal inquiry. In addition, some of the underlying 385 386 reasons for the patterns presented herein are complex; we will explore them in more detail through in-depth and long-term studies. Nevertheless, we succeeded in identifying the spatial 387 and temporal behavioral patterns of Chinese female street vendors and their operational 388 strategies in terms of the types, modes, spatial meanings, and time periods of selling, and in 389 390 comparing them to patterns for their male counterparts. 391

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392 Disclosure statement

393	The authors report no	potential conflict of interest.
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