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Individual Values and Economic Performance of Inner-City Street Traders

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ABSTRACT Informal economic outcomes are a function of the match, or fit, between enterprise behaviour and the economic context in which informal traders work. This research investigates the extent to which Schwartz's individual values endowments are related to the financial performance and continuance satisfaction of informal street traders in the inner-city context of a large South African city. Tests of association, partial correlation analysis and factor analysis are applied. Street traders with higher levels of Power values and Hedonism values are found to earn more. Traders with higher levels of Stimulation values and Security values are found to be less satisfied with continuing in street trading. Time spent in the sector is found to be associated with lower levels of Conformity values. On the basis of these findings it is argued that street trader populations are not homogenous in terms of individual motivational values endowments.

INTRODUCTION

Since the advent of democracy in 1994, South Africa has seen a significant decline in non-income poverty and also in inequality (Bhorat and van der Westhuizen 2013). Notwithstanding this trend of improvements, South Africa faces persistently high unemployment and particularly high youth unemployment (Yu 2013). These high levels of unemployment have the potential to cause political instability in the country (Bischoff and Wood 2013). However, an alternative to unemployment is self-employment, in the form of enterprise (Bischoff and Wood 2013). With no other alternative to employment, many enter the informal sector; as necessity-driven entrepreneurs (Urban 2011). While formal employees enjoy the benefits of South Africa's stringent labour legislation (Bischoff and Wood 2013), informal street traders have no such protection in terms of minimum wages or working conditions.

'Sweatshop' labour is considered to be "associated with wages that fall below a living wage standard and include long working hours" (Snyder 2010: 187). Exploitative employment associated with such low wages has been the focus of much research, as the plight of people in this form of work has attracted much academic attention (Snyder 2010: 187). However, according to the predictions of the nutrition model of efficiency wage theory (Liebenstein 1957), such exploitative employers will typically keep the wages of their workers above a certain minimum level. If they pay them less than this then the labour productivity per unit of labour of these employees drops steeply (Liebenstein 1957). Below a certain minimum subsistence level, or threshold of earnings, the physical nutrition needs of workers are not met, which results in lower productivity per unit of labour (Liebenstein 1957). It is against this backdrop that it is argued that a counterpart to such sweatshop labour exists; in the form of low income street trading. Despite a similarity of poor working conditions to those of sweatshop workers, the plight of certain street traders is perhaps no less dire, given that there is no mechanism that incentivises employers to ensure that wages provide the minimum level of subsistence. There is no employer. In other words, street traders that do not earn enough to sustain their physical health have no earnings 'safety-net' of any kind, *and may continue to labour in the sector while performing at lower levels than other traders that earn more due to nutritional effects*.

Other research has indicated that traders that earn less than a certain threshold of earnings in this sector do not obtain a return on initial capital invested, and that an earnings threshold might exist (dubbed the dysfunctionality threshold of the informal sector) below which street trader labour is associated with dysfunctional effects (Callaghan 2012), as predicted by the Nutrition Model of Efficiency Wage Theory (Liebenstein 1957). In an impoverished context, which might reflect involuntary work, or necessity-driven entrepreneurship (Urban 2011), this research attempts to derive an understanding of what motivational values are related to higher earnings and continuance satisfaction of inner-city street traders. Knowledge of the motivations of such traders might allow for an understanding of what typology of motivational values is most suited to such a context. Further, this insight might also offer a perspective of how exposure to the context and might shape an individual's motivational values in this context. It is argued that this context is atypical of other work contexts, and that this may be the first study to investigate the motivational values of these traders. If street trading is a typical entry point into the economy for individuals with very little in the way of resources, then findings in this context might contribute to a greater understanding of the potential role of the broader role of the informal sector to development and societal upliftment. Such an understanding might contribute to an understanding of the role of enterprise and entrepreneurial enterprise in the upliftment of individuals and communities in developing countries. *The aim of this research is to therefore investigate the relationships around street trader motivational values in order to develop insights that might lead to the upliftment of individuals engaged in such activities*. The research problem is now introduced. Following this the research objectives are discussed.

Research Problem

Despite much literature that relates Schwartz's (2007) values theory to individual factors and outcomes (see Schwartz 1992, 1994, 1996; Schwartz and Bardi 2001; Capara et al. 2006), absent from the literature is an empirical scientific approach to the testing of the relationships between motivational values to earnings and continuance satisfaction in the context of South African street trading. Further, no literature is found that relates to the potential effect of the context in shaping a street trader's individual motivational values. This lack of knowledge is therefore the problem addressed by this research.

The objective of this research is to test theory that relates individual values (Schwartz 2007) to informal sector contextual factors, earnings and continuance satisfaction. In the absence of previous research findings that relate to these relationships the following research questions are posed in this study.

To what extent are Schwartz's individual motivational values related to street trader earnings?

To what extent are Schwartz's individual motivational values related to continuance satisfaction?

How are Schwartz's motivational values potentially shaped over time in this context?

The theoretical framework and hypotheses are now considered.

Theoretical Framework and Hypotheses

Schwartz's motivational values are expressed as work goals or values in the context of work (Ross et al. 1999). Four types of work values derive from these values; intrinsic, extrinsic, social, and prestige values (Ross et al. 1999). Value research typically focuses on investigating how the configuration of values of individuals is related to "attitudes, behaviour, and social experiences and roles" (Ross et al. 1999: 50). This body of research extends work by Hofstede (1980) and other theorists (Ross et al. 1999: 50). Values are defined as "desirable, trans-situational goals that vary in importance as guiding principles in people's lives" (Ross et al. 1999: 51). Values have motivational goals that they express (Ross et al. 1999). According to Ross et al. (1999: 51), "in order to cope with the challenges inherent in human existence, groups and individuals translate the needs and demands they experience into concepts about which they can communicate". These concepts are expressed "in the language of universal requirements with which all individuals and societies must cope: needs of individuals as biological organisms, requisites of coordinated social interaction, and requirements for the smooth functioning and survival of groups" (Ross et al. 1999: 51).

Ten basic human values are typically found across and within different cultures: the values of power, achievement, hedonism, stimulation, self-direction, universalism, benevolence, tradition, conformity, and security (Schwartz 1992). These are motivationally distinct and are underpinned by different configurations of biological requirements, coordinative social requirements and survival and welfare requirements (Schwartz 1992). "[G]roups and individuals represent these requirements cognitively, as specific values about which they communicate in order to coordinate with others in pursuing the goals that are important for them" (Schwartz and Boehnke 2004: 234). These values have a structure (similarity or dissimilarity of values with each other) and a content (the range of identified values) (Schwartz 1992). These values are found in all societal contexts and their structure takes the form of a quasi-circumplex that represents their match or mismatch between underlying motivational goals (Schwartz and Boehnke 2004).

According to Schwartz (1992), the dynamic relationship between these values can be structurally represented. Therefore, "actions associated with any value have practical, psychological, and other social consequences"; these may conflict with or, alternatively, support "the pursuit of other values" (Schwartz and Boehnke 2004: 231). An example of this are actions that reflect hedonism values, which will be expected to conflict with actions that reflect tradition values while being compatible with self-direction values (Schwartz and Boehnke 2004). According to Schwartz's (2007) values theory, the behaviour of individuals is predicted to be related to their particular configuration of motivational values. Differences in individual configurations of these values are therefore expected to be associated with differences in behaviour. In the street trading context certain motivational values are therefore expected to be a better 'fit' with the context. Certain values are expected to be associated with higher levels of street trader earnings and satisfaction in this context. The four Schwartz's (2007) higher order values types are now introduced, in relation to their subordinate values types.

Openness to Change:
Self-direction and Stimulation

The higher order value type Openness to Change is theoretically associated with a motivation for people to follow emotional and intellectual interests that are self-oriented in "unpredictable and uncertain directions (openness) versus preservation of the status quo and the certainty it provides (conservation)" (Schwartz and Boehnke 2004: 236). The values of Self-Direction and Stimulation are the subordinate values that together make up the Openness to Change higher order values dimension. Self-Direction relates to independent "thought and action-choosing, creating, exploring (creativity, freedom, independent, choosing own goal, curious)" (Schwartz and Boehnke 2004: 239). Stimulation values relate to excitement, "novelty, and challenge in life (daring, a varied life, an exciting life)" (Schwartz and Boehnke 2004: 239). It is argued that if the type of work an individual does is not a match with their individual motivational values then they might not be motivated or satisfied in such work. It might be possible that certain street traders with Openness to Change values might be less satisfied, and might be less engaged with street trading work if it conflicted with their need for novelty and challenge in their work. It is also considered possible that over time values that are not a match with the context may be shaped negatively. Values that are a match with the context are also expected to be incentivised, and are expected to be positively associated with time spent in the sector.

Self-Enhancement:
Hedonism, Achievement and Power

Self-Enhancement values motivate people to prioritise their own interests over the interests of others. Hedonism is posited to be mid-way between the higher order value types of Openness to Change and Self-Enhancement (Schwartz and Boehnke 2004). Hedonism values are related to pleasure "or sensuous gratification of oneself (pleasure, enjoying life, self-indulgent" (Schwartz and Boehnke 2004: 239). Achievement values are related to personal "success through demonstrating competence according to social standards (ambitious, successful, capable, influential)" (Schwartz and Boehnke 2004: 239). Power values are related to social "status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources (authority, social power, wealth, preserving my public image) (Schwartz and Boehnke 2004: 239). Achievement and Power values are related to social esteem. (Schwartz 2007). However, Achievement values are related to striving to demonstrate competence, and Power values are associated with more abstract outcomes relating to status and social relations (Schwartz 2007). Self-Enhancement values are considered to relate to achievement of outcomes. These outcomes range from those related to competence (Achievement values), to control and dominance over resources and others (Power values) or self-indulgence (Hedonism values). To the extent that these motivational values are independent of the specific work someone does it is considered reasonable to expect that these would be positively associated with gross earnings and continuance satisfaction in this context. If Self-Enhancement values are a good fit with this context then it would be expected that these items would be positively associated with time spent in this sector.

Conservation: Security, Conformity and Tradition

Security, Conformity and Tradition values comprise the Conservation higher order values type (Schwartz and Boehnke 2004). Security values are related to safety, "harmony, and stability of society, of relationships, and of self (family security, national security, social order, clean, reciprocation of favours" (Schwartz and Boehnke 2004: 239). Conformity values relate to restraint "of actions, inclinations, and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectations or norms (self-discipline, politeness, honouring parents and elders, obedience" (Schwartz and Boehnke 2004: 239). Tradition values relate to respect, "commitment, and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion provide (devout, respect for tradition, humble, moderate)" (Schwartz and Boehnke 2004: 239). Conformity and tradition are related to the subordination of the self to socially oriented external expectations (Schwartz and Boehnke 2004). Conformity is associated with subordination to other people that are regularly encountered (Schwartz and Boehnke 2004). In contrast, Tradition values are related to subordination to more abstract notions; such as religious or cultural customs (Schwartz and Boehnke 2004). If these values are related to a motivation to not harm others, or do not support the contestation for resources that may be present in the sector (Tissington 2009), then these values might not be matched to this context. It is argued that these values might be associated with lower earnings and continuance satisfaction. If these values are not a match with this environment then it would be expected that a negative association between these values and time spent in the sector would be found.

Self-Transcendence: Universalism and Benevolence

Self-transcendence values motivate people to "transcend selfish concerns and promote the welfare of others, close and distant, and of nature" (Schwartz and Boehnke 2004: 236). Unversalism and Benevolence values make up the higher order Self-Transcendence values category. Universalism relates to understanding, "appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature (equality, social justice, wisdom, broadminded, protecting the environment, unity with nature, a world of beauty)" (Schwartz and Boehnke 2004: 239). Benevolence relates to preservation "and enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one is in frequent personal contact (helpful, honest, forgiving, loyal, responsible)" (Schwartz and Boehnke 2004: 239). If the street trading context is hypercompetitive and is sometimes associated with a continuous contestation for resources, including better placed street-side locations (Tissington 2009), then these values might not be a match to this environment. Self-Transcendence values are predicted to not be associated with earnings or continuance satisfaction for these traders. Similarly, it is expected that if any association is found between these values and time spent in the sector then such an association might be negative.

On the basis of the theory introduced above, tentative predictions were derived for potential relationships between Schwartz's (2007) individual values and street trader earnings, continuance satisfaction and time spent in the sector. Hence, the following hypotheses are derived: (i) Hypothesis 1, that there is a significant association between Schwartz's individual values and street trader gross earnings; (ii) Hypothesis 2, that there is a significant association between Schwartz's individual values and street trader continuance satisfaction, or the satisfaction of a street trader with continuing in street trading; and (iii) Hypothesis 3, that there is a significant association between Schwartz's individual values and time spent in the sector. Having discussed the theoretical framework of the study, the methodology applied is now considered.

METHODOLOGY

This research follows the precedent of positivist research, with its ontological and epistemological perspectives (Burrel and Morgan 1979). The Schwartz's values scales were adapted for use in the inner-city street trading sector. Data for this study were collected in 2010.

The central business district of the city of Johannesburg was delimited to an area of 228 city blocks. This represented the area between Plein, End, Faraday and Sauer streets. Random number tables were used to identify a ten percent sample of these blocks. Traders on these blocks were counted and an estimate of the inner city street trading population was derived; of approximately five thousand traders. Three hundred and three traders were sampled. A sample size calculation was performed in order to ensure that statistical inferences could be made about relationships at the five percent level of significance. Ethical principles were followed, and any indication of refusal was respected. Scale items were developed with careful attention to content validity. Schwartz's scale items were developed for use in the informal street trading context. Repeated piloting and attention to the results of previous studies in the same sector over the course of 2008 and 2009 were taken to indicate that street trader respondents respond more effectively to semantic differential scales. In order to improve the validity and scientific rigor of the items, a careful process was followed where the items were piloted as semantic differential items. It is argued that such a process is necessary for street trader research. The items used were adapted from the Schwartz's Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ) (Schwartz 2007) in order to make the items simpler and more understandable to the respondents. The average street trader was found to have 9.9 years of education and the simplification of the items while maintaining content validity was considered to be critically important. The actual items used in the study are now reported as follows.

The following items were used to measure Power values:

*Having power over other people and things is not so important to m*e, versus: *I like to have power over other people and things*, and

I like to have control over other people and things, versus: *Having control over other people and things is not so important to me.*

The following items were used to measure Achievement values:

Personal success is not so important to me, versus: *Personal success is very important to me*

Personal success is very important to me, versus: *Personal success is not so important to me: there are many things more important*

The following items were used to measure Hedonism values:

I like to be enjoying myself and having fun more than I like working, versus: I like working more than I like to enjoy myself having fun

I enjoy other things more than having fun and partying, versus: I enjoy having fun and partying more than doing other things in my life

The following items were used to measure Stimulation values:

I prefer things as they are, versus: I prefer things to always change

I do not like changes in my life, versus: I like new changes in my life

The following items were used to measure Self-direction values:

Doing things in my own way is not that important for me, versus: I like to do things in my own way

I like to make decisions in my own way, versus: making decisions in my own way is not so important to me

The following items were used to measure Universalism values:

I understand and care for all people and nature, versus: Understanding and caring for all people and nature is not that important for me: I don't need to

I do not need to understand and care for everybody in this world, versus: I understand and care for everybody in this world

The following items were used to measure Benevolence values:

I care for those people that are around me every day, versus: Caring for those people around me every day is not very important to me

Caring and helping those people around me that I know, versus: Caring and helping those people around me that I know is not very important to me: I don't need to

The following items were used to measure Tradition values:

My culture and tradition is very important to me, versus: my culture and tradition is not very important to me

Tradition is not so important in my life, versus: Tradition is important in my life

The following items were used to measure Conformity values:

I hold myself back rather than upset others and the way things are, versus: I speak up even if it upsets others and the way things are done

I hold myself back from upsetting others when I do things differently, versus: I rather do things *in the same way as other people do, because I do not want to upset them*

The items were tested for reliability. However, they were derived from the PVQ (Schwartz 2007), which uses multiple constructs in its items. Schwartz argues that Cronbach Alpha tests are not appropriate for such items because of their multi-faceted nature. Nonetheless, the Cronbach Alpha values for the items are reported for these items. The Cronbach's Alpha values were found to be .838 for Power values; .762 for Achievement values; .383 for Hedonism values; .824 for Stimulation values; .383 for Self-Direction values; .541 for Universalism values; .772 for Benevolence values; .807 for Tradition values; .99 for Conformity values; and .486 for Security values. These items were therefore considered to be aligned with Schwartz's (2007) precedent for values research. The characteristics of the sample are reported in Table 1, which shows the means and standard deviations of the data.

Table 1: Measures of central location and central tendency

Variable	*Mean*	*Standard deviation*
Age	34.08	10.33
Years spent in Johannesburg	10.79	9.73
Hours worked per day	10.69	1.96
Initial investment	1173.45	1274.31
Education	9.93	3.50
Experience	6.40	4.64
Continuance satisfaction	6.81	2.55
Earnings per day	354.31	276.66
Power values	6.70	3.04
Achievement values	9.28	1.71
Hedonism values	3.98	2.22
Stimulation values	8.86	2.13
Self-Direction values	8.64	1.96
Universalism values	8.68	1.64
Benevolence values	9.25	1.61
Tradition values	7.95	2.63
Conformity values	5.01	3.28
Security values	7.95	2.37

The average trader is found to be 34 years of age, with an average of six years spent in the sector. Achievement and Benevolence values were the highest reported values endowments. Hedonism values were the lowest. Conformity values were found to have the highest standard deviation, followed by Power values. Individuals might differ most in the sector by Conformity and Power values. Benevolence values, with the lowest standard deviation, might be shared by more people in this context. A factor analysis was performed, in order to understand the factor structure of the contextual variables together with the values dimensions in this context. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy value was .681. The Approximate Chi-square value was 944.263. Bartlett's test of Sphericity was significant, with 153 degrees of freedom. On the basis of these statistics, the sampling adequacy of the factor analysis model was taken to be adequate for the purposes of interpreting the relationships between the component categories.

The following factors loaded on the first component category, with a contrast with years of education: age, years in the city and experience. None of the values items loaded on this component (Table 2). The component was termed '*Contextual Experience'*. The values items Achievement, Stimulation, Self-Direction, Universalism, Benevolence and Tradition were found to load on component two, with a contrast to years in the city, experience and the values dimension Hedonism. The strongest loadings on this component were for Stimulation, Universalism and Benevolence values. This component (Component 2) was taken to represent the values dimensions tested, and this component was termed "*Values*". Initial investment, continuance satisfaction, earnings, Power values and Tradition values were found to load on Component 3. This component was considered to represent performance, and the pay-offs associated with street trading. Component Three was therefore termed '*Performance*'. Conformity and Security values were found to dominate Component Four with a contrast with hours worked. This component was termed '*Stability*'. The other components had loadings that had previously loaded on other factors and these were not interpreted. According to the results of this analysis, the majority of Schwartz (2007) individual motivational values may be relatively independent of outcome factors (earnings and continuance satisfaction) in this sector. In other words, this sector might not be a strong match with many of the motivational types of individuals in this sector. This may reflect the involuntary nature of this kind of work, where many enter street trading as an alternative to unemployment (Callaghan 2012). It is a core argument of this research that state assistance for these people is important because they labour in a context that offers unfavourable working conditions relative to formal work. It is argued that it is the responsibility of a state to prioritise the needs of its most disadvantaged. It is also argued

Table 2: Factor analysis rotated component matrix of the Schwartz values items and contextual factors

	C 1	*C 2*	*C 3*	*C 4*	*C 5*	*C 6*	*Com (h2) SMC*	*Com (h2) extra-ction*
Initial Eigenvalues	2.6	2.5	1.7	1.3	1.2	1.1	-	-
VE	14.4	13.9	9.2	7.3	6.9	6.0	-	-
CVE %	14.4	28.3	37.5	44.9	51.8	57.8	-	-
Age	**.768**	-.278	.017	.225	.108	.218	1	.778
Years in the city	**.736**	**-.391**	-.020	.093	.095	.161	1	.738
Hours worked	.008	-.115	-.081	**-.394**	**.347**	-.021	1	.296
Initial Investment	-.222	-.051	**.560**	.033	**.454**	.259	1	.640
Total education	**-.450**	.220	.140	-.040	.405	.331	1	.546
Experience	**.770**	**-.369**	.086	.065	.102	.055	1	.755
Continuance satisfaction	.189	-.202	**.422**	-.037	.170	**-.641**	1	.696
Earnings per day	-.106	-.080	**.752**	-.073	.170	.060	1	.622
Power	.154	.123	**.370**	**-.447**	**-.478**	.066	1	.608
Achievement	.205	**.510**	.247	.133	-.239	.123	1	.453
Hedonism	-.157	**-.343**	.312	-.140	**-.504**	.310	1	.609
Stimulation	.223	**.596**	-.188	-.062	.038	.129	1	.462
Self-Direction	.255	**.421**	-.252	-.187	.203	.285	1	.463
Universalism	.312	**.674**	.124	-.050	.213	-.123	1	.630
Benevolence	.221	**.650**	.145	.102	-.066	**-.347**	1	.627
Tradition	.335	**.350**	**.363**	.169	-.138	.073	1	.420
Conformity	-.303	-.173	.036	**.653**	.005	-.131	1	.567
Security	-.144	.255	.070	**.588**	-.098	.219	1	.494

Abbreviations: Component (C); Communalities (Com); Squared Multiple Correlation (SMC); Variance Explained (VE); Cumulative Variance Explained (CVE) 1: Contribution to Society interest orientation; Component 2: Financial interest orientation; Component 3: Job itself interest orientation. Varimax with Kaiser Normalisation. Rotation converged in seven iterations.

that the state can do this through the provision of entrepreneurial skills training to these people in order to provide them with the skills to grow their businesses into enterprises that can 'break out' of street-side trading. Power values and Tradition values, however, are found to load on the same component category as earnings and continuance satisfaction. This indicates that for a certain group of traders with these values, there might be some sort of a values-fit with the context. Notably, the contextual experience, values and stability component categories are all found to be relatively unrelated to the performance category. This is in line with the expectation that few dimensions of this context are fundamentally related to performance in terms of earnings and continuance satisfaction. Table 4 reports the significant associations between the Schwartz's values dimensions and certain of the contextual factors measured in this research.

Table 4 has different columns for respondents of Johannesburg origin and South African origin. These variables were investigated because exposure to growing up in the context of a large city might differ from the experience of being a migrant from other areas of the country. Applying further investigation, it was decided to test this difference by including these two variables in the analysis.

Table 3: Partial correlations of earnings with Schwartz values dimensions

Schwartz value dimension	*Zero-order Pearson correlation*	*Pearson correlation with response bias controlled*
Power	.152**	.131*
Achievement	.177*	.089
Hedonism	.144*	.136*
Stimulation	-.164**	-.226***
Self-Direction	-.130*	-.164**
Universalism	.001	-.04
Benevolence	-.007	-.052
Tradition	.055	.833
Conformity	.042	.026
Security	.018	-.016

Notes: ^p<.10; *p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001.

Having explored the underlying factor structure, the specific reporting and discussion of the testing of the hypotheses is undertaken as follows.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Hypothesis 1: There is a significant association between earnings and motivational values.

Table 4: Partial correlations of continuance satisfaction with Schwartz values dimensions

Schwartz value dimension	*Zero-order Pearson correlation*	*Pearson correlation with response bias controlled*
Power	.047	.067
Achievement	-.041	-.028
Hedonism	.030	.034
Stimulation	-.143*	-.144*
Self-Direction	-.110^	-.106
Universalism	.035	.057
Benevolence	.057	.083
Tradition	.051	.083
Conformity	.04	.048
Security	-.133*	-.132*

Notes: ^p<.10; *p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001.

Power values and Hedonism values were found to be associated with higher levels of earnings. Table 3 reports the zero-order Pearson correlations between the Schwartz's values dimensions and gross earnings, and also the partial correlation results of the same associations with Schwartz's (2007) response bias controlled for. Stimulation values and Self-Direction values were found to be negatively associated with earnings. Achievement values were found to be positively associated with earnings according to the zero-order tests of association yet when response bias was controlled this association was no longer significant at the five percent level of significance.

Interestingly, these results reflect a tension between Self-Enhancement values, which comprise Power, Hedonism and Achievement values, and Openness to Change values, which comprise Stimulation values and Self-Direction values. Self-Enhancement higher order values and Openness to Change values are considered to be adjacent to each other in the typical structure of values (Schwartz 2007). Power values are related to control and dominance over others (Schwartz 2007). Power values might be suited to this context if they are associated with higher earnings for street traders. Hedonism values are related to self-indulgence and self-gratification, or an absence of delayed gratification (Schwartz 2007). These values might also be suited to this context if they are related to higher levels of earnings. Causality, however, cannot be ascribed to the results of statistical tests. The underlying mechanisms that explain why Power values and Hedonism values are related to higher levels of street trader earnings are not accessible to statistical tests. Further research is recommended into these relationships. The hypercompetitive context of informal trading can also be associated with jockeying for more favourable street-side positions and also violence between traders (Tissington 2009). Street traders are also exposed to xenophobic events, which are a feature of the South African context (Neocosmos 2008). It might be possible that Power values offer a street trader an advantage in such a hypercompetitive context where assertiveness might protect a street trader from the influence of the context. Schwartz et al. (2001) researched values theory in South Africa. Power values are "agentic-instrumental" and are not "expressive-communal values" (Schwartz et al. 2001: 534). Agentic-instrumental values are related to the imposition of control over one's context, whereas expressive-communal values are related to a 'softer' approach to negotiated relationships in a context. This context might be more suited to agentic-instrumental approaches in terms of street trader earnings. It is also interesting to note that traders that operate a rental stand are found to have significantly lower levels of Power values. It is perhaps possible that the operation of a rental stand may offer some kind of insulation from the need to 'protect one's turf', or defend one's street-side position in this hypercompetitive environment (Tissington 2009). Hedonism values might offer some sort of competitive advantage if it facilitated better relationships with others in this context. Self-gratification might be advantageous if it resulted in more time spent in social engagement in this context, given that there might be little scope for a return on delayed gratification in this context. Selfishness values such as Self-Enhancement values are therefore found to be related to higher gross earnings for street traders. Stimulation values are related to a need for new experiences and challenge (Schwartz 2007). It might be possible that individuals that require novelty might be disadvantaged in street trading, as this value might not be a match with the context. Self-Direction values are related to independent thought, creativity and curiosity (Schwartz 2007). These values are also perhaps a liability in this context, if they both share motivations for novelty and innovativeness. It is possible that this context does not provide sufficient motivational pay-offs to individuals with these values, and this might be reflected in the relationships between these values and street trader gross earnings. Across much of the Schwartz values research literature, Benevolence, Self-Direction and Universalism values have been found to dominate in importance in relationships, with Power, Tradition and Stimulation values typically being the least important to respondents (Schwartz and Bardi 2001). The inner-city street trading context might be a context that is atypical of most other contexts. According to research using a representative sample, South African respondents were found to reflect positive associations between education and: Security values ($p<.001$); Benevolence values ($p<.001$); Universalism values ($p<.001$); Self-Direction values ($p<.001$); and Stimulation values ($p<.001$). For the same sample, education was found to be negatively correlated with Conformity values ($p<.001$); Tradition values ($p<.001$); Achievement values ($p<.001$); and Power values ($p<.001$) (Schwartz et al. 2001: 534). These previous findings might indicate the extent to which the informal street trading sector is atypical of the broader South African society in terms of its values associations. Education was not found to be associated with any of the values orientations in this context.

Hypothesis 2: There is a significant association between continuance satisfaction and motivational values.

Stimulation values and security values were found to be negatively associated with continuance satisfaction. There were no positive associations between continuance satisfaction and any of the values orientations. Table 5 reports the zero-order Pearson correlations between each of the Schwartz's values dimensions and continuance satisfaction, and also the partial correlation results of the same associations with Schwartz's (2007) response bias controlled for.

Interestingly, Stimulation values fall into the higher order values category of Openness to Change values, and Security values fall into the Conservation higher order values category. According to Schwartz's (2007) values theory, these higher order types are oppositional. In this sector, continuance satisfaction may be related to motivational values that extend across the Schwartz's values structure. If Stimulation values are related to a need for new experiences and challenges (Schwartz 2007), and if these needs are not met through informal street trading, then traders might be expected to be less satisfied with continuing in street trading. Given that Stimulation values are also associated with lower levels of earnings, these motivational values might not 'fit', or match with informal street trading in this sector. Further research is recommended in order to understand the causal relationships that underlie these associations. Security values are related to the need for security (Schwartz and Boehnke 2004). Individuals that have motivational goals associated with security might be more dissatisfied with continuing in street trading because of the vulnerability of a street trader to crime or to security threats related to competition for resources in the hypercompetitive inner city street trading context (Tissington 2009). It is argued that the net, or manifested, negative relationships of Stimulation values and Security values with continuance satisfaction suggest that informal street trading work is not suited to everybody, at least according to motivational values configurations. If individuals with certain typologies of motivational values are relatively more dissatisfied with working in the sector, and if such work might be to some extent 'involuntary' (Callaghan 2012), then these people might be considered to have experienced a poor working environment. *Hypothesis 3: There is a significant association between time spent in the sector and Schwartz's motivational values.*

Conformity values are found to be negatively associated with the length of time a street trader has been street trading. Table 6 reports the zero-order Pearson correlations between each of the Schwartz's values dimensions and time spent in the sector, and also the partial correlation results of the same associations with Schwartz's (2007) response bias controlled for.

Table 5: Correlations and partial correlations for Schwartz values items and time spent in the sector

Values orientation	*Zero-order Pearson correlation with time spent in street trading/age*	*Partial correlation with time spent in the sector (with age and response bias controlled)*
Power	.037/-.005	.112^
Achievement	-.037/.036	-.023
Hedonism	-.008/-.049	.045
Stimulation	-.002/.019	.036
Self-Direction	-.031/.108	-.103^
Universalism	.021/.032	.060
Benevolence	-.023/-.049	.076
Tradition	.078/.161**	.036
Conformity	-.157**/-.061	-.134*
Security	-.095^/-.043	-.045

Notes: ^$p<.10$; *$p<.05$; **$p<.01$; ***$p<.001$.

Table 6: Partial correlations of Schwartz values dimensions with contextual factors

Schwartz values	*Years in Johannesburg*	*South African origin*	*Johannesburg origin*	*Days worked*	*Rental stand*
Power	-	-	-	.133*/.128*	-.216***/-.218***
Achievement	-	-	-	-	-
Hedonism	-	-	.161**/.166**	-	-
Stimulation	-	-	-	.124*/.117*	-
Self-Direction	-	-	-	-	-
Universalism	-	-	-	-	-
Benevolence	-	-	-	-	-
Tradition	-	-	-	-	-
Conformity	-	-.161**/-.135*	-	-	-
Security	-.130*	-.155**/-.104^	-	-	-

Notes: Notes: ^p<.10; *p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001. Zero-order Pearson Correlation/ Pearson Correlation with response bias controlled

Interestingly, the longer a trader has been operating in this context, the higher their endowments of Power values and the lower their endowments of Self-Direction values when age and response are controlled for. However, given that the precedent of research practice suggests that associations are not recognised if they are just outside the five percent level of significance, these associations are not taken as supported. However, given the patterns of associations in the data, which cannot reasonably be due to chance alone, it is argued that exposure to this context might shape an individual's motivational values toward higher levels of Power values, as the only positive association, and negatively in regards to Self-Direction and Conformity values. It is argued that exposure to this context might have a negative influence on an individual, through its influence on motivational values. Conformity values relate to restraint "of actions, inclinations, and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectations or norms (self-discipline, politeness, honouring parents and elders, obedience" (Schwartz and Boehnke 2004: 239). Over time in this context, individuals might be less motivated to conform to social norms and restraint of actions with regards to others. Age, in other contexts, has typically been found to be related to Conservation values and to be negatively related to Openness to Change values (Schwartz et al. 2001). With age, individuals are found to have higher levels of Conformity values, according to a sample that was representative of the South African population (n=3210; p<.001). These results have also been found in representative samples of other countries, such as Italy (Schwartz et al. 2001). It is argued that the street trading context is not representative of the broader South African population, or of other countries where Schwartz's values have been tested. If this context might exert an influence on the motivational values of street traders, and if this influence can be negative, then state interventions in this context may be needed in order to uplift these people. It is argued that street trader training be provided to these people in order to provide them with the skills and knowledge needed to be able to develop their enterprises to 'grow out of' the sector. It is argued that it is the responsibility of the state to support and target vulnerable groups in society for upliftment; if individuals working in this context are indeed exposed to a context that may be harmful in its influence on their motivational values then this needs to be researched further. It is, however, acknowledged that statistical relationships identified in such research cannot ascribe causality. Further research might do that.

CONCLUSION

This research sought to answer the following three research questions.

To what extent are Schwartz's individual motivational values related to street trader earnings?

To what extent are Schwartz's individual motivational values related to continuance satisfaction?

How are Schwartz's motivational values potentially shaped over time in this context?

Four of the Schwartz's individual values dimensions were found to be significantly associated with street trader gross earnings. Power values and Hedonism values were found to be positively and significantly associated, and Stimulation and Self-Direction values were found to be negatively associated, with street trader gross earnings. It was concluded that gross earnings was associated with a tension in this context between Self-Enhancement values and Openness to Change values. According to Schwartz's values theory, these results reflect the tension between motivations to control and dominate (Power values) and motivations to experience self-gratification (Hedonism values) versus motivations to experience change and novelty (shared by the Openness to Change values of Stimulation and Self-Direction). It was concluded that more self-oriented Self-Enhancement values might be a better 'fit' with this context if they are associated with higher earnings. This context is taken to potentially be a hypercompetitive context where safety and security is not assured and where traders may compete for resources, including more lucrative street-side positions. Two Schwartz's values dimensions were found to be negatively associated with continuance satisfaction. It was concluded that Stimulation values may be negatively associated with continuance satisfaction if individuals that require challenge and novelty in their work do not find these in street trading. It was also concluded that individuals who are motivated by security and safety needs may be significantly less satisfied with continuing in street trading because they might be more sensitive to a street trading context in which competition, theft and violence can sometimes occur between traders. Individuals that have spent more years in informal street trading are found to have significantly lower levels of Conformity values, which is associated with motivations to not harm or upset others. Worryingly, it was concluded that exposure to this context might make people less respectful of others. As a limitation, it is acknowledged, however, that statistical associations cannot ascribe causality, and these conclusions are considered tentative. Further limitations of this work include its cross-sectional nature. Longitudinal researches that follow specific street traders over their time in the sector are recommended. Further research is therefore recommended in order to uncover the causal mechanisms that underlie these associations.

RECOMMENDATIONS

There are two aspects to the recommendations made here. The first is for policy makers for future actions and the second is for future researchers for further research. These are discussed as follows.

Recommendations for Policy Makers

These findings suggest that certain traders might have values configurations that are less suited to street trading work, and it might be possible that many have no other alternative to unemployment. It is therefore recommended that street traders be included in state training initiatives that attempt to get people into the formal sector. Certain traders are found to have values configurations that are particularly sensitive to security threats. The working conditions of individuals that are motivated by security and safety needs could possibly be improved by installing city security cameras in street trading areas and not just in the more upmarket areas of the city. It is argued that these people need protection from the state in no less a manner than those with more resources. If people can be in a state of involuntary work due to the alternative of unemployment, and if these people are also exposed to a dangerous context, then any investment in the physical security of these traders may reduce the human costs associated with this type of work. It is also recommended that state initiatives to train and empower street traders be increased. Individuals that have a need for interesting and more varied work might be able to find this in their street trading enterprises if they are trained to become more entrepreneurial, and are provided with the skills to do more with their street trading enterprises.

Recommendations for Future Research

On the basis of these findings it is concluded that street trader populations are not homogenous in terms of their motivational values. It is recommended that further research investigate more specifically how interventions to uplift these people could be tailored specifically to the different motivational values profiles of traders. Individuals with a need for stimulation and challenge in their work might benefit from street trader skills training that provides them with the opportunity to build their enterprises and perhaps grow their businesses 'up and out' of the sector. Further research may provide insights into specifically how this can be done. It is a fundamental argument of this paper that more needs to be known about street traders in order to help them.

It is argued that these people need the support of other societal stakeholders such as the state and researchers because many of them are in a state of involuntary employment. In fact, their conditions of work can in many ways be taken to be worse than the 'economic slavery' of 'sweatshop' labour according to the nutrition model of efficiency wage theory, which predicts that even exploitative employers will ensure that their workers earn not less than the minimum amount needed to sustain their physical health; so that they (exploitative employers) do not lose the benefits of their employees' productivity. Street traders have no lower limit to their earnings. Many have no other option than total unemployment. Further research is therefore considered important in order to highlight these aspects. It is hoped that this paper may contribute to efforts to highlight their plight.

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