

The Construct Research of Benign Relationship between the City Inspectors and Hawkers: Empirical Research Based on Areas in China

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ABSTRACT The researchers researched the respondents including city inspectors, peddlers and citizens from the county of Changde City (called L) and the area of Changsha City (called Y) through snowballing questionnaire and interview methods. By empirical analysis of social relationship between city inspectors and peddlers, the researchers believe that the Urban Social Environment (USE), Urban Governance Model (UGM) and Hawkers Operating Mode (HOM) are the three main factors influencing the social relationship between city inspectors and hawkers; Citizens in these areas concern about the relationship eagerly. Inspectors have problems such as poor planning awareness, poor sense of service and poor governance in urban management process at this stage. Then the researchers give suggestions from several dimensions such as inspectors, vendors and communities etc. They suggest implementing the intervention based governance model to plan the urban space rationally, establishing the inspectors system news conference to response to social accountability timely, strengthening the service of consciousness to build better 'Service' city management, implementing the 'fixed' mode of operation, founding hawker industry associations, promoting the construction of community autonomy and giving full play to service and supervisory functions of the community etc.

INTRODUCTION

Since the reform and opening to the outside world, China has embarked on the road of socialist market economy. In the process of rapid urbanization, high-quality resources gravitate towards the urban areas, the costs of living between urban and rural areas are getting closer gradually (Zhen 2007). Under the effect of the push-and-pull theory, the urban and rural dual structure in planned economy era is gradually broken, the movement of population between urban and rural areas and among different regions is becoming more frequent. Due to the limited carrying capacity of urban formal sectors, migrant workers who flow into big cities face brutal competition for jobs, and under the pressure of survival, many people have to become

vendors and are engaged in small business on city streets (Behnke and Steins 2016). However, inspectors, as the city managers, do not seem to welcome these vendors. In their eyes, urban hawkers are the roots of cities being dirty, chaotic and disorderly. Inspectors think hawkers' stalls not only impede traffic, but also dirty the city environment and eyesore their city's look. Thus, all kinds of "guerrilla wars" between inspectors and hawkers are often reported all over the country. This seemingly unsolvable contradiction among them makes their social relations gradually ossified. Bad image of inspectors in hawkers' eyes has expanded from hawkers groups to the masses of people and the whole Chinese society (Yan 2010).

Based on the analysis of the existing literature, the researchers found that there are many deficiencies in current research on urban managers and hawkers. In research methods, those researches mostly employed macro analysis on the basis of qualitative research, lack of quantitative research and data support (Su et al. 2016); in terms of research content, previous studies are more concentrated in investigation on the

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inspectors' basis, ideas and means of executing the law and a lot of macro dissertations which are lack of empirical argumentation with vague content, grand structure, and poor operability of relevant strategies; in research perspective, the inspectors and the hawkers were studied respectively as a whole in much of the current researches, there was no internal classification research in inspectors and hawkers, thereby resulting in non-specific contents and the like (Wang et al. 2003). Thus, the researchers questioned whether the current conflict between the Chinese urban managers and urban hawkers are really widespread? Or the conflicts only happen on a part of the inspectors and hawkers? Is the general conflict just a halo effect? Perhaps only part of the inspectors is more likely to conflict with members of hawkers. But what type of urban managers and hawkers prefers an actual conflict, this is exactly an important issue we have to solve, and from what the corresponding strategies to build healthy social relationships should start out. Secondly, what governance model is adopted by urban managers in the process of urban management? Is there a strong correlation between bad images of inspectors and their governance model? And how do the citizens think of the social relationship between inspectors and hawkers?

Objectives

What currently diverse interest demands compete for space in the cities and whether there is a possible strategy of negotiating benefits between them, etc.? Those questions have caused the researchers' research interests.

METHODOLOGY

Currently, the conflicts between hawkers and urban inspectors in different cities have different levels and there also exist big differences between counties and provincial capitals in the conflict level. Therefore, the author selected a county (called L) and an area of a provincial capital (called Y) as study sites in order to make the research more valuable and representative in the comparative analysis. County L of Changde City is situated in a very strategic geographical location in the northwestern area of Hunan Province (Amzay and Olutayo 2009). Its economic development and population size all fall into medium

level in Hunan, which has a strong representation. Changsha City, the capital city of Hunan Province, is in a medium-sized city level all over the country, and its District Y loaded with colleges and universities has a large population and attract hawkers selling all sorts of stuff which make District Y be a typical representative. The survey was conducted among some inspectors, hacklers and some local people in these two places. The survey data from the three main bodies were used to analyze the current social relations between urban managers and hawkers. In research methods, the researchers mainly took questionnaire survey through snowball sampling and field interviews, a total of 500 questionnaires were distributed, 450 valid questionnaires were collected and the success rate was ninety percent (Fan and Thorat 2000). Among them, 200 copies of questionnaires were for hawkers, 100 copies for urban inspectors and another 150 copies for the local people. SPSS statistical analysis software was used in data analysis for the questionnaire data.

RESULTS

Analysis on the Basic Characteristics of Urban Hawkers

The Analysis on Different Characteristics of Hawkets in County L and District Y

There is a big difference between County L of Changde City and District Y of Changsha City in city level. County L is geographically remote and its economy is dominated by agriculture while District Y is a national second-tier cities with an advanced economy dominated by industry and services. District Y boasts convenient transportation and frequent personnel exchanges. As a result, there are big differences in the composition of the two groups of hawkers. Specific differences should be mainly shown in the following several aspects.

In the Distribution of Age, Hawkets Groups in Big Cities Tend to be Younger

The survey shows that hawkers in County L are mainly aged people while ones in District Y are comprised mainly of young people. In the

100 respondents of hawkers in County L, 41-50 years old hawkers account for 26 percent, 51-60 years old ones account for 43 percent, more than a quarter of hawkers are above 61. It is clear that the old comprise the majority of hawkers. However, the data from District Y shows 20 percent of hawkers are under the age of 30, 27 percent aged between 31 and 40 and another 29 percent aged from 41 to 50. The vast majority are young people in this area (Table 1). For example, in Lushan South Road, District Y of Changsha, the researchers found a large number of young women set up a stand at the roadside. They generally have their own work and set up a stall to earn more pocket money after work, and this way of life is being accepted and adopted by more young people. But such a case is difficult to be found in the streets of County L.

In Degree of Education, Hawker Groups in Big Cities have Relatively Higher Standards of Literacy

The data show that hawkers in County L have a low level of education in general while the educational level of those in District Y is relatively high. Among hawkers from District Y, people with primary and below account for 26 percent, junior and senior high cultural level account for 49 percent, college and above account for 25 percent. In County L, the overwhelming majority of hawkers is illiterate or in primary school level, accounting for 83 percent of the total 100 hawkers. Another 17 percent of them graduated from middle and high school, and none accepted junior college education or above. This shows that there are obvious regional differences in hawkers' education.

Table 1: Basic statistics of survey sample (Hawkers)

Variables	Value	County L, Changde N=100	District Y, Changsha N=100	Regional difference %	Overall distribution %
		Frequency %	Frequency %		
Gender	Male	39.0	47.0	-08.0	43.0
	Female	61.0	53.0	+08.0	57.0
Age	Under 30	01.0	20.0	-19.0	10.5
	31-40	05.0	37.0	-32.0	21.0
	41-50	26.0	29.0	-03.0	27.5
	51-60	43.0	12.0	+31.0	27.5
	Over 60	25.0	02.0	+23.0	13.5
Degree of Education	Illiterate	33.0	03.0	+30.0	18.0
	Primary school	50.0	23.0	+27.0	36.5
	Junior high school	13.0	23.0	-10.0	18.0
	Senior high school or technical school	04.0	26.0	-22.0	15.0
Source of Identity	Junior college	00.0	13.0	-13.0	06.5
	Bachelor degree or above	00.0	12.0	-12.0	06.0
	Migrant workers	65.0	20.0	+45.0	42.5
	Unemployed	12.0	18.0	-06.0	15.0
	Floating population from outside	05.0	16.0	-11.0	10.5
Category of Products	Laid-off workers	13.0	17.0	-04.0	15.0
	Others	05.0	29.0	-24.0	17.0
	Food and beverage	11.0	25.0	-13.0	18.0
	Fruits	44.0	23.0	+21.0	33.5
	Agricultural products	34.0	03.0	+31.0	18.5
	Daily necessities	09.0	38.0	-29.0	23.5
Level of Income	Others	02.0	11.0	-09.0	06.5
	Less than RMB100	47.0	16.0	+31.0	31.5
	Rmb1001~2000	49.0	52.0	-03.0	50.5
	Rmb2001~3000	03.0	26.0	-23.0	14.5
	Rmb3001~4000	01.0	04.0	-03.0	02.5
More than RMB4000	00.0	02.0	-02.0	01.0	

In Terms of the Sources of the Identity, Hawker Groups in Big Cities are More Diverse

The data show that in County L hawkers are mainly from migrant workers, while the source of the distribution of hawkers in District is more balanced. As shown in the survey sample, in County L, migrant workers account for 65 percent, the unemployed and job seekers account for 12 percent, the floating population from outside 5 percent, laid-off workers 13 percent and others 5 percent. The distribution of sources are quite different in District Y, only 20 percent of them are migrant workers, 18 percent are the unemployed or job seekers, 16 percent are the floating staff, laid-off workers 17 percent, others account for 29 percent which includes those white collars with formal jobs, school students, interns, etc., who became a great characteristic feature of hawker groups in District Y.

In the Categories of Products, Products of Hawkers in Cities are Richer and More Varied

As shown above, what hawkers in County L sell is mainly agricultural products and fruit, hawkers in District Y are engaged in daily necessities, food and beverage, fruits and fruits and so on. In County L, hawkers prefer to sell fruits and agricultural products, respectively accounting for 44 percent and 34 percent. Food and beverage are 11 percent; daily necessities 9 percent, and others 2 percent. While in District Y, food and beverage account for one third, fruit 28 percent and agricultural products only 3 percent. The daily necessities have the largest share, 31 percent and others are 11 percent which range from clothes to small jewelry items to the byproducts of mobile phones and so on.

The Analysis on Common Characteristics of Hawkers in County L and District Y

On the Distribution Condition of Gender, Female Hawkers become the Mainstream in Two Places, but the Gender Differences are not big

As shown in Table 1, there are 61 female hawkers of all 100 respondents in County L, while male are only thirty nine. In District Y, female hawkers are 53 and male are 47. In all of two hundred hawkers, the percentage of female is at 57 percent, male 43 percent. This indicates that the gap of the current gender ratio among hawkers

and of women in is small, but overall, there are more female hawkers than male.

As for the Reason of Setting up a Stall, Most of Hawkers Mainly Make Money to Support their Family and improve their Living Standards.

The data in Table 2 show that in the sample of County L, more than 90 percent of respondents are to support the family costs. 39 percent of them think that they can get a higher income in a lower cost than farming. The number of those who have no chance to get a job due to their limited ability accounts for 28 percent. Another 22 percent of them are under the pressure of life after losing their jobs. By contrast, there are only 38 percent hawkers who are to make money to support their family in District Y, 31 percent of them are for other reasons. Among them, 22 percent are those who get a higher income than farming and about 21 percent are the unemployed being forced by life.

On the Levels of Income, Hawkers' Incomes All are Relatively Low

As is shown in the Table 1, monthly income of hawkers in the two places mainly ranges from 1001 yuan to 2000. In County L, hawkers whose monthly income are less 1,000 yuan account for 47 percent, those in 1001~2000 for 49 percent, those in 2001-3000 for 3 percent and only 1 percent of them earn more than 3000 yuan a month. In District Y, hawkers with incomes below 1000 are 16 percent, those in 1001-2000 account for 52 percent, 2001-3000 for 26 percent, and only 6 percent get more than 3000 yuan a month. And overall from the data of the two places, the proportion of below 1,000 yuan is 31.5 percent, while the proportion of them from 1001 to 2000 yuan is more than half of the total. Thus the proportion of whose monthly income is lower than 2000 account for 82 percent of total population, which shows that the income level of the two hawker groups is generally low.

Urban Hawkers' Conditions in Citizens' Eyes

The Pros and Cons of Hawkers in Citizens' Eyes

In the assessment of the pros and cons of hawkers, most of citizens give more attention to the convenience of city life hawkers bring, but

Table 2: Reasons of setting up a stall in survey sample (hawkers)

Reasons	County L, Changde City N=100			District Y, Changsha City N=100		
	Times	Percent of responses (%)	Percent of cases (%)	Times	Percent of responses (%)	Percent of cases (%)
A lower cost and a higher income than farming	39	20.3	39.0	22	16.5	22.0
Limited ability	28	14.6	28.0	5	3.8	5.0
Making extra money	91	47.4	91.0	38	28.6	38.0
Making money more easily	4	2.1	4.0	16	12.0	16.0
Being out of work	22	11.5	22.0	21	15.8	21.0
Other reasons	8	4.2	8.0	31	23.3	31.0
In total	192	100.0	192.0	133	100.0	133.0

the negative externalities existing in hawkers' economy could not be ignored. One of the biggest benefits is that flexible and unique modes of operation of hawkers, which is convenient for people shopping; however, the biggest disadvantage is that hawkers have a negative impact on urban sanitation and public transportation. The urban residents think the advantages of hawkers to the city life far outweigh their disadvantages as a whole. As shown in Table 3, public disadvantages in the evaluation of hawkers are mainly focused on two aspects namely, sanitation and traffic jams, both of the proportion account for 60 percent, followed by food safety, accounting for 45.3 percent, noise pollution, accounting for 23.3 percent and, finally, the disruption of the economy order and the destruction of public facilities, respectively accounting for 14.7 percent and 6 percent. In the evaluation of the

benefits of the hawkers, the main focus on their flexible management style, accounting for 53.3 percent, followed by low commodity prices, for 43.3 percent, and then the variety of goods and the increase of social employment for 40 percent. The last point is that hawkers make the life of the people richer and more prosperous, accounting for 16 percent. In terms of the overall evaluation of the pros and cons that hawkers of their city life as shown in Table 4, 58 percent hold a positive attitude while 24.7 percent not, and another 17.3 have no clear view of their advantages and disadvantages.

Public Awareness of the Existence of Hawkers

On the perception of existence of urban hawkers, most of people do not agree that hawkers should be banned. Table 5 shows that 64.7 per-

Table 3: Public evaluation of the pros and cons of urban hawkers

		Times	Percent of responses (%)	Percent of cases (%)
<i>Disadvantages</i>	Product quality and food safety cannot be guaranteed	68	21.7	45.3
	Destroy the urban health environment and affect the city appearance	90	28.7	60.0
	Disordered management resulting in congestion	90	28.7	60.0
	Make noises and seriously affect the residents to have a rest	35	11.1	23.3
	Destroy public facilities	9	2.9	6.0
	Disrupt the economy order	22	7.0	14.7
	In total	289	100.0	192.7
<i>Advantages</i>	Low prices and economical	65	22.5	43.3
	Goods are in great abundance and more choices	60	20.8	40.0
	Flexible and convenient	80	27.7	53.3
	Cities become more lively and life richer	24	8.3	16.0
	Increase social employment and reduce social instability	60	20.8	40.0
	In total	289	100.0	192.7

Table 4: Public evaluation of the pros and cons of hawkers

	<i>Times</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Valid percent</i>	<i>Cumulative percentages</i>
More good than harm	87	58.0	58.0	58.0
More harm than good	37	24.7	24.7	82.7
Not clear	26	17.3	17.3	100.0
In total		150	100.0	100.0

Table 5: Statistics on public awareness of the existence of hawkers

	<i>Times</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Valid percent</i>	<i>Cumulative percentages</i>
Should exist	97	64.7	64.7	64.7
Should not exist	53	35.3	35.3	100.0
In total	150	100.0	100.0	

cent of citizens do not agree hawkers should be banned and only 35.3 percent of them take the opposite view, suggesting that the current existence of mainstream public opinion still think the hawkers have their own rationality and their activities should not be blindly prohibited. Although there also are its own inherent shortcomings in their business, meanwhile they bring many benefits and convenience for the citizens' lives. They should be guided reasonably and their business should be further standardized rather than be banned totally.

Public Awareness of Social Relations between Hawkers and Urban Inspectors

Most people do not agree with hawkers conflicting with urban inspectors. Table 6 shows that of the 150 citizens that were surveyed, only 14 percent thought that hawkers should take the form of conflict, while the vast majority of them, about 86 percent, think that hawkers should not. This shows that the current mainstream of public opinion is that hawkers can live in harmony with the inspectors and should not take the form of violence to deal with problems or resolve disputes.

The Basic Characteristics of Urban Inspectors and Cause Analysis

Basic Features of Two Urban Inspector Groups

There are many similarities among urban inspectors from County L of Changde City and District Y of Changsha. They differ greatly in the level of the city, but the difference of personnel state of the urban management department is not obvious. There are many common features, mainly in the following basic areas:

On the Distribution Condition of Gender, Female Inspectors Play a Dominant Role

There are only two female staffs in Urban Management Bureau in County L, who are engaged in some daily procedural work, not as a member of the Law Enforcement Brigade to comprehensively enforce the law enforcement on the spot. The situation is similar in District Y where there are fewer than six female urban management officers, only two of them work in the law enforcement squads. So this indicates that there is a serious gender imbalance lurking in the current composition of the inspectors.

Table 6: Statistics on public recognition of hawkers' protest

	<i>Times</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Valid percent</i>	<i>Cumulative percentages</i>
Hawkers' protest can be accepted	21	14.0	14.0	14.0
Hawkers' protest cannot be accepted	129	86.0	86.0	100.0
In total	150	100.0	100.0	

In the distribution of age, mainly young and middle-aged, the age of 20 to 40 years of age accounted for most of the proportion of men. In the sample of County L urban inspectors aged between 20 and 30 accounted for 42 percent of the overall, aged from 31 to 40 years old accounted for 50 percent, while above 41 years old less than 8 percent. In District Y, the age distribution of inspectors was in a similar situation. Aged between 20 and 30 was about 30 percent of total respondents, 31 to 40 years old accounted for 60 percent, while only 10 percent was above 41 years old. Generally, inspectors over 41 are the executive leadership of the urban management department, mostly ordinary members of law enforcement team is under 40 years old.

On the income level, monthly income of inspectors is generally lower in the two places

According to the survey, there is little difference between the salaries of the inspectors in County L and District Y. The basic wages of those 100 inspectors in the survey are from 1000 to 2000, which is equal to the average wage of the common on-the-job civil servants. In fact, another survey suggests that in urban management departments, allotment from the local governments is relatively small, the official payroll is not enough for inspectors to support their family so that local urban managers have to fend for themselves by imposing a fine and selling properties confiscated from urban inspectors to distribute. The extra income combined with some government bonuses, allowances, etc., add up to about 4000 yuan a month. And the researchers had no access to get concrete data about their income which only can be available from the case interview. It is the existence of gray income that makes urban inspectors have more profit-oriented behaviors in their law enforcement process, and thus they tend to take the management model of replacing management with punishment.

Public Opinion on Urban Inspectors

Citizens' Evaluation on Necessity of Urban Inspectors

Most people agree that urban inspectors play a very important role in protecting the city environment and maintaining normal order in society. As shown in Table 7, 61.3 percent of 150 citizens in the survey insist that urban inspectors as a special urban management group have their existence significance. Only 12.6 percent of them think inspectors are unnecessary in their life and another 4.6 percent among them even hold that it is rather unnecessary to let inspectors to manage their cities.

Problems Accused by the Inspectors' Law-enforcement

For this problem, the evaluation is based on the citizens' attitudes towards the four aspects of inspectors, followed by attitude of law enforcement, overall quality, law enforcement images and satisfactory degree. From the statistical data of different regions in Table 8, the conclusion can be safely drawn that both citizens' hold no distinct difference opinions on the inspectors' law enforcement.

Table 8 shows that in terms of law enforcement attitudes, favorable comments on inspectors captured 13.3 percent, while unfavorable comments on inspectors occupied 29.3 percent and the general attitude adds up to 57.3 percent, which means the overwhelming majority citizens do not think highly of inspectors' law enforcement attitude. As regard to overall quality, unfavorable comments on inspectors occupied 37.4 percent, while favorable comments on inspectors captured 13.4 percent. As for as law enforcement images, unfavorable comments on inspectors occupied 37.4 percent, while the general attitude captured 42.7 percent. As to the satisfac-

Table 7: Statistical table of citizen's evaluation on necessity of the existence

	<i>Times</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Valid percent</i>	<i>Cumulative percentages</i>
Quite necessary	50	33.3	33.3	61.3
Necessary	32	21.3	21.3	82.6
Unnecessary	19	12.6	12.6	95.2
Hardly necessary	7	04.6	04.6	99.8
In total	150	100.0	100.0	

Table 8: Statistical table of citizen understandings of inspectors

Variables	Value	County L, Changde N=100	District Y, Changsha N=100	Regional difference %	Overall distribution %
		Frequency %	Frequency %		
<i>Law Enforcement Attitude</i>	Good	08.0	16.0	-08.0	13.3
	Ordinary	60.0	56.0	+04.0	57.3
	Bad	32.0	28.0	+04.0	29.3
<i>Overall Quality</i>	Good qualities	00.0	1.0	-01.0	0.07
	Quite well	12.0	13.0	-01.0	13.3
	Ordinary	52.0	48.0	+04.0	12.7
	Bad qualities	24.0	25.0	-01.0	49.3
	Poor qualities	12.0	13.0	-01.0	24.7
<i>Law Enforcement Images</i>	Good images	04.0	04.0	+00.0	04.0
	Quite well	16.0	16.0	+00.0	16.0
	Ordinary	42.0	43.0	-01.0	42.7
	Bad images	26.0	27.0	-01.0	26.7
	Poor images	12.0	10.0	+02.0	10.7
<i>Satisfaction Degree</i>	Very satisfied	00.0	01.0	-01.0	00.7
	Quite satisfied	08.0	10.0	-02.0	09.3
	General	50.0	47.0	+03.0	48.0
	Not satisfied	34.0	33.0	+01.0	33.3
	Quite unsatisfied	08.0	09.0	-01.0	08.7

tion degree, unfavorable comments on inspectors occupied 42 percent (including quite unsatisfied and strong unsatisfied), while the generally satisfied captured 48 percent and satisfied (including quite satisfied and fully satisfied), above all both citizens are not satisfied with the law enforcement of inspectors.

Through a great quantity of interviews, it is known that the overwhelming majority of citizens do not agree with the inspectors taking violent law enforcement methods towards the hawkers, but they still hope a clean, tidy and order surroundings. Therefore, citizens' social expectation to inspectors lies in the accordance between urban living environment and hawkers' survival rights. A solution that satisfies both sides is urgent needed.

Mutual Evaluations and Social Relation Status between Inspectors and Hawkiers

Both Cities Hawkiers Evaluation on Urban Inspectors Images

The evaluation on urban inspectors' images directly reflected the hawkiers' understanding of inspectors' law enforcement. The data shows that

hawkiers' evaluations on local urban inspectors have great differences between county L and county Y. County L's evaluation on urban inspectors' images is less favorable than County Y. A questionnaire survey among 100 people in County L showed that not any single creature thought the local inspectors gained excellent images, only one person believed an ordinary image, while the bad image and poor image accounts to 50, 49 respectively. In a conclusion, Hawkiers in County L have a bad opinion on local urban inspectors. Compared with District Y in Changsha, the hawkiers' evaluation data is more smooth and steady. And the dates of good, ordinary and bad images among the inspectors are 20 percent, 44 percent and 32 percent respectively and the poor image only accounts for 4 percent. And this indicates that the inspectors in the District Y of Changsha gain a favorable image among hawkiers. The detail information is on the Table 8.

The evaluation on urban hawkiers' images directly reflected the inspectors' understanding of hawkiers' cognitive status. The data shows that Inspectors in District Y have a more favorable image on hawkiers than those who in County L and the general images in County is very bad, in inspectors' viewpoint. According to the

County L inspectors, the favorable, general, bad and poor comments on hawkers captured 10 percent, 34 percent, 6 percent and 10 percent respectively. Compared with District Y, the good, quite well, general, bad and poor image on hawkers occupied 2 percent, 22 percent, 48 percent, 20 percent and 6 percent. And this fully indicates that the hawkers in the County L gain a less favorable image among inspectors, while the hawkers in the District Y gain a more favorable image among inspectors. And this result was in accordance with the previous hawkers' evaluation on local urban inspectors' images. The detailed information is on the Table 9.

The Conflict Degrees between the Hawkiers and Inspectors in both Two Cities

The conflicts degrees directly reflects the social relation status between the inspectors and hawkers. The data indicates that both Hawkiers from County L and District Y took participation in the conflicts with the inspectors, but the numbers of participators varies. The percentage of Hawkiers in County L participated in the conflicts with the inspectors exceeds the percentage of hawkers in District Y. As it can be seen in the Table 9, 87 of 100 hawkers took participation in the conflicts between the inspectors, and only 13 hawkers did not. So the conflict was fairly common between the hawkers and inspectors in County L. Compared with County L, the situation in the District Y is much better. 61 percent of the hawkers did not participate in a collision with the inspectors. And most of them did not have direct conflicts with the inspectors, but the conflicts all occupied 39 percent of the hawkers. Those figures told us that the conflicts between the hawkers and Inspectors are very serious in both of the two areas.

Urban Social Environment Affects the Social Relationship between Inspectors and Hawkiers

According to the previous analysis, the relation between inspectors and hawkers in District

Y of Changsha is more smooth and steady than those in County L of Chang de. Those two areas embraced a very distinctive difference, in terms of the group constitution, mutual image evaluation between the inspectors and hawkers, the actual degree of conflicts. Different urban ranks bring forth diverse social environment and shape the varied relationship between the inspectors and hawkers.

County L is an agricultural area with less developed economies; the urban hawkers are consisted of migrant workers, they are older age groups and the overall cultural qualities are relatively low. The hawkers in this group are weak in citizen consciousness, legal consciousness and a sense of order. Because of the local inspectors took the severe "No-hawkers governance" model resulting in a constant strained relations between the Inspectors and hawkers. But because of its geographical location lies relatively remote, the dispute question between the inspectors and hawkers seldom reported to the public. Strictly speaking, there is no severe social responsibility and supervision by public opinion, all of this breeds the local inspectors' violent law enforcement.

District Y of Changsha, capital of the Hunan province, enjoying relatively developed economies with industrial and services-based economy. The urban hawkers are consisted of different and variable people, including not only the local migrant workers and urban laid-off workers, but also the floating population from other provinces, local college students and young white-collar who took a stall as a part-time job as well. Most of them are young and middle-aged and the overall cultural qualities are relatively high. Those diversified group are relatively strong in citizen consciousness, legal consciousness. The inspectors paid more attention to the "leading-type" governance model because of the flourishing mass media and social great preoccupied with this matter. The restrained relationship between the inspectors and hawkers has been softened.

Table 9: Statistical distribution table of two cities' inspectors' evaluation on local hawker's images

		<i>Very good</i>	<i>Quite well</i>	<i>Ordinary</i>	<i>Dad</i>	<i>Poor</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Count L</i>	Frequency	0	05	17	23	5	50
		0%	10%	34%	46%	10%	100%
<i>District Y</i>	Frequency	1	11	24	10	3	50
		2%	22%	48%	20%	6%	100%
<i>In Total</i>	Frequency	1%	16%	41%	33%	8%	100%

The Urban Governance Model Affects the Relationship between Inspectors and Hawkers

The problem of urban hawkers is by no means peculiar to China. The similar political authorities are particularly prevalent among overseas countries. Yan Sutong ever once has chosen several Asian countries and areas which shared the similar national conditions and cultural conditions as the analysis objects. He concluded that they are four governance models in foreign cities [1]. Thailand's "transition type" governance model, Korea's "compartment model" governance model and Hong Kong "legalization" governance model. Each of them has its own characteristics, and each of them has advantages. It could alleviate effectively contradictory between urban living environmental order and hawkers' survival rights, which is a learning model and form of thinking for China government. Compared with the previous countries and areas, it is known that the mainland of China urban Hawkers governance is more complex and complicated. No matter from the longitudinal span of time or from the transverse span space, the differences are very clear. There are three types of urban Hawkers governance in mainland of China, following by "No vendor" banned model, "blitz style" movement and "leading style" compartment model.

County L of Chang de adopted the "No vendor" banned mode, and the display boards written "ban small vendors" are prevalent in every street corner. Though, the authorities once ever have built certain temporary camps for hawkers. And those areas almost a synonym for remoteness and with a scarcity of staff to come, thus it is not meet the demands of hawkers' customer requirements. So the hawkers have no fixed vendors, they just drifts about to achieve the operation space. But when they caught unexpectedly by the inspectors, their goods shall confiscate or detain by the inspectors. Under this tough law enforcement, the relations between the inspectors and the hawkers were at daggers drawn. During the so-called special periods such as city evaluation or big official activities, they conflicts between the hawkers and the inspectors is growing fiercer.

District Y of Changsha adopted the "leading style" compartment model. Since 2009, for the sake of standardizing the operation management, Changsha Municipal Urban Management

Bureau took the "blocked sparse" and planned for the various operating booth added up to 73, not including the large number of operation zones on sufferance in the actual law enforcement. The hawkers have been allowed to operation in those areas on sufferance, thought the inspectors still managed those areas. Under the "leading style" compartment model, some areas were absolutely not allowed to do business, such as foot walks, bridges, pedestrian bridge, underground passage, Public Square and green space. Therefore, the majority conflicts between the inspectors and hawkers occurred in those areas. Generally speaking, Changsha Municipal Urban Management Bureau combined the standardized persuasive awareness greatly ease the inspectors-hawker tensions and received the hawker and citizens' recognition.

Hawkers' Management Model Affects the Social Relationship between Inspectors and Hawkers

As for hawkers' management mode, it was divided into three ways followed by distribution operation, relatively fixed operation and absolute fixed operation respectively. Distribution operation means the hawkers took the operation model like "stragglers and disbanded soldiers" during the war, with the characteristics of flexible, individualistic and disperse. They did not have fixed stalls or booths, usually oriented by customers, so they are uncertain on time and space. Relatively fixed operation means the hawkers formed cliques, with characteristics of relatively fixed stalls and booths and have a sustained operating time. Absolute fixed operation means they usually restrict their activities to a designated area, which indicates the areas the hawkers did business were granted by the government or related department. The hawkers must pay for the location rent and they granted or protected by the government or the related department.

The data showed that distribution operation, relatively fixed operation and absolute fixed operation respectively, the hawkers have distinctive difference as regard to the social relation no matter in County L and Capital District Y. In the lower City Rank County L, the distribution operation model has witnessed the proportion of conflicts between the inspectors and hawkers were much higher than the proportion of conflict-free,

and the percentages differ considerably up to 84.6 percent; the relatively fixed operation model has seen the proportion of conflicts were much higher than the proportion of conflict-free , and the percentages differ considerably up to 56.2 percent; the absolute fixed operation model has seen the proportion of conflicts were little higher than the proportion of conflict-free , and the percentages differ narrowly up to 10.3 percent. While In the higher City Rank District Y, the distribution operation model has witnessed the proportion of conflicts between the Inspectors and Hawkers were much higher than the proportion of conflict-free, and the percentages differ considerably up to 60 percent. The relatively fixed operation model has seen the proportion of conflicts were less lower than the proportion of conflict-free , and the percentages differ up to 14.2 percent; the absolute fixed operation model has seen the proportion of conflicts were much lower than the proportion of conflict-free , and the percentages differ considerably up to 80.0 percent.

Besides, compared with the results in the Table 10, it is easy to find that the urban rank has no effect on the relationship between the inspectors and hawkers in the distribution operation model. No matter in the County L or District Y, they share the same relation with the inspectors and has no distinctive difference between each other (Details information refers to the results in the table 10). But in the relatively fixed operation model and absolute fixed operation model, there is a distinct difference between County L and District Y and affected the relation between the inspectors and hawkers. Compared with the District Y, the proportion of conflicts in the lower County L is much higher, and the proportion of conflicts-free is much lower.

DISCUSSION

Innovate Urban Management Administrative Enforcement, and Fully Exert Overall Law Enforcement Action

Promote the “Leading Style” Compartment Model, Rationally Planning the Urban Space

Urban space belongs to the public space, and various interest groups and diversified benefits request take participation in seizing of public space (Imai and You 2014). The city government and area departments should pay more attention to the existing benefit request and special attention should be concentrated on the underlying poverty-stricken groups. Therefore, when it occurs to the utilization of the urban space, multifaceted interest groups as well as a comprehensive and rational consideration should take into account. The “no vendor” banned model ignores the hawkers interest request which is not suited for the social development. The road as a public space, is the main function as is a passageway, besides it should exert its multi-functions (Huang and Rozelle 2015). The hawkers demonstrate urban characteristics and increase the charm of the street and also act as a kind of amusement as well as depicts a traditional culture. The opening space on each side of the roads should allow for rational utilization and building “temporary booths” and “fixed booths” as many as possible, besides the dispersed hawkers can be pooled together. It also can be transformed as scenic spot for morning and evening gatherings.

Table 10: Urban ranks with the social relation under the three operation models (%)

Urban Rank	Social relation	Distribution operation	Relatively fixed operation	Absolute fixed operation	Total
County L, Chang de	Conflicts	92.3	78.1	55.1	77.0
	Conflicts-free	7.7	21.9	44.8	23.0
	(N)	(39)	(32)	(29)	(100)
District Y, Changsha	Conflicts	80.0	42.9	10.0	39.0
	Conflicts-free	20.0	57.1	90.0	61.0
	(N)	(25)	(35)	(40)	(100)
	$\chi^2=12.985$	df=2	P=0.002		
	$\chi^2=32.024$	df=2	P=0.000		

Remark:

Distribution Operation	$\chi^2=2.110,$	df=1,	p=0.146
Relatively Fixed Operation	$\chi^2=8.642,$	df=1,	p=0.03
Absolute Fixed Operation	$\chi^2=16.666,$	df=1,	p=0.000

Consolidate Service Consciousness and Service Methods, and Strive to Build “Service-Oriented” Inspectors

Influenced by Chinese traditional official ideology, the government is an administrative department. But recent decades influenced by foreign ideas, many scholars put forward service-oriented government construction later to a service-oriented party construction. Although government department is an executive administration organization, it is a public-service body as well. Nowadays many area departments law enforcement philosophy remain stagnant at the social management and control stage. This is in conformity with the trend of China’s future development. Therefore, we should gradually strengthen public service consciousness and place service first and law enforcement later ultimately fulfilling the governances and striving to build “service-oriented” inspectors.

For those temporary stalls and booths which could be provided for hawkers, it can be identified in detail in the map and the forbidden areas marked and distributed to the urban hawkers. In that way the hawkers know the right place for business thereby avoiding the loaf about and drift about. For those peasants who sell melon and fruit in the urban, such as spring pineapple, summer waterholes, peaches, plum and Autumn Chinese-date and walnuts, the area departments could design and allocate corresponding selling map.

Conveying the local employment information to the hawkers through leaflet, bulletin and notice, especially the labor-intensive enterprises, employment information should be delivered to the local hawkers. Hawkers who have a regular job are uncommon, and most of them can’t find a decent job or wait for employment. If they can find a better job, they will quit their stalls, thus the hawkers scale can be greatly reduced and finally it will be easier to govern the urban affairs.

Highlight the Education and Guidance; Lighten Punished Escrow and Violent Law Enforcement

After decades of fighting between inspectors and hawkers, a conclusion can safely be drawn that the inspectors’ rigid enforcement enhance the hawker’s reversal mind and violent

resistance to law. The conflicts are mainly for the forfeit and detainment of the goods. Therefore, nowadays rationality and civilization way of law enforcement is gradually emphasized. For example, the employment of “Beauty Inspectors” (smiling, sweet and innocent women), “Foreigners-Aided Inspectors”, with rules[2] of controlling their behaviors and “three aspects strictly prohibited, four aspects severely forbidden” and inspectors ride bicycle to work, etc. All of those are demonstrated by the Inspectors for a change. Generally speaking, helping those hawkers to find operation stalls and operation ways through highlighting the education and guidance, giving necessary guidance and assistance, etc. To the inspectors, those measures are more favorable to the “punished escrow and violent law enforcement.”

Establishment of Hawkers Self-governing Organization, Enhancement their Own Interests and Rights

During the discussion of hawkers operation models influencing the relation to the inspectors’ social relationship; three operation models are mainly distinguished followed by “fixed” operation model, “relatively-fixed” operation model and “distributive” operation model respectively. In the “distributive” operation model, the hawkers and inspectors more easily clash with each other. Therefore, the urban hawkers should avoid taking the “disperse” operation model and gradually transferred to “relatively fixed” and “fixed” operation, and with the help and guidance of Inspectors, they can achieve a better effect. Most hawkers are hoping to have a relatively fixed booth. But why do those hawkers still appear in every nook and corner of cities? On the one hand, urban hawkers are gradually forming a large-scale group. On the other hand, limited temporary stall points set by the governments are not enough to meet the demands of various hawkers. Clearly, it is significant for both governments and hawkers to set up sufficient stalls.

The social relation between the inspectors and hawkers is not a single problem. It was a social problem derived from the surge of urbanization development after the reform and opening-up policy and rapid social innovation. China is a country with a large population and confronted with arduous developmental tasks. The new positions annually provided by our coun-

try and society fail to meet the demands of such large market needs, therefore the hawker economy can hardly be avoided. Experience has proved that the hawker economy has a strong appeal to a large number of unemployed personnel and help to effectively alleviate social contradictions and promote social stability. As regard to the urban hawkers, our state cannot take "overall clamp-down" steps; instead, it should be based on the rational leading and management, and fully exploit the informal economy to the full advantage.

There are a lot of factors that influence the formation of the social relationship between the inspectors and hawkers. This paper mainly analyzes the urban social environmental, urban governance model and vendor management mode influence on social relationship and proposes lots of specific countermeasures and advices to increase operability. For a particular social issue, it is very difficult for us to analyze overall influencing factors. The researchers can only do little bit to help based on the previous research. Solutions are not easily found for this social issue, but they be can effectively improved through trials and errors.

CONCLUSION

Compared to the previous, more and more people pay close attention to and put forward new countermeasures and advice a comprehensive thinking and try and make a great contribution to soften the social relationship between the inspectors and the hawkers. The innovation of this paper lies in making a comparison between the two different levels of the city and also taxonomic study on urban hawkers. A conclusion has been made that urban social environment, governance model and operation model influence on the mutual evaluation and social relation between the inspectors and hawkers. The previous studies nearly failed to touch upon this innovation point. Although the researchers' countermeasures still need improvement, it deserves deep thinking and putting into practice. They believe that in the future the issue between the Inspectors and Hawkers could be well-solved.

RECOMMENDATIONS

At the present, no single city in China has established industry association organization, the urban hawkers are dispersed and are self-governed. For the well-organized urban Inspectors, it is not easy to gain the absolute saying

power, In India, for the sake of protecting the street hawkers and ameliorating their living conditions, hawkers and related non-governmental organization spontaneously organize the National Association of Street Vendors of India. Members are made up of 160 thousand hawkers who are from about 300 civil organizations of more than 20 states in India. Their requirements include allocating their goods and getting a document proof on their right to do business. Their actions are finally supported by the government. So, Chinese street vendors can also form an industry association organization spontaneously or they can establish Urban Street Vendor Self-rule Council guided by the government or the social commonwealth organizations and actively take participation into the government hearings and urban space planning.

Urban residents' committee acting as the community-based mass autonomy organization is a vital force and has a bright prospect during the renovation of the itinerant vendors. Community environmental health, nursing house, welfare center, childcare center, community arts centers, medical center etc. needs a large number of workers and it can provide unemployed vendors with substantial jobs. Community has a direct control over the openings around it and if permitted by the local government and community residents, the community can design temporary stalls and booths. The itinerant vendors can utilize those fixed stalls and ease the disperse vendors as well as enrich the community life.

Exert Community Organization Supervisory Role and Widen Civil Participation Channel

Urban citizens can't directly participate in the community vendor management but they can cooperate with the government and Inspectors to conduct directly management work, such as public opinion supervision, evaluation and supervision. Residents' committee can, to a certain extent, encourage and lead community residents to have the right to know, right to participate and decision-making, right over the planning of the stalls, governing and charging concerned with the urban vendors.

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