

Car guarding as a survival and livelihood strategy: A comparative study of the
negotiation of working space in Hillcrest and Hatfield

by

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Declaration of Authenticity

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that this mini-dissertation is my own, original, authentic and unaided work. Secondary material (sources and literature, either in printed form or from the internet) utilized in this mini-dissertation have been duly acknowledged and referenced in accordance with the requirements of the Department of Sociology, Faculty of Humanities at the University of Pretoria. This mini-dissertation is submitted in partial fulfilment of the degree: Master of Social Science in Industrial Sociology and Labour Studies at the University of Pretoria and it has not been submitted for any other degree at any other university.

Signature

Date.....

Dedication

I dedicate this mini-dissertation to my mother, Nkhatau Francina. You raised me to be the woman I am today. Your unconditional love, prayers, encouragement and support are the underlying elements of my strength. You have been my pillar and source of encouragement during the tough times of writing this mini-dissertation and when I could not bear it all. I remember the late night telephone calls we used to have and your words of encouragement when all my energy was drained. You became a constant reminder of who I am and you never ceased to stimulate me to be ambitious and strive for who I choose to be. I am grateful for all you have done for me and I love you so much mom.

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My family, especially my mother has always been my profound source of strength. Thank you all for your prayers, support and the love you have shown me.

To my friends Nkaiseng, Bongiwe, Siphesihle, Florence, Esther, Mukhethwa, Sandla, Mosa and John, I wish to extend my gratitude to you all for the support through tough times. Thank you for the time you spend with me during the duration of my studies and for always being willing to discuss and share insightful ideas with me regarding this research.

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Abstract.

Car guarding has emerged as one of the informal economic activities that form an integral part of the South African urban landscape. This activity serves as a source of livelihood for many individuals who face limited job opportunities and numerous barriers to entry into the formal economy. Drawing on conceptualisations of space, flexible accumulation and sustainable livelihoods, this research explored the work-life experiences and challenges that Pretoria car guards face in negotiating their working spaces. The generation of livelihoods in relation to the utilisation of public space by car guards was explored. The study outlines the significance of access to public space in the generation of livelihoods for car guards as well as their reasons for doing this type of work.

Findings indicate that the primary reason for engaging in car guarding is to earn an income and survive in the midst of unemployment, limited job opportunities and poverty, given the low level of education and skills participants have. The study further revealed that urban public space is a pivotal physical asset through which car guards secure their livelihoods. Nonetheless, the utilisation of urban public space is highly contested and negotiated with an array of different actors such as: those in positions of authority¹, the general public and fellow car guards. In negotiating their working spaces, car guards face competition and conflict as major challenges. Social skills and interpersonal relations play a pivotal role when it comes to accessing and entering car guarding. In their work they face an array of challenges ranging from exposure to fluctuating weather conditions, lack of a secure environment to harassment by those in positions of authority. Given their income insecurity, car guards are forced to work long hours and they employ different strategies to negotiate their working space in urban public places. These include aggressively defending their turf against other fellow car guards as well as paying certain amounts through both informal and formal arrangements to those in positions of authority to secure their working space. This as a result renders the urban public space as a commodity with territorial meanings and ownership attached to it.

¹ In this research, people in positions of authority refer to the Tshwane Metro Police, the South African Police Service (SAPS) officials, The Tshwane City Improvement District (CID) officials and security guards

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List of Abbreviations

CBD	: Central Business District
CID	: City Improvement District
DRC	: Democratic Republic of Congo
GDP	: Gross Domestic Product
ID	: Identity Document
ILO	: International Labour Organisation
IMF	: International Monetary Fund
KZN	: KwaZulu-Natal
LED	: Local Economic Development
PSIR Act	: Private Security Industry Regulation Act 56 of 2001
PSIRA	: Private Security Industry Regulatory Authority
QES	: Quarterly Employment Survey
QLSF	: Quarterly Labour Force Survey
SA	: South Africa
SAPS	: South African Police Service
SLF	: Sustainable Livelihoods Framework
TMPD	: Tshwane Metro Police Department
USA	: United States of America
WIEGO	: Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background and statement of the problem

Work in pre-industrial societies, referred in a generalised way to activities directed at satisfying the human need for survival, for a vast majority, at subsistence level. Edgell (2006) indicates that with industrialisation and the emergence of capitalist societies, this conception of work significantly changed and work became synonymous with regular paid employment. Initially, such work was undertaken outside the home by adult males, who took up the role as breadwinners, whilst females were homemakers, responsible for the reproduction of the household and all the unpaid labour within it. However, with major changes to the organisation of work and as technological innovation advanced, mechanisation contributed to physical and manual labour becoming less important.

With significant advancements in technology, in a globalising context, one of the most important changes in work organisation has been the increasing flexibility in employment systems. Employers seek greater flexibility to rapidly adapt and respond to the challenges of globalisation, international competitiveness, diversity in markets as well as new technological developments. This drive to flexibility in employment systems has led to a restructured nature of work and labour itself (Edgell, 2006:24; Boyer 1987; Vallas, 1999).

The transition from apartheid in South Africa to a democratic representative political system in 1994 led to new economic opportunities through trade and financial liberalisation (Skinner, 2002). This resulted in significant political, economic and social changes: a triple transition (Webster & Von Holdt, 2005). South Africa's participation in the global economy significantly altered and restructured the labour market. For example, following the shift to democracy, there were significant changes in the labour market in terms of job restructuring, whereby in a number of workplaces there were numerous cases where permanent employment decreased and many workers were drawn into flexible forms of employment. As a result, employment flexibility has resulted in significant job losses and retrenchments as well as the emergence of numerous forms of atypical or non-permanent employment such as contract work, casual labour, informal work and unpaid work. Webster (2005) argues that South Africa's trade and economic liberalisation has deepened and increased competition, leading to a differentiation of

workers between those in the formal sector in permanent jobs, those who survive through contract or casual labour and those who undertake activities in the informal sector for survival. Research indicates that there is a growth in the number of workers occupying contract, casual and temporary employment in South Africa (Theron, 2005, Webster & Von Holdt, 2005). As a result, labour market flexibility in South Africa is more noticeable in the creation of non-permanent employment driven by the reduction of wage and wage costs and this has been associated with growing labour insecurity.

According to Valodia, et.al, (2006) the rapid growth of atypical forms and informalisation of work in the South African labour market has led to job losses in the formal sector, ultimately resulting in a number of people in the workforce without access to the formal institutions that govern the labour market. The combination of labour market flexibility, informalisation of work and a high unemployment rate in the country compels many people to resort to the informal sector in order to survive. In most cases the kinds of jobs that people resort to in the informal sector are often precarious, lack benefits, have low wages and contribute to new lines of social inclusion and exclusion (Webster, 2006). In the post-apartheid South Africa, the margins of informality of work have expanded and this is seen in the increasing visibility of street vendors, shoe repairers, day labourers, recyclers and car guards amongst others, as forms of atypical work.

In recent years, the presence of car guards in most South African cities and towns have substantially increased. This provides a particularly strong case for ‘making work’. It is a survival and livelihood strategy for those who face barriers to entry into the formal sector. Informal economic livelihood activities in the public spaces of South African cities are gradually attracting research attention. Research done on car guarding, has focused on it as an informal market containing a public good element (McEwen & Leiman, 2008); the identity construction of white Afrikaner car guards (Dekker, 2010); whether car guarding can provide a solution for the plight of unemployment in South Africa (Blaauw & Bothma, 2003); and the prevalence and nature of harassment of drivers by car guards and the harassment of car guards by police and security forces (Bernstein, 2003).

Additionally, theoretical discussions and debates around the informal economy and associated activities have their focus on three dimensions, namely: the activity conducted, the people conducting the activity (in most cases these are the marginalised, unemployed and poor) and

the habitat where the activity is conducted. Taking into consideration all the three dimensions, this study explores car guard's activities, their working conditions, as well as their work-life experiences. It seeks to take a specific position and focus on their livelihoods in relation to space. Therefore, it is the focus of this study to establish how car guards negotiate their working space and the challenges they face in doing so as well as how the particular working spaces influence and shape their livelihoods. This will be done by drawing a comparison between car guards who work in the public streets of Hatfield in Pretoria and those who work at a parking space of a shopping complex in Hillcrest Pretoria.

1.2 Research question

Since this study sets out to explore and understand the work-life experiences and challenges of car guards as well as how negotiated working spaces impact on and shape their livelihoods, the following research question drives the study in the light of issues discussed above:

How do car guards negotiate and experience their work?

Related to this main research question, the following subsidiary questions are considered:

- How did they become car guards?
- What prior work experience, if any, do car guards have?
- What is the rationale behind choosing particular spaces to work in as a car guard?
- What challenges do car guards face in negotiating working spaces?
- How does working space impact on the livelihoods of car guards?

1.3 Aims and objectives of the study

This study aims to explore and unpack the work-life experiences of car guards. It considers the significance of urban public space to car guards in generating livelihoods and further aims to explore how car guards negotiate their working space, the challenges they face in doing so and how working in those particular spaces influence and shape their livelihoods.

1.4 Outline of chapters

This study comprises of seven chapters.

Chapter 2: *The changing nature of labour – from standard to flexible forms of employment* provides a review of literature on work and labour. It considers the changing nature of labour and work restructuring in the context of globalisation and the emergence of atypical forms of employment as a result. Focusing on South Africa's informal economy, it locates its significance as a buffer against unemployment in which car guarding is a survivalist economic activity.

Chapter 3: *The changing nature of work, livelihoods and space* outlines the conceptual framework that underpins and drives this study. Three conceptual frameworks namely; flexible accumulation, sustainable livelihoods framework and urban space as an asset are discussed. These frameworks complement each other, providing a clear and useful approach to understand how in an era of flexible accumulation due to labour market reforms, those excluded from formal job opportunities use space to generate incomes and make a living.

Chapter 4: *Methodology* details the research design that underpins the study, highlighting the methods of data collection and sources of data used in the study, the selection of participants and research sites, as well as data analysis methods and the role the researcher undertook in the study. Ethical issues related to the study are also discussed.

Chapter 5: *Surviving on the brink: the work-life experiences and challenges faced by car guards* outlines the daily work-life experiences of car guards and the challenges they face in their attempt to make ends meet through car guarding. The chapter looks into the dynamics of engaging in car guarding; delineating the driving factors behind engaging in the activity, car guards' perceptions about the activity as well as the experiences and challenges they face in conducting car guarding.

Chapter 6: *Contested and negotiated working spaces: the art of hustling* explores and discusses the negotiation of working space as a physical asset that largely shapes and influences the livelihoods of car guards. The chapter outlines the mechanisms and strategies that car guards use to negotiate their working spaces; the challenges they face in negotiating working spaces,

the meanings they attach to their working spaces as well as the effect and implication of such negotiation on their livelihoods.

Chapter 7: *Summary of findings and conclusion*, provides a brief overview of key findings, identifies some of the limitations of the study and offers recommendations for further research.

Chapter 2: The changing nature of labour – from standard to flexible forms of employment

2.1 The changing nature of work in the formal economy

Literature on the changing nature of work in the formal economy and in the context of globalisation has mainly focused on the transition from Fordism to post-Fordism and reflects on the changes in working life associated with this transition. The fundamental elements of the transition from Fordism to post-Fordism include the change from rigid to flexible work regimes, flexible capital accumulation and work restructuring based on factors like changes in systems of economic production methods, flexible specialisation, advanced technology, introduction of machines, labour process organisations as well as the flexible utilisation of labour (Burrows, et.al, 1992; Amin, 1994; Omomowo, 2010 and Omomowo 2011).

Castells (2001) identifies the shift to flexible labour as one of the major developments in the new economy, which has challenged the traditional form of stable employment in a standardised labour market. According to Barker (1999: 41) labour market flexibility refers to

“the extent to which different elements of the labour market can adjust to the changing circumstances. It includes flexibility relating to working hours, wages and other labour costs, a flexible workforce, job security, and recruitment. Labour market flexibility is said to be an important element in the battle against unemployment, as it helps make an enterprise more competitive”.

Labour economics differentiates between functional and numerical labour market flexibility, in which the former refers to the flexibility of internal work arrangements where workers are redeployed from one task to another and the latter refers to the ability of the employer or organisations to adjust the size of the work force. The above mentioned types of flexibility are achieved through flexibility in remuneration which involves adjustments in pay systems, methods and structures. Within the context of globalisation and intensified market competition employers sought greater flexibility in their employment systems to be able to rapidly adapt and adjust to developments of technology and diverse labour markets. Kalleberg (2003:156) argues that numerical and functional flexibility “have been used effectively to pursue the employer’s adaptation to rapid technological developments and diverse and competitive labour

markets”. He further argues that employers in the United States (US) benefited from adopting flexible work practices and employment systems, since such flexible work practices contributed to improved productivity and performance, and allowed employers to save labour costs and obtain greater profits. However, the flip side of such attempts to achieve flexibility include job insecurity and increased segmentation of the work force into core and periphery components leading to a distinction between organisational insiders and outsiders.

Skinner (2002) indicates that, employees consider functional flexibility to have led to changes not only in their working hours but also in terms of their flexibility and mobility. As a result, this has led to a variety of different forms of employment relations ranging from casual work, temporary work, part time work and subcontracting to work at home. Similarly, Kalleberg (2003) alludes that in the US numerical flexibility has led to an increase in some forms of non-permanent work, particularly contract work. Moreover, Atkinson (1984) associates the changing nature of work and employment practices with the ideal notion of a flexible firm, where issues of numerical and functional flexibility apply. He further maintains that the flexible firm strives for both numerical and functional flexibility by dividing workers into two classifications which are: the core and the periphery – the former having long-term employment security and benefits with high wages and the latter lacking long term employment security and with relatively low wages.

In a South African context, the changing nature of work and work restructuring can be captured and conceptualised under two broad headings, namely: the triple transition and labour market flexibility. With the end of apartheid in 1994, South Africa witnessed political, social and economic changes and transitions. Webster and Omar (2003) argue that South Africa’s triple transition towards economic liberation, political democracy and racial equity has generated a variety of responses at the workplace level. The contradictory trends are highlighted by Webster and Von Holdt (2005:4) who contend:

“The transition from authoritarianism to democracy has created a host of new democratic rights for workers, trade unions and citizens and generated at the same time a contestation over the realisation of such rights”

Moreover, the transition from a locally oriented, protected and isolated economy to a globally integrated and competitive one, accompanied by changes in the nature of work and labour, has

led to significant changes in the in the South African labour market. The use of advanced technology and the incorporation of women in the labour market has itself led to labour restructuring (Webster & Von Holdt, 2005).

South Africa's triple transition fundamentally changed the workplace order and the nature of work in the country. During the apartheid era, the workplace regime was racially structured and encompassed racially oppressive orders, derived from South Africa's settler colonial history. Black people only occupied low skilled jobs and did not have the same benefits as whites, thus the distribution of power, occupations, skill and income was racially defined (Webster & Von Holdt, 2005). In the post-apartheid era, the nature of work and what used to be work changed significantly. Discriminatory apartheid laws were repealed and a new labour relations regime designed to offer equal opportunities in society was introduced in workplaces underpinned by the Labour Relations Act of 1995, Employment Equity Act of 1998 and the Skills Development Act of 1998, amongst others.

However, with South Africa's economy being forces of globalisation through trade and financial liberalisation from the mid-1990s, there was a need to transform workplace practices and work organisations with regard to, efficiency and productivity to deal with the challenges that industries faced due to South Africa's re-entry into the competitive global market. Webster (2006) indicates that employers dealt with this by restructuring production, establishing new patterns of work organisations, relocating production units and defining their own systems of industrial relations differently from the national and sectorial arrangements.

With the restructuring of the labour market and production in South Africa came new patterns of employment, methods of remuneration, a variety of atypical work arrangements resulting in workers' insecurity. Most firms and industries in restructuring their production units downsized their employees through retrenchments. This resulted in an increasing loss of jobs. For workers, being retrenched implied both a loss of their source of income and an opportunity to develop their skills.

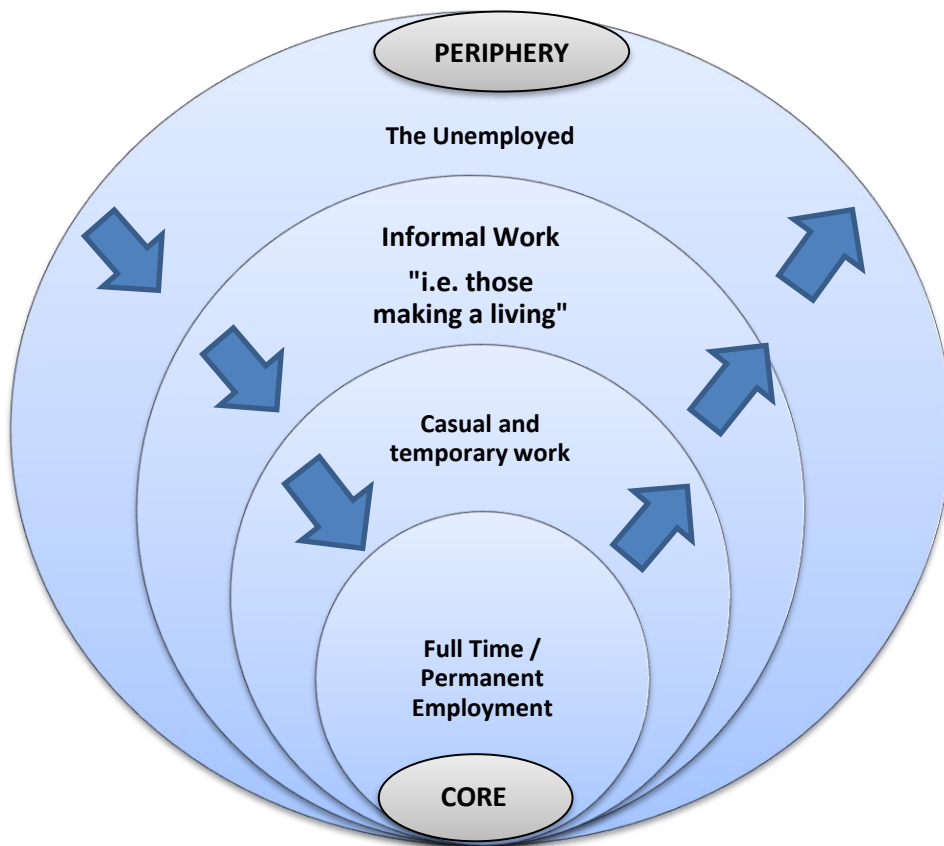
Webster and Von Holdt (2005) argue that, in the post-apartheid era, there is a growing differentiation of workers at three levels within the world of work (ranging from those who earn a living to those who make a living). The first category includes workers who occupy the formal sector of the economy and are in more or less stable employment relations, earn regular

wages and have employment benefits such as trade union representation, provident and pension funds and medical aids. They enjoy greater job security, good promotions and skills development. Workers in this category are “earning a living”.

The second category is that of workers who perform casual and/or externalised work. These workers include non-core workers who are confronted by fluid employment relations and work in temporary or part-time positions or are hired through sub-contractors or labour brokers and provide greater numerical flexibility in employment for the corporation. More often than not, workers in this category are more mobile, lack benefits and endure less job security. All evidence highlights a very significant growth of workers in this category in the last few years (Webster & Von Holdt, 2005; Harvey, 1990; Standing, et.al, 1996, and Theron, 2005). Harvey (1989) indicates that it is not only the employment conditions of workers in the second category that lead to their dissatisfaction, but also the collective effects and long term impacts of lack of benefits, low wages and levels of job (in)security that in most instances lead to intensified worker dissatisfaction.

The last category of workers is those who occupy the informal economy or “the periphery”, these are workers who are regarded to be “making a living” through informal activities like gardening, repairing shoes, cleaning and car guarding for example. Workers in this category have no employment benefits at all, they have very low incomes and the kind of work they perform affords very poor financial security. Figure 1 below illustrates and captures this division of workers within the worlds of work.

Figure 1: Classification of workers within the worlds of work²



Webster (2005) further argues that these categories or classifications of the worlds of work are not horizontal but are stratified and hierarchical in nature as well as in terms of the ability of workers to access possessions and resources. Since the distinction between those who ‘earn a living’ and those who ‘make a living’ is not entirely cast in stone; upward and downward mobility of workers belonging to different categories is possible. Those who “make a living” face the challenge of being marginal within the economy and the labour market. They often lack skills and access to financial resources and market information. However, this as Webster (2005:67) maintains, “does not mean that they belong to a separate economy”.

In a South African context, certain groups of people are affected by unemployment more than others. This is shaped by gender, class, race and age. The phenomenon has a historical context, whereby during the apartheid era South Africans were not given an equal opportunity to get educated, find employment or acquire and develop skills. In the current context of labour

² Figure 1 is a modified diagram from Webster (2005:66). The arrows indicate the possible movement of workers from one category to another, either from the core to the periphery or vice-versa.

market flexibility, informalisation of work is increasing and jobs are being lost in the formal sector of the economy, significantly adding to the increasing rate of unemployment in the country. This coupled with low levels or lack of skills in the labour force, inadequate education and growing population demographics in the country results in an ever-increasing number of people occupying the remaining category in worlds of work- “the periphery”. Often this means survivalist or subsistence activities in the informal economy that are in most cases the least-lucrative, contributing little to the individual’s quality of life, and underlying their vulnerability.

Moreover, Allan, et.al (2001) indicate that there is a common shift from permanent employment to alternative forms of employment whereby non-standard employment forms such as temporary, casual, and part-time work are gradually replacing permanent employment in most sectors of the economies of developing countries. According to Webster and Von Holdt (2005), in recent years in South Africa, non-core and peripheral work has shown great expansion. This can mainly be attributed to the fact that companies and employers are working towards achieving greater flexibility and cost reductions. Similarly, Theron (2005) argues that, with the changing nature of work in South Africa, there has been an emergence of new forms of work and a continuous replacement of permanent workers with non-permanent permanent staff members within employment systems. This then highlights the growing capacity of non-permanent employment practices in the country which are largely a result of work restructuring and labour market flexibility, including the way in which labour is recruited, used and rewarded.

Not only does South Africa present a strong case of informalisation of work and a shift towards contract and casual labour but also an increasing pattern of informal economic activities undertaken outside the formal sector of the economy for survival. Work in the informal economy plays a major role in supporting the creation of livelihoods and forms part of the individual survival strategies of the poor or those with limited skills and opportunities of finding employment. An increasing number of people are occupying the informal economy for survival. Car guards in South Africa are amongst the people making a living in the informal economy.

2.2 South Africa's labour market trends

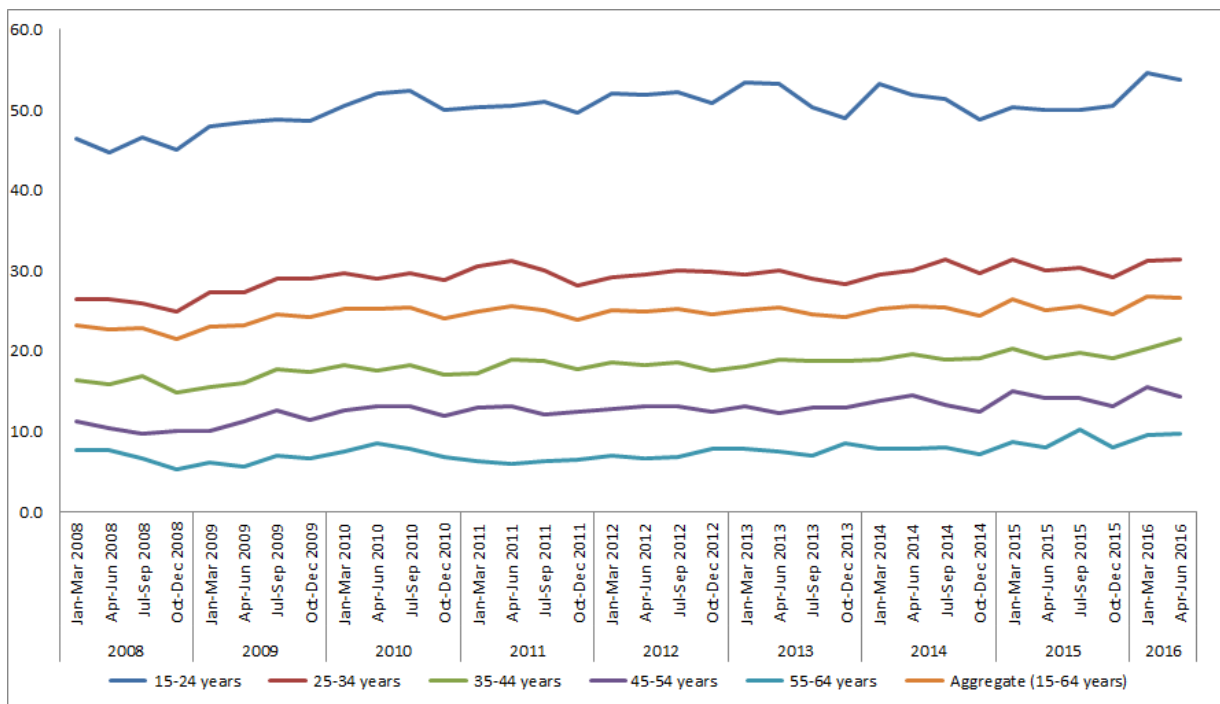
Standing (1999) argues that the South African labour market was not protected from the process of globalisation and work restructuring that came along with it, resulting in a rapid growth of informal employment. Work restructuring and the increasing informalisation of work in South Africa has reduced opportunities to access formal institutions in the labour market. This by implication led to a creation of a segmented workforce (Valodia, et.al, 2006) and a poor working population (Omomowo, 2011). The process of informalisation, whereby formal jobs with employment contracts were converted into informal jobs without employment contracts were evident in South Africa (Adcorp Employment Index, 2011). Devey, et.al (2006) mention that, the International Labour Organisation's report on South Africa's labour indicated that, as early as the mid- 1990s labour market flexibility and informalisation of work was growing in the country. The rapid growth of atypical and informal work in South Africa is highlighted by Standing, et al. (1996) who contend that most manufacturing firms utilize atypical and informal forms of employment such as part-time, casual or temporary employment. This was corroborated by a study conducted across different sectors (mining, retail, manufacturing, food & clothing, transport & construction), by Theron and Godfrey (2000). They found the firms did not only utilise temporary, part-time and casual employment but also used labour-broking as another form of atypical and informal employment.

According to Webster & Omar (2003) formal employment has declined significantly due to growing global competitive pressures leading to large scale retrenchments in traditional industries like mining and manufacturing. This has led to steady significant growth of unemployment and a growing informal economy (Von Hold & Webster, 2008). Formal full-time employment is gradually being replaced by atypical and informal employment. Given changing employment relations, increasing outsourcing and intense casualisation and informalisation of work, there were significant job losses in different sectors of the formal economy and this led to a large number of the workforce seeking livelihoods in the informal economy.

The Adcorp Employment Index report (2011) indicates that due to the high unemployment rate and limited job opportunities in South Africa, there has been a growth of economic activities in the informal sector. According to the Quarterly Labour Force Survey (QLSF) statistics, 2 641 000 South Africans work and make a living in the informal sector (2016: 1). Although this

number of workers is proportionately far smaller than in other neighboring developing countries in the region, it still represents 16.7% of total employment in the country. The country's high unemployment coupled with the changing nature of work in the labour market are the main reasons behind the informal economy acting as a sink for the excess supply of labour. Figure 2 below indicates the unemployment rate in South Africa from the year 2008 to 2016.

Figure 2: Unemployment rate per age groups (2008- 2016)

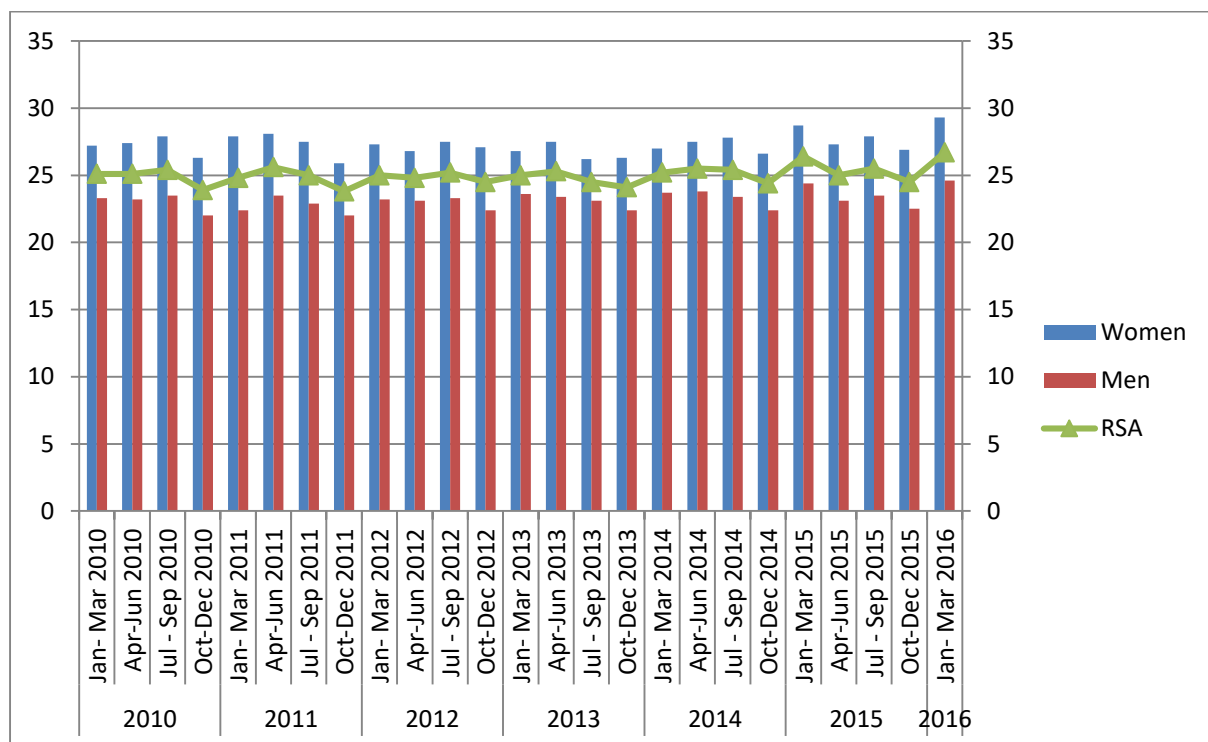


Source: Stats SA

South Africa has one of the highest unemployment rates in the world, recorded at 27.7% in the third quarter of 2017. This rate has increased significantly from 21.5% in 2008. Figure 2 above indicates that amongst youth (15-25 and 25-34) unemployment rates are substantially higher than that of adults. These age cohorts also experience unemployment rates that are significantly above the aggregate average, suggesting that a significant proportion of 15 to 34-year olds (as much as 50% of South Africans fall into this age category) are not getting the work experience and exposure in order to develop as productive members of society. This is due to the fact that the economy has not kept pace with the labour market growth. Taking into consideration the country's population growth due to its relatively youthful population structure, many young people have been unable to enter the labour market. The jobs created to accommodate their

growing numbers are too few. Additionally, proportionately more youth compared to adults are educated and qualified than in the past and in most cases given their expectations, refuse to perform menial jobs, hence, a majority remain unemployed. Furthermore, irrespective of age, female unemployment rates are higher than those of males as well as the country's aggregate rates by a large margin. In the first quarter of 2016, unemployment for women was recorded at 29.3% compared to only 24.6% for men. Research also indicates that young women in general face a more difficult situation in the labour market as compared to young men (Barcucci, & Mryyan, 2014; Orr & Van Meelis, 2014; Du Toit, 2003). Figure 3 depicts the South African unemployment rate by gender.

Figure 3: Unemployment rate by gender (2010-2016)



Source: Stats SA

Considering the high unemployment rate, devastating poverty and the increasing informalisation of work in South Africa due to the process of globalisation; work in the informal economy becomes a matter of necessity for many. The informal economy as a result, provides livelihood opportunities for many individuals (in most cases Black Africans) who find barriers to secure employment in the formal sector of the economy or who do not have access to grants. Muller (cited in Blaauw, Louw & Schenck, 2006) indicates when faced with limited economic

opportunities, most individuals resort to informal means of employment in order to eke out a living and lead an existence of survival in one of the marginal informal sector activities. Hence, the informal economy acts as a buffer between unemployment and employment (this is further elaborated on in section 2.3.3).

2.3 The informal economy

This section looks at the dynamics of the informal economy. It considers its definitional dilemmas and the theoretical perspectives in defining it and outlines its significance and role as a buffer between unemployment and employment. Car guarding as one of the survival and livelihood strategies in the informal economy is considered and discussed.

2.3.1 Definitional dilemmas –from informal sector to informal economy

The term ‘informal sector’ was first coined by Keith Hart in 1973 in his study of urban labour markets in Ghana, describing and referring to a range of subsistence activities of the urban poor in Ghana and the traditional urban economy with low productivity, informal income opportunities whether in the primary, secondary or tertiary economic activities (Hart, 1973:69). Since he first coined the term ‘informal sector’ in the early 1970s, there has been considerable conceptual discussions and contestations regarding what exactly the term refers to. Peattie (1987:851) asserts that “the concept informal sector is an utterly-fuzzy concept which can beguile and engulf innocent researchers into a conceptual swamp” and further argues that discussions of informal employment and analysis of the informal sector should start by abandoning and deserting the concept. In the past the concept ‘informal sector’ has created problems such as confusion between labour statuses and enterprise. In addition, the functioning of informal activities has always been regarded as erupting from their intrinsic internal characteristics and this, largely neglects and disregards their relationship with the wider economy (Moser, 1984; Harriss, 1990).

Moreover, Skinner (2002:5) identifies the two most often repeated problems with the term ‘informal sector’ in the literature. The first is that the term ‘informal sector’ disguises a significant degree of heterogeneity – in a sense that informal activities include a range of different types of economic activities (manufacturing, trading, collecting and providing a

service), different employment relations (self-employed, paid and unpaid workers, disguised wage workers) and activities with distinct economic potential (survivalist activities and successful small enterprises). The second problem with the term ‘informal sector’ is that, the distinctions between the formal and informal sectors imply a clear line dividing the two. However, analysis suggests that they are inherently linked.

The term ‘informal economy’ was thus introduced so as to address the above mentioned concerns and to capture a broader area of the informal spectrum and moreover, the term economy implies a greater range of activities than a sector. Therefore, for the remainder of this study the term informal economy will be used.

According to Hart (1973: 68)

“ the informal economy is generally a part of the overall economy that has low income opportunities, temporary employment, low productivity, constitutes mainly of self-employed individuals, small scale enterprise using labour intensive activities in the primary, secondary, tertiary and service industry, whether legitimate or not”.

Similarly, Castells and Portes (1989) aver that the informal economy should not be seen as an individual circumstance or condition rather it should be viewed as a process of income generation characterised by one central feature, being unregulated by institutions of society, in a legal and social environment in which similar activities are regulated. Other characteristics of the informal economy include economic activities that are unorganised, unregulated, lack social protection, low incomes, low level of professional status, poor working conditions, tax evasion, nepotistic business networks and flexibility in working hours. These activities are in most cases regarded as employment for survival and do not form part of the national accounts (Barker, 2007: 49).

Work in South Africa’s informal economy comprises of the following activities but is not limited to them: street trading and hawking, provision of street services such as shoe repairing and hairdressing, the provision of transport services such as taxis as well as proactive activities like manufacturing. Since 1995, these services have been expanded to include car guard services at shopping centres and other public areas in the Central Business Districts (CBD) of

metropolitan areas. These unregulated income-generating economic activities in the informal economy account for a substantial share of total employment in the country and they also contribute to the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP). In this way, the informal economy remains a potential contributor to the economic growth of the country. Furthermore, Castells and Portes (1989) regard the informal economy as significant in developing countries since it is a central and dynamic feature of contemporary markets and economic development.

2.3.2 Theoretical perspectives on the informal economy

There are three theoretical perspectives on the informal economy. These perspectives differ in their ideas and views on the causes and outcomes of informality, the role of informal economy in economic growth and the distinction and relationship between informal and formal economy. They are, the neo-liberal perspective, the structuralist perspective and the reformist perspective.

The neo-liberal perspective includes the work of Hernando De Soto (1989). It is supported by institutions like the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF), maintaining that informality is a popular response to weak government and state processes (Habib-Mintz, 2009). In other words, the informal economy is seen as a reaction to the excessive state regulation and informal activities as a processes of deregulation from below. The argument is that government stimulates informality by employing exclusionary policies designed to limit enterprise (Skinner, 2002). De Soto (1989, 2001) perceives informal workers as entrepreneurs with great potential to stimulate economic growth and regards 'entrepreneurial dynamism' as people's spontaneous and creative reaction to the state, which fails to satisfy the basic needs of the poor. In this way De Soto (1989, 2001) sees the informal economy as creating wealth and opportunities like employment and social support for the poor, which the state would not have otherwise created. Thus the working poor enter informal economy as a platform from which they can create livelihood possibilities and possibly earn incomes.

De Soto's (1989, 2001) key focus is on the workings of the state and how state policies are influenced by certain actors as well as how state actions encourage or discourage informal activity. However, he is criticised for paying little or no attention to the relationship between formal and informal activities – the implication being that they are distinct entities. Moreover, he tends to conceptualise the informal economy as a group of undifferentiated entrepreneurs

and does not consider for example the different labour relations in the informal economy (Skinner, 2002).

The structuralist perspective takes a different standpoint from focusing on the internal workings of the state and rather focuses on the “cleavages in economic and social composition between formal and informal economies” (Rakowski, 1995:33). This perspective has its roots in neo-Marxist and dependency traditions. Rakowski (1995) identifies two schools of thought within the structuralist tradition, the first being the ILO labour market approach which mainly focuses on the informal economy as a segment of the labour market. Informalisation as a result, is seen as a consequence of an excess supply of labour and survival strategies of the households in the face of an intensifying economic crisis. Skinner (2002:7) argues that even though research tends to focus on the dynamics of the labour market growth and embedded issues such as rural urban migration, capital intensive industrialisation and increasing poverty; the informal economy remains a potential contributor to economic growth due to the fact that informality is regarded as an income source for the poor in times of crisis.

The second school of thought within the structuralist tradition is the underground economy approach, which focuses mainly on the integration of the informal economy into the formal economy. The emphasis is on informality as a process and the way in which forms of production, productive units, technologies and workers are integrated into local, regional and international economies. The informal economy is described as a unified national and global economic system covered by a dense network of relationships between informal and formal enterprise (Portes, 1997). To illustrate, Habib-Mintz (2009) argues that the dynamics of labour migration in the informal economy is conceptualised as part of a set of complex consequences of globalisation that create diversified and discriminatory benefits for different classes.

The reformist perspective suggests that the growth and dynamism of informal enterprise among the poor was mainly a survival mechanism of labour under market liberalisation and not a response to a weak state as suggested by the neo-liberal perspective (Standing & Tokman 1991). There are two contributions from the reformist perspective – the first being that the informal economy is a survival mechanism for the excess supply of labour in developing countries – which takes informal jobs essentially equating informality with poverty (Tokman, 1982, 1989). Market liberalisation is seen as a negative force lowering GDP growth rates. As firms in the formal sector retrench workers in order to cut down their operating costs and meet

the demands of global integration; retrenched workers seek alternative employment in the informal economy and this leads to the growth of the informal business (Tokman, 2001).

The second contribution from this perspective is that the informal economy is neither illegal nor legal but rather a predominantly grey area. For example, informal businesses or home-based businesses may legally register but conform to no other legal obligations (Tokman, 2001).

2.3.3 Informal economy as a buffer against unemployment

In recent years in South Africa, the informal economy has gained prominence as an alternative to formal sector opportunities and has been acknowledged for its significant role in employment provision and generation and its function as a buffer against unemployment. Rogerson and Preston-Whyte (1991) argue that, historically South Africa's informal economy has been both a potential source of opportunities and upward mobility for some individuals – (since a number of people, particularly black South Africans have secured work and incomes in the informal economy) and a sinkhole of exploitation for many others. This relates quite closely with the arguments of both the structuralist ILO labour market approach and the reformist perspectives of the informal economy, which highlight and consider the informal economy as a segment of the labour market that is characterised by high levels of informalisation and deliberate survivalist household strategies, both as resultants of the access supply of labour. Barker (2007:49) further indicates that many of the poor and impoverished people who find difficulties to secure permanent employment or who fail to find formal employment in the formal sector of the economy, enter and rely on the informal economy for economic survival reasons. Thus and in relation to the neo-liberal school of thought and perspectives, the informal economy has particular relevance for the creation of livelihood opportunities and alleviating poverty as part of individual and survival strategies for the poor.

Moreover, informal employment can suit younger and older people who do not have the necessary educational requirements for employment in the formal economy and those employees who were fired or retrenched in the formal economy may seek alternative, although temporary employment in the informal economy (Perry, et.al, 2007:21). As a result, in South Africa, the informal economy forms part of the key components of strategies to address unemployment and to support the creation of sustainable livelihoods (South African LED

Network). Although the informal economy does to some extent lessen the problem of economic inactivity, it should be acknowledged that it does not generally solve the problem of poverty, unemployment and low standards of living in South Africa; thus it should not be seen as a solution to the unemployment problem in the country even though it does redistribute some income in communities (Barker, 1999).

2.4 Car guarding as a survival strategy in the informal economy

The high unemployment rate, informalisation of work and the increasing levels of poverty in South Africa, drive people to find alternative ways of generating or obtaining income and this ultimately makes the informal economy a buffer between employment and unemployment as well as a sink for the excess supply of labour. By virtue of its operation, car guarding is highly survivalist, unregulated, lacks social protection and provides a low level of professional status. Such work, in accordance with the arguments of Castells and Portes' (1989) falls within the realm of the informal economy.

In recent years, car guarding as an informal economic activity has proven to be one of the survival and livelihood strategies for a number of people who find difficulties and barriers to entry into the formal economy. Car guards have become a permanent feature and a part of everyday life in many cities and towns across South Africa, yet prior the 1990s, this activity barely existed. According to Blaauw and Bothma (2003) car guarding developed out of the plight and difficulties of the unemployed and the poor, coupled with the increasing levels of crime, particularly motor theft and car hijacking in the country. Additionally, McEwen and Leiman (2008:4) maintains that

“car guarding emerged as a visible economic activity in South Africa in the early 1990s with the local homeless and unemployed petitioning for cash tips by pointing the way to empty parking spaces, assisting in parking movements, offering help to the driver with loading packages into the car and offering to watch a car in the driver's absence”.

While these deeds may have been real services and car watching may have been a reaction to high rates of car related crimes, car guards were widely considered to be no different from

beggars (McEwen & Leiman, 2008). Bernstein's (2003) study on the Cape Town car guards revealed that the notion of car guards as 'glorified beggars' is still held by a majority of drivers. Car guarding started off as an alternative way to create income for individuals who were not able to obtain or secure employment in the formal economy. The emergence of car guarding as an alternative survivalist economic activity in the 1990s reinforces the arguments of the neo-liberal school of thought and perspectives on the informal economy which highlights that the poor enter the informal economy and utilise it as a platform through which they can create livelihood possibilities and incomes, that given their socio-economic challenges, the state would not have otherwise provided.

This economic activity which began as an informal activity has recently and progressively become more formalised in some urban areas, although still outside of the governance of formal existing legislation and employment regulations (Bernstein, 2003). Today, most shopping centres, malls and other institutions like schools, restaurants and hospitals provide easily recognisable shirts, jackets, name tags and equipment to car guards that work in the area, even though they are not employed by the very companies, organisations or institutions and are totally responsible for generating their own incomes through the cash tips they receive (Blaauw & Bothma, 2003). Furthermore, about a decade ago, car guarding undergone significant changes with regard to its nature and demographics; to incorporate "skilled" migrants who are unable to find employment in South Africa due to their lack of documentation (McEwen & Leiman, 2008).

Different locations present different dynamics in the way in which the activity performed. There is an increasing "informally formalised" regulation of the activity in malls and around shopping complexes whereas the street-based one remains unregulated. This is the case with the two selected sites of this study, Hillcrest and Hatfield in Pretoria, where in the former location the activity is regulated and performed at a shopping complex by relatively diverse individuals including migrants and unemployed guards who have completed Matric. In the latter location the activity is performed informally on the street and is mainly unregulated.

Chapter 3: The changing nature of work, livelihoods and space: conceptual frameworks

3.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines and discusses three conceptual frameworks that underpin this study, namely: flexible accumulation, sustainable livelihoods and public space. These conceptual frameworks elucidate how car guards in Pretoria (as workers who form part of the periphery) use space as a generator and a source of income in their attempt to make a living and obtain sustainable livelihoods in the era of flexible accumulation.

3.2 Flexible accumulation

Describing the changes to capital accumulation, the shift from Fordism to flexible accumulation is a topic that shaped debates among scholars in the last quarter of the 20th century (Edgell, 2006; Boyer 1987; Vallas, 1999; Harvey, 1990). Central to this is the Marxist idea that the change and transition from one regime of accumulation entails a new spatial arrangement and division of labour. Although the focus is on flexible accumulation, it is important to first describe what Fordism entailed, as flexible accumulation arose in reaction Fordism as a regime of accumulation.

3.2.1 Fordism

Fordism refers to a regime of social regulation and to the economic and production processes that emerged in the context industrialisation at the turn of the previous century and that were implemented by the American car maker Henry Ford to enable mass production of standardised goods. In narrow terms, it refers to the employment of semi-skilled labour on a moving assembly line; and in broad terms, it refers to the spread of the American way of life under the impact of mass production and mass consumption. The assembly line, in deskilling work and workers, to create inexpensive and identical commodities, marked the transition from the traditional craft production to an era of mass production in which mastery over the manufacturing process was removed from the hands of the workers. This was accompanied by new rigid methods of labour control and management (Jessop, 1992a).

According to Jessop (1992a) Fordism can be analysed based on four levels: as a labour process; as an accumulation regime; as a social mode of economic regulation as well as a generic mode of societalisation.

As a labour process, Fordism refers to a particular arrangement of the technical and social division of labour involved in making standardised goods. In the Fordist system of mass production of standardised goods, the idea was that, the high levels of production should be proportional to profit financed investments and to the purchasing power of workers (mass production coupled with mass consumption) so as to produce sustained economic growth and widespread material advancement. This meant that the increased productivity and supply of standardised commodities demanded increased consumption. Under Fordism, mass production was typically based on technical division of labour that was organised along Taylorist lines. Complex and large tasks were broken down into manageable smaller routine tasks that were performed by different workers. It involved the separation of semi-skilled workers from unskilled workers. Additionally, the processes of conception and execution were also separated. Conception refers to the formation or the onset of making standardised goods while execution refers to the final end product of standardised goods (Edgell, 2006). This separation, as Harvey (1989) and Jessop (1992b) indicates, resulted in de-skilling of workers and workers became alienated from the final product of their labour.

As a regime of accumulation, Fordism involves a “vicious cycle of growth” based on mass production and mass consumption. This cycle Jessop (1992a:51) indicates involves

“rising productivity based on economies of scale, rising incomes linked to productivity, increased mass demand due to rising incomes, increased profits based on full utilization of capacity as well as increased investments in imposed mass production equipment and technologies.

It was further characterised by long-term or permanent employment, rigid limitations of redundancies and priced indexed wage increments (Harvey, 1989 & Edgell, 2006). Since the increased productivity of standardised goods demanded increased consumption, workers were provided with sufficient incomes (a five dollar pay for working eight hours a day) in permanent employment and were given sufficient leisure time to spend their incomes (Harvey, 1989). In

this regard, mass production led to economies of scale and productivity growth, which in turn allowed for wage increases and provided a market that could sustain mass consumption.

Moreover, Fordism as a social mode of economic regulation involved shared norms, institutions, organisational forms, social networks and patterns of conduct which sustained and guided the Fordist accumulation regime and promoted compatibility among the regionalised decisions of economic agents. It involved the regulation of distinct features related to the accumulation regime, such as the Fordist wage, the Fordist enterprise, the nature of money in the Fordist regime of accumulation, the nature of commercial capital especially in mass consumption and distribution, as well as the links between the circuit of capital and the state (Jessop, 1992a).

Finally, Fordism as a generic mode of societalisation specifies the overall social impact of the characteristics discussed above on the wider aspects of society such as social and cultural life, spatial organisation and political systems. A pattern of institutional integration and social cohesion which complemented the dominant accumulation regime and its social mode economic regulation was created. Social relations were moved towards mass consumption of standardised goods on two distinct levels: the individualised level and a collective level. On an individualised level, “consumption of standardized goods became a mechanism of permanent self-normalisation as consumers adopted the American way of life” and on a collective level, “where standardized goods were provided by the bureaucratic state” (Jessop, 1992a:55). The organisation of social life thus became premised on the fact that the vast majority of the population depended on an individual and/or social wage to satisfy their needs (Harvey, 1989). This reflected the growing socialisation of the social reproduction of labour power as well as efforts to manage individual and social costs.

Thus, Fordism in other words involved not only the standardisation of products, commodities and work or labour but also culminated consumption, lifestyles and even politics (Edgell, 2006).

3.2.2 The shift from Fordism towards flexible accumulation

Harvey (1989) considers the shift from Fordism to flexible accumulation. He details and describes the rise of flexible accumulation and considers its implications. The flexible accumulation regime emerged from the economic crisis of the 1970s when the Fordist model broke down, as a result of over-production which resulted in a massive lay-off of workers and a reduction in the demand for products. The hegemony and control of Fordism was thus challenged. Problems with the rigidity of long term and large-scale fixed capital investments, rigid labour markets, fixed regulations of labour allocation and control in mass production were encountered; as a result, internal markets became saturated and there was a drive to construct export markets for surplus outputs. With the breakdown of the Fordist model came the decentralisation of production and its conditions. For example,

“capitalism became more tightly organised through dispersal, geographical mobility and flexible responses in labour markets, labour processes and consumer markets, all accompanied by hefty doses of institutional, product and technological innovation” (Harvey: 1989:159).

Flexible accumulation can thus be considered to be a reverse of Fordism – which was characterised by work and labour, labour processes and patterns of consumption. It is an accumulation regime that rests on flexibility with respect to labour processes, labour markets, products and patterns of consumption. As a result, it is characterised by commercial, technological and organisational developments with new ways of thinking and different sectors of production (Matthews, 1996). Moreover, Harvey (1989) indicates that flexible accumulation regime is further characterised by rationalisation, restructuring and intensification of labour market control and it is a direct confrontation of the rigidities of Fordism. What is significant in a flexible accumulation regime is that labour market restructuring along with technological, commercial and organisational developments allows for new lines of products and new corporate strategies of survival.

The flexible accumulation regime gave rise to a vast creation of “service sector employment” and has involved and necessitated a new round of “time-space compression” (Harvey, 1989: 147). Under the conditions of flexible accumulation and radical labour market flexibility, there were high levels of retrenchments that resulted in increased unemployment. Challenged by the

instability of the market, heightened competitions and narrowing profits, employers have in some cases taken advantage of weakened trade union power, large supply of cheap labour, the unemployed or underemployed to push for more flexibility in work regimes (Atkinson, 1984, Kalleberg, 2003, Matthews, 1996). The flexibility in labour markets enabled employers to exert stronger pressures of labour control on the workforce. Harvey (1989) regards the move away from permanent and standardised employment and labour processes to a reliance on part-time, temporary and or subcontracted work arrangements a key change. The labour market trend in the regime of flexible accumulation is to reduce the number of core workers and rely upon a workforce that can quickly adapt, be taken on board equally quickly and be inexpensively laid off when times get bad. This trend of the flexible accumulation regime has resulted in the segmentation of labour markets – dual labour markets.

Harvey, (1989) argues that while others may have benefited and gained privileges out of the new labour conditions of the flexible accumulation regime, others have remained vulnerable and mostly disadvantaged. This could include amongst others the poor, the underemployed or the unemployed and women. As a result, flexible accumulation has led to a rapid growth of “black market or an underground economy” and the struggle to enhanced labour control and transform modes of employment has led to a rise of new and the revival of older forms of industrial organisation representing different things in different places. In some instances, it indicates an emergence of new forms of survival strategies – mainly for the unemployed and wholly discriminated against. In other instances, it absorbs immigrant groups looking for entry into a capitalist system, or provides opportunities for organised tax-dodging or for the generation of high profit from illegal trade, which remains hidden, given the informality of activities.

3.3 Sustainable Livelihood Framework

The Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF) was developed by the Rural Poverty Advisory Group within the UK Department for International Development, with the aim of creating a better understanding of the complex nature of poverty and the livelihoods of the poor (SLF guidance sheet 2, 1999). Livelihoods approach views the world from individual’s point of view, households and social groups who are trying to make a living in volatile conditions and with limited assets. It provides a framework for understanding the opportunities and assets available

to poor people and the sources of their vulnerability, as well as the impact upon them of external organisations, processes and policies. Therefore, the framework seeks to identify important aspects of a livelihood by drawing a particular focus on resources and assets that poor people utilise in their attempt to make a living and survive. It places the people, particularly the poor at the centre of inter-related influences or factors that affect how they create a livelihood for themselves and their households. Moreover, it draws on and incorporates these factors affecting people's livelihoods and outlines the typical relationships between them (Carney, 1998).

Morse et al. (2009:2) indicate that the sustainable livelihoods framework is largely defined in terms of how a "social unit" enhances its capabilities and assets in the face of "stresses and shocks". It has been argued by Ellis (2000) that when looking at poverty and means that can be used to eradicate it, an understanding of the poverty from the perspective of the poor is required. As a result, the way in which the poor people, the unemployed and the underemployed become vulnerable is considered and the framework highlights how institutions and policies may directly or indirectly affect or influence the vulnerability of the poor as they attempt to make a living.

The vulnerability context of the poor's livelihoods is defined in terms of the shocks or stresses, trends and seasons that influence the livelihood outcomes. *Shocks* as captured in the framework, refer to unexpected happenings or circumstances that may affect a particular livelihood. This could be due to economic downfalls, flooding, fire disaster or an unfavourable policy put in place. *Trends* on the other hand, are basically the changes in patterns of the livelihood over time. For example, in the case of this study, this may be the dynamics of ways in which car guarding has been conducted overtime and a matter of whether car guards benefit from the activity. Thus trends depict the changes in fortune of a particular venture or activity over time and encapsulate how easy or difficult it is to perform the particular activity over time with changes in regulation. *Seasons* on the other hand, describe the convenient times of the year or the day when it is best and most beneficial to perform the activity or do business (Carney, 1998).

A livelihood is defined by Chambers and Conway (1992:7) as "comprising of capabilities, assets including both material and social resources and activities required for a means of living". Furthermore, a livelihood is considered to be sustainable if it is able to conquer, cope with and recover from the "stresses and shocks" it faces and retain and improve its capabilities

and assets; and to be able to provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation and contribute to the livelihoods at the global or local levels (Carney, 1998).

The sustainable livelihoods framework maintains that, poor people in their attempt to make a living have resources which assist them in generating incomes. The poor in this regard should not be perceived as deprived or inactive as they are endowed with resources, rather there is a need to consider how the resources available to them present them with livelihood opportunities. These resources are assets central and available to individuals or households which rely on them for sustenance and are measured and considered in terms of available capital (Morse et al. 2009). Moreover, these assets are often influenced by the context which in itself serves to make the poor and their assets vulnerable. They include human capital, social capital, financial or economic capital, physical capital as well as natural capital.

Human capital (H) refers to skills, knowledge, labour, physical capacity and health, aspects that together enable individuals to pursue different livelihood strategies. Human capital can also encompass capabilities of the poor people which are crucial for both reproduction and productive processes (Carney, 1998). Limited human capital in most cases persuade poor people in urban areas or households to engage in low income earning livelihood activities as they become unable to secure employment in the formal economy. For example, according to Adaawen and Jorgensen (2012:59),

“the ability of poor people to exploit opportunities for their socio-economic wellbeing is saddled by their lower levels of education, skills and health status as well as their social responsibilities which places some form of psycho-social and economic stress on them”.

Social capital (S) refers to the social relationships, networks of relations and interactions that exist between or are created by people, institutions and other important actors in society (Adaawen & Jorgensen, 2012). Furthermore, it encompasses the

“rules, norms, obligations, reciprocity and trust embedded in social relations, social structures, society’s institutional arrangements which enable its members to achieve their individual and collective community objectives for their socio-economic wellbeing” (Narayan 1997 cited in Rakodi & Lloyd-Jones, 2002:10).

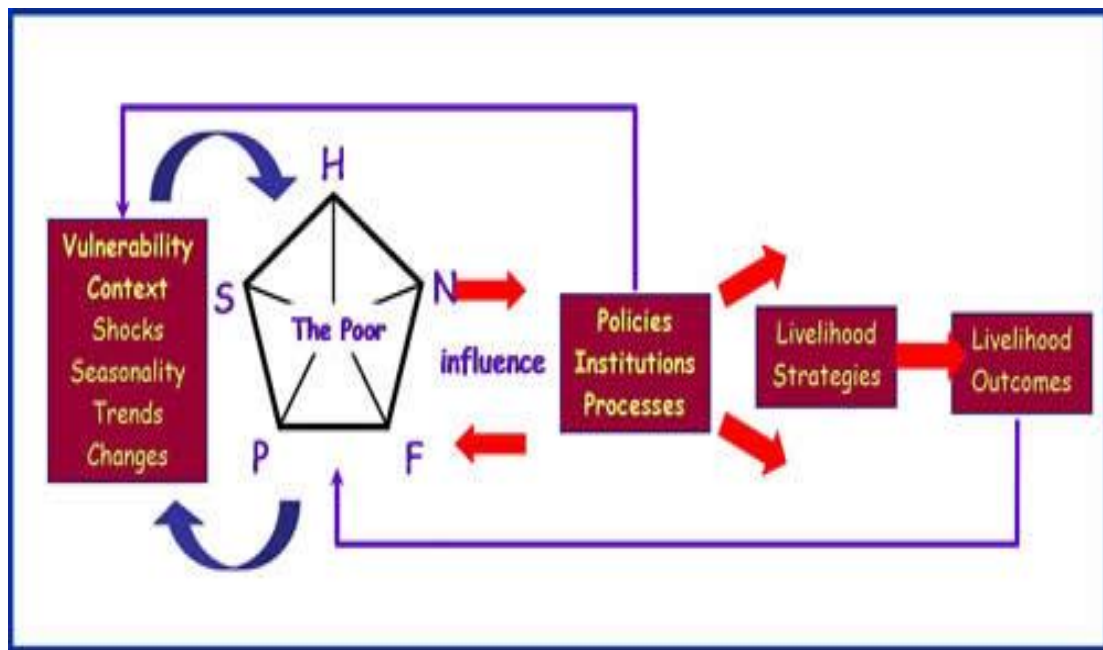
Financial or economic capital (F) refers to the capital base and aspects of a livelihood such as money, credits, savings and debts (Morse et al., 2009). Money is regarded as a significant aspect of starting or pursuing a livelihood. Adaawen and Jorgensen (2012) indicates that the person's ability to survive or continue with their source of livelihood largely depends on and is determined by initial capital saving or investment a person has. While financial capital may be the most versatile of the five categories of assets, it is also the asset that tends to be the least available to the poor. Due to their lack of financial capital to directly achieve livelihood outcomes, the poor extensively utilise other types of capital accessible to secure their livelihoods and these become important to them.

Physical capital (P) refers to infrastructure, space, roads, production equipment and technologies that may be available to the poor and assist them with making a living. In some cases, physical capital influences the ability of the poor to take advantage of their capabilities or assets for their socio-economic wellbeing (Adaween & Jorgensen, 2012).

Natural capital (N) refers to natural resources (i.e. land, water, plants, environmental services, genetic resources) that poor people utilise in their attempt to make a living.

Morse et al., (2009) indicates that all these capital assets are important, however their balance changes significantly over time and space and in different contexts and households from one livelihood to another. Moreover, these capital assets are subject to different vulnerability contexts, (i.e. current and future trends) and they also differ in their resilience to different types of "shocks and stresses" they encounter. Figure 4 below, is a representation of the sustainable livelihoods framework and five capital assets identified by Carney (1998).

Figure 4: The sustainable livelihoods framework



Source: Carney, (1998)

From the sustainable livelihood framework (see figure 4), it is envisaged that livelihoods assets are resources that poor people have access to and which they rely on for survival and sustenance. The extent of their access to these resources is highly influenced by the vulnerability context and by prevailing social institutions and policies which affect the way in which the poor people combine their resources and their assets to achieve their goals. Social institutions and policies can make the poor vulnerable in their attempt to make a living. Nonetheless, individuals possess agency which allows them be able to overcome or withstand the constraints to their capabilities posed by the vulnerability context. Adopting different livelihood strategies to overcome livelihood constraints posed by diverse vulnerability context, consequently leads to different livelihoods outcomes (be it positive or negative).

In this study, the sustainable livelihoods framework will be used to analyse and explain the livelihoods of car guards in Pretoria, taking into consideration their use of public space as an asset through which they generate incomes and make a living. Car guards are amongst the most vulnerable groups of people, often with low levels of education and skills, and survive by making a living in the informal economy. Even though they may lack money or any form of savings, they draw on material and non-material resources in the environment to assist them in their attempt to secure a livelihood. The most important assets that car guards possess are

human capital – their ideas, knowledge and labour; social capital – their friends, family and interpersonal relations which in most cases grant them access to the activity and physical capital (urban public space) through which they conduct the activity. As a result, the urban public space that they utilise to perform the activity enables them to generate income and remain car guards for a sustained period of time.

3.4 Space as a concept

According to Massey (2006) space can be conceptualised in three forms or propositions. The first proposition is space as a product of practices, relations, connections and disconnections. She argues that people “make space” in the conduct of their lives and in their everyday interactions and relations with others. As a result, the way in which people behave and carry out their life activities as well as the relationships and interpersonal connections they form with other people are significant in the creation of space. Space is further involved with embodiment, as it carries a set of complex mental and physical performances that change over time as humans interact. Humans generally exhibit a sense of belonging and attachment to and derive meaning from the environment they find themselves in. This, as Massey (2006) argues is due to the fact that space often presents a unique form of lived and shared experiences for different individuals. In this case human practices create distinctive conceptualisations of space: as a locale where people carry out activities and as a sense of belonging and locus of identity. In relation to this argument, Urry (2000) concurs that social spatial practices therefore could range from individual routines to a systematic creation of zones and regions.

The second proposition is that of space as a dimension of multiplicity. Herein multiplicity refers to the existence of many effects and occurrences in one space. Space is not just an empty stage, it is inhabited and imbued with all kinds of activities, stories, memories and different individuals and provides a context where a range of diverse engagements could occur. In this regard space is a sphere where distinct trajectories coexist. For example, diverse activities, be it social, economic, cultural or political with legal or illegal status can be performed formally or informally in one space. Massey (2006) argues that the multiplicity of space allows for a multiplicity of parallel and at times shared experiences and trajectories represented by a variety of perspectives. As a result, this proposition implies that without space there could not be

multiplicity and in reverse without multiplicity there could not be space. Thus “space and multiplicity are co-constitutive”.

The third proposition is that space is always in process and is an on-going production. This is evident in the temporality of the above-mentioned spatial compositions and the continuous dynamics of both the social and physical space. The argument here is that space is never finished and never closed, it is always under construction and the process of being made. There are always more relations and connections yet to be made or not to be made hence space is always in process. Moreover, as has been stated by Massey (2006) space is always open to the future and further consequences, responsibilities and politics hence is regarded an on-going production.

In simple terms urban public spaces could be defined as all the physical spaces and social relations that determine the use of space within non-private realm of the city (Brown, 2006). Zukin (1991) further indicates that the defining characteristics of urban public space are its proximity, diversity and accessibility. Therefore, urban public spaces refer largely to areas that are used for public activities and shared public experiences which include parks, streets, pavements, squares, plazas, sports grounds and other shared public spaces which are accessible to the public.

Historically, such spaces have been mainly perceived as symbols of collective well-being, possibility sites of public encounters and formulation of civic culture and significant spaces for political struggle (Amin, 2006). However, in the modern city the notion of public spaces as powerful social and political ideals has been radically devalued (Goheen, 1998; Amin, 2006). Goheen (1998) contends that in the modern city, the power and relevance of public spaces has been lost. The historical notion that people shared common interests and public experiences in the public spaces of the city has become irrelevant in the modern city. This is due to a change in the way in which public spaces are perceived and utilised in the modern city. In this regard, public spaces have become “empty spaces and spaces of abstract freedom but with no enduring human connection. This has been argued by Goheen (1998) to be meaningless.

Similarly, Franck and Stevens (2007) argues that in the contemporary city, public spaces have become “loose”. This is in cognisance with the fact that public spaces are realms where definitions and expectations are less exclusive and more fluid and where there is greater

accessibility and freedom of choice to pursue a variety of activities. Sometimes the activities carried out in public spaces are not allied with the intended purposes of the particular spaces. Individuals recognise the inherent possibilities in public spaces and make use of them for their own intentions. The sense of freedom and inclination to engage in activities or actions one might have not somewhere else arises partly from the anonymity of urban public space and the sense of being free from judgement. Therefore, the difference between the activities intended for the purposes of the public spaces and the unintended ones, highlights the issue of uncertainty about what is legal, illegal and socially accepted. As a result, the sense of freedom and kinds of activities carried out in public spaces and the manner in which they are carried out largely contributes the public space becoming loose.

3.4.1 Urban public space as a livelihood asset

Significantly, there has been a shift in how public space was perceived and utilised in the past. In the contemporary city, public spaces have been redefined and are intensively used for various activities (including social, religious and economic activities). Urban public spaces are bestowed with diverse opportunities and allow for a multiplicity of activities to be carried out by different actors. In sharing urban public space, the diversity of people becomes visible and possibilities and opportunities get expanded through social relations, connections and human practices. Due to the diverse opportunities inherent in public spaces, individuals tend to use urban public spaces for their own intended purposes and benefits (Franck & Stevens, 2007). Of utmost importance in most developing countries is that urban public spaces have become places of work where informal activities are performed and they are valuable resource for the urban poor.

Many urban poor depend on access to the urban public space for their everyday lives and their economic survival. Individuals in the informal economy in most developing countries perform their work or economic activities in urban public spaces which are not originally meant for those particular activities. For example, car guards in Pretoria utilise urban public spaces to generate income and have their own peculiar mode of operation in these spaces. In this case public urban spaces have become a key element in the pursuit of livelihoods by the urban poor (Hackenbroch, 2011). Open spaces such as complexes, plazas, streets to mention a few have become livelihood assets and places where people carry out work and economic activities for survival. This is particularly relevant for the urban poor in most developing countries (in this

case car guard), who are faced with poverty, lack of skills and limited access to formal employment opportunities and are therefore compelled to seek other alternatives of surviving.

Due to an interplay of different and diversified actors and a number of different activities performed in shared public space, the accessibility to and use of a particular space becomes negotiated and contested

3.4.2 Urban public space as a negotiated and contested realm

In most developing countries, accessibility to urban public space and the way it is used in everyday life is the consequence of negotiations between different actors (Hackenbroch, 2011). Since as mentioned above, social space is created and produced by individuals and society over time through various relations and organisations, it becomes subjected to social norms and values as well as rules of access that are negotiated between different actors who claim rights to the space. Hackenbroch (2013:38) indicates that

“Inherent in the dependence on access to public space for everyday life are the risks of being dislocated from a specific place and thus uncertainty about whether the current livelihood strategy can be maintained”.

Herein, the notion of risk refers to the question of access to social space and the rights thereof. The issue of access to public space embeds an element of power and power relation between different actors involved. Access to activities and/or livelihood opportunities in urban public spaces are in most cases governed by social relations, institutions and organisations. Within this governance power is included as a variable. Similarly, in the negotiation of access to public space by different actors, resisting or dominating power is utilised (Hackenbroch, 2013).

Access to urban public spaces is not only negotiated but also contested. Different social groups give space a range of different meanings, uses and values. Individuals further create fixed regulations and boundaries over space. Such differences can give rise to various tensions and conflicts within society over the uses of space for individual and social purposes, and over the domination of space by the state and other forms of dominating social (and class) power (Sharp et al. 2000).

Due to such differences in the conceptualisation of space and its utilisation, contestations among differently involved actors arise which at some cases leave other actors (especially the poor) at a disadvantage and impacts on their livelihood opportunities. Moreover, the creation of boundaries over space creates an intensified competition over resources and opportunities inherent in urban public space. As a result, the contested nature of public spaces, makes its accessibility to be subject to rules and informal arrangements between differently involved actors.

Car guards are often seen to occupy urban public spaces such as streets and shopping complexes to perform car guarding. This is due to greater accessibility, freedom of choice and diverse opportunities inherent in urban public spaces. In this regard car guards utilise urban public space for economic survival and to pursue livelihoods which are purposes and activities that they are not originally intended for the particular public spaces. For example, shopping complexes and streets are meant for shopping and vehicle movement respectively but are often surrounded by car guards briskly doing business. In this regard, urban public space has become an essential livelihood asset for car guards. Since social space is produced by humans in their interactions and relations, different people usually claim rights to it and assert certain rules of access on it. For example, car guards perceive urban public spaces as unique environments and have their own mode of operation in it so as to benefit from the opportunities inherent in the particular space. This consequently makes public space and its use to be highly negotiated and contested.

In conclusion, public urban spaces as social phenomenon and physical entities are produced and reproduced by individuals in a society through human practices and social relations. They are further endowed with a multiplicity of activities, individuals and opportunities. Due to this multiplicity and the inherent opportunities, individuals utilise urban public spaces to their own benefits, create boundaries upon it, attach meanings to it (including ownership) and perform activities that are not originally intended for those particular spaces. As a result, access to and resources inherent in public spaces become negotiated and contested. This makes public spaces to represent the sites of struggle.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Qualitative research approach

This study utilised a qualitative methodological research approach for gathering and collecting data. The qualitative research design was chosen because qualitative data is richer in meaning and detail. Moreover, as has been stated by Whitley, (2002), qualitative research provides ideographic accounts with context-specific in-depth descriptions. This is borne out of the fact that qualitative interviewing is flexible, which then enables for the teasing out of very sensitive information with reference to opinions, feelings and views. Qualitative research permits for an unstructured or semi-structured investigation, where the chances of the researcher imposing his or her own meanings on the idea of the investigation through using prearranged meaning categories are reduced and participants' description of their experiences can come to the fore. It enables an open and flexible approach to research where new and unlooked for responses can emerge.

In the case of this research where the focus was on investigating and understanding the work-life experiences and the challenges that car guards face, a qualitative methodology was adopted to create a platform for the car guards to share their experiences and feelings with the researcher. Against this backdrop, undertaking qualitative research allowed the researcher to explore and study the matter in all its facets, ranging from how car guards perceive and experience their job to the challenges they face and the ways in which they generate solutions to overcome workplace challenges. It enabled the researcher to gain insight into and discover the problems and challenges that car guards face in their daily work lives.

Qualitative research draws its strength from the fact that its intent is not always to generalise but to provide an in-depth understanding of the subject matter under study and as such rely on the voices, experiences, opinions and views of participants directly involved or affected (Babbie, 2008); hence its appropriateness for this study of car guards in Pretoria.

For this study, a multi-method approach was used for the purpose of gathering data. This entails the utilisation and application of two or more sources of data or research methods to investigate a particular research question. Bryman (2012) indicates that the rationale behind using a multi-

method approach is to enhance confidence in and increase the robustness of findings as well as to understand the complexities of the social phenomenon. Similarly, in this study a multi-method approach was utilised so as to get a better understanding of the work life experiences and challenges that car guards face in their attempt to eke out a living in urban public spaces. In this regard, a combination of non-participant observation and semi-structured interviews was utilised to study, understand and explore the work-life experiences and challenges that car guards face. Utilising a multi-method approach provided the researcher with a clear understanding of unemployment and the impact it has on people's survival and livelihood strategies. The research methods combined yielded in-depth information for the study, and strengthened the research design to increase external and internal validity and reliability and the ability to interpret the findings; as each research method employed made the social problem under investigation visible to the researcher in different ways.

4.2 Sampling and sources of data

The streets of Hatfield Pretoria and a shopping complex in Hillcrest Pretoria were purposively selected as study sites for this research due to their distinct differences with regard to the car guarding activity. Participants in these two locations were sampled through purposive and snowball sampling technique.

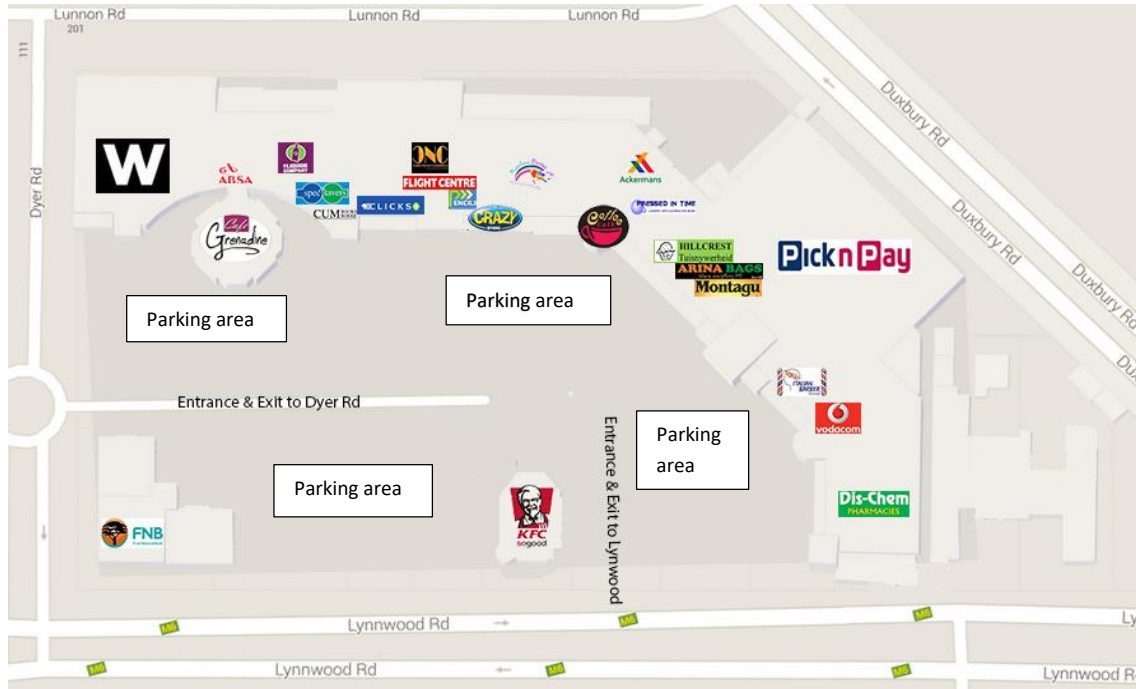
4.2.1 Selection of study sites

The study was conducted in two sites in Pretoria namely: Hillcrest and Hatfield. These sites were selected purposively, based on their differences with regard to car guarding as an economic activity and the composition and concentration of car guards in each location. In Hillcrest car guarding occurs at a shopping complex (See map 1) and is more formally organised and regulated and less concentrated. Furthermore, race and gender composition is more diverse.

In contrast, car guarding in Hatfield occurs in the streets. It is more informally organised with minimal regulation. Streets near the plaza, banks, clubs, university entrances and restaurants attract numerous car guards (see the demarcated area on map 2). This is due to constant movement of people and cars. The clubs and restaurants around Hatfield offer car guards an

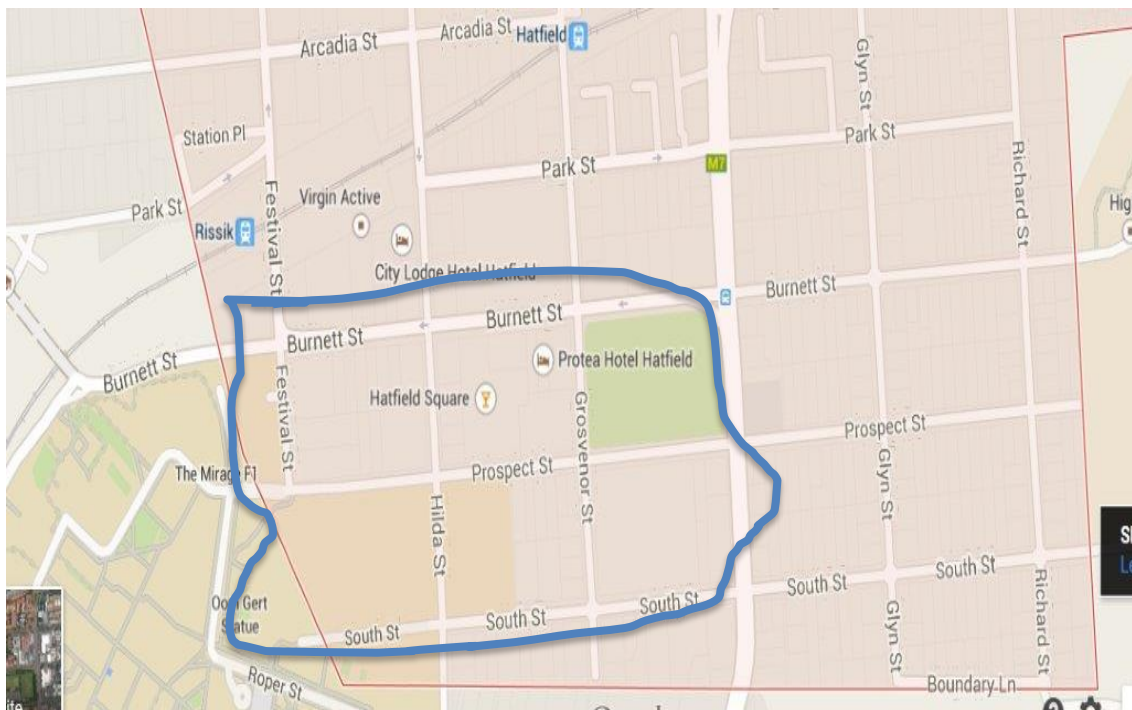
extended opportunity to work at night unlike the Hillcrest complex where movement of people and cars are limited to retail trading hours in the complex.

Map 1: Hillcrest shopping complex



Source: Google Maps

Map 2: Hatfield Streets



Source: Google maps

Moreover, unlike in Hillcrest, car guards working in Hatfield are predominantly black males. These two sites portray different dynamics; hence they were selected as research sites for the study. Therefore, the study compares these two sites and the way in which car guarding is conducted at each site. Maps 1 and 2 above offers an indication of the above mentioned differences in the selected sites.

4.2.2 Selection of participants

A total number of nineteen car guards were interviewed at the two sites in Pretoria, namely: Hillcrest and Hatfield. Ten of the participants worked in Hatfield while nine worked in Hillcrest. A snowball sampling technique was utilised for the selection of participants in this study. This is a non-probability sampling technique where participants already sampled refer the researcher to other people who have the experience and requirements for the research (Bryman, 2012). In this study a snowball sampling technique was effective especially at the stage that the researcher faced refusals from prospective participants. Referrals by other car guards broke the ice and ensured better participation. This enhanced and increased the sample of the study.

Eight potential participants approached refused to be interviewed for the study (five in Hatfield and three in Hillcrest). This was due to the fact that interviews were conducted with participants during their working hours and those who refused were not willing to sacrifice their work time or settle to make an arrangement for an alternative time.

Participants were selected based on the following criteria:

- Car guards had to be 18 years and older
- Only car guards working in Hillcrest and Hatfield were considered potential participants
- The study attempted to include all races and both sexes, where applicable
- Participants had to be able to speak English, Sesotho, Setswana or isiZulu

4.3 Methods of data collection

Both primary and secondary data sources were used to obtain data. Observation and semi-structured interviews were employed for gathering data.

4.3.1 Observation

Observation as a research method is regarded the primary technique for collecting data on non-verbal behaviour. This can be done through watching and recording the occurrence of specific behaviours during an episode of interest. Observation could also include data collection through other senses such as hearing touching or smelling (Bailey, 1994). There are two types of observation which differ depending on the observer's degree of participation or involvement in the scene (Bryman, 2012) namely: participant observation and non-participant observation. In participant observation, the researcher becomes a regular participant in the activities being observed and his or her role is generally known to the other participants. Non-participant observation, which was utilised in this study, is a qualitative research method for collecting data in which the researcher observes the behaviour of a group of people without interacting with them or participating in their core activities (Bailey, 1994).

Non-participant observation was chosen as a data collection method for this study because through observation a researcher may obtain insight into a particular phenomenon or social problem, from observing how people utilize their public space or behave in their natural setting. Leedy and Omrod (2010) indicate that observation is a flexible data collection method as it allows the researcher to shift from one aspect to another as new and potentially significant objects and events present themselves. Moreover, with observations the researcher can discern on-going behaviour as it occurs and in its natural environment.

The key and primary role of non-participant observation in this study was for the researcher to obtain a sense of the context in which car guards worked, and familiarise herself with the car guards so as to obtain an understanding of the activity holistically. Moreover, observation was chosen in this study so that the researcher could be able to corroborate behaviour, actions or events observed with what the participants would say in the in-depth face-to-face interviews. Indeed, the researcher discovered some of the actions or behaviours (i.e. aggressive behaviour as well as a fight over a tip) that could not have been shared through interviews alone.

This method held great advantages for the study, as the researcher was able to study the actions and routines of car guards in their workplace environment. The workplace itself being in the public domain with constant movement of people, provided the researcher with the opportunity to see how car guards interacted with people as well as to observe the manner in which the car guarding activity was carried out. The method further enabled the researcher to orientate herself with the distinct work settings and context of car guards and to familiarise herself with the car guards themselves prior conducting interviews. This was done so that it could be easier to establish rapport with the participants.

Nonetheless, the researcher still faced challenges even after familiarising herself with the participants. Some of the participants were sceptical and suspicious of the researcher's intentions and her presence in their setting. This impacted the development of rapport as some of the participants became hesitant to speak to the researcher. However, after explaining and discussing in detail the intentions, purpose and objectives of the study with these participants prior to conducting the interviews, they understood in most instances and were willing to share their experiences with the researcher.

Non participant observation was conducted strategically on different days and at different times at both locations. In Hillcrest the car guards worked from morning to afternoon; hence observation here was done in the morning, at lunch hour and in the afternoon. In Hatfield by contrast the car guards worked both day and night; as a result, observation was done in the morning, at lunch hour, in the afternoon and sometimes in the evening.

4.3.2 Semi-Structured Interviews

An interview in general terms is defined as a conversation with a purpose, specifically the purpose being that of gathering information (Berg, 1998; Denzin & Lincoln, 2002; Leedy & Ormrod, 2010). As a method of data collection, interviews entail verbal exchanges between the interviewer and interviewees to elicit information. In this view, interviews can produce rich insights into people's biographies, experiences, opinions, aspirations, values and norms, as well as attitudes and feelings (Berg, 1998). This study utilised semi-structured face-to-face interviews for collecting and gathering data.

Burns (2000:424) defines semi-structured interviews as a

“repeated face-to-face encounters between the researcher and respondents directed towards understanding informants’ perspectives on their lives, experiences or situations as expressed in their own words”.

This type of data collection method was chosen for studying the work-life experiences and challenges faced by car guards because of its ability to produce rich insights of people’s views, beliefs and experiences. This is due to the fact that interviews are flexible and allows for in-depth questions to be asked so as to get a clear understanding of the matter in hand. Hence it was regarded appropriate for exploring the work-life experiences of car guards in Pretoria.

The use of semi-structured interviews in this study allowed for an interaction where car guards could explain their situations in their own words. May (2011) indicates that semi-structured interviews ploughs a path between the two other types of interviews – structured and unstructured and utilizes techniques from both. This type of interview involves the implementation of a number of fixed questions and or special topics. These questions are normally specified and asked in a systematic and consistent order but at the same time the interviewer is free to digress – that is to probe beyond the answers given. As much as the interviewer is allowed the freedom to digress, the participants as well are allowed to take different paths and explore different thoughts and feelings – that is they have more leeway to answer in their own terms in the interview (Berg 1998; May 2011).

Berg (1998) indicates that the quality of data obtained in an interview depends largely on the quality of the interaction between the researcher and the interviewee. Employing semi-structured interviews (See Appendix 4 – interview schedule) held several advantages for this study. It was appropriate to explore the perceptions car guards had about their work-life experiences and challenges. Questions were asked in a manner that allowed the participants to elaborate on their responses. Utilising semi-structured interviews further allowed the researcher to clarify, explain and ask in-depth questions to get insightful answers and a thorough understanding of the matter. Furthermore, since most participant were interviewed in Sesotho, isiZulu and Setswana, it was easy for the researcher to explain the questions in detail to the participants and for the participants to fully grasp and understand what was being asked before answering. Even though it is not easy to avoid misinterpretations of questions by participants, language competence nonetheless plays an essential role in minimising

misinterpretations of questions being asked. In this study the researcher communicated with most of the participants in a language that they could understand and relate to. This resulted in effective communication and interaction between the researcher and participants where there was clarity and understanding of the subject under study. As a result, it yielded in-depth information and provided much flexibility and scope for analysis.

In conducting the research, the researcher was mindful of the issue of reactivity. Participants may respond to what they think the researcher is asking and furthermore the appearance of the researcher, for example facial expressions or voice tone may have impacts on the participant's responses. The researcher thus remained neutral and objective during the process of interviews.

Added to the issue of reactivity, is power relations, positionality and critical reflexivity. According to Kvale and Brinkmann (2009), social research and power relations are interlinked. This is because in research, the researcher and the participant are not always equal partners. Normally the researcher dictates and controls the flow of the interview by introducing questions and probing where necessary. As a result, power can manifest in the stories or interpretations that one makes as a researcher. Usually with interviews, power relations are often reflected when the researcher and the participant speak from two different positions, where the researcher may be seen as an outsider or insider (Bryman, 2012; Bailey 1994). In this study, the position of the researcher as an interviewer, asking car guards about their experiences, economic statuses and the challenges they face working as car guards might have generated power relationships and this can have an impact on the study validity. However, having familiarised herself with the participants and their work context and setting through observation, the insider-outsider effect was minimized. As a result, the researcher was able to develop rapport with most of the participants and they were willing to participate in the study and share their experiences with the researcher.

In order to build a relationship of trust with the participants, the researcher firstly observed how they operated in their work environment. She studied their relationship with others and their prospective clients. This enabled the researcher to get a sense and a feel of their workplace context. The researcher further introduced herself to the participants and formed a relationship with them by having conversations with them on each day of observation. The researcher used her student card as a form of identification which was shown to participants. In this way, she worked to establish a relationship of trust and respect between herself and participants. Prior

to conducting interviews, the participants were given the informed consent form to read and sign as proof that they were willing to part take in the study. The researcher went through the informed consent form with each participant explaining in detail what the study was about and what was required from participants. It was of utmost importance to develop rapport with participants so that they would be free and at ease to share their experiences with the researcher, thereby enabling the researcher to obtain richness and depth to data.

Positionality refers to the researchers' position on the social ladder, for example race, age, class, gender, religion and educational background (May, 2011; Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). Such status or positions of the researcher can have profound influence on the perception that participants have of the researcher and therefore the amount of information they are willing to divulge and their honesty in what they reveal. The researcher was aware that due to her gender and age, it would be difficult to speak to the participants who are males about their economic statuses. It is for this reason that rapport had to be established and the purpose and objectives of the study be clearly outlined and explained to the participants prior conducting interviews. Having familiarised herself with the participants prior conducting the interviews minimised the impact of positionality. Building rapport with the participants enabled the researcher to get more information and effective cooperation from them.

4.4 Data Analysis and Interpretation

Mikkelson (2007), contends that analysing qualitative data to derive meaningful conclusions from findings is a substantial undertaking. To ensure accuracy and comprehensiveness of data, the researcher recorded all the interview conversations and this was done with the permission of participants. Furthermore, a notebook was utilised to write down important information from the interviews and to record the observations. Interviews were conducted in languages that were most convenient to both the researcher and the participants. Three of the participants spoke English, one spoke isiZulu and fifteen spoke Sepitori. Sepitori is a mixture of Setswana, Sesotho and tsotsi-taal. For analysis and interpretation of data, interview conversations were transcribed verbatim in the language that participants spoke and coded into themes for interpretation. The excerpts used were translated into English.

Thematic analysis (utilised in this research) involved identifying, analysing, reporting patterns within data and sorting data according to themes. Braun and Clarke (2006) argue that thematic analysis organises and describes data in rich detail and further interprets various aspects of the research topic. Themes from the observations and interviews were identified and discussed in relation to the objectives and theoretical framework of the study. Key concepts linked to sustainable livelihood framework and the notion of urban public space as a livelihood asset for the poor guided the process of analysis. In addition, the notions of flexible accumulation provided a broad background context for understanding participants' location in the informal economy. Though thematic analysis is a demanding process, it is a useful method to explore the depth of qualitative data.

4.5 Ethical Considerations

May (2011) and Babbie (2008) define ethics as concerned and associated with the attempt to formulate codes and principles that deal with moral behaviour. Kumar (2005: 210) indicates that

“all professions are guided by a code of ethics that has evolved over years to accommodate the changing ethos, values, needs and expectations of those who hold a stake in the professions and in research”.

In this research, it was important for the researcher to take in consideration ethical codes of moral behaviour.

Prior conducting research, the researcher firstly informed the participant about the purpose and objectives of the study in a language that participants were most comfortable with. This was done so as to clarify the reasons as to why the study was being conducted and to clearly indicate and emphasise that participation in the study is voluntary. Babbie (2008: 64) indicates that “participation becomes voluntary when all participants have an understanding of the possible risks involved in the study”. DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree (2006) further indicate that since participation is voluntary, participants have the right to disengage from the study any time and they should not be forced to participate. In this regard, an English or Sesotho written informed consent form – which contained a written statement of the purpose and objectives of the study

as well as an indication of the potential risks involved in the study, was utilised as a formal documentation to indicate that participants fully understood the purpose of the study and that they were willing and agreed to participate without being forced (See Appendix 3 – informed consent form).

Participants were requested to read and sign the informed consent form. The researcher was explained the consent form in detail to participants who found it difficult to read. It was further emphasised to participants that they were allowed to refrain from answering any questions which they found too personal. They were also told that they could disengage from the study at any point should they wish to. Some of the participants did refrain from answering certain interview questions but there were no cases of withdrawal. As a result, voluntary participation as outlined by codes of ethics in social research was adhered.

There was also a need to address the issue of confidentiality and anonymity. This was important as some participants were initially concerned that the information they would provide would be divulged to the wrong people. However, after establishing rapport with them and having thoroughly explained the purpose, objectives and all that was involved in the study, they openly participated. Berg (1998) maintains that confidentiality is an active effort to remove from the research records any elements that might indicate the subjects' identities while anonymity in a literal sense means that the subjects remain nameless. In this study, participants were assured that the information they provided would remain confidential and that their names would not be identified. The researcher fully understood the reasons as to why information provided by participants should remain confidential and further acknowledged that breaching this might cause problems for some of the participants. For that reason, interviews were conducted with one participant at a time, at their distinct workplaces. Spaces where movement of people was minimal were purposely selected to conduct interviews. This was done strategically to ensure that no one heard the conversation between the researcher and the participant; and the researcher' safety was also taken into consideration when selecting spaces to conduct interviews.

Moreover, to ensure the anonymity of participants, the researcher did not mention the real names of participants, only pseudonyms were utilised in the discussion of findings. The use of pseudonyms reinforces confidentiality as it becomes difficult to trace back the information to the original people. In this way negative repercussions for the participants are limited.

The other ethical issues related to the researcher were considered as well. Kumar (2005:214) indicates that “bias on the part of the researcher is unethical”. Bias is an intentional attempt to either hide findings or to highlight and emphasize somethings disproportionately to their true existence. In dealing with ethical principles, it is imperative that the researcher is honest about everything that is involved in the study since participants have a right to be informed of all aspects involved. The researcher was aware that there was a need to be objective as bias might affect the study negatively. The analysis of findings of this study thus represent the information that was given to the researcher by the participants.

No incentives or bribes were given in this study for the recruitment of participants. The researcher clearly informed all the participants about the purpose and objectives of the study and that it is an academic research, thus they should not expect anything in return from the researcher for participation. As a result, participation was totally voluntary and all participants were treated equally and with respect.

Chapter 5: Surviving on the brink: the work-life experiences and challenges faced by car guards

5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the daily work-life experiences and the challenges that car guards face in their attempt to make ends meet, generate income and pursue livelihoods. Additionally, the chapter describes the push factors and reasons why car guards engage in this activity, how they become involved in it as well as their perceptions about it.

In order to obtain a clear understanding of car guarding, car guards' daily experiences and the challenges they face, it is imperative to first outline their demographic and socio-economic characteristics as this has a significant role to play when analysing the responses that were given.

5.2 Summary of the profile of participants

A total of nineteen participants (car guards) were sampled through a snowball sampling technique for this study. Ten of the nineteen worked on the streets of Hatfield while nine worked at the shopping complex in Hillcrest. All the car guards interviewed were males, two white and seventeen black, in the age range of 18 and 63 (Refer to Appendix 1 – list and profile of participants).

Slightly more than half of those interviewed in Hatfield were local, born in Pretoria and its immediate environment; the remainder had migrated internally from all over South Africa to seek employment in the city. At Hillcrest, two-thirds were locals, one-third internal migrants and one Congolese migrant.

In terms of education, participants (car guards) generally had low levels. One participant only had primary education³, three had junior secondary education⁴ and fourteen had senior secondary education⁵. Of those who had senior secondary education, four had matriculated.

³ Primary education is categorised as Grade 0 - 7

⁴ Junior secondary education is categorised as Grade 8-9

⁵ Senior Secondary education is categorised as Grade 10-12

Moreover, only one participant had a tertiary degree. The sustainable livelihoods framework indicates that human capital, which includes skills, education, knowledge and the ability to labour amongst others, is a building block or a means through which livelihood outcomes can be achieved. Its accumulation therefore can also be an end in itself and the lack of it can persuade individuals to engage in low income activities for survival. The majority of participants in this study had limited human capital (formal skills and educational background) to enter the formal economy. This as a result compelled many of them to engage in car guarding for survival. For others, citizenship and nationality status (being migrants) also contributed to their inability to enter formal economy and rendered their livelihoods outcomes vulnerable in the midst of limited employment opportunities.

Car guards working in Hatfield had more dependents (the average number being 4) as compared to those working in Hillcrest (the average number being 2). Those working in Hatfield had engaged in the activity longer than their counterparts in Hillcrest. The average number of years of service in Hatfield was 9 and 3 in Hillcrest. This may be in part due to the fact that Hillcrest is a fairly new shopping complex.

5.3 Reasons for engaging in car guarding

People engage in work in the informal economy for a variety of reasons. The driving forces behind car guarding are diverse. This section outlines the push and pull factors to engaging in car guarding. While participants involved in this study explained a number of reasons for engaging in car guarding as an informal economic activity, all agreed on the primary economic and monetary motivation for seeking employment. As a result, the need to obtain money, provide and survive in the midst of unemployment is the main push factor that compels people to seek other economic alternatives of generating income and making ends meet.

Additionally, participants' (car guards) low levels of education and lack of skills and work experience makes it difficult to secure employment in the formal economy. Due to this lack of available job opportunities, they have to 'make' their own work.

Furthermore, due to increasing levels of poverty in many rural areas of South Africa and diverse economic hardships, people migrate to city centres in search of jobs and imagined opportunities

so as to do away with poverty. In cases where they cannot find the employment they hoped for, they then resort to alternative means of making a living such as informal economic activities like car guarding. Moreover, car guarding attracts numerous individuals due to the fact that it requires less capital and low skill, has low barriers to entry, offers freedom and an opportunity to generate income in small portions every day. This makes it more attractive and flexible for people entering with the intention of exiting when things get better. In this regard, most participants regard car guarding as a better and more convenient way to make money compared other options. They engage in it as a fall back mechanism and not by choice.

5.3.1 The need to make money and survive in the midst of unemployment

The South African informal economy has witnessed over recent years a significant increase in the number of people who engage in the car guarding activity (especially in cities) as a means of survival and a livelihood strategy. With the high rates of unemployment of 27.7% (as reported in the third quarter of 2017) in the Country, the informal economy functions as a site for economic opportunities for the urban poor and those who struggle to find employment in the formal economy. A number of participants of this study highlighted unemployment and the struggle to find jobs in the formal economy as major forces that led them to engage in car guarding. Leewiy, a middle aged (42 year-old) black male car guard in Hatfield, who had only Grade 5 (primary school education) mentioned that:

“My sister...I am a car guard. I have looked for a job my whole life without getting any.you see....it is difficult to find a job these days.....seeing that there are no jobs I decided to come here and work as a car guard....even the government....it cannot provide jobs for us rather it encourages us to wake up and do it ourselves.... That is why I am here”
[translated, see endnote1 in Appendix 5]

Hennie, a 29 year old white male car guard in Hillcrest, who had also not completed schooling, attested to that by maintaining that

“I’ve been without a job for three and a half years there (Carletonville).... so I decided to migrate this side (Pretoria) to look for employment, but still I just could not find a job, so ended up coming here....to guard cars”

The difficulties and struggles of finding a job mentioned by the participants of this study can be closely tied to the country's high unemployment rate, the rearrangements of the labour market and changes in the most significant sectors of the economy. Carletonville for example is one of South Africa's gold mining towns, which in the past created a lot of employment opportunities for thousands of people. However, in recent years, due to changes in the labour market and challenges facing the gold and platinum mining industry, the sector shed more than 50 000 jobs in the year 2012 to 2016 (Mathews, 2017), leaving thousands of people unemployed.

These two aspects (unemployment and the changing labour market) by implication has led to a creation of a segmented workforce (Valodia, et.al, 2006) and a poor working population (Omomowo, 2011). By virtue of the operation and the type of work they do, car guards can be categorised as the "urban poor" or "workers in the periphery – those making a living". As the neo-liberal school of thought argues, the working poor or the urban poor given their challenges and failures to find jobs in the formal sector, enter the informal economy as a platform through which they can create livelihood possibilities and to seek other measures of surviving and to obtain incomes (De Soto: 1989, 2001). Car guarding thus serves as an opportune economic activity where low barriers to entry make it possible to earn a subsistence income.

The monetary motivation behind seeking employment was highlighted as the main push factor behind conducting car guarding. Money is essential for survival and it has become a symbol of power. The highlighted importance of making money by participants of this study was significantly linked to their gender roles as fathers, providers and breadwinners in their families. According to Lemon (1992) work and income are significant aspects of masculine identity, transforming males into men and enabling them to become responsible persons in their families. Significantly in this study, the monetary element of employment compelled participants to engage in car guarding as an alternative way to make money after they had failed to find employment. When asked what they like most about their work, the majority of the participants mentioned the monetary part of car guarding which enabled them to provide for themselves and their families. Tshepo, a Hatfield car guard with only Grade 9 as a qualification indicated that

“I like this job a lot because they give us money.... I don’t struggle anymore at home. You see at home... nowadays my sister, I am even able to buy food, clothes and other necessities. If I don’t come here, where will I get the money? ...because stealing doesn’t pay” [Translated, see endnote 2 in Appendix 5]

Similarly, Mikael, another Hatfield car guard who also did not finish schooling mentioned the importance of the money he gets from car guarding

“I don’t dispute that there are no jobs these days...I became aware that through car guarding I can be able to make something... get some money and provide for my family. I was even able to save up money for Lobola for my wife....I paid Lobola for her with the money I get here. What make me happy is that I am able to get something from here and I can do things that I want” [Translated, see endnote 3 in Appendix 5]

Many other participants of this study shared similar sentiments about the monetary importance of car guarding, highlighting their ability to provide for themselves and at least contribute to the sustenance of their families through the activity. As a result, being able to provide for their families was a significant push factor behind the urge and need to make an income. This is linked to patriarchal notion of men as providers, breadwinners and heads of the households. Money thus is an essential tool to fulfil the expectation of being a provider and the head of the household and ensuring that they have some financial capital to disperse in their relationships with others.

5.3.2 Education, skills and work experience as constraints to finding employment

In the post-apartheid era, having an educational qualification, skills and work experience opens up opportunities for employment. A lot of employers require employees to have acquired a certain educational level, skills and work experience. With low levels of education, and lack of skills and formal work experience, car guards find it difficult to obtain employment in the formal economy. Therefore, their inability to find employment compels them to seek other ventures through which they can be able to make an income.

Lethabo, a car guard in Hatfield, who dropped out of university and has no work experience indicates the difficulties of finding a job with only a Matric certificate

“Actually... I came here because I did not have a job..... you see... in our country [S.A] it is extremely difficult to find a job when you have no qualifications...even though you have completed Grade 12 ...its nothing... you still will not find a job because they want educated people” [Translated, see endnote 4 in Appendix 5]

Another car guard in Hatfield, Majoro, who also completed his Grade 12 shared similar thoughts

‘I actually want to go back to school and study.... I have completed my Grade 12 but I still could not find a job.... Maybe if I could go back to school and do a short course just so that I can have a qualification, I will be able to get a stable job...’ [Translated, see endnote 5 in Appendix 5]

Ike, Mikae, Lukes, Tokelo and King, who all have senior secondary education concurred that it is difficult to find employment without qualifications and the necessary skills. In this regard, lack of skills, low levels of education and inadequate formal work experience serve as major constraints to finding employment. As a result, the participants of this study resorted to car guarding as a way in which they can make a living, generate money and survive. For many car guarding has become their main way of making money and their only option for survival, in the midst of their economic situations and struggles.

5.3.3 Poverty and economic hardships

Like unemployment rates, the levels of poverty are also high in South Africa especially in rural areas. According to Kempe (2004) poverty is characterised as lack of purchasing power, rural predominance, exposure to environmental risk, insufficient access to social and economic services, lack of political right and few opportunities for formal-sector income generation. In relation to monetary terms, poverty is defined as a state or a condition of having little money or goods to support oneself. Due to poverty, people in rural areas endure diverse economic hardships. As a result, their economic situation compels them to migrate to cities in search of

jobs and opportunities to make money. This is the process of urbanisation which is defined as the movement of people from rural areas to urban areas. The high influx of people into the cities can be attributed to the economic activities going on in cities which serve as pull factors for people's movement especially the poor into the cities. In the midst of unemployment and the struggle to survive, the poor on their arrival in cities seek alternative means of making a living. The informal economy thus plays a crucial role of providing economic opportunities for people hence they engage in activities like car guarding for survival. Jabulani, a 29 year old car guard in Hatfield, who has been unsuccessful in finding a job maintains that

"I have been poor... I struggled a lot before I came here....actually, I came here because I did not have a job and I could not survive without money.... at least if I work here I will have food and not sleep on an empty stomach"

[Translated, see endnote 6 in Appendix 5]

Mmoose, an internal migrant aged 43, working in Hatfield similarly mentioned that

"I am from KZN, I only came this side looking for a job because we had problems back at home.... It's not like I am happy to be here doing this job.... I am just trying to survive just like any other person... I sacrifice a lot so that I can be able to provide for my children and my family back at home because they struggling to survive..." [Translated, see endnote 7 in Appendix 5]

Poverty as a result is one of the driving forces that compel some of the car guards in this study to migrate to where opportunities to generate incomes are best and to engage in an informal economic activity like car guarding for survival.

5.3.4 Car guarding - a convenient way to generate income

Activities and work in the informal economy are less regulated and do not significantly require formal educational background and skills. Car guarding requires less capital and does not require any acquired formal or educational skills. This is an advantage to people engaging in it as it becomes easy to access an opportunity to generate money through the activity. Participants of this study highlighted the easy entry into car guarding, the freedom the activity offers as compared to other economic activities and the opportunity it offers to easily generate money

on a daily basis as other push factors and reasons for engaging in it when all their means to secure employment have failed. In this regard, to most car guards in this study, the activity is the most convenient as compared to other options they mentioned which are, street trading, begging and crime. With regard to the latter two options it is due to the fact that begging is regarded undignified by the participants and crime on the other hand has consequences, as Tshepo indicated “stealing doesn’t pay” (see endnote 2 in Appendix 5). This is due to the fact that being involved in criminal activities to generate money can be consequential in that one could be arrested and obtain a criminal record which is detrimental and might in the future prevent an individual from securing employment in other formal sectors. Participants further mentioned that unlike car guarding, other informal economic activities such as street trading and shoe repairing require start-up capital for stock.

Tokelo, who had in the past done contract work indicated that after his plans to find employment failed he resorted to car guarding as a fall back mechanism to obtain income.

“I have been looking for a job after I left my previous job...However my stuff did not go according to plan, thus I came to work here... knowing that it would be easy for me to make quick cash that I can survive on” [Translated, see endnote 8 in Appendix 5]

Moreover, for Hloni, who had only completed junior secondary education, Grade 8, car guarding was the only better and easy option to survive after he lost his job. He indicates that

“I live and survive on the street... after I lost my job I had no other plan of finding employment... that’s when I came here to park cars.... It was the only thing that I could do to get money.... you see here... you don’t need a lot of things to do this job.... Its quick and you don’t need money to get in it...”
[Translated, see endnote 9 in Appendix 5]

In this regard, car guarding is one of the simplest and most convenient means of making a living since it requires less education, relatively low skills and marginal start-up capital as compared to other occupations and informal activities. As a result, the easy entry into the car guarding activity provides an opportunity for people who find barriers to accessing and securing formal employment to make money and survive.

Nonetheless, as the study has revealed, it is imperative to note that people are driven into car guarding and engage in it mainly to make a living and obtain an income in the midst of their struggle to find employment due to lack of skills, education and experience. Embedded to the need to make an income, is the urge and compulsion to support their families where some are sole income earners. In this way, car guarding thus serves as an opportune activity to pursue livelihoods and many car guards engage in it for survival and not by choice

5.4 Processes and operations of car guarding

This section looks at the processes of getting into the car guarding activity. It outlines the dynamics of the activity such as its nature, the working conditions and hours as well as remuneration - tips. When looking at the two selected locations of the study, there are notable differences when it comes to the processes of getting into the activity. In this regard, this section draws a comparison of the dynamics of the activity at both locations.

5.4.1 Entering the car guarding activity

In both locations, participants mentioned that there were certain requirements that they had to adhere to in order to work as car guards. Most of the car guards working in Hatfield explained the requirements of becoming car guards in terms of how they operate on a daily basis. Part of these requirements involved the “informal” (mostly spoken and performed) rules and procedures which were not followed by all car guards in Hatfield but were normalised by some who work during the day shift⁶. Asked whether there are requirements and procedures that they have to follow in order to work as car guards in Hatfield, Lethabo expressed that:

“I remember there was a time when the SAPS ... the police, told us that we need to send our ID copies to the police station, I don't know why they wanted it but I send it to them. I think they wanted to know who works here in case something happens, but it is useless because they don't know all of us”

⁶ The different shifts in the car guarding activity at both locations will be discussed on section (5.4.2. the daily activity) under working hours.

Researcher probe: *was everyone here required to submit ID copies to the police station in order to work here?*

Lethabo: “Yes, but most of the guys here did not, I did it just so they can get off my back and stop harassing me, but I do not know why they wanted it”

[Translated, see endnote 10 in Appendix 5]

The “understood” informal rules, procedures and requirements of regulating entry into the car guarding activity in Hatfield proved to be unproductive since most car guards did not abide or comply with the rules and procedures. Only four of the participants interviewed in Hatfield indicated that they did submit their ID copies to the police station, the remainder did not. When asked of the reasons for not submitting his ID copy to the police station, Majoro said

“Eish... you see I used to do illegal things, but I have changed now, but I am always suspicious of the police... so I did not want to submit my ID copy to them because they harass us, especially me... some still think I am a criminal, I dont want them to have my ID copy” [Translated, see endnote 11 in Appendix 5]

In addition to the submission of ID copies at the police station, car guards in Hatfield further mentioned that they have to sign a log book with the Hatfield Private Security Guards every morning on arrival and in the afternoon when they leave (the logbook is sometimes checked by the police). This is once again a procedure that is done so as to regulate which car guard works at which street and to minimise the chances of car theft by car guards. However, this regulation becomes difficult and is extremely fruitless as it is not all car guards that abide and conform to it. Talking about the requirements and procedures of entry into the activity, Lethabo further indicated that

“In the morning when we get here, we sign a log book with the security and when I leave I also sign and notify the security that I have left, in case a car gets broken into where I work, the security would know that I had left.... I like this system... what they doing is fine, but they still do not know all of us, because many other guys here do not bother, most of them don’t follow the rules, the don’t sign the log book...” [Translated, see endnote 12 in Appendix 5]

This reveals that while there are attempts to manage and regulate car guarding in Hatfield, they remain highly informal and not many of the car guards comply the requirements of the informally arranged methods of regulation.

In contrast to Hatfield, when asked of entry requirements into the activity, all car guards interviewed in Hillcrest mentioned that they were required to obtain a certificate of registration with Private Security Industry Regulatory Authority (PSIRA) or at least a certain training on security (security grades) in order to work at the shopping complex. Car guards in Hillcrest understood these to be part of a formally regulated informal hiring process that they had to adhere to in order to work at the shopping complex. Additionally, all car guards mentioned that they had to wear same colour uniform with hats and reflectors. They are further required by the shopping complex manager to pay a “standing fee” of R65 every morning when they clock to work. Failure to meet these requirements minimises the opportunity of working as a car guard in Hillcrest. Nonetheless, in cases where it was difficult or impossible for some to obtain a certificate of registration, certain alternative procedures were considered. For example, a time frame was allocated to car guards, mostly migrants to at least obtain certain security training if they could not register with PSIRA. Pertaining the registration processes and requirements of entry into the activity Jay an educated 32 year old, Congolese Migrant car guard in Hillcrest mentioned that

“All there is here, is that one has to register and go through training with PSIRA in order to work here. This is information you get told when you get here, I for one got told by the complex manager....for others it becomes hard to get the certificate because they are migrants and do not have documents but they end up not registering but at least go through training....There is also money we have to pay for registration or training and this is a problem because we came here to make a living, we don't have the money...”

Observations revealed that while all of the car guards interviewed in Hillcrest wore the same uniform and seemed slightly knowledgeable about registration processes with PSIRA, some were carrying smart cards to show that they had registered and some were not. This may be in part due to monetary constraints, lack of documents and/ or a general disinterest in registering.

Furthermore, in both Hatfield and Hillcrest, entry into the car guarding activity was obtained through networks. Most of the participants who worked in Hatfield mentioned that they were initially of the view that they did not need any permission from any one to work as car guards in any space, particularly on the streets. However, forms of social networks existed among them and were used as foundations for entering the car guarding activity. Most of the participants got into car guarding through someone they knew. It was a referral by a friend, a family member or a relative who was either doing the activity, had done it before or knew someone who was doing the activity.

Ike, a 31 year old car guard in Hatfield mentioned that:

“You see... when I came here... I knew people from my hood....I knew people who for a long time used to work here... they are the ones who introduced me to car guarding here and I got in through them...” [Translated, see endnote 13 in Appendix 5]

Social networks and connections were evidently crucial in both Hatfield and Hillcrest. Some of the participants working in Hillcrest were also referred to the complex for car guarding. However, in comparison to Hatfield where social connections somewhat guarantee one entry into the activity, Hillcrest differed in that social connections do not necessarily grant one entry into the activity. However, they do offer crucial and helpful knowledge about the activity and how one can gain access to this more regulated environment.

Charley, an internal migrant from Limpopo, with no skills and prior work experience confirmed the importance of networks in obtaining entry into car guarding

“I was not working at that time and I met a guy who comes from the same neighborhood as myself and I asked him where he works....he then referred me here and told me everything about it and that I can make a lot of money....I then came here prepared knowing that some form of training was needed.....you see, that guy helped me ” [Translated, see endnote 14 in Appendix 5]

Moreover, some of the participants who worked in Hatfield particularly those who had submitted their ID copies to the police station, further mentioned that being known by the

Hatfield Private Security Guards and the SAPS makes it easier to remain in the activity. This kind of social capital forms part of the strategies that some of the car guards in Hatfield utilise to remain in the activity and sustain their livelihoods and income. Through the use of social networks and interactions, car guards therefore possess some capabilities or assets in a form of social capital which has a positive impact on their livelihoods. This, grants them possibilities and a form of agency in as far as they can strategise to secure or sustain their livelihoods and income. Mikael, who has been a car guard in Hatfield for twelve years, maintains that having some relations with authorities is sometimes an essential element of survival in the activity

“Ehhhhmmm.... it’s just that people here know me.... You see the security guards around here ... and even a lot of police officers know me, I follow some procedures, I submitted my ID copy and sometimes I sign the log book. Every time when I go home, I always let the security know that I am leaving, so that I don’t get held responsible for things I did not do... you see ...here... it gets easy if you know the security and they know you too...your work becomes easy and they will never give you any problems” [Translated, see endnote 15 in Appendix 5]

Evidence from this study shows that while there may be attempts to regulate the function of car guarding, they are highly informal and not exactly in line with the provisions of the national legislation, the Private Security Industry Regulation Act 56 of 2001 (PSIR Act 56 of 2001), which is aimed at regulating the provisions of security services including car guarding. In accordance with the stipulations of the PSIR Act 56 of 2001 an argument can be made that car guards fall within the category of “security service providers”⁷ and as such are required to register with the Private Security Industry Regulatory Authority (PSIRA) and undergo training (Grade E security training) in order to formally operate as car guards. The registration process requires any person providing a security service to be a South African citizens or a permanent residents of South Africa, to have completed the required training, to be at least 18

⁷ PSIR Act 56/2001 defines "security service provider" as a person who renders a security service to another for a remuneration, reward, fee or benefit and includes such a person who is not registered as required in terms of this Act. In the Act, security service is define as “protecting or safeguarding a person or property in any manner; giving advice on the protection or safeguarding of a person or property, on any other type of security service section, or on the use of security equipment; providing a reactive or response service in connection with safeguarding of a person or property in any manner; providing a service aimed at ensuring order and safety on the premises us purposes amongst others. The Act further defines a property to mean “ any movable, immovable or intellectual property, or any right to such property

years old and not guilty of criminal offences. Moreover, a registration fee for the training and identification documents are required.

Car guards from both locations had no sound understanding of the formal requirements of entry into the activity as stipulated by the PSIR Act 56 of 2001. While some of the requirements mentioned by car guards in Hillcrest were in line with the stipulations of the Act, given their levels of education and socio-economic statuses, the majority of study participants had no substantial understanding of the rationale behind such requirements. This shows that while there exist national legislation and policy aimed at regulating the security industry and amongst others, taking action to address the disjointed and unregulated nature of function of car guarding, such efforts imply formalisation of an essentially informal activity. The attempt to bring car guards them under regulation can be regarded a threat to their livelihood strategies. Whilst provisions in the Act, allow for car guards to be categorised as security service providers and may be used to regulate car guarding, they on another hand have the potential to contribute to the insecurity and financial exploitation of car guards, since they make their own work and do not have the security that labour law provides for those who are employment.

It was evident from this study that not all car guard (even those in Hillcrest) obtained the necessary training qualification, as is a requirement of the Act. The requirements stipulate that security service providers, car guards included, must have a clear criminal record and be citizens or permanent residents of South Africa in order to register and formally operate as car guards. The registration process requires a fee that car guards must pay themselves. This on its own is not inclusive and does not allow for consideration for any car guards who may have criminal records or are migrants with no legal citizenship and documents and by implication it renders their livelihoods vulnerable, posing a threat to their ability and means through which they can generate income. With limited financial capital, the registration fee that is required may also place a financial burden on the car guards and put a strain on their incomes. This is also a form of “shock” and a vulnerability context to their livelihoods. An argument can therefore be made that the Act does not take into consideration the survivalist nature of some of the security services and the livelihood outcomes embedded and is therefore restrictive rather than developmental or enabling.

5.4.2 On the job: the daily activity

On this section, the nature of the car guarding activity, the working conditions and hours as well as the tips the car guards receive will be discussed respectively

5.4.2.1 Nature of the car guarding activity

From the observations made during the study, car guarding activity involves a lot of running and weaving between the cars and at times the running happens for a long distance. In this way, the nature of the car guarding activity poses a hazard to the lives of car guards, as while running in between cars to secure “business” one could accidentally be hit by a car. Besides watching the car in the absence of the owner, car guards perform other several duties. Participants of this study mentioned that their duties involve more than just watching cars in the absence of the car owners. They perform duties ranging from looking for empty parking spaces for car owners; directing car owners into and out of parking spaces; carrying the car owners’ groceries, assisting in packing purchases in the boot of the car and returning the trolleys to sometimes washing the cars (this is done in Hatfield). These are some of the ways in which car guards in Hatfield provide a value added service and through an entrepreneurial spirit maximise their incomes.

5.4.2.2 Working conditions and hours

In their struggle to earn livelihoods, car guards work under unfavourable and at times precarious conditions which can have a negative impact on their health. The nature of car guarding and the work environment of car guards requires that car guards perform the activity while standing, for long hours and run quite a bit as well, in changing weather conditions. The exhaustion of this was explained by most participants, indicating that they do not get to rest and in most cases they suffer from swelling feet, influenza and headaches as a result of being exposed to the climate.

According to Phillemon, a 63 year old car guard in Hillcrest

“One of the challenges of working here lies in the way we work...we work for long hours...its tiring...especially for an old person like me... we only have a

20 minute break...that's the only time we get to sit down....every time when I get home, I just take a bath, eat and sleep...I cannot even do anything...and my feet sometimes swell because we stand too long....” [Translated, see endnote 16 in Appendix 5]

In their challenge to make a living, car guards utilise their physical capacity and social skills and in some cases attempt to find positives and benefits in their unfavourable working conditions. Their undesirable working conditions make them prone to health risks and therefore to poor health, besides compelling them to put in excessively long hours of work. Rainy weather conditions pose a health hazard to car guards, however others find such weather conditions as beneficial and regards them as opportunities to make money, by providing an additional service with umbrellas. This was described by several car guards in both locations.

Hennie, a car guard working in Hillcrest explained that

“We work every single day.... whether it's raining or not.... errrhmm...we got our work umbrellas here for when it rains.... actually...I love it when it rains, you see... you ladies like to protect your hair [laughs]so with umbrellas we get to escort people to their cars and help them with their groceries... to carry them and to pack them in their cars....then we get tipped a lot...we get notes....especially from ladies since we help them...”

Similarly, Majoro, with his 5 year experience as a car guard in Hatfield, has learned that while rainy weather conditions pose a challenge to their operations, they could also be used to maximise income, reporting that

“Eish... we find a lot of challenges when it's raining...you have to bring your own umbrella, because if you don't have an umbrella or a rain-coat, you will struggle and at times you will even stop working and lose money... but if you have an umbrella...it's an advantage because you can use your umbrella to accompany people to their cars, and help them carry their bags and groceries... in this way you will get a better tip... like R50, R20... because...you see... it's not like you only showed the person where to park but you helped them as well... that's why they tip us... [Translated, see endnote 17 in Appendix 5]

The work conditions of car guards are further reflected by the number of hours they work per day. The average number of hours that car guards work per day varies from eight to twelve hours. In both locations car guards work in shifts which are determinants of their total number of working hours. Nonetheless, there are notable differences between the two locations in terms of the way the work shifts operate. In Hatfield, there is a day and a night shift. The day shift begins at 7 o'clock in the morning and ends at 4 o'clock in the afternoon; whilst the night shift begins after 4 o'clock in the afternoon to the next morning. There is flexibility in terms of work hours, as most participants mentioned that they work for as long as they can, until they have made enough money for that certain day. It was also observed that some of the participants work both day and night shift on several consecutive days. In Hatfield the number of work hours are flexible and largely depend on the amount of money one makes.

One of the participants, King, a 28 year old car guard in Hatfield with 12 years of service reported the following

“Mmhh...well... I get here at 6:30 every morning and I sometimes leave at 7 in the evening, sometimes at 6 or earlier than that...it depends...it depends on the number of cars I still have on the parking slots and on whether I have made enough money ... sometimes when I am satisfied with the money I have made...I can leave at like...3 in the afternoon... so yah it depends...” [Translated see endnote 18 in Appendix 5]

In contrast, car guards working in Hillcrest all arrive at the same time which is 8:00am in the mornings but have different knocking-off times that being the 6pm knock-off shift as well as an 8pm knock-off shift. These are fixed shifts and are formally organised according to the closing times of shops around the complex. As a result, different parking slots are allocated a different shift and all car guards rotate daily to work these shifts.

In summary, car guards work for very long hours daily and are subsequently exposed to unfavourable and changing weather conditions which makes them prone to health risks which might contribute to poor health. Furthermore, taking into consideration their working conditions, it can be deduced that the car guarding activity lacks any security and safety and this results in increased vulnerability among car guards.

5.4.2.3 Tips

Car guards in this study do not earn any wage or salary since they are not hired by any organisation. Their monetary survival largely relies on the tips they receive from car owners who park at distinct parking spaces. The tips that car guards receive further depends on several aspects such as the location or the particular space in which the activity is being performed, the day of the month, the kinds of people who park at distinct parking spaces and they vary from one space to another.

Participants of this study revealed that the urban public space where car guarding is being performed plays an important role when coming to obtaining tips. This is linked to the activities going on around the particular space and the kinds of people who park at that space. In Hillcrest, certain parking spaces are categorised as money generating spaces. To illustrate, all car guards working in Hillcrest perceived parking spaces around Pick 'n Pay and Woolworths (in particular) where there is relatively fast turnover as money generating spaces (see Map 1). Furthermore, there is a class element attached to parking spaces around Woolworths and Pick 'n Pay, as car owners who park there are perceived to have money and are more willing to offer a tip. As observed, in such spaces there is a lot of in and out movement of people and cars in a short period of time. In this regard, it becomes easy for car guards to accumulate tips.

According to Hennie

“You see ... I like to work at Woollies, you make a lot of money there..... If a place is busy and customers tip a lot, then it's a good place....but if a place does not have a lot of movement and it's not that busy, you are likely not to get tips...and that's a bad place..... You see... other places here have that fast in and out movement but people who park there don't tip us.... So Woollies is still the best”

Moreover, days of the month also play a pivotal role when it comes to obtaining tips. Car guards in this study revealed that, there are better days than others when it comes to receiving tips. Usually month ends, weekends and the middle of the month are the most pivotal, as they receive more tips and are able to make a lot of money. This is because many state employees get paid around the middle of the month and private company employees towards the end of

the month. In Hillcrest most car guards prefer to work during weekends as they perceive them as the most convenient time to make money, since many people shop during weekends. In contrast, car guards who work in Hatfield perceive Thursdays as significant money generating days. This is due to the fact that Thursdays are regarded as “student nights”, whereby students go out to drink. In this regard, Thursdays are very busy and offer an easy opportunity for car guards to make money. Moreover, unlike in Hillcrest, a significant number of car guards working in Hatfield prefer to work at night. The reason mentioned behind working night shifts is that, car owners are most vulnerable at night and would do anything to get their cars protected in their absence.

When asked why he prefers working night shifts and not during the day, Majoro mentioned that:

“Ehmmmm...I chose to work night shift because I know that at night you can make a lot of money ... because you find a lot of people go drink and leave their cars here and when they come back and find it safe, they will give you a lot of tip ... like R50 or R100 ... You see ... at night people become scared that their cars will be stolen or hijacked ... and they get happy to find their cars safe, thus they tip us ... Again students rely on us, especially on Thursday nights when they go drink, they go knowing their cars will be safe with us”. [Translated, see endnote 19 in Appendix 5]

Other car guards working in Hatfield also concurred with a statements that was made by Majoro. Therefore, from the above statement, it can be deduced that the time or day in which car guarding is done has an impact on the livelihood outcome of car guards (in this case being the tips). These as depicted in the sustainable livelihood framework (Carney, 1998) are seasons which can negatively or positively influence the livelihoods of the poor. Moreover seasons and occasions also determine the suitability of performing the car guarding activity.

Furthermore, car guards rely heavily on car owners to tip them. On a daily basis, they meet different kinds of people, some who are willing and some who are not willing to tip them. In most cases, car guards utilise “social skill” as a way through which they can obtain tips, such as welcoming their potential clients in a friendly manner and making relevant self-introductions. They form social relations and interactions with some of the car owners so as to

minimise the hesitation to tip, knowing that when they are known, they will most likely be tipped.

Almost all participants of this study mentioned that, even though the tips they receive are at times very little, they are however satisfied with them since they can provide for themselves and their families, which is something they struggled to do initially. To others the tips they receive from car guarding are their only source of income and are way better than the incomes and wages they were earning on their previous contractual, temporary and casual jobs. Only two participants seemed unsatisfied with the amount of tip they receive on a daily basis, indicating that they are abysmally low to cover all their basic needs and for supporting their families and therefore inadequate for their survival.

5.5 Car guards' perceptions about car guarding

The responses of car guards themselves about car guarding were explicit and embedded different negative and positive perceptions about the activity. Car guards are aware of the dangers of the activity and acknowledged that they at times cause unnecessary traffic congestion especially on the streets. Nonetheless, to many, the activity is a survival and a fall back mechanism and their sole source of income. They engage in the activity as a way to make a living and it is perceived to be a survival strategy and a fall back mechanism especially in times of economic or financial struggles and when faced with limited opportunities and options for employment. This is due to the fact that the activity does not require any start-up capital and it becomes fairly easy to obtain entry into the activity through social networks and interpersonal relationships.

Although the activity is a survival and a fall back mechanism to many, a few others regard it temporary and as a stepping stone to obtaining better employment or job offers. When asked of their future work plans, they revealed that they do not have intentions of being car guards for long. The main reason outlined behind temporarily engaging in the activity was a need to accumulate money so as to work towards starting a small business or obtaining either a qualification or a driver's licence. These, were perceived as the most important assets that can enable them to get a job or better employment in the formal economy.

This was maintained by Jackson (a fairly young, 27 year old car guard in Hillcrest) in his statement regarding his future work plans

“You see my sister..... Actually ...I don’t plan to be a car guard for long... this is just a way to obtain money currently... I actually want to save and do a driver’s licence. With that...at least I can be able to get a better job....like maybe...uhhhmmm...truck driving, be a police officer.....a traffic officer maybe.... You see...that will be better doing car guarding for the rest of my life...” [Translated, see endnote 20 in Appendix 5]

Majoro also maintained that

“Actually, I want to get a job... if I could get a job, let’s say in Pick ’n Pay.... And then on the side do a short course in management.... You see in that way, since I will be having a qualification, it will be easier to move up the ladder quickly and earn better.... I can even apply for higher posts.... That’s what I want...” [Translated see endnote 21 in Appendix 5]

In this regard therefore, their future work plans and expected opportunities to migrate to other better livelihoods other than the car guarding activity may be regarded in accordance with the sustainable livelihood framework as a livelihood. The activity in this regards is used not only as a means through which they “currently” generate income but also a form of agency to acquire financial capital (in a form of savings) that may be used to obtain skills (through learning or qualifications) or relevant documentation (a drivers’ licence for example) as tools that could open better employment opportunities. With some declaring that the activity is an opportunity to acquire money to pursue other interests, this then reflects a positive outcome and the opportunity of a successful transition from car guarding to another lucrative livelihood ventures (see Carney, 1998). Consequently, the car guarding activity cannot always be regarded as a permanent livelihood, as car guards seek to engage in other better economic activities.

Moreover, car guards in this study were further aware of the perceptions of the public about the activity as well as the stereotypes that are held against them. McEwen and Leiman (2008) indicates that central to the public’s perceptions about car guarding is the disorganisation and chaos that the activity causes on the streets as well as an issue of whether car guards provide a

real service. Nonetheless, car guards portray their work and services as essential and significantly contributing to the greater good of society. Steyn, et.al (2015) indicate that given South Africa's high crime rate, car guards perceive their work as offering a semblance of security and a significant contributing to the reduction of car theft. Similar to this finding this study found that car guard in both locations were proud of their services, believing them to be essential to the broader public and as contributing significantly (whether directly or indirectly) to the reduction of crime, particularly car related crime in South Africa. Additionally, in spite of stereotypes against car guarding, most of the study participants were of the opinion that it is better for them to be engaged in car guarding than being criminals and indulging in despicable activities.

The significance of the services provided by car guards was reported and emphasised by Carlee, a white, 49 year old car guard in Hillcrest who recently joined the industry

“I am happy about the work I do... I have been doing it for long. I take great pleasure in helping people.... Looking after people's cars is actually offering security....we look after these cars so that they don't get stolen...we also help the security guards with securing the premises and making sure that people's possessions are not stolen”

Similarly, in his study Bernstein (2003) indicates that the car guarding activity exhibits the characteristics and elements of a public good market. He argues that while car guards may not actively fight crime, there is no doubt that they offer a deterrent to it. This is in relation with the fact that the presence of a car guard in an area raises some probability of detection, therefore deterring some potential criminals. As a result, the services that car guards provide are beyond looking after cars and they can therefore be regarded as real. Furthermore, offering an element of a public good, motorists do benefit from the services of car guards regardless of whether they value it or not.

There were a few of the participants, mainly in Hatfield who had negative perceptions about car guarding, regarding it as problematic, lacking economic or financial progression and further relating it to a form of begging. These participants reported that the tips they obtain from guarding cars are not enough to even cover their basic needs. Thus, regardless of doing the

activity, they perceive no financial progress in their lives, instead they remain poor and in a vicious cycle of debt.

Irrespective of the seeming awareness or recognition of the lack of economic progression and development in car guarding, these car guards were of the opinion that they cannot anything else but to continue with the activity since it is their sole source of income.

Hloni is one amongst the few who indicated that

“Uhhmm... You see... here... I am just here because there is nothing better than this that I can do to get money....but it's not like I am happy to be here...the problem is that the money we get here is very little.... I survive by those R2 and R5 I get here... actually... there is no progress here.... It's like I am going back each and every day, because the money I get here is just for lunch... the next day I have to hustle again....you see, its different...people who get salaries can buy cars and do everything they want but we can't...we have to wait for people's R2 and R5...it's more like we begging, because we depend on people.... It's difficult” [Translated, see endnote 22 in Appendix 5]

Hloni's declaration confirms the public's notion of car guards as “glorified beggars” as revealed in Bernstein's (2003) study.

5.6 Work-life experiences of and challenges faced by car guards

In their daily work lives, car guards face an array of complex challenges. One of the main challenges that was enumerated and emphasised by the participants of this study is the safety and insecurity of their work. The kind of work that car guards do offers no safety for the person doing it. In this regard, car guards on a daily basis are faced with the unforeseen dangers of being hit by a moving car or being shot and assaulted by criminals in their car theft attempt. This by implication demands car guards to always be alert and conscious of what could happen to them while doing their work. Additionally, car guards in this study do not get any wage or salary since they are not hired by any organisation. They rely and depend on the tips they receive from distinct individuals, especially car owners who park their cars at respective parking spaces

at the shopping complex and by the streets. Their dependency on car owners for an income makes them vulnerable and contributes to their high levels of income insecurity and uncertainty. In light of the above, and taking into consideration the very long working hours and extreme working conditions, car guarding is a very precarious and insecure economic activity. The lack of security and safety conditions in car guarding can be attributed to the fact that car guards operate in the informal economy under unregulated conditions. Thus the absence of legislation becomes a major problem and hence their work becomes uncertain and insecure.

In addition to the forms of vulnerability that car guards face in their workplaces, they are often seen as a nuisance, unlawful entities and are perceived to be a threat to the public's safety as they are mainly associated with beggars and criminals. Dealing with the held or maintained stereotypes about the activity was another challenge that most car guards in this study faced.

“Because we are poor....we just work here on the streets in order to survive... but people disregard us ... they call us names and some of them think we work with criminals in stealing and hijacking cars....this is very difficult at times.... because even when you trying to just greet people and make a conversation with them, they just become rude....ladies as well don't want to even want to look at us because we are car guards.....every day we have to deal with painful statements that people say about us.... It's difficult... but I need their money to survive” [Hloni, translated see end note 23 in Appendix 5]

From the above mentioned statement, it can be deduced that car guards are aware of the stereotypes that people have of them and their work. In some cases, car guards find it a challenge to deal with such stereotypes. Nonetheless, their work requires that they interact with different kinds of people on a daily basis. This by implication means encountering different verbally spoken perceptions about the activity and dealing with different people's moods. Thus coping with the stigma and stereotypes attached to car guarding as well as dealing with difficult clients is another challenge that car guards face on a regular basis.

Kgotso, a middle aged 35 year old car guard in Hillcrest additionally mentioned that

“We meet a lot of difficult people and different personalities.... Some become so rude to us to a point whereby they can even swear at you or even try to beat

you up for just standing next to their car....some of you just greet and they start to call you all sorts of names... you see... people are different, some are good, some are not...but we have to deal with them and at times it becomes difficult..”

[Translated, see endnote 24 in Appendix 5]

Moreover, car guards in this study, especially those who worked on the streets complain of constant threats and harassment from the police and security officers who often make their work difficult. Due to the fact that car guards operate on the streets and in public spaces such as malls, they are often regarded as a nuisance and seen as causing traffic jams and disorganisation in the city. As a result, participants of this study (particularly those working on the streets) mentioned that, the police would arrest them for doing the activity and indicate that they are not “known” and therefore are a “source of danger” to the public. In addition to being arrested they would further be requested to pay a fine. PSIRA works with the SAPS and Tshwane Metro Police Department (TMPD) to enforce the PSIR Act 56/2001. In terms of the PSIR Act 56/2001, non-compliance and provision of security services without registering is an offence and the liable on conviction are subject to a fine or to imprisonment. One can therefore argue that arrests that car guards sometimes face may be part of the enforcement of the Act. Nonetheless, without any sound knowledge of the legislation and requirements of it therefore, car guards in Hatfield become subject and vulnerable to the enforcement procedures of the Act, which may be regarded as procedurally unfair (in a sense that car guards are not familiar with these requirements and were never communicated or clearly stipulated to them) and a threat to their income generation strategies. The enforcement involves procedures that are not inclusive and transparent, it is done in a manner that serves to exploit and harass them and serves to render the livelihoods of car guards vulnerable.

This was narrated by King

“What I don’t like most, is that the police come here and arrest us. When we ask why is it that we being arrested, they tell us that we are a source of danger... or something like that...even today I still don’t understand what that is... Yes... we do work on the streets... but we try by all means to not block the passing cars... but they still arrest us anyway... I remember, they came and took me on Thursday... I spend Thursday and Friday at the police station and they only released me on Friday evening but I still had to pay a fine of R150... I really

don't like that because we are not stealing from people, we are just guarding cars here" [Translated, see endnote 25 in Appendix 5]

This instance is one of many, King is not the only one who has been arrested by the police. More than half of the participants interviewed in Hatfield reported that they have once been arrested by police and kept at the police station for a day or two to be released the following day without even being shown before a magistrate or judge but with a R150 fine for being a source of danger in the city. Other car guards reported that they were told to stop the activity, because they are not "known" but they continued with it since it is their only way to earn an income.

Moreover, the Hatfield Private Security Guards also play a role in perpetuating the harassment, as they threaten the car guards (those considered "unknown" or "unregistered" at the police station and the log book) to give them money of a certain portion of their tips so as to ensure their protection. Failure to oblige to the demand of security officers, car guards get reported to the police and this increases their chances of being arrested. As a result car guards survive on the streets by constantly negotiating their stay with those in positions of power that being the police and Hatfield Private Security Guards officers.⁸ This negotiation involves paying bribes or certain portions of their tips to these authorities. This interferes with their work and denotes that they are offenders or unlawful entities performing an illegal activity in public spaces and therefore poses an element of threat and vulnerability to their livelihoods. Furthermore, car guards always have to live with the fear of being arrested and go through the trauma of always being alert whenever they see police cars coming. This further renders them and their livelihoods vulnerable.

Moose had the following to say about paying bribes to the security officers to ensure protection from being arrested

"These people (security officers).... they always on our case....they come here and demand that we give them money... imagine we have to share the little money that we get here with them and on top of that they still get their own salaries... others want us to buy them cigarettes, airtime and lunch... they

⁸ This negotiation of working space will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

bother us ... they want us to share our money with them.... When we don't they tell the police about us...they look for our little mistakes and tell the police...we have to give them what they want so that we can be free in our hustle... ”

[Translated, see endnote 26 in Appendix 5]

In contrast, car guards working in Hillcrest do not endure any form of harassment from those in positions of power, instead they have a working relationship with them. For example they work hand in hand with the police officers in times of crimes (particularly car theft), accidents or misconduct.

According to Lukes, a car guard in Hillcrest

“Mhhh...we do not have any problem with the police...infact we have a good working relationship...we only interact with them when there are problem here in the complex... you see things like thefts, car accidents,...like ehhm... when there is a thief as well, we call the police for such things and they don't give us any problems they respond to us immediately...” [Translated, see endnote 27 in Appendix 5]

In this regard, there is a difference in terms of how the authorities treat and perceive the car guards working in the streets and those working at the shopping complex. The ones working Hatfield contend they are perceived as criminals, a nuisance and a source of disorganisation in the city, thus they endure harassment from the authorities and are constantly required to use bribes to get themselves out of trouble and safeguard their stay and opportunity to make a living on the streets. On the other hand, car guards working in Hillcrest contend they are given a different treatment and that they have an established working relationship with those in positions of authority especially the police and are treated as valuable members of the society, contributing to the reduction of crime through the security related services they perform. The difference in how these car guards are treated lies in the way in which they perform the activity. Hillcrest being more formally organised and regulated guarantees dignity while the informality of Hatfield renders car guards working there disorganised, hence they get associated with criminals and beggars.

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter highlighted that car guarding is one of the survival and livelihood strategy in the informal economy. Individuals engage it mainly for survival and unemployment, poverty as well as lack of job opportunities due to low educational skills and job experience are the main push factors behind this engagement. Since the activity does not require any start-up capital, it becomes easy to access through social capital and other interpersonal connections. Moreover, car guards work very long hour (8-12 on average) and at times under the extremes of weather conditions and temperatures which puts their health at risk. They survive on tips which at times become too little to even cover their basic needs. In their work, they face an array of challenges which range from low safety conditions, income security, and dealing with stereotypes to being harassed by authorities. In spite of all these challenges, car guards perceive their work as playing a significant role in contributing to the reduction of crime (particularly car theft) in Pretoria.

Chapter 6: Contested and negotiated working spaces: The art of hustling

6.1 Introduction

Chapter 5 highlighted that the work of car guards is associated with characteristics of precarity, uncertainty and vulnerability. These features prevail mainly because of the way in which the activity is operated and established in the public space. Urban public spaces in most cities have become important assets in the pursuit of livelihoods by the urban poor. Hackenbrock (2013) indicates that many urban poor depend on access to public spaces for their everyday lives and economic survival. Open spaces such as streets, plazas, pavements, and shopping complexes have become places of work for many individuals in the city and are used intensively for all kinds of economic activities including car guarding. Car guards operate in public spaces within the formal city to generate income and they negotiate their stay in various ways so as to earn a living. This chapter takes an in-depth look into the livelihood generation of car guards in relation to their utilisation of public space. Accordingly, the main objective is to explore and analyse the importance of urban public space as an asset through which car guards make a living. It further explores the issue of access to public space by outlining the strategies and mechanisms that car guards utilise to negotiate their stay in a highly contested environment characterised by multiple activities and a range of different actors. Further to outlining the negotiation process of access to public space, the chapter highlights significant meanings that car guards attach to their working spaces and the role that such meanings play in the negotiation of their working spaces.

6.2 The significance of urban public space to car guards

The growing body of research on informal economic activities and workers in the informal economy indicates that urban public space is a pivotal space of labour. Although it is most commonly occupied by the marginalised groups, including migrants, minorities and the urban poor to mention a few, public space is a valuable asset for the pursuit of livelihoods (Hackenbroch, 2013). In line with the same thought, car guards in this study perceive their access to urban public space significant. Space has a multi-dimensional significance in their lives, being a tool for economic advancements and livelihood generation on one hand and a platform through which they can interact and develop social relationships on the other. These

two purposes were found to be interlinked. The reason behind the use of public space for latter is to ultimately support and reinforce the continuation of the car guarding activity and the livelihood generation process. This was mentioned by Jabulani highlighting the value of “his” working space:

“I don’t just come here for fun...this is where I get my income, it is like my workplace and a place where I meet and interact with people. My life, whether I eat, I bath, whether my kids goes to school all depends on me coming here. If I don’t come here, I won’t be able to live, it is important for me to come here daily so that I can get money to survive” [Translated, see endnote 28 in Appendix 5]

The above quote reiterates the importance of urban public space to the livelihood generation of car guards and illustrates clearly how urban public space constitutes an essential element of physical capital through which such livelihoods are extracted. Furthermore, since employment in a sense of having a job, an employer, a fixed salary or income as well as a workplace is not a reality for car guards, they work on public spaces and depend on access to it to pursue an economic activity that substantially allows them to make a living and generate some form of income. Thus the public space therefore becomes pivotal to car guards, as it gets used as a “workplace” that allows car guards to generate their incomes.

Participants also highlighted that they value their access to public space because it is not only a means through which they gain a living. They feel being able to ‘make a living’- precarious as it may be, provides them with a degree of dignity and recognition within their communities. Being able to wake up and go to a place where they are able to generate an income (which many of the participants never had) is regarded as a significant not only in relation to better economic survival but also in terms of emotional purposes. This was expressed by King in Hatfield and Charley in Hillcrest respectively and also concurred by many others in both locations.

“ it is very encouraging to wake up knowing that you are going to a place that generates you an income... you see for some of us, we stayed without any form of income for a long time and that involves too much stress and therefore working here is really provided me with a sense of pride, and has been

significant financially and emotionally... I know I can depend on myself” [King, Translated, see endnote 29 in Appendix 5]

“You see...not being able to obtain an income is a very stressful situation for anybody but especially for a man. Every morning when I come here, I know that at the end of the day I will be having some money, and that makes me happy, thus I love coming here and working, I no longer stress and my economic situation has been altered for the better” [Charley, Translated, see endnote 30 in Appendix 5]

In this regard, the ability and potential to earn money, which is in their case made possible through access to public space makes car guards, feel empowered. Their essential presence in the public spaces of the city of Pretoria reveals a critical functioning and a significant role of public space not only as a space for labour but also as a valuable resource for the pursuit and generation of livelihoods as well as a platform for development of social relations. In this regard, space therefore has both an economic and social relevance to the livelihoods of car guards.

Following the economic relevance that space has in this context, car guards in this study conceptualise the significance of urban public space in relation to their economic advancements and livelihoods; thus urban public space plays an important role in their livelihood practices. In this context and in relation to their livelihoods, the urban public space serves two critical purposes being a workplace and a tool for economic survival. Further relating to their economic survival, car guards view their access to public space as a pivotal opportunity for them to generate incomes and alleviate their living and economic standards as it were stated by Tokelo:

“I need to be here, I need to do all I can to get to work every day, even if it means paying or fighting, having access to this space is the only way I can get to live and provide for my family and get to better our living standards” [Translated, see endnote 31 in Appendix 5]

Therefore, as both a form of workplace and a tool for economic survival, urban public space constitutes an essential element of physical capital which car guards utilise to extract their livelihoods that enable them to enhance their economic situations for better living standards.

The sociological interpretation of space relates to how through the existence of social relationships, car guards manage to pursue the activity and protect their livelihoods. The development of trust-based social relations and relationships is fundamental to their income maximizing strategies. Social relations enable them to easily negotiate for the pursuit of their livelihood with those in positions of power in spaces regarded as irrelevant working spaces and strengthen their livelihoods. Jay, an educated 32 year old, Congolese Migrant in Hillcrest highlighted

“Here, your education or certificates don’t matter, because people do not know you have them. One has to have a very creative way of making the most money, I for one, I am friendly to all the people that come here, it doesn’t matter who they are, black ...white... I greet them, I smile, I help them where necessary, even if they don’t tip me, I still greet and smile. Some now know me, they even know my name and they fully trust me with their cars.... That is the only way to make a lot of money here, but getting to know strangers takes a lot of patience...”

Ike also mentioned that

“...you also have to make an effort to be friendly to clients, [people who come park here] to be on the safe side...I also had to make friends when I first came here, it helps to have friends and to be known, you can easily work and make money with no stress, because you have support” [Translated, see endnote 32 in Appendix 5]

The above extracts, therefore highlight how car guards use urban public space and interact with different actors to form social relations that are directly significant for their livelihoods generation. Through social relations and the development of trustworthy relationships with car owners, car guards are able to strengthen their negotiating power and negotiation strategies which are essential in their livelihoods generation, and ultimately increase their incomes.

Therefore, these findings are in accordance with as Brown’s (2006) argument that public space constitute both a form of “physical capital” in the absence of other forms of capital, which

helps generate income and also the existence of social relationships that help to perpetuate and improve the process of generating of income.

6.3 Pre-emptive strategies of negotiating working space

The production of car guards' livelihoods is interlinked with their access to and utilisation of public space. While urban public space is a key element of physical capital to the livelihood strategies of car guards, it is produced by society and therefore access to it and its utilisation is controlled by a series of boundaries, regulations (both formal and informal or direct and indirect) and social conventions. Hackenbroch (2013) argues that this kind of control that public space is subject to as well as the high pressure on it to be used for livelihood activities makes it a contested resource dependent on negotiations between a diversity of actors. Car guards negotiate access to public space with three categories of actors namely: the general public, security guards and those in positions of authority and fellow car guards. These actors play different roles that shape or directly and indirectly impact on their livelihood generation. The negotiation process is foremost based on the use and exercise of dominating and resisting power (discussed below in detail, Sharp et al. 2000). Those in positions of power possess dominating power (mainly related or due to their economic and occupational status) that in most cases dominates any form of power that car guards have. This puts car guards in a situation of vulnerability where they have to constantly and continuously negotiate and re-negotiate their stay in public spaces in order to secure their livelihoods.

In spite of the importance of the activity at least to car guards themselves and their critical need to generated incomes, car guard face obstacles, challenges and constant threats that impend their livelihood generation. As such, it becomes a need for them to employ a variety of strategies to negotiate their access and stay in public spaces, a resource that is critical to their livelihoods. This is due to the fact that public space and privileges over its utilisation is a necessary pre-requisite to the livelihoods generation of car guards. The employed strategies to negotiate working spaces are highlighted and discussed below; and it is imperative to note that they are interlinked and serve to maximise, protect and/or defend car guard's vulnerable livelihoods and income generation outcomes from exposure to all possible setbacks, constraints and challenges. The use of these strategies further demonstrate that car guards have a form of power and agency

in their relationship with those in positions of authority, the general public and other fellow car guards.

6.3.1 Space as a commodity: the renting and renting-out of working space

Access and control of public space involves a mix of negotiations and disputes which include among other things threats. One of the ways in which car guards seek to gain access to, secure or claim ownership to their working spaces is through the renting and renting-out process and behaviour. This appears to be one of the powerful strategies used by car guards in both locations. The utilisation of this strategy is twofold, although with differing dynamics in Hillcrest and Hatfield, and operates with two distinct levels of power relations, where either those in positions of authority or complex managers have dominating power over car guards or senior car guards (in terms of working experience) having dominating power over “newcomers”. The first category of this operation in Hatfield involves car guards “renting space” or paying out bribes to those in positions of authority, mainly metro police and at times security guards, either once-off or as and when demanded. When asked of the reasons behind this operation, Lethabo, in Hatfield highlighted the following:

***Researcher:** “what are some of the main challenges you face working here?”*

Lethabo: “You see...we are always under pressure here, we get harassed and sometimes security guards or the metro police threaten us, other guys were even arrested by the police saying that we cause havoc and we are criminals...ideally they want to chase us away so that we don’t work here”

***Researcher (probe):** “so how do you deal with such threats and harassment?”*

Lethabo: “Mmmh the only way to survive here is to pay out some money to them in order to develop a relationship with them. At least in that way they start to trust us...But it still depends on how they feel, some days they want less money or just a cold drink...Other days they want a lot of money R150...R100, and we pay them almost all of the time, whenever they want it, but what can I do, I have to work here”. [Translated, see endnote 33 in Appendix 5]

Similarly, while car guards working in Hatfield pay bribes to those in positions of authority for their utilisation of public space, those working in Hillcrest also pay a standardised fee of R65

on a daily basis to the shopping complex manager in order to work and operate in the complex's parking area. Likewise, the livelihoods car guards working in Hillcrest, although they appear to have formalised arrangements, are also subject to forms of vulnerability. Agreeing to pay a daily "rental fee" is equally a strategy they employ to negotiate their stay in a semi-privately owned but publically accessible space. Kgotso, in Hillcrest highlighted that even though he feels robbed and is not entirely pleased with paying the fee, he doesn't have any other options but to pay it.

Researcher (probe): *"How do you feel about paying R65 daily to be here?"*

Kgotso: *"There is nothing I can really do but to pay it... if I want to be here, the only option is for me to pay it. Of course it is a lot of money and I am not happy at all about paying it, but I have to work to get some income and the only way I can do that (at least for now) is through this space"* [Translated, see endnote 34 in Appendix 5]

In accordance with the above extracts, paying both to those in positions of authority amounts, whether formally organised like at the shopping complex, or informally arranged like in Hatfield, ensures access to urban to public space. Elements of power relations are evident in this operation in that those in positions of authority and shopping complex managers utilise their occupational statuses and prestige associated with their positions to threaten car guards. This is a form of dominating power and it serves to threaten the livelihoods of car guards, as access to public space is pivotal to their income generation. While this operation of paying bribes to those in positions of authority or daily rental fees to complex managers clearly demonstrate the vulnerability of the livelihoods of car guards, it also shows on another hand that car guards possess agency to negotiate the options that help them secure their livelihoods. While their agreement to paying such fees might be appear as giving in to those in positions of authority and complex managers, it is a form of resistance to letting go of their livelihood development opportunities and such resistance is regarded as another form of power. Foucault cited in Sharp et.al (2002) outlines the positive and negative dimensions of power incorporating the idea that power does not only refer to domination but it also refers to the ability to resist.

The second category of this operation (which is only particular to car guards working in Hatfield) involves car guards renting-out what they regard as their "own" working spaces to

other car guards who are new to the activity or not known to the prevailing groups or work shifts (night and day shift). Elements of dominating power are also evident in this operation, however on a more informal basis. Car guards renting-out their working spaces are usually the ones who have been working in the space for long and are known to have been working there for long by all involved actors being: the security guards around, the police, customers and other car guards. In this regard years of service and prominence are used as dominating powers. The rationale behind renting-out working spaces is to not only to claim ownership and create boundaries to it, so that it becomes their informally permanent income generating space but also to maximise their incomes through the once-off or regular payments they receive. While this strategy is beneficial to those renting-out working space, it is a livelihood threat and vulnerability for the new car guards. Tshepo in Hatfield, emphasised how he secures his livelihood and maximises his income by renting out working space:

“I have worked here for a very long time since the 90s my sister, everybody knows me... the police, securities...all of them know me, ... therefore this space is mine... and whoever wants to use it needs to pay me for it as much as I also paid people to get it... you see the game is tough here... you have to be smart, if I don't protect what is mine I won't have money.. I work here to get money and money has to be protected” [Translated see endnote 35 in Appendix 5]

The above operations of renting and renting-out public space highlight the socially constructed nature of public space, where different actors have different interests, needs and desires around the utilisation of space. Not only does this result in access to space being negotiated, it also leads to its “commodification” and “informal privatisation”- where informal set of boundaries and ownership entitlements are created over public space, as different actors claim permanent rights and obligations to public space (this will be discussed in detail in section 6.4).

6.3.2 Race, age, ethnicity and violence as forms of power, to negotiate working space

The way in which car guards negotiate access to public space, reveals interesting dynamics, politics and relations of dominating and resisting power that emerge along the lines of race, age and ethnicity. According to VeneKlassen and Miller (2006) power can be defined as the degree of control over material, intellectual, human, physical and financial resources, exercised

by different sections, groups and individual of the society. They further contend that power is often unequally distributed, integral to conflict and reinforced by threats of force. Additionally, different degrees of power are sustained and perpetuated through social divisions and constructs such as gender, race, age, caste, class, and ethnicity and through institutions such as family, religion, education, the law and media.

The above section highlighted that car guards in Hatfield use their working experience and prominence not only to negotiate their stay, access and utilisation of public space but also to secure their livelihoods and maximise their incomes. Besides using their years of service, experience and prominence to negotiate access and stay in public space, car guards also use their race, age, ethnicity and aggression or violence as other forms of power to dominate each other and to protect and secure their livelihoods and working spaces. Such social constructs (age, race and ethnicity) offer car guards the ability to influence their own situations and to enhance their livelihood in the context of competition, conflict and contestations over space. However, and in line with VeneKlassen and Miller's (2006) argument, the ability and degree to which car guards could exercise power using these social constructs differs amongst themselves and in the two locations of the study. These distinct differences and dynamics are highlighted below and it is worth noting that the utilisation of race as a form of power was only dominant in Hillcrest, while the use of age, ethnicity and violence as forms of power to negotiate working spaces were most prevalent in Hatfield.

6.3.2.1 Race

In South Africa, the association of whiteness with power, control, superiority and privilege has origins in the apartheid regime, which dictated and declared whites as such under white supremacy. Hillcrest presents an interesting racial dynamic to the negotiation and utilisation of urban public space for income generation. The perception that white car guards are privileged, favoured and hold a position of superiority was evident from the interviews conducted with a number of black car guards in Hillcrest. This perception emanated to from the perspective that due to their race and associated social contractions to it, white car guards are treated better and tipped quite generously by car owners (both black and white). Furthermore, there was a prevailing belief from the interviews that stereotypes associated the activity are only directed at black car guards and not white ones. This was mentioned by Kgotso, highlighting some of the challenges he faces as a black car guard operating in Hillcrest.

“Another challenge here is that people (car owners) treat us differently because we are black. You see these white folks (white car guards) are treated much better than us and receive a lot of tips.. R20 and R10.. because they are white. People sometimes say we (black car guards) are criminals, beggars... they call us all sorts of names but white car guards are not associated with such... only we (black car guards) get to be called all those things and get all the bad treatment while they (white ca guards) don’t face any of that” [Translated, see endnote 36 in Appendix 5]

This finding highlights that conceptions of superiority, power and control associated with whiteness are still prevalent. Although, not explicitly stated by white car guards interviewed in Hillcrest, an argument can be made that race place a pivotal role in the income maximisation strategies of certain car guards. Due to the scope (which excludes car owners) and sample of white car guards in this study, this finding could not be explored in detail. Therefore, the relationship between the race of car guards and tipping behaviour of car owners and how race is used to influence income generation mechanisms, presents a new angle of research which requires further exploration.

6.3.2.2 Age

According to the Symbolic Interactionist Perspective on aging in (Infeld, 2002), old age, and aging, are socially constructed and determined by symbols that resemble aging in social interactions. The social construction of age entails the creation of social norms and cultural symbols that encapsulates the aging processes. While aging itself is a biological process, what it means to be “young” or “old” is socially constructed and imbued with cultural meanings. Amongst different cultures and societies, aging is perceived differently, demonstrating its social construction. Given the socially constructed nature of age, there are certain behaviours, especially in African cultures that people associate with certain age groups. Historically, in African cultures, the elderly are treated differently with values of respect, wisdom and knowledge attached to their “old” age. This on its own associates “being old” with a certain element of power.

These perceptions of the “old” aged were evident in this study (in Hatfield particularly), where, in addition to the utilisation of prominence as a negotiation tool and a source of power, “older” car guards used their age to negotiate their working spaces and to dominate others. Older car guards command respect from younger ones and expect them to abide by their informal rules and arrangements of operation in shared public space. When asked of the challenges he faced in “his” working space, Jabulani, a fairly young car guard (29 years old) in Hatfield mentioned that

“Sometimes it is hard to work with these “Old Madalas” (Grandfathers), they sometimes have that mentality of always looking forward to being treated with respect and they think they know it all... they want us to listen to everything they say and do as they say.... I know we have been raised to respect old people and we are not supposed to question them, but they take advantage, demanding respect and forgetting that we are all here to make money and to make a living. This is one of the challenges we face here, but we have a way of dealing with it... we...me and some of the guys I know here....we defend ourselves and protect our spaces and one another against their demands. It doesn't happen all the time, but it helps”
[Translated see endnote 37 in Appendix 5]

Explaining his working relationship with other car guards, Hloni, one of the older car guards (54 years old) in Hatfield mentioned that

“We work with a lot of “young boys” here, some are very disrespectful, and some are not. I work well with others because they know their place, they respect me and my space because I am old.....they know I am way older than them and in that way we don't give each other any problems” [Translated see endnote 38 in Appendix 5]

The above highlight by both Jabulani and Hloni, reveals that there are age-based hierarchies within which working space is negotiated. Older car guards utilise their age and the cultural and social constructed values and norms attached to it, in order to dominate other fellow young car guards in the contestations and negotiations around the utilisation of shared public space. While the existing age-based hierarchy in Hatfield allow the older car guards some form of power to secure access and some form of ownership to public space; it is by no means a fixed

situation and is subject to resistance by other car guard, who utilise other forms of power and assets they have access to beyond their age. Such include social networks and informally arranged groups of belonging. This highlights both elements of dominating and resting power (Sharp, et.al 2002) that are utilised in the processes of negotiating working spaces for the generation of income. While “older” car guards possess and element of dominating power through their age, which they use to negotiate and protect their working spaces; “younger” car guards also had agency and options in a form of social networks, which allowed them the ability to resist being dominated and to equally protect their working spaces in order to pursue their livelihoods.

6.3.2.3 Ethnicity

Besides social relations (mainly friendships) they have formed with each other, car guards in Hatfield also have informally formed ethnic group arrangements that they utilise to protect each other and their livelihoods. While this is not a strategy that is used regularly, mainly because of intensified individual competition over working spaces, it operates to benefit car guards, (specifically those who have been doing the activity for a long time) in times when they lack necessary resources to protect their own livelihoods and stay in urban public space. For example, this involves car guards in one ethnic group occasionally defending and protecting each other during working space related conflicts (whether personal or collective), looking out for each other’s clients and borrowing each other money to pay bribes to authorities amongst other things. Leewiy expressed that

“You see,... here it is not only about having friends,....yes friends are important but you must belong to a group of people who speak the same language as you and who have the same origin with you...There are people I know here...We have known each other for a long time, we all Tswana, we have worked together and we help each other, even with things that are not related to our work here. When I have problems here they help me, I also help them when they have fights and we sometimes borrow each other money to pay the police, it is because we are all Tswana” [Translated see endnote 39 in Appendix 5]

Therefore, the use of informally formed ethnic arrangements to negotiate access to and stay in public space can be a form of both dominating and resisting power, in the midst of harassment, competition, conflict and space related dynamics associated with car guarding. Moreover, while these ethnic arrangements serve to perpetuate conflict, they also provide a sense of protection and belonging to those who are part of them, which is occasionally essential in the generation of livelihoods.

6.3.2.4 Use of force

According to Iadicola and Shupe (2013), violence and the threat of violence are ultimate forms of power used to control the behaviour of others. Violence is also a form of coercive power based on the threat or depiction of physical harm. The use of violence as a form of power to communicate informally created boundaries and rules over space and negotiate security and protection for such boundaries. In addition to the existing hierarchies of dominating power based on prominence, age and ethnicity, violence in some cases (especially during space-related conflicts) becomes the only viable way that car guards use to maintain temporary and permanent claims on space. Tshepo, a Hatfield based car guard who sometimes rents out spaces to others, highlighted how he resorted to violence during his encounter of space-related conflict

“So the other day I came here late...around 2pm or so and I found one of the guys working of ‘my space’, but he did not inform me the previous day. So I asked for a share of the money he made on ‘my space’ and he refused and we fought”

Researcher (Probe): *“What do you mean you fought?”*

Tshepo: *“Yes we fought, man to man. I beat him up and the other guys came to his rescue. He did not pay me that day, but he learned a good lesson not to mess with ‘my space’. He now knows that ‘my space’ is mine and whoever wants to use must pay me”* [Translated, see endnote 40 in Appendix 5]

Herewith, the utilisation of violence or force in the negotiations of working space is two-fold. First, violence is used as a coercive form of power to reinforce ownership over space and compliance on informally created rules and regulations around space. Second, it is a mechanism used to protect spatial territories and boundaries. Furthermore, the use of violence

also highlights elements of dominating power and how urban public space is a contested realm, subjected to informally created regulations and rules and continuous formations of ownership and claims over space, which materialises and assumes concrete forms.

The use of force as a mechanism to protect, defend and negotiate working spaces was found not to be an option in a more regulated setting, Hillcrest unlike in Hatfield where car guarding is highly informal.

6.3.3 Division of working spaces

Without any knowledge of the formal regulations around demarcations and allocations of space, car guards in both Hatfield and Hillcrest, follow their own informally created rules and arrangements to demarcate, allocate and divide space amongst themselves. The division of space is one of the strategies that car guards in both locations utilise not only to negotiate their stay and access in urban public spaces, but also maximise their incomes. This study identifies that the division of space follows distinct patterns in both locations. These patterns are closely associated with the operation of the activity and existing arrangements around it in each location. In Hillcrest, there is an informally formalised procedure of dividing the use of working space. A rotation method, which follows a fair roster (agreed and decided upon by all car guards and implemented by the elected leader) is followed to ensure that all car guards have an equal opportunity of access to all parking bays of the shopping complex (See Map 2). This method proves to be effective in granting all car guards an equal chance of generating income through accessing all parking bays (including those perceived as highly paying) in a rotating manner. Nonetheless, the limitation and direct consequence of this method, perhaps more so to the car guard who have established relationships with frequent and certain car owners, is client and tip related conflict.

By Contrast, in Hatfield, the same space is utilised by different car guards over different times of the day (the day and night shifts, as discussed under working conditions in section 5.4.2.2 in the previous chapter). Car guards operating during the day shift, utilise two strategies to divide space among themselves. These are; equal distribution of parking bays as well as inheritance of parking bays. Both have been found to be problematic. While, equal distribution of parking bays seems to be a fair strategy in that it is “believed to be offering all car guards an

equal opportunity to generate income” as Tshepo highlighted”; it is also equally perceived as non-inclusive by fairly new car guards. This is because the arrangements governing it “were made and agreed upon by car guards who have been in the game for long and do not fairly accommodate new ones” as was mentioned by Lethabo. A key finding related to this mechanism of diving space, is that it offers car guards a sense of ownership of different parking bays. This sense of ownership therefore enables them to create boundaries and informal territorial rules, thereby granting some form of security in terms of their access and stay in such spaces. This, however does not in any way minimise space-related conflict, as the incorporation of new car guards into existing arrangements creates further informal rules and introduces new norms that challenges the existing standards of operation, leading to conflict.

Pertaining inheritance of parking bays in Hatfield, some of the participants, highlighted that it is unfair, in that it limits availability of parking bays to only one social network, family or cycle of friends. Of significance around this finding, is how certain groups of car guards claim permanent ownership of space inheritance. This strategy in itself highlights how social capital is a significant component the dynamics and operations of car guarding. The inheritance of parking bays further demonstrates how car guards use social capital and distinct social networks to negotiate their access and stay in urban public spaces. Additionally, especially in the context of Hatfield, belonging to social networks or having a cycle of friends, somewhat grants car guards, especially those who are new a form of protection.

While a few of the participants operating on a night highlighted that they also utilise the equal distribution mechanism, this mechanism only serve to benefit a few such as Hloni, whom their informally demarcated spaces are known and somewhat respected, due to their age and prominence in the activity and the fact that they are old in terms of age. However, the majority of the car guards work during the night shift mentioned that they operate on a first-come, first-serve basis. There are no arrangements in place pertaining the division of parking bays. Any car guard can park anyone on any parking space as long as he identified it first. This therefore makes night shift operations of the activity to be highly competitive and subject to intense space, client and tip related conflict.

6.3.4 Occupation of less crowded and competitive spaces

Another effective strategy that car guards in Hatfield used to secure their access and stay in public space was to occupy less crowded spaces. Such spaces are normally perceived to be a bit further from the restaurants, shops and university entrances and are most likely to be filled last. This strategy, although it was only utilised by a few a car guards, had several benefits. First, car guards who occupied less crowded spaces had minimal exposure to space and client related competition and conflicts. This was due to the fact that such spaces are generally regarded as low income generating by other car guards, due to their distance from restaurants, shops and university entrances and are infrequently occupied by car guards. Less exposure to space related competition was regarded a great benefit, in that it allowed for the creation own stipulated boundaries and informal rules around the space. The ability to create boundaries and rules offered car guards occupying such spaces a sense of ownership and territorial obligation, therefore enhancing their dominating power over other car guards.

Second, car guards who occupied less crowded spaces were in a better position to easily develop better relations of trust with regular clients as compared to those who occupied congested spaces. In a less crowded space, car owners can easily identify car guards responsible for the space and conversely, car guards can also identify and easily communicate with regular clients. Furthermore, unlike those working in congested spaces, car guards working in less crowded spaces have the luxury of effective communication with clients and opportunity to reserve parking spaces for most frequent clients. This is a mechanism that enhances and strengthens their trust relations with car owners.

Last, with established relations of trust with car owners, car guards working in less crowded spaces are better placed to more often than not receive substantial tips from regular and well known clients. The benefits of working in less crowded spaces were highlighted by King and seconded by Mikael who respectively mention that:

“You see when you work here, you have to be clever and devise effective ways to make money. I for one, I don’t like competition. So I chose to this space because it was not occupied by a lot of car guards. I have made it my own and I work here in peace, I even know people who always park here and they also know and trust me. I have a nice relationship with them...Some of them tell me

their schedules so that I can reserve parking for them prior to their arrival... We have that kind of relationship....they also pay me well because they know me and I like working here because of that... [King, Translated, see endnote 41 in Appendix 5]

"I chose to work in this space because it is not crowded, I like working here because I don't get to fight with other car guards for space, this has become my space, I therefore can control it however way I like, even other car guards now know that this is my space, they hardly ever border me or my clients" [Mikael, translated see endnote 42 in Appendix 5]

In conclusion, through these strategies, car guards in both locations have sought to stake a claim to occupy public space, negotiate access and retain their stay. It is important to note though that even though these strategies discussed above have been demonstrated to be somewhat generally effective for some car guards, there remain considerable within-group and location specific differences in terms of their benefits for different car guards. Most significantly, these strategies highlight that car guards have agency and the ability to utilise different levels and forms of power to negotiate, defend and protect their utilisation of urban public space to generate livelihood opportunities. What remain most evident through the use of these strategies is the production of informal boundaries, forms ownership, informal privatisation of space and territorial meanings attached to space and how social capital is used as a pivotal method of protection.

6.4 Challenges faced in negotiating working spaces

The livelihoods of car guards are determined predominantly by the environment and context they operate in and the constraints and opportunities this environment presents. Operating in public spaces that are accessible to everyone and subject to both formal and informal rules and arrangements from different actors, car guards face an array of challenges pertaining to their working spaces. There were two main challenges that the participants indicated that they faced in relation to their utilisation of space, namely: competition and conflict. These are discussed comprehensively below.

6.4.1 Competition

A significant challenge for car guards is the question of competition over working space. By using public space to generate incomes to survive and better their living conditions, car guards demonstrate how space in itself is a contested realm and a concrete place for not only economic survival but also for an array of various activities. This multiplicity of actors in public space makes it subject to competition mainly for its utilisation. Lefebvre's (2000) writing of the production of space indicates that social groups endow space with amalgams of different purposes and uses. This results in competition over the use of space. Car guards operate in public spaces with a common overarching purpose being to generate income, nonetheless their rationales behind generating incomes are different and it is what makes results competition to gain access and stay in public space. Competition was regarded a key challenge they had to face in negotiating access and remaining in the public space. Furthermore, the rise in and continuous competition over limited space has affected the work operations of car guards, ultimately increasing their working hours on top of the long hours they already are working. Some indicated that in the advent of competition they work harder and longer to eke out a living and generate the most substantial incomes they can.

6.4.2 Conflict

Section 6.3 above, highlighted various strategies that car guards utilise to negotiate their working spaces. These strategies clearly indicate the complex dynamics of the car guarding activity and how car guards operate daily in highly contested and negotiated spaces. The contested nature of urban public spaces results in its accessibility being subject to both formal and informal rules and arrangements. These rules and arrangements get challenged on a continuous basis as space is endowed with a multiplicity of actors who use it for the different purposes (Lefebvre, 2000); as such conflict of interests over the usage of space arises. Car guard's utilisation of urban public space to make a living also results in conflicts between mainly car guards themselves. There were three areas of conflict identified namely: space related conflicts, client and tip related conflict as well as personal and group related conflict.

Space related conflict was more prominent amongst car guards that worked in Hatfield, particularly those working during the night shift. This kind of conflict is a resultant of the mechanism utilised to divide space (the first-come, first-serve basis) which highlights the lack

of agreements pertaining arrangements of operation. The first-come, first-serve mechanism creates an element of confusion regarding parking bays and the car guards responsible for them.

Client and tip related conflict, emerges from space related conflict. This was found to be prevalent in both Hillcrest and Hatfield, particularly where car guards have developed relationships with car owners. The element that bring such conflict, is the fact that car guards, do not always have parking bays readily available for long term clients. Therefore, in the absence of parking bays, some long term clients of certain car guards park their cars anywhere where parking is available. In such instances, conflict emanates around the tip being offered to either the responsible car guard on the parking bay or the one with whom the client has a relationship with. This therefore become a client and space related conflict centred on the “tip”. On one extreme the client belongs to one car guards, on the other, the space belongs to another. In Hillcrest, the rotation mechanism which is utilised to divide access to working space leads to the intensification of this conflict. From the interviews conducted, in both locations, the common mechanism of resolving such conflict, is the equal division of the tip amongst the car guards involved.

Due to their informally created rules and regulations that govern their operations, car guards particularly those working in Hatfield, often experience personal and group conflict, sometimes in as a result of non-resolved space, client and tip related conflict. In most cases, personal conflict leads to group conflict. In instances where conflict starts on a personal level, some car guards often receive defence and support from ethnic groups and social networks they belong. Moreover, during personal or group conflict physical violence often become utilised as a defence.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter explored the strategies by which car guards seek to gain and maintain access to urban public space necessary for their livelihoods generation. It highlights that in the absence of the formal application and implementation of the legislation that governs the provision of private security services in the city, car guards informally create their own rules, regulations and standard norms of access to public space, which has become a valuable tool in their pursuit of livelihoods. The chapter identifies that car guards’ access to and utilisation of urban public

space is highly negotiated. There are several strategies that car guards utilise to negotiate their working spaces. These include: the renting and renting out of space, which on one hand highlights the dominating power car guards have, and on the other their vulnerability to those in positions of power; the use of race, ethnicity, age as well as force to defend and protect their stay in such spaces; the division of space, to ensure access and somewhat equal opportunity to generate income; as well as the occupation of less crowded spaces, which offer ample opportunities of establishing social relations based on trust with car owners and generating incomes. These strategies of negotiating working space, demonstrates that car guards have agency and different levels and forms of power defend and protect their livelihoods. The chapter further highlights that in their quest to eke a living and their attempts to gain and maintain access to urban public space, car guards are often faced with space, tip and client-related competition and conflict as major challenges.

Chapter 7: Summary of findings and conclusion

7.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a comprehensive summary of the findings of this study and highlights key recommendations and areas of consideration for further research.

7.2 Summary and discussion of findings

Using a combination of qualitative face-to-face in-depth interviews and non-participatory observation, this study explored the work-life experiences and challenges that car guards face in their utilisation of urban public space to eke out a living. The study sought to bring to light the voices, views and experiences of car guards working in the streets of Hatfield and those operating at a semi-privately owned shopping complex in Hillcrest in the city of Pretoria.

Findings in this study are divided into two sections. The first set of findings concerns and presents the lived realities and work-life experiences of car guards, with the focus being on their daily experiences and operations of the car guarding activity. These findings also highlight the dynamics of engaging in car guarding and discloses the driving factors behind such engagement. The second set of findings highlight the challenges that car guards face in relation to their utilisation of urban public space as they eke out a living. From these set of findings, it can be deduced that securing urban public space is a pivotal in the livelihood generation of car guards, as such they employ various mechanisms and strategies to negotiate access to it and secure its utilisation to generate income. Key outcomes and discoveries arising from these two broad sections of findings are summarised below.

7.2.1 Lived realities and the work-life experiences of car guards

Car guarding is an economic activity that has proved to serve as a source of livelihood for many individuals who find barriers to entry into the formal economy. This study's investigation of the work-life experiences of car guards reveals the significance of the activity to those who are part of it. Participants indicated that being unemployed, they resorted to car guarding in order

to survive and make a living. The main reason behind their engagement into car guarding was mainly for survival purposes, especially where individuals are faced with limited economic opportunities and the associated challenges and impacts of poverty and unemployment. The study further revealed that the function, operation and overall nature of car guarding is very precarious and the activity is highly unregulated, despite the existence of national legislation aimed at regulating security services including car guarding. Where regulation attempts exist within the activity, they remain based on informal practices and arrangements, which in some instances become normalised or formalised by car guards themselves. The informal arrangements of regulation of the activity coupled the threats imposed by attempts of formalisation through the Act, largely contributes to the vulnerability, uncertainty, and insecurity of the work and employment of car guards.

It is also evident from the findings of this study that in their quest to make a living, car guards face an array of challenges (some which undermine not only their human rights but also their rights to work and their rights to the city and its resources) ranging from low safety conditions, income insecurity and exploitation and harassment by those in positions of authority, amongst others. Additionally, they work very long hours, with a heavy reliance on tips, as they do not earn any stable income. This is another form of vulnerability and insecurity that car guards face in their daily operation. Furthermore, in addition to all forms of vulnerability that they face as they 'make a living', they are also perceived by the general public as unlawful entities and a nuisance. Nonetheless, car guards perceive their work as playing a significant role in contributing to the reduction of crime in the city of Pretoria.

Moreover, this investigation of the work-life experiences and realities of car guards reveals that social relations and interpersonal connections are a significant component of making a living and pursuing the car guarding activity. Car guards use forms of social networks and connections to access and enter the car guarding activity. Such connections and social networks are also utilised as mechanisms of ensuring protection and strategies to combat some of the challenges and vulnerabilities they face in their daily operations.

7.2.2 Utilisation of urban public space

This study explored the strategies by which car guards seek to gain and maintain access to urban public space necessary for their survival and livelihood generation. It highlights that urban public space is not only significant as a place of labour, but car guards are highly dependent on it for their livelihoods. In this regard it plays a significant role towards their economic advancements, serving as a form of physical capital and equated with a workplace, from which they are able to generate incomes. Additionally, public space has also been found to provide car guards with a platform to establish, develop and strengthen social relations and networks (most importantly the establishment of trust-based relations with car owners) which are also vital in their pursuit of livelihoods. This multi-dimensional significance of space on their socio-economic lives, necessitates an intense utilisation of it. Nonetheless, with the necessity to utilise urban public space come risks regarding the question of access rights. This study reveals that, while urban public space constitutes a key element of physical capital to the livelihood strategies of car guards, its utilisation and therefore access to it is controlled by a series of formal and informally created boundaries, regulations and rules, which makes it a contested realm, subject to negotiated arrangements and agreements.

In their utilisation of urban public space to generate incomes, car guards compete for access to 'prime' locations and for tips from perspective clients, which in most instances, especially in Hatfield results in conflict. Therefore, in their utilisation of space to generate incomes, competition and conflicts are unavoidable. Access to urban public space is crucial to their ability to generate livelihoods. The informality of car guarding and car guard's sole dependence on urban public space to generate livelihoods, makes it a contested resource dependent on negotiations and its utilisation to be subject to intensified competition and conflict. Car guards utilise different mechanisms to negotiate, defend and protect their access to space. Such negotiations are governed by different levels of informality as a dominant mode of the production of space. In instances where conflict of any form is experienced (either on a personal or group level) social networks and the use of force in some instances (especially in settings that are highly informal) becomes the dominant modes of defence. This highlights that social capital is not only significant in securing access but also vital in maintaining it.

Car guards utilise different strategies to negotiate, defend, protect and maintain their access, utilisation and stay in urban public space to pursue their livelihoods. Strategies utilised in this

regard include, the renting and renting out of space, which on one hand highlights that some car guards have power over others and on one another, their vulnerability to those in positions of authority. In some instances, age, race and ethnicity may impact on the access they can obtain and on the resources they can mobilise. Force can also be used to their 'turf' and ensure access and opportunities to generate income. For some, a strategy is secure the occupation of less popular and crowded spaces, which offer greater opportunity to establish relations based on trust with car owners using these areas on a regular basis. The use of these different strategies suggests that car guards have a degree of agency to negotiate their working space. Of significance is that through these strategies and mechanisms, car guards are able to make temporary and somewhat permanent claims over space. This takes the creation of informal boundaries and territorial meanings of ownership, through creating restrictions, rules and demarcations over space; renting and renting out of space; and the inheritance of space, leading to informal privatisation of space.

7.3 Conclusion

From the above discussion and presentation of findings, this study concludes that public urban space constitutes a valuable tool through which car guards generate their incomes. Nonetheless, it remains a highly contested and negotiate realm, subject to informal arrangements, rules and regulations, which results in competition and conflict over its utilisation. The study argues that access to use of public space is closely linked with car guard's right to survive and earn livelihood. The negotiation of access to urban public space to pursue this right, therefore necessitates that this right be fought for and protected. Access to public space can also be seen as a mechanism through which car guards assert their right to the city and to participate in society.

Social networks and relations have been found as key in the processes through which car guards secure and maintain their access to urban public space, providing them with a form of agency. Moreover, car guards' struggles over the right to use urban public space for their livelihoods generation take different forms and it is evident that car guards are not only passive to the dominant threats and challenges they face. They are capable of employing different strategies

(through the use of race, age, ethnicity and force) to negotiate, defend, protect and maintain their access, utilisation and stay in urban public space to generate incomes.

This study also raises questions around the publicness of space and to what extent do people have rights of access to urban public spaces without asking for permission, whether expressed or implied. It highlights the notion of shifting levels of publicness and the dynamics of the production of space as well as how car guards resort to the production of informal boundaries, rules, regulations and standards of operation, which enables them to make temporary and somewhat permanent claims of ownership over space.

Overall, this study highlights that while there is exist legislation which is aimed at regulating the provision of security services including car guards and to address the disjointed and unregulated nature of the function and operation of the activity, through the provision of training, registration and incomes, car guarding remains highly unregulated and governed by informal practices and arrangements. The situation of car guards, despite the existence such legislation also remains highly precarious, with high levels of financial exploitation, lack of social security and labour protection and car guards generally have poor knowledge of matters pertaining to labour legislation and their socio-economic and human rights. The implementation of the PSIR Act 56 of 2001 seems to be lacking and procedures, processes and requirements are not clearly and transparently communicated to car guards. Inclusive mechanisms of regulation which involves all stakeholders and takes into consideration the socio-economic statuses of car guards, their personal circumstances as well as the survivalist informal nature of car guarding are required.

7.4 Limitations of the study

Due to the sample size and purposive selection of study sites, the scope of this study does not cover all car guards working in Pretoria. Therefore, the findings drawn here cannot be generalised to the entire population of car guards in Pretoria. The composition of the sample of the study limited the exploration of the different racial groups engaging in car guarding and this remains a potential area of research that could be explored further. Moreover, it would have been interesting to incorporate the views of female car guards. While the researcher made attempts at securing interviews with female car guards in one of the study sites (Hillcrest), all

of them declined participation. This is another area of further research that can be potentially explored.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 – list and profile of participants

Pseudonym	Race	Age	Highest Educational level	Dependents	Citizenship	Years of service	Prior activities	Reasons for engaging in car guarding
<u>Workplace: Hatfield streets</u>								
1.Tshepo⁹	Black	38	Grade 9	1	Local	10	Illegal activities & Contract ¹⁰ work	- unemployment -poverty and economic struggles -better option to survive
2.Ike	Black	31	Grade 11	3	Local	06	Contract work	-limited job opportunities
3.Mikael	Black	35	Grade 11	3	Local	12	Informal ¹¹ & casual work	-limited job opportunities -easy and better option
4.Lethabo	Black	35	Grade 12	7	Internal migrant	4	Contract work	-unemployment -better option to survive
5.Majoro	Black	37	Grade 12	4	Local	5	Illegal activities	-limited job opportunities -stepping stone to better jobs

⁹ All names used in this mini-dissertation are pseudonyms, to maintain confidentiality and anonymise participants.

¹⁰ Contract work is herein defined as work specified under a contract, where an employee is hired for a specific job at a specific rate of pay and for a fixed period of time.

¹¹ Informal or casual work is defined as work where someone is employed without a fixed contract of employment to do a once-off job for a number of days or hours. Once the work has been done and the employee is been paid the employment relationship ends.

6.Mmoose	Black	43	Grade 10	6	Internal migrant	9	Informal & casual work	-unemployment -better option to survive
7.Leewiy	Black	42	Grade 5	3	Local	17	Never worked before	-unemployment -poverty & economic struggles -better option to survive
8.Jabulani	Black	29	Grade 10	5	Local	10	Informal & casual work	-poverty & economic struggles -better option to survive
9.Hloni	Black	54	Grade 8	4	Internal migrant	7	Full-time work & casual work	-better option to survive
10.King	Black	28	Grade 11	3	Internal migrant	12	Informal & casual work	-unemployment -better income

Workplace: Hillcrest shopping complex

1.Hennie	White	29	Grade 10	3	Internal migrant	1	Contract work Begging	-limited job opportunities -Easy and better option
2.Lukes	Black	37	Grade 12	2	Local	1	Contract work	-Better income
3.Charley	Black	31	Grade 10	1	Internal migrant	2	Contract work	-Easy and better option
4.Kgotso	Black	35	Grade 10	2	Local	3	Contract work	-Limited job opportunities -Easy and better option
5.Tokelo	Black	33	Grade 11	2	Local	2	Contract work	-Limited job opportunities -Easy and better option -better income

6.Jay	Black	32	Tertiary degree	3	Congolese Migrant	5	Never worked before	-Unemployment -Easy and only option to survive
7.Carlee	White	49	Grade 10	1	Local	7	Full-time work	-better option to survive
8.Phillemon	Black	63	Grade 8	1	Local	2	Self-employed	-Supplement income
9.Jackson	Black	27	Grade 12	0	Local	4	Contract work	-limited job opportunities - Economic Hardships

Comprehensive description of participants

Tshepo is a 38 year old black male with Grade 9 as his highest qualification. For most of his life he depended on his mother for basic economic needs. After his mother passed away, he started being involved in theft and robbery as a way to survive and he got arrested. Due to being tired of being in and out of prison and surviving through stealing from other people, he resorted to car guarding – which was the only option left for him to make a living.

Ike, a black 31 year old father who has Grade 11 as his highest qualification. He has been employed on a fixed- term contract as a Maintenance Assistant at Smartkoos – a company that deals with horticulture. After his contract ended, he had no any other way to obtain formal employment due to lack of skills and qualifications. In order to make money he resorted to car-guarding which he is been now doing for 6 years.

Mikael is a 35 year old black male who has never been formally employed. After leaving school in Grade 11, he has survived through temporary and small part-time jobs which he didn't make much of an income from. He used to do car-guarding as a school kid for pocket money and he also did it in between his temporary and small part-time jobs. After he lost all his sources of income he permanently resorted to car-guarding as a way to survive and provide for his family.

Lethabo, a 35 years old father of five children is a university drop-out. He dropped out of university due to his engagement in drugs. He started looking for employment immediately after he dropped out of university. With no qualifications and work experience he struggled to find secure formal employment but obtained several temporary and part-time jobs which he didn't make much money from. He then resorted to car guarding as his last option to survive, earn money and support his family and children.

Majoro is a 37 year old ex-convict, who survived for most of his life by committing crime. With no formal employment or an opportunity of finding any irrespective of his Matric certificate, he resorted to car guarding as a way to make a living and support his family. He regards it as a stepping stone to finding a better job.

Mmoose is 43 years old and he is originally from KwaZulu Natal (KZN). Like many others he came to Gauteng to look for employment. Nonetheless he spent nine years looking for formal employment and could not finding any. While unemployed he survived through seasonal jobs, day piece jobs and through car guarding. The need to obtain an income and provide for his family which largely depended on him made him permanently do car guarding as an activity through which he obtains his income.

Leewiy is a 42 years old man who is been unemployed for his whole life. He has been looking for employment for several years with no luck of finding any. Car guarding - which he is now been doing for seventeen years, has been the only source of income he has ever had in his life. He started car guarding as an activity through which he generated pocket money as a school kid, and it grew to be his full-time job and the only way in which he makes an income.

Jabulani is 29 years old and has Grade 10 as his highest qualification. He indicates that he has been poor for a long time as he could not find a well-paying job other than small piece job which he struggled to maintain himself with. His unsuccessful search for a job was due to his lack of formal work experience and low educational levels. As a result, he resorted to car guarding to survive.

Hloni is a 54 year old man originally from KZN. He lives and hustles for life on the streets. After his retrenchment from his ten year job in the mine, he survived on piece jobs until he secured employment in a firm in Pretoria. Five years done the line, the firm relocated to

Phalaborwa and he got left behind poor, with no job and accommodation since the firm provided accommodation for employees. Having been left with no other option to survive, he then opted for car guarding which he perceived as the easiest way to make money.

King is a 28 year migrant from Limpopo. He came to Gauteng in search of employment opportunities since with Grade 11 as his qualification he could not find a job of his dreams. Having limited employment opportunities on arrival in Gauteng, he then resorted to car guarding as a way to make money. With 12 years of service in the activity, he perceives it as offering a better income than all the previous jobs he once had.

Hennie, is white 29 year old male. With his knowledge of computers and Grade 10 as his highest qualification he managed to obtain employment in a computer shop in Carletonville as a technician. Having no monthly salary and working only on commission for two years he decided to leave the job and remained unemployed for 3 years. The necessity to meet his basic economic needs drove him to beg at the robots as a way to survive and make money. While in search for employment, he noticed car-guards at the shopping complex and decided to join them.

Luke's is a 37 year old man with Grade 12 as his highest qualification. With his Matric certificate he managed to obtain employment as a Security Guard at mall in Pretoria. While working as a security guard, Luke used to guard cars at stadiums during soccer matches. This is how he made extra income. Due to being exploited and earning very little income as a security guard he decided to leave the job and go do car-guarding full-time

Charley is a 31 year old local migrant from Limpopo. He came to Gauteng in search of employment. With no skills, work experience and qualifications (Grade 10 being his highest qualification) he struggled to find stable formal employment but later obtained a contract job in a music recording company in Pretoria. He was left unemployed after he got replaced by someone else at work due to not reporting to work for 2 months. He then resorted to car-guarding as he perceived it as an easy way out and a fast way of making money.

A 35 year old man, Kgotso is like many others a local migrant from Limpopo who came to Gauteng in search of a job. After his three year contract ended with a company called Trail, he could not find employment even after several job applications. Car guarding became his only

option to generate money and support his family since he was not keen about staying at home and doing nothing.

Tokelo is a 33 year old father of two who worked as a security guard for seven years in poor working conditions and for a small wage. While he was still a security guard he was constantly looking for a better job but with no luck of finding any. Having been tired of earning peanuts, he decided to leave his job with the hope that he will find another better job but he still could not find any. Living without an income became extremely difficult for him hence he started engaging in car guarding to obtain an income.

Jay is a 32 year old migrant from Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). He came to South Africa in search of a better life and great opportunities to make money. He came to South Africa with the hope that he will be able to find a job and secure income. However without formal documentation (work permit) he could not find employment even though he has a tertiary degree. The need to make money so as to survive compelled him to engage in car guarding which was the only better option left.

Carlee is a white 49 year old former permanent employee of an electrical company in Pretoria. He worked as an electrical operator for eleven years. It was after he got retrenched that he resorted to car guarding for economic needs and for survival as it was a better option for him after an intense struggle to find and secure another job.

Phillemon is a 63 year old man with Grade 8 as his highest qualification. He worked in numerous companies as a security guard. It was after his contract ended in 2013 that he started engaging in car guarding for extra income to supplement his small business of renting out rooms.

Jackson, a 27 year old guy with Grade 12 as his highest qualification. He started engaging in car guarding in 2011 as a way to survive and obtain money after he got retrenched. His engagement in car guarding was mainly due to economic hardships and the struggles of securing employment.

Appendix 2 - Letter requesting permission to conduct the study in Hillcrest



Department of Sociology
Faculty of Humanities

Department of Sociology
University of Pretoria
Lynnwood Road
Humanities Building
Tel (012) 420 2330

Dear Sir/Madam

Application requesting permission to conduct fieldwork for a Masters Research

My name is Nthabiseng Nkhatau. I am a registered Masters student in the department of Sociology at the University of Pretoria, under the supervision of Dr. Charles Puttergill. I have written this letter to apply for permission to conduct fieldwork at Hillcrest shopping complex for a Masters thesis titled: *“Car guarding as a survival and livelihood strategy: Negotiating working space in Hillcrest and Hatfield”*

The fieldwork will involve the following methods of data collection: observations - whereby I will be observing the car guards as they work, without them knowing that they are observed. The purpose of this is to familiarize myself with the setting of their workplace and to identify and select suitable car guards for participation in this research. In addition to this, I would like to conduct interviews and group discussions with the car guards. I would also like to use pictures where necessary as a way of data collection. Some of the fieldwork will be undertaken in the first week of December 2013 and a large portion of it will be done from January 2014. Confidentiality and anonymity as outlined in the ethical

guidelines for conducting research will maintained. As such, all gathered data, in all formats will be stored safely in the Department of Sociology for a period of 15 years for the following purposes: archival, research, publications and conference papers.

A full research proposal has been submitted for consideration by the Post Graduate Committee as well as the Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Pretoria. I will gladly forward it to you as soon as it is approved. Please note that before these Committees can clear and approve my Research Proposal they require that I may obtain formal permission; that is a written letter on an official letter head. I am therefore requesting that you may kindly issue me with such a letter granting me access to the premises of Hillcrest shopping complex.

The details of my research supervisor follow below. You may contact me through the provided contact details below or him at any time should you have further queries

Dr. Charles Puttergill (Supervisor)
Department of Sociology
University of Pretoria
Pretoria 0002
Tel: +27 12 420 2715/ 2330
Fax: +27 12 420 2873
E-mail: charles.puttergill@up.ac.za

I am looking forward to hearing from you.

Regards
Nkhatau Nthabiseng
Email: nthabi.eunice@gmail.com
Tel: 0791393529

Appendix 3 – Informed consent form

Informed Consent Form (English)

This form serves as a written documentation that provides information about my research to the participants

Student Researcher: Nkhatau Nthabiseng

Supervisor: Dr Charles Puttergill

Title of the study: Car guarding as a survival and livelihood strategy: a comparative study of the negotiation of working space in Hillcrest and Hatfield

I hereby request you to participate in research I am doing to complete a Masters degree. If you agree to participate, I request your permission to allow me to use a tape recorder to record our interview conversations. The reason for recording our conversation is to accurately capture all the information you provide. Please read the following information about the project. If you would like to participate, please sign below.

Purpose of the project: This study is aimed at exploring the challenges car guards face and their work-life experiences. It considers how the negotiation of working spaces in Hillcrest and Hatfield ultimately shapes and impacts on the livelihoods of car guards.

If you agree to participate, you will be asked: to discuss your work-life experiences and challenges you face as a car guard, in a focus group discussion as well as in an individual interview. In group you will meet with other car guards, and be requested to discuss about your experiences and the challenges you face. In an individual interview you will be asked several questions about your work-life experience and the challenges you face as a car guard.

Time required for participation: Both the focus group and individual interviews will take approximately 2 hours or less than that.

Potential Risks of Study: There are no potential risks in this study

Benefits: There will be no benefits or any favours from participating in this study, this is an academic study, and therefore participation is voluntary.

How confidentiality will be maintained: The information that you as a participant provide to me will be kept confidential and will not be disclosed to anyone. Your names will not be mentioned anywhere, not even in my research report.

Voluntary Participation: Participation in this study is completely voluntary. If you decide not to participate there will not be any negative consequences. Please be aware that if you decide to participate, and for some reason you cannot continue, you may withdraw from the study at any time and should you find any questions too personal, you may refrain from answering them.

Data storage: Please note that data from this research project will be stored for a period of 15 years for archiving and research purposes at the University of Pretoria. I also request your permission to use this data for a research article.

By signing this form I am attesting that I have read and understand the information above and I freely give my consent to participate.

Participant' Signature.....

Date:.....

Informed Consent Form (Sesotho)

Lengolo la kopo ya tumello

Lengolo lena ke sesupo sa dintlha tsa karolo ya mosebetsi ona oo obatleng ho nka karolo ho ona.

Mofuputsi: Nkhatau Nthabiseng

Sehlooho: Mosebetsi wa ho lebela dikoloi ele mokgwa wa ho iphidisa le ho leka ho etsa tjhelete: Dipuisano le ditherisano tsa sebaka sa ho sebetsa mmileng ya Hatfield le dishopong tse Hillcrest toropong ya Pretoria

Ke kopa hore onke karolo mosebetsing waka wa ho phethela di thuto tsaka tsa lengolo le phameng. Haeba o dumela ho nka karolo ke ne ke kopa tumello ya ho sebedisa rekodara, ele hore ke kgone ho nka dintlha tseo o tlabeng o njwetsa tsona ka ofela. Haeba ona le kgahleho ho nka karolo mosebetsing ona bala dintlha tse latelang mme o tekene lebokoseng le tlase:

Mosebetsi ona ke phuputso ya mathata ao balebedi dikoloi ba a fumana mesebetsing ya bona le hore sebaka seo ba se kgethileng ho sebetsa teng se ama maphelo a bona le mekgolo ya bona jwang

Ha ona le kgahleho ho nka karolo mosebetsing ona, o tla koptjwa ho hlaloesetsa mofuputsi ka mathata ao kopanang le ona matsatsi ohle mosebetsing wa hao wa hoba molebedi wa dikoloi. Ho tlabale le moo o tla koptjwa ho nka karolo mokgoping wa di puisano le babang ba sebetsang mosebetsi wa ho lebela dikilo, dipuisanong tseo, le teng o tla koptjwa ho bolela ka mathata ao lebanang le ona ka matsatsi mosebetsing wa hao.

Nako ya dipuisano le mofuputsi e tla ba hora tse pedi, mme o ke kebe wa kena kotsing efe kapa efe ka ho nka karolo mosebetsing ona.

Tseba hore ke ka boithatelo ba hao hore o nke karolo mosebetsing ona mme ha ho no ba le moputso ofe ka ofe. Haeba o se o dumetse ho nka karolo mme o se o sena kgahleho ho tswela pele, o ka emisa ka nako efe kapa efe

Dintlha tseo o tla fana ka tsona mabapi le mosebetsi ona etlaba sephiri mme di keke tsa jwetswa mang kapa mang. Mabitso a hao ka keke a sebediswa ho ngola diphetho tsa mosebetsi ona.

Dintlha le sepheto sa mosebetsi ona di tla bolokwa dilemo tse leshome le metso e mehlano, mme ke kopa tumello ya ho di sebedisa mosebetsing o mong wa ho ngola dibukana tse ka balwang.

Ka ho tekena mona o dumela ho nka karolo mosebetsing ona mme hona ke sesupo sa hore o utlwisisa tsohle tse boletsweng ka hodimo.

Tekena:

Letsatsi:

Appendix 4 – Interview schedule

The world of work & the work sphere

I would like you to please tell me about your work and working here

What is it that you do here?

- What does your work entail?
- Are there any procedures that needs to be followed in order for one to work here?
- What are the requirements to become a car guard?
- What is your job title?

What position do you hold?

What do you like most about your work and about working here?

What don't you like about your work and about working here?

When did you start working here?

When do you usually work?

- Which days and how many hours in a day do you usually work?
- Do you get to have breaks or lunch time? When?
- Do you work in shifts? If yes – how are they organized?

Which days do you usually prefer to work or enjoy working?

- Why particularly those ones?

Do you have friends that you work with?

- How is your working relationship with your friends?
- Does it help to have friends working in the same area as you? If yes –why /if no – why not?

Besides your friends, how is your work relationship with your other co-workers?

How are you experiencing your work so far? How are you finding your job so far?

- What is your work relation with your co-workers?
- What is your work relation with your supervisor and manager?
- What is your work relation with your clients? (people who park here)

Are there any challenges that you face working here?

- If yes... what are those?
- Please tell me more about them

- How do you try to deal with them

So do you only work in this street or this space or can you work somewhere else?

- Are you only limited to working here on this space or street or can you shift around?
- What are the defining boundaries between your working space and the next person's working space? How do your other co-workers get to know that this is your working space?
- What would happen if you decide to shift working space within the same territory?
- Has it ever happened that someone took someone else's working space? What happened then?

Did you choose to work in this space or is there someone who allocates and decides on working spaces for people working here?

- If you chose, why did you particularly choose this area or space?
- If allocated by someone, how does that make you feel and how does their decision impact on you?

What is the reaction of metro police and security to the car guards working here?

Clients

So who usually parks their cars here?

Do you select cars to park in your parking space?

- If yes, why do you so? And how do you select the cars to park in your parking space?

How do people who park their cars here react to you? How do they treat you?

Amongst the people who park their cars here, who do you usually get tips from?

Do you have any established relationship with the people who park here?

Do you have frequent clients?

Do you know who your frequent clients are?

- What is your relationship with them?

Have you ever lost a frequent client to another co-worker?

- If yes, tell me more about what happened

Has it ever happened that a client's car gets scratched, broken into or stolen in your presence?

- If yes, what really happened? And how was the situation dealt with?

Are you satisfied with the amount of tips you get from working here?

Except for the tips you get here, do you have any other form of income?

What are your future work plans?

- Do you plan to continue working here or do you have any thing you plan to do in future?

Previous car guarding experience

Besides working here, have you worked as a car guard somewhere else?

If yes...

- Where were you working and how long were you working there?
- Why is it that you left there?
- How was working there similar or different from working here?
- So how did you find out about car guarding here? How were you introduced to car guarding here? Is there someone who told you about it?

If no.....

- How did you know about car guarding here? How were you introduced to it? Is there someone who told you about it?

Other work experience besides car guarding

Have you been employed previously?

If yes

- Where were you working?
- What did you do there?
- For how long were you employed?
- Why did you leave the job?
- What skills did you acquire from working there?
- How was it working there?
- Why is it that you chose car guarding after you left the job?

Do you have children? If yes, how many?

Are there people you support financially?

Did you go to school?

- If yes, what is your highest grade or qualification?

How old are you?

Appendix 5 – Endnotes (Original Quotes)

- Endnote 1:** Sistere, Ka pakisa dikoloi. Ke nyakile mmereko bophelo baka bo bohle ke sa o kreye. Wa bona.... Go boima go kreya mmereko matsatsing ana. Ka hore mmereko ga oteng, ke bone gore kettle go bereka mo go kata dikoloi...le government le yona a e refe mmereko, ere re itirele,.. ke ka gona ke le fa.
- Endnote 2:** Ke a o rata mosebetsi ona hobane o mpha tjehelete,... ha ke sa sokola le ko hae. Wa bona nou sistere, ko hae ke kgona le ho reka dijo, diaparo le dihloko tse ding. Ha ke satle mo, tjehelete ke tlo enka kae?.. hobane ho utswa ha o patele...
- Endnote 3:** Ha ke hane hore mmreko ha oyo matsatsing ana... Ke bone hore ka ho kata dikoloi nka kgona ho etsa tjehelete, mm eke hlokomele lelapa laka. Ke kgonne le ho patella lobola ya mosadi waka ka tjehelete e ke e fumanang mona. Se nthabisang haholo ke hore ke thola tjehelete mona, mm eke kgona ho iketsetsa dintho tseo ke di batlang.
- Endnote 4:** Hantle hantle... ke tlile mona hobane ke ne ke sena mosebetsi wa bona....! Mo South Africa ho boima ho fumana mosebetsi ha osena di qualifications. Le ha ona le setifikeiti sa Grade 12, ha se letho... o ke kebe wa fumana mosebetsi hobane ba batla batho ba ruteileng
- Endnote 5** Ke batla ho kgutlela sekolong ke lo bala... ken a le setifikeiti sa Grade 12 empa ke ntse ke sa kgone ho fumana mosebetsi... maybe ha nka ka kgutlela sekolong ka etsa course-nyana e kgutswane, hore ke be le qualification, nka kgona ho fumana mosebetsi...
- Endnote 6** Kgale ke sotleha.... Ke sokotse thata pele ke tla mo. Pila Pila ke tlile mo hobane ne ke sena mmereko, hape ne ke sa kgone ho phela kantle le tjehelete... Nou ga o tshwane..he ke bereka mo, ke kgona hob a le dijo, ka ke robale ka tlala...
- Endnote 7** Nna ke hlaha KZN....ke tile mo ka ho nyaka mmereko hobane ne kena le mathata ko hae ...ha se hore le teng ke thabile ho dira mmereko oo, ke leka ho phela tja ka batho babang...ke sekrifisa dintho tse ngata hore ke kgone ho fepa bana le lelapa laka ko hae, hobane ba a sokola.

Endnote 8 Ke nyakile mmereko ka mora hore ke tlohele mmereko waka wa pele... empa dintho ha diaka tsa tsamaya ka moo ke ne ke lebeletse ka teng, ke ka hoo,ke ile ka tla ho sebetsa mona....ke ne ke tseba hore hotla ba bobebe hore ke kgone ho etsa tjhelete e ka mphidisang ka pele

Endnote 9 Ngihlala lana, ngiphila lana e strateni.ka mora hore ke lahlehelwe ke mosebetsi, ne ke sena tsela engwe ya o fuma mosebetsi o mong, ka be ke tla mona ho pakisa dikoloi...e ne ele yona ntho eo ke ka etsang ukuthi ngi thole imali.. uya'bo...lana aku'dingagali into eziningi ukuthi uenze lo msebenzi.. ku lula futhi a'dingi imali ukuthi ungene ku lo msebenzi.....

Endnote 10 Ke a hoopla hore ho ne hon a le nako eo maponesa a ileng a re jwetsa hore re tlise di-copy tsa dipasa tsa rona police station, maar ha ke tsebe ne ba di batlelang, empa nna ke ile ka e isa. Ke nahana hore ba ne ba batla ho tseba hore ke bomang ba sebetsang mona, incase ha ho ka etsahala something... empa ho a tshwana hobane ntse ba sa re tsebe kaofela

Researcher probe: kaofela ha lona mona le ne le tlameha ho isa di-copy ko seponeseng? Ene e ka baka lang ha ba ne ba di batla, hore le kgone ho sebetsa moo?

Lethabo: Eya, empa bongata ba babang mona ha baka ba di isa. Nna ke e isitse hore feela maponesa a seke a ntena le hore ba seke ba ntshwenya..maar ha ke tsebe ba ne ba e isa kae.

Endnote 11 Eish... wa bona, ne ke etsa dilo tsa botsotsi, maar ke changitse hona nou, empa ke phela ke na le dipotsiso ka mapolisa. ..so, a sanko nna ka e isa copy ko police station, hobane mapolisa a re tshwnya, haholo nna..... ba bang ba sa nagana hore ke sale tsotsi.. ha ke nyake ba be le copy ya pasa yaka.

Endnote 12 Hoseng ha re fihla mona, re saina log-book ko masecuriting, le ha re tsamaya matsibuya ra saina hape, bese re jwetsa masecurity hore ke tsamaile, hore ha ba ka thuba koloi mo ke berekelang teng, masecurity a tsebe hore nna ne se ke tsamaile....ke a rata ka mo re berekang ka teng, ba dira sentle, empa ha ba re itse ba bohle hobane ba bang mo ha bana taba, ha ba latele melao, ha ba isaini log-book....

- Endnote 13** Uya'bo.... He ne ke tla mo, ke ne ke itsi majita ho tloha ko kasi.... Ne ke itsi batho ba berkilen mo nako e telle, ke bona be eleng hore ba nkentshitse mo car guarding mo , ke tsene ka bona....
- Endnote 14** Ke ne ke sa bereke ka nako eo... ka hlakana le mojita o mong e ke tswang le yena ko gae, ke he ke mmositsa gore o bereka kae.. ke ena e sale a n'riferela mo, sale a mpotsa ka mmerko wa mo le hore nka dira tjhelete,.. since then ke tlile mo ke itsi hore hona le training e ke tlamegang ke e direUya'bo, that guy o nthusitse...
- Endnote 15** Ehghhmmmm... e no bah ore batho mo ba nkitsi.. wabona... masecurity a mo le mapolisa a mantshi a nkitsi, ke latela melao, ke sale ka isa ID copy yaka ko police station hape ka matsatsi a mang kena le ho saina log-book. He key a gae, ke phela ke botsa masecurity hore ke a sepela, hore ba se ke ba re ke dirile dilo tse ke sa di dirang.. .Uya'bo... mo... hoba easy if o itsi masecurty and le bona ba ho itsi... mmereko wa hao o ba easy and ba ke se ba ofa mathata...
- Endnote 16** Mathata a mo ke hore re bereka nako e telle, ho a lapisa... haholo holo nna ke godile... rena le nako e kgutswane ya break...okare 20 minutes.. ke yona feela nako e re kgonang ho ikgutsa, re nne fatshe.... Ka mehla he ke fihla gae, ke no hlapa, ka ja, ka robala... ha ke kgone ho dira selo.. maoto aka sometimes a ruruga ke ho ema thatha, nako e telle
- Endnote 17** Eish... re kreya mathata hantshi he pula ena... tlamega o itlele le umbrella ya gao mo kapo rain-coat,... pula ya re tshwenya, ra sokolo ene ka nako tse ding o kreya re tlogela ho bereka, re lahleelwa ke tjhelete... maar he ona le umbrella o m'nate hobane o kgona ho felegetsa batho ko dikoloing tsa bona, o ba thuse go kuka digrocery le di beke... ke tsela e re kreyang tip ka yona... like batho ba kgona hore fa bo ma R50, R20... hobane Uya'bo ha ka mmontsha parking feela, ke mo thusa le ka di beke gape, so ba refa tip.....
- Endnote 18** Mmhh...well... Ke fihla mo k abo ma half –past six (6:30) hosing, ka nako tse ding ke tsamaya ko seven (7:00) mantsibuya kapo pele ho seven e shapa... ho a dephenda... ho dephenda ka hore hona le dikoloi tse kae tse setseng mo parking-lot le ka hore ke dirile bokae Ka lelang ha ke kgotsofetse ka tjhelete e ke e direleng ke a tsamaya ka bo ma 3 (3:00) motsheare... so ho a dephenda..

- Endnote 19** Ehmmmm... ke khethile ho bereka bosiu hobane ke a itsi hore nka dira tjelele e ntshi... hobane o kreya batho ba bantshi ba tlogela dikoloi tsa bona mon aba lo nwa mab'jala , he ba bow aba kreya dikoloi tsa bona di le safe, ba kgona go ofa tip... like boma R50 kapo R100... Uya'bo... bosiu... batho ba tshoga hore dioli tsa bona ditla utsuwa..... so he ba di thola di le safe, le bona ba thaba, bese ba refa tip. Hape mastudent a tshebile rona, haholo ka labone, ka hobane ba tsamaya ba lo nwa ma'bjala ba tseba hore dikoloi tsa bona di safe...
- Endnote 20** Wa bona ausi waka,... Hantle hantle ... ha ka ikemisetsa hoba car guard nako e telele neh...empa ele hore nou ke yona tsela e ke etsang tjelele ka yona. Nna ke batla ho beha tjelele ke kgone ho etsa driver's licence... *atleast ka yona nka kgona ho thola mosebetsi onqono mmmh... like bo ma truck driving so... or ke be lepolisa....kapo le traffic cop maybe... hoo ho ka ba betere hona le hore ke kate dikoloi bophelo baka kaofela.*
- Endnote 21** Ke batla ho thola mosebetsi, le ha e kaba ko Pick 'n Pay...and then ko le siteng ke etse course-nyana e kgutswane ya managemt... Uya'bo ka mokgwa oo, since ke tlabe ke se kena le qualification nka kgona ho thola mmerko kapela le diposition tse ding kapela... ke batla ho dira so pila pila...
- Endnote 22** “Uhhmm... Uya'bo ... lana ngize nje ngoba aikho into e nqono e kuthi ngi nga ienza ukuthi ngi thole imali... kodwa angi jabulanga lana,... inking ukuthi imali ya khona incani... ngiya phila nga lokho ukucani .. ama R2 nama R5 engiwa thola lana.... Kahle kahle... akukho ukuya phambili lana, ngathi ngi sebenzela emova, ngoba le mali engi ethola lana ngi khon uku thenga ilunch phela ngayo...mihla na malanga ngi mele ngi sebenze.... Uya'bo kuhlukile ngoba, abantu laba ukuthi baya sebenza bay a khona ukuthi ba thenge imoto na le zizintho eba zi funayo, kodwa thina simela ama R2 nama R5 a phuma ku banto... ngathi siyahlophaga, kuya fana nje no kucela estrateni.. ngoba silokho sicela ku bantu... ku nzima!
- Endnote 23** Ngoba siya hlophoka, si sebenza lana e strateni ukuthi si khone uku'phila...kodwa abantu aba sihloliphe... ba sibiza nga magama, bathi siya kanga.. siya abo'tsotsi..si tjontjo imoto....kuba nzima nga manye amalanga..... ngoba na uthi ubulisa abantu , o zama ukuthi o khulume nabo, aba sikhulumisi kahle....kakhulu, abantu be sifazane aba funi no kukhuluma nathi... mehla na malanga abantu ba ya sihlokumeza nga magama.. kunzima !.... kodwa ngi dingi imali ukuthi ngi phile..

Endnote 24 Re kopana le batho ba bangata, ba fapaneng... Babang ha ba re hlomphe, ba a re rohaka,... ba bang ba re lwantsha,. Le ha o leka ho dumedisa feela, ba sentse ba qala ho o bits aka mabitso... wa bona mona batho ba a fapana... ba bang ba hantle, ba bang ha ba hantle... empa rona re sebetsa le bona kaofela mme ka matsatsi a mang ho boima.

Endnote 25 Se ke sa se rateng haholo ka ho sebetsa mona ke hore maponesa are hlopa, ba ne ba rata hot la mona ba re kwalle...ha re botsa hore rekwallwang, ba re jwatsa hore re 'source of danger'... ntho e kareng eo...le kajeno lena ntse ke sa tsebe hore seno se bolelang... ha ke kgane neh hore re berkela mo strateng...empu ha re thibele dikoloi hore di fete... maar ba re kwalla hole bjalo....Ke gopola ba tlike mo ba ntseya ka Thursday... ka dula Thursday le Friday ko police station... ba nlokolla Friday bosiu maar still ke sale ka patella R150 .. bare ke ya fine... nna ga ke utlwisisi gape ha ke se thabele seo hobane ga re utswetse batho... re leka ho iphidisa ka ho kata dikoloi.

Endnote 26 Batho bana.. masecurity.. ba phela ba ntshwenya, batla more ba nyaka hore ke bafe tjehelete..nahana feela, ke tlameha hore ke bafe share ya tjehelete e ke e kryang moo... ene tjehelete e re e kreyang mona e nyane... mo hodima moo bona ba thola salary.... Ba bang ba batla ho reka di-cigarretts, airtime kapo dijo... ba re tshwenya nje...ba batla re phele re ba fa tjehelete. Ha re sa bafe tjehelete baya ko mapoliseng, b aba jwetse ka ntho engwe le engwe e re etsang, le diphoso tse nyane. Ke tlameha hore re bafe seo ba se batlang if re batla ho sebetsa ka kgotso.

Endnote 27 Mhhh...a rena mathata ka mapholisa....rena le tsela yah o sebedisana le bona. Re bua le bona fela ha hona le mathata e re kopanang le ona mona complexing... Wa bona, ntho tse tshwanang le bo botsi so, kapo di-accident... like ehmm... ha hona le tsotsi, re founela mapolisa, ke bana ba re thusang, ha ba refe mathata, ha re ba bitsa ba atla

Endnote 28 Ha ke tle moo for monate kapo hobane ke batla...ho tshwana el emo ke sebetsang, mo ke tholang tjehelete e ke phelang ka yona. Ke kgona ho kopana le batho hona moo. Bophelo baka,... hore ke aja, ke a hlapa, bana baka baya sekolong, ho dephenda ka hore ke tle mo. Ha ke satle mona, ha ke no kgona ho phela

- Endnote 29** Ho a kgothatsa ho tsoha hoseng o tseba hore oya sebakeng se o etsetang tjhelete.. Uya'bo, rona ba bang re dutse nako e telele resena tjhelete, ene ke stress ntho eo.. so, ho sebetsa mona ho ntlisedise lethabo, ke motlotlo, hobane ke a tseba hore ke kgona ho iketsetsa.
- Endnote 30** Uya'bo... ho sa bele le tjhelete ke ntho engwe e stressanang, haholo for rona banna...hosing ho hong le ho hong ha ke tla mona ke a tseba hore letsatsi ha le fela ke tlabe kena le tjhelete, seo se a nthabisa, ke a rata ho sebetsa mo. Ha ke sa tshwara ke stress le ko ntlong ho se hole betere.
- Endnote 31** Ke hloka hob a mona, ke hloka ho etsa tsohle tse matleng aka hore ke tle mosebetsing tsatsi le leng le le leng, le haele hore ke tlameha ho lwana. Ke ka hotla mona le ho ba mona sebakeng sena nka phela, ke yona feela tsela eo kenang le yona yah o phela le ho fepa le lapa laka.
- Endnote 32** ... tlameha o etse effort ho bua le batho ba tlang mona, so o kgone hoba on the safe-side wabona...ha ke ne ke fihla mona ke tlwaetse majita a mang,.. ho a thusa ho tseba majita le hore batho ba o tsebe, o kgona ho sebetsa ha bobebe mona le ho etsa tjhelete kantle le stress, hobane watseba majita ada....
- Endnote 33** **Researcher:** Ke mathata afe a o kopanang le ona mosebetsing wa hao?
Lethabo: Wa bona.. mo re phela re le under pressure, ba re hlopa, ka matsatsi a mang masecurty le mapolisa ba re tshwenya, majita a mang ba ne ba ba tshwere, bare ba causa havoc hape ke ditsotsi....pila pila ba batla ho re koba moo, ba batla re seke ra sebetsa moo..
Researcher (probe): Jwale wena o etsang ha ba o tshwenya?
Lethabo: “Mmmhah..ha hona tsela engwe,.. tsela ya hore ke phele mo, ke etse tjhelete, ke hore ke patale tjhelete eo ba e batlang hore ba kgone ho ntseba. At least ka mokgwa oo ba thoma ho ntshepa..... empa ho a dephenda hore bona ba fila jwang, ka le leng ba batla tjhelete e nyane, kapo coldrink... ka le leng ba batla tjhelete e ngata, boma R150...R100, ene re a ba patela whenever' ha ba e batla... ke tla etsang? Ke tlameha ho sebetsa.

Endnote 34 **Researcher (probe):** Wena o ikutlwa jwang ka ho patala R65 letsatsi le leng le le leng ?

Kgotso: Ha hona ntho e nke ka etsang, ke tlameha ho e patela ha ke batla ho sebetsa mona... Vela, yona ke tjehelete e ngata, ene ha se hore ke kgotsofalletse ho e patala,, empa ke hloka ho sebetsa hore ke kgone ho thola tjehelete e ka mphidisang, mosebetsi ona ke ona feela tsela e kenang le yona hona jwale ya ho etsa tjehelete.

Endnote 35 Kgale ke kgereza, ke berekile mo nako e telle, since ho tloha bo ma 90 my sister... batho ba bohle ba nkitsi mo, le mapolisa, le masecurity, ba bohle ba nkitsi... sebaka se ke saka, o mong le omng o batlang hose seberekisa tlameha a mpatele, akere le nna ke patetse batho hore ke se kreye.... Uya'bo, ho thata ho bereka moo, o tlameha ho hlalefa, he o sa protecte se eleng sa gao, o ka se kreye tjehelete... ke beraka moo hore ke dire tjehelete ene tjehelete ya protectiwa....

Endnote 36 Bothata bo bong mo ke hore batho ba tlang mona ho parka dikoloi tsabona ha ba re treati hantle hobane rele ba bantsho.. Wa bona makgowa ana, baba treata hantle, ba bafa le tip e nyata... boma R10 le R20 hobane ke makgowa. Ka le leng batho bare rona re ditsotsi, ra kopa.... Ba re bitaa ka mabitso empa makgowa a sebetsang mona ona ha ba a bitsi dintho tseo.. ke rona feela re bitswakakang dintho tse ngata, re treatiwang hampe empa makgowa ona ha kopane le mathata a kareng ao..

Endnote 37 Sometimes ho boima ho sebetsa le bo Old Madalas.. ka le leng bana ho phela ba ngaaka hore rena re ba hlompe, ba nahana hore ba itsi thata.. ka mehla ba ngaka rena re phle re ukwa ka bona, re dire se sefng le se seng se ba se nyakana... Ke a itsi hore re kgotse hothwe re hlompe batho ba baholo, re se ke r aba botsa selo... empa bona bat sea advantage ka hore retlameha hob a hlompa, ba lebala hore re tlile mo ba bohle ho dira tjehelete hore re kgone ho phela. Ke ona mathata amang e re kopanang le ona mona, empa rena le tsela ya ho a solva.... Rena... nna le bafethu ba bang mo, ra emelana, ra thusana hape ra protectana re protecta le dibaka tsa rena... ha re dire so ka mehla, empa ho a thusa ..

Endnote 38 Sisebenza na bafana aba ncani lana... abange abahloniphe, abange baya hlonipha.. Ngisebenza kahle na bange ngoba ba'yaizi indayo yabo, baya ngi hlonipha kodwa ba hlonipha ne ndayo yami, ngoba ba'yaizi ukuthi ngi mdala... ngi mdala ku nabo... nga le ndela a se dalelani inginga ..

Endnote 39 Uya'bo.. mona ho hloka hore o be le bakgotsi.. ho bohlokwa hoba le bakgotsi.. o tlameha o be le batho bao o ba tsebang mme ba buang puo e tshwanang le ya hao...kapo ba tswang moo o tswang teng.. Hon a le batho be ke ba tsebang mona.. ho tloha kgale re tsebana.. re ba Tswana ba bohle ene kgale re sebetsa kaofela, le ka ditnho tse ding kantle le ho kata dikoloi. Ha kena le mathata, ba kgona ho thusa, le nna ke a ba thusa ha bana le dintwa le batho ba bang ba sebetsang mona... ka le leng re adimana tjhelete hore re kgone ho patala mapolisa... ke hobane re Batswana ba bohle..

Endnote 40 So.. tsatsi le leng ke tlile mo late, okare ka bo ma 2 ya manthapama, he ke fihla mo ke kerya mfana o mong so a bereka mo spacing saka.. maar a skanka a mpotsa kapo ankgopela maobane... So, ke he ke mmotsisa hore a nfe share ya tjhelete a e dirileng mo spacing saka.. yena a ba a hana... ke he re lwa

Reseacher (probe): O ra bjang ha ore ke he le lwa?

Tshepo: Yah re lwile, man to man. Ke mmethile, ke he majita a mang e re bekerekang le bona mona ba mo thusa.... A sanko a mpatela ...maar he, sa le a ithuta hore a sa tshamekela mo spacing saka. Nou so wa itsi space saka ke saka, o batlang ho se berekisa tlameha a patele..

Endnote 41 Wa bona he o bereka mo, o tlameha hob a bohlale, o be le tsela tsa ho etsa tjhelete.. Nna, ha ke rate competition. Ke kgethile space sena hobane ha ona batho ba bangata ba sebeletsang mona.... E se le saka, ke sebetsa mon aka kgotso,e bile ke tseba batho ba bangata batlang mona le bona ba antseba hape ba a ntshepa.... Ke sebedisana hantle le bona... Ba bang ba njwetsa hore bat lo fihla neng hore ke kgone hob a behela parking pele ba fihla... ke sebetsa so le bona...hape ba mpatala hantle hobane ba se bantseba, seo ke sona se etsang hore ke rate ho sebetsa mona....

Endnote 42 Ke kgethile sebaka sena hobane ha se a tlala, ke rata ho sebetsa mona hobane ha ke lwantshane le batho bakeng la space, sebaka sena ese le saka. Ke se laola ka mokgoo ke batlang ka teng, le majita a mang mona a se atseba hore kee sebaka saka sena; ha bantshwenye, ba tshwenye le batho ba parkang mona...