

# UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE



## **The role of street trading in sustaining livelihoods: A case of migrant street traders in Durban, South Africa.**

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## **DECLARATION**

I declare that this thesis entitled: *The Role of Street Trading in Sustaining Livelihoods: A Case of Migrant Street Traders in Durban South Africa* is my own work. It has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university and that all the sources I have quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

**Nomkhosi Amanda Mbatha**

Signed: .....

Date: .....



## **DEDICATION**

This thesis is dedicated to my late mother Mrs Purity Thandi Mbatha. We were blessed to have had a mother like you in our lives.



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I would like to thank God for the strength to finish this thesis. Writing this thesis helped me to swim and navigate the waves of grief.

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## ABSTRACT

The informal economy in South Africa has been associated with a lack of growth, and it is believed that people would pursue businesses in this sector to overcome the circumstances of poverty. Street trading, which is the most visible sector of the informal economy, has been blamed for urban decay and the negative impact it has on the urbanisation of different cities across South Africa. Such views have contributed to the challenges of street traders and have affected how they make a living. Street trading is a growing phenomenon in the Central Business Districts (CBDs) where many are people dependent on the practice of street trading for livelihoods. This study sought to understand the contribution made by the street trading enterprises in sustaining migrant street trader livelihoods and well-being in Durban. The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF) was applied as a conceptual framework to investigate the degree to which migrant street traders can improve their well-being and cope with the vulnerability context. The core elements of the SLF connect for migrant street traders to achieve desired livelihood outcomes.

Using a case study research approach, the study sampled 12 migrant street traders for semi-structured interviews and 30 migrant street traders for the questionnaire. The study involved migrant street traders who sell clothing apparel at the Workshop flea market in the Durban CBD. The study applied a sequential mixed-method approach for data collection and data analysis. Empirical findings on quantitative data provided an insight into the different types of migrant street traders enterprises and the factors that propel migrant street traders to start street trading enterprises. Qualitative data provided insight that may not have been obtained by quantitative methods. Qualitative empirical finding's inception point is the migration aspirations and opportunities of migrant street traders. The data highlights the role of networks in facilitating the migration process and providing support. Whilst the vulnerability context continuously poses major challenges for migrant street traders, the capital stocks from which migrant street traders draw from are crucial to deal with the shocks, seasonality, trends, and other challenges.

Findings indicated the capitals enable migrant street traders to achieve a better life that they have reason to value, extend their capabilities, enhance well-being, and most of all achieve desired livelihood outcomes. The study revealed that social capital and human capital are crucial for sustaining livelihoods. Evidence from the study further revealed that street trading and the livelihoods of migrant street traders were highly dependent on the city they had chosen as their destination point when leaving the country of origin. Therefore, traders migrated to

Durban not only for economic reasons but also for its geographic location and liveability. Although street trading operates in the vulnerability context, evidence from the study points to ways in which aspects of street trading in Durban may contribute to sustainable livelihoods and the enhanced well-being of migrants.

## **KEYWORDS**

Migrants

Street Traders

Durban

South Africa

Sustainable Livelihoods



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# CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

## 1.1 Introduction

After 1994 South Africa went through political and economic changes that saw the introduction of a new constitution with a human rights framework for all, including migrants (Kwabe-Segatti & Landau, 2008). South Africa has become a destination of choice for migrants of different categories after the transition to democracy (IOM, 2018; SIHMA, 2014). The South African informal economy sector is perceived to be an answer for those that want to overcome the scourge of poverty or are facing unemployment. Migrants are drawn into the informal economy for different reasons, including the lack of employment in the formal sector or influence of networks (Akintola & Akintola, 2015; Vawda, 2017). The practice of street trading has been on the rise in post-apartheid South Africa, and this study investigates why migrants are drawn into the business of street trading for livelihoods. Focusing on street trading, this thesis examines the construction of migrant street trader livelihoods, and drawing from aspects of the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF), shows how forms of “capital” can contribute to achieving well-being.

Blaauw (2017) describes the informal sector as an alternative or “survival” sector for the poor and the unemployed (p. 344). Ruzek (2015) further defines the informal economy as “the many aspects of a country’s economy that are not taxed or monitored tightly by any form of government and are not included in the gross national product (GNP) of that country” (p 24). Chambwera, et al. (2011) also point out that definitions based on misconceptions such as the informal economy being the *black economy or black market* cannot be ignored since the sector covers a wide range of activities that generate income.

It is interesting to note that from a South African context where the government has focused on the development of small, medium, and micro enterprises (SMMEs), survivalist enterprises are not distinguished from the micro-enterprises since they both form the informal economy (Iwu, et al., 2016; Ranyane, 2015). Micro-enterprises are stated to be growth-orientated, and the motivation for such businesses is for the extension of income or entrepreneurs to identify a business gap in the market (Knox, et al., 2019; Ranyane, 2015). Survivalist enterprises that are less associated with growth are perceived to be created for the survival of families. As a result, they are often left to suffer; lacking infrastructure and financial capital, and they are not associated with business trajectory, which is an incorrect perception since they have the potential for growth (Iwu, et al., 2016; Knox, et al., 2019; Urban, et al., 2011).

Ingle (2014) states that the rise of the informal sector in a particular country should not be a sign of an economic downfall. The dynamism of the sector, which includes the rendering of services and exchange of goods, can allow for the sector to function as the main source of the economy during economic uncertainty (Ruzek, 2015). The sector can provide for consumers' goods and services at cheaper rates than the formal sector. The informal economy can also be a source of entrepreneurial opportunities for those that need to generate income or earn extra income to make or sustain livelihoods. The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF) has been applied in this study to understand Durban migrant street traders' livelihoods, street trading as a livelihood strategy, and to further explore whether desired outcomes are achieved by migrant street traders. Aspects of the SLF, networks, Durban liveability as a city and conviviality will be discussed as components of social, physical, and natural capitals that migrant street traders draw from to sustain their livelihoods. From a development point of view, these three capitals contribute to the extension of migrant street traders' capabilities and have intrinsic and instrumental benefits to migrant street traders.

Street trading, which is the most dynamic sector of the informal economy, is most evident in public spaces such as transport stations (taxi ranks and railway stations) and recreational areas (Gamielien & van Niekerk, 2017). Street traders usually sell goods such as clothes, electronics, home and personal care products, provide services such as electronic repairs, salons, and entertainment to consumers. The practice of street trading in the urban environment has its burdens and challenges, especially when it comes to regulations and authority. Local government tends to hold both negative and positive perceptions about street trading of which negative perceptions include the idea that street traders contribute to urban decay and crime (Forkuor, et al., 2017).

Related literature on street trading highlights that participation in the informal sector is not only the result of the exclusion from the formal and public sectors, but also an entrepreneurial endeavour for sustaining livelihoods and improving well-being. Drawing from Chambers & Conway (1992) a livelihood is made up "of capabilities, assets, and means of making a living, and it is only sustainable when it can cope and recover from shocks and enhance its capabilities and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities" (p. 6). Mkhize et. al., (2013, p. 4) has argued that, "It is now widely recognised that most workers in the developing world earn their livelihoods in the informal economy". Internationally, various studies have discussed the link between the informal economy and livelihoods emphasizing the fact that the informal economy is the foundation of livelihoods. Whilst businesses in the informal economy are often referred



to as “survivalist” enterprises, findings from a study by Ranyane (2015) indicate that such businesses can assist enterprise owners to deal with the scourge of poverty and provide an opportunity to generate an income, therefore being able to create livelihoods. Meaning, for the informal traders engaging in the street trade businesses, it is a freedom and agency to pursue the life one has reason to value to achieve proper wellbeing and security. Whether it is a spaza shop or a street trading business, the business contributes towards livelihoods. As stated by Gamieldien and van Niekerk (2017), this can be towards food security and access to basic services such as shelter, and for migrants, the ability to remit money to countries of origin is a livelihood outcome. The extent to which street trading contributes to the livelihoods of migrant street traders, alleviates poverty, and creates employment opportunities will be discussed in the findings of the study.

## **1.2 Background and contextualization**

The informal economy runs parallel to the formal economy and some researchers extend to this by saying that the informal economy complements the formal economy (Bureau & Fendt, 2011; Ncube, et al., 2014). The informal sector includes those activities or businesses conducted outside of the formal economy that are not taxed and are free from any institutional regulation or market exchange. According to StatsSA (2014), the informal sector in South Africa is characterised by different less formalised economic activities; it contributes 5% (R2.4 trillion) to the gross domestic product (GDP) and can also generate employment opportunities. Chambwera, et al. (2011) discuss how governments now positively see the agency of the informal sector and the significant contribution made by the sector to the economy. From a capability approach normative framework, the informal economy shapes the choices of those engaged in the various activities to make a living. Whilst some studies point out that people who participate in the informal sector are poor or unemployed, Neves and du Toit (2012) discuss that there are various push and pull factors that make people operate informal enterprises which include social status, the need to supplement the income from the formal sector or meet certain family objectives. Neves and du Toit (2012) further argue that social networks that are formed through the socialisation process not only function as governance structures that regulate the informal sector but contribute to the construction and sustainability of livelihoods. Prayitno et. al. (2014) affirms that networks also enable migrant street traders to break down the income generated into various forms of capitals. The findings of the study

will outline in detail the motivation behind starting an informal trading enterprise and distinguish between those that are necessity-driven or opportunity-driven (Knox, et al., 2019).

In South Africa, street trading has gone through its process of transformation over the years. During apartheid, Black street traders were faced with harassment and violent evictions if they wanted to trade in previously known whites-only cities (Rogerson, 2016). However, from 1994 policies became more relaxed and street traders started to operate in bigger cities like Durban, Cape Town, and Johannesburg. Currently, street trading attracts people as far as beyond the borders of South Africa. Callaghan's (2014) study indicates that in 2008 12% of street traders in Johannesburg were originally from Johannesburg whilst 56% were migrants and 32% were from South Africa but born outside of Johannesburg. In 2009 these numbers changed as the number of migrant street traders grew compared to the number of South African born street traders that declined. Whether it is migrants or South Africans, street trading is a livelihood for those who engage in this activity that not only generates income but has outcomes that go as far as ensuring food security (Assan & Chambers, 2014; Roever & Skinner, 2016).

The nature of the street trading businesses is diverse since one business can provide different types of services and products and can further create a demand for services or goods that are provided in both the private and public sectors, that the poor cannot afford (Legodi & Kanjere, 2015; Mkhize, et al., 2013; Roever & Skinner, 2016). On occasions where the local government provides space to trade to the street traders, not only are the traders empowered to work hard but also there is a direct increase in income. Callaghan & Gwatidzo (2013) further explain the comparative advantage gained by street traders who are provided with a space to trade in urban public spaces is much higher. People migrate from different regions and continents for various reasons such as low income and poverty to other countries to make a living (Tafuh & Maharaj, 2015). Durban, which is one of South Africa's major cities, also attracts migrant street traders from different parts of the world. For many of the street traders, Durban is not usually the destination of choice, and studies by Akintola and Akintola (2015) and Tafuh and Maharaj (2015) found that some migrants usually settle in Durban for better job opportunities or end up in the informal sector as a survival strategy to generate income after not finding employment in the formal sector. Migrant street traders prefer to operate their businesses in the inner city, particularly at the bus terminuses, on street pavements, and at taxi ranks where most of the customer base is accessible and there is easy access to producers (Sidzatané & Maharaj, 2013). Although Durban has promising economic opportunities for migrant street traders, there are also various challenges that migrants face in the city that threaten their livelihoods (Mkhize et.

al., 2013; Sidzatane & Maharaj, 2013). In the past, regulatory policies such as the Informal Trading By-Law of 2014 and police harassment have played a role in threatening the livelihoods of migrant street traders. To incorporate the street traders into the development of the city, Durban has learned from the mistakes of other cities and designed an inclusive policy for the growth and development of the informal sector to improve livelihoods (Mkhize et. al., 2013).

### **1.3 Case Study Area**

The case study area for this research, which will be detailed further in chapter 4, was the central part of Durban in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN). Durban is situated on the east coast of South Africa in KZN. The province of KwaZulu-Natal is the third smallest province in South Africa that stretches along the Indian ocean and boasts two ports that are not only vital for the economy of the province but also of South Africa. According to StatsSA (2019), it is estimated that 11 289 086 people live in KZN which is the second-highest populated province in South Africa after Gauteng. Durban, which is also known as eThekweni, is the epicentre of the eThekweni Metropolitan Municipality, which is the biggest municipality in the province. With the eThekweni Metropolitan acquiring 229,193 hectares of land, the main economic activities within the municipality take place in Durban. Economic activities that are common in the city are seaport activities, tourism, manufacturing, freight and logistics, and retail. Durban has a booming informal economy within the central business district (CBD) and one of the famous informal markets is the Warwick Junction that attracts over a thousand street traders than any other market in the city.

Within the CBD, the target area was the Workshop Flea market, which is ideally situated for tourists and people who visit the Durban CBD or shoppers. The market is right at the centre of the city and close to all Durban Metro Bus Terminuses and taxi ranks going to most major townships and suburbs. Although street trading is the main business and a dominant activity, other activities that take place at the market are for public amusement. Different types of street trading that take place in the market include selling clothing, food, home detergents, homeware, together with other activities such as personal care, salons, and barbershops which typically operate under a gazebo. Whilst most people will think the flea market is an extension of The Workshop Shopping Centre, it is not. The market is divided into two markets although it looks like one market. The Loco Plaza Market which was established in 1992 lies between the front

door of The Workshop and The Workshop performance mini auditorium stretching up to Soldiers Way (eThekweni Municipality, n.d.). The Church Walk market which was established in 1992 lies underneath Dr A.B. Xuma and Monty Naicker streets stretching up to Dr Pixley kaSeme Street (eThekweni Municipality, n.d.). The Workshop flea market is similar to the Warwick junction where the flea market is divided into sections and there are demarcation zones. According to Chetty (2003), the municipality finds it challenging to manage the informal economy, especially larger flea markets. Markets managed by the Metro have demarcation zones, this management strategy is not only to oversee but to engage with all relevant key stakeholders to reach sustainability (Chetty, 2003). As per the municipal management model both markets are managed by the eThekweni Municipality and function with the assistance of a market committee and a chairperson who are onsite. In as much as the Metro staff is involved, the market street traders get involved in the management of the market, which means taking ownership of their development and encourages them to fight for their livelihoods.

The Durban CBD over the years has attracted migrant street traders from different parts of the world. Two residential areas within the Durban CBD, Point and Albert Park are known for the highest concentration of migrants. Point is known to be dominated by Nigerians who also run businesses within the area. Albert Park residents are migrants from different parts of Africa and are situated close to Ethiopian businesses and the Chinese Mall. Migrants within the eThekweni municipality are still trying to find their way within townships. Unlike townships in Johannesburg and Cape Town where the spaza shop business is dominated by migrants, South Africans or AmaZulu still lead in the spaza shop business in Durban townships. Migrants in the study reside within the Durban CBD where most of the migrant communities are.

#### **1.4 Rationale and Significance**

Apart from xenophobia, issues relating to migrant's sustainable livelihoods and wellbeing in Durban or the eThekweni Municipality have been under-researched. It is without a doubt that the Durban migrant street trader community in the CBD has been growing over the years, and this research focuses on contributing towards understanding sustaining the livelihoods of migrant street traders, the contribution migrant street traders make towards local economic development, and policy recommendations. The movement of people across borders is a result of different factors such as war, the decline in the economy, natural disasters, etc. from countries of origin. At the same time, human mobility can have both positive and negative

effects on the economic, social, and political dynamics of the receiving countries. The issue of migration in South Africa has always been a challenge with the laws regulating the influx of migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers not being clear. Above all South Africa has a challenge in managing irregular migration. Tati (2008) comments that migration has been politicised in South African and that this is deeply rooted in the history of apartheid. During apartheid, the government allowed labour migration from the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region. Post-apartheid, to address the inequalities of the past, the government introduced the Employment Equity (EE) Act number 55 of 1998. The EE act regulates an equal representation of all races in the workplace to give the previously disadvantaged people employment opportunities. Migrants, especially from other African countries, have often borne the brunt for being African and have experienced xenophobia, which other researchers have called Afrophobia. Studies by Crush and Ramachandran (2015) and Crush, et al. (2017) exhibit the plight of migrants in the informal economy and their experiences of the gruesome 2008 xenophobic attacks. From an empirical point, this study wants to highlight ongoing xenophobic attacks that may not be physical but subtle by exploring the lived experiences of migrant street traders and how such experiences have harmed the livelihoods of migrant street traders.

Studies by Horber (2017) and Skinner (2008) have examined livelihood strategies and sustainable livelihoods of informal traders, and studies conducted by the Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing (WEIGO) in Durban have mainly focused on women street traders. Although Hunter and Skinner (2001) and Sidzane and Maharaj (2013) investigate migrant street trader's socio-economic experiences of migrants and policy implications towards their enterprises, they do not focus on how street trading broadly contributes to the livelihood of migrant street traders. Furthermore, such studies do not investigate whether street trading for migrants is opportunity-driven or is purely a survival strategy. Markets in Durban that have a high concentration of migrant street traders are often understudied compared to markets such as Warwick Junction, which has been the hotspot for researchers and is dominated by South African street traders. According to van Schilfgaarde (2013), Warwick Junction is host to informal traders between 5000-8000 and the foot traffic is estimated to 460,000 people who make their way through the market every day. The Warwick Junction market has gone through major changes over the years including the street traders in that market finally being recognised by the local government.

This study will not only highlight how migrants have chosen to participate in the informal economy but show how the Durban street trading climate has been oriented towards enterprise



set up and the securing of trading spaces within the market. The study aims to contribute a new body of knowledge in the literature on the participation of migrants in street trading, discussing the various push and pull factors into street trading and the role of the capitals. Within the economic context, migrant street traders or migrants are hardly included in the development initiatives, especially with the Durban Municipality promoting the informal economy, especially in townships. The study anticipates contributing towards policy making and recommendations in including the migrant street traders in local economic development initiatives to be implemented by the city, proposing ways that local government can support the migrant trader's businesses. Also, this thesis recommends that the local government needs to examine the role played by migrant street traders in vitalizing the city.

### **1.5 Problem Statement**

South Africa's economic growth in recent years has been slacking, and within the Sub-Saharan region ranks second after Nigeria, which is considered to have the biggest economy in the region. Socio-economically South Africa is facing many challenges as many young graduates cannot find employment, and the government is trying to attract them to the informal economy through introducing and promoting SMEs. According to StatsSA (2019), the unemployment rate in South Africa stood at 29% in 2019, which is the highest peak since 2008. Studies by Akintola and Akintola (2015) and Tafuh and Maharaj (2015) are two out of many studies that demonstrate the plight of migrants in securing employment in the formal sector and end up in the informal sector for survival. Whilst in cities like Johannesburg a high number of migrant street traders work within the informal economy at large, there is a "common perception among South African policy-makers that refugees and other migrants are driving South Africans out of business" (Crush et. al., 2017, p. 18). However, research findings reveal that both groups sell the same goods or offer the same products. Migrants who operate street trading enterprises or participate in the township informal economy often face challenges that negatively affect their business which is the main source of livelihood. Policies adopted by local government have had implications and municipal by-laws regulating street trading often have had a negative direct impact on the livelihoods of migrant street traders; these include Operation Clean Sweep, which was implemented in Johannesburg.

South Africa is a beacon of hope for many migrants. The informal economy, whether it is a spaza shop or a street trading business, may be a survival or livelihood strategy, and migrants

enter the informal economy driven by opportunity and to enhance their entrepreneurial skills. Concerning the above, the focus on the livelihoods of migrant street traders in Durban is examined together with their perceived wellbeing by exploring the socio-economic results of street trading on households engaged in this activity. According to Skinner (2008), since the mid-1990s the number of migrant street traders in Durban has increased, and their livelihoods depend on access to public spaces where there are high competition and conflict. The livelihood patterns and dynamics of street trading such as the types of market, business operations, and the working conditions usually pose some constraints such as the confiscation of goods by police, which has made the street traders feel like an economic threat in the city (Xolo, 2018). Furthermore, difficulties in accessing permits and the regulation thereof by the eThekweni Municipality, especially in the public spaces, has proven to be difficult for some of the street traders in their efforts to make and sustain an acceptable livelihood. Therefore, the study highlights the contribution of the informal economy especially street trading to the livelihoods of those participating in it and provided informative data to inform the local government on how to better support street trading as a crucial sector of the South African economy.

## **1.6 Research Objectives**

The research seeks to explore whether enterprises operated by migrant street traders have a business and growth trajectory. The capitals from which migrants can draw have a key role in enabling migrant street traders to achieve desired livelihood outcomes and improve wellbeing. Therefore, the study also examines the role played by local government and policy towards sustaining the livelihoods of migrant street traders and explores the various capitals that are available or are required to sustain livelihoods.

With this objective, the study has explored the nature of street trading businesses operated by migrants in the Durban CBD. Durban offers a diverse culture of street traders from different parts of the world. Whilst other studies have identified what attracts street traders to Durban (Hunter, 2001; Sidzatane & Maharaj, 2013), this research provides a critical analysis of the extent to which street trading contributes to the livelihoods of migrant street traders. Some of the indicators will be income, ability to remit, and improvement of wellbeing.

Migrants in the informal economy deal with various opportunities and constraints in their businesses. Xenophobia is a major challenge highlighted throughout literature. Durban migrant street traders have had their fair share of challenges, some of which were contributed by local

government and poor management or regulation of street trading. Focusing on the current situation, this thesis will focus on the experiences of the migrant street traders at the Workshop Flea market. Furthermore, it will provide a detailed account of the challenges and opportunities faced by Durban migrant street traders and identify the capitals that are beneficial when faced with challenges.

The Durban CBD has seen an increase in street traders post-1994. Unlike other African countries, South Africa's informal sector is still growing, and the government is adjusting to the existence of the sector. The eThekweni Municipality tried to regulate the sector exceptionally with its Informal Economy policy of 2001, however, the implementation of the policy failed in 2010. The dynamism of street trading revitalises the city, and it has been significant especially as part of the tourism industry. The study will make policy recommendations for the eThekweni Municipality for implementation on regulation and encouraging positive economic participation for migrant street traders to sustain livelihoods.

### **1.6.1 Research Questions**

The main research question is concerned with how street trading contributes towards sustaining the livelihoods of migrant street traders and why migrants choose Durban as a city where they can pursue their livelihoods.

Access to social capital is a lifeline for many migrant street traders. The study explored how social networks play a critical role in the survival of street trading enterprises and in livelihood diversification.

Despite the xenophobic attacks and violence that migrant informal traders regularly face in South Africa, the study explores why migrants are drawn to the business of street trading. How does participating in the informal sector enable them to achieve migration goals?

From the point of view of the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF), how do migrants use their assets to achieve desired livelihood outcomes and sustainable livelihoods?

### **1.7 Structure of the Mini-Thesis**

This thesis is divided into seven related chapters.



**Chapter One** is the introductory chapter which provides an overview of the research project. The research problem and the background and context of the study are presented in this chapter. The problem statement, research aim, and objectives are stated.

**Chapter Two** is the presentation of the literature review. The chapter starts with defining the key concepts then shifts focus to migration patterns in Africa and trends into South Africa. There will be a discussion on the South African informal economy and its visible sector which is street trading. The chapter will conclude by providing an analytical discussion of the South African informal traders' legislative framework.

**Chapter Three** begins by explaining the origins of the SLF from the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA), and discusses the main principles of the SLA and then broadly discusses the SLF. The chapter will also give a critique of the SLF and provide its limitations as a framework.

**Chapter Four** is a discussion of research design, and methodology. The chapter will provide an insight as to why it followed an explanatory mixed-methods approach, applied a non-probability purposive samplings strategy, and chose the specific methods for data collection and analysis.

**Chapter Five** provides a comprehensive overview of the case study area. The Durban informal economy and its significance to the city will be discussed. Furthermore, street trade in the eThekweni Municipality will be highlighted concerning migrant street traders. The chapter will conclude by discussing the eThekweni Municipality policies and by-laws regulating street trading.

**Chapter Six** is the discussion of all the research findings and analysis of all the data collected. All the data collected will connect to the aims and objectives presented in Chapter One and answer the research question.

**Chapter Seven** comprises a summary of the research key findings, recommendations, and conclusions. Recommendations will draw from the research findings on migrant street trader's business and livelihoods. The limitations of the study and opportunities for future research will also be discussed in this chapter.



## CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter will present discussions and review the current literature, and debates on the informal economy and the practice of street trading. The chapter begins by discussing literature on migration trends in Africa and how colonialism in the continent has played a role. The following are the arguments of why migrants are moving into South Africa and the discussions concerning factors that contribute to xenophobia, such as the legacy of apartheid and the current government not acknowledging the role of migration into South African cities. The second section of the chapter focuses on the informal economy and street trading. The chapter will conclude with a review of the challenges that the eThekweni Municipality has experienced in regulating street trading, and how the Municipality has tried to work towards creating an inclusive economy that is supportive of street traders' livelihoods.

### 2.2 Migration Trends

The movement of people into different parts of the world is a freedom that enables people to achieve wellbeing (Carling & Schewel, 2018; Sen, 1999; UNDESA, 2012). Internationally, migration is often viewed as a catalyst for development that addresses livelihoods and development problems (Lavanex & Kunz, 2008; Oltmer, 2015). In the current global context, the motivation behind international migration not only has to do with accessing employment but includes other contributing factors such as conflict, climate change, and better access to infrastructure. De Haas and Rodriguez's (2010) argument on the relationship that migration has with development, highlights how migration can be agency and action taken to achieve both instrumental and intrinsic values. Drawing from Sen's capabilities approach, De Haas and Rodriguez (2010) further explain that migration as development not only extends people's capabilities but also allows those that are back in the country of origin to have better access to improved health, better standard of living and education. Migration goes beyond economic reasons and includes the geographic elements that will contribute to the life people would want to live and allow them to have individual freedoms (De Haas, 2014; Sen, 1999).

Faist (2016) makes an engaging argument pointing to the fact that development and industrialization create social strata that leads to social inequality, therefore, contributing to higher rates of migration compared to countries where all people have equal opportunities. Adeyanju et. al. (2011) take an African perspective, explaining that the degree to which inequality exists in African societies' migration is perpetuated as a way of altering realities and

diversifying livelihoods. What is crucial is that both Adeyanju et. al (2011) and Faist (2016) agree that migrants can be economic victims- those who are less likely to achieve economic freedom in their country- or even social or environmental victims. In Faist's (2016) own words "migration is a visible reflection of global inequalities in terms of wellbeing, freedom, security" (p 324). With migration being either voluntary or forced, the receiving countries continue to receive different types of migrants, which have led to some countries developing stringent policies to control the influx of migrants. South Africa, as discussed by Segatti (2011), is a typical example of a country that has been struggling with its migration policy; laws are becoming tighter for migrants to participate in the labour market, and the government has not created conditions where migrants can be integrated into South African communities.

### **2.3 African Migration Patterns**

In the age of globalisation, migration touches all people and nations, and is defined as the movement of people from one place to another. This movement is tied to geopolitics, trade and cultural exchange, economic development, and enhancing livelihoods in the country of origin and destination countries (IOM, 2018; Kok, 1999). Migration is an act of seeking new opportunities elsewhere and as a response to crises and violence. Other various factors that shape mobility include push (demography, violence, climate change, lack of infrastructure, etc.) and pull (financial prosperity, human rights, enhanced livelihood, and wellbeing, etc.) factors (EASO, 2016). The phenomenon of migration continues to shape societies, and international migration being more visible and recognised as a source of development. In 2017 there were 258 million migrants globally compared to the year 2000 where there were 173 million migrants in the world (UNDESA, 2017). The countries in the southern hemisphere host 42% of international migrants and the countries in the northern hemisphere host 58% of international migrants (de Haas 2008; Naujoks, 2013).

Studies on African migration tend to prioritise the movement of Africans to Europe or the American countries seeking better economic opportunities as a measure of dealing with poverty. Imperialism and colonialism of the South set the centre stage for the economic and "modern" development of the North that was based on Marx's capitalist system of labour, production and gaining surplus profits from the colonised countries. Drawing from Bakewell (2007), Mbembe (2015) and Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013), the legacy of colonialism in Africa and through the "modern" world system, the West remains at the forefront in the realm of

“development,” and the South is left to pursue development that resembles that of the North. Considering the impact of colonialism in Africa in the twenty-first century, the rise of globalisation, the existence of coloniality, and modern world systems that possess economic power and development (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013), a question arises, what are the destination and transit countries for Africans?

The history of the African migration inception point is on labour migration within the Sub-Saharan region, especially in the Southern African region. African migration trends, such as debates and discourses describe the movement of Africans to the North as motivated by labour and economic reasons (Flahaux, 2017). Firstly, there is a need to distinguish between out of Africa migration and intra- African migration. Out of Africa migration has been described as the movement of Africans mostly to the European countries and recently Oceania and the Americas luring Africans (Flahaux, 2017). Intra-African migration is the movement of Africans within Africa’s borders which Africans find like internal migration (Adepoju, 1995). Following Akokpari’s (2000) argument on globalisation and its implications on out of Africa migration, the migration of Africans into the ‘modern’ or globalised North has been characterised as being fuelled by negative images from the media and literature going as far as characterising African migrants crossing the Mediterranean Sea as the ‘boat migrants’. Africans who have migrated into Europe have faced challenges like xenophobia, stringent immigration policies from European policymakers, and politicians who wish to protect their interests (Parshotam, 2018). Sectors of the European media and politicians place African migrants in a negative spotlight, and the narrative persists of African migration to the Northern countries as motivated by economic reasons. This linear view does not think beyond poverty as to what could be other push and pull factors.

It is no doubt that globalisation has changed the context of African migration into the North, as many Africans are living elsewhere in Africa. Evidence of Africans living or moving within Africa is produced by Adeyanju and Oriola (2011), Adepoju (1995), and Parshotam (2018). Taking from Mbembe (2015) and Ndlovu-Gatsheni’s (2013) discussion of the effects of Eurocentrism in Africa, the movement of Africans within the continent cannot be explained using a Eurocentric way of thinking. Firstly, Africans residing within the borders of Africa often find intra-migration easier and more like internal migration which is like moving from a village to a city (Adepoju, 1995). To extend from this, Flahaux (2017) explains that social capital and financial capital are crucial in the African mobility, which is why Africans move from one African country to another as opposed to moving to a “developed” country with

limited financial capital. Whilst both financial capital and social capital have a role to play, human capital is also significant to the migration process. Assets such as knowledge, education, and information are critical to migrants who are educated as it increases their migration trajectories (Adeyanju & Oriola, 2011). Drawing from the different assets enables migrants to use migration as a strategy to develop themselves and communities socially and economically (Mberu & Sidze, 2017). This is the reason why authors such as Akokpari (2000), Mbembe (2015), and Mberu and Sidze (2017) point out that Africans are the change agents of their communities, and movement has to do with the challenges experienced by their communities. De Haas (2006) presents the same argument stating that economic opportunities are solely not migration drivers. However, there is a need to look at geographic and environmental factors as migration drivers too.

## **2.4 Migration into South Africa**

With a high number of Africans migrating and living within the African continent, South Africa is one of the countries that has attracted Africans as a destination of choice over the years. African migration into South Africa has its links to apartheid and to the democratic South Africa that is part of a global world economic system (Macheka et. al. 2015; Naujoks 2013). The literature on migration into South Africa has discussed the role of colonial powers and the apartheid government in attracting migrants or opening South African borders to migrants from Southern Africa to lend their labour. The gap widens when discussing international migration into South Africa post-apartheid, as discussions are concentrated on the issues of who is entering South Africa, the numbers and types of immigrants entering the country, and that migration into South Africa needs to be regulated (Crush, 1999). This gap in the literature is an indication that migration patterns and trends in South African migration have changed over the years. Migration in post-apartheid South Africa cannot be separated from development, which is different from circular migration during apartheid years that contributed less to the development of people and led to the demise of families and communities (Bakewell, 2008). The arguments of Bakewell (2008) on migration and development and Mazibuko's (2013) demonstration of how the sustainable livelihoods framework can address the issues of underdevelopment, provide insight on why migrants move to South Africa, the levels people would go to achieve well-being, desired livelihood outcomes and extend freedoms deemed valuable. The concept of development, which Sen (1999) describes as expanding people's freedoms, and which allows people to be and live the life they have reason to value, goes hand



in hand with why migrants would develop aspirations to migrate to South Africa. According to Segatti (2011), there are various push and pull factors that lead to the movement of people; urbanization and the need for individual migrants to be able to make livelihoods in South African cities are some of them. Closely following Bakewell's (2008) argument on development, what is imperative from the notion of development is that migrants choose South Africa as a place where they can exercise the economic or social activities that will contribute to their well-being or extend freedoms and capabilities.

Over the years both the academic literature and the media have provided evidence that the migration of Africans to South Africa has not been met with favourable conditions; these conditions either do not allow migrants to pursue livelihood strategies or migrant livelihoods are constantly under threat. From both a political and economic standpoint, as South Africa went through the process of transition becoming part of the global world-system, the mobility of people has proven to be a challenge. The discussions of Crush, et al. (2005), Klotz (2000), and Segatti (2011) point out that migration is about individual choices and a livelihood strategy in pursuit of better livelihoods. The impact that migration has on the South African population and cities is quite visible and cannot be ignored, however, it boils down to how South Africa has dealt with migration and issues concerning its governance. Following Klotz's (2000) political arguments, South Africa's peacekeeping role in the international community highlights that anti-migrant sentiments are not only symptomatic to South Africa.

The arrival of migrants is often seen as a "threat" to the welfare, employment, and safety in South Africa. Landau, et al. (2011) discuss the benefits of migration to the local government, which includes the contribution of new skills and widening of trading networks. Xenophobia in South Africa has its roots in apartheid and is deeply entrenched in our societies. Going hand in hand with Afrophobia, the manifestation of xenophobia in South African communities extends to negative attitudes towards migrants, the use of derogatory language (Amakwerekwere or Amazayizayi), and negative behaviours (Crush et. al., 2017). The xenophobic attacks of 2008 and 2015 directed at African migrants are the typical examples of the extreme violence experienced by migrants in South Africa. The xenophobic attacks on migrants are said to have had a dire impact on migrant livelihoods, and a study conducted by Crush, et al. (2017) revealed that the level of violence against migrants is also country-based, since some African migrants were viewed more negatively than others. South Africans continuously attack migrants who are in the informal economy, as publicised in the media, with the perception that economic challenges facing South Africa like unemployment will be

addressed. Considering stereotypes such as “migrants are job stealers” that perpetuate xenophobia, Segatti (2011) emphasises that the government as a transforming structure should assume responsibility and be proactive to conscientise communities that migration is part of society and stretches boundaries.

Both the South African Department of Home Affairs (DHA) and local governments have had their challenges in regulating migration which many a time has been identified as a problem in the literature. According to Tati (2008), South Africa is the only country in the Sub-Saharan region that has remained hostile to other African migrants. Looking at the apartheid’s migration policies, which were unconstitutional and based on race and segregation, Carciotto and Mavura (2016) and Landau, et al. (2011) have criticised the African National Congress (ANC) government’s migration policies that hinder development and fail to acknowledge that migration vastly contributes to trade and skills advancement. Several different policies exist for the regulation of migration drawing from the discussion of Carciotto and Mavura (2016) on the Green and White Papers; the Green Paper is the only piece of legislation that indicated South Africa was on an open-minded path towards understanding migration and welcoming migrants. The White Paper on Migration, which was released in July 2017, however, had some unconstitutional elements to it and as mentioned by Mbiyozo (2018) identified migrants as a constant threat that needed to be controlled. The issue of controlling migrants is not a new one, with the South African government and DHA literature pointing out that it dates back to the former Minister Buthelezi. Landau (2007), focusing on urban livelihoods, argues that the South African problem of excluding migrants and poorly regulating migration has severe implications on the livelihoods of migrants. Further drawing from Landau, et al., (2011) the problem escalates to local governments, whilst the Constitution lays foundations for local government, and it is still disappointing that local government administration finds the mobility of people a national government department problem. The policy environment of South Africa as far as mobility is concerned does not see the value of migrants as an asset in the economy or social context, which is why some local governments still perceive migration as something that will eventually disappear (Landau et. al, 2011).

## **2.5 Migrants and the South African Economy**

In contemporary South Africa migrants are still perceived as a threat by job-seeking South Africans. However, the OECD (2018) disputes this by explaining that migration has no link to



the reduction of unemployment instead it has a positive impact. A study conducted by Hovhannisyan et. al. (2018) on migration impact on the labour market indicated that 1% of migrants entering South Africa contributed to the employment of South African citizens by 0.2%. The results were attributed to the fact that South Africans and locals do not compete for the same jobs. With migrants being more entrepreneurial and possessing a different skill set than South Africans, their businesses are more likely to grow and create employment opportunities for South Africans.

Despite the migration challenges relating to the number of undocumented migrants entering South Africa, the government in collaboration with the European Commission (EC) considered migration to be an economic growth catalyst (EASO, 2016). However, the South African government has struggled to take into consideration the positive economic impact of migration and still views migration into South Africa as a security issue. Peberdy (2017) supports this by pointing out that the national government has been engaging in various debates on how migrants participating in the informal sector should be limited. Examples of this are their instituting policies such as the Licensing of Business Bill of 2013, Immigration Regulations of 2014, and the Refugees Amendment Bill of 2015, which act as restraints on the rights of migrants to operate a business. The Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) and DHA embarked on a National Informal Business Strategy in 2013 that sought to promote the participation of South African businesses in the informal sector, which discredited migrant participation as thwarting the efforts made by South Africans (Peberdy, 2017). Evidence provided by Parshotam and Ncube (2017) points out that migrants only make 4% of the overall working population and operate businesses in the informal sector.

The South African government bears the responsibility to create awareness about the economic contribution made by migrants (Parshotam & Ncube, 2017). The evidence provided by the CEPR and the Centre for the Study of African Economies suggests that as migrants venture into SMMEs, apart from creating employment, the enterprises contribute to the increase in the GDP (OECD, 2018). Moreover, the OECD (2018) further states that in a developing country like South Africa migration contributes to the growth of per-capita income levels.

## **2.6 Overview of the Informal Sector and Street Trading**

The informal economy in both developing and developed countries has emerged as the leading source of employment and sustaining livelihoods (ILO, 2018). In the Middle East and North

African (MENA) cities, street trading is the most important component of the informal sector since it is regarded as a crucial livelihood strategy. It is a source of employment and significant with regards to urban-rural and international remittances (Brown et. al., 2017). However, Munoz (2012) argues that migrant street traders like the Latinos in the United States of America (USA) “exercise agency and choice, not only in terms of their formal and informal employment paths but also in reconfiguring the urban landscape as part of their economic strategies” (p. 1). In as much as street trading is recognised as a survivalist strategy, the transactions made by the traders themselves are recognised as a major economic activity that the formal sector is also dependent on (Bromley, 2000).

The informal sector is characterised by different activities where those involved either engage in the production and selling of goods and render services to customers. Chirisa (2014) explains that across the business spectrum of the informal economy the primary goal or objective is to generate income to sustain livelihoods. People often perceive that informal traders are people who lack formal education; however, with the high unemployment rate in South Africa, there has been an increase in self-employment within the informal sector for both skilled and unskilled individuals (Blaauw, 2005). Many of the businesses usually operate at a small-scale characterised by self-employment or employment of other workers operating at fixed or unfixed premises.

## **2.7 Informal Economy**

The terms “informal economy” and “informal sector” are used interchangeably across the literature. The “informal economy” is more preferred as it echoes the informality traits that distinguish the sector from the rest of the economy (Mago, 2018). According to WIEGO (2018), the informal economy is defined as a various set of economic activities, jobs, enterprises that are not regulated by the state. Different schools of thought view the informal economy in a different light, such as the dualist school of thought which holds the perception that the activities carried out in the informal economy, whilst they may not be related to the formal sector, provide a way for the poor to generate income and contribute to the wider economy (Blaaw, 2005, WIEGO, 2018).

The informal economy is not a new phenomenon in South Africa as it has existed through both apartheid and post-apartheid times, however, regulated differently (Rogerson, 2000). Recent literature on the South African informal economy commonly focuses on the number of people who participate, the size of the informal sector, and the contribution of the informal sector into

the GDP. Reflecting on Sen's (1999) development as a freedom, participation in the informal economy is action taken to enhance one's well-being and extend their capabilities.

An ethnographic article by Galemba (2008) discusses how most academic scholars apply the term "shadow" to describe the informal economy. The "shadow" economy itself has become a beacon of hope for those who participate in it (Galemba 2008). Whilst many scholars have presented the informal economy as a livelihood strategy for the poor, Galemba's (2008) ethnographic study and Yusuf (2011) explain that a neoliberal viewpoint sees the informal economy as resulting from the formal economy, and the participants taking advantage of the fact that they are not regulated. People who participate in the informal economy are not driven by poverty, and neoliberal scholars describe them as capitalists in their own right since they invest their different forms of capital to grow their businesses and invent their regulations and rules that govern the sector. Galemba (2008) discusses how government perspectives label the informal economy as illegal, criminal activity and for the poor ought to change. Neves and du Toit's (2012) case studies provide an insight as to why different people would engage in the informal sector, and these include social status, supplementing workplace income, network integration, etc.

One in six people who work in South Africa is an informal trader, and in 2013 it was estimated that about 880 000 people worked in the informal economy (Fourie, 2018). Although the current size of the informal economy is still relatively small compared to the rest of the Sub-Saharan countries, the sector is valued at R164 billion and contributes over 30% of money spent on food (Ingle, 2014; Fourie, 2018). In 2018 the total number of people working in the informal economy reached 2.9 million excluding agricultural informal workers (Fourie, 2018). Based on the engagement of the informal economy as a medium for reducing unemployment and sustaining livelihoods Fundie (2015) explains that due to economic growth potential the informal economy is perceived as a gateway to the business sector for equal distribution of wealth.

According to Callaghan and Venter (2011) in South Africa's biggest cities the informal economy reflects the dynamism and entrepreneurial activities of the city. There is a wide variety of activities in the informal economy such as selling and production of goods, although some of the businesses are legal many of the businesses in the sector are still perceived as illegal as they are tax non-compliant (Charman et. al., 2012). According to the SLF (2016), the most common activities that take place in the informal economy that partially fulfil the

consumer's demands are cigarettes and liquor businesses (16%), spaza shops (11%), street traders (7%), and takeaways (6%) (p.22). In a study conducted by Essop & Yu (2008) informal traders indicated that partaking in multiple activities is a significant opportunity for income generation to support themselves and their families.

## **2.8 Migrants in the Informal Economy**

Migration and the informal economy are both described as global phenomena, as through them people seek to secure livelihoods and improve quality of life (Akintola & Akintola, 2015). Whilst there is a definite link between migration and the informal economy, migrants are perceived as more likely to get into entrepreneurial business enterprises in destination countries to generate income and construct livelihoods. Migrants, especially from Asia, West, and East Africa, are said to be dominating the informal sector (Barsadien et. al., 2014). Crush et al. (2017) discuss that whilst policymakers have been working towards excluding migrants from the informal economy there are noticeable differences between South Africans and migrants who participate in the informal economy. Interesting findings from Crush et. al. (2017) indicate that migrants in the informal economy take advantage of the government bureaucratic structures and red tape that do not allow migrant street traders to have businesses, but at the same time these businesses contribute towards addressing the unemployment problem and indirectly pay tax when supporting the formal economy. Concerning business operations, many South Africans sell perishable goods, and migrants dominate the fashion and beauty, household, and electronics category. However, the competition between South Africans and migrants cannot be ignored since it has led to anti-migrant sentiments from the provincial level to the local level thus contributing to the challenges faced by migrants (Akintola & Akintola, 2015; Crush & Skinner, 2017).

## **2.9 Street Trading**

Street trading is the most dynamic sector of the informal economy and businesses trade goods and provide services that are on-demand on the pavements or in busy public spaces in towns and cities (Mukhola, 2015; Skinner, 2008; Van Heerden, 2011). Since deregulation and amendment of the Business Act of 1991 in 1993, there has been a major increase of street trading business mushrooming everywhere as municipalities uplifted by laws that prohibited street trading (Gamieldien & Van Niekerk, 2017; Mukhola, 2015). With CBDs comprising a

high number of businesses and surrounded by residential areas, street trading has become common especially close to recreational and public transport facilities (WIEGO, 2013).

The increase in street trading is attributed to the growth of unemployment and has been described as a livelihood strategy for those that cannot secure employment in the formal sector. Street trading is also described as a ‘survivalist’ activity whose primary aim is to respond to the economic shocks and poverty faced by some of the entrepreneurs (Godswill et. al., 2016). Studies conducted by Gamieldien and van Niekerk (2017), Hunter and Skinner (2001), and Mkhize et. al. (2013) indicated that street trading is a form of freedom with intrinsic and instrumental values for those that wanted to work for themselves and be financially independent. Moreover, for some street traders running a street trading business is the work of choice to generate income.

## **2.10 Migrant Street Traders**

According to Sidzatane & Maharaj (2012), a substantial number of migrant street traders are from African countries including Ghana, DRC, Nigeria, Uganda, Zimbabwe, and Sierra Leone. The common pull factors to South Africa are better economic opportunities and better access to infrastructure (Lund et. al., 2001; Sidzatane & Maharaj 2012). The presence of migrant street traders as explored in different studies has not been welcomed by many South African street traders and the negative perceptions about foreign street traders have often led to conflict resulting in harming their livelihoods and well-being. Although the South African Constitution of 1996 and the Business Act of 1991 protect the rights of migrant street traders to trade and not to be discriminated against, they still face victimization at the hands of police and that development opportunities often are not inclusive enough for them to be beneficiaries (Hodgson & Clark, 2018).

Migrant street traders face unique issues concerning policy and municipal by-laws in South African major cities (Rogerson, 2018). Johannesburg’s policy “Operation Clean Sweep” was at the centre of media and legal debates as it was meant to fight crime in the city but ended up brutally affecting and harming the livelihoods of migrants and exposing them to brutality (Bokasa et. al., 2014). The eThekweni Municipality is said to have learned from the mistakes of other cities in recognizing and protecting the livelihoods of migrant street traders. A study conducted by Mkhize et. al. (2013) in the Durban CBD indicated that most of the challenges experienced by migrant street traders had to do with the local government.



## **2.11 South African Informal Traders Legislative Framework**

In regulating the informal sector, local government has both legal and constitutional roles to play, including implementing municipal by-laws (Mabasa, 2018). The Constitution and the Business Act of 1991 govern the informal sector by identifying the rights and responsibilities of informal traders and the roles that are to be played by the law enforcement and local government in adopting municipal by-laws (Hodgson & Clark, 2018). The following sections look at the processes guiding the local government on how to regulate and manage street trading.

### **2.11.1 The Constitution**

Policies in South Africa must be consistent with the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act 108 of 1996 which is the supreme law. With human rights and human dignity enshrined in the Constitution, four sections protect the rights of informal traders and confer power to local government to facilitate its legal obligations at a municipal level without harming the livelihoods of informal traders (Hodgson & Clark, 2018; Clark & Parkerson, 2018), Sections 9 and 10 of the Constitution (RSA, 1996) makes provision for basic human rights and dignity. Tied to these sections is the right of informal traders to trade freely and participate in informal activities as determined by South African courts (Hogson & Clark 2018). Although informal traders face challenges with local government, Sections 7 and 33 of the Constitution (RSA, 1996) protect the rights of informal traders stating that the procedures undertaken by local government should be reasonable and fair, also there must be respect to their places of trade (Hodgson & Clark, 2018). According to Mabasa (2018), many of the informal traders feel protected by the constitutional rights which courts recognise as the right to be able to earn income and feel protected under Section 25 (RSA, 1996) as many traders have had their livelihoods destroyed many times due to police brutality and unfair policies.

### **2.11.2 The Business Act**

According to van Heerden (2011), the adoption of the Business Act of 1991 pre- and post-apartheid has contributed to the expansion of the informal sector and the increase of small businesses. The provisions of the Act have changed post-apartheid, which saw the deregulation of street trading and the establishment of businesses in the inner cities (Pieterse, 2017). The act is “a framework which recognises informal trade as a critical sector that contributes to the

economy and peoples ‘ability to support themselves’” (Hodgson & Clark, 2018, p. 11). According to Skinner (2016), the Act plays a significant role in sustaining the livelihoods of informal traders especially in circumstances where municipal by-laws and policies that harm the livelihoods of traders are designed. The Act has served as a guide for municipalities on how to design by-laws that regulate the restriction and prohibition of informal trading that are within constitutional rights and are lawful. In as much as the Act protects the informal traders it also empowers municipalities to adopt an approach that creates an enabling environment for traders and where municipal by-laws are known and adhered to (Mabasa, 2018).

### **2.11.3 The role of Local Government**

Local governments have a duty “to facilitate a supportive ‘regulatory and policy environment for informal trade’ based on the Constitution’s demand for economic development at a municipal level while also ‘addressing developmental challenges, including poverty and unemployment’” (Mabasa, 2018, para. 8). The Business Act (RSA, 1991) confers the power upon municipalities to adopt by-laws that will be subjected to the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (RSA, 1996) and will be implemented within the jurisdiction of each municipality (Clark, 2018). Masonganye (2010) further explains that the Local Government Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000 serves as a guide to the municipalities to stay committed to serving the informal economy in a way that is fair and not harmful. Moreover, when enforcing the laws, governing informal trading by-laws ensure that municipal officials deal with compliance issues effectively and efficiently and at the same time hold municipalities accountable if unlawful actions were taken (Clark, 2018). Rogan and Skinner (2017) discuss that municipalities have been able to engage in the policymaking process that acknowledges the existence of the informal sector and its contribution to the economy, although there have been challenges, especially with the administration in issues of issuing permits and decisions taken to impound an informal trader’s goods.

### **2.12 Informal Economy Policy Context**

Studies concerning the approach used by the provincial government on informal traders highlight the implications of the public policy stating that there is limited understanding of the informal economy and the crucial role it has on poverty alleviation, employment creation, and being an enabler in assisting informal traders to achieve the desired change in their lives

(Bokasa et. al., 2014; Mathebula & Motsoeneng, 2015; WIEGO, 2018). According to the OECD (2013), public policy can have both negative and positive effects on entrepreneurial development. The South African policy environment has been described by Rogan & Skinner (2017) as very ambiguous and policy processes do not create an inclusive informal trading environment for both South Africans and migrant informal traders. Moreover, policies designed to manage the informal sector struggle to accommodate the economic situation of informal traders (Malahlela, 2010).

From 2012 the government has embarked on different policy initiatives in support of the informal sector and enhance entrepreneurial skills within the informal economy. The 2012 National Development Plan (NDP) together with the DTI's National Informal Business Upliftment Strategy (NIBUS) sought to make provisions for the informal economy by tackling the critical needs of the sector such as infrastructure, funding, and job creation (Crush & Skinner, 2017; Rogan & Skinner, 2017). At a local level, the eThekweni Municipality designed a policy to facilitate informal sector processes and to constructively incorporate the entire informal economy to the wider eThekweni Municipality economic development initiatives and the wider economy of the city. The eThekweni Municipality's Durban Informal Economy Policy (RSA, 2001) whilst aimed at the promotion of Local Economic Development initiatives has been able to adopt a holistic approach in creating opportunities for the informal traders and to address the constraints that exist within the informal economy (eThekweni Municipality, 2014). However, studies on public policy and the informal economy echo the need for policies that are enabling and not harmful to the informal traders (Bokasa et. al., 2014).

### **2.13 eThekweni Municipality Informal Economy Policy**

National and local government policies on street trading have either positive or negative repercussions for the street traders and their livelihoods. Pezzano (2015) alludes to this that due to the tensions and perceived lack of support from the municipality, street trading is not properly governed and there is “neo-colonial reordering of space” (Steck et. al. 2013: 147). In critically assessing Durban's policy framework on street trading, Skinner (2017) asserts that for many years Durban has been a beacon of hope for street traders as they were included in city planning. DeVries (2018) also reviews the Durban Informal Economy Policy and notes that whilst the city was able to integrate the informal economy into the city's economic development and planning strategies, the disconnect started during the 2010 FIFA World Cup planning process.



### **2.13.1 The 2001 Informal Economy Policy**

In 2001, the eThekweni Municipal Council adopted the Informal Economy Policy which recognised the significance of the informal economy in the city and further acknowledged street trading as part of economic development and planning (Sinqwana-Ndulo, 2013). This policy was regarded as progressive since it did not only highlight the interdependence between the formal and the informal sectors but served as a guide as to how the city would be able to address the widening gaps in national business policy by making provisions and assuming a more proactive approach in supporting small business owners (WIEGO, n.d.). The eThekweni Municipality informal economy forum has had its concerns regarding this policy stating that relevant stakeholders were not fully involved in the consultative process and as a result, the implementation process has had negative consequences for informal traders.

The Informal Economy Policy (RSA, 2001) is a guide on how the municipality can manage the informal economy and integrate the sector within local economic development initiatives and planning strategies. The main elements of the policy pay attention to gaining an in-depth understanding of the informal economy in Durban concerning the size, characteristics, contribution to the Durban economy, and the people running enterprises in the informal sector. As far as street trading is concerned the policy sought to find ways on how to better regulate street trading. Together with the Informal Trade and Small Business Opportunities (ITSBO) branch, street traders were formally invited to register their businesses and participate in the planning process to create better flea market spaces. Even though the policy does acknowledge the existence of the informal sector and its contribution to Durban, Sinqwana-Ndulo (2013) explains that the policy addressed the issues of by-laws that had no underlying policies to serve as guidelines. Furthermore, with the rights of the street traders infringed upon in many instances, Section 7 of the policy addresses how various institutions of local government together with the informal trade and small business opportunities (ITSBO) should collaborate in managing and rendering support towards the informal sector (eThekweni Municipality, 2001). For Sinqwana-Ndulo (2013: para 9) “policy development is important as it assists in standardizing how different officials deal with street traders thereby protecting said traders from maltreatment”. Other key elements of the policy are to address job creation, capacity building, and support for the informal traders' businesses (eThekweni Municipality, 2017).

Even though this policy proved to be comprehensive, especially in acknowledging the street traders and addressing many of the challenges faced by the enterprise owners, at the same time, it failed to protect the rights of street traders from the unlawful acts of municipal officials.

Skinner (2017) describes how the informal economy policy became policy on paper, especially in 2004 where policy practice and the city's approach towards street trading resulted in the Metro Police removing street traders off the streets and forcing them to forfeit their goods. With the Public Realm Management Project (PRMP) in place, which sought to formalise the market spaces in 2004, street traders were marginalised, and the relevant street traders' organizations were not consulted as Durban prepared for the FIFA 2010 World Cup (Brown & Mackie, 2018). Local street traders felt under threat which resulted in a legal battle between the city and street traders. The outcome protected the rights of street traders and declared the actions of the city officials as illegal (Skinner, 2017; Brown & Mackie, 2018.)

Durban's current policy context has not changed much from the early 2000s. However, the municipality is still trying to find ways to accommodate the informal sector as part of the city's economic development and planning strategies. Street traders are aware that they are confronted by policies that are a threat to their livelihoods. The presence of organizations such as StreetNet International and AeT which lobby for the rights of the street traders is a step towards directing local government into properly regulating street trading with by-laws that are aligned to the constitutional rights of the street traders (WIEGO, 2014). DeVries (2018) still maintains that Durban has not yet fully transitioned back to the collaborative period when the Informal Economy Policy was first implemented. Furthermore, studies by Mkhize et. al (2013) and Roever and Skinner (2016) indicate that Durban street traders still feel threatened by the local government. They recommend that the government needs to take an initiative in consulting with the street traders, not only on how to effectively regulate the informal economy, but also to address the needs of street traders in such a way that they can run their businesses within the city more effectively and efficiently. To correct the above-mentioned wrongs of the past, it becomes apparent that not only should the municipal perspectives on street trading change, but Durban's policy practice strives towards striking a balance where the street traders are protected from vulnerabilities and street traders are empowered to have access to knowledge about their rights and understanding of what economic inclusion in the city means (Goodfellow, 2016; Brown & Mackie, 2018).

### **2.13.2 The eThekweni Municipality Informal Trading By-Law, 2014**

Clark (2018) discusses how municipalities need to adopt measures that are not harmful when regulating the informal economy. Hodgson and Clark (2018) present the legal framework for informal trading and further mention that informal trading is a constitutional right for both

migrant street traders and South African street traders. The above authors note that procedural fairness must always be maintained when dealing with informal traders and that the traders be provided with an opportunity to be a part of the decision-making process. Therefore, municipal actions must always be guided by the Business Act 72 of 1991, relevant policies, and municipal by-laws. Section 6A of the Business Act (RSA, 1991) grants municipalities the power to pass by-laws that regulate the informal economy. The informal economy in Durban is regulated by both the eThekweni Municipality Informal Trading By-law (RSA, 2014) and the Business Act (RSA, 1991). Although the Informal Trading By-law (RSA, 2014) makes provisions for the street traders, there have been challenges as far as the by-law is concerned. Hodgson and Clark (2018) discuss that in a court case where municipal officials had acted unlawfully towards an informal trader, the court identified discrepancies with the eThekweni by-law and noted that some of its actions were unlawful and unconstitutional such as impounding of the goods of street traders. The reason the courts declared this as unlawful is that the eThekweni Informal Trading by-law (RSA, 2014) violates the right of informal traders to access the court and obtain equal treatment and not be arbitrarily deprived of their property (Hodgson & Clark, 2018: 31). Drawing from studies by Mkhize et. al. (2014) and Roever and Skinner (2016) the implementation of the eThekweni Informal Trading by-law (RSA,2014) has posed many challenges for the street traders and many other informal traders. Somali informal traders who have experienced difficulties from municipal officials who were acting under this by-law took the municipality to the court which ruled in favour of them. Clark (2018) makes a clear presentation on how municipal by-laws should be aligned to the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa and the Businesses Act (RSA,1991). However, the challenges resulting from the eThekweni Informal Trading by-law (RSA,2014) is not only due to the implementation process which does not have clear guidelines, but also includes the ongoing cycle of municipal officials exercising power, which continuously undermines the rights of informal traders to trade and the general lack of understanding of the informal economy.

## **2.14 Summary**

Literature conveys that the migration of Africans within the continent is a livelihood strategy that is intended to help overcome vulnerable social conditions, enhance well-being, extend capabilities, and make their own livelihood choices. The chapter discussed extensively the African migration and the prominence of South Africa as a destination of choice. It is no doubt that South Africa is still a country struggling with regulating migration and dealing with anti-

migrant sentiments and xenophobia. The chapter also presented discussions on the South African informal economy, street trading, and regulating structures. Migrant street traders are still facing many challenges in their enterprises; however, this is because Municipal structures are still trying to find a balance as to how to better regulate and accommodate street traders in their cities without threatening the livelihoods of migrant street traders. The final section of the chapter provided a discussion of the Durban Informal Economy policy of 2001 (RSA, 2001) and the eThekweni Municipality Informal Trader by-law of 2014 (RSA, 2014). Information indicated that although the by-law is in place to regulate the informal economy, Durban still faces a challenge in aligning the by-law with the constitution. The following chapter presents the conceptual framework through which I will examine their livelihoods, which is the sustainable livelihoods framework (SLF).



## **CHAPTER 3: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK**

### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter provides an in-depth analysis of the sustainable livelihoods approach (SLA) and its sustainable livelihoods framework (SLF), offering insight into how migrant street traders construct livelihoods, generate income, ensure sustainability, and improve overall well-being. The SLF, which is an analysis tool for the SLA, focuses on multiple aspects of people's lives and recognises people not as victims but as agents of their development who can extend their capabilities, identify, and utilise valuable assets available to them to achieve their desired livelihood goals (Adato & Meinzen-Dick, 2002; OXFAM, 2013). Drawing from Sen's capability approach, the pursuit of livelihoods is agency that Sen (1999) defines as the freedom to achieve the desired livelihood outcomes and well-being. Capabilities which are the various freedoms and combinations of functionings allow people to live the life they have reason to value, increase the quality of life, and enable individuals to achieve subjective well-being (Robeyns, 2003). Given the various freedoms and opportunities, the SLF portrays the importance of capital assets and their dependence on other elements for utilisation and sustaining a livelihood. Concerning the livelihoods of the migrant street traders, the application of the SLF is to understand how migrant street traders use street trading as a livelihood strategy.

### **3.2 Sustainable Livelihoods Approach**

Concerning migrant street traders, the construction of livelihoods begins with access and availability of social and human capital, which facilitate migration desires and aspirations enabling migrants to imagine a life different from here and there (De Haas, 2014). Bebbington (1999) explains that the various capitals can lead to actions that can contribute to the quality of life. Furthermore, Scoones (2009) describes the SLA as operational in the sense that processes can show how the asset base as the source of input connects to the livelihood strategies and outcomes. Following his arguments on the knowledge of livelihoods, livelihood analysis that focuses on the role of networks and the patterns of globalisation and economic changes how through migration they can lead to a better life or for some escape social inequalities, I show that migrants draw from the different capitals to decide to migrate which is not only a livelihood strategy but a form of diversification and agency. From the SLA's framework, the study pays attention to different capitals that are available for the migrant street traders and when transformed how they enable migrant street traders to create and diversify their livelihood portfolio to achieve desirable livelihood outcomes.



According to Chambers and Conway (1992) development is centred around livelihoods, equity, and capabilities, of which both equity and capabilities are a means to an end for livelihoods which are the different activities people engage in to make a living. With capabilities requiring that people be able to exercise their freedoms (Sen, 1999), Chambers and Conway's (1992) concept of sustainable livelihoods is about the preservation of resources "with the intention to enhance the efficiency of development cooperation" (Kollmair & St. Gamper, 2002, p. 3). Furthermore, Meikle, et al. (2001) explain that livelihoods change over time as they are affected by shocks, trends, and seasonality, it is then that capabilities and assets assist with how people respond or react to the changes affecting livelihoods. Therefore, Chambers and Conway (1992) define a livelihood as "comprising of capabilities, assets, and activities required to make a living and is sustainable if it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks, enhance its capabilities and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities" (p.6). Livelihoods vary from context to context, and Chambers and Conway (1992) note that sustainable livelihoods are beyond income and include a social dimension and the relationship between poverty and the environment.

The sustainable livelihood concept was introduced by the Brundtland Commission "as a way of linking socioeconomic and ecological considerations in a cohesive, policy-relevant structure" (Sati & Vangchhia, 2017: 1). In 1992 at a UNCED conference the introduction of the concept of sustainable livelihoods supported the overall goal for poverty reduction (Krantz, 2001; Sati & Vangchhia, 2017). Chambers further developed the idea of sustainable livelihoods noting that the Brundtland report focused on the top-down traditional way of development thinking, whereas his perspective was not limited to poverty but extended to vulnerability and security over assets (Arce, 2003; Kollmair & St. Gamper, 2002). Taking into consideration Chambers' argument, sustainable livelihoods contribute to people's enhanced well-being, and this is inclusive of an extension of capabilities and tangible and intangible assets (Kofinas & Chapin, 2009; Lienert & Burger, 2015).

### **3.3 Sustainable Livelihoods Principles**

Drawing from arguments of McDowell and De Haan, (1997) concerning migration and sustainable livelihoods, people do not act on their own but are influenced by networks. This emphasises Bebbington's (1999) point that social capital is important within the SLA framework. The second perspective focuses on how policies, institutions, and processes (PIPs) influence or shape the choices that people make. Both perspectives are embedded within SLA's

principles which channel development core objectives and activities and are people-centred, holistic, dynamic, building on strengths, macro-micro links, and sustainability (Kollmair & St. Gamper, 2002; Wu & Pearce, 2014).

The SLA is not defined as a theory but as an approach that provides basic guidelines and scope for implementation (Mazibuko, 2013). Mazibuko (2013) draws from Chambers and Conway's idea on what constitutes livelihoods where people are granted opportunities which can be economic opportunities to confront poverty and construct livelihoods. This is a freedom that Sen (1999) stated can lead to security and enhance well-being. Therefore, the SLA provides guiding principles for implementing development initiatives aimed at poverty reduction, and these principles are:

- **People-centred-** People are recognised as agents of their development. To eliminate or reduce poverty, development agencies or institutions must align themselves with people's livelihood strategies, social environment, and ability to adapt (Ashley & Carney, 1999:7; Kollmair & St. Gamper, 2002). The significance of this is at a micro-level where analysis begins with understanding people's livelihoods and how they have changed over time. Farrington et. al (1999) explain that as people are involved in identifying livelihoods goals there should also be a focus on how PIPs arrangements will affect people's livelihoods and how they are influenced to support the poor.
- **Holistic-** A livelihood is understood holistically when it is understood as a whole and not confined to the way of life or environment (Kollmair & St. Gamper, 2002; Mazibuko, 2013:176). The SLA takes into consideration the diversity of livelihoods. Therefore, to address or eradicate poverty a single approach is not enough.
- **Dynamic-** Communities change over time and are influenced by many factors. Mazibuko (2013) explains that it is important that the support provided to communities not only keeps up with community changes but also understands that livelihoods are not static.
- **Build on strengths-** The recognition of strengths and self-worth of the poor is important. People as beneficiaries of development are empowered to reach their full potential by enhancing their strengths (Kollmair & St. Gamper, 2002). Once people can identify their strengths, they can be able to tackle poverty and prioritise their needs.

- Macro-micro links- PIPs have an impact on livelihoods both at micro and macro levels. From a development perspective, the SLA tries to bridge the gap between micro and macro levels by linking them at policy and practice levels to achieve sustainable livelihoods (DFID, 1999; Kollmair & St. Gamper, 2002). Bridging this gap through policies that inform institutions ensures that communities are served better (Ramashala, 2007).
- Sustainability- Kollmair and St. Gamper (2002) write that livelihoods are sustainable when they are resilient when facing shocks and stressors and can be productive over a long-term period. Moreover, to remain sustainable a livelihood should be able to meet the needs of people, improve the resource base, and should not undermine the livelihoods of others (Kollmair & St. Gamper, 2002).

Petersen and Pedersen (2010) point out that whilst the core principles prioritise participation and partnership, the poor themselves are empowered during the process to identify important livelihoods aspects (p.6). The last two principles emphasise the value and the impact of structure and processes in enhancing livelihoods and that classifying a livelihood as sustainable requires long-term productivity and an ability to adapt to livelihood strategies (Kollmair & St. Gamper, 2002; Petersen & Pedersen, 2010). In addition to the above principles, it is important to understand the SLA from its normative and analytical stance where empowerment creates opportunities for the poor to achieve well-being. The key principles to livelihood analysis include (1) identifying and understanding livelihood circumstances of the marginalised (2) consider social divides that influence people's livelihoods (3) focus on change and issues of sustainability (4) focus should be beyond the needs but on resourcefulness and the strengths (Bohle, 2007).

### **3.4 Sustainable Livelihoods Framework**

The SLF becomes a building block and a checklist for an in-depth understanding of migrant's livelihoods and that all issues that need attention are taken into full consideration. Since the SLF builds on assets, Patnaik and Prasad (2014) explain that people's vulnerabilities and coping strategies are channelled through to the PIPs to create livelihood strategies that will lead to livelihood outcomes. The SLF as a conceptual framework is illustrated in a diagram (Figure 3.1). Plummer and Armitage (2007) state that the SLF conveys the extent to which people will

go to pursue the desired outcomes, reduce vulnerabilities, moreover, engage in interventions and investments to build sustainable livelihoods.

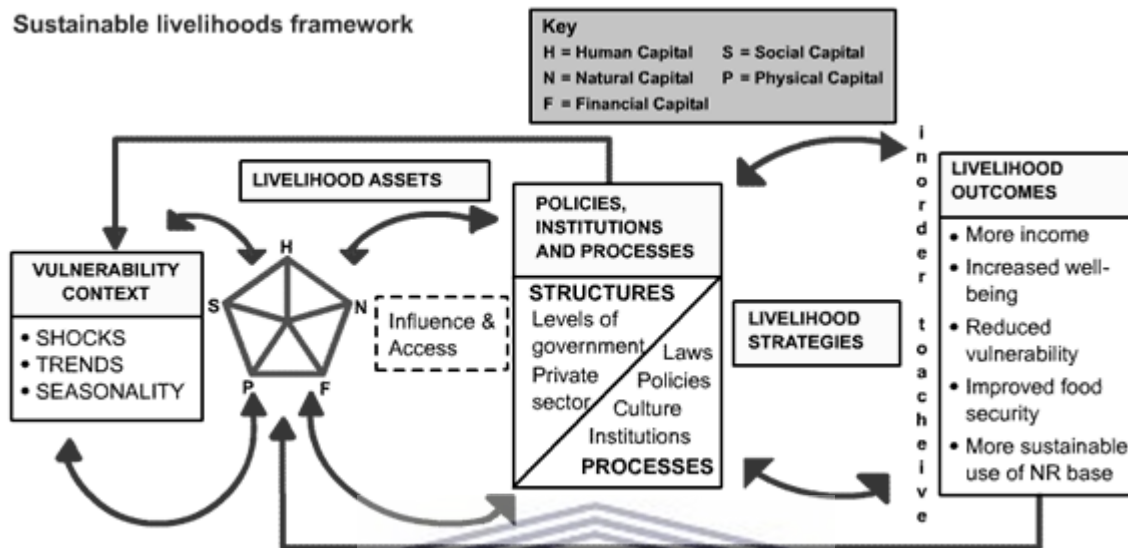


Figure 3.1 Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (DFID, 2000 cited in Petersen & Petersen, 2010, p. 7)

According to Kollmair and St. Gamper (2002), the framework identifies the vulnerability context within which people operate and assets to which people have access, the context that shapes livelihood strategies that enable people to achieve self-defined livelihood outcomes. Livelihood outcomes such as reduced vulnerability, more income, enhanced well-being, etc, are defined as achievements of livelihood strategies (GLOPP, 2008). According to the DFID (1999), the SLF is about what the people have and how they harness all the assets that they are endowed with to sustain a livelihood. Moreover, it examines how they develop choices to a livelihood strategy when experiencing constraints or challenges imposed by structural and social processes. The main aim of the DFID framework (Fig. 3.1) is to illustrate and present the important features of people's livelihoods and the relationships that exist (Eyhorn, 2007). Figure 3.1 indicates the connections between local contexts, capitals, structure and processes, strategies, and livelihood outcomes, also, recognises the changes that take place both internally and externally because of agency and structure (Adato & Meinzen-Dick, 2002; Smith, 2014). The DFID framework for sustainable livelihoods further serves as a guide in the analysis of people's livelihoods. Following Scoones's (1998) discussion on how the framework is applied, he suggests the pentagon of assets, PIPs, and livelihood outcomes as access points as they

increase access to resources and people's chances to diversify livelihoods as opposed to following a linear livelihood strategy.

### **3.5 The Vulnerability Context (Shocks, Seasonality & Trends)**

The vulnerability context is the inception point of the SLF as indicated in the DFID framework (Fig. 3.1) since it is the representation of the environment or the conditions within which people operate (Kumari, 2006). According to Kollmair and St. Gamper (2002), the vulnerability context is part of the external environment where people exist. Moser (1996) describes the vulnerability context as when the well-being of communities or individuals faces change (economic/social/political/environmental) as shocks, trends, and seasonal cycles. Shocks, trends, constraints, and opportunities, as well as seasonality which people have no control of, have a direct or indirect impact on livelihoods. The vulnerability context is not a risk. The GLOPP (2008) explains that the risk is different from the vulnerability context since it is the likelihood of occurrence of shocks, trends, and constraints, whereas vulnerability is the degree to which people have exposure to risk and uncertainties. Both trends and shocks can have a positive and negative impact on the livelihoods of people. Trends are the changes that take place and include resources, governance trends, and demographics (GLOPP, 2008; Kollmair & St. Gamper, 2002). Shocks are defined as events that have a significant impact on livelihoods such as natural hazards, economic recession, and violence (Kollmair & St. Gamper, 2002).

### **3.6 Livelihood Assets**

Following Bebbington's (1999) argument that assets are not only vehicles for making a meaningful living but access to them is vital for people's livelihoods and the most important feature of the entire SLA framework. People need to have relationships with the different actors to facilitate access to resources and also determine the different livelihood strategies. Assets are resources that people draw from for their livelihood strategies (Farrington et. al., 2002). They are not merely a material base that helps people to deal with poverty to make a living. Through the relationship between well-being and poverty, assets project how people decide on livelihood choices and strategies, use their capacities to enhance their quality of life, and extend their capabilities to combat poverty (Bebbington, 1999). Following Scoones's (1998) discussion on capitals, people pursue different livelihood strategies based on the capitals or resources that they are endowed with that they can draw from. Considering the pentagon of



assets with the five capitals Scoones (1998) constructs a checklist for livelihood analysis looking at factors if capitals can be substituted, what sort of capitals do people have access to, what trade-offs can be made to pursue livelihood strategies. The SLF views the availability and access to assets as the drivers of instrumental action necessary for meaningful living and for people to construct and preserve a livelihood (Bebbington, 1999, p. 2022; Scoones 2009; Chambers & Conway, 1992). Bebbington (1999) takes on Chambers and Conway (1992) and Scoones (1998), explaining that capitals should be seen as inputs and outputs-- meaning that people can transform in their livelihood strategies to confront poverty or vulnerability and at the same time capitals have an impact on well-being. Assets are organised into five groups which are:

- **Human Capital-** According to the UNDP (2017), knowledge, information, abilities and skills are considered human capital stocks that can help people to participate and contribute meaningfully to different strategies to achieve their livelihood outcomes. Human capital is invested in people to empower them to pursue different livelihood strategies or if they lack education or information. Human capital is usually combined with social capital and drawing from Bebbington (1999) that in as much as human capital can allow a person to become a change agent, networks facilitate the change as they provide favourable conditions that can lead to people achieving desirable livelihood outcomes.
- **Social Capital-** This type of asset includes networks, participation, and relationships of trust that people benefit from and gain opportunities for their livelihoods. The UNDP (2017) explains that social capital is vital since it impacts directly on the accumulation of other forms of capital.
- **Financial Capital-** These include money in the form of gifts, loans accumulated, and invested financial capital that people have access to enables them to achieve livelihood objectives (UNDP, 2017). Financial capital has two main sources, which are stocks that people can tap into and capital that flows in and out. Financial capital is described as versatile since it is converted to other types of capital (UNDP, 2017).
- **Physical Capital-** It comprises of infrastructure and goods that support a livelihood (UNDP, 2017). This asset is permanent and should facilitate the provision of services for people's basic needs (UNDP, 2017).

- Natural Capital- The UNDP (2017) describes the natural resources stocks from which resource flows and services that are important to livelihoods.

As assets contribute to enhancing people's strengths, they facilitate development that is aligned to livelihood strategies and livelihood outcomes (Majale, 2002). This list of assets is not exhaustive to the five capitals but is an indication of how people can combine various assets available to them to protect livelihoods since they must use what they are endowed with or available to them (Scoones, 1998). To achieve positive livelihood outcomes, combining different assets as a single asset category is not enough to produce desired livelihood outcomes. As people pursue different livelihood strategies using assets, Majale (2009) explains that assets remain subject to and are impacted upon by structure and process. Adato and Meinzen-Dick (2002) maintain that whilst informal and formal institutions have an impact on access to assets, livelihood strategies, vulnerability, and terms of the exchange that take place from both meso and macro levels, sometimes at a global scale as they contribute to shaping livelihoods.

### **3.7 Policies, Institutions and Processes (PIPs)**

According to the DFID framework for sustainable livelihoods, PIPs are known as transforming structures and processes. They refer to all levels of the public and private sectors including their practices, policies, and economic institutions that operate within communities and contribute to how people decide on livelihood strategies (Farrington et. al., 2002). People construct livelihoods within a social and institutional context, of which PIPs are a part, and within these two contexts they can have both negative and positive impacts on livelihoods. Because PIPs operate at both micro and macro levels, they effectively determine access and exchange of different types of capitals (GLOPP, 2008, p.3; Kollmair & St. Gamper, 2002). There is an element of power that resides with the PIPs, and Scoones (1998) identifies the different roles that they play and how they act as mediators. Scoones (2009) points out that a livelihood analysis should also take into consideration the role of governance and politics, class, and other social relations that reflect the concentration of power in social structures, as well as should focus on the impact they have on the choice of livelihood strategies, and how people make trade-offs in relation to these structures. Therefore, according to Scoones (2009) own words PIPs especially institutions are mediated by power where it is important to consider who the losers and beneficiaries are in the development process (p.187).

### **3.8 Livelihood Strategies**

Livelihood strategies have different outcomes some of which can be least desirable and can have a negative impact or influence on assets and capabilities. Livelihood strategies are actions taken by people to achieve desired livelihoods (Petersen & Pedersen, 2010). Kollmair and St. Gamper (2002) describe this process as dynamic, not static since it can meet people's needs at different times, different geographical and economic levels. According to the GLOPP, (2008) asset status and PIPs are important to the livelihood strategy as it is dependent on them. The main factor in livelihood strategies is that people can have multiple strategies that can take place simultaneously (Adato & Meinzen-Dick, 2002). Therefore, the pursuit of different livelihood strategies may have positive consequences especially in increasing a person's income and as an intervention for poverty reduction and reducing vulnerability. In this study migration is explored as a livelihood strategy and livelihood diversification is explored as another form of livelihood strategy for migrants to generate more income and enhance well-being. People choose to migrate as a way of extending household income and dealing with poverty. Remittances gained through the migratory process often contribute to the development of communities or households not only achieving desirable livelihood outcomes but pursuing other livelihood strategies (Hussein & Nelson, 1998). Livelihood diversification includes the creation or expansion of a livelihood portfolio (Hussein & Nelson, 1998; Scoones, 1998). Whilst Hussein and Nelson (1998) describe livelihood diversification as crucial as it can allow people to invest and provide protection to livelihoods when facing vulnerability. Scoones (1998) further focuses on a broader issue which is livelihood intensity, this calls for the analysis of the livelihood portfolios and the relationship they have with the resources they are endowed with which could be different therefore posing a risk and not sustainable for the future.

### **3.9 Livelihood Outcomes**

Scoones (1998) draws from the sustainable livelihoods definition proposing how livelihood outcomes can be analysed focusing on livelihoods and sustainability. He further highlights the connection between livelihood outcomes and strategies stating that the success of livelihood strategies can have a ripple effect within the household or community. From the livelihood strategies, various livelihood outcomes feedback to the asset base and vulnerability (Adato & Meinzen-Dick, 2002). Petersen and Pedersen (2010) define livelihood outcomes as the achievements of people's livelihood strategies that are defined by people themselves since they know what is desirable to them and what needs to be achieved. This is evident when people's

livelihoods are supported through outcome monitoring which is an understanding of how people are doing and outcome evaluation which focuses on how policies and different interventions affect people's lives (Levine, 2015).

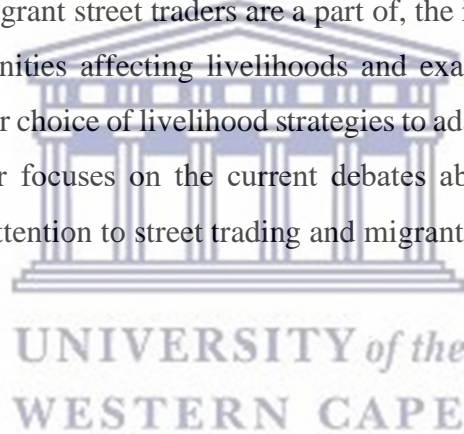
### **3.10 Application of the Conceptual Framework to Street Trading**

The SLF is commonly used internationally by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and development agencies to understand how street trading has been used as a source for maximizing income, deal with poverty, ensure food security or deal with factors that make migrant street trader's lives undesirable. This study draws from the SLF to particularly analyse the role of street trading in sustaining the livelihoods of migrant street traders in Durban. While the study could have drawn from Sen's capability approach normative framework that focuses on the development and encompasses issues relating to migration. Based on Chambers and Conway's (1990) definition of a sustainable livelihood that not only conveys the various strategies that migrants engage in to achieve the life they desire, but also points to necessary steps that need to be taken to influence policy development and implementation to better understand how livelihoods are created and sustained. According to Fratzke and Salant's (2018) discussion on livelihoods and migration, livelihoods are central to the migration process and migration can be successfully achieved by engaging in livelihood strategies that highlight the significance of assets, strategies, and outcomes achieved within a vulnerability context and PIPs context (Ellis, 2003). The SLF guided the study towards understanding street trader's agency and how adaptive performance leads to the achievement of overall wellbeing. In line with Chambers and Conway's (1999) definition, the empirical findings further addressed how South African cities and PIPs should embrace the role of migration and street trading and how it is changing urban spaces and transforming local economic development that is vital for sustainable cities. Conceptualizing the study by applying the SLF broadens the view of migrant street trader's socio-economic experiences in Durban, emphasising the role of assets, especially, social capital and human capital in realizing migration goals and building up resilience which is fundamental for desired livelihood outcomes. The informal economy is said to be the lifeline of the poor and those trying to deal with the challenge of unemployment. Drawing from Neves and du Toit (2012) the informal economy is a livelihood choice for many informal traders and for those who participate in the formal economy, a livelihood diversification for a better life. Whilst some studies may identify the divisions between the formal and the informal economies, Rogan and Skinner's (2017) discussion on the policy

context highlights how the two economies are not too far apart and this was also evident in the empirical findings. Access to assets is crucial for the migrant street traders and the formal economy is endowed with assets that are necessary for migrant street trader's businesses and survival which confirms the discussion by Rogan and Skinner (2017). The application of the SLF provided insight into the role of the formal economy and how its transforming structures are necessary for sustaining the livelihoods of migrant street traders.

### **3.11 Summary**

The SLF and its five key elements provided a guide to explore the livelihood strategies and how assets or capitals available and accessible are used to achieve sustainable livelihoods. The SLF assisted in assessing the contribution made by street trading as a livelihood strategy, and how it enables the migrant street traders to cope with shocks and stresses. Considering the vulnerability context that migrant street traders are a part of, the investigation further explored the constraints and opportunities affecting livelihoods and examined the adjustments to be made by street traders in their choice of livelihood strategies to adapt to any changes or promote resilience. The next chapter focuses on the current debates about South Africa's informal economy and pays special attention to street trading and migrant street traders.





## **CHAPTER 4: OVERVIEW OF THE CASE STUDY AREA**

### **4.1 Introduction**

This chapter provides insight on how the eThekweni Municipality's informal economy policy and by-laws as the transforming structures are significant to the livelihoods of the migrant street traders and the overall Durban informal economy. The first section of the chapter presents an overview of the broader eThekweni Municipality region. This will be followed by a detailed outline of the case study area, namely the Workshop Flea Market, which is part of the Durban Central Business District (CBD). Thereafter, the attention shifts to the Durban informal economy and its most visible street trading sector within the CBD.

### **4.2 Province of KwaZulu-Natal**

South Africa comprises a total of nine provinces. The case study area for this research is located within the province of KwaZulu-Natal (KZN). The province of KwaZulu-Natal is situated on the east coast of South Africa and covers an area of only 94359 km<sup>2</sup>. During the 2011 census, 19.8 % (10 267 300) of the South African population was found to be residing in KZN, which is the second-highest populated province after Gauteng (StatsSA, 2014). As illustrated in Figure 4.1 KZN is divided into ten district municipalities and one metropolitan which is eThekweni Municipality. The ten district municipalities as indicated in Figure 4.1 are subdivided into 43 local municipalities.

The eThekweni Metropolitan area is by far the most densely populated municipal area in KZN with 3 702 231 people followed by the uMgungundlovu District Municipality with 1 095 865 people and the King Cetshwayo District Municipality with 971 135 people (Alexander, 2018; StatsSA, 2016). Migration has had an impact on the provincial population changes too. According to StatsSA (2016), 8.27% of people have left the province for Gauteng to search for better opportunities, and 3% of migrants from the Eastern Cape move to KZN in search of jobs, access to services, and income to deal with poverty. According to the KZN Treasury (2019), there is an increasing number of migrants flocking into the province even into the rural areas in search of better livelihoods.

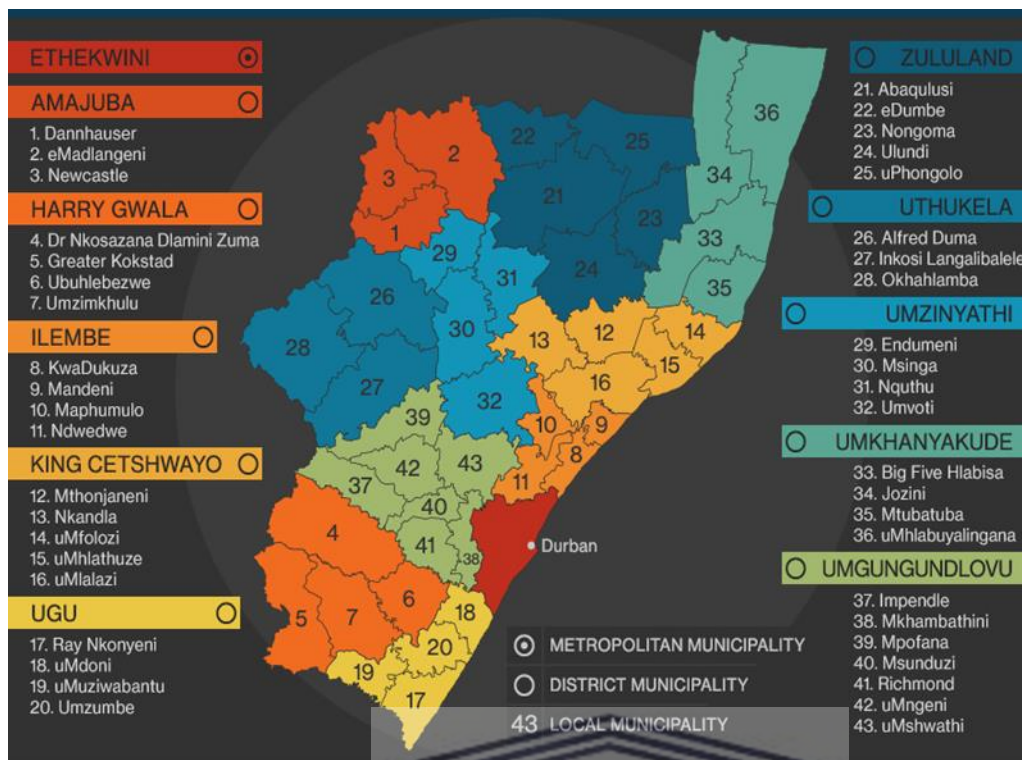


Figure 4.1 Province of KwaZulu-Natal (Alexander, 2018)

The eThekweni Metropolitan municipality covers both rural and urban areas comprising a total of 2297 km<sup>2</sup>, whereas the city of Durban comprises a total of 897 km<sup>2</sup> (SA Cities, 2017). According to the Municipal Systems Act, No. 32 of 2000 (MSA) every municipality within the country must have an Integrated Development Plan (IDP) as a way of facilitating and managing development (RSA, 2000).

#### 4.2.1 The Durban Region

According to the eThekweni Municipality (2015), the spatial concentration of economic activities in the eThekweni Municipality area (EMA) is highly concentrated in the Durban City Centre followed by the Durban South Basin, Pinetown, and New Germany. Durban is the major city within KZN and as one of the economic hubs ranks fourth in the country as one of the biggest contributors to the national GDP. Durban tourism is part of the city's Economic Development and Job-Creation strategy 2013-2018, which aims at driving economic growth and marketing the city as a world-class tourist destination. However, the size of Durban's economy has also been declining, and this is attributed to the sluggish economic activities in the seaport, transportation industry, and the Rand's performance (eThekweni Municipality,

2017). As a strategy to increase economic growth, the informal economy is identified as a potential major driver of the economy and has contributed slightly to decreasing the levels of unemployment and eradicating poverty (eThekweni Municipality, 2016). According to the eThekweni Municipality (2017), the current city model which includes the development of shopping centres is identified by informal traders as preventing the informal economy from thriving. To support the informal economy, the eThekweni Municipality has embarked on local economic development (LED) initiatives that promote the development and sustainability of small, medium, and micro enterprises (SMME) as a way for the poor to achieve sustainable livelihoods (Municipality, n.d.). Furthermore, the city is striving towards enabling the informal sector to coexist with the formal sector because a thriving informal economy is perceived as a lifeline for those who struggle to overcome poverty. The informal sector is a potential mechanism for creating employment (eThekweni Municipality, 2016).

Despite experiencing several challenges and struggling to recognise the sector as a valuable entity within Durban's economy, there have been many positive successes. According to SA Cities (2017), the informal sector contributes vastly to the economy and social life of the city. Focusing on the current state of the Durban informal economy, females dominate the sector and account for 58% of the informal traders' population (Sinqwana-Ndulo, 2013). The city's local government has acknowledged the contribution of the informal economy to the economy and the role it plays in creating employment opportunities for the poor and sustainable livelihoods. As part of economic development, the city has been embarking on a path whereby LED initiatives are inclusive of the informal economy and directed towards the needs of the informal economy. The municipality has explored the best ways to channel economic development, considering the asset base and livelihood strategies that will lead to desirable livelihood outcomes (eThekweni Municipality, 2016).

Contrary to the city's economic development strategies, most of the informal traders still feel undervalued by the local government and point out that their difficulties in sustaining their businesses are attributed to their experiences with how the sector is regulated (Xolo, 2018). Challenges faced by many of the informal traders were identified by Skinner (2009) as the use of public space and the lack of local government's engagement in understanding the dynamics of the sector. Budlender (2015) supports this view, mentioning that a study commissioned in Durban in 2012 revealed that street traders were struggling with access to basic infrastructure. One of the challenges of local government is to make conditions favourable and environment empowering for informal traders, where there is basic access to services (Mabasa, 2018).

Although local government is striving to create opportunities through economic development strategies, policies regulating the informal economy pose challenges for the informal traders who hold a perception that policies infringe on their rights. Furthermore, informal economy policies are regarded as poorly implemented (Roever, 2014).

### **4.3 Durban Central Business District Street Trading**

The South African informal economy comprises various activities which include street trading, transport, waste collectors, and other survivalist activities. Street trading is the most visible of all informal activities and in the Durban inner city where street traders contribute to the eThekweni Municipality economy (eThekweni Municipality, 2016; Skinner, 2009.) There are 42 700 registered in Durban and about three people are employed by individual street traders (eThekweni Municipality, 2016). Warwick Junction which lies on the outskirts of the Central Business District (CBD) remains the most researched informal trade hub in Durban, unlike the Workshop which is at the heart of the Durban CBD. Schilfgaarde (2013) provides insight into this trade hub by explaining that the collaboration between Warwick informal traders and the local government is iconic since the Warwick informal traders have fought exclusion and influenced policymaking and management processes and this process has taken years.

Reflecting on the history of exclusion of Durban street traders, several sources reveal that traders operated their businesses at the mercy of legislative laws that either issued few permits or regarded their businesses illegal (Xulu, 2015). The local government has also been wary of migrant street traders who obtained street trading permits through proxies, however, a study conducted by Vawda (2017) in Durban revealed that migrant street traders who had opened street trading enterprises via proxies were also vulnerable to brutality. The introduction of the Durban Informal Economy Policy (IEP) of 2001 placed the eThekweni Municipality ahead of other municipalities regarding the reform of the informal sector. The adoption and implementation of the IEP was an acknowledgement of the informal economy by the municipality and a move towards an inclusive city with a vibrant urban economy. The existence of policies such as the IEP (RSA, 2001) and the eThekweni Informal Trading By-law of 2014 has been challenging for the street traders who asserted that such laws can be a ‘nuisance’ (Xulu, 2015) and are deemed to be promoting unfair practices.

After South Africa won the bid to host the 2010 FIFA World Cup the implementation of the IEP proved to be less favourable to the street traders as the city’s urban development aimed at



creating a world-class liveable city. Keeping with the perceptions that the presence of street traders contributes to urban decay and an increase in crime, street traders faced many challenges that affected their livelihoods negatively. The violent approach used by police to confiscate goods and other punitive measures applied by municipal officials towards street traders in preparation for the 2010 FIFA World Cup to make Durban more desirable for foreign investors is a typical example of how the IEP infringed on the rights of street traders (DeVries, 2018; Xulu 2015). Furthermore, street traders continue to experience difficulties because municipal officials still perceive street trading as being negative for the city. A study conducted by DeVries (2018) discusses that municipal officials believe that street traders damage the city's infrastructure and negatively impact the city. However, the results of De Vries's (2018) study also highlighted that municipal officials acknowledged the role street trading played in the lives of the marginalised. In addition to such challenges, Durban street traders still find themselves having to deal with by-laws that unlawfully commission for the confiscation of goods without warning (Sinqwana-Ndulo, 2013).

Two of the greatest challenges faced by migrant street traders are xenophobia and crime and have a significant impact on migrant street traders' businesses. In this regard, Adewale's (2015) research findings indicate that xenophobia and crime place a significant strain on the business investments of migrant street traders and result in feelings of insecurity. Some migrant street traders describe their experiences with South Africans as hostile and although they try to learn the most common language in KwaZulu-Natal which is isiZulu, adaptation is not easy, and migrants face extremely negative attitudes from locals (Tafuh & Maharaj, 2015). Sidzatane (2011) further discusses that due to severe crime experiences and fear, some migrant street traders who operate in the Workshop area have hired security as a measure to protect themselves and their goods. Police harassment is among the difficulties experienced by migrant street traders as they feel it is related to the abuse of power (Sidzatane & Maharaj, 2013). Another challenge that is less discussed in the literature is the power and control of private entrepreneurs who rent out permits in Durban and control the flea markets. Whilst Senegalese and Somali street traders have tried to bypass these entrepreneurs as means of seeking independence, local government inspectors take their permits away claiming they are obtained fraudulently (Vawda, 2017). It becomes clear that by taking away migrant street trader's permits, local government officials do not recognise the potential contribution to the city's revenue, even though migrant street traders are willing to pay for their permits and support their enterprises (Vawda 2017:52).



In the case of *Makwickana vs eThekweni Municipality*, the police had impounded Makwickana's merchandise valued at R750 and left the street trader with a fine of R300. The Durban High Court recognised that the police failed to recognise the street trader's right to trade and unlawfully impounded their goods according to administrative law. The court viewed that the actions taken by the police were unreasonable and lacked procedural fairness (Hodgson & Clark, 2018). The case of Makwickana is one of many cases of street traders that have ended up in the South African courts where the police or municipal officials disregard the fact the decisions taken whether to impound, confiscate or relocate street traders are subject to administrative law. The law stipulates that all decisions should be lawful, reasonable, and procedurally fair and the reasons for such decisions should be provided (Hodgson & Clark, 2018). The Socio-Economic Rights Institute of South Africa (SERI) together with the South African Local Government Association (SALGA) make provisions for local government on the regulation of street trade, encouraging a move from the perception that street trading is an illegitimate business and an unlawful practice (Clark, 2018). According to Clark (2018), SERI and SALGA further recommended that municipalities such as eThekweni empower street traders through capacity-building initiatives and the design of policies that are not restrictive but view street trading as a livelihood strategy or business enterprise.

Asiye eTafuleni (AeT), which is an organization advocating for the integration of street traders in the city's infrastructural planning, also recommends that the city should be able to support the livelihoods and recognise the rights of streets traders to trade in public spaces (Xulu, 2011). At a macro level, the strategy applied by this advocacy group has been to influence policy and different government institutions to find better ways to support street trader's businesses and create an urban culture that is accepting of street traders (Xulu, 2015). Forkour et. al. (2017) explain that in cities like Durban the existence of advocacy groups enables and empowers street traders not only to negotiate for space to trade but can, also, represent the power of street traders.

#### **4.4 Case Study Area: The Workshop**

This research was undertaken in the Durban City Centre at the Workshop Flea Market which is one of the busiest flea markets in the Durban CBD. The Workshop Flea Market was selected as the case study area since it has a high concentration of street traders and has a dynamic socio-economic environment. Economically the Workshop Flea Market is one of the key areas for Durban tourism. The Workshop Flea Market consists of two markets which are the Locko

Market and the Church Walk Market. The Workshop Flea Market is at the heart of Durban CBD located on Dr A.B. Xuma street. The market is right next to the Durban Post Office and across from the Durban City Hall. Positionally, it is surrounded by the Municipal Bus Terminals and taxi ranks which provide transport to various destinations in and around the four spatial regions of the municipality. What is also noticeable is that places such as the Durban International Convention Centre (ICC), Durban Exhibition Centre, and the Playhouse Theatre are in the vicinity of the Workshop Flea Market which can be accessed on foot by visiting tourists or delegates who wish to explore Durban.



*Figure 4.2 Locko Market traders in front of The Workshop shopping centre (Mbatha, 2020)*





*Figure 4.3 Church Walk market alley (Mbatha, 2020)*



*Figure 4.4 Locko Market (Mbatha, 2020)*

The Workshop is the main shopping centre in the CBD and is the former Durban station which was constructed in the 1860s to make way for the first steam engine train to operate in the city. Although the station was transformed into a shopping centre in 1986, the colonial building and the railway lines have been preserved as part of the history of the area. The Locko Market is situated right in front of the Workshop's main entrance, whilst the Church Walk Market lies underneath Dr A.B. Xuma and Monty Naicker Streets, enabling pedestrians to cross the busy streets on foot. Furthermore, the Church Walk market extends to Dr Pixley KaSeme Street connecting the pedestrians to the Durban City Hall. Although these markets are in the same area, collectively known as the Workshop trading space, the markets are regulated differently by the municipality. The flea market is vibrant and offers many services including entertainment. However, over the years crime such as mugging has increased in the market. As a response, the Municipality has embarked on a marketing strategy that involves fighting crime and making sure that the area is safe and attractive to tourists and residents of Durban.

#### **4.6 Summary**

This chapter provided a discussion of the selected case study area of the research. A broad overview of Durban as an economic hub of the province of KwaZulu-Natal together with its economic activities was provided. The second section of the chapter focused on Durban's informal trading and then shifted to an account of street trading and information relating to Durban's migrant street traders. The challenges faced by street traders were highlighted and the role of social networks among migrant street traders was discussed. The next chapter will present the research quantitative and qualitative data findings of the study.

## **CHAPTER 5: METHODOLOGY**

### **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter presents a detailed description of the research methods used to collect data and analysis. The chapter commences with an overview of research design and methods that are followed by a brief discussion of the case study approach which was chosen to explore how migrant street traders construct livelihoods using street trading and to understand the lived experiences of migrant street traders. The chapter will proceed with an in-depth explanation of the sampling techniques that will highlight why I ended up with the specific sample. The chapter will conclude with an outline of the research methods and ethical considerations.

### **5.2 Research Design and Methodology**

Creswell (2014) defines research design as an approach to conducting an inquiry. Maxwell (2013) further states that the selection of approach involves a detailed plan of protocol, the conception of a research question, identifying units of study, data collection, and analysis. In this study, the researcher applied a mixed-method approach and drew from both qualitative and quantitative research designs to answer the research question. The mixed-method approach assisted in gaining a deeper understanding of the role played by street trading in sustaining the livelihoods of migrant street traders. Each method on its own would not have provided enough evidence on the role of street trading on the livelihoods and wellbeing of migrant street traders. Qualitative data focuses on the lived experiences and the constructed realities of migrant street traders which complements quantitative data as it reflects, analyses, and measures the nature of street trading and its contribution to livelihoods.

According to Crotty (1998) methodology refers to the system of methods used to gather information about a topic. As noted above, both quantitative and qualitative research methods were used to gather data to answer the research question and accomplish all the research objectives. According to Soiferman (2010), “quantitative research uses statistical analysis to make a connection between what is known and what can be learned through research” (p.5). Street traders were the units of analysis and a structured questionnaire was designed to extract information from respondents. Denzin and Lincoln (1994) describe qualitative research as a diverse method comprising of an interpretive and naturalistic approach to data collection. Applying qualitative research methods in the study further enabled the researcher to achieve a holistic understanding of the phenomenon being studied and how street traders construct their realities. Also, it addresses an ontological point of view to understand the position of the



migrants and how each migrant street trader defined their reality since there are many realities (Gray, 2014). Semi-structured interviews and direct observation were used as methods of collecting data to learn about the lived experiences of migrant street traders.

### 5.2.1 Case Study

The study focused on the lived experiences of the migrant street traders and explored why migrant street traders start street trading enterprises and to what extent street enterprises contribute to livelihoods and well-being. The study inquired about street trading as a livelihood strategy and a business, the actual lived experiences of migrant street traders, and their realities. To explain the nature of the street trading business and investigate in-depth how migrant street traders operate street trading enterprises to generate income, the case study methodology was chosen. A case study methodology can either be explanatory, or descriptive and as an investigative approach, it is done within a natural setting (Ridder, 2017; Zainal, 2007). Kumar (2008) defines the case study as an analytical and explanatory method that aims to study the phenomenon or units of analysis holistically. Cases are known to be conducted within the natural settings, therefore fieldwork was conducted during migrant street trader's business trading hours in their trading environments. The main aim of conducting direct observation, interviews, and surveys during street trader's business hours and in the conditions that migrant street traders operate under was to ensure that the nature of their business is understood within the natural environmental context. Yin (2018) describes the application of direct observation, administering of questionnaire and interview is to give the case study strength to produce in-depth evidence since it is within its nature to allow for multiple research methods to be used within one case. Since a case study is a holistic approach, the behaviours of the migrant street traders during business hours were investigated and the impact they have on the business operations assessed. For the case study to provide comprehensive information, the 'how' and 'why' questions assisted in discovering new information about street trading and migrant street traders at the Durban Workshop flea Market (Kumar, 2008; Ridder, 2017; Yin, 2018). This is a small case study that aims to provide insight into the livelihoods and well-being of migrant street traders in Durban.

### 5.3 Pre-Test

A pre-test was carried out at the Workshop, Dr Pixley kaSeme Street, Soldiers Way Market, and Beachfront. The purpose of the pre-test was to determine from which market as a researcher I will find migrant street traders who will be willing to participate in the study and if the questionnaire and the semi-structured interviews were functional and able to extract the intended information. The pre-test revealed several challenges, the study could not be carried out at the Beachfront as I could not find any migrant street traders there, only South African crafters. However, the Workshop flea market, Dr Pixley KaSeme street, and Soldiers Way flea markets were highly concentrated with migrant street traders. There were language barriers especially with migrant street traders from Asia who specialised in electronics and were trading at Dr KaPixley KaSeme street. With translation from other Urdu-speaking Pakistanis they participated comfortably. Street traders from the Soldiers Way market were not comfortable; some of them struggled as they thought I was from the Municipality, and once explained that some of them struggled with permits. My presence as a researcher was intimidating to some of them. From the pilot, the questionnaire, and the semi-structured interview schedules were not redesigned, and they covered all the required themes.

### 5.4 Sampling Strategy

The study applied a non-probability purposive sampling technique to identify migrant street traders who would be able to provide in-depth information relating to the research question. Non-probability sampling is a sampling technique where units of study within the population are selected at the discretion or judgment of the researcher, which means not all members of the population get an even chance to participate in the study as would be done in probability sampling (Vehovar, et al., 2016). Vehovar, et al. (2016) explain that in purposive sampling the researcher uses judgment to select the sample and for this sampling approach Babbie (2010) points out that knowledge of the population and its characteristics are required. As a researcher, the Workshop is a market that I had known for many years and the only knowledge I had acquired as a local was that the market was dominated by migrant street traders compared to the Warwick junction market. In the Durban CBD, there is a diversity of culture and there are migrant street traders from Asia and within the African continent.

The selection procedure for participants for both the questionnaire and the semi-structured interview was stratified purposive sampling. The strata used in the purposive sample may be like stratified random sampling technique, however, the subgroups and participants were

selected in a purposive manner as opposed to scientific (Battaglia, 2008; Teddie & Tashakkori, 2009). From the entire population of street traders in Durban, migrant street traders were chosen to participate in the study. The different subgroups that were created of migrant street traders were those that operated beauty parlours, food street traders and those that sold personal care products, bags, and shoes, and clothing apparel. From the migrant street traders who trade at the Workshop, only the subgroup of migrant street traders who sell clothing apparel was selected to participate in the study. The sub-group of migrants who sell clothing apparel was purposely selected as the group of interest which would provide in-depth and new information concerning the study, and a pre-test showed that there were different nationals represented in the strata. Therefore, a sample of 30 migrant street traders who operate in fashion stalls was selected as respondents for the questionnaire survey. The procedure that was followed included deciding on the information required and finding participants willing to be respondents. South Africa has been facing the challenge of different types of migration as a result the total number of refugees in the country is not known. For both the interviews and the questionnaire, the researcher selected migrant street traders that were observed to be friendly and very engaging with customers.

## **5.5 Data Collection Methods**

### **5.5.1 Structured Questionnaire**

The structured questionnaire was used to gather demographic and socio-economic data of participants. The questionnaire was divided into themes that had subsidiary questions, and these were developed during the literature review. The themes that were covered included demographics, nature of street trading, income generated, and challenges and opportunities. The questionnaire was further used to draw data for statistical description on the nature and extent of street trading for migrant traders in the case study area of Durban. From this theme, migrant street traders described the type of enterprise they operated, the motivation to start an enterprise, and access to start-up capital. This was designed to ascertain whether street trading as a 'survival' livelihood strategy can grow as a business and to outline the factors that pull migrants to the trade. The fundamental aim of using a structured questionnaire as an instrument was to elicit information that will be useful for analysis of the value of street trading into the lives of migrants and the assets available to them. This investigation further measured the extent to which the street trading business is run and the challenges it experiences. All questions were designed not to solicit any sensitive information about the participants.

### **5.5.2 Direct Observation**

According to Creswell (2014) observation is an important research procedure as it enables the researcher to study and analyse the participant's behaviours and daily interactions in their environment. Direct observations took place during the research process and assisted in gathering data that may not be obtainable during the interviewing process. The researcher spent time with migrant street traders before the interviews observing day-to-day business operations, behaviours, and interactions. All the migrant street traders were observed in the targeted areas during weekday off-peak hours, peak hours, and Saturdays for an hour over two weeks. This technique of data collection allowed the researcher to pick up business techniques and challenges that could not be communicated during the interview response. The direct-observation schedule further assisted the researcher to gather data on the socio-economic characteristics and dynamics of street trading in Durban. Observing the interactions and behaviours of migrant street traders assisted in answering the research question and achieving the objectives of the study.

### **5.5.3 Semi-Structured Interview**

The research used one-on-one semi-structured interviews which entailed asking migrant street traders pre-set questions and probing further with questions based on responses. According to Kothari (2004), semi-structured interviews are important in exploratory studies as they demand extensive and in-depth knowledge and information from respondents. The interviews with the migrant street traders were carried out in their natural setting during trading hours. This allowed the researcher to gain information also about business practices and other experiences that are important to the livelihoods of migrant street traders. The interview aimed to explore how migrant street traders interpret their realities and experiences. All twelve interviews were conducted during working hours at the migrant street trader's place of business. The main content of the interviews focused on was the nature of business, constraints, and opportunities of street trading, the role of structure and process to the livelihoods of migrant street traders. Follow up questions were formulated from the participant's responses to probe further and obtain clarification from their responses.

## **5.6 Data Processing, Analysis, and Presentation**

An explanatory case study is reliant on descriptive evidence and presentation should clearly distinguish between interpretations of the researcher and the actual evidence of the study (Yin, 2018). The study applied a sequential explanatory mixed method of collecting and analysing data where quantitative data has been used to present demographics and statistical information about migrant street trader's enterprises. Ivankova et. al. (2016) explain that qualitative data is applied to further expand on the quantitative data and to discover information that quantitative data could not have discovered. Quantitative data that was collected during the fieldwork was transferred into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet for processing. All responses were coded into the spreadsheet cells before processing data. The data was analysed using descriptive statistics which were percentages and frequency. The data has been presented in graph forms and interpreted using theoretical and literature reflections. Thematic content analysis was applied as a method of analysing qualitative data analysis. Data collected was coded and categorised into themes. The results were presented using quotations, tables, and descriptive informative summaries of migrant street traders' responses. Ivankova, et. al. (2016) argue that qualitative data analysis and presentation should not be a generalization of the research findings but a presentation of detailed information and refinement of the quantitative data. Therefore, qualitative data will be presented with descriptive statistics to explain and describe the data findings and the presentation will draw from the SLF elements which will serve as themes. Since the mixed-methods approach was applied both qualitative and quantitative data will be combined during presentation and discussion to produce knowledge and depth to the study and ensure validity.

## **5.7 Positionality and Biases**

Fremlova (2018) discusses positionality as the social standing of the researcher and this can, of course, be complemented by a wide range of factors such as ethnicity, race, and gender. Considering that the interviews took place during the midst of xenophobic attacks towards African migrants in Gauteng, I had to be aware of my own biases and own responses as some questions might affect my attitude. During fieldwork in Durban, migrant street traders in Johannesburg had had a clash with the police. The first incident that migrant street traders spoke about was the murder of three informal traders in Brits. Furthermore, the actions of the South African Police Service (SAPS) according to Bornman (2019) were arresting migrants who were selling counterfeit goods and did not have permits and immigration documents.



These raids resulted in looting and violence, however, as published by the City Press the Minister of Police supported the actions of the SAPS and stated that they were not illegal and were in line with the law and were not specifically targeting migrant informal traders (Khumalo & Dlamini, 2019). Being interviewed by a South African was difficult for some of the migrant street traders to an extent that they kept reminding me of what was happening in Gauteng; furthermore, they felt that releasing some information especially about their business may have a negative impact. However, as a researcher that was willing to listen to their experiences and let them share their stories, some migrant street traders were able to express their concerns.

Babbie (2010) describes reflexivity as how the characteristics and behaviours of the researcher can affect the research process. Palaganas et. al. (2017) further describe reflexivity as a concept which entails the researcher's self-awareness and recognises that they are a part of a social world (p.427.) As a researcher in the relationship, I had to be aware of how my understanding of the social world influences the research process. During the interview process and when probing further, leading questions were always avoided to not influence the participant's responses. The questions were asked to create a dialogue and understand the realities of migrant street traders and their businesses. Babbie (2010) further discusses the dangers of adopting general viewpoints of the groups that are being studied, and in this instance, the researcher had to be always neutral which enabled me to gain an in-depth understanding of migrant street traders and their businesses.



## **5.8 Ethical Considerations**

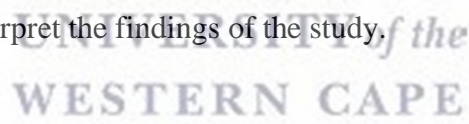
Permission was granted by the University of the Western Cape Ethics Committee to commission the study in Durban. Before undertaking the study at the Workshop Flea Market permission was sought from the Chairmen of the Church Walk and Locko Markets. The purpose of the study was explained to each Chairman and permission was granted.

The study was not designed to solicit information that will be harmful to the participants and their businesses. Informed consent was obtained from the participants after the purpose of the study had been explained in detail. The participants were made aware that the consent was not binding thus they were free to withdraw from the study at any given time. The participants were advised that should they feel that the questions exposed them to secondary trauma, a counselling service was available to them free of charge.

The research ensured that the participants have a right to privacy and that the information provided is treated with the utmost confidentiality and anonymity. Therefore, to protect the identity of the participants and any confidential information which they have provided, only aliases have been used to respect the confidentiality and anonymity of participants.

## **5.8 Summary**

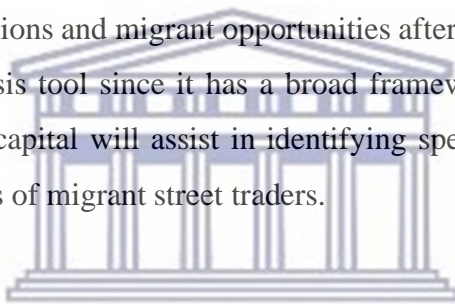
This chapter presented how the study applied the mixed-methods sequential research design to collect and analyse data. This demonstrated how using both methods were beneficial to the study since each method would have had dire limitations to the study and not produced adequate information, therefore, both methods were able to complement each other (Creswell, 1998). The research instruments direct observation, semi-structured interviews and the questionnaire complementing each other were able to extract data about the livelihoods of migrant street traders. The careful technique of selecting strata and dividing the population into subgroups accompanied by the knowledge that I had as a researcher assisted in purposively selecting the sample that I thought would provide the information I needed for the study. Although purposive sampling does not mean that the sampled population is representative of the entire population, the findings of the study were able to provide some sort of insight and depth into the livelihoods of migrant street traders with this small sample. Therefore, the next chapter will present and interpret the findings of the study.



## **CHAPTER 6: RESEARCH FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS**

### **6.1 Introduction**

The main purpose of this chapter is to answer the research question and subsidiary questions. The investigation focused on street trading and the role it plays in sustaining the livelihoods of migrant street traders. The research findings are presented into two sections: the quantitative section and the qualitative section. The quantitative section, which makes up the first section of the chapter, focuses on the descriptive statistics about migrant street traders and their street trading enterprises. The section commences with demographics, presentation of street trader's motivation to migrate, and the characteristics of migrant street traders who were participants in this study. It also incorporates some qualitative reflections that may relate to the data. The second section which is qualitative data discusses findings and analysis relating to migrant street traders' enterprises and offers a detailed discussion on the lived experiences and challenges of the migrant street traders in the market. The section will start by presenting findings on migration aspirations and migrant opportunities after arriving in South Africa. The SLF is applied as the analysis tool since it has a broad framework; specifically, a focus on social capital and financial capital will assist in identifying specific ways that street trading contributes to the livelihoods of migrant street traders.



## **QUANTITATIVE DATA**

### **6.2 Demographics**

#### **6.2.1 Country of Origin of Migrants**

Table 1 provides a summary of migrant street traders in the sample by country of origin. Out of the 30 questionnaires completed by migrant street traders, 50% of participants were from Senegal, followed by Nigeria with 23.33%, Malawi with 20%, and the Gambians were the smallest represented group with 6.67% of participants.

**Table 1: Country of origin**

<b>Country of Origin</b>	
Senegal	50%
Nigeria	23.33%
Malawi	20%
The Gambia	6.67%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

The Workshop flea market was selected as the case study area for the research and is divided into two markets, namely the Church Walk Market and the Locko Market. According to qualitative data, observations made at the Church Walk market revealed that migrants from Senegal were the dominant population group when compared to other traders from other countries including South Africa's overwhelmingly low population group.

The Locko Market is a bigger market than the Church Walk market and from an observation point of view, it is easy to assume that there is an even distribution of population groups of Nigerians, Senegalese, and Malawians. During the interviews and administration of questionnaires, the Senegalese were the dominating group in the entire market followed by the Nigerians. In a semi-structured interview, a street trader from Senegal referred to the market as "*little Senegal*". The majority of Senegalese street traders at the Church Walk market have taken over from someone or are operating the street trading enterprises on behalf of a family member or someone from their country of origin. The Locko market has new and old street trading enterprises, and qualitative data shows that many street traders have operated enterprises for longer than ten years.

### **6.2.2 Gender**

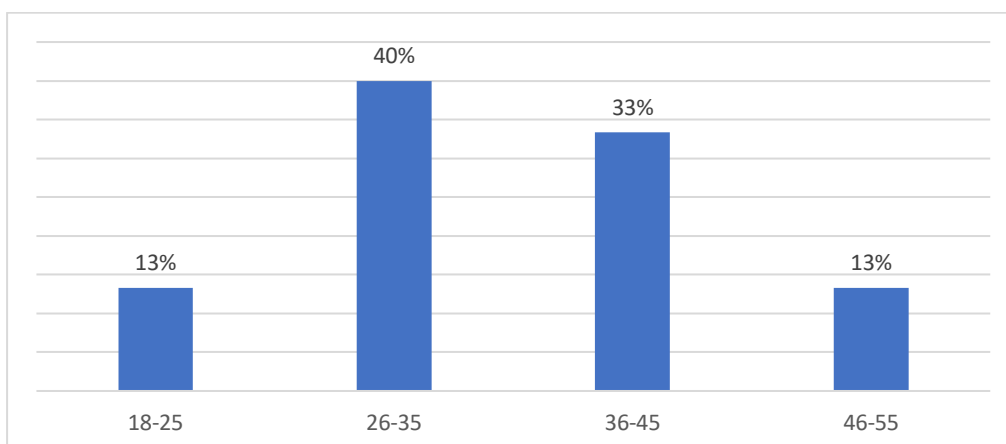
The sampled majority of migrant street traders in this study who sell clothing apparel, and accessories were male at 96%, with the remaining 4% of participants being female. Although males make up most of the participants in this study, there is a large population of female migrant street traders in the market who have ventured into other street trading enterprises such

as beauty and personal care products enterprises. The findings are consistent with Lapah's (2011) Cape Town study which found an overwhelming 63% of migrant street traders to be males.

Three studies conducted in the Durban Metropolitan region, however, indicated that many street traders are females. According to Sinqwana-Ndulo's (2013) survey conducted within Durban, found that 58% of street traders were women. StatsSA (2018) further stated that more women were operating street trading enterprises in Durban than men. Results from a study by Horn (2011), comparing four South African major cities, found Durban to have the highest number of females 58% compared to 42% of males when compared to other cities. Thus, all the above studies indicate a tendency of female street traders which is not the case in this research, and there could be several reasons for this such as a female preference for trading with other products such as crafts or hairdressing.

### 6.2.3 Age

As illustrated in Figure 6.1 migrant street traders between 18-25 years old and 46-55 years old age group percentages are overwhelmingly low both sitting at 13%. The data gathered from the questionnaire further revealed that 40% of migrant street traders between the ages of 26 to 35 were the majority of participants followed by 33% who are between the ages 36-45 years old. This finding is to be expected and confirms similar research results which indicate that young adults are the most actively involved in the workplace, both in the formal and informal sectors.



**Figure 6.1: Age of migrant street traders**



Concerning the age range of migrant street traders, the majority was between 26-35 years old. Observation data revealed that there is a higher concentration of migrant street traders at the Church Walk who fall within this age group bracket as opposed to the Locko Market. The younger migrant street traders, especially at the Church Walk market, struggled with local languages, and often had to be assisted by their fellow countrymen indicating many of them had not been in South Africa for long. These findings are an indication of a close relationship between migration and social capital. Networks among migrants of the same country do not start flourishing within the market, they are formed in the country of origin where they contribute to facilitating the migration process, provide information about the receiving country and the type of job that awaits a person (Kankonde, 2010; Madhavan & Landau, 2011). From the qualitative data collected in the Locko market, other migrants from Senegal mentioned that *“many of the guys from Church Walk are new-- they haven't been here for long”*. A portion of the migrant street traders from Senegal was new in the country, young, and had taken over a business from someone. Although I did not speak about the Mouride brotherhood networks, the discussion reflects what Golub & Hansen-Lewis (2012) describe as Mourides business and trading practices, where young men work in street trading enterprises up until they can advance to other businesses within the network (Golub & Hansen-Lewis, 2012). It was interesting to note that young Senegalese and Malawian street traders at the Church Walk market would refer to a boss who was not in the market. In contrast, the younger migrant street traders at the Locko Market had bosses whom I met, and others ran street trading enterprises. This tallies with Vawda's (2017) study that the extension of the Mouride is wide in Durban and many of the street traders are part of the brotherhood.

What is interesting to note is that there is a behaviour pattern that emerges for younger migrant street traders between the ages of 18-25 years and older migrant street traders between 46-55 years. Migrant street trader's mobility can be viewed as a social process with structures within networks that facilitate migration and access to jobs and income. Between the years 26-35 years old is the peak where migrant street trader youth may be in search of independence and street trading is agency towards achieving that independence. On the other hand, for the older traders at 36-45 years of age, life responsibilities tend to increase and responsibilities such as having a family and being able to support children.

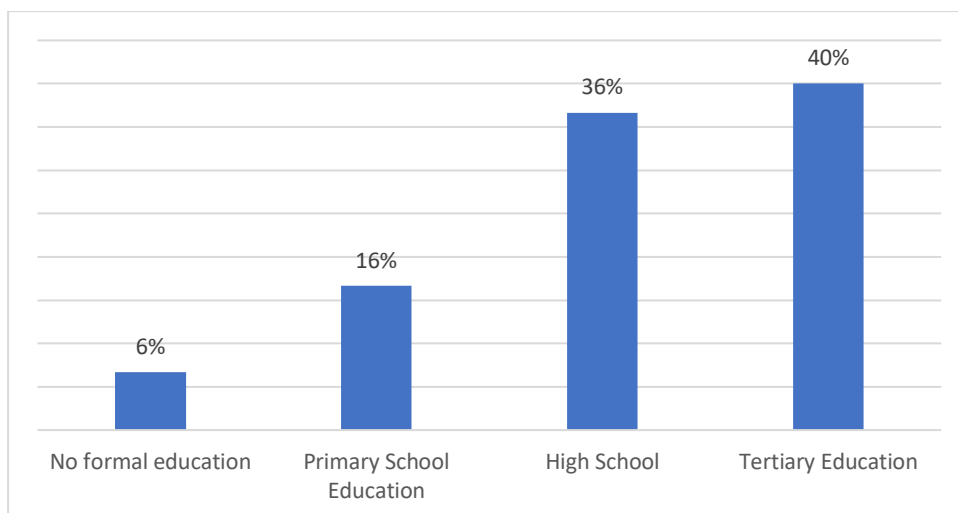
Sinqwana-Ndulo (2013) further points out that men usually enter street trading early in their lives and leave. Figure 6.1 could be pointing to the fact that some of the street traders have either started the business later in their lives or returned to street trading after trying other

business ventures. A study conducted by Mitullah (2003) in six African countries indicates that men start street trading early in their lives and that due to unemployment younger people tend to venture into the informal economy to avoid poverty although the cost of starting a business may be high for them (Nkrumah-Abebresse & Schachtebek, 2017). This is evident because interviews with some of the migrant street traders alluded to the fact that they had other business which failed or allowed them to save start-up capital for opening a street trading business.

#### **6.2.4 Education**

The education achievements of the sampled population are illustrated in Figure 6.2. These results indicate that 6% of migrant street traders have had no formal education and 16% have only primary school education. The data further indicates that 36% of migrant street traders possess a high school education certificate and the majority at 40% have achieved a tertiary education. These findings reveal that street trading is a skill that is nurtured or taught and does not necessarily require any formal education. Respondents who have completed a tertiary education highlighted how the lack of employment and the need to be independent was what motivated them to start street trading businesses

The education achievements of the sample illustrated in Figure 6.2 dispute the common assumption that migrant street traders are not educated or have had no access to education at all. The education level of the sample is remarkably high and could very possibly be due to the lack of formal employment opportunities or work permits which would enable these traders to access employment in the formal sector. To offer an example from my qualitative data, a Nigerian trader shared with me that he had been given an offer of employment in the formal sector at a financial institution and lost it after experiencing challenges in obtaining a work permit. The education achievements of migrant street traders who have acquired tertiary education make them suitable candidates for certain jobs in the formal sector; however, South Africa has very stringent migration laws, which make it difficult for migrants to secure employment in the formal economy.

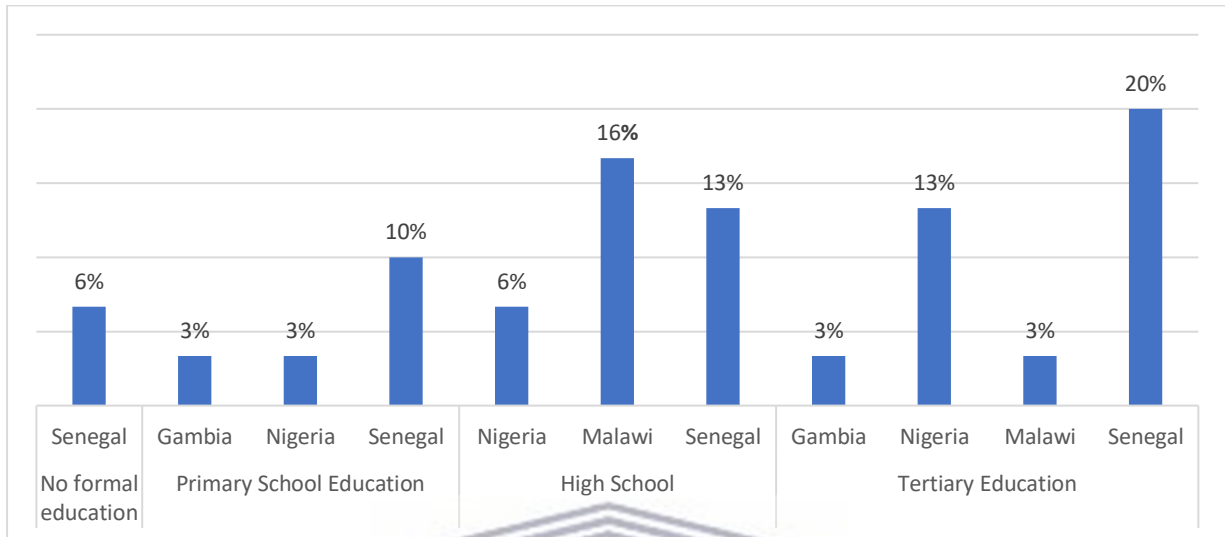


**Figure 6.2: Migrant street traders education levels**

Quantitative data on the education levels of migrant street traders at the Church Walk and Locko markets by country of origin is captured in Figure 6.3. A total of 6% of migrant street traders who have had no formal education are from Senegal and were between the ages of 46-55 years old. Migrant traders from The Gambia and Nigeria represented 3% of those who have a primary school education, compared to 10% of traders from Senegal. With high school education being the second-highest educational level among migrant street traders, quantitative data in Figure 6.3 indicates that in my sample, 16% of Malawian traders had a high school education level. In this category, 6% of Nigerians and 13% of Senegalese have completed high school education. The presence of tertiary education levels across all groups from different countries of origin demonstrates that the migrant street traders in my sample are educated.

A street trader from Nigeria engaged me about unemployment and the informal economy in South Africa. He shared that based on his experience in both Nigeria and South Africa, as a graduate it is hard to find a job. Nigerian Respondent 4 stated, *“Everyone wants to make a living. I did not choose street trading because I was poor and with this business, I have a good life. Sometimes graduates need to think if 100 people graduate and the private and public sector can offer a total of 60 jobs the rest of the 40 should not suffer. The rest must look for opportunities in the informal sector. Sometimes it is sad because people think we did not go to school. This business is good, and people just need to be positive about it.”* From this statement, we can learn that migrant street traders understand that the street trading business is a livelihood strategy and is also opportunity driven. 3% of migrant street traders from The Gambia and

Malawi have reached tertiary levels. Senegalese traders represented 20% which is the highest population group compared to Nigeria with 13%.



**Figure 6.3 Migrant street trader’s education by country of origin**

The disparities in the education levels indicate that street trading is not only an activity for the unskilled and undereducated but also the educated. In this regard, Chikanda and Tawodzera (2017) argue that most often street traders or informal traders are perceived as less educated, but research indicates 11% of traders possess tertiary education accomplishments. Similarly, Lapah’s (2011) research conducted in Cape Town among migrant street traders indicated that 18% of street traders had completed tertiary level education. These findings are highlighting the significance value of human capital such as the advancement of skills and education which are also required for the street trading business and life in general. Furthermore, a migrant street trader’s education can shape their entrepreneurial skills, as some respondents explained that before pursuing a street trading business, they had taken business studies.

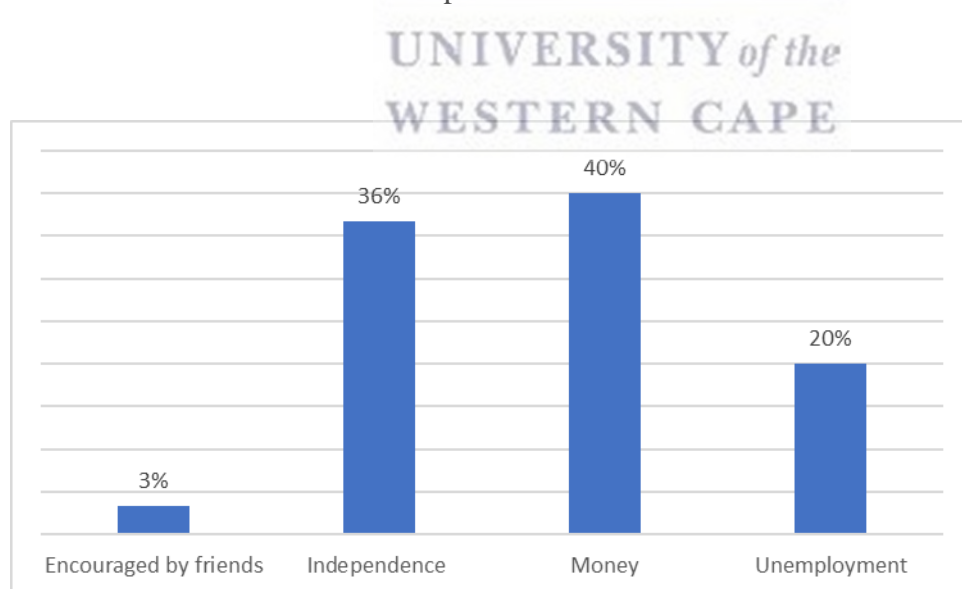
Qualitative data provided different insights into the level of education of traders. Interviews with migrant street traders from Senegal and The Gambia revealed that they have received the same kind of education even though they are from two different countries. Migrant street traders from these countries referred to the South African Madrassa schools, citing that they had something similar in their countries of origin. Furthermore, migrants from Senegal conveyed that the Madrassa schools provided them with an education that is equivalent to high

school education. It was interesting to note that Senegalese and Gambian traders had received both secular education and Koranic education of which the latter contributes the most to strengthen their social networks and guides them in their business practices. Malawian street traders had been encouraged to attend school, but due to a lack of funds to further their education, they mostly migrated to South Africa in search of employment.

### 6.3 Street Trading Enterprises

#### 6.3.1 Formation of the Street Trading Enterprise

Migrant street traders were asked about the factors contributing to business start-ups and the sources of capital for business start-ups (see Figure 6.4). Only 3% of respondents were encouraged by friends to venture into street trading compared to other categories which indicate that other driving forces propel migrant street traders to enter the street trading business. 36% of respondents said they ventured into street trading because of independence to work for oneself and taking pride in owning a business. The majority of respondents at 40% responded that their main motivation was the potential income earned in the street trading business. In addition to the economic benefits, a decent income makes a substantial contribution towards satisfaction of life, freedom, improvement of wellbeing. Unemployment has also motivated 20% of street traders to start enterprises.



**Figure 6.4: Motivation to start street trading business**



The quantitative and qualitative data findings indicate that financial security assists migrant street traders to meet their intrinsic goals concerning subjective wellbeing. It can be learned from the above findings that for the migrant street traders, money and independence are a determinant for happiness, meaning the businesses can provide for the life they had hoped for. Moreover, financial capital provides the means of expansion to access other capitals such as human, physical, social that can be beneficial to both their livelihoods and wellbeing. Income earned in the street trading business motivates migrant traders to keep on engaging in this business as they can keep up with the demands of life. Furthermore, the guarantee of income every month is what kept them away from poverty.

A common assumption surrounding street trading and other informal sector activities is that the traders are poor. However, qualitative fieldwork and interview data concerning the factors motivating one to start a street trading business revealed that respondents did not view themselves as poor. They were aware that customers and the rest of society perceive them as people who have failed in life hence, they started street trading enterprises. Qualitative interview data shows that migrant street traders do not start enterprises out of poverty; rather, opening enterprises is part of a migration aspiration. Also, street trading increases access to services such as education and health for families, and what is more important to each one has access to a wider network of traders even beyond the market.

Interviews also revealed that street traders' decision to venture into this form of economic activity was to avoid being exposed to poverty and because the business enables the traders to access a quality of life. Consistent with the above findings, a study conducted by Peberdy (2016) in Johannesburg also revealed that earning money was the most common entrepreneurial motivation for the street trader to be able to support family members and remit back to the country of origin. Furthermore, apart from the fact that street trading offers financial security, fieldwork revealed that the intrinsic benefits of the business are what further attracted street traders to this business. This information is supported by Akintola and Akintola (2015) who discuss that foreign nationals usually face difficulties in Durban after not being able to secure employment, and this challenges their survival strategies and ability to access good quality of life.

### 6.3.2 Business Start-up Capital

Questionnaire responses revealed that although street trading enterprises may be similar, access to business start-up capital varies. Table 2 presents the categories of start-up capital used by migrant street traders to start their businesses. Data indicates that 33.33% of migrant street traders did not have start-up capital because they either worked as employees for enterprise owners or were owners who had taken over an enterprise from someone else. Concerning migrant street traders who had access to start-up capital, findings indicate that 30% of migrant street traders had start-up capital between R100 and R15 000, while 16.67% of migrant street traders used between R16 000 and R30 000 as start-up capital which can be a mid-range or reasonable amount to start a small business. The remaining 20% of respondents indicated that they had accessed between R31 000 and more than R61 000 as start-up capital. Amounts above R31000 are perceived to be risky since street trading is a ‘survivalist’ business that operates within a vulnerability context. A study conducted by Crush et. al. (2017) in the Western Cape and Limpopo provinces, however, presents that no matter the value of start-up capital, migrant traders always find strategies to maximise capital returns.

**Table 2: Start-up capital**

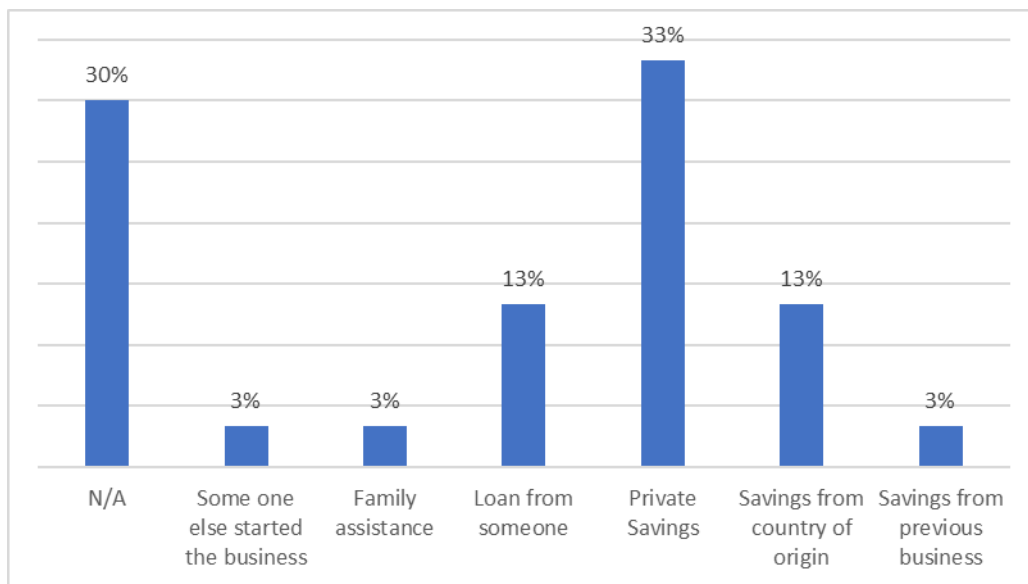
Start-up capital	%
Not applicable	33.33%
R100-R15000	30%
R16000-R30000	16.67%
R31000-R45000	6.67%
R46000-R60000	6.67%
>R61000	6.66%

According to both quantitative and qualitative data, the start-up capital amount is linked to the year the business was opened. Enterprises that started operating immediately after 1994 used less start-up capital as opposed to enterprises that started operating from the mid-2000s. Qualitative data found that this is related to migration. Pre-1994 human mobility in South

Africa was open to the SADC region admitting labour migrants. South African democracy presented a window of opportunity for West African (Senegalese and Nigerian) migrants to pursue their migration desires. From a subjective well-being point of view, qualitative interview data found that migrants who had migrated into South Africa at the time post-1994 were satisfied with the life they had lived in South Africa and had been able to open multiple street trading enterprises. Furthermore, within the context of liveability, migrants moved to South Africa as a country or specifically Johannesburg were identified as destinations that can meet the needs of an individual, such as access to income and support from the wider migrant community. It was interesting to note that some of these migrants had lived in different cities across South Africa before choosing to settle in Durban.

Referring to the 30.33% and 16.67% of respondents who started their business with the least amounts of capital, it should be noted that these migrant street traders have been operating their street enterprises for over ten years and arrived in South Africa between the years 1995 and 2005. Whilst the amount of start-up capital is intricately linked to the performance of South African currency, the respondents also alluded to the fact that when they had arrived in South Africa the Rand was performing well and the prices of products were good. Respondents were of the view, though, that after 2005 they required more capital to start a street trading enterprise. The 20% of respondents who fall into the three start-up capital categories of more than R31000 started their business after 2005 and expressed that in general, they required more capital to start a business.

Regarding the method used to obtain capital, the findings illustrated in Figure 6.5 indicate that 30% of respondents work as employees, which is why there is no source for start-up capital for this group, and 3% had inherited the business from someone. It was clear from the interviews that social capital has a role to play in providing and in obtaining start-up capital as 3% of respondents were assisted by family members and 13% of respondents obtained a loan from someone they knew. A total of 33% of the sample obtained start-up capital through private savings to start their business. This is like findings in Cape Town and Limpopo, where a majority of 85% of migrant informal traders were found to have used their savings as business start-up capital (Crush, et. al., 2017). Before moving into South Africa and starting a street trading enterprise 13% of migrant street traders had obtained start-up capital from the employment opportunities they had in their country of origin. It is interesting to learn that 3% had operated businesses in South Africa and had used savings from those businesses to start a street trading enterprise.



**Figure 6.5: Sources of start-up capital**

Participants remarked that starting up a street trading enterprise requires a large sum of money, which is for setting up and buying stock. Qualitative data findings indicate that migrant street traders are aware that starting a street trading business is risky and uncertainties relating to financial capital are triggered by the mere fact that the business operates within a vulnerability context. Therefore, no matter what the source of capital is, that capital must be doubled which indicates the sustainability or growth of the enterprise. Findings revealed that migrant street traders can double their start-up capital, however various techniques are applied. Senegalese street traders believed that capital can be doubled once a street trader has obtained proper guidance from a business teacher. According to Senegalese street traders, a business teacher is someone who has years of experience in operating successful businesses within the informal economy. Both qualitative and quantitative data found that the type of social capital that exists among migrant street traders is bonding social capital (Hawkins & Maurer, 2010). The presence of the business teacher is to strengthen the investment of a network by enhancing the skills of trader, meaning that social capital feeds onto other capitals, in this case, human capital as indicated in the SLF's pentagon of assets. Although such practices do promote high-level entrepreneurial skills among migrant street traders, they direct the flow of money and encourage migrant street traders to invest in each other's business. Furthermore, it provides

insight as to why social capital is playing an important role in the livelihoods of migrant street traders.

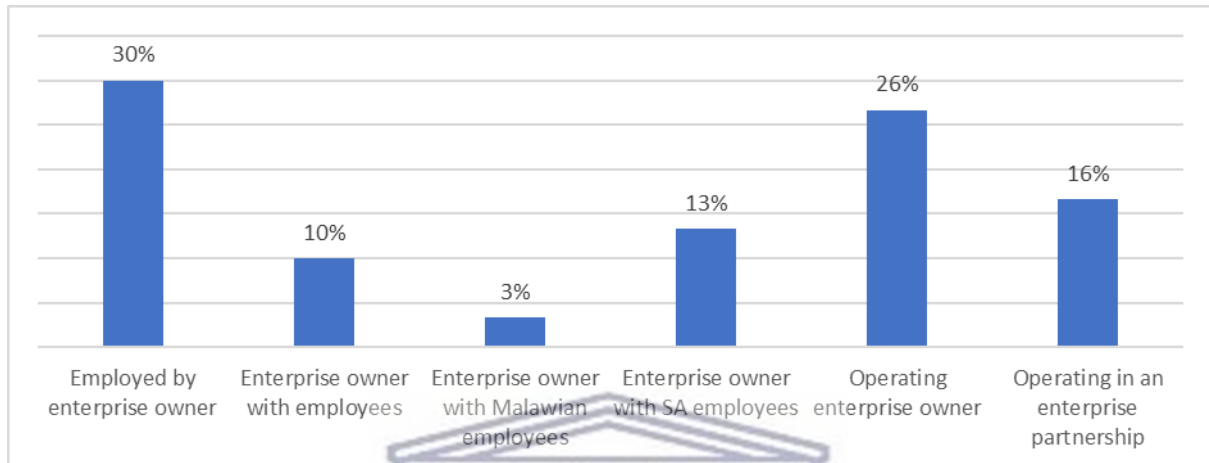
### **6.3.3 Type of Business Enterprises**

Quantitative data findings presented in Figures 6.6 indicate the different types of migrant enterprises. The 30% of migrant street traders who were identified as employed by enterprise owners operated the street trading enterprises on behalf of Nigerian or Senegalese enterprise owners. Figure 6.6 further identifies different types of enterprise owners who have employees as assistants or run enterprises. Firstly, for the 10% of enterprise owners with employees, the employee was either a brother or someone from their country of origin which demonstrates the importance of social networks. Drawing from these findings consummatory social capital can be described as a livelihood strategy because whether a Senegalese is an enterprise employer or employee the end goal is one to sustain livelihoods and achieve wellbeing. Golub & Hansen-Lewis (2012) discuss how the Mourides of Senegal, Gambia, and the Yoruba of Nigeria have constructed a stronger economic network in the informal economy across the world outperforming the locals in operating successful street trading enterprises. The networks formed by the groups from West Africa are a type of social capital that can be identified as an institution itself. Not only do they strengthen bonds between kinsmen or ethnic groups, but cultural or ethnic norms are the foundation of the businesses of these networks as opposed to the formal economy where there are rules and contracts which regulate employment terms (Golub & Hansen-Lewis, 2012).

Secondly, there is 3% of enterprise owners that employ Malawian nationals and 13% employ South African local people. It is interesting to note that there were migrants who had South African employees, and observation data revealed that these employers were mostly Senegalese migrant street traders. The findings support the literature on informal trading's ability to address the problem of unemployment in South Africa. Again, they may be speaking about migrants who need to find a sense of belonging considering their lived experiences in South Africa. Observation data showed that the majority of street traders in the market were migrants, therefore, employing a South African could also be a brand strategy since customers were mostly South African, and having someone who could easily relate to the customers and spoke IsiZulu was an advantage to the enterprise.



Some migrant street traders preferred to operate their enterprises on their own which explains the 26% of migrant street traders operating as enterprise owners without any employees. The extension of social capital is well demonstrated in the 16% of migrant street traders who operated in an enterprise partnership were from the same country of origin.



**Figure 6.6: Type of enterprise**

Working for a family member or someone from their country of origin was prevalent among the Senegalese and the Nigerians. Kindler et. al. (2015) explain that diaspora-based networks among migrants are popular and are usually associated with economic success. Furthermore, the employment of street traders from the same country of origin as a form of social capital meant that there is trust, the flow of communication and empowerment between the migrant street traders of the same country of origin. Trust is also necessary to such networks and is thick and encouraged by the bonds or interactions within the networks (Madhavan & Landau, 2011; Mazars, et al., 2013). Employing a fellow countryman highly demonstrates the instrumental value of social capital within the networks and highlights how networks can be significant for the well-being of an individual (Mazars, et al., 2013). Partnerships were observed mostly to exist between brothers or from two migrant street traders from the same country of origin.

What was more interesting was the dynamic between Senegalese and Malawian migrant street traders, Malawians are referred to as hard workers and as the most preferred employees to operate individual enterprises on behalf of the owner. The existence of the transnational

network between the Senegalese and Malawian migrant street is remarkably surprising due to the differences in each group, although many of them shared one religion which is Islam. Bridging social capital among migrant street traders has its benefits and as this was particularly created in the marketplace, it is a livelihood strategy that facilitates access to increased economic well-being, unlike the Senegalese-Gambian migrant street traders' relationship which is influenced by factors such as language, religion, and sharing an international boundary. Other than income and religion (Islam) that some Malawians share with the Senegalese, it is not clear what influences the Senegalese-Malawian relationship as Malawians seem to have a vital role to play in business operations.

### **6.3.4 Working Hours**

The hours worked varied from street trader to street trader and factors such as income seemed to determine how long street traders worked in a day. In Table 3 it is illustrated that 2% of migrant street traders work 6 hours per day. Whilst 2% of migrant street traders work for 7 hours, 5% of migrant street traders work for 8 hours, and 31% work 9 hours work which is what is the normal working hours for any person with a full-time job. The majority of respondents at 34% choose to work for 10 hours to generate more income and 19% of migrant street traders work for 11 hours. Only 4% work for 12 hours per day. These statistics show that the majority of traders work more than what is considered a full-time job.

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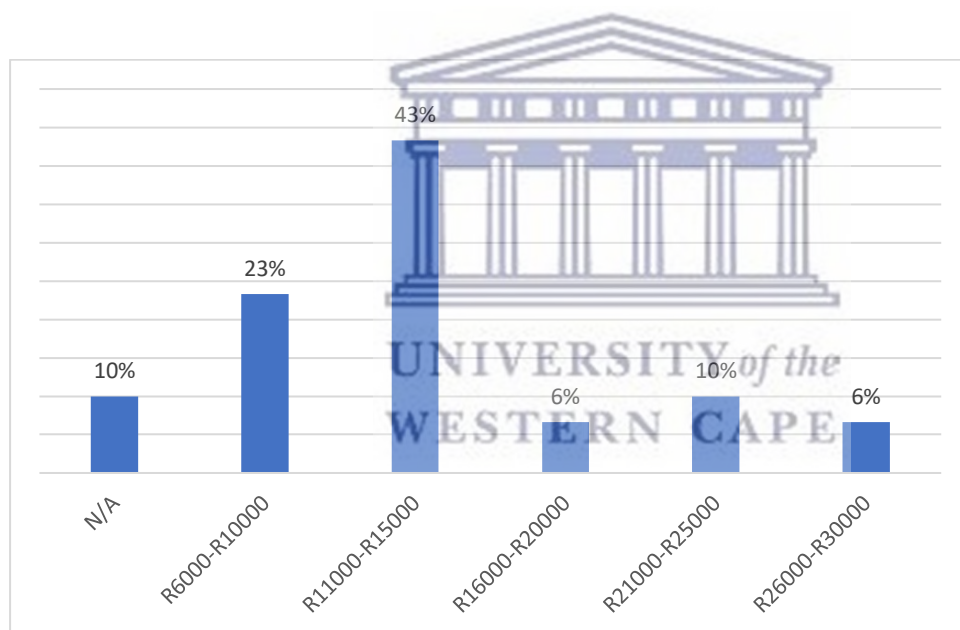
**Table 3: Hours worked by migrant street traders a day**

Hours Worked a day	%	N
6	2.10%	1
7	2.45%	1
8	5.59%	2
9	31.47%	10
10	34.97%	10
11	19.23%	5
12	4.20%	1

Income influences what time the respondents started operating their enterprises. Respondents who started trading after 9:00 a.m. indicated that there was no income generated in the morning especially during off-peak season whilst respondents who operated during regular working hours (6:30 a.m. to 7:00 p.m.) still believed that there was income to be generated from the morning customers. Migrant street traders who participated in the study sold the same goods, which are clothing apparel, therefore, customer behaviour and shopping preferences influence the time migrant street traders started working. The participants' views were that street trading is seven days a week job, and one works more hours to generate more income. In as much as they may work long hours, besides income, the street trading business also provides expansion of networks, independence, and the life that migrant street traders aspire to live. This study applies the SLF as it provides an in-depth understanding of the livelihoods of migrant street traders and the role of social capital. One of the key livelihood strategies discussed by (Scoones, 1998) is livelihood diversification and migration. Livelihood diversification of migrant street traders is a combination of multiple strategies which include the operation of multiple enterprises, operating based on customer behaviour and social networks which allow people from outside the network through means of employment. This combination increases the opportunity cost of the migrant street concerning capabilities and well-being, which are the preconditions of the SLA. Migrant street traders define how their livelihoods ought to be by choosing the best livelihoods strategy for themselves.

### 6.3.5 Income Generation

The income shown in Figure 6.7 reflects the migrant street trader's profits generated over three months from May 2019 to July 2019. Respondents did not feel comfortable disclosing their monthly profits. The 10% of migrant street traders who did not disclose any business profits are employees of enterprise owners who were not keeping track of the business profits or were not allowed to keep track of profits. From Figure 5.7 it is discovered that 23% of migrant street traders generated profits between R6000 and R10000. An overwhelmingly 43% of migrant street traders had made their profits between R11000 and R15000. Data findings further indicated that 6% of migrant street traders made profits between R16000 and R20000 and 10% made profits between R21000-R25000. Even though there is a group of migrant street traders with low profits there is a 6% group of migrant street traders that made an income between R26000-R30000.



**Figure: 6.7: Migrant street traders' enterprise profits for the last three months**

The above data is an indicator that some enterprises could be growing or are faced with challenges. Firstly, respondents who had generated an income of less than R10000 mentioned that they have experienced challenges such as competition or the location of the enterprise within the market which contributed to generating undesirable profit. Secondly, high profit went hand in hand with the season of the year and the location of the enterprise within the markets. Respondents indicated that enterprises that were at the centre or situated at the entry

points were more likely to generate good and high net profits than enterprises located on the market periphery.

All the street traders indicated that they had no other sources of income other than that generated from the enterprises. The profits generated also highly contribute to household income and lead to the achievement of life that one desires and sustaining the standard of living.

### 6.3.6 Contribution of Household Income

Table 4 indicates that 26% of respondents reported that their income covers all their monthly expenses every month compared to 30% whose income cannot cover all their monthly expenses. An overwhelmingly 43% of respondents' income can sometimes cover their monthly expenses. What is important though is the size of the individual respondents' families, and some respondents have bigger families to support, and other respondents only support themselves. During the months where migrant street could not cover their monthly expenses, they relied upon help received from friends and family especially to pay rent and buy food. Monthly expenses that were listed by respondents included rent (trading space and housing), food, school fees, transport, and other respondents' remittances.

**Table 4: Income's ability to cover monthly expenses**

Income covers monthly expenses	%
All the time	26%
Not at all	30%
Sometimes	43%

Quantitative data revealed that from the income generated, 56% of street traders were satisfied with their lives and being a street trader. Whilst 30% of respondents were not satisfied, 13% were only moderately satisfied with their lives as street traders. The 30% who felt that they were not happy with their lives as street traders felt that they did not have any other choice, street trading was the only thing to do and felt they had no option. The 13% of respondents



who were somewhat satisfied with their lives as street traders felt that challenges often made it harder to meet the demands of life and limited them to live the quality of life that they wanted. Thus, it can be inferred that satisfaction with life as a street trader goes hand in hand with the amount of income generated by the business, and less income resulted in traders being less satisfied with life.

The ability of income to cover monthly expenses also means that migrant street traders can send remittances to the country of origin. Remitting money within the African continent is deeply rooted in culture and social status especially if it is related to migration international and internal migration. The majority (76%) of the respondents had families in their country of origin, and money is remitted to family members every month. However, the migrant street traders shared a little about how the money remitted assisted those back home, which included meeting basic household needs and sending children to school. These findings are the opposite of Kankonde's (2010) study of the Congolese in Johannesburg for whom remittances were not only limited to money but tangible goods like clothes and played a role in maintaining social status. In his study migrants had to prove to the wider community that the migration efforts had not failed and the practice of sending remittances uplifts one's social status while in another country. As Kankonde (2010) points out migrants leave their country of origin knowing who will be on the receiving end. Migrants who participated in this study have networks that can support them ensuring that migration efforts do not fail and encourage remittances to the country of origin. However, what is common between these two studies is that remittances for those in the country of origin mean access to a better life and money. Those that sent money back home occasionally had siblings or family members that had left the country of origin and who were also sending remittances home. Therefore, sending remittances was a shared responsibility amongst family members. However, whether money was sent monthly or occasionally, all respondents indicated that it was important because they felt that they were helping those they had left behind. These findings are consistent with Peberdy's (2016) study conducted in Johannesburg which had a majority of 82% of respondents who remitted the money. For the 16 % of respondents who indicated that they did not send remittances back to their country of origin, the reason was that their family members resided with them in Durban, and they did not see the need to remit money.

## QUALITATIVE DATA

### 6.4 Migration Aspirations

Qualitative data interviews indicate that migrant street traders' decisions and aspirations to migrate to South Africa were influenced by kinship networks- friends or family members who were already residing in South Africa. A kinship type of network is the key point in facilitating migration and within African families; elder siblings are usually the ones who migrate first, especially to first world countries or South Africa within the continent (Kankonde, 2010). Nigerian respondent 2 stated that the only reason he had left Nigeria was that his older brother asked him to come and run his other street trading enterprise. The promise of a job, access to financial capital, and a desirable standard of living motivated him. Because his brother had been successful in running a business, he said that he felt he may also find success and new opportunities in South Africa. With his older brother sending for him is an indication that migrating to South Africa is the action taken because of the prior information he had received about the country and how life might be like in South Africa when compared to the experienced frustrations in Nigeria. Reflecting on Carling and Talleraas' (2016) discussion on migration desires and aspirations, the sharing of information about South Africa and the provision of employment increases a desire for change resulting in migration into South Africa. These findings are described as common by Akintola and Akintola (2015) since some migrants may have had no intention of migrating but migrate by invitation. Networks and sharing of information often lead to a change of perceptions about life 'here' and 'there' (De Haas, 2014). Strikingly Nigerian respondents articulated their aspirations to move to South Africa as motivated by the opportunities or endeavours to start a new business in the informal economy, but not to be a street trader. Before embarking on street trading enterprises Nigerian enterprise owners had ventured into other businesses within the informal economy which had failed, and only thereafter they started street trading enterprises. Nigerian respondent 1 said: "*My sister, I had a shop before, but business went under and I had to close down. I opened this business because I have to survive.*" These findings are congruent with Akintola and Akintola's (2015) study, which also focused on Nigerian migrant street traders who said they were pushed into street trading by failed endeavours upon arriving in South Africa. The closure of business for Nigerians who had shops could signify a migration "failure"; however, due to the diversity of the informal sector, the 'desire for change' motivated them to pursue street trading enterprises that are more manageable than shops.

Malawian street traders who were interviewed voiced that their desire to migrate to South Africa was motivated by finding a form of employment, to make a living and support those in the country of origin and themselves. Malawians exerted that it was harder to secure employment in their country, and so coming to South Africa meant a better standard of living for themselves and their families. Drawing from literature, cross border migration aspirations are said not to be limited to acquiring a source of stable income but to further pave the path to social status and prestige for individuals (Tandian, 2018). The language that migrants use to discuss their aspirations can provide a vernacular and social context to how and why they migrate; for example, Senegalese language is infused with proverbs which encourage migration and identify it as a gateway to improving the lives of family members left in the country of origin (Tandian, 2018). In Senegal, migration contributes to one's social status in the community. Participants in this study who remitted money monthly felt that migrating to South Africa has assisted their family members in the country of origin financially and, being able to speak isiZulu, described it as having made "*impilo ibe kahle*" (*a better life*). Malawian migrant street traders were more able to share some of their experiences in IsiZulu and they expressed finding it easy to learn the language upon arrival.

The participants further remarked that whether Durban was their intended destination, they knew that they had come to South Africa to make a livelihood. Migration aspirations result in the cause of action; therefore, street traders' migration is agency into achieving new functionings (Carling & Collins, 2018; Sen, 1999). Carling and Schwel (2018) further identify that migration aspirations across international boundaries are determined by the characteristics and standard of living of a place as modified by the individual's needs (p.953).

#### **6.4.1 Migration Opportunities**

Networks and opportunities, depending on the situation and one's idea of an ideal life, have a certain degree of influence on migration aspirations. Thus, migrants' identification of opportunities does not mean that they will not experience social and political threats along their migratory process. Senegalese Respondent 1 told me, "*When I arrived in South Africa, I was not allowed to set up an enterprise. Whites and Indians would call the police on you to remove you. Back then I walked around selling my stock and saved money*". Even though this was after 1994, this lack of security led him to spend some years walking around Durban selling goods, and only after five years was he able to start trading at the Workshop. The respondents explained that social dynamics at the market were different and that South Africa was going

through a transformation then. A participant who now runs a street trading enterprise with his brother explained that in Senegal he had learned how to run a business, but no matter how different South Africa was, he knew he had to try and make things work because he could not go back home. As a mobile street trader, he established a customer base and many of his customers lived in the previously “whites only” suburbs.

Senegalese street traders who arrived in South Africa after 2010 left Senegal once they had secured capital and obtained information on operating an enterprise. Senegalese Respondent 3: *“I had savings because I had a job back home. The money was still good in South Africa- it was a lot back then compared to the present times, but I managed to buy a lot of stock. When I arrived in South Africa, I already had some money, and I started selling belts”*. Migration for the group of the migrant street traders who arrived in South Africa before 2010 was risky and could have failed and led to deportations. Senegalese street traders who had arrived in South Africa before 2010 had lived in different cities across the country pursuing different opportunities within the street trading business. Senegalese Respondent 2 stated that working in Johannesburg had its challenges including too much competition and difficulties with the police. His first business was in Brits where he ran a street trading enterprise for ten years before moving to the Johannesburg CBD and later to Durban. Even though de Haas (2014) argues that it is very linear to look at migrants being motivated by geographic and economic gaps to pursue migration, unlike the Nigerian street traders in my study who discussed their motivation to migrate in terms of endeavours, the Senegalese respondents were clear that their migration intention was to start a street trading enterprise. These findings reflect the resilience of Senegalese migrant street traders and the determination of making migration a success.

Concerning migrant street traders, Sen’s notion of development as freedom in relation to migration may be interpreted as migration is an end to the means. Reflecting on the normative capability framework, capability sets such as the social security received from networks nurtures and indirectly encourages migrant street traders to seek opportunities that will enhance well being. Thus, street trading within this context is a socialised agency and an adaptive livelihood strategy that gives migrant street traders new functionings and beings. Migrant street traders had left their country of origin intending to start a street trading business, to take over a business or work for someone who owned multiple enterprises. Respondents revealed that street trading was like any other job and at the same time operates as a business. These results allude to what Knox, et al. (2019) describe as necessity-driven or opportunity-driven

entrepreneurs who start an enterprise not only for survival but to have access to restorative income which can meet basic daily or monthly needs.

## **6.5 The Vulnerability Context**

Income generation is affected by several factors which according to the SLF can be identified as shocks, trends, and seasonality. The nature of the street trading business is that it operates within a vulnerability context and that vulnerability can be a direct or indirect experience of migrant street traders that harms livelihoods. The factors discussed below were identified by the respondents as part of their lived experiences within the street trading environment.

### **6.5.1 Competition**

A total of 70% of respondents was concerned about extensive competition within the market, which they felt they could not escape. Gambian Respondent 1 said that the only way he deals with the competition is that even though they sell the same products as a street trader one must try to build their brand by making their enterprise appealing to the customers. The only way he does that is he tries to sell things that other traders may not have, but that is not always the case. *“My shop must also be attractive, and I must work fast. These customers don’t like to wait- I must always be ready to help them”*. In his enterprise, he worked with his brother who was a co-owner, and they had a Malawian employee. Their enterprise was big and positioned well in the market close to the Workshop shopping centre entrance. Like Gambian Respondent 1, 30% believed that selling unique products as a business strategy did make a difference in their enterprises, and they did not have to endure the stiffest competition. Bearing in mind that migrant street traders who participated in the study sold clothing apparel and accessories, the goods sold in the market were similar and the consumers are not spoiled for choice.

What was interesting from the observation data collected at the Locko Market, street traders were able to swap merchandise should another street trader not have a product that a customer needed to purchase. This was one business strategy that portrayed the depth of social capital as a way of dealing with competition. What seemed interesting is that migrant street traders were not concerned that the market did not regulate which enterprise sold which goods as a way of controlling competition. From the observation data point of view, all enterprises are a threat to each other’s businesses as far as business is concerned. Although networks have been identified as helpful as far as competition is concerned, they do not contribute to the improvement of the



economic performance of individual enterprises. This also tallies with (Madhavan & Landau, 2011) who state that although networks have advantages and are highly characterised by a thick layer of trust, there are situations where they cannot protect enterprises, with competition as a typical example. On another dimension, the interactions with the migrant revealed what Bunnell and Kathiravelu (2016) call friends of convenience or conviviality. It appeared that migrant street traders' friendships, which were linked by the same experiences they have shared in the business, religion, ethnicity helped to operate in peace as far as the competition is concerned.

With high competition in the market, 40 % of migrant street traders identified their greatest competitor as the clothing shops surrounding the markets. The shops could be either owned by Asians or African migrants, and the majority of them sold merchandise that was found at the market. Through the interviews, it was discovered that migrant street traders were able to attract business from customers because of prices. This puts the migrant street traders at an advantage, however, the lack of range of clothing items for customers can be said to be a major shortfall for them. It seems as if it is common for the informal traders, whether street traders or spaza shop owners, to compete with the formal sector shops. Firstly, a study conducted by Charman et. al (2012) in Cape Town revealed that micro-enterprise owners competed mostly with the formal economy shops; however, the consumer shopping patterns are influenced by the price. Therefore, it can be said that the distribution of cheaper goods does promote access to goods for the poor. A study conducted by Tawodzera, et al. (2015) also in Cape Town revealed that a business strategy applied by migrant street traders to overcome competition is through offering credit. Although this seems like a viable strategy to improve the business; however, the participants felt it is something that cannot be done with consumers out of fear of losing capital.

### **6.5.2 Seasonal Consumer Behaviour**

Consumer seasonal behaviours have an impact on the business income as migrant street traders must keep up with the seasonal demands of consumers. Concerning the vulnerability context, consumer seasonal behaviour is seasonality that has a direct impact on the livelihoods of migrant street traders, over which they have no control. Migrant street traders selling clothing apparel and accessories to the public are forced to keep up with the fashion trends and what consumers would like to wear depending on the season. The fieldwork was conducted in winter and qualitative data from observations indicated that migrant street traders conformed to what

consumers liked to wear and popular clothing labels were sold in the market. Migrant street traders had to accommodate both consumers who wanted to buy winter clothing and those consumers who still opted for non-winter clothing since Durban winters are warm.

Data from the interviews indicated that street traders shared the same views on fashion seasonality and how it affects income generation. Unlike departmental stores in the formal sector which may be able to have clearance sales, migrant street traders were of the view that holding a clearance sale will not only affect their profits for the month but also will have to be uniform in the market, and not everyone will conform or even like it. Furthermore, holding a clearance sale is not something that their businesses are accustomed to because as far as consumer behaviour is concerned, some consumers deliberately avoid buying, and wait for clearance sale, which has an impact on income generation. Observational data revealed that several enterprises within the market still had stock that was perceived to be out of season. Due to Durban's hot and humid temperatures, the merchandise was slightly damaged by the weather conditions and yet the price was still the same. According to 80% of the respondents, the weather is the biggest challenge that affects the merchandise. Hot and humid Durban summers damage certain products, and it is not easy operating an enterprise when it is raining.

Tourism is another seasonality that has an impact on the business. Qualitative data reveals that migrant street traders perceive this type of seasonality as good for the businesses since a good profit is generated. Migrant street traders who were operating enterprises before 2010 reflected on how the eThekweni Municipality City Planning affected them amid the 2010 FIFA World Cup preparations. Senegalese Respondent 5 shared, *"Before 2010 I had a shop where everything was going well. One day I was told to move there (Soldiers Way Flea Market)- how was I supposed to make business over there? Look at the space here -it is big but we were told only 60 people are supposed to be here. After the World Cup, I was still there. I was not making money until I asked to come back and they finally let me."* Migrant street traders held the perception that there was a lot of money to be made during the 2010 FIFA World Cup. However, they recalled being moved from the Workshop flea market to other nearby markets and other migrant street traders having their enterprises closed due to the municipality's "operation clean-up". These findings tally with DeVries' (2018) study which discusses how planning for the 2010 FIFA World Cup in Durban harmed the migrant who had hoped to enhance their livelihood through tourism. Street traders benefit from tourism and for the case of migrant street traders during the 2010 FIFA World Cup preparations the Municipality used

applied unlawfully the Durban Informal Trading Policy of 2001, as a result, some street traders did not gain and still feel that the eThekweni Municipality acted unfairly towards them.

Considering the current situation at the market during the peak season, an overwhelmingly 80% of migrant street traders always look towards the peak season, which is a period that attracts a high number of tourists for Durban. The peak season would be between June to July and December to January. To generate more income migrant street traders, work extra hours during these seasons, and enterprise owners would go to an extent where they would hire employees to keep up with the demands of the business. The contribution of the tourism industry to the livelihoods of migrant street traders could be a paradigm shift in that some seasonalities are good for livelihoods. Furthermore, considering the urbanity of Durban the activities of the tourism sector combined with street trading are a positive urban liveability to the community of migrant street traders.

### **6.5.3 Protests and Crime**

A commonly shared view amongst participants is that any type of protest is a threat to the business. Reflecting on the SLF's vulnerability context where shocks are defined as any events that can have a significant impact on livelihoods (Kollmair & Gamper, 2002). Therefore, whether it is an industrial action or any protest that takes place in town, migrant street traders know that they must protect their businesses from harm. During interviews, it became evident that some migrant street traders have had direct negative experiences from the protests, and for others, it was about learning from the experiences of others. Those that have had direct negative experiences felt that they were not protected by the police force nor the municipality and that protests made way for people to start looting their businesses. As soon as a protest is announced to take place in the CBD, the businesses will not operate. Malawian Respondent 1 said, *"It is better to shut down for a day because your goods are protected as opposed to selling when there is a strike where you can lose all your stock, and you will have to find money to replace it, which is not easy, and you still have a family to support"*.

The vulnerability context in which the migrant street traders operate their enterprises pose challenges to their livelihoods and in overcoming poverty. Crime is a continuous threat to the livelihoods of migrant street traders as migrant street traders feel that it directly affects their enterprises and limits the number of consumers shopping in the market. Qualitative data interviews reveal that some of the migrant street traders felt insecure within the flea market and

a perception around migrant street traders that some criminal activities directed towards them are motivated by xenophobia or perceptions that migrant street traders have money. These findings correlate with the study done by Charman and Piper (2012) in Cape Town in Delft township among spaza shop owners. Findings indicated that the amount of violence that was directed to the Somali spaza shop owners had been motivated by xenophobia. Quantitative data findings showed that about 45% of migrant street traders felt that the municipality had provided security for the market. The security provided by the municipality as indicated in the qualitative data interviews is not only meant for crime prevention but to maintain peace within the market among the street traders.

#### **6.5.4 Prejudice and Xenophobia**

Xolo (2018) discusses how street traders are perceived to be poor. Respondents alluded to this and explained that a lot of people think that they are poor and feel pity for them. From the perceptions that people have about street traders being poor, there are prejudices that respondents face which they find a way to deal with daily to lessen the negative impact on their livelihoods. Firstly, the experiences with police which are harassment or confiscation, in literature are often conveyed as part of the implementation of municipal by-laws. However, respondents indicated that interaction with the police is often driven by the belief that migrants, especially Nigerians, sell drugs, and that the enterprises are a cover-up. As a result, enterprises will be raided from time to time. Nigerian respondent 3 said: *“Many of us do not want to get involved in a life of crime, and this business helps to make an honest living. It is not okay when police always attack us thinking we are the criminals or that we work with the criminals. How are our customers supposed to look at us?”*

Experiences with the customers varied; However, what was common was the use of derogatory names to address the migrant street traders. About 60% of migrant street traders indicated that name-calling such as “Amakwerekwere” did not deter them anymore. Other respondents even asked me why I do not call them “Amankwerekwere”, and explained that they are used to the terms. Senegal Respondent 3 said, *“You are also Zulu you people, you people call us Amakwerekwere yeah we know. These Zulus sometimes have no respect but what can we say we are in your country.”* Respondents further related that hate language was common; however, as a way of protecting themselves, they choose not to address it and remain professional to customers. What was interesting is that 80% of migrant street traders ran their enterprises in total awareness that the security provided by the Durban Municipality assists in minimizing

crime in the market. However, from the different accounts provided by migrant street traders is that there is fear that xenophobic attacks from local people can strike at any time. Xenophobic attacks are a major threat to the lives and livelihoods of migrant street traders since they are forced to close enterprises or if looting happens income is often lost, and they have to reconstruct new livelihoods. During fieldwork, migrant street traders were afraid that xenophobic attacks might strike also in Durban since there had been attacks in Johannesburg. Senegalese Respondent 3 said, *“Have you been listening to the news, you know what your brothers and sisters have been doing in Johannesburg. We are also fearing for our lives; we don’t know what will happen. You know these people take everything and you lose everything, and you have to start all over again.”* The harassment of migrant street traders across South African cities is said to be one of the major challenges which seems to have been ongoing for years and is fuelled by misconceptions. Within the vulnerability context Crush and Ramchandran (2015) also identify harassment, crime, and violence motivated by prejudice to be in an increase across the country and is explicitly directed to migrants. A study conducted in Cape Town by Crush et. al. (2017) indicated that 47% of migrants had experienced prejudice in their businesses. Local media reports have described the plight of prejudice and harassment faced by migrant street traders. In Johannesburg police confiscated and arrested migrant street traders and other informal traders under the claim that goods being sold were counterfeit (Bornman, 2019). However, the actions of police against migrant street traders were unlawful and such behaviour will continue if South African local government institutions and other institutions fail to recognise migrant street traders’ businesses as livelihood strategies. The prejudice experienced by migrant street traders calls for South Africa to review the contribution made by the enterprises to the economy and to the lives of the poor who find the informal sector more accessible than the formal sector in terms of consumer buying power.

### **6.5.5 Lived Experiences with the Police**

The questionnaire and interviews explored the migrant street trader's experiences with the police and municipal security. Although the interactions with the police, either South African Police Service (SAPS) or Durban Metro police, are not a daily occurrence, they are a challenge or a service that street traders have access to as civilians. Quantitative data revealed that not all street traders find the presence of the police in the market overwhelming but beneficial to their business since it meant protection from crime. Participants attributed the peace and their safety in the market due to the constant presence of police and some expressed that they were glad



because none of the illegal activities can be carried out in the market. After all, the police run security checks.

One street trader felt that police were easily influenced by the shop owners who are competing with the street traders who feel that street traders either sell counterfeit goods or their businesses are illegal. A Nigerian Respondent 4 expressed that *“the police sometimes confiscate our goods because of the Municipality instructions, and they have no understanding of how our businesses work”*. Street traders held the belief that police harassment and confiscation of goods was common because they are still seen as the poor who are making the city dirty.

Police harassment was a common practice carried out by Metro Police. Street traders felt that metro police had taken the role of patrolling the market and demanding permits and threatening evictions. Nigerian Respondent 2 said, *“what the Metro Police do not know is that in this market we do not have permits but sign contracts with the municipality, but they still go on demanding permits. They don’t understand how we operate”*. Some participants have had their goods confiscated and have not been able to recover the stock back. One respondent admitted to paying a bribe to prevent police from taking their goods since it would have affected how they survived.

An interesting discovery with their experiences with the police was how participants linked the negative experiences with the police and the economy of the city is in terms of the high unemployment rate. Participants explained that one major driver of this hostility towards them was that in a much as there is a high number of people unemployed in Durban who hold the general perception that they take their jobs. As stated earlier, street traders identified that local people believed they were poor and sometimes police also think that they are operating illegal businesses because of poverty. The remarks made by participants were that the South African education system does not allow or create opportunities for young people to learn entrepreneurial skills. As studies by Essop and Yu (2008) describe the opportunities in the informal economy, participants felt that Durban informal economy has the potential to expand only if the negative perceptions towards street traders change and are perceived as a proper business.

## **6.6 The Assets Pentagon**

### **6.6.1 Social Capital**

The type of social capital that exists in the market amongst migrant street traders is consummatory and in nature, it is bonding and bridging. Observation data revealed that population groups tend to stick together especially by country of origin, and Malawians were mostly found amongst Senegalese especially if they operated an enterprise close to their employer. What was interesting to observe in the market is that although there is a diverse mixture of the population groups, it was rare to find Senegalese trading alone next to a Nigerian and vice versa. Apart from the fact that both these groups hail from West Africa, according to my observations often traders interacted closely with their own ethnic group; I found that this may have promoted trust and enabled each group to better manage the competition because Senegalese street traders sold goods that were less similar to Nigerians. However, migrant street traders had diverse interactions not necessarily as a strategy to build trust, but to widen their trade relations. These groups traded in clusters of groups that were opposite each other or next to each other. Although Malawians were amongst Senegalese street traders or trading between Nigerians or Senegalese street traders, access to each was important to them. These relations were good for the business since they facilitated trust and within the networks, people were able to access the required resources. The network ties of these migrants were drawn by kinship, ethnicity, religion, and many other different factors. However, one factor that was constant and important for the network of Malawians was language. When Senegalese street traders cluster together a majority of them spoke Wolof which made the Malawians excluded, so access to each other was important. It was, however, natural for the migrant street traders to communicate in their native language. With social capital being a survival strategy, language is central to the survival of networks because intangible social capital feeds onto human capital which is tangible. Within the SLF's pentagon of assets, both social capital and human capital complement each other. Amisi's (2005) study on Congolese traders in Durban found that networks and relations between the traders protected them from discrimination.

#### **6.6.1.1 Religious Organizations and Social Groups**

For the business to flourish and be successful, the Gambians together with the Senegalese street traders went beyond merely sharing trading space, they also shared a commonality in religion. These findings correlated with Vawda's (2017) study about the role of religion among Senegalese street traders. Senegalese respondents commented on Islamic Tawbah which they said is everywhere. Tawbah is about repentance and sincerely seeking the face of Allah, it

contains six elements which are (1) remorse for the sins committed (2) Fulfilment of all duties (3) Stand up for those who have been done wrong (4) Repent (5) Do not sin and repeat your sins (6) Be obedient to Allah and make good deeds (Taubah, 2013). According to the USA Nigerian Muslim Council (2019), Tawbah is paramount to the Muslim faith as it guides one to obedience and that good deeds are pleasing to Allah as sin takes a person away from his Creator. Respondents commented that Tawbah guides them to conduct their businesses ethically and to treat each other with respect and their customers. Senegalese respondent 1 commented and said, “*the reason why others are not successful in their business it is because they do not know about Tawbah it is easy for them to rob each other and be rude to their customers. I can never do anything to my brother; we are here to help each other, and I can never disrespect people and the business. That’s what Tawbah teaches us*”.

Another observation data made at the market is that there is a close relationship between networks and religion. On two days spent at the market doing observation, migrant street traders who were Muslims had the freedom to perform their Thuhr without closing their enterprises. The Durban CBD has a high population of Muslim shop owners and other business owners who are known for closing their shops between 1 pm and 2 pm for prayers. However, migrant street traders did not close down. Senegalese street traders were able to take turns as to who goes for prayer and who will operate the enterprises. I also observed a Nigerian woman doing her Thuhr and a South African street trader was helping run her enterprise while she prayed in her corner. Although respondents commented on how street trading is seven days a week business and the presence of networks within the market did not isolate them but allowed them to practice religion and find a sense of belonging.

What was enthralling was that participants revealed that their social networks had expanded after starting the business, and they had access to more resources which enabled them to learn different strategies to grow the business. Social networks serve as a safety net for migrant street traders. Interviews indicated that some participants struggle financially at times, especially if they have been exposed to a certain level of vulnerability and that food security can be a challenge. Nigerian support is high among family members and friends, but for the Malawians, Gambians and Senegalese support extended even to religious organizations. One Malawian spoke of the role played by SANZAF (South African National Zakah Fund), which assists especially when relief is needed. As street traders, they can assist each other and Malawian Respondent 1 said, “*sometimes when you don’t have money for the taxi or rent the guy can help you by giving you a loan. You can struggle but we are here to help each other- no one*

*laughs at you when you can't afford rent. There is a lot the guys can help you with here at the market like sometimes if someone dies, we all help to make sure that they are carried back home by contributing money. In a way, you never feel alone. Everyone knows each other we talk about our problems if the guys can get help.”*

### **6.6.1.2 Conviviality in the Marketplace**

Be it capital for business start-up or assistance, when migrant street traders struggle economically and are faced with poverty, networks within the market not only serve as a lifeline but also empower street traders and enforce the trading standards and norms within the market. However, what can be unpacked from the above findings is what Kathiravelu (2013) and Landau (2017) describe as a “community of convenience” type of network. From the perspectives of both Bunnell and Kathiravelu (2016) and Kathiravelu (2013), these communities operate within geographic urban spaces and promote liveability, and in the case of the migrant street traders lead to social cohesion and increase mutual respect. Again, I bring up the observation that street traders were not bothered by the fact that the market committee did not regulate the type of goods sold by each enterprise. Their ability to maintain peace in the marketplace is an indication that the conviviality that exists between different ethnic groups is what enables migrant traders to create a broader network within the market that works towards achieving the common goal-- which is the sustainability of livelihoods and well-being. Street trading on its own is considered a livelihood strategy where street traders expect to generate income from and improve wellbeing. For the migrant street traders to sustain their business and gain desirable livelihood outcomes, the assets that they draw from are important to them and their enterprises. Social capital has been identified in numerous studies to have a positive impact on the community from a socio-economic point of view. Here I draw from Coleman (1990) who explains that networks are multiple productive entities that make it possible for people to achieve ends. Since it is also embodied in people’s relations, the social structure can easily be transformed into other forms of social capital (Prayitno, et al., 2014). Among the migrant street traders, social capital is evident, as some street traders discussed how they obtained help from close friends or family to start the business. Also, they discussed how as migrant street traders they can assist each other in the market if one is facing financial difficulties. As stated earlier, both qualitative and quantitative data reveal that social capital amongst migrant street traders is both consummatory and instrumental social capital.

## 6.6.2 Human Capital

A majority of Senegalese migrant street traders have learned how to operate a street trading business from their home country and attribute the success and knowledge of the business to the vibrant and diverse Senegalese street trading culture. This information is aligned to findings in the literature, which allude to the fact that the highest percentage of the population operates businesses both within the country and outside of its borders (Kamara, 2012). Migrants are more likely to start an informal trading enterprise in the receiving country with the help of networks. The level of entrepreneurial skills contributes to the success of enterprises surpassing locally owned businesses, which has widely perpetuated the narrative of South Africa's xenophobic attacks (Mazars, et al., 2013). The 6% of Senegalese respondents with no formal education as indicated in figure 6.3 explained that they did not feel a need for formal education to become a street trader. Outside of formal education, the Senegalese traders reported that there are business teachers who offer the necessary skills of operating street trading business. Being a business teacher does not require formal education. Business teachers are people who have reached higher ranks within the street trade networks or have operated businesses, especially in the informal economy for a long time and expertise to double capital value.

The findings from quantitative and qualitative data indicate that human capital among migrant street traders is invested in the form of skills, education, street trading work experience, and knowledge of the business, as from the findings it can be learned there are expectations of financial gain. Furthermore, all the above investments of human capital are essential for the daily operations of the business and for each enterprise to remain sustainable. Human capital does not only contribute to the enhancement of business skills or business knowledge but directly contributes to the subjective well-being of migrant street traders. For migrant street traders to enhance well-being Dalziel, et al. (2008) discuss the concept of 'time-spent', while skills and education are described by the OECD is the "currency of the 21 centuries" (Dalziel, et al., 2008, p. 29). Each migrant street trader has different factors that influence their subjective well-being; however, living a satisfactory life was common to participants. Quantitative data reflected data on time-spent of which migrant street traders determined it by their knowledge of their customer behaviour; this type of knowledge allows them to work out which time of the day will they generate the desired income to improve their lives. (Chambers & Conway, 1992) on defining, livelihoods stated that a livelihood ought to have capabilities to be sustainable. Both Lanzi (2014) and Dalziel, et al. (2008) state that skills and knowledge that people



accumulate and apply in their business extend capabilities leading to opportunities that can enhance well-being.

### **6.6.3 Financial Capital**

In the SLFs pentagon of assets, social capital and human capital are said to have a direct influence on financial capital. Within the network of migrant street traders, social and human capitals are the intangible assets that depend on intellect, skills, and relationships to promote trade production and enhance individual well-being. Financial capital is required to start a street trading enterprise, and Kalkan, et al. (2015) state that it assists or cushions enterprises that need to recover from are in the midst the vulnerability context shocks, trends, and seasonality.

In the SLF social capital is one of the assets that people draw upon to make a living. Obtaining financial capitals begins with building social capital, and the role of networks for migrant street traders starts from conceiving a business idea, starting the actual business, running an informal enterprise, and sustaining it. Lyons and Snoxel's (2005) study findings in Kenya identify how social capital among informal traders is crucial for sustaining livelihoods. Furthermore, financial capital that is linked to networks assists in eliminating opportunistic behaviour in the market. Migrant street traders who sold street apparel were sampled, and observation data identified high levels of competition

Explaining that even if it is formed within the marketplace, social capital for street traders can go as far as linking the traders to resources, therefore, expanding the asset base can create peace and togetherness among traders. Similar to the findings of this study, for the migrant street trader's qualitative data reveals that social capital can start back from the country of origin or build within the market. Except for migrant street traders who used personal savings to start, the other businesses were started to expand networks or resources that are within the network. Qualitative data revealed that within the sample of migrant street traders from Senegal and Nigeria an older member of the family would open the business and the younger members could buy it, especially if other enterprises are operating. Most interestingly, migrant street traders operated and were able to start an enterprise through the guidance of someone they knew. Several studies in the literature highlight the struggles of migrant street traders' access to financial capital for their businesses. Social networks become the asset base and channels the means of how one will either obtain start-up capital or own a business upon arriving in South Africa.

#### **6.6.4 Natural Capital**

Natural capital is associated with the natural habitat and natural resources that are already available that people can make use of to sustain livelihoods. Within an urban setting where the study was carried natural capital is associated with the city's tourism. Natural capital has intrinsic value in the lives of migrant street traders and contributes and extensively to their wellbeing. Migrant street traders draw indirectly from natural capital; however, during fieldwork, there were complaints that the market was empty and that they were not generating expected income. Periods from June-August are known to be peak seasons in Durban since the city experiences warmer winters. Migrant street traders felt that there were not enough people in the market, and Respondent 7 said: *“The municipality is not doing enough to promote the market. Some people come to Durban without coming to the Workshop and buy from us. The municipality must promote this market”*. Migrants felt that they were missing out from the Durban tourism industry from which they generate more income. The Durban climate and the sea which are the environmental assets that draw people to the city benefit migrant street traders.

#### **6.6.5 Physical Capital**

The physical capital that migrant street traders draw from is the infrastructure supplied by the local government to operate their businesses. From quantitative data, 9% of migrant street traders highlighted the role of infrastructure provided by the eThekweni Municipality. They stated that if the municipality had not allocated stands for them, they would not have been able to operate their enterprises at the market and they regarded this as municipal support for which they were grateful. Callaghan and Gwatidzo (2013) mention that when street traders are supported through infrastructure, it increases their competitive advantage compared to traders who have no access.

Liveability contributes to the health and well-being of migrant street traders as it emerges from physical capital in the form of trading infrastructure, the type of population that will support the livelihoods of migrant street traders. Migrant street traders do not choose cities for their geographic location; however, infrastructure that is provided by the local government makes the city liveable and will their livelihoods be able to depend on such infrastructure. Reflecting on migrant street traders who arrived after 1994, although operating on the street was tough for

them, Senegalese Respondent 1 stated that he walked around with his goods and was able to make an income and he knew where his customer base was. As liveability extends to people and their ability to support livelihoods makes cities inhabitable which could be why migrant street traders like Senegalese Respondent 1 chose to stay in Durban. According to Ruth and Franklin (2014) liveability is tangible and can be defined by material resources and the environment, and these are important to the migrant street trader livelihoods. Observation data showed that migrant street traders have an advantage where their enterprise's proximity to residences, other economic activities, and transport routes increase their opportunity their cost as businesses who offer goods at cheaper rates than the formal economy.

## 6.7 Transforming Structures

According to the SLF, the municipality together with its policies and by-laws are part of the transforming structures and processes through which Kollmair (2002) describes as operating at all levels and can determine access and the flow of capitals within a livelihood strategy. The findings show that the municipal structures and by-laws have had an impact on the way migrant street traders operate their business. Respondents were affected by some of the decisions that have been taken by the municipality in the past which resulted in the loss of income and being poor: Senegalese Respondent 5 stated, *"In 2010 life became hard for us-- only a few traders were left in the market. I was moved across the road (Soldiers Way Market) and tell me who is going to buy there that market does not have people? I couldn't make money; I was told there was no more space for me at the market. Other traders moved to other cities I begged the official [for] my old spot, but it was tough"*. The implementation of the eThekweni Municipality Informal Trading By-law (RSA, 2014) had an impact on the migrant street traders' livelihoods. The above-mentioned statement by the respondent aligns with the difficulties experienced by other street traders as discussed by Roever and Skinner (2016) that street traders often faced gruesome evictions and, in some instances, relocated to other markets.

Respondents expressed that apart from the trading space that they were renting to the eThekweni Municipality there was no other form of support from the municipality that they were aware of. A Nigerian respondent commented that the municipality does not provide any support because they are migrants. *"It is not our fault that South Africans do not get into this type of job because if they did the government would support them. Sometimes you need money to expand your business even the bank cannot give you a loan. We have to rely on each other"*. In the context of banks which are the institutions that migrant street traders would like to draw

from to either strengthen or build their livelihoods. However, the challenges highlighted by migrant street traders demonstrate the relationship between institutions and processes and how they can negatively impact or prevent them from accessing certain capital. As much as lack of access to financial capital is challenging, migrants seem to acknowledge that institutions and processes encourage them to strengthen their networks or draw from social capital to access financial capital to sustain livelihoods.

Migrant street traders expressed that it was not easy to draw from any of the transforming structures since they were receiving no support. The only form of support that was acknowledged by some migrant street was that the municipality was kind and understanding with their arrears as no one has been evicted when they have not paid the rent. Respondent 1 from Malawi explained that *“sometimes it is difficult you get these people from the municipality who come here demanding permits from us. Sometimes the municipality appoints people to manage the market without any knowledge and many of them do not know that we do not have permits, but we sign contracts with the municipality and cause problems because they do not understand, or they will demand papers for the contracts.”* Municipal processes still impose challenges as migrant street traders felt in general that their market was not properly regulated. Migrant street traders from the Church Street market once took the municipality to court because they felt the R500 fee for rent per stand was too high, and they won the case.



## **6.9 Livelihood Outcomes**

### **6.9.1 Access to Services**

Most respondents had a variety of services they were able to access since they became street traders. Although health services are free, respondents together with their families were able to afford private healthcare with the income earned. Senegal Respondent 7: *“The money I get here is for me and my family. Since my woman fell pregnant, I have to take her to the doctor with that money and I also need to pay school fees for my children”*. Health and education were important for the respondents. Income earned contributed to a variety of services such as rent payment and access to basic human needs such as shelter.

### **6.9.2 Improved Well-being**

The achievement of well-being for the street traders is intricately linked to income generated. The questions that were asked revolved around happiness and how life had changed for the

street traders and their family members. Livelihoods are about creating a living and when combined with well-being that is where people can make the desired changes in their lives and be resilient. Respondents engaging in different livelihood strategies and having access to the different capitals provided them with the freedom to achieve or enhance their well-being through street trading. Both quantitative and qualitative findings of the study indicated that despite the challenges that the respondents face as street traders, resilience has played a major role for the respondents to seek to enhance their well-being. The challenges with the municipality, sometimes the lack of money, and not being able to afford housing are some of the factors that have motivated the street traders to return to street trading since there are no other means of survival. Drawing from Sen's capability normative framework, street trading is a form of agency to act to achieve the life that street traders have reason to value (Sen, 1999). With the majority of respondents being satisfied with their lives as street traders, participating in this business is not only an endeavour to enhance well-being but also about trying to overcome and basic needs necessary for survival.

### **6.9.3 Food Security**

Data collected indicated that food security among street traders was closely related to the availability of money and access to social networks. Income generated from the street trading provided for the street traders' basic services and needs necessary for survival. Respondents who have experienced setbacks in their business such as confiscation of goods meant that there was a lack of access to money. Amid such challenges, some respondents have had challenges in accessing food. Food security was ensured for respondents through income and social networks. Enough income generated from the business meant food security for the migrant street traders and their families. Participants who have experienced food insecurity had the networks providing relief. One respondent mentioned that street traders can support each other, and they can buy each other food when there are financial struggles. Therefore, what can be learned from data is that although street trading is a survival business it is also a lifeline towards overcoming the inadequacies of poverty and vulnerability to hunger.

### **6.10 Findings Summary**

The focus of the research is to demonstrate how street trading contributes to the well-being and livelihoods of migrant street traders. Street trading was explored and was identified as a



livelihood strategy that migrant street traders engage in to pursue their livelihoods. With the SLF being the guiding conceptual framework, the framework's pentagon of assets was used to identify the different assets that migrant street traders have access to. Social capital is the most important asset required by migrant street traders followed by human capital that enables and empowers migrant street traders to have access to other capitals.

The demographic information in this study is similar to other studies by Crush, et al. (2017) and Tengeh and Lapah (2013) and provided an insight into the migrant street traders. The level of education of migrant street traders indicated the significance of human capital in the street trading business as an investment. In as much as street trading does not require a certain level of education, social networks make it possible for the migrant street traders to draw from human capital assets such as knowledge, education, and training to run successful enterprises leading to enhanced well-being.

The formation of a street trading enterprise was accompanied by the need to have access to financial capital and motivation by friends. More than a survivalist enterprise, the findings reveal that street trading is an opportunity-driven enterprise and can improve overall well-being. Following Knox, et al. (2019) discussion on types of enterprises-- survivalists and growth orientated-- the findings revealed that enterprises were likely to grow and multiply as a livelihood strategy, and the investment of human capital assets facilitated enterprise performance to double financial capital.

According to quantitative data findings, access to financial capital is critical not only for migrant street traders but to their extended families. Drawing from Chambers and Conway's (1992) list of what makes up a livelihood, the availability of financial capital for migrant street traders is a means of living where there is the availability of material resources (objective well-being) and access to assets that contribute to their quality of life. Although findings reveal that enterprises operate within a vulnerability context, migrant street traders engage in a number of livelihood strategies to avoid loss of financial capital and sustain their livelihoods.

Transforming structures and institutions have a limited role in sustaining the livelihoods of migrant street traders. To overcome the negative of transforming structures both quantitative and data findings indicate that networks act as a buffer that protects migrant street trader livelihoods. Also, it can be gathered that there is a close relationship between entrepreneurship and liveability. Ruth and Franklin (2014) discuss that the "fit to live in" aspect of liveability is

crucial as it assesses the city's ability to contribute to the overall well-being of individuals and whether their livelihoods can depend on the population, infrastructure, and environment.



## **CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSIONS**

### **7.1 Introduction**

Drawing from the empirical findings presented in the previous chapter, this chapter will focus on the conclusions and recommendations. The first section of the chapter is the conclusions of the empirical findings followed by the theoretical reflections of the SLF. This section will reflect on the SLF as a practical framework highlighting the relationship between the components of the framework but mostly the capitals found in the SLFs pentagon that provide assets for migrant street traders to draw from to make a livelihood. The second section of the chapter presents the recommendations and the identified areas of possible future research.

### **7.2 Conclusions on Empirical Findings**

A questionnaire was administered to 30 migrant street traders and 12 semi-structured interviews were also conducted with migrant street traders. The study sought to explore the extent to which street trading contributes to the livelihoods of migrant street traders and make an analysis of the role it has towards achieving desired livelihoods and well-being. The conclusions presented below will draw from the empirical findings presented in Chapter 6 and will be presented in 5 themes.

#### **7.2.1 Entrepreneurship**

Therefore, the findings suggested that for migrant street traders to pursue their entrepreneurial endeavours it is not about the geographic location of the city but whether the city itself can contribute to their livelihoods. Tenge (2015) states that migrants are more likely to start businesses where there is support. As this thesis has shown, whilst street trading is often perceived as a survivalist business, the desire to start a street trading business was more motivated by both objective and subjective well-being factors. Furthermore, social networks influence the decision for migrant street traders by providing capital, allowing access to assets to start a business, or carry over a business. From findings of the entrepreneurship of the migrant street traders, the study points out requires favourable conditions to pursue and execute their entrepreneurial activities and allow them to be and do what they want while also being guided by their networks. Social capital, human capital, and financial capital have a critical role in the entrepreneurial process since migrant street traders draw assets from each of these capitals for the success of an enterprise, and assets drawn from these capitals act as buffers when enterprises experience vulnerability. While writes like Peberdy (2017) identify the

division in the literature of whether street trading is a survivalist or an opportunity-driven business the findings demonstrate that it is an opportunity-driven livelihood strategy to increase access to income and enhance well-being (objective and subjective).

### **7.2.2 Street Trading Enterprises**

Street trading was identified as a livelihood strategy and agency which is an action taken to achieve new capabilities and means of living (Chambers & Conway, 1992). Evidence from the findings indicates that street trading is operated within a vulnerability context and there are various challenges that migrant street traders face which include xenophobia and poor management of the market by the municipality. With that said, migrant street traders selling the same goods would be expected to diversify their livelihoods to manage challenges such as competition however they do not. Networks are critical towards managing some of the challenges faced by migrant street trader enterprises, such as competition, and minimise any opportunistic behaviours. The presence of the networks in the market optimises every migrant street trader's opportunity cost whether they own a street trading enterprise or operating as an employee or on behalf of an enterprise owner. The presence of bonding and bridging social capital among migrant street traders in the markets has instrumental value and assists the migrant street trader to increase business income and customer base. Following Landau (2017) in his study on friendships of convenience within geographic boundaries between people from different ethnic backgrounds have instrumental and intrinsic value. What Landau (2017) describes as friendships of convenience links to bridging social capital that is between migrant street traders from Senegal, Gambia, and Malawi and has contributed to the growth of some enterprises and assisted migrant street traders to attract more customers into their enterprises. These transnational relationships can also be understood as a form of currency that facilitates business operations and increases enterprises' business trajectories. The fact that migrant street traders are willing to extend social boundaries between kinsmen is an indication that transnational relationships or friendships of convenience contribute to the economic progress of street trading enterprises.

### **7.2.3 Street Trading Contribution to Livelihoods**

Findings indicate that despite the challenges experienced, migrant street traders can generate income that contributes to their livelihoods and well-being to a certain degree. Drawing from

the findings, for migrant street traders to generate income that contributes towards their livelihoods, the assets that are provided by the capitals become essential components for them and their street trading enterprises. The assets act as a buffer when experiencing vulnerability or a resource base that enables them to execute other livelihood strategies. Considering that a livelihood needs to have capabilities and means of living to be sustainable (Chambers & Conway, 1992) migrant street traders are dependent on the income generated and financial income provided by networks should there be difficulties experienced. The habits of income generation for migrant street depict behaviours of people intending to achieve objective well-being and the livelihood strategies they engage in are about protecting their livelihoods from experiencing any loss of income. Furthermore, migrant street traders' livelihoods include those left in their country of origin-- meaning that financial capital obtained through street trading is a source of better livelihood outcomes and development for those left in the country of origin.

#### **7.2.4 Migrant Street Traders' Well-being**

The improvement of life and happiness after pursuing the street trading business was explored and revealed that migrant street traders are implementing their agency knowing the capabilities that must be achieved. From the street trading enterprises that they operate, the income generated is set to meet basic needs, and from financial capital, they can achieve livelihood outcomes such as food security, access to services such as health, and strengthen their networks. Achieving happiness and overall well-being as a street trader for migrant traders is relative to whether you are an employee or own a street trading enterprise. Enterprise owner's happiness is marked by several indicators such as the ability to remit money, subjective well-being, housing, expansion of networks, and food security. The various assets that migrant street traders can draw from are enabling them to achieve capabilities and over-all well-being. Being able to draw from assets and exercise agency is an indication that street trading is not merely a survivalist business but a livelihood strategy to enhance over-all well-being. There is evidence from the findings that assets from the various capitals facilitate and shields migrant street trader's enterprises should they face vulnerability, food insecurity, or poverty.

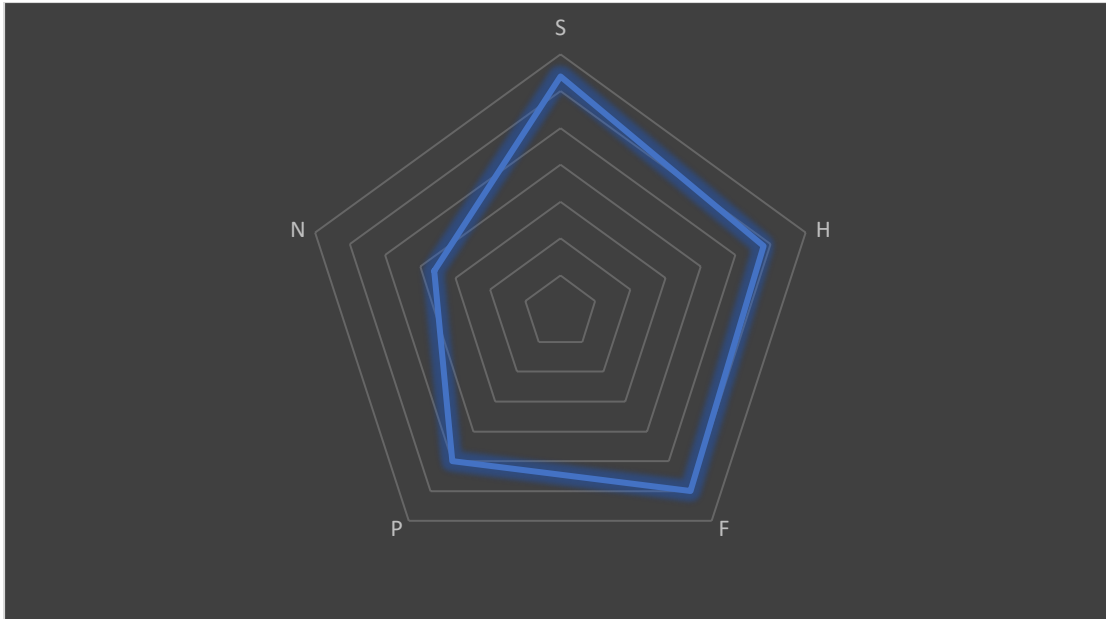
### **7.3 Theoretical Reflections**

Given the context of migrant street traders who are operating enterprises within a vulnerability context, the study employed the sustainable livelihoods framework for analysing and gaining



in-depth insights concerning the street trading business and the role it plays on the livelihoods and well-being of migrant street traders. Livelihoods, capabilities, and well-being interlinked in the sense that livelihoods allowed migrant street traders to have a wide range of capabilities that allow a person to be as they choose to be. Furthermore, capitals like financial capital can lead to the achievement of desired livelihood outcomes and enhancement of subjective and objective well-being of migrant street traders. From a development perspective, the application of the SLF provided the understanding that the street trading enterprises cannot be merely perceived as survivalist enterprises since this is limiting and does not look beyond the role played by the networks, transforming structures and process into shaping the enterprises and assisting migrant street traders to achieve their livelihood outcomes. The implementation of the SLF as a practical framework in the study recognised migrant street trader's enterprises as livelihood strategies that contribute to the livelihoods and overall well-being of migrant street traders. Mazibuko's (2013) reflection on the principles of the SLA includes being a holistic and strength-based approach. Migrant street traders draw from the assets they access which do not only influence their livelihood strategies but direct the process of development and how the enterprises are operated.

The five components of the SLF connected and interlinked with each other to either support or enable the migrant street traders to achieve the life they have a reason to value. The UNDP (2017) analysis tool for projects includes developing indicators for each capital and assessing the impact they have on the project. In this study capitals as explained by Scoones (1998) are stocks that result from the interaction and action taken resulting in positive outcomes on the enterprise. Based on the empirical findings, capitals are essential in the livelihoods of migrant street traders. However, each capital leads to different livelihood outcomes or can enable migrant street traders to have access to certain capabilities to enhance well-being. Figure 7.1 displays the capitals based on the data provided by the empirical findings as used by migrants to sustain livelihoods and enhance well-being.



**Figure 7.1 Migrant Street Traders Capitals**

The plot area of figure 7.1 indicates that migrant street traders are highly endowed with social capital, human capital, and financial capital when compared to physical and natural capital. Migrant street traders use the main three capitals for the construction of their livelihoods and they further in various ways contribute towards sustaining the livelihoods of migrant street traders' livelihoods as they draw from them such as acting buffers when facing vulnerability, provide access to information and business skills. As there have been arguments in literature on the SLF pentagon shifts, figure 7.1 is a typical example that points to the pentagon of assets or capitals shifts depending on the context of the community. Although migrant street traders may seem to be less endowed with physical and natural capitals, these two capitals are fixed capitals because of the geographic location or provisions made by the municipality. From empirical findings, migrant street traders have limited assets that they draw from for their livelihoods as far as these two capitals are concerned. Both physical capital and natural capital represent the urban environment that migrant street traders operate in which is characterised by vulnerability, influenced by process and structures, and directly or indirectly has an impact on their livelihood strategies.

According to the empirical findings, migrant street traders' access to **social capital** is depicted in figure 7.1. Within the SLF social capital is linked to the transforming structures and process as it is responsible for the mobilization of social resources (UNDP, 2017). In theory, people choose their livelihood strategies however, with the availability of networks and the purpose they serve networks are also viable strategies towards sustaining livelihoods. Migrant street

traders belong to different types of networks that either resulted from bonding or bridging social capital. Networks formed by migrant street traders from the same country of origin and family members were found in the study to contribute extensively when pursuing their entrepreneurial endeavours. Friendships of convenience in the marketplace are a livelihood diversification, transnational networks that are unique to the market exist as a strategy to overcome vulnerability, increase access to financial capital and achieve the set livelihood goals.

Social capital has a close relationship with **human capital** and this relationship promotes well-being and increases access to financial capital. Knowledge, education, and the flow of information are assets deeply embedded within networks and invested by networks to ensure that enterprises are successful and can produce financial capital returns (Kalkan, et al., 2015). Migrant street traders' networks were highly endowed with human capital that was spread across to an extent where knowledge is a capital stock that was re-invested when network members had no experience nor access to business knowledge. SLF literature on human capital does not extend to the role of human capital and how closely it is intertwined with social capital and financial capital. While networks may be able to facilitate the migration process of migrant street traders the flow of information increases one's desire to migrate also when networks invest business knowledge to grow the street trading enterprises it increases the migrant street trader's chances of having access to financial capital and enhancing well-being. About well-being and livelihood strategies migrant street trader's knowledge, access to information, skills gained, or passed by other network members are vital for the support of street trading enterprises and how the enterprises grow in the future. Qualitative and quantitative data findings indicated that networks were responsible for how human capital was distributed and strengthened within the marketplace as a strategy to enhance well-being and increase the performance of street trading enterprises.

**Financial capital** is obtained by migrant street traders as profit generated by street trading enterprises and as monetary gifts when faced with financial difficulties or pursuing business endeavours. As the UNDP (2017) describes financial capital as versatile, migrant street trader enterprises require capital to operate and from an economic point of view, migrant street traders need to generate income or wealth that will enhance well-being, extend capabilities and enable them to achieve desired livelihood outcomes. Financial capital that is accessed in various ways can be an investment, loan, remittances, or capital that flows that within networks to create wealth, increase development which Sen describes as freedoms. Stocks such as loans contribute to the construction of street trading businesses. Financial capital stocks also are helpful when

migrants are facing vulnerability since there is a flow of financial capital within networks from which migrant street traders can draw from to escape food insecurity, lack of access to money, or any other vulnerabilities. In as much as migrant street traders are able to generate income from their street trading enterprises to provide remittances and enhance well-being. Financial capital stocks are crucial for the survival of the street trading businesses since networks facilitate and invest human capital stocks that enable migrant street traders to be able to earn income and double the financial investments.

This research study embarked on assessing how migrant street trading contributes to the livelihoods and well-being of migrant street traders. Livelihoods are constructed differently based on the context and to meet the desired livelihood outcomes of the migrant street traders. The study highlighted access to capital stocks as important and central to livelihoods and well-being. Reflecting on the SLF framework and the pentagon of assets presented in figure 7.1, the capital stocks of migrant street traders perform different functions- which are to protect from vulnerability, interact with transforming structures to protect the livelihoods of the migrant street traders, act as livelihood strategies that can lead to desired livelihood outcomes and extend capabilities and enhance well-being. For street trading to have a positive trajectory and to remain sustainable requires migrant street traders to not only be endowed and have access but to use their capitals as livelihood strategies.

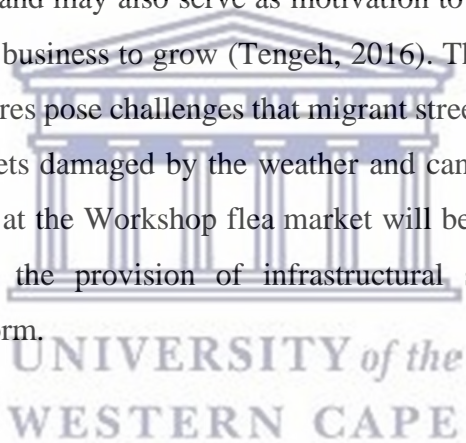


#### **7.4 Conclusions**

The research findings indicate that street trading has a critical role in sustaining the livelihoods of migrant street traders and it further contributes to local economic government endeavours of dealing with unemployment. As literature illustrates some of the opportunities and challenges faced by the informal traders in Durban past and present, the recommendations made focus on the role played by the local government as a transforming structure and address and identifying factors that constrain livelihoods. Furthermore, processes are according to the SLF are crucial in sustaining livelihoods as they influence how municipalities engage with migrant street traders. The eThekweni Municipality at a policy level has to recognise the responsibility to expand migrant street traders' capabilities and assisting in dealing with vulnerability context especially in issues concerning xenophobia and police brutality. Therefore, street trading regulation or management should better aim at lessening challenges experienced by migrant street traders in Durban and create and an informal economy environment or climate where people are able to do and be.

#### **7.4.1 Infrastructure (Physical Capital)**

Reflecting on the conclusions of the study findings migrant street traders were less endowed with physical capital. Physical capital is significant to the street trading enterprises and migrant street traders depend on it to successfully operate their enterprises. The eThekweni Municipality has a responsibility towards providing infrastructure to the migrant street traders within the market and to mitigate challenges that they face. Comparing the Workshop flea market to the Warwick Junction flea market which has been provided with physical capital that is able to provide storage for the goods of street traders and makes the market appealing to the customers. Migrant street traders still depend on trolley pushers for the transportation of goods from storage to the marketplace. Although this gives business to other street traders, the infrastructure provided by the municipality that has storage may provide access to extra income to the migrant street traders and may also serve as motivation to work harder since a suitable environment is needed for a business to grow (Tengeh, 2016). The Durban rainy weather and the hot and humid temperatures pose challenges that migrant street enterprises have no control over as their merchandise gets damaged by the weather and cannot be sold to the customer. Covering up the open space at the Workshop flea market will be financially beneficial to the migrant street traders and the provision of infrastructural services by the eThekweni municipality should be uniform.



#### **7.4.2 Promotion of the Market**

The Durban tourism industry attracts visitors from different parts of South Africa. The local government together with the Department of Tourism seems to be paying attention to the beaches and the entertainment available in the city not looking into the livelihoods of people. Durban tourism has a role to play and can contribute to the livelihoods of migrant street traders. If more tourists knew about the Workshop flea market, which migrant street traders felt was not promoted very well, the traders could make more income. While most visitors spend time visiting the beaches and the uShaka Marine World, the municipality has not made it a priority to promote the flea markets that are close by the tourist attractions. The Workshop flea market is surrounded by different tourist attractions such as the Wilson's Wharf, Marine Parade, and museum which during the holiday season will enable the street trading enterprises to generate income. The municipality and the Department of Tourism have to look beyond what entertains people when they visit the city however how street traders can benefit from the tourism



industry. From a development perspective, Durban tourism must also create opportunities for migrant street traders in the market to draw from for the enterprises to generate more income, especially during the holiday season.

### **7.4.3 Proper Regulation and Management**

The informal economy policy context has always been in question when it comes to the regulations of street trading. Migrant street traders in particular experience various challenges at the hands of local government officers due to policies that are implemented incorrectly. Furthermore, the local government struggles to define the scope of management or regulation of the informal economy (Benit-Gbafou, 2015). Proper consultation channels should be established between the eThekweni municipality and migrant street traders for proper management of the Workshop flea market and also awarding tenders to companies that are well informed about the informal economy. The management of street traders and the infrastructure they operate over the years has not been a conducive climate that contributes positively to the livelihoods of migrant street traders. Consultation with relevant stakeholders, which are the migrant street traders, can lead it to better policy design and implementation. Again, advocacy groups and civil society have a role to play in influencing national and local government policies that are not favourable to the informal economy business owners; they can bridge the gap as a solution to address issues of governance and how local government can find better ways to have a social policy that natures the endeavours of people.

### **7.4.4 Durban as a Liveable City**

The liveable cities concept is synonymous with geographers and urban planners however the findings of the study indicated that the eThekweni Municipality has several activities that it needs to engage in to become more liveable. Durban has adequate transport; people have access to schools and health services via private and public hospitals and clinics. However, the city needs to strive to be more liveable for migrant street traders who have ventured to it to make livelihoods and enhance well-being. Making Durban liveable for migrant street traders begins with local government and other structures of government to transform negative perceptions about migrant street traders. While migrant street traders may be able to access public institutions their street trading enterprises are still associated with crime and there still are anti-migrant sentiments which at times have sparked xenophobia. Transformation is often a process

that takes time in societies, however, conviviality in a city like Durban is a requirement. A convivial city is accepting of everyone who lives in it regardless of their background and ethnicity and is friendly. If within the marketplace migrant street traders are able to have a network of convenience that not only assists them to have access to financial capital but assist unemployed South African to have a chance in getting employed. City planning and urban design in Durban should not look at urban informality as a problem but how the migrant street traders can make livelihoods in a friendly city of Durban.

#### **7.4.5 Inclusive economy**

Creating an inclusive economy has been discussed in the literature as having a positive effect on livelihoods. An inclusive economy is not only about the informal and the formal economy bridging the gap to create opportunities for economic growth and contributing to local economic development. Building an inclusive economy for the eThekweni municipality means bringing migrant street traders who have been marginalised due to a lack of understanding of the informal economy and how it functions as a sector. Furthermore, local government initiatives have always prioritised South African citizens over migrants. Empirical data findings show that using forms of bridging social capital and including migrant street traders can also be beneficial to South African street trader livelihoods. To contribute towards sustainable livelihoods local government should have a participatory approach that allows for migrant street traders to take part or access opportunities that aim enhancing well-being. Economic opportunities especially when it comes to the promotion of the informal economy by the eThekweni municipality should extend to the markets where there is a high concentration of migrant street traders or informal traders to create equal access to opportunities. Creating an inclusive economy for migrant street traders will mean for migrant street traders can help migrant street traders deal with the vulnerability context.

#### **7.5 Areas for Future Research**

A subject covering migrant street traders or informal traders is inexhaustible and needs to be looked at different levels from micro, meso, to macro. Migrants in the South African economy construct their livelihoods and face different challenges. This study which was conducted within a short period with a smaller group showed that future longitudinal studies with bigger

samples are required to explore how street trading or informal trading business contribute to the livelihoods and well-being of migrant street traders.

- Studies exploring the migration aspiration and how they are related to the choices or motivation of starting a street trading enterprise. These studies can educate and provide insight into the role played by the networks of migrant street traders in the relationship between economic activities and the migration process.
- Measuring subjective well-being and the objective components which migrant street traders achieve from operating street trading enterprises. The well-being of migrant street traders is not always studied in depth however the capability approach may provide a framework to deeply explore these two concepts as far as migrant street traders are concerned and how they relate and contribute to the quality of life.
- In urban geography, cities are now measured by their liveability. Are South African cities liveable for migrant street traders or informal traders?

## **7.6 Limitations of the Study**

Several challenges were experienced whilst undertaking the study. Since migrant street traders were the key participants for the study, fieldwork took place at a time when migrant street traders and other informal economy traders in Johannesburg were experiencing xenophobia and police brutality. Secondly, migrant street traders from Senegal had difficulty communicating and reading in English, which required patience and assistance from other migrant street traders to translate for them. Due to negative experiences with local government officials, there was a lack of trust in the market to outsiders. To meet the chairman of the market was challenging as I had to go through migrant street traders, who had to judge the intentions of the research and whether they might be harmed in any way. Once they were satisfied, I was finally introduced to the chairman, who at first selected who was to participate in the study. Because the non-probability purposive sampling strategy was going to be used rather than a snowball strategy, it was explained to him how participants will be selected.

## **7.7 Summary**

The study sought to understand the contribution made by street trading to migrant street trader livelihoods and well-being. The street trading business operates within a vulnerability context, and as such, requires resilience to be able to cope with its challenges. Using the SLF pentagon

of assets, findings indicated that it is important for migrant street traders to be endowed with capital stocks from which they draw to sustain their livelihoods. Evidence from the findings also indicated that assets such as networks can also become livelihood strategies for migrant street traders to generate more income and extend their existing networks. The practice of street trading can thus also lead to enhanced well-being and to an extent help in sustaining the livelihoods of migrant street traders. Migrant street traders take the practice of street trading seriously, and the enterprises are designed to also support those back in the country of origin. For many migrant street traders, street trading is not merely a survivalist strategy but a livelihood strategy to sustain livelihoods and enhance wellbeing.



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## APPENDICES

### Annexure 1: Structured interview guide

#### **The Role of Street Trading in Sustaining Livelihoods. A Case of Migrant Street Traders in Durban, South Africa.**

The schedule below will guide the interview process. This research project is conducted by **Amanda Mbatha** a student at the University of the Western Cape. The study forms part of a master's research project which seeks to understand the contribution made by street trading in sustaining the livelihoods of migrant street traders.

Please note that all ethical considerations will be applied, you have a right to confidentiality, anonymity and to withdraw from the study at any point in time.

The questions will require information about your socio-economic experiences as a migrant street trader and your perceived opinions about operating a street trading enterprise in Durban.

Schedule Questions:

- 1. What were your aspirations for moving into South Africa**
- 2. How did you become a Street Trader?**
- 3. How would you describe the street trading environment?**
- 4. What sort of infrastructure is important to you and your business?**
- 5. How would you describe the way street trading has transformed your life?**
- 6. Do you think street trading assists in dealing with the socio-economic difficulties of being a migrant?**
- 7. What are the business setbacks you have experienced and how did you overcome them?**
- 8. Are you aware of any organizations for street traders?**
- 9. How do you deal with competition?**
- 10. What is your perception of South African customers?**
- 11. How do you foresee your future in the street trading business?**
- 12. What are the economic opportunities available to you as a migrant street trader?**
- 13. How would you describe your experiences with Metro police and SAPS?**
- 14. Do you think your business contributes to the economic development of the city?**

## **Annexure 2: Research questionnaire**

### **The nature and the role of migrant owned street trading enterprises survey.**

The main purpose of the project is to investigate the extent to which street trading contributes to the livelihoods and overall wellbeing of migrant street traders. Also, understand the circumstances of the enterprises and the environment they operate in.

The questionnaire will require your demographic information and information about your enterprise and its contribution to your life/household.

The information you will provide will be kept confidential and should you wish to withdraw at any time you have a right to do so.

### **SECTION A: Demographic information**

Please tick only which applies to you.

#### **1. Gender**

Female		Male	
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#### **2. What is your age group?**

18-25		26-35	
36-45		46-55	
56-65		66 and above	

#### **3. What is your country of origin**

\_\_\_\_\_

#### **4. Highest level of education**

No formal education		Primary School education	
High School education		College education	
University Degree			

5. What was your profession in your country of origin?

\_\_\_\_\_

6. In what year did you arrive in South Africa \_\_\_\_\_?

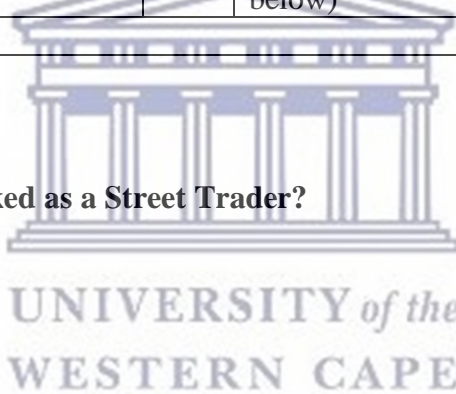
**SECTION B: Nature of Street trading business**

7. What motivated you to start a street trading business?

Unemployment		Encouraged by friends	
Poverty		Money	
Independence		Other (please specify below)	

8. How long have you worked as a Street Trader?

\_\_\_\_\_



9. How would you describe yourself as an enterprise owner (Please select one of the following):

Operating enterprise owner		Operating in an enterprise partnership	
Employed by the enterprise owner		Enterprise owner with employees	
Multi enterprise owner			

10. Please list your main sources of capital for the business start-up?



**11. How much money did you use to start up the business?**

R100 -R15000		R16000-R30000	
R31000-R45000		R46000-R60000	
R61000 and R75000		R76000 and above	

**12. Where do you operate your street trading business?**

Under an umbrella		Under a Municipal owned stall	
Open space no shelter		Under a gazebo	

**13. What is your Trading Permit status?**

Have a permit to trade	
Applied and waiting for a permit to trade	
Renting a permit to trade from someone else	

**14. How many hours do you work in a week \_\_\_\_\_?**



**15. Please list the type of goods sold in your business:**

**16. What was business turnover in the last 3 months \_\_\_\_\_ and year 2018 \_\_\_\_\_?**

**SECTION C: Income generated**

17. Do you have other sources of income? \_\_\_\_\_ (if answered yes, please answer 17.1)

17.1 Please list your other sources of income

18. Does the income received from the street trading business able to cover your monthly expenses?

All the time (covers all expenses every month)	
Sometimes (some expenses covered every month)	
Not at all (unable to cover all expenses every month)	

19. Is your entire family dependent on the income generated by your street trading business?

Yes		No	
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20. Do you remit money earned from your street trading business back to your country of origin?

Yes		No	
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21. List the things important to you that your street trading income can cover monthly (e.g., Rent, remittances etc.)

22. Are you satisfied with your life as a street trader?

Yes	
Somewhat yes	
No	

**23. Do you think the income earned from street trading does cover your basic needs such as ensuring that you have access to food every day?**

All the time (all basic needs met)	
Sometimes (some of the basic needs met)	
Not all the time (not all basic needs)	

**24. Since you started with street trading please list all the assets you now have access to.**



**SECTION D: Challenges and opportunities**

**25. Please list the challenges you face as a street trader.**

**26. What strategies do you embark on to overcome the challenges you face in your business?**

**27. Which institutions or municipal departments pose a threat to your business enterprise?**

**28. Which institutions or municipal departments support your business enterprise?**