

Encountering City Governance: An Analysis of Street Trading in Gaborone, Botswana



Student Name: Goabamang Lethugile (LTHGOA001)

Supervisor: Caroline Skinner

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Abstract

There is a need to review and recast how space is being planned and how regulations are responding to the realities of the informal economy. Street trading provides a critical platform to explore the dynamics and complexity of planning and management of informal activities in public spaces. This research explored how city governance shapes the practices of informal street trading in Gaborone, Botswana. It investigated how street traders navigate their daily trading and their spatial practices and strategies. Insights were gleaned through in-depth interviews with street traders in three different sites in Gaborone and key informant interviews with politicians and government officials – both senior and lower level staff. Combining the government officials' and traders' perspectives has allowed for the exploration of the disjuncture between the two. The interview findings indicated that the state continues to govern but with inappropriate tools, and traders continue to trade but in sub-optimum ways. The Gaborone Council has made some headway in accepting street traders but still provides little or no infrastructure. It is argued that traders themselves constitute public space, so their voices, practices, strategies and resilience need to be understood. The dissertation concludes by making recommendations that could improve conditions for all parties.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Around the world, millions of people earn their living wholly or partly by selling a wide range of goods on the streets, sidewalks, and other public spaces (ILO, 2002). Street trade is one of the most visible and debated components of the informal economy, with their presence in, and use of public space being highly contested (Brown, 2006 and Roever & Skinner, 2016). Existing research suggests that local authorities variously tolerate, regulate, and evict street traders in partial response to economic trends, election cycles, and other urban management pressures (Roever, 2014). Street trading research shows that state responses to informal traders form a continuum, ranging from violent sustained evictions, sporadic event-driven evictions, and lower-level on-going harassment of traders by enforcement officials, but include only minimal examples of inclusive approaches (Skinner, 2008:8; Rogerson 2016). Street traders arguably pose a challenge to urban planners. Watson (2009:2260) proposes that there is a need to find ways in which planning, and design can work with informality, supporting the survival efforts of the urban poor, rather than hindering them through regulation or displacing them with mega projects.

Informed by, and located in this literature, this research aimed to interrogate the governance of street trading in Gaborone, Botswana over time. The research commenced with secondary documentation analysis, including analysis of policies, laws, and news clippings. In-depth interviews were conducted with street traders in three sites across the city – the primary commuter point referred to as the Bus Rank, the central business district known as the main mall, and a major educational institution, the University of Botswana. The interviews focused on street traders' lived experience of trading over time. These insights were complimented with interviews with street trader leadership and also firsthand observation of trader-council interactions. A series of interviews were then conducted with local government representatives and officials – including the Mayor, the City Clerk, and Chief Planner. These aimed to unpack their perceptions of where street trading fitted within the city scape. Officials who interact directly with traders from environmental health, licensing, and law enforcement were also interviewed to discern their views, and also the challenges they experienced in managing street trade. Together, these insights paint a picture of the governance of street vending in Gaborone.

This research is structured into six chapters. Chapter 2 presents and reflects on the informal economy, informality, and street trading debates, while Chapter 3 provides an analysis of the context at a national, city, and area level. It includes a thorough analysis of relevant policy and laws. Chapter 4 details the research methods used, while Chapter 5 outlines the empirical findings. It shows the changes over time in the governance of street vending in Gaborone, Botswana, then describes the characteristics of the traders interviewed, and their lived experiences, and subsequently interrogates the relationship between city authorities and traders. Chapter 6 concludes the study, summarising the main findings with reference to existing case material and literature, and makes key recommendations.

Chapter 2: **Informal Economy, Informality and Street Trading Debates**

According to the International Labour Organization (2018), more than 60 per cent of the world population is employed informally, excluding those in agriculture. In Africa, 86 per cent of employment is informal; in sub-Saharan Africa, 74 per cent of women's employment (non-agricultural) is informal, in contrast to 61 per cent for men (ILO, 2018:13). Comparable figures are 68 per cent in Asia and the Pacific, 69 per cent in the Arab states, 40 per cent in America, and 25 per cent in Europe and Central Asia (ILO, 2018:13). Research is showing that informality is not temporal, but rather, a growing reality, evident across both developing and developed countries. Against this background, this chapter reflects on the origins of the term “informal sector”, reviews relevant development studies, planning and urban design debates on informality, informality and urban governance, and lastly, street trading realities.

2.1 THE ORIGINS OF THE NOTION ‘INFORMAL SECTOR’

While Keith Hart (1973) coined the term “informal sector” through his PhD work in Ghana, it gained widespread popularity through the ILO studies on urban labour markets in Africa (Hart, 1973; ILO, 1972). The research, undertaken into the informal sector, has set a foundation on which the concerns of persistent, widespread unemployment debates on formality and informality are built, and have “crystallized into various schools of thought and different theories about informality” (Chen, 2012). In recent years, there has been renewed scholarly “interest in the informal economy worldwide, due to the large share of the global workforce” (Chen, 2012) that is informal. In addition, the dynamic and complex nature of the informal economy in different contexts fuels ongoing research (Chen, 2012).

2.2 INFORMAL ECONOMY: DEVELOPMENT STUDIES DEBATES

Approximately fifty years of a significant body of research exists on the informal sector, or as some prefer, the informal economy (Chen, 2012). Chen (2012) reflecting back, identifies four schools of thought – “dualist, structuralist, legalist, and voluntarist” perspectives. Chen, Roever and Skinner (2016:335) outline that, the dualist school views the informal sector as comprising of marginal activities and as a safety net for the poor during times of crisis, as well as, a source

of income. The dualists school is represented by Hart (1973) and ILO (1972). The legalist thinking, made popular by De Soto (1989), sees the informal sector as encompassing of micro-scale entrepreneurs who opt to operate informally to avoid costs and the bureaucratic responsibilities of formally registering their businesses. They believe that informal business needs property rights to convert their assets into legally recognised assets, and that rigid regulations create barriers to formalisation, and that affects the potential of their businesses. Structuralists, hone in on the relationship between the informal sector and the formal sector, arguing that the growth of the informal economy is due to the nature of capitalist development, rather than the lack of economic growth (Portes, 1989). The informal sector is seen as subordinate to, and often exploited by, the formal sector, in order to lower costs and increase the competitiveness of large firms. Lastly, the voluntarist school of thought sees the informal sector as comprising self-employed entrepreneurs who choose to work informally to avoid taxes and labour market regulation (Maloney, 2004).

Chen (2012) cautions that, even though each of the schools of thought focuses on specific sections of the informal economy, there is some degree of truth to each. However, she emphasizes that the reality of informal employment is more complex than the sum of these perspectives would suggest. Hence, each school can be seen as limited in its analysis of the informal economy. Skinner (2018) shows the strengths of combining the perspective of each school in her analysis of the South African informal sector, which she argues is necessary when considering the complexity and dynamic nature of informal economy.

2.3 INFORMALITY: PLANNING DEBATES

There is growing interest among urban planners, designers, architects, and scholars in various aspects of urban informality (Chen, Rover and Skinner, 2016:336). Historically, informality in planning has been associated with settlement-making, specifically informal housing. The broad scholarly conceptualization of informality in the global south, advocates for the critical understanding of the role of planning on informality. Roy (2005) broadens the conventional view of defining something as formal or informal. She presents informality as a multifaceted reality and argues that informality is a “mode of urbanisation” and “a series of transactions that connect different economies and spaces to one another” (Roy, 2005:148). She describes informality as being “produced by the state itself” (Roy, 2005:149). The planning and legal apparatus of the state has the power to “determine what is informal and what is not, and to

determine which forms of informality will thrive, and which will disappear” (Roy, 2005:149). She considers “informality as a state of exception and ambiguity such that the ownership, use, and purpose of land cannot be fixed and mapped according to any prescribed set of regulations or the law” (Roy, 2009:9). Kamete (2013) adds that in the cities of the global south, it is more fruitful to speak of urban informality, which characterises all “practices and activities operating beyond what the state would define as “normal” and/or which exist contrary to stipulations laid out in law” (Kamete, 2013a:642). Therefore, the description of space, design, planning, and ascribed uses have been on the basis that the “permitted and acceptable way of life and spatial practices are those that conform to the western inspired precepts” (Kamete, 2013b:19).

However, Watson (2009) argues that there is a need to review and recast the views of both planning and its response to informality. Watson (2003) starts off by stating that there are various “conflicting rationalities” at play when authorities and planners attempt to “extend the grid of formalized and regulated development” over what is often termed the “informal” or sometimes “unruly part of the city” (Pile, Mooney and Brook 1999:323). Watson (2009) points to the interface of modern transformation efforts, urban administration or political control, market regulation, and their target population as a space where informality takes place, but this is where tension or “conflict of rationalities” are found (Watson, 2003:2268). She locates the tension and points out that old planning models and new planning models contradict one another once applied to the current complex and dynamic realities of urbanisation. Watson (2003:398) draws attention to the fact that planners are then “located within a fundamental tension, a conflict of rationalities between the logic of governing and the logic of survival”. She says planners find themselves in this tension which has to do with control and development, and in which development is generally driven by notions of modernization and the creation of “proper” communities living and working in “proper” urban environments (Watson, 2003:396). Therefore, what is linked in creating proper communities is no longer just a technical and managerial task; it is also a moral and political task (Chipkin, 2003). Watson (2003) suggests that conflicting rationalities are layered with old planning models, new planning models, and politics, as well as with the complexity of the fluid urbanization. She calls for a renewed framing of both planning theory and practice that challenges the traditional norms of addressing urban issues by adopting the old planning models of western practices. Watson (2013) advises that planning needs to re-conceptualize its models, concepts, and strategies because embedded in the informalities are networks of people and complex power structures that need to be

understood. Informality, whether in economic activities or in spatial form, should be approached and recognized as having a logic and structure in the way it operates.

Miraftab (2009) adds that an assessment should be made to address the question of informality because “informality could be seen as a triumphant sign of people’s success in resisting the western models of planning and urban development” (2009:45). In order to understand the setting of informality, it is critical to understand the underlying voices and processes that constitutes their practices (Miraftab, 2009:45). Watson (2009:2260) proposes that there is a need to find ways in which planning, and design can work with informality, supporting survival efforts of urban poor, rather than hindering them through regulation or displacing them with mega projects.

2.4 INFORMALITY AND URBAN DESIGN

Hou (2010:7) defines appropriating of space as a “representation of actions and manners through which the meaning, ownership, and structure of official public space can be temporarily or permanently suspended”. He spells out how cities around the world are experiencing a new wave of what he calls “self-made urbans spaces”, which include reclaiming and appropriation of sites which are now the new expression of the public realm. Citizens transform the “every day and not so every day”, defying the conventional rules and regulations and wisdom of what is public or what makes space (Hou, 2010:12–13). In many parts of the world, both in the global south and global north, research shows how citizens are transforming public spaces by repurposing the existing urban landscapes through the new uses of street, sidewalks, and vacant lot, and other places in response to coping with the challenges of rapid urbanization.

Burdett (2013:33) argues that much of the dialogue on the future of cities is “confined to a professional paradigm that focuses on the role of planners and policymakers”, while everyday urban realities are being shaped by a very different set of “informal process” and “actors that are largely immune to planning and policy”. Disciplines such as landscape architecture, design principles, and strategy can be applied to integrate spaces that are viewed as “loose spaces, everyday spaces, everyday urban, forgotten spaces, informal spaces, and insurgent public spaces”, which can be knitted together. New imaginaries of space are being constructed every day, where people are creating new spatial forms and patterns that are not following the technically conventional maps and traditional policies of planning and design.

Emerging practices show that proactive engagement with informal activities, including creative and aesthetic assimilation, can improve the urban experience for all citizens (Dobson and Skinner, 2009). Dobson and Skinner (2009) document Warwick Junction in Durban, South Africa, how through a very participative process street traders were incorporated into urban plans and the design of the inner city. The urban design principles and concept adopted for the project were tailored to the needs of traders. This experience shows that progressive approaches to street trading are possible (Bénit-Gbaffou, 2015).

2.5 INFORMALITY AND URBAN GOVERNANCE

There are various ways of defining governance. The United-Habitat, (2002), cited in Smith (2018:59), defined governance as “a way to understand actual processes of governing and the complex ways in which different governance actors engage with each other “through formal and informal processes, and in relationships ranging from cooperation to deep conflict, to make and operationalise decisions”.

Förster, (2016:211) describes governance as “a collective of practices” by society to solve its problems. Smit (2018) further highlights this contention that the UN-Habitat views the problems that arise in an urban context as being due to the fact that, once you have a group of people living together as a community, a collective of issues “will have an impact on their lives, regarding how they govern who can do what where, how to ensure access to utilities and services like water and sanitation and solid waste disposal, and a well-functioning transport system” (Un-Habitat, 2002:14 cited, in Smit, 2018:61).

Smit (2018:60) contends that, “the essence of using a governance lens is recognizing that there is a wide range of actors involved in urban governance, each with very different interests and agendas”. According to view, all “levels of government can play an important role in governing urban areas” (Smit, 2018: 61). He further explains that in each country, the functions of all levels of government differ, however, they play an important role in urban governance (Smit, 2018).

Smit (2018) further notes that governance is not evenly distributed, and that there are nodes where power is concentrated. Certain decision makers have the knowledge, resources, and capacity to influence change. He proposes that urban governance involves an understanding of how land is allocated, used, and managed, and how basic services and infrastructure are

provided, accessed, and managed. Therefore, using the governance lens to understand urban informality and specifically how street traders are governed would require an understanding of the different actors involved. In street trading, that would mean understanding the relationship between the actors, how power is distributed, how decisions are made, and how resources are distributed.

2.6 STREET TRADING REALITIES

Brown, Lyons and Dankoco (2007:667) define “street trading as all-inclusive of small-business entrepreneurs, generally own-account or self-employed involved in the manufacturing or sale of legal or socially acceptable goods or services who trade from the street, informal market or other publicly accessible space “whether publicly or privately owned”. They go on to note these operations take place at least in part outside the prevailing regulatory environment and thus, breaking either business regulation, planning codes, or other legal requirements. Brown and Mackie (2018:2) argue that street trade is an economic reflection of informality.

In cities, towns, and villages throughout the world, millions of people earn their living wholly or partly by selling a wide range of goods on the streets and sidewalks and in other public space (ILO, 2002). However, finding official, reliable, national, and city statistics on street trading in any given country is challenging, and where data is available, it is found only in a few countries (Brown, 2006; Roever and Skinner, 2016).

Bromley’s (2000) global overview of public policy and street trading argues that it is often seen as a problem and it is rarely high in the governmental list of priorities. He notes, there is a widely held view that street trading is “a manifestation of both poverty and under-development”. Brown (2006) echo’s this sentiment, stating that the presence of street traders in certain areas of the city, often invokes the question of their “proper places in the city and their place in society at large” (Brown, 2006:3–12). Local authorities who are concerned with the image of their cities view traders as contributing negatively to the urban spaces, arguing that they bring “congestion in the cities, crime and grime, unsightliness, public health risks, tax evasion” while the formal sector adds to the complaints, and argues against unfair competition and selling substandard goods and services by the trader (Skinner, Reed and Harvey, 2018:6).

However, research has shown that despite being negatively perceived, street trading does not only contribute to the economies of cities, but also plays a significant role in the spatial and

cultural identities of many urban spaces (Roever and Skinner, 2016). They note a range of positive contributions street traders can make. They can bring a sense of street life, heritage, and tourism to cities; contribute to urban safety because of their presence in the public spaces. They also contribute to the local, national, and international economies as they source their goods from both formal and informal suppliers and pay for services. They provide easy access to a wide range of goods and services, from fresh fruits and vegetables to building materials for everyday convenience (2016: 361-362). Roever and Skinner (2016) argue that the extent of the positive contribution that traders can make to urban life is influenced by, and depends upon how municipalities plan and govern street vending in their cities.

In most cases, the city aims to manage rather than integrate the traders, whereas, informality needs to be spatially integrated for it to be managed. This integration needs to take place from the ground up, not from the top down (Roever and Skinner, 2016). Pratt (2006:52) argues that those who work on the street are impacted by the way in which the urban environment is shaped and managed. This includes regulations, the provision of infrastructure, traffic management, and land-tenure systems. Generally, traders are not consulted on urban management issues and are instead excluded from decision-making that affects their ability to make a living on the street.

2.7 LEGISLATION AND LEGAL FRAMEWORK

In many countries, the right to work or trade is outlined and protected by the constitution. In Colombia, India, Mexico and South Africa, traders have claimed their constitutional right to work or trade as a fundamental human right (Skinner, Reed and Harvey, 2018:17). Kohn (2017) argues that even though street trading contributes significantly to the creation of jobs, as well as to the socio-cultural spatial quality of urban spaces, the legal frameworks or regulations often fail to protect and support them adequately. Kohn (2017:1) further notes that traders are therefore subjected to regulatory frameworks that are characterised by inconsistency, vagueness, and unfair administration of regulations. The state administrative law involves “issuing licences to street traders as the primary means of controlling street trading” (Kohn, 2017:1). While local government officials typically derive their powers to take actions and make decisions from these regulations or bye-laws. The laws will outline “when, where, and what may be traded” in the city, and even “how” it should be traded (Kohn, 2017:1). Roever

(2016) argues that there are policies and politics that drive street trading regulation. These policies and political restrictions vary according to country.

2.7.1 Spatial regulations

Spatial regulations apply to trading because of its public space manifestation. Roever (2016:29) argues that the relationship between informal traders working in public spaces on the one hand and local government officials charged with governing public space on the other hand, is political and complex. Officials have to manage a clash of public-space users' needs which can come from the middle class, who have a "first-class" perspective of public space, as well as conflicts between those driving cars, pedestrians, and traders. As a result, the management of city's image and the conflicts between urban-space users results in traders being side-lined by the regulations. These regulations are there to keep traders out of public spaces or to monitor them. Some of the reasons behind the restrictions involve safety issues, but also aesthetics and how local authorities imagine public space.

Roever (2016) points out that some of these restrictions manifest themselves in locality specific permits that control who can trade in which space. In some cases, traders are prohibited from trading in similar products as those sold by formal businesses (Kohn, 2017). There are restrictions and limitations on certain products such as alcohol, medicinal products, and other products that are criminalised. There are also regulations regarding the sale of seasonal products such as vegetables and fresh produce, where traders must seek permits or licenses seasonally (Kohn, 2017).

Ayeh, Emefa, King and Nelson (2011:29) advise that, unless there is a conscious effort to adequately allocate some urban public space to street trading, vendors will continue to invade public spaces to the embarrassment of city authorities. Since traders are not catered for in public spaces, basic services such as shelter, storage, water, sanitation, and waste collection in most cases are provided to market traders. Those trading in the streets are not usually catered for. However, with pressure from traders, some of the services are provided by local authorities, and traders end up paying for these services as a result of some form of agreement (Kohn, 2017).

2.7.2 Permitting and licensing

Street trading is often regulated through licensing, and the number of traders is controlled and limited by the number of licenses issued. There are two types of permit/licensing systems, one that regulates the right to trade and another that regulates trading space (Skinner, Reed and Harvey, 2018:22; Kohn, 2017:6). The main difference between a licensing system and a permit system is that a licensing system regulates the right to undertake the activity, while a permit system regulates the space in which the activity takes place (Roever, 2016).

Therefore, the number of traders technically in urban spaces will not be limited to the number of permits issued to trade in a space. However, as Kohn (2017) argues, this suggests that when trading space is regulated, everyone is technically free but not in a particular space, and not without a license or permit. The permit/licensing system procedures are very complex and political. The system is not consistent, either in formulation or implementation, and it is riddled with challenges such as bribery and corruption, resulting in a “significant number of unregulated street traders in cities” (Kohn, 2017:10–13).

There are many bureaucratic challenges that are not consistent and efficient, requiring local authorities to come up with innovative and efficient regulations. There are no appropriate systems in place to manage traders’ payments, especially at local government. Kohn (2017:10–11) argues that sometimes administrative failures or challenges are used as an “excuse to refuse to issue licenses and permits to traders”. As a result, traders are therefore viewed as “illegal traders” because they are trading without licenses or permits, because local authorities have failed to issue them” (Kohn, 2017:8). However, progress has been made in other countries where innovative use of technology has been used to address issues of both administration and collection of levies and other payments made by traders.

The other major failures and challenges surrounding licensing and permitting is the lack of integration and participation of informal traders in formulating trading regulations. Kohn (2017) recommends that the approach to formulating these regulations is no longer something that should be done only by authorities, “that is unilateral”, but rather, it should be a collective and mutual engagement between local authorities and informal traders. In addition, Kohn (2017) points out that there are countries in Africa (Kenya, South Africa) that are engaging with traders regarding formulating the regulations. She further states that the lack of institutional coordination between different government levels impacts the regulation of traders, giving an

example of health and safety when it comes to the sale of goods and the issuance of permits. Another approach is one in which traders are seen as entrepreneurs. Kohn (2017) argues that this is a challenge to traders who are entering the market to feed their families and for survival reasons. He argues that this type of approach and its regulations could paralyse the trader's collective organisation, especially where it raises divisions between "collective rights in favour of individual benefits" (Kohn, 2017:9).

2.7.3 Agency and Collective action

Bonner and Spooner (2011) point out that all informal workers need to bargain for legal recognition and identity, the right to organization and representation, access to social protection and accessible/affordable transport. They caution that individually informal workers are weak but collectively they can wield power and secure gains, in the case of vendors access to city streets. Street traders need a secure place to trade, a good location with basic infrastructure services. Therefore, they must negotiate with municipal governments to secure their trading sites. In addition, they also use collective action to address their needs at local- or urban-level management and governance.

In countries such as (South Africa and India), street trading or vending rights are claimed as fundamental human rights, where traders use that right to trade in public spaces and earn a living; this right is "fought for and protected" (Forkuor, Akuoko and Yeboah, 2017:8–9; Roever and Skinner, 2016).

Traders use different strategies to negotiate for space, where they have encountered cases of evictions and harassment from the state. They use the same institutional tools and negotiations to fight back using the courts and the laws as a negotiating tool and a source of power to claim back their rights. One major strategy that street traders have used in getting access to and using city spaces is either to use their votes as a bargaining tool or to vote, nominating councillors and leaders who would lobby for their rights. An example is in Mexico City where trader's population is significant (Donovan, 2008). Milgram (2011:265) argues that "the vote of street vendors is important as a negotiating tool, to the extent that it can change policies even though temporarily".

Traders use what they have to negotiate and gain power (Crossa, 2009). The most common strategy used by vendors are demonstrations which may take the form of a march to hand in demands and grievances against city authorities, (Forkuor, Akuoko and Yeboah, 2017). In some

cases, Johannesburg, South Africa (Benit-Gbaffou, 2015) and Mexico City (Crossa 2009) demonstrations become violent, when, through their number's, traders fight back against the local authorities, using their power of numbers to resist evictions and maintaining the use of city spaces (2017: 9). There are several other ways of campaigning and negotiating. One of these involves the use of "letter writing campaigns organised by a member of street vendors' association aimed at city authorities" (2017:9). Another form is the use of an open forum where a vendors' association meets with government officials to discuss concerns (Bass, 2000). In addition, the advocacy work done by international organisations who lobby, promote, and "negotiate with city officials to improve the working condition of informal street traders" (Bonner, 2009; Bonner and Carre, 2012). These organisations create platforms of bargaining with city officials and traders' associations to help them to "negotiate and make effective changes in policies" (2017:10).

Bass (2000) cautions that attention should be given to the power differentials and differences in ability to negotiate that may emerge among traders, and to find ways to empower those who are left out and vulnerable. Some vulnerable groups such as women and new traders, may not have as much impact as compared to their male counterparts and older traders. Therefore, the effectiveness of the strategies needs to be representative for all, such that everyone can benefit in terms of sex, age and class (Forkuor, Akuoko and Yeboah, 2017).

At ground level, traders have used different approaches to negotiate for space and avoid evictions. At micro level, the negotiation strategies include, for example, the use of networking and communication amongst traders. This means that traders find strategies to communicate amongst themselves to alert each other on oncoming threats and evictions that may take place (Bayat, 2003). Street traders use networking as a form of security. The social security networks or "network of relation and ties" (Crossa, 2009:52) are key survival strategies for traders.

Steel (2012:1017) highlights that there are individual agency strategies which are "strategies of resilience", where traders negotiate and use urban spaces. Forkuor, Akuoko and Yeboah (2017) see this as strategies that reveal the "innovative and ability of traders to adapt to changing demands in their job, modifying their mode of operation, in response to city authority or any regulations" and changing urban settings (Forkuor, Akuoko and Yeboah, 2017:10).

The common strategy is the knowledge that traders have regarding their context and being able to work within that as a way to negotiate their way through the formal regulations. These include

knowing every practice of city official and knowing what time to trade and what time to set up their stalls. Milgram (2011) speaks of the social networks of using space. Stating that these relational spaces go beyond the informal to formal relations, in which even shop owners have forged a relation with traders. The social networks thus, become an important source of power for traders in negotiating Crossa (2009). Street traders are therefore, seen as an organised political force who, through various strategies and approaches, resist or avoid the power of city authorities and continue to use public spaces.

This chapter has presented definitions and theoretical debates useful for understanding the informal sector. It has shown that a better understanding of this sector is important in order to facilitate change, improve working conditions, and create more enabling environment for their integration.

Chapter 3: Context

Botswana has been praised for its economic transformation and democratic structures (Sebudubudu and Botlhomilwe, 2012). Since Botswana gained its independence in 1966, the country has transformed from a poor to a middle-income country (World Bank, 2015). Botswana has held elections every five years, the most recent of which, were held in October 2019. There has been six successive peacefully elected presidents. This combination of factors has led to the country often being referred to in celebratory tones (Good, 2017). Ulriksen (2017) argues that, Botswana's much-talked-about economic miracle status has not translated into the reduction of poverty and inequality for her citizens while Good (2017) specifically notes it as the insufficient analysis of social dynamics on the ground.

This chapter reflects on available labour market statistics. It considers relevant national policy and legislation, explaining how street trading is managed, and subsequently describes the trading study sites.

3.1 THE BOTSWANA LABOUR MARKET

Botswana has a population of slightly above 2 million people. The unemployment rate has been decreasing at a marginal rate, with urban areas having a lower unemployment rate than rural areas. In the year 2009–2010, female unemployment in all cities and towns was higher than that of males, at 16 per cent and 10.5 per cent respectively (Statistics Botswana, 2013a:24). In 2010, unemployment among the youth stood at 25 per cent (Statistics Botswana, 2013a:23).

The informal sector is a significant component of the labour market. Informal sector surveys conducted in 2007 estimated that the total number of informal businesses in the country was 40, 421, of which 27, 315 (67.6%) were owned by females (Government of Botswana, 2009:8). This is similar to the gender composition of the informal sector in other countries in the region (ILO, 2018). One in every five informal enterprises was based in Gaborone, while a third of these enterprises were situated in Greater Gaborone. The survey also found that the informal sector in Botswana was dominated by trading businesses at 40.5 per cent real estate and manufacturing constituted 20.3% and 12.2% respectively (Government of Botswana, 2009:8). Informal sector employment as a share of total employment stands at 52%. Thirty-five percent

of all women who are employed work in the informal sector whereas, the figure for men is slightly lower, at 51% (ILO, 2018:86).

3.2 NATIONAL POLICIES AND LEGISLATION

The Botswana government has committed to decentralised governance as a framework for realizing national development goals through successive national vision and mission statements, national development plans, evaluative and commission reports, and the development of a national decentralization policy. These are policies that have the potential to influence on and cover the informal sector, but they only prioritise entrepreneurs and not informal traders.

The Vision 2036 (2016:14) is a national development strategy, with goals and aspirations that sets out guiding plans and strategies for all development plans prepared by planners for both rural and urban areas. The tagged slogan for the vision is “achieving prosperity for all”. The informal sector is seen as part of the economic development vision. One of the goals is to create “a vibrant micro and small enterprise sector that creates decent jobs and provides sustainable livelihoods for its people (Vision 2036, 2016:14). This will be achieved by providing the support structures that will encourage the informal sector to be organized and formalized. Even though the vision is not detailed on its goal regarding street traders, there is a gesture to ensure that the informal economy is part of economic development vision. The eleventh National Development Plan (NDP 11) is an implementation tool to transfer the goals and aspiration of the vision into programmes and initiatives. As such, the informal sector is seen as an essential part of the strategy to promoting inclusiveness. The National Development Plan 11 (2017), highlights that, “Government will ensure that programmes aimed at eradicating poverty and promoting sustainable livelihoods of the poor and people living with disabilities will be implemented during Spatial plans” (NDP 11, 2017)

Botswana is like other British ex-colonies in its planning regime. The Town and Country Act 2013 and its 2014 revision declared Gaborone a planning area, and the city council, the planning authority. The Act aims to govern and facilitate the orderly and progressive development of land in the city by subjecting any physical planning issue and design to development plans.

The primary planning tool is the Gaborone City Development Plan 1997–2021, (2001) which provides a long-term development framework for the city. The major goal of the Gaborone

development plan is to “create a spatially well-planned and built environment that is decent, functional, liveable, safe, and portrays an image and character befitting the status of Gaborone as the nation’s capital city” (GCDP 2001, 1.3.1). The plan provides past and future development aspiration proposals for the city. General land use proposals are provided with little, to no further details on how land uses in particular area should be developed. Due to rapid growth and change of the built environment of Gaborone and the surrounding areas, some of the assumptions made in the plan no longer reflect reality at present. Localising planning issues or conditions such as realities of informal land use activities and practices were not part of the envisioned land use, particularly for the study sites.

As a result, there has been much reliance on the generic planning tools such as the Urban Development Standards 1992 and the Development Control Code 2013. The Urban Development Standards are intended to provide and promote the sustainable use and management of land by providing guiding standards for how land should be developed and what land use is allowed. The development control codes are specifically for providing design guidelines for buildings, with a focus on new builds rather than upgrading, for example, informal settlements. Planning standards and control codes are rigid, tools which are not flexible to match the increasing urbanisation trends and changing land use patterns that are not envisioned in plans. As Roy (2009:9) emphasises, the adoption of the urban planning and design tools demonstrates that the “planning and legal apparatus of the state has the power to “determine what is informal and what is not, and to determine which forms of informality will thrive, and which will disappear”, meaning that the development codes and the planning standards are generic and universal guiding tools, not localised to conditions or specific areas.

3.3 MANAGEMENT OF STREET TRADING AT LOCAL LEVEL

The Gaborone City Council has been mandated with the responsibility to regulate and manage informal trading under the Local Government Township Act (cap. 40:02) of 2002. The city is to make bye-laws. The current operational bye-laws were formulated in 1985 as the Town and Councils (Hawking and Street Vending) Regulations, in 2002 re-adopted as the Town Council (Hawking and Street Vending) Regulations. There is no difference between the original 1985 and the 2002 re-adoption.

The bye-laws are enforceable laws that outline restrictions and requirements about trading in the city. There are two types of trading outlined in the bye-law: hawking and vending. Hawking

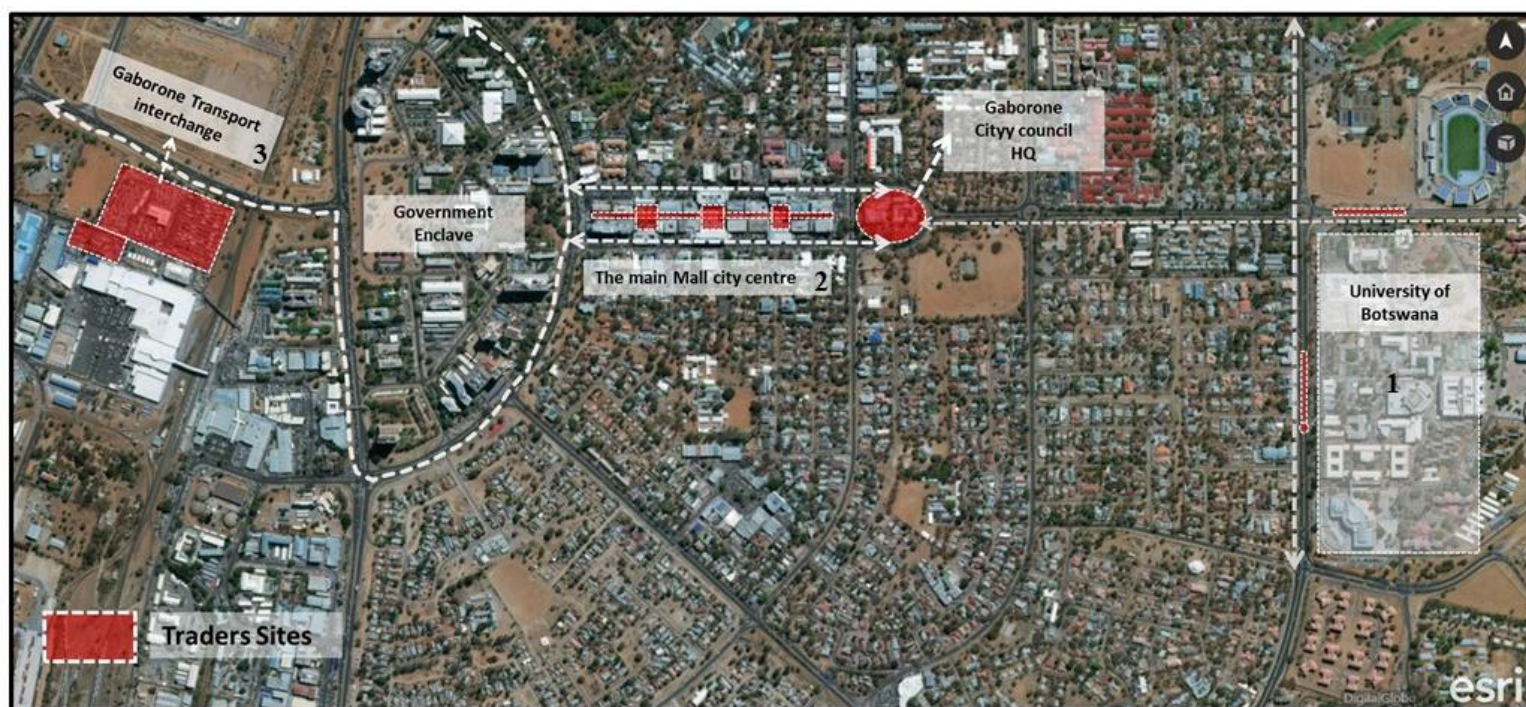
is mobile trading, while vending refers to stationary trading. The bye-laws outline the administrative procedures and permit application requirements traders must follow in order to apply for a trading permit or certificate. Much of the focus of the law is on the general detailing of prohibitions of what type of goods can be sold and locations of where traders can sell. The bye-laws also state the working conditions that traders are allowed and not allowed to trade in; these include that traders are expected to keep their trading areas clean. The traders are expected to provide storage for their goods also they are only allowed to trade during the trading hours.

The law states the duties and expectations that traders are to adhere to: they are not allowed to trade on private property, for which they can be fined or imprisoned. The law is harsh towards the treatment of traders in these regards stating that, any trader who contravenes any of the bye-law regulations and is convicted of the offence will be fined for the first offence or imprisoned for two months. For a second or subsequent offence, they will be fined and imprisoned for six months. The power and authority of an officer to punish a vendor or hawker where there has been a contravene of the law is emphasised: “Traders will be removed by the law officials in cases where they are blocking, obstruction, or causing harm to the public in public spaces” (sub regulation 10e:7). The law also gives the registrar discretion to cancel, modify, and suspend a certificate if the conditions of the certificate endanger public health. The applicant can be denied a permit based on either public interest (the type of good sold contravenes public interest), or on the areas chosen (contrary to public interest). Therefore, the law emphasises the protection of public interest over traders earning a livelihood.

There is minimal, to no protection of informal traders since the focus is on restrictions and prohibitions. The traders are only given an option to appeal in writing to the minister regarding the administration of the bye-laws by the registrar. This, however, seems implausible for vulnerable traders who would not be able to represent themselves. Another shortfall with the bye-laws is that it does not give specific information regarding prohibited product requirements, despite outlining that there are different products that are prohibited. The bye-law is outdated, since street hawking, as defined in the bye-law, no longer takes place, therefore, there should be regular amendment to the permit/licence application requirements, because trading is dynamic and constantly changing. Much of the focus is on emphasising the restrictions and offences, hence, rendering bye-laws to be generally criminalizing of trading and traders.

3.4 TRADING SITES IN GABORONE

Street trading in every part of the world is argued to be more profitable in settings with a concentration of people and pedestrian activities. Gaborone indicates a similar situation; traders can be found in the major tourist areas, such as the main mall, the primary transport interchange, as well as near major institutions such as the University of Botswana. This study focuses on street traders working in these three areas in Gaborone.



STUDY SITES

- *University of Botswana (1)*
- *Main mall (2)*
- *Gaborone transport interchange (3)*

3.4.1 Main mall

Gaborone's main mall, the first mall in the city, is situated in the centre of the city and was built in 1963. It is a long strip of commercial banks, government offices, and embassies. On one end of the strip is the government enclave, which includes parliament and other government offices, while the other end is the Gaborone City Council headquarters. The mall is a tourist centre, one of the oldest parts of the city. There is a concentration of people and pedestrian activities. The traders in the mall cater for different kinds of clientele: government officials, students, tourists, and other professionals working there. The centre is largely pedestrian friendly, with sidewalks and a corridor in the middle where traders have allocated themselves. The mall is surrounded by a ring road, with a high volume of traffic during rush hours. Along the street are mini-bus taxi stops, as well as a nearby drop-and-go taxi rank. There is parking all around the mall and access to the centre is very open with three courtyard entrances.

There is a wide variety of trades in the main mall servicing multiple customer needs. There are tailors, cobblers, food sellers offering traditional foods, cooked food, fast food, and also fresh vegetables, as well as sweets and drinks; second-hand and traditional clothes sellers; electronics traders, and also traditional medicine traders. Some do manicures and sell perfumes. Finally, there is a new generation of traders selling fruit smoothies with branded gazebos.

Traders know who occupies what space, and they have arranged themselves in such a way that pedestrians are able to find their way around the stalls and the corridor. Those in the courtyards seem to have haphazardly placed themselves, but there are still openings and pathways for people to move. There are different kinds of building materials for the trading structures, such as gazebos, makeshift stalls of different sizes and tables. The middle of the mall is not only a very busy pedestrian movement corridor, but also a public space where people tend to linger and a meeting place with restaurants.



Traditional clothes on display. Image : Author, 2019



Selling of traditional food. Image : Author, 2019



Displaying of products on the floor. Image : Author, 2019



Comidor of traders' stalls. Image : Author, 2019



Comidor of traders' stalls taken down at the end of the day. Image : Author, 2019



Traders packed goods at the end of the day. Image : Author, 2019

3.4.2 Bus rank

The second area of study is the Gaborone transport interchange, the hub of all public transport in the city. It is referred to as the bus rank even though there are other forms of transport such as taxis and minibuses. The site is connected to the government enclave through walkways that lead to underground pedestrian bridge entrances. It is a walking distance from the old central business district (main mall), new central business district (referred to as the CBD), and the new Rail Park mall that is adjacent to it, as well as the main train station. There is a lot of pedestrian activities at the bus rank, more especially in the mornings and evenings, as it is the main transportation transfer point. On weekends the site is busy on Saturday and at the end of the month. There is always music playing from some stalls, making the bus rank a social spectacle. Local artists often launch their music in an open parking space in the centre of the site.

It is a large gathering space as it accommodates different types of traders. The traders are found in between pedestrian walkways and weaved in between buses, parking spaces, and along the edge of the bus rank. Traders in the bus rank are a mixture of both stationary and mobile traders. Mobile traders sell newspapers, ice-cream, pies, and water to customers inside the buses. I observed that some of the mobile traders have trading stalls. As a form of marketing, they take some of the goods and move around searching for customers. Those who work from a fixed location use gazebo umbrellas with small tables along the pavement selling different kinds of products including sweets and other small items. The traders conduct their business along the busy sidewalks.

There are different trading stalls of different sizes and material. The traders add character to their stalls by draping fabric to make them stand out. Other traders display colourful advertisements to the insides of their stalls, as well as outside. Because of the large number of traders, some of the them display their products laid on the ground, while those with well-established trading stalls have invested in the designs of their stalls and occupy convenient locations within the bus rank. Some of the products and services includes; tailors, cobblers, women selling beauty products, street barbers, hair dressers, food sellers offering a variety of foods including traditional foods, cooked food, fast food as well as, fresh vegetables, sweets, and drinks; traders selling second-hand and traditional clothes, electronics traders as well as, those selling traditional medicine.



Traders selling street food.

Image : Author, 2019



New imaginaries of using space.

Image : Author, 2019



Different trading structures.

Image : Author, 2019



Traders invest in their stalls.

Image : Author, 2019



Traders along a pavement near minibus taxis.

Image : Author, 2019



Traders sell various products.

Image : Author, 2019

3.4.3 The University of Botswana,

The University of Botswana is a national landmark, closed off within a perforated brick screen wall running along its boundary. The University hosts a large population of students and staff, making it the ideal site for traders to congregate. There are four main entrances to the University, however, traders congregate in front of the main pedestrian gate along a busy street. The traders by the University sell more elementary goods, while the bus station and the main mall host a mixture of established traders. There is a public minibus and taxi stop in front of the pedestrian main gate. Traders start congregating by the gate in the mornings, however, most of them arrive towards lunchtime, and others in the late afternoon. They sell food to students during lunch time and evenings, remaining on-site until the evenings. Traders who sell cooked food set up their stalls towards lunchtime, around 11 a.m., then leave once all their food is sold. They serve students, the University community, and the surrounding neighbourhood. Before all traders depart in the evening, they clear the University entrance of all their trading structures and tables. Some traders chain their tables to the University fence.

This chapter has outlined the context for the study.



View from the taxi stop.

Image : Author, 2019



University small gate Entrance

Image : Author, 2019



Simple trading stalls.

Image : Author, 2019



Trading tables chained to the university wall.

Image : Author, 2019



Selling fast food and using gas cylinder to cook.

Image : Author, 2019

Chapter 4: Research Methods

This research employed a case study method. Case studies are used in many situations, to contribute to our knowledge of individual, group, organizational, social, political, and related phenomena. It aims for deep and detailed investigation in answering the research questions (Rowley, 2004). Duminy (2014: 25) explains that “most African planning and development issues are likely to be interested in a particular case as a way of contributing to our understanding of some general phenomenon or problem of interest, through either theoretical propositions or policy recommendations”. Yin (2014) notes that case studies are preferred when the researcher focuses on contemporary events and, ‘when’, ‘how’ and ‘why’ questions are being posed. A qualitative researcher is expected to draw upon multiple sources of evidence for triangulation purposes. According to Patton (1990), triangulation helps the researcher to guard against the accusation that a study’s findings are simply an artifact of a single method, a single source, or a single investigator’s bias. This chapter outlines the multiple methods used to understand the governance of street trading in three sites in Gaborone.

4.1 DOCUMENTATION ANALYSIS

Bowen (2009) outlines the role played by documentation analysis as assisting in contextualizing the research topic by providing background details and data that can assist to track changes and development within the subject or field. I located and analyzed multiple documents to contextualize the study, initially focusing on relevant national and local government policy documents. These included Botswana’s Visions 2016 and 2036 and national and city development plans. Newspaper articles were used to track key events and changes over time. The trader association granted me access to their meeting minutes, hence, I was able to correlate these with the events outlined in the newspapers. At their request, I scanned and organized the minutes. This assisted in building trust, as well as furnishing critical insights into their issues. Through interviewing the city’s Licensing Officer, I gained access to the street trader bye-laws.

4.2 FIELD OBSERVATION

Mulhall (2003) emphasizes that when observations are used as a data collection tool during fieldwork, it enables the researcher to study people’s behaviour within the context in which they work. One of my initial activities was paying visits to the case study trading sites to observe

how many traders there were, what they traded, and how they used trading space. In line with Mulhall's suggestion, I recorded my observations and captured photographs. This ensured that details remained accurate and were not lost to memory.

During the initial stages of the research, I applied for a research permit from the Ministry of Investment, Trade and Industry and the Gaborone City Council. During this process the City Clerk gave me permission to attend Gaborone bus rank refurbishment project meetings. I, therefore, attended three meetings held between city officials and traders. At these meetings, I was able to build valuable relationships with city officials and traders. I was also invited to attend traders' association meetings. I was able to link with those association subcommittee members, who are responsible for the trading sites of my research. Moreover, through the subcommittee, I was introduced to the sites and the traders. I kept field notes, as well as images of how spaces were used, and of traders' stalls. I explained to the traders that my research would include interviews and they would be confidential, and participants would not be named in the write-up.

4.3 INTERVIEWS

Interviews are the main method of data collection employed in this study. Interviews are a particularly useful research method in qualitative research. They facilitate the understanding of underlying factors governing human experience because they allow for the collection of data concerning social perceptions, meanings and accounts of reality (Punch, 2005; Silverman, 2005; Denscombe, 2007). Interviews are appropriate for exploring complex situations and gaining a detailed understanding of cases because there is a possibility to pursue and clarify issues in the course of an interview (O'Leary, 2005; Denscombe, 2007; Kumar, 2012).

4.3.1 Interviews with traders

During the period of May to June 2019, I conducted 13 interviews with traders – five in the main mall, five at the bus rank, and three outside the university. The sampling strategy was purposive: the interviewees were selected depending on their relevance to the research topic. The findings are thus, not representative of the street trading population. The sample aimed to secure insights from men and women, who were trading in different products, young and old. I started the interviews by enquiring whether the traders were sole owners of their business (rather than assistants), and if they had been trading for five years or more. The criteria of five

years or more was to ensure that the more established traders were interviewed. The selection of the traders to be interviewed was facilitated by the traders' association leadership.

I conducted the interviews in Setswana, the participants' mother tongue, and this assisted in the participants being receptive of the interview. The traders interviewed were thus, able to speak more easily on the research topic. Before the start of every interview, the intention of the interview and the research were explained in detail to traders. Following this, traders were given the option to consent or refuse to participate in the study, through signing a written consent form –See Appendix 1 for the consent form, see Appendix 2-4 for the interview schedule.

The interview questions aimed to obtain an overview of street trading and the individuals who take part in the trading. The interview covered four areas. The first section focused on gaining general background on where traders originally come from and where they presently live. The second section focused on street trading as an activity in which they engage, and explored factors such as how long they had been involved in the business of trading and some of the challenges that they face. The third focused on the traders' experience of the place and space, and access to infrastructure. The final section of the interview discussed the traders' experience and relationship with the local government, as well as their collective action through the traders' association.

The interviews were kept as conversational as possible, probing the participants in a respectful manner where extra depth was required, as per the recommendation by Creswell and Miller (2000).

In addition, I interviewed a traders' association leader. This interview focused on the nature of traders' daily struggles, the challenges of organising traders and how the organisation had tackled issues over time.

4.3.2 Interviews with government officials

In June 2019, I conducted key informant interviews with government officials. Having attended the project meetings had highlighted which officials to interview. I secured interviews with the Mayor, the Town Clerk, and the Head of Physical Planning. I also secured interviews with the heads of the bye-law office and of the licensing office, as well as a public health officer responsible for trading. –See Appendix 8 for the consent form, see Appendix 5-7 for the interview schedule.

Interviews with more senior city officials provided information about the functions of their office, their views on the role of informal trading in the city, as well as the support structures allocated to traders in the city. Interview questions also addressed conflict resolution with traders, and challenges in managing street trading.

The discussions with lower-level officials, who encounter traders every day, included an understanding of their experiences working with traders. Creswell and Miller (2000) note that there is a tendency for individuals representing certain institutions to portray those institutions in a positive light. Having had interviewed traders prior to the city officials, I was able to counterpose their lived experience with officials' claims. I also probed about periods of conflict.

4.4 THE RESEARCH PROCESS, BIASES, AND ETHICAL ISSUES

Transcription and translation from Setswana to English proved a challenge as it was time consuming. The interview questions in Setswana were phrased simply to give the participants direction in their discussion and provide good quality and depth in the response. The use of an audio recorder was helpful in capturing the interview. One of the challenges was related to the time it took to conduct the interviews. As the interviews were carried out during the traders' working time, at times I had to give the traders space to attend to their customers. A similar challenge was experienced with key officials, who postponed interviews at the last minute due to competing priorities, hence, forcing schedule changes.

As outlined above, I negotiated access to traders through introductions from the dominant trader organisation and I interviewed only those traders who had been working for five years or more. Insights gleaned therefore, do not reflect the realities of newcomers, nor more marginal traders whose concerns are likely to be more acute.

This research required close contact with traders and their leaders. One risk was that traders' expectations could be raised, that I may be able to change their difficult circumstances. Some of the traders in fact, expressed frustration with the fact that nothing had ever materialised after being interviewed in previous experiences. While I will be giving feedback about the results of my work, and recommendations to both the traders' association and the city officials interviewed, I emphasised to all parties interviewed that this research was a master's dissertation, and hence, might not result in any changes.

Chapter 5: The Governance of Street Trading in Gaborone

Rogerson (2016) notes that responses to street traders can be viewed along a continuum from violent repression and sustained evictions to inclusive and supportive policies. On one end of the spectrum, the largest scale, and perhaps the most violent removals of traders, was Operation Marambatsvina in Zimbabwe in 2005 (Kamete, 2009). On the other end of the spectrum is the period of inclusion of street vendors like it was in the Warwick Junction in inner city Durban, South Africa (Dobson and Skinner, 2009). With reference to this continuum, this chapter starts by outlining changes in street trader governance in Gaborone Botswana, then describes the characteristics of traders interviewed, and their lived experience, and subsequently interrogates the relationship between city authorities and traders.

5.1 GOVERNANCE OF GABORONE STREET TRADERS FROM THE 1990'S TO THE PRESENT

It was clear from the interviews that a key reference guiding Gaborone City Council officials' approach to vendors has been the hawking and street vending bye-laws (see the context chapter for details on the bye-laws). The bye-law permits two forms of trading: hawking and street vending. During the early 1990s, the city largely issued hawkers' licences. Interviewees that traded during this period explained that the hawkers' licence required traders to constantly be on the move. Traders recalled that as soon as they set up trading structures, city officials chased them away. Their stalls would be raided, and their goods confiscated. A trader said:

We had many fights with the government. City officials back then used to arrive and tell us to pack our things. The council was constantly harassing us and taking our stock. (Trader interview, May 23, 2019).

Another long-standing trader said:

It was a problem to sit and sell. If they found us, they would take our goods. We were not allowed to build trading stalls in public space. The Bye-Law officer called the police on us. (Interview, June 17, 2019).

The Licencing Officer confirmed the fact that they used to confiscate traders' stock and dispose of it if they were found trading in public spaces, (specifically the study sites) noting that, there had been "high levels of conflict". He said there was little or no engagement with traders – the

focus was law enforcement. He added “we used to take traders’ belongings and burn them at a landfill outside Gaborone”. In retrospect, he expressed ambivalence about these confiscations:

It was not right, but it was right because it was unlawful to trade. It was inhuman, it was not right, but it was right because they were in violation of the act. (Interview, May 29, 2019).

Over the next decade, the number of traders increased around Gaborone city, and they occupied public spaces in many different parts of the city. Bayat (2000: 43-46) writing about what he described as the “informal” in North Africa, at a similar time, described this increase in number of traders as the “quiet encroachment of the ordinary” in which there is “a silent, patient, protracted, and pervasive advancement of ordinary people on the propertied and powerful in order to survive hardships and better their lives”. A similar process seemed to take place in Gaborone. The Licensing Officer said, in the face of increasing numbers of traders, they had to “turn a blind eye” to the act.

The literature points to the importance of collective action among traders in securing gains (Brown, 2006 and Bonner and Spooner, 2011). In the late 1990’s, the now president of the Thusanang Bagwebi Traders’ Association, said at the time, they decided to approach national government officials about the plight of traders. He explained:

We saw the council damaging our things. We could not go to the same people who we were fighting with. But national officials said, we cannot talk to individuals; you must rather come as an organization. Thus, we formed the Thusanang Bagwebi Traders’ Association to address traders’ issues so we could be allowed to trade in public spaces. (Interview, June 17, 2019).

Traders started to organise themselves, albeit in a still hostile environment.

In the early 2000’s, the Council’s approach started to soften. Many interviewees recalled a meeting in 2002, where council officials conceded to allow traders to use structures at their trading sites in the Bus Rank. Even though these structures needed to be removed at the end of each trading day, the fact that traders did not face the constant threat of confiscations, was a step towards greater security. An older female trader who had been conducting her business in the middle of the bus rank for more than 20 years reflected:

I decided to move here and sell from the middle of the bus rank because of the movement of people using the buses. The council was never happy with us, but after 2002 they ended up leaving us (Interview, May 23, 2019).

5.2 CHARACTERISTICS OF TRADER INTERVIEWEES

In-depth interviews were conducted with 13 street traders: three located at the University pedestrian entrance gate, five at the main mall, and another five at the bus rank. Of the 13 interviewees, 10 were women and three were men. Of the five traders interviewed in the main mall, two were men and three were women. The three traders interviewed at the University were women, and traders at the bus rank were four women and one man. With regards to the age range, the oldest interviewee was 65 and the youngest 25 years old.

Five of the traders interviewed have their home village in the southern part of Botswana, while the other eight traders' home villages are in the northern and central parts of the country. These eight traders reside in rented accommodation within Gaborone and surrounding villages. The traders commute every day to Gaborone; some use public transport to get to their trading sites, while others hire transport collectively, and others use private cars. Eight traders come from rural villages across the country in search of employment, hence, could be classified as internal migrants.

Trading plays a central role in the livelihood of those interviewed: all interviewees reported that it was a main source of income in their households. All but one interviewee, said that they were sole owners of their business. The exception owned her business with her husband. The trading experience ranged from 5 to 26 years.

Traders were asked how many hours a week they worked and reported working long hours, on average between 10 and 12 hours a day. The majority worked either six or seven days a week. The bye-laws allow for trading to take place between 7 a.m. and 7 p.m. One male trader who owns a mobile hot-dog-making machine indicated that when there are festivals or ceremonies around the city, he extends his working hours. Hence, traders do continue trading beyond the stipulated legal times.

5.3 BUSINESSES AND PRODUCTS SOLD

The discussion regarding the demand for their products came up when traders were asked about their business, the goods they sold, and their customers. It was observed that there is a clustering around the University of small-scale survival traders selling sweets, cool drinks and fruit, while the better off, more established traders are at the main mall, and some in well-located sections of the bus station. Some traders reported that they started with selling basic goods and gradually moved to sell the more sophisticated and costly products. The traders at the University sell more elementary goods, while the bus station and the main mall host a mixture of established traders. The traders sell a wide variety of products and one provided a service - shoe repairing. The wide variety of goods sold includes clothing, footwear, traditional products (clothes and food), beauty products, cooked food, cigarettes, and sweets. There appears to be a difference in products that men and women sell. Two men interviewed sell more profitable products like fast food (hot dogs and pies); the other is a cobbler. Women were more engaged in selling smaller items (sweets, cigarettes), while one trader in the bus rank sold a mixture of products (perfumes, shoes, clothes) that she buys locally and internationally, while the other traders' source their products locally.

Traders were asked if there has been an increase or decrease on number of traders across the years in each site. All reported that there has been an increase in the number of traders at each site. Five of the long-standing traders indicated that in the early 2000s, business was good, as traders were few, but currently there are more traders selling the same products.

5.4 TRADING LOCATION

Traders were asked about the choice of their sites and location. Some responses pointed to availability of customers, while others said the site/trading space was the only space available. All interviewees had used their particular trading space for more than five years. The five traders who have traded for more than 20 years reported using the same space every day, whereas, another has traded for 18 years without a trading structure and used space under a tree. When he started trading, the tree was small, and he used it to put up his advert. The tree had now grown big enough to be his primary shelter. The traders said they use the same space every day to maintain their regular customers.

The bus rank traders were found in between pedestrian walkways and parking spaces, and along the edge of the bus rank. Traders in the bus rank are a mixture of both stationary and mobile traders, mainly selling newspapers, ice-cream, pies, and water to customers seated inside buses. I observed that some of the mobile traders have trading stalls. As a form of marketing, they take some of the goods and move around searching for customers. Those who work from a fixed location use gazebo umbrellas with small tables, situated along the pavement, selling sweets and other small items. Some of the traders display their products on the ground, while those with a well-established trading stall have invested in the designs of their stalls and occupy convenient locations within the bus rank. I observed that street trading occurred in three spatial patterns within the bus rank: in clusters near the shops, in linear arrangements along pedestrian circulation paths, and along the alleyways between buses, and in pockets where relatively large space is available such as in parking spaces.

Stationary trading takes place within the corridor of the main mall. Traders are located between pedestrian promenade walkways in the centre of the mall and in front of shops. There is a wide variety of trades in the main mall servicing various customer needs. There are tailors, cobblers, food sellers offering traditional foods, cooked food, fast food, and also fresh vegetables, as well as sweets and drinks; second-hand and traditional clothes sellers; electronics traders, and also traditional medicine traders. Some do manicures and sell perfumes. Lastly, there is a new generation of traders selling fruit smoothies with branded gazebos.

The University traders were found along the main road, on the pavement outside the University gate. There is a mixture of traders by the University entrance along the University boundary, with a concentration by the entrance. They do not have licenses to trade. They are not required to pay any amount, but they do pay service providers for storage when they collect their goods. Before traders depart in the evening, they clear the University entrance of all their trading structures and tables. Some traders chain their tables to the fence of the University. There are traders who sell cooked food and hence, only set up their stall towards lunch hour, arriving around 11 a.m., and leaving once the food is sold out. They serve students, the University community, and the surrounding neighbourhood. They pointed out that the University management has raised concerns regarding their presence. Those outside the University are under close monitoring by both the city officials and the University management.

The general observation is that the bus rank is more of a localized space with a mixture of poor traders, while the University and the main mall are important public spaces, and both the University and the city have an image to uphold. However, it seems that the city officials are equally concerned about all the trading spaces because all the sites are centrally located. The City Clerk, City Planner and Licensing officer highlighted the significance of the main mall as a central prominent space; therefore, it was important that they monitor traders in the mall. The bus rank is also a central space, as it connects directly to the new Central Business District, hence, the city's need to embark on a renovation project. However, issues of crime that have been reported in the media, in which traders are seen as harbouring criminal activity at the bus rank, has led to the bus rank being of concern to officials. The University administration on the other hand is concerned about traders outside their boundary.

The interviewees reported that, in order to manage themselves and the tension of allocation of spaces, each site has a site manager. The sites are managed by the traders' association subcommittee member. The member is responsible for the allocation of space to new traders, manages any disputes amongst the traders, and acts as the liaison person between the association and the city council.

5.5 LIMITED ACCESS TO BASIC INFRASTRUCTURE

The three study sites are unique, however, there is a commonality in the challenges traders experience when working in these sites. Traders were asked whether they had access to toilets, running water and storage facilities for their goods. They were also asked about how far these facilities were from their place of work.

5.5.1 Access to water and toilets

Traders regard access to toilets as a challenge, regardless of the fact that there are public toilets around the sites, more specifically at the main mall and the bus rank sites. The traders argued that their access to these toilets is restricted because the toilets are designated for the public, and not specifically for traders; therefore, the toilets are monitored and managed to serve the public.

One trader cited the fact that there are no toilets specifically to serve the traders in the main mall as a major problem. Traders in the main mall have stated that, although the toilets are far, they have two options for public toilets that they could use: at the civic centre within the

Gaborone city council boundary, and in adjacent shops and government offices. This has meant that they have to build and maintain good working relationships with the shop owners and security guards at the said offices, as they would request to use their ablutions. However, when it comes to management of the public toilet, the traders at the main mall have complained that it would have been better if one of the traders was given the task of managing the toilet, rather than the city official allocating the responsibility to a private company.

The toilets are free to access, as stated by one trader, however, after the traders had approached the city officials requesting to be allocated the responsibility to manage the main mall public toilets, the city officials then privatized the toilets. Traders stated that sometimes the toilets are closed or are not in good working condition nor order:

It is a problem, there are no toilets around. We ask to use toilets from the shops around us. At the filling station, there is a toilet, by Kentucky Fried Chicken, there is a toilet, and there is another one at the city council, even though it is far, and you must pay to use them. Sometimes you get there, and you find them not working. You know, toilets are a major problem (Trader interview, May 6, 2019).

Similarly, the traders at the bus rank have expressed the same sentiments, that they use the public toilets by the bus station waiting room. These toilets are for public use, not specifically for the traders, and they are monitored and managed by a private individual who can close them as and when she/he wants. The traders indicated that they would have preferred to manage the toilets because they are the ones who work in the bus rank and leave late and come early. They reported that sometimes the toilets are closed with no warning. This has forced the traders to use the toilets at the nearby shopping mall:

Yes, we use the toilets at the bus waiting room. We pay to use them, or we go to toilets in the Rail Park mall. Sometimes we ask to use the council market traders' toilets, even though sometimes they too do not agree (Trader interview, May 23, 2019).

Traders at the University reported that they negotiate with the University security to use the University toilets. They indicated that the University security management is never happy with them using the toilets. One trader pointed out that the University has asked them to write their names on a register each time they enter the University.

Access to water was also identified as a challenge, as the water points are closely monitored as well. Traders at the main mall and the bus rank reported that, sometimes as with the toilets, the water points can be closed without warning. This has forced some traders to source water from the nearby shopping mall, while other traders indicated that they bring their own water in two-litre bottles every day, or sometimes purchase it. The University traders, on the other hand negotiate to use water within the University:

We use toilets and water within the University. But they want us to fill in a register to get inside. I sometimes refuse, because when there are thieves here, they want our help. They would work with us, only when it suits them, otherwise, they would side-line us (Trader interview, May 09, 2019).

“Access to water and toilets has been highlighted as essential for consumer health. Research in Africa have shown that the prevalence of bacteria in street foods vary from high to low. Signifying it critical for traders to have access to basic infrastructure (water and toilets) and trading infrastructure (shelter, tables and paved surfaces). These findings suggest that the more informal traders are incorporated into urban plans, the safer the food they sell. Hygiene training is also shown to be an important factor in securing low bacterial counts” (Skinner and Gareth, 2019, <https://www.wiego.org/blog/>).

5.6 TRADING FACILITIES

Trading facilities, in terms of storage, as well as a trading structure, are a challenge for traders. The spaces that traders occupy were not designed to accommodate the traders’ activities and practices. The city has not provided any trading facilities except at the designated city market stalls. The bye-laws outline that traders are not allowed to leave any trading equipment nor structures at the end of each day, otherwise the city can confiscate any goods or material left, and the traders can also be fined. In other words, traders are expected to assemble and disassemble their trading structures daily. In the main mall, traders are not allowed to leave any of their trading stalls behind at the end of the day, and the same is true along the University boundary. However, traders do leave their trading tables chained to the trees and along the University wall. During periodic city cleaning campaigns, the city officials confiscates any material they find left behind.

5.6.1 Lack of Trading structures

There are some very attractive make shift trading structures built by the traders themselves in the main mall and at the bus rank, whereas at the University, because of the marginality of the site, and type of products traders sell, they use simple structures such as an umbrella and a small table, since much of their focus is on selling their products. Traders in the main mall and bus rank have invested in the designs of their stalls to make them stand out.

In the main mall, traders reported that, there was a private company that was supposed to build and sell trading stalls to them. This was one way the city was trying to spatially order traders. The physical planner confirmed this when he said that traders refuse to buy the stalls from the private company, arguing that they can design their own stalls.

One long-standing trader at the main mall indicated that it is difficult for new entrants to find space because it is limited, and public spaces are crowded. This confirms the tension that the physical planner described:

It's getting hard to allocate spaces as the sites are now full and some traders have taken up more spaces than others because there is no standard size recommended for a stall. Everyone can put up any size of shade/stall/table that they can afford, depending on what they are selling. They use a mixture of structures to build up their trading shelter stalls (Trader interview, May 13, 2019).

Traders at the University wish that they would be incorporated within the University boundary. The traders have stated that when they end their day, they remove everything by the University entrance, and they chain their table around the trees, some to the University wall. However, there was an incident when city officials took their tables at night because anything left behind such as tables and trading shelters is viewed as litter:

You know since we have been trading here for years, I have always thought that the University would allow us to buy a container that we can keep our things in. What is interesting is that the University only manages the inside of the University, but anything outside is the responsibility of the city council (Trader interview, May 09, 2019).

Traders may know the order in which they occupy space, and they do so haphazardly by creating pathways for pedestrians to move in between their stall. However, trading sites are overcrowded, and that could pose a hazard to both the traders' lives and those of pedestrians,

especially around traders who cook in open air. The concern from city officials is that cooking in open air is a health and environmental hazard.

5.6.2 Lack of storage

The lack of storage facilities in the main mall and bus rank has forced traders to hire a storage container; they mentioned they pay \$14 a month. Those that own cars indicated that they take their goods home every day. Bus rank traders said it is a challenge and is more expensive to hire a car to bring and collect their goods every day in the mornings and evenings, indicating that they would rather pay for the storage. The traders stated that they are worried they might be overcharged because they are at the mercy of the vehicle owner, who can charge them any amount, as no one is monitoring and regulating his prices. They reported that they have raised the concern with the city officials and proposed to be allowed to hire space from the city council and pay for it. Some of the traders in the main mall have reported that they store their goods at neighbouring houses for a fee. They are charged between \$1 – \$10, depending on the individual, while some get to store for free, depending on their network and relationships.

Traders who own cars reported that it helps, but it is not ideal to always carry their items back home. One trader in the main mall reported another form of agreement they have with a private individual who comes in the morning and evening to deliver and collect their goods:

The challenge of not having a storage facility is that sometimes you even find that your things are missing. The gentlemen will come and collect at the end of the day and brings them in the morning. Sometimes he comes early to collect and sometimes he comes late. We have wishes of having our own storage, where we can go and store our things ourselves and manage it (Trader interview, May 23, 2019).

5.6.3 Food traders' challenges

Gaborone was not planned to accommodate informal practices, and street food has been regarded as a new type of trading, by both the traders and city officials. The Health Inspector and the Bye-Law official are worried about the risks of cooking food in the streets. They disapprove of such practices, stating that using gas cylinders in open-air is dangerous for both the traders and the public. Traders said, when the city Bye- Law officials catch them cooking with gas cylinders, the officials take the cylinders away. This was confirmed by the Bye-Law

official, who stated that street food traders are becoming a hazard to the city and themselves. A trader at the bus rank reported that;

We need water and a covered paved structure where we can cook from. We end up building these structures that the city council does not approve of and requires us to take them down. We can choose a person amongst us who will clean and oversee the place. Because we do not have a right to this place, people are using the space around us indecently and we have no right to tell them what not to do. People urinate behind us and there is nothing we can do (Trader interview, May 23, 2019).

5.7 REGISTRATIONS AND LICENSING

No trading licenses have been issued for all the three trading sites. Since these sites are considered public spaces, traders who trade on these sites are trading illegally. Mitullah (2003) and Kohn (2017) highlight that the lack of licensing results in traders being viewed as illegal traders since they are trading without licenses because authorities have failed to issue them. City officials have confirmed that they are currently not issuing trading licenses for the city. The existing bye-laws are outdated, and the officials have reported that there is an informal trading bye-law that has been under review since 2014. During interviews, the traders did not mention whether they knew of the new bye-law, despite the Bye-Law official indicating that “inhabitants of the city were consulted” (Interview, June 03, 2019).

Kohn (2017) highlights that there are two types of permit/licensing systems: regulation of the right to trade and regulation of the trading spaces. Kohn (2017) outlines that sometimes administrative failures or challenges by local governments are used as an excuse to refuse to issue licenses and permits to trade. In Gaborone the right to trade is regulated by the bye-law. However, based on the fact that there are no licenses being issued specifically for the study sites, this was confirmed by traders as they do not hold licenses. Therefore, trading in these spaces is monitored. A long-standing trader at the bus rank narrated the challenges of trading without licenses as follows:

I have a problem with the fact that the government does not recognize us because we do not have licenses. We are called informal sectors...a trader that is illegal. I feel that they can chase us away any time. Then if you are chased away as an informal trader, you cannot refuse because you have no rights. I really have a problem because we have been

part of the reality of this city or country for a long time, and they still do not recognize us. Secondly, the government does not even know who we are, and as so, that means that there is no place I can go to seek funds or a loan. By now we should be having licenses and permits to trade so that we can have ownership of our spaces (Trader interview, May 23, 2019).

A cobbler in the main mall, who is a long-standing trader (18 years) reflected on the permanence of trading in the city and how traders have been able to navigate the trading working conditions that have not changed, despite their everyday presence in the city:

For 18 years I have not moved. I have always been sitting here. This tree you see (pointing up at the tree he is seated under), when I started it was very small and it grew with me to its current height. You see how this tree is big, at some point I used to put my flyer on it. Now I use it as my shade (Trader interview, May 13, 2019).

5.8 EXPERIENCES OF GOVERNANCE

The traders were asked to reflect on their experiences with government officials. They reported that most of their interaction is with the bye-law officials and occasionally with environmental health officials.

One interviewee highlighted that sometimes traders were caught in the middle of political fights between the ruling party and opposition regarding the running of the country, especially the capital city. Therefore, being chased away and around was sometimes influenced by those who are in power and heading the city council:

For example, when we would raise our concerns with the bye-law, they will tell us that the city is under the leadership of the opposition. So, they would fight their political fight in such a way that they make us try to lose hope in the leadership of the city council (Trader interview, May 23, 2019).

The above opens up to what Smit (2018:55) highlights when he says, the “essence of using a governance lens is recognising that there is a wide range of actors involved in urban governance, each with very different interests and agendas”. Thus, signifying the important role that all levels of government play in governing urban issues (Smit, 2018).

With regards to traders who have recently joined the trading market, on the other hand, their experience of governance has mostly been encounters with city officials concerns over the traders not cleaning around their workstations, as well as the officials constantly monitoring those cooking with gas cylinders, which is a factor that the Health Inspector also confirmed.

5.9 EXPERIENCES OF COLLECTIVE ACTION

All the traders interviewed are members of the Thusanang Bagwebi Traders' Association, four of the traders being founding members. The newest member of the traders interviewed joined the association in 2017 and has five years' trading experience. She highlighted that she only joined because she was advised by her mother to be a member.

Even though there was positive feedback regarding the benefits of being an association member, some traders had mixed feelings. Most of the traders from the main mall and bus rank reported positive feedback, reflecting on previous work that the association has accomplished. The following are some of the comments raised:

The council no longer monitors us, we were advised that as long as the association is legally registered, the authorities will recognize it (Trader interview, May 13, 2019, Bus rank).

The association is very useful; the problem is that traders are not supporting it. The new traders do not come to meetings or know that it exists (Trader interview, May 23, 2019, Main mall).

Sometimes during their inspections, the council officials would ask us if we are members of the association. If you are a member, they would then leave you alone (Trader interview, May 23, 2019, Main mall).

The association has helped us to get our goods back when the council was raiding and confiscating our stalls and goods (Trader interview, May 13, 2019, Bus rank).

The above reflections were from long-standing traders. Negative feedback was reported by traders at the University. They felt that the association does not support them, as compared to other trading sites in the city. However, this observation contradicts their report that there was an association subcommittee member who oversees their trading site. The traders reported that:

There are no benefits to being members of the association because we pay subscriptions, then the following day council officials will be raiding our stalls. The association never represents our side, we only hear about their work in other trading sites (Trader Interview, May 13, 2019, University).

The Thusanang Bagwebi Traders Association president raised the following future aspirations when asked about the way forward for trading in the city, since the country was moving toward elections in October 2019, and there would be a change in country and city council leadership. His recommendation were that, there must be more support from the government in the form of infrastructure and provision of tenure by licensing the traders: “The government should put us into programs, we should also have a ministry specifically for the informal sector and support us financially” (Interview, June 17, 2019). When asked about the relationship between the association and traders, he said that he views the association as having a great potential to grow, stating that, however, the membership is currently very low:

Traders are only excited when the association has solved some of their conflicts. Traders easily forget about the work that the association does and only raise complaints. They only come to the association when they have problems. As a way forward, we wish for the association to grow its membership and gain support from the government (Interview, June 17, 2019).

5.10 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CITY AUTHORITIES AND STREET TRADERS

As outlined in the methodology section, interviews were conducted with senior politicians and bureaucrats, as well as council officials who work directly with traders. Each interview started with a question about the functions of their department with respect to informal trading in the city.

Senior officials often made reference to the Local Government Act of 2012. The Mayor, for example, made reference to the Act, noting that it categorises informal traders as “small-medium enterprises (SMEs) and calls for their protection” (Interview, May 29, 2019). He further stated;

The role of my office and the City Council is to facilitate and educate traders on how to trade in a good manner and take care of their environment (Interview, May 29, 2019).

The City Clerk, also referred to the Act, highlighting that it mandated his office to “promote and facilitate local economic development within the city, and help traders contribute to the local economy” (Interview, May 29, 2019).

Unsurprisingly, the Chief Planner focused less on the economy. He emphasized that his department ensures that there is “orderly spatial development in the city”. With regards to street trading, he further highlighted that his department needed to ensure that “informal activities are taking place in designated spaces”. (Interview, June 18, 2019). The Health Inspector on the other hand, said her office is responsible for the “protection of public health” (Interview, June 7, 2019), whereas, the Licensing Officer said, the Department of Commercial and Licensing, is responsible for “licensing and issuing of trading certificates and permits to both informal and formal sectors” (Interview, May 25, 2019). Last, but not least, the Bye Law Officer commented that his office is “charged with the function of law enforcement, particularly all laws related to street vending and hawkers” that have been passed by the Gaborone City Council (Interview, June 3, 2019).

In her paper on local government and street traders in four South African cities, Skinner (2000:55) draws attention to the importance of having a politically mandated policy that lays out the city’s vision for the way in which activities are to be approached. In other words, the Act alone is not enough, as it does not outline how each department will deliver its mandate.

5.10.1 *Government officials’ views on the role of street traders*

Informal street trading is viewed as playing a significant role in the urban economy. The Mayor said it helps in absorbing unemployed youth, it also contributes to the “fight against poverty by reducing the number of destitute citizens under government support” (Interview, May 29, 2019). Furthermore, City Clerk highlighted it providing employment opportunities to people who could be “involved in criminal activities” (Interview, May 29, 2019). These responses, hence, reflect the contribution of street trading to urban employment creation.

The Low-Level officials,’ on the other hand, reflected on the role trading played in poorer household’s livelihoods and to the economy. These interviewees were particularly sympathetic to the traders. The Health Inspector said traders contribute to the national and local economy as they also “pay taxes because they buy goods and sell them” (Interview, June 7, 2019). The Licensing Officer described informal traders as “unemployed and making themselves available for opportunities” (Interview, May 29, 2019). He thus, views the informal sector as important

because “no country can survive without it” (Interview, May 29, 2019). He further said trading is important and should be allowed because, “it is not good to tell someone who is trying to make a living, to stop. Although the regulation does not permit, we are human beings, and hence, must turn a blind eye to them” (Interview, May 29, 2019). Moreover, the Licensing Officer emphasized that the informal sector “cannot be eradicated, and it cannot be eliminated, arguing that it must be governed”. Similarly, the Bye-Law official described the informal sector as a “necessity for survival for any country” (Interview, June 3, 2019), emphasizing that it is important that it should be regulated.

The Mayor commented that, as a form of support, “space is created for engagement” with traders through the Traders Association (Interview, May 29, 2019). He suggested that “having a formal structure of addressing the informal traders” is a means of support, wherein traders are able to engage with officials and raise their concerns (Interview, May 29, 2019). The City Clerk also pointed out that “the land that traders occupy is council land”, emphasising that by allowing traders to occupy this land, the city accommodates them, and recognizes their role (Interview, May 29, 2019). The City Planner pointed out that, traders are supported by being allowed to trade in public spaces, as the existing market stalls cannot accommodate them all. In the case of supporting traders through access to land or space to trade, this does not mean that access translates to having full trading rights. Traders can be easily removed as councils’ priorities change, such as when traders are allocated a poor location.

5.10.2 *Challenges of managing traders in the city*

Describing the role of local authorities in street trading, Bromley (2000:17) cautions that even though governments, especially local authorities, have a wide responsibility to promote opportunity, encourage entrepreneurship and competition, they also have a responsibility to limit congestion, road accidents, and crime, and to protect consumers against fraud and public health hazards. Hence, the latter responsibilities at times, may bring challenges.

Interestingly, the President of the Traders’ Association noted there at times there are tensions between politicians and bureaucrats:

We have a politician (the Mayor) and a government employee (City Clerk) who have to sit and agree. The one is in office because of people’s votes, and the other is employed by the government. So, the one who is employed by the government, you can say he doesn’t listen to people, but rather just uses the law. While the other one will feel guilty

because he has been put in power by these people and thinks maybe I must give them an ear. So what counts is how the two work together (Interview, June 17, 2019).

Thus, while there may be a positive contribution that traders bring to the city, city officials and the public perception of traders in public spaces in most cases is associated with “grime” and with contributing negatively to the urban spaces (Roever and Skinner, 2016). Although during conversations with City officials, street trading has been recognized for its positive role, concerns and challenges of managing trading were also raised. The concerns and challenges raised were as follows;

The Mayor stipulated a concern that traders did not know how to trade. As so, he suggested that one way for traders be accommodated and engaged, was to inform and educate them so that they would know how to trade and what not to do. The Mayor further stated a previous challenge as being that;

Street traders used to have the mentality that the city council or the Bye Law Officers did not like them and did not want them to trade. However, I would say that, there has been a great improvement, ever since we started engaging with their association, and traders now know what to do and what not to do. It has benefited us, the council, and the community of Gaborone (Interview, May 29, 2019).

Another concern expressed by the Mayor was about overtrading, hence overcrowding, arguing that, “very soon there will be fights amongst traders for space”, hence, emphasising that traders bringing disorder to the city, where they are associated with crime and violence (Interview, May 25, 2019). The Mayor further stated that;

The public and city officials complain about traders. For example, traders cooking with cylinder gas in the open-air are risking their lives and pedestrians’ lives. I hear complaints about refuse dumping, odour, and some traders disposing their cooking oil just at the spot where they are cooking, for example, those located at the front of the University premises. The public have also complained about selling of illegal products by traders (Interview, May 29, 2019).

The City Clerk also raised a concern regarding the disorder in the current state of trading in the city, describing it as “lawlessness”. He highlighted that it was critical that the particular uncontrollable state of trading is managed. He explained that the situation where, you have one

person plaiting hair, another person cooking, and the next person doing something else, is undesirable (Interview, May 29, 2019).

On the contrary, although the City Planner forms part of the decision-making team, however, he also has an everyday encounter with traders, therefore he raised challenges of managing trading in the city using a different approach. His argument is that, the challenge of managing traders in the city emanates from two possible scenarios. Firstly, there are deep rooted spatial challenges with incorporating traders within the city. The Gaborone Spatial Development Plan 1997–2021, (2001) has not incorporated informal activities and practices in its city’s development proposal. He reported that “The provision for the informal sector in the spatial plans was by default through the city traders’ market, but in general the plan excludes them” (Interview, June18, 2019).

As already mentioned in the Context section, the Gaborone planning tools are based on the colonial legacy such as the Botswana Town and Country Act 2013 and its 2014 revision, meaning that the initial planning of the city was exclusively designed to serve the elite, and informal practices and activities were not incorporated, particularly in the city centre. He emphasized that, since the spatial development plans do not cater for informal activities and practices in public spaces, currently traders are operating in public spaces with limited or no amenities. He indicated that this has created some spatial challenges when it comes to managing and advising traders. He said,

Even when we come up with some form of reform to arrange traders in the malls, to create pathways where people can pass, some of the traders resist, saying that we are harassing them, and why do we want to do that to them, since the president has said they can trade anywhere they want. Since some spaces have no available supporting toilet facilities, or if available, they are not within distance, traders tend to relieve themselves in a manner that is unhealthy. Some will use a bucket and dispose of its contents where they are stationed, because they do not want to leave their trading stalls to go to utilise designated public toilets (Interview, June18, 2019).

He also alluded to the fact that when the city tries to partner with the private sector in an attempt to spatially organize the traders, traders refuse to buy trading stalls from the private sector, arguing that they can buy or build their own trading structures. This has resulted in some traders occupying more space than others and leading to the current state of overcrowding.

The City Planner attributes the second challenge to be possibly emanating from the city's approach of "moving from the previous rigid enforcement laws to the more accommodative current approach. This current approach involves a decision taken to allow trading to take place anywhere since the 2018 traders' march to petition their grievances to the then President of the Republic of Botswana. Moreover, the approach also involves the decision of non-issuing of trading permits due to the reason that traders are not legally permitted to trade in public spaces.

The City Planner further alluded to the fact that, since there is no issuing of trading licenses, it is hard to identify who is trading and who should be trading. Moreover, shop owners are moving their goods into the street and in addition, foreign traders and those who are formally employed are also trading and hiring people to sell for them (Interview, June 18, 2019).

The above-mentioned challenges demonstrate the shortcomings of planning in practice and the tension of coping with contradictory decisions, as well as not fully engaging all stakeholders' needs. This reflects that, integration of traders into the fabric of the city is more than just creating a space to engage with traders or allowing traders to trade. In addition, it also reflects that appropriate planning requires integration at a larger scale so that the everyday realities are managed, and the guiding and planning tools are then contextualised.

Bromely (2000) highlights the different ways in which responsibilities are addressed by showcasing that there is a wide gulf between the board aims and directives of senior administrators and politicians, on the one hand, and the ways policy can actually materialize on the street, on the other hand. This suggests that low-level officials who have more interaction with vendors have a closer understanding of policy realities than high-level officials. The City Planner's views, as reflected above in this section, highlight the disparities of policy decisions and how it materialises on the ground.

Low-level officials were also asked about challenges and issues they encounter when working with traders, since they have an everyday experience of working with traders, and the Licensing Officer, the Bye-Law Officer, and the Health Inspector alluded to the challenges as follows.

The Licensing Officer, like the City Planner, described the current state of trading in the city as navigating a tension of coping with politics of managing traders in the City. He highlighted that,

Managing trading is a 20/20 catch system; If we chase traders away, the politician will tell you that you are abusing the traders. So, we tend to turn a blind eye, but remind traders that, for example, the areas that they are trading from are meant for parking cars, and not for trading in. Traders have now started to be in other places where they were not licensed to trade at. For example, if you go to the main mall, none of the traders have certificates to trade in the mall, and if they have, surely it is not for the mall, but rather, for other areas in the city (Interview, May 29, 2019).

He further confirmed that the current state of trading in the city was not regulated by a government- or parliamentary-initiated document or policy. In addition, he highlighted that trading in the city has changed; the type of traders and their economic status are different. The Licensing officer reflected on the type of traders prior to 2004 by stating that;

Most of the traders were genuinely unemployed and they did not own cars to transport their goods. Today 99% of traders own a small car. We did not cater for trading from cars, but if you go around the malls, you will find traders in the morning, parked in the parking areas and selling from their cars for the whole day, and some even install a shade around their cars (Interview, May 29, 2019).

The Bye Law officer on the other hand, also raised certain challenges they face when working and managing traders in the city. He pointed out that there is a need to fast track the Informal trading bye-law which has been under review since 2014. The law is still a draft and it is yet to be passed in parliament. He regards it as the answer to the current state of trading in the city, and a way to fix the shortfalls of the previous laws. The emphasis on the fast tracking of the new regulation has been also highlighted by the Licensing officer. The Bye-Law officer stipulated that the lack of relevant regulations has brought challenges of understanding how many traders are in the city. He pointed out that;

In 2014 the city consulted traders and they formulated the 2014 Informal Trading bye-law (Interview, June 3, 2019), which is meant to address the inconsistency of the outdated 1985 law. There is, therefore, a need to work within the regulations and guidelines that can contribute to the development of a census to know who the traders are. If in place, the new law will allow for allocation and demarcation of space, and a cost and time will be reflected on the trading license, such that each is given a chance to trade (Interview, May 29, 2019).

The Licensing officer and the Bye-Law official highlight a non-existent legal framework as a challenge to managing trading in the city. However, the Health Inspector commented on a number of issues. She emphasised that “since traders sell goods to the public, the role of her office is to ensure that they do it in a safe environment and the products are safe as well” (Interview, June 7, 2019). She also pointed out the importance of public health and environmental health in the city by highlighting that traders are invited to training workshops on how to handle their food and take care of the environment.

The Health Inspector recalled instances where food bought in the street has been suspected to have food poisoning. In such cases, she said, they randomly test food samples, and, without embarrassing the trader, feedback and training are offered. However, she said, it depends upon the willingness of the trader to receive and embrace it. The city carries out random routine testing and inspection “not because of complaints, but rather as a routine” (Interview, June 7, 2019). Traders are then educated on both personal hygiene and workspace hygiene for handling food. In another issue, she reported that traders sell food that has no expiration dates or food that is about to reach expiry dates. She points out that since traders buy in bulk, and their stock does not finish quickly, as the goods reach their expiry dates, they wipe off the expiry dates printed on the items. This is dangerous to the public. In the context of taking care of the environment they work in, she said,

Traders say when it comes to taking care of the environment, we are harsh with them. But the waste management act states that it is a criminal offense to not manage your waste around your property and it is a criminal offense to dispose of waste everywhere (Interview, May 29, 2019).

The Health Inspector further pointed out that, since traders occupy council land, they should take the responsibility for the spaces they occupy: “Sometimes we do not charge them even though what they are doing is an offense, but traders are illegal so the least they can do is not to commit another offense contradicting the waste management act” (Interview, May 29, 2019). She emphasized that traders should not expect to be treated differently. She compared them to formal business by stating that “as much as the council does not clear waste for formal businesses as they have their own waste management plan, traders should not be treated differently” (Interview, May 29, 2019). If found guilty of an environmental offense, traders are fined and given the responsibility to rehabilitate the environment. She reported that “traders

illegally dispose of their cooking oil and create smoke/fumes in the public spaces as they are not allowed to cook in open-air using cylinders”. The Health Inspector described the attitude of traders by stating that traders are only observant to the environment and adhere to the regulations during their early days of getting their permits, but they eventually relax and not follow regulations.

5.10.3 Council officials suggested solutions

As a way forward, the officials suggested a need for better management and regulation of street trading in the city. The following aspirations and ways of mitigating the current state of trading in the city were raised.

The Mayor, interestingly called for benchmarking of ideas and traders learning from other traders in developed countries such as “Columbia and Switzerland”. He commented that traders in the developed countries are “well organized, clean, they regulate their prices, and there are no conflicts between traders and the city council, nor central government”. Governments in developed countries have trained their informal traders in a very good manner, to the extent that when people visit those countries, they visit those stalls and markets. “I think there should be an exchange; bring the traders from the developed countries to come to show our traders or take ours to the developed countries to see how traders there are organizing themselves” (Interview, May 29, 2019).

On the other hand, the City Clerk said that the change in approach from enforcement to participatory and inclusivity, is to allow traders to help solve trading problems in the city. He highlighted that, when it comes to the informal sector in Botswana, “it is an issue of managing traders” (interview, May 25, 2019). Therefore, he suggested that there should be better regulations that can provide security of tenure to the traders. He proposed that, “there is a need to give traders a space and security for an allocated amount of time. Our intention moving forward is that, we are going to give security of tenure to trader at the bus rank, just like we have started doing at the Broadhurst mall” (interview, May 25, 2019).

The City Planner called for a “new inclusive plan” since the Gaborone Development Plan 1997–2021 is coming to an end. He proposes that, the new plan should be accommodative of informal practices and activities (Interview, June18, 2019).

When asked about what needs to be improved to facilitate trading in the city, the Bye-Law Officer suggested that the new regulation under review needed to be fast-tracked because it is the only way trading “in the city will be governed and not eradicated” (Interview, May 29, 2019). Traders will now have a certain area to occupy that will make enforcement easy. Where they will be easily identified, hence, making coordination easier. Moreover, the officials will know where the traders are from, and how are they operating. It will have the do’s and the don’ts that have not been captured in the previous law. The new law will “make it easy to regulate, identify, and even define what is an informal trader” (Interview, June 3, 2019). The bye-law official reported that;

Through empowering and rationalizing with traders regarding their ways of trading, traders are able to understand their actions. The process in which the bye-law office solves issues with traders is to enforce the law, but we believe that education is key to empowering the people and making the law enforceable, as a last resort (Interview, June 3, 2019).

When the Health Inspector was asked about the way forward and how things can be improved to facilitate trading, she raised the following suggestions: Trading should take place where both the public and the trader are safe. She described the current conditions in which traders are operating as harsh, affecting the quality of products they sell and thus, putting the lives of the public in danger. She recommends that more trainings and workshops should be provided to raise awareness on ways of trading, trading shelters, and proximity of ablutions to trading spaces “because it means that where there are no toilets people don’t wash their hands with water before handling food” (Interview, June 7, 2019).

She suggested that the informal sector should be prioritized in the same way that the government prioritizes the formal sector, pointing out that the government should do more than just run workshops: “Currently, we teach the traders, and they tell us their vision and goals, but I feel it’s not enough what we are doing as government” (Interview, June 7, 2019). She also called for public awareness by emphasizing the role that traders play in the everyday, highlighting that “if you are a working person you might be buying your products from the retail shop but our children, when they are coming from school, they will buy from traders” (Interview, June 7, 2019). When asked if trading in the city is changing, the inspector described change as “happening at an alarming rate. I feel that every time when life gets tough someone

buys a table and sweets and finds a spot to sell them” (Interview, June 7, 2019). The Health Inspector said, it is going to be a struggle to achieve the government's vision of a diamond city because “with no regulation, there will be problems, and there is no consultation between government departments” (Interview, June 7, 2019).

Echoing the same sentiments as other officials, the Health Inspector felt that from a management perspective, the previous years of approaching trading in the city were more about enforcing the law, while currently her department is trying to educate people:

Traders are used to being told that we will charge you, we will close you down, and take your things. I understand that officials are not the same. Maybe as officers, we need to be educated and trained on our mandate and awareness because everyone gets comfortable and abuses their power everywhere. This is particularly important in light of the difference in management and way of approach, not focusing on traders only, but also officials reflecting on the way they engage (Interview, May 29, 2019).

This Chapter has revealed the Gaborone traders’ and city officials lived trading experiences. It has outlined the working relationships between traders and city officials. It has also reflected on the dynamics of managing trading in Gaborone and highlighted the challenges and opportunities for future interventions.

Chapter 6: Summary and Recommendations

This thesis has outlined the views and experiences of Gaborone street traders on one hand and those in the state who manage them, on the other. As previously noted, Rogerson (2016) argues that responses to street traders can be viewed along a continuum from violent repression and sustained evictions, to inclusive and supportive policies. The research shows that the Council has moved away from draconian enforcement of “move on” bye-laws to gradual incorporation. The findings suggest that street traders acting collectively played an important role in securing these gains. Analysis of the current lived experience of street vendors, however, suggests the city still has a significant way to go, before achieving inclusive and supportive policies. Interviews with the politicians and Council officials reveal critical problems. There is a problem of aspiration – with the mayor’s primary reference point being the developed world. The Chief Planner himself noted how traders were not accommodated in the spatial plan. A further critical issue is that the legal framework is outdated, criminalises vending in its sanctions, and does not give traders the right to access space. In recent years, the city police have desisted from confiscating goods, but traders still do not have security of tenure. The interviews with traders showed a range of infrastructure deficits. There are inadequate water points and toilets. This is not only a problem for commuters and customers but also makes it difficult for traders to maintain health and hygiene standards. The council does not provide shelter nor storage, let alone, more sophisticated infrastructure like electricity. One positive is that a number of interviewees highlighted that there was a good working relationship between the council officials and the trader organisation. This is a good basis from which further progress can be made. In the light of these findings, the following recommendations are made.

6.1 INCLUDING STREET TRADERS IN THE NEXT CITY SPATIAL PLAN

Since the Gaborone city development plan 1997–2021 is coming to an end in a year’s time, the planning and review of the next development plans for the city need to incorporate and integrate the informal sector and its practices. The plan should seek to create a liveable, safe city that is compact, with a great mixing of compatible uses. The government needs to engage in a meaningful participatory design process, especially for the shelved Gaborone transport interchange urban renewal project. The project should be used to set precedence for other

transport interchanges across the country. Collaborative design principles and design processes need to be adopted, where all key stakeholders and parties can contribute to the planning and design of spaces. The landscape design strategies and scenarios should provide appropriate street infrastructures such as landscape street furniture, trading structures, mixed-use spaces, and programmed trading spaces into which traders are able to place themselves and their trading structures. There is precedence for this elsewhere – see for example, integration of street traders into urban plans in inner city Durban over the 1995-2005 period (Dobson and Skinner, 2009).

6.2 ACCEPTING STREET TRADERS AND FORMULATING A POLICY

As is the case in many other cities, there needs to be a greater acceptance by the city council – both politicians and bureaucrats – that street traders are a permanent phenomenon. While many government officials did acknowledge that street traders play an important role in employment generation and poverty alleviation, senior officials in particular, still reflected ambivalence about street traders' presence. For example, the Chief Planner reported that, traders use spaces around them indecently because they aren't provided with toilets. In the absence of a street trading policy, officials often referred to outdated and outmoded legislation. Formulating a street trader policy that outlined a common vision and approach would be an important first step in guiding different departments' approaches and should inform a bye-law review.

6.3 UPDATING AND REVISING STREET TRADER BYE-LAWS

If traders are to invest both in their economic activities and their trading areas, security of tenure is critical. The Gaborone street vendor bye-laws need a significant overhaul to grant this security. There is useful international precedence – most notably India's street vending act. The Act commits to ensuring that all existing vendors are accommodated in vending zones and issued certificates of vending; it establishes consultative structures where traders and officials can proactively deal with issues, and appeal and dispute resolution procedures (Parliament of India, 2014).

The bye-laws should be made accessible in simple Setswana and English. Moreover, since street traders are demographically diverse, translation of policies into the mother tongue of the street traders can enhance understanding. In addition, food traders in Gaborone are seen as an environmental hazard for their use of the gas cylinder. Training seminars should be conducted to empower both the city officials, as well as traders, on permits and compliance regarding food

security. The bye-laws should include pictures and comprise of a small pamphlet that traders can be able to carry around.

6.4 CONDUCTING A TRADER CENSUS AND SURVEY

Skinner, Harvey and Reed (2019:11) note that a critical first step in inclusive planning is to know how many traders there are, as well as identify their primary needs. Both city and traders should embark on a city census data collection by area. Since the Thusanang Bagwebi association has area leaders in different sites across the city, they should be a critical part of the enumeration process. Together, traders and officials can assess the holding capacity of each trading site and infrastructure needs and priorities. This information is essential for both macro-planning, area planning, and micro-design of the sites.

6.5 PROVIDING BASIC AND TRADER INFRASTRUCTURE

The provision of basic facilities such as water points and toilets in proximity to trading sites should be a priority. Traders expressed a willingness to take responsibility to manage the public toilets around the main mall and bus rank, rather than the city privatising them. Street traders also need shelter from the elements. On a regular basis, traders are exposed to harsh weather conditions, which damages their goods and reduces their profits. Standard shelters can enhance the cityscape. Traders currently pay private service providers for storage. Council-provided storage facilities would assist in securing their livelihoods. At the bus rank, traders spoke of an old council building that they have identified as suitable for use as a storage facility.

6.6 ESTABLISHING A COLLECTIVE BARGAINING STRUCTURE

Traders and appropriate government officials need to engage regularly to proactively manage space. Creating healthy dialogue spaces, such as stakeholder committees, should play a critical role in monitoring and implementing new approaches, but these dialogue spaces should also be spaces of ongoing monitoring and dispute resolution. A steering committee for policy and legislative changes should be established. The committee should include democratically elected street vendors' representatives, making up 50 per cent of the committee, as well as representatives from different local authority departments that work with traders from decision-making to everyday issues. This committee will assist in the coordination between multiple state agencies.

6.7 STRENGTHENING THE TRADERS' ASSOCIATION

The Thusanang Bagwebi Traders' Association has played an important role in securing existing gains. However, there is a need to find ways to strengthen the association, to further secure a genuine change of heart among council officials and influence policy. Currently, Thusanang Bagwebi association leadership are older men, and the women hold administrative positions; there are no young people. There should be diversity in the leadership of the association, with more women and youth integrated into leadership positions. Young people should be part of the leadership so that they are able to engage with technology and have the association accessible through different mediums.

Currently, the membership and minutes of meetings are manual. Digitisation of the records and documents of the association should be a priority, including up-to-date membership and financial records, digitized for both transparency and recruitment. Education and awareness should be provided as a way to empower both traders' leadership, and workshops and seminar meetings should also be held regularly for empowering traders about their rights as well.

The association needs to seek membership in the regional traders' organization, such as Street Net International, an international organization established to assist street vendors in organizing and advocacy on issues affecting their operations (www.streetnet.org.za). Membership-based organizations directly organizing street and market traders are entitled to affiliate to Street Net, and Thusanang Bagwebi qualifies. Support is provided through direct leadership training, exchange visits that allow sharing of experiences among traders, and documenting and disseminating better practices. Locally, the association should seek to be open to, and accommodative of professional support in the form of an NGO or developing a board of directors.

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Chapter 8: Appendix

APPENDIX 1: CONSENT FORM -TRADERS

DEPARTMENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL & GEOGRAPHICAL SCIENCE

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN
PRIVATE BAG X3
RONDEBOSCH 7701
SOUTH AFRICA

RESEARCHER: Goabamang Lethugile
TELEPHONE: +27-72-421 7428
E-MAIL: goabamang@gmail.com
URL: www.egs.uct.ac.za



Informed Voluntary Consent to Participate in Research Study-Traders

Project Title: **Encountering City Governance: An Analysis of Street Trading in Gaborone, Botswana**

Invitation to participate, and benefits: My name is Goabamang Lethugile, I am a student at the University of Cape Town. I am working on a study about street traders struggles and how they overcome them.

I would like to ask you a set of questions about your experience as a trader. If you agree I will record the interview and take pictures of your workplace.

In writing up my research I will not mention your name nor where you work. At any point in the interview you can tell me that you would prefer to stop. If there is anything you would prefer that I don't record, please let me know.

If you agree to participate in this study, you are required to sign this consent form.

Signing this form means is that:

The research has been explained to you and you understand what your participation will involve.

I agree to participate in this research project.

I agree to the audio recording of the interview. Yes No____(Initials)

I agree to the photographing of my workstation. Yes No____(Initials)

_____	_____	_____
Initials	Signature of Participant	Date
<hr/>		
_____	_____	_____
Name of Researcher	Signature of Researcher	Date

APPENDIX 2: INTERVIEW WITH TRADERS (ENGLISH INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE)

Date	Interview Location				
Gender				Male	
Nature of Structure				Permanent	
Type of Display Structure	Table	Trading Shelter	Food Cart	Basket	Other
Goods Sold					
Locality of area	Market	Roadside	Edge of Street	Transport interchange	

Introduction

Dumelang, my name is Goabamang Lethugile. I am a student from the University of Cape Town, and I am currently working on a research project that explores, how Gaborone street traders navigate their everyday trading practices. I would like to know if it will be possible for me to ask you a few questions about your work and trading experiences in Gaborone. It will not take more than 1 hour. Please feel free to continue trading as we talk. I am going to take down notes based on the interview and on the various activities taking place around here.

Are you comfortable with the interview being conducted in English or Setswana (y/n) ___?

- 1. Tell me about yourself, and tell me about your trade business**
- 2. Tell me about this area**
- 3. Access to infrastructure**
Are there toilets in this area?
Where do you store your goods?
- 4. Tell me about your relationship with local government**
Who in the state do you see the most?
What are the issues /concerns?
- 5. Have there been significant moments of conflict – if so please tell me about this**
- 6. Have there been periods of good engagement with the government officials – please tell me about them.**
- 7. Do you need a licence to trade in this area?**
If so, how much does it cost?
- 8. Collective action (Association)**
Are you a member of a trader organisation?
How long have you been a member?
What have been the benefits of being a part of the association?
- 9. How is an average day in this trading area like?**
- 10. Who are your customers?**
- 11. Relationship with formal economy/institutions**
- 12. Other challenges**
Any others significant challenges you have experienced in your trading? Get critical incident info here on strategies used to overcome these challenges.
- 13. Looking into the future**
What you most like to see change in this trading area? (The stall, design, location or management) Why is this important?
- 14. What aspects or character of Gaborone city can be improved in facilitating trading?**

APPENDIX 3: INTERVIEW WITH TRADERS (SETSWANA QUESTIONNAIRE)

Date	Interview Location				
Gender				Male	
Nature of Structure				Permanent	
Type of Display Structure	Table	Trading Shelter	Food Cart	Basket	Other
Goods Sold					
Locality of area	Market	Roadside	Edge of Street	Transport interchange	

Introduction

Dumelang, my name is Goabamang Lethugile. I am a student from the University of Cape Town, and I am currently working on a research project that explores, how Gaborone street traders navigate their everyday trading practices. I would like to know if it will be possible for me to ask you a few questions about your work and trading experiences in Gaborone. It will not take more than 1 hour. Please feel free to continue trading as we talk. I am going to take down notes based on the interview and on the various activities taking place around here.

Are you comfortable with the interview being conducted in English or Setswana (y/n) ___?

1. Ke Kopa o impolelle ka botlalo gore:

O mang?

Ko gae?

Le gore mo nakong eno, o nna kae?

2. Ke kopa o mpoelle ka bagaeno gore:

O nna le bo mang ko lwapeng?

Ke ba le palo e kae ba ba tshelang ka wena?

K e ba le kae ko gaeno ba ba nang le letseno kgotsa ba ba berekang?

3. Ke kopa o mpoelle ka kgwebo e ya gago gore:

O simolotse go gwebela fana leng?

Ke eng se se go rotloeditseng go gwebala fano?

4. Ke kopa o mpoellele ka kgaolo ena gore:

E fetogile jang go tswa nako e e fetileng?

Ha o direlang teng ha, go fetogile jang?

A bagwebi ba o ketsegile kgotsa ba fokotsegile ka palo?

A o itse mabaka a gore ka goreng go ntse jalo?

5. Ke kopa o mpoellele ka ditlamelo tsa kago mo kgaolong e?

A gona le matlwana a boithomelo?

O aya kae dithoto tsa gago ha o chaisa?

A go na le dikgwetlho hano?

Ha di le teng, o di kgona jang?

6. Ke lefe lekalana la puso le lo dirisanyang thata?

A lona le tirisanyo le makalana a puso a tshwanetseng go le thusa?

Dikgang tse di lo tshwenyang ke di fe?

A go a tle go nne le nako tse o akanyang gore lo tlhoka tirisanyo mmogo le makalana a lona a puso?

A go tle go nne le nako tse lo dirisanya molemo le makalana a lona a puso?

A go gwebela fa go tlhoka tseletso ya semolao?

Ha go ntse jalo, e lopa bokae?

7. A o leloko la mokgathlo mongwe wa bagwebi ba karolo e ya toropo?

Ha go ntse jalo, ke lebaka le le kae o le leloko?

A gona le mosola mongwe o o itemogetseng ka boloko jo?

8. Mpolelele ka letsatsi la gago hano gore;

O gorogo ga hano nako mang o tswe nako mang?

O reka kae dithoto tse o di rekisang?

A o na le tirisano mmogo le bangwe bagwebi ba madirelo?

9. A go na le dikgwetlho tse dingwe tse o kopanang le tsona mo kgwebong ya gago?

10. Ke eng se o ka ratang go bona se fetoga mo kgaolwaneng e ya kgwebo?

Ke eng se o akanyang gore se ka tokafadiwa go tokafatsa go gweba ka kwano?

Ka goreng o rialo?

O akanya gore dikgwetlho tse di ka arabiwa jang?

APPENDIX 4: SUMMARY TABLE OF TRADERS INTERVIEWED

Location	Locality of trading area	Trading structure	Trading years	Sole owner	Gender	Good sold
Bus Rank	Middle of Bus Rank	Shelter	14	Co-owner	Female	Clothes, shoes, perfumes, beauty products
	In front of the buses along the fence	shelter	21	√	Female	Cooked food and soft drinks
	In front of the buses along the fence	shelter	7	√	Female	Cooked food and soft drinks
	Pedestrian bridge side by the entrance, Gaborone hotel,	shelter	20	√	Male	Sweets, oranges, pies, hotdogs
	An alley (pavement) between the buses	Table	21	√	Female	Oranges, sweets, airtime, cigarette's, biscuits,
Main Mall	Along the mall promenade	Hot dog food Cart	12	√	Male	Hot dogs and soft drinks
	Along the mall promenade	Table and gazebo	5	√	Female	Sweets, oranges, airtime.
	Along the mall promenade	Tree and chair	18	√	Male	Service, shoe repair
	Along the mall promenade Infront of Spar	Table and umbrella	22	√	Female	Traditional Food
	Along the mall promenade Centre	Shelter	26	√	Female	Leather shoes, jackets and belts (Traditional attire)
University	University Small Gate Entrance	Table and umbrella	12	√	Female	Sweets, oranges, airtime, muffins, chips
	University Small Gate Entrance	Table and umbrella	9	√	Female	Sweets, Bananas, Biscuits, airtime,
	University Small Gate Entrance	Table and Umbrella	17	√	Female	Sweets, Bananas, Biscuits, airtime,

APPENDIX 5: KEY INFORMANTS INTERVIEWED

Interviewee	Position	Company/Organization/Department	Date
Mr Kagiso Calvin Thutlwe	Mayor	Gaborone city Council City Mayor	29/05/2019
Mr Lebuile Israel	Town Clerk	Gaborone City Council City Clerk	29/05/2019
Mr Eric Mokgatlhe	Principal Licensing/ Commission Officer	Gaborone city Council Commercial and Licensing	29/05/2019
Mr Prayer Thapelo Ngiye	Superintendent Bye law officer	Gaborone City Council Legal Services	03/06/2019
Mr Kaelo Masara	Chief Physical Planner	Gaborone City Council	18/06/2019
Bontle Ratladi	Chief Health Inspector Officer 1	Gaborone city council Environmental Health and Public Health	07/03/2019
Kagiso Masupane	President	Thusanang Bagwebi Traders Association	17/06/2019

**APPENDIX 6:KEY INFORMANTS FULL INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE: SENIOR
OFFICIALS
GABORONE CITY COUNCIL**

Date	
Name	
Position	
Department	

Introduction

Dumelang, my name is Goabamang Lethugile. I am a student from the University of Cape Town, and I am currently working on a research project that explores, how Gaborone street traders navigate their everyday trading practices? The interview will not take more than 45 minutes of your time.

Introductory questions

1. Could you please elaborate on the functions of your office in Gaborone with respect to the informal traders and public space, i.e. what is this Office responsible for?
2. What support structures and resources does your office allocate to street traders in the city?
3. How important is street trading /informality to the government/Gaborone city Council agenda?
4. How does the Gaborone city Council /Government resolve conflict with traders?
5. How has street trading in the city changed over time and what challenges have the city experience. Are there any policies, plans or programmes in place to support their existence?
6. What is the city council's /governments approach towards informality in the city? How is Gaborone City Council / the government currently incorporating informality in the city?
7. Is this approach changing since we have now adopted the sustainable goals that speaks?
8. In spatial terms, how do you plan to facilitate and integrate the informal sector?
9. How do you address this issue where traders are stating that, to trade in the mall all you need is an Identity Card that shows you are a Motswana? From the perspective of Council how do you then manage such a scenario of trading with no permits.
10. What is the vision of the city? How do you see the city growing?
11. Do you see this city trying to envision a first-class city or a standalone city?
12. What is your relationship with the traders in general?

**APPENDIX 7: KEY INFORMANTS FULL INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE: STREET-
LEVEL BUREAUCRATS
GABORONE CITY COUNCIL**

Date	
Name	
Position	
Department	

Introduction

Dumelang, my name is Goabamang Lethugile. I am a student from the University of Cape Town, and I am currently working on a research project that explores, how Gaborone street traders navigate their everyday trading practices? The interview will not take more than 45 minutes of your time.

Introductory questions

1. Tell me about, what is an average day like when working with informal traders.
2. What is your ideal scenario of working with informal traders in the city and what issues are dealing with, are they allowed?
3. Could you please elaborate on the functions of your office in Gaborone with respect to the informal traders and public space, i.e. what is this Office responsible for?
4. What support structures and resources does your office allocate to street traders in the city?
5. How important is street trading /informality to the government/Gaborone city Council agenda?
6. How does the Gaborone city Council /Government resolve conflict with traders?
7. In that case, how do you manage space where someone has been trading on a space for years.
8. What aspects or character of the Gaborone city can be improved in facilitating informal trade?
9. How has street trading in the city changed over time and what challenges have the city experience.
10. So how do you deal with those that have become temporary permanent?
11. What is the city council's /governments approach towards informality in the city?

APPENDIX 8: CONSENT FORM -KEY INFORMANTS

DEPARTMENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL & GEOGRAPHICAL SCIENCE

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN
PRIVATE BAG X3
RONDEBOSCH 7701
SOUTH AFRICA

RESEARCHER: Goabamang Lethugile
TELEPHONE: +27-72-421 7428
E-MAIL: goabamang@gmail.com
URL: www.egs.uct.ac.za



Informed Voluntary Consent to Participate in Research Study-Key Informants

Project Title: **Encountering City Governance: An Analysis of Street Trading in Gaborone, Botswana**

Invitation to participate, and benefits: My name is Goabamang Lethugile, I am a student at the University of Cape Town. I am working on a study about street traders struggles and how they overcome them.

I would like to ask you a set of questions about your experience working with traders. If you agree I will record the interview. The goal is to provide an overview of your institution and/or your personal views on the research topic. For the purpose of this research, the position you hold, and the name of your institution may be identifiable.

However, all information collected during our discussion will be kept confidential. Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. At any point in the interview you can tell me that you would prefer to stop. If there is anything you would prefer that I don't record, please let me know.

If you agree to participate in this study, you are required to sign this consent form.

Signing this form means is that:

The research has been explained to you and you understand what your participation will involve.

I agree to participate in this research project.

I agree to the disclosure of my institution/affiliation. Yes No _____
(Initials)

I agree to the disclosure of my position. Yes No _____
(Initials)

_____	_____	_____
Initials	Signature of Participant	Date
_____	_____	_____
Name of Researcher	Signature of Researcher	Date