UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE

Faculty of Science
Department of Statistics

Migratory trajectories among street vendors in urban South Africa.

A thesis submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the award of an MPhil degree in Population Studies.

By LAPAH YOTA CYPRIAN

Supervised by: Prof. Gabriel TATI

May 2011

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that ***Migratory Trajectories among Street Vendors in Urban South Africa*** is my own work, that it has not been previously submitted for any degree or examination in any other university or institution of higher education, and that all sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Lapah Yota Cyprian **May 2011**

Signed_______________________________________

Key words:

Migratory Trajectory

Informal Sector

Street vendor(s)

Social capital

Migration networks

Ethnic Economies

Entrepreneurial city

Market niche

Entrepreneurship

Place of Departure

AKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I will start by thanking God for giving me the strength, courage, endurance and good health necessary to complete this work.

My second word of thanks goes to my supervisor Prof. Gabriel Tati for his constant push through comments, advice and general guidance on the work.

I would also like to express my gratitude to Ms Kamleu Germaine for her wonderful help in conducting the survey and capturing the data on a data base.

I would also like to thank my wife and child, Mbuna Lovelyn Chapi and Nguetsa Lapah Willibroad for their constant encouragement and support during this work.

I would also like to thank friends and classmates especially Julious Kimbung, Wilson Chialepeh and Jim Abongile for are fruitful discussions and debates on certain issues as well as the cordial social atmosphere that provided the moral needed to complete this work.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my mother JACQUELINE PEVEREMBUH of blessed memory whose enormous sacrifices, especially for my education are immeasurable but who could not live to witness the completion of this work. May her soul rest in perfect peace!

Abstract:

This study investigates ways in which migratory trajectories relate to the gradual insertion and eventual integration of immigrants. It therefore shows the contribution of social capital in the migration and insertion into the entrepreneurial city of the host country. The focus of the study is on immigrants of African origin. It is hypothesized that immigrants of different nationalities in South Africa use particular assets to engage in street vending as a way of insertion into their new environment. Data were obtained through a survey of two hundred and eight (208) respondents conveniently selected. The survey was carried out in five suburbs of Cape Town and as well as at some major road junctions where these vendors are found. The Statistical package for Social Science (SPSS) was used to analyse the data. The results showed that nationality was an important determinant of the migratory trajectories of immigrant vendors.

Migration has been on the increase with the improvement in technology and globalization. In the same light, migration into South African cities mainly from the rest of Africa and Asia took an upward trend especially after the fall of Apartheid Regime and the advent of democracy in the nineties. Street vendors form part of these immigrants in South Africa. Many of them especially from other African countries find it a suitable means of survival. Faced with the difficulty of getting jobs in South Africa, immigrants resort to informal trading as a starting point for survival. They may change to other activities depending on certain variables like duration of stay, level of education, age, sex, marital status, social capital and networks. Coming from different socio-economic, cultural and political backgrounds, these immigrants resort to different ways of migrating and forms of adaptation aimed at sustaining their livelihood in their new environments. Most studies in the field of migration and entrepreneurship focus on remittances by the migrants as well as their impact on both their place of departure and on the place of destination. Little attention is paid to the way they migrate and how they insert themselves in the entrepreneurial city.

CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

ACRONYMS

DRC: Democratic Republic of Congo

EUG: Entrepreneurial Urban Governance

SADC: Southern African Development Community

SPSS: Statistical Package for Social Science

UN: United Nations

ILO: International Labour Organisation

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction and setting of the study

1.1 General background:

Migration has been on the increase with the improvement in technology and globalization (Saskia 1991). In the same light, migration into South African cities took a different dimension especially after the fall of the Apartheid Regime (Peberdy and Rogerson 2000). The collapse of the Apartheid Regime in the early nineties meant the renovation of cooperation between South Africa and its neighbours as well as the rest of the African continent. This gave rise to what Peberdy and Rogerson refer to as “the New Immigration Regime” which refers to the new trend of immigrants coming into the country mostly from the Southern African Development community (SADC) region and the rest of Africa as opposed to earlier immigrations which were mostly from Europe and Asia (Peberdy and Rogerson 2000). Despite the country’s restrictive policy on African immigrants, their numbers have been on the increase.

The fall of Apartheid in South Africa also led to the reinsertion of South African cities in the informal trade networks (Crush and McDonald 2000). Many of the African immigrants have therefore seized the opportunity to become small entrepreneurs due to a number of factors. These factors include the Country’s Immigration policy which is aimed at making the stay of these particular immigrants temporary, thereby hindering their formal employment and the shrinking of major employing sectors such as mining and agricultural sectors (Crush and McDonald 2000) and consequently the scarcity of jobs.

1.2 Problem Statement

Some of these immigrants are street vendors in South Africa. Many of them especially from other African countries find it as a suitable means of survival. Coming from different socio-economic, cultural and political backgrounds, these immigrants resort to different ways of adaptation to integrate in the city and sustain their livelihoods. Most studies in the field of migration and entrepreneurship focus on remittances by the migrants as well as their impact on both their place of departure and on the place of destination. Little attention has been paid to the way these immigrants migrate and how they insert themselves in the economic landscape of urban areas in their host countries. Also, not much has been documented on the role played by street vending as a niche for immigrant insertion in South Africa especially immigrants from other African countries.

1.3 Aims of the Study

The aim of this study is to establish the linkage between migration and the economic insertion of migrants in the entrepreneurial city using street vendors in urban South Africa as a case study. It explores the role of social capital or networks on the migration and economic integration of migrants using immigrants involved in street vending as a case study. It therefore seeks to explore ways in which immigrants negotiate for their insertion in the 'entrepreneurial cities' of their destination country. The study will seek to establish this linkage by trying to answer the following questions:

1.4 Research Questions

The study therefore seeks to answer the following questions:

1.To what extent do the various migratory trajectories influence the choice of market niche used by African immigrants for their insertion in their host country?

2.What type of connections do vendors create among themselves and outside the community and do these relationships/connections help in the acquisition of space, capital and experience needed for their business?

3.What are the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of these street vendors?

4.What role does residential mobility play in the choice of activity of these immigrants?

5.How has street vending helped in changing the livelihoods of these immigrants?

6.What linkages exist between formal and informal trading in the case of street vendors?

1.5 Justification of the Study

Though much has been written on migration and entrepreneurship which is the area of this research, little has been done on the relationship between migration and the dynamics of economic insertion of the migrants especially those using to street vending as a "break-through" for their economic insertion. Many studies on street vendors in South Africa have also not elaborated on the migrant street vendors and the link between their migration process and their insertion in the South African cities. This researcher believes that immigrant street vendors in South Africa rely more on their relations and self-employment for their survival and therefore argues against the common assertion that foreign migrants "take away" jobs from natives but instead contribute in the supply of jobs in the destination country.

1.6 Theoretical Background

This study employs the Migration Network theory developed by Massey. According to this theory, Massey and others hold that migrations lead to the formation of networks which in turn feed subsequent migrations (Light 1989). It also makes use of the theory of the Entrepreneurial city. The theory holds that the city is a commodity that has to be well-marketed to make the best profit out of it. The city is therefore driven by competitiveness. The study then strikes a balance between the two theories arguing that besides making use of networks for their migration, migrants also make use of social networks in finding market niches that are used for their insertion in the entrepreneurial city (details of theories as well as other related theories and concepts are given in chapter two). The study is based on the following hypotheses in relation to the research questions posed above.

1.The choice of market niche used for insertion of African migrants is determined more by their country or region of origin than by their past migratory experiences.

2.Migrant street vendors rely on friends, relatives and fellow-countrymen to get capital and experience needed for their activity and not on the financial and/or government institutions of the host country.

3. Migrant street vendors are predominantly young and mostly illiterates.

4.There is a high propensity of residential changes among migrant street vendors due to changes for suitable locations of "fertile" business opportunities.

5.Despite the fact that street trade is a suitable means of insertion and survival, most immigrant street vendors do not intend to stay in the country permanently.

6.Collective action in the form of agencies and association is lacking among street vendors in urban South Africa.

7.Most migrant street vendors are "agents" of larger enterprises in the formal sector

1.7 Delimitation of the study: The study takes a quantitative perspective on the testing of these hypotheses and makes use of a survey that was carried out in five suburbs of Cape Town as the geographical setting. It also focuses only on immigrants from other African countries as they constitute the majority of the immigrant street vendors in urban South Africa.

1.8 Data Collection: Data for this research was collected through a survey carried out by the student himself. In this type of research (cross-sectional design), it is obvious that sampling will be used. The sampling method was ‘purposive’. Hence a ‘convenient sample’ consisting of two hundred and eight (208) respondents selected from six suburbs and some road junctions of Cape Town was used. The suburbs included Bellville, Parow, Mitchells Plain, Wynberg and Parade and Green Market Square in CBD as well as some major road junctions where these vendors were found. Details on data collection and other aspects of the research method and design are given in chapter three.

1.9 Definition of Key concepts

- **Migratory Trajectory:** This refers to the means used by immigrants in the process of their migration and insertion in their places of destination. Four types of trajectories are identified in this study namely: spatial, social, network and economic trajectories.
- **Informal sector:** It is part of the economy that is not included in the tax system of a country. In other words it is not included in the gross national product (GNP) of a country.
- **Street Vendor(s)**: ‘Street vendor’ refers to any person who operates any commercial activity in non-permanent structures. These may range from semi-permanent business on street sides to mobile services in parks, stations and other public and private areas. Examples include shoe repairers, small roadside food sellers and those selling sweets on carts.

- **Social Capital/network**: This is a broad concept that has been given various definitions by various authors. Rosalind Edwards defined social capital as “norms and values people hold that result in, and are the result of, collective and socially negotiated ties and relationships” (Edwards Rosalind 2004). The issue of ‘networks’ is central in the concept and this simply refers to the connections people make in life as a form of social security. Mutual benefits/help is also central in the ‘social capital’ concept (Putnam 2000).
- **Migration network**: It is the aggregate of social connections of individuals of a particular group (geographic or ethnic) that assist them in the migration process (Tim 2008) starting from the decision to migrate, through the destination and route, to the professional integration of migrants in the destination country. These may include connections with family members, friends, acquaintances and useful strangers. It can be said to be a subset of ‘social capital’.

- **Ethnic/ethnicity and Ethnic Economies**: The word “ethnic” has been given different meanings depending on the context. However in migration, it is defined as “all that relates to the process of migration”. “Ethnicity” on its part refers to the strong ties that exist within an immigrant population which stems from the sharing of a common origin, migratory experience, language, socio-cultural and religious practices as well as the pursuit of a common goal (Pecoud 2005; Aldrich and Waldinger 1990). “Ethnic Economies” are therefore commercial activities that are owned and managed by predominantly the immigrants.

- **Market Niche:** The particular specificity of commercial activity suited to a migrant's capabilities, occupation or status. Examples may include shoe repairs, hairdressing and manufacture and sale of art works.
- **Entrepreneurship:** The act of initiating, organizing and managing commercial activities or businesses taking the risk of losses as well as reaping profits.

1.10 Structure of the thesis: This research work is divided into five major chapters namely: Introduction and setting; Literature review, methodology, results and conclusion. The first chapter situates the context of the study. It lays the foundation on which the whole study is built. The second chapter takes a critical look at some of the academic works around migration and street trade and tries to link the two concepts. Chapter three discusses the processes and procedure that were taken in this study while chapter four presents the findings from survey. Chapter five gives a conclusion of the study in relation to the research questions and hypothesis by also draws from the results to propose some recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Theoretical Framework:

From the literature review done, there are many theories that have been elaborated in relation to international migration as well as 'immigrant entrepreneurship' (specific area of the study). Early researchers in this field grouped the migration theories into economic, demographic and sociological theories.

The Economic theories are generally formulated along the following along the following line:

-Neoclassical macroeconomic theories which held the view that migration is caused by differentials in the demand and supply of labour between nations. Hence places of high labour shortages would attract migrant labour from place of abundance.

-The Neoclassical microeconomic theory on its part holds that the decision to migrate is rather determined on the micro scale by the individuals who decide to migrate to other countries judging from what they hope to gain from the migration process.

-The "New economics theory" or "New economics of labour migration theory of migration" on its part holds that migration occurs because families or other social groups, in a bit to diversify their income earnings as well as risks, decide on some of their members to migrate.

-The Dual market theory of migration believes that migration occurs because of wage differences between countries. Hence low-wage migrants are attracted by relatively high-wage employment in other countries (Myron and Teitelbaum 2001).Other theories as given in (Myron and Teitelbaum 2001) include the "demographic differential theory" that is based on differences in population numbers and the "institutional theory" or what has been termed "world systems" by other scholars which dwell on the role of intermediaries such as multinational firms in migration. This theory also holds that migration has become a form of business.

The most explicit and most important theory of migration is the *migration network theory* developed by Massey (Light et al. 1989). According to this theory, Massey and others hold that migrations lead to the formation of networks which in turn feed subsequent migrations (Light 1989). This means that once migrations are initiated, networks are automatically formed and further migrations take place independently of the initial push and pull factors that cause the migration. Massey advances two reasons how these networks support and promote further migration.

- Firstly, once migration has reached a certain threshold, they result in autonomous social structures which ease migration in the form of reduced social, economic and emotional costs involved in the process of migration. Hence networks act like some sort of "shock absorbers" in the migration process.
- Secondly, networks also support migration in the sense that they act as risks diversification for family members of those who migrate. This ties in the views of the New Economic theory earlier discussed.

The precursors of the network theory also hold that migration gets to a stop at one point where there is what they term "economic saturation" where the job market in the main stream economy of the receiving country is full. This then leads to what he calls "Flow-backs". This is because migrants find it more and more difficult to find jobs and accommodation. This is the point where other scholars like Light Ivan and others disagree (Ivan et al. 1987, 1989, 2004). On their part they hold that migrants do not only rely on their destination countries to get jobs but also create jobs for themselves through these same networks as he put it “networks either improve the efficiency of searches or increase the actual supply of opportunities or both”. This is especially true among the street vendors in urban South Africa. This happens through immigrant entrepreneurship. Migrants, through their personal initiative and cooperative efforts apply capital to the employment of themselves and of other immigrants (of the same origin) in their destination countries. This therefore counteracts the effects of economic saturation as postulated by Massey. However, Massey and others have done much in fusing all theories discussed earlier theories (discussed at the beginning) into one explicit theory and the first that could be used to answer the question as to why migration persist even after the initial causing factors are no more valid.

Another theory worthy of mention that links migration to employment and entrepreneurship is the *Restructuring theory or the Demand-driven theory* of migration elaborated by Saskia Sassen (Light 2004). This theory holds that the main reason for the growth of immigration and the development of the informal sector is the imbalance between the economies of the sending country and the receiving one (mostly the richer country). According to this theory the growth in the economies of the developed countries leads to a demand of low-wage workers to serve as housekeepers, gardeners and other low-paid jobs which the nationals are reluctant to do. Immigrants therefore readily migrate to take up these jobs. This is a further explanation of the ‘Polarization theory’ developed earlier by Moore and Pinderhuge (Light 2004). This theory was further used to explain the increase in the informal sector of the economies of receiving countries. It however also incorporates most of the ideals of the Economic theories discussed above and focuses more on the expansion of the informal sector (by nationals and not by immigrant initiatives) as a result of immigration.

The theory has been criticized once more by Ivan Light in the above-quoted paper and even modified by the author (Saskia) who, both hold the view that part of the growth in the informal sector can be attributed to the “importation of survival strategies” by the immigrants from their places of origin to their destination countries. Hence, they concluded that immigration is not only “demand-driven” but is also “supply-driven”. This brings the idea of immigrant entrepreneurship and falls in line with the economic activity of the immigrant street vendors in urban South Africa.

Another related theory is that of the *Entrepreneurial City*. The theory perceives the city as a product that has to be marketed. According to the precursors of this concept, many cities especially in the developed world are being managed from a market point of view. This is because most cities are increasingly being regarded as commodities that have to be properly managed to get the best profits out of them. Hence, the idea has given rise to what has been termed “Entrepreneurial Urban Governance” (EUG) which refers to strategies that are aimed at making the city more competitive (Crossa 2009). One characteristic of the strategies is that of transforming cities from places of work to attractive place for local and international investment (Ghannam 1997 cited in Crossa 2009). These strategies are also characterized by the privatization of public urban space and the emergence of gated communities (such as malls).There is therefore high competition for urban space as priority is given to the construction of malls, convention centers, sports centers and cultural spaces such as museums. In the face of this competition, the poor sectors of the city are often faced with the problem of acquiring space for their survivalist activities. Immigrant street vendors are certainly faced with the problem of “fitting” themselves in the entrepreneurial city.

It is important to note that the role of social capital/networks in the migration of the migrants and their economic insertion in the entrepreneurial city will be the focus of the study.

2.2**. Migration, social networks and entrepreneurship:**

It can be seen from the theoretical framework that social capital (through social networks) play an important role in the migration process and as well as the incorporation of the migrants both in the political and economic frameworks of their host countries. In the study of the impact of the social networks on the immigrant womens' incorporation Elizabeth Gidengil and Dietlind Stolle underscore the influence of social networks (Gidengil and Stolle 2005). Among the factors that facilitate political incorporation, the authors cite the prior experience of immigrants in politics, the length of stay in the host country, and the country of origin. By allusion, these factors may also apply in the insertion and incorporation of immigrants in the economic framework of the receiving country.

Fennema and Tillie (cited in Gidengil and Stolle (2005) showed that there exist a strong correlation between the incorporation of immigrants and the "density" of what they call "associational networks". The strength of one's network depends on the type of people the person associates with (Gidengil and Stolle 2005; Tim 2008). This means that if one interacts with more economically active or viable people, then his network becomes stronger. Also, the more relationships one creates, the wider his social network. Hence it may be concluded that the insertion and incorporation of immigrants depend on the strength (density) and quality of their networks.

Gidengil and Stolle (2005) classify social interactions into strong ties and weak ties. Strong ties are relations with family members while weak ties are relations with friends, acquaintances and voluntary associations at the workplace and/or neighbourhoods. This probably gives an indication of the variables that can be used in the evaluation of social networks.

Social capital facilitates migration through migration networks as well as the economic incorporation of the immigrant (Light 1989). As the migration networks increase, they facilitate the incorporation of its members either by broadening the searches for jobs or by increasing the supply of jobs through what has been generally termed “ethnic economies” (Light et al.1989). “Ethnic economies” can be defined as business ventures established, owned and managed mainly by immigrants. Through ethnic economies, immigrants apply self-generated capital to improve their livelihoods as well as that of their fellow countrymen and other immigrants who are employed in these enterprises. Tim Elrick defines a *migration network* as the “aggregate of all migrants’ networks” in relation to certain groups (same nationality, region or ethnic group) whereas the *Migrant network* on its part is defined as the “migrants’ social connections with migration-related knowledge” (Tim Elrick 2008) .This can be made up of family members, friends or even acquaintances. He (Tim) points out the fact that migration networks of groups are built on mutual cohesion of the members who use the social capital accumulated within the network. Migration networks therefore play a vital role in the economic insertion and incorporation of migrants in their host country.

2.2.1. Migratory Trajectories

Since most migrations occur following particular networks, there is no doubt that the migratory trajectory would also be influenced by these same networks that enable the persistence of migrations as Veronica de Miguel and others put it “a better comprehension of the itineraries and strategies of the population and the association to the social networks that exist in the place of origin and destination allows for a better comprehension of the migration phenomenon" (De Miguel-Luken et al. 2009). The notion of 'migration trajectories' has not received much attention from researchers but can have a strong impact on the distribution or settlement patterns of the immigrant population as well as the activities they carry out or the way they insert themselves in the host country. A migratory trajectory itself would be shaped by social capital through social networks. Hence, the decision as to which means or ways are better might not be the sole decision of the migrant him or herself but a collective decision especially by those who are either resident or had been to the destination country before or know more about it. In the study of migratory trajectories of immigrants in Spain, Veronica De Miguel-Luken and others identify two main types of migratory trajectories namely 'direct' and 'indirect' trajectories. Their findings reveal differences in terms of absolute numbers and trajectories between regions and between nationalities. There are also differences in sex and even age in the migration trajectories of foreign nationals in Spain. Morocco had the highest population of foreign nationals in Spain with 12% while 84% of them had direct trajectories to the country. In another study18.4% of men as against 13.4% of women in Spain had stayed in another country before arriving in Spain (Solana Solana et al. 2009 cited in De Miguel-liken et al. 2009).

Once migrants reach their destination country, they are confronted with the problem of sustaining their livelihoods. One of the ways of insertion is by becoming entrepreneurs. As Pécoud affirms, "entrepreneurship is an important means of incorporation of immigrants in their host countries" (Pécoud 2005). The migration or social networks facilitate immigrants to become entrepreneurs in their host country. Light and others identified three ways by which social networks help fellow migrants in investing in their host countries (Light et al. 1989).

- Networks facilitate the supply of low-cost labour to immigrant entrepreneurs who have established ethnic enterprises. This happens as immigrants tend to employ mostly fellow immigrants in their enterprises probably due to the faith they have on them as people with a common objective but also as they would often demand lower rates compared to locals.
- Networks provide the necessary information to entrepreneurs as well as would-be immigrant entrepreneurs. This information covers issues like how and where to start business, the pricing policies of the country, the best sectors to invest, dealing with public bureaucracies and possible obstacles in the various possible ventures. This information is often concealed to people who do not form part of the social or migration network.
- Through migration networks, immigrant entrepreneurs can get access to various forms of aid. Hence initial training and capital can easily be gotten through these networks. Immigrants easily get apprenticeship and start-up capital through associations and family members (who constitute this network).

One may now ask the question “why do immigrants engage in informal enterprising?” Many reasons have been advanced by different authors to explain immigrants’ involvement in business activities (both formal and informal) in their host countries. Among some of the reasons, one can generally identify:

- The high unemployment levels among the immigrants compared to natives. Various studies have shown that there are always disparities in employment levels between nationals and immigrants (Tukufu Zuberi et al. 2005).This is further compounded by the discriminatory employment policies governing employment in most receiving countries where the natives are often favoured. Another contributory factor to these high levels of unemployment is the fact that most immigrants lack or are unable to procure the necessary legal documents that can permit their employment in the formal sector of their host country (Tara Polzer 2008).

- Emigrant entrepreneurs easily find some sectors abandoned by the natives such as petit trade (hawking) like street trade in spices and newspapers stalls. This has been the situation in most European countries like Britain and France (Waldinger 1994 cited in Pécoud 2005).
- Due to the increasing need for immigrants to acquire certain goods and services specific to the immigrant population, immigrant entrepreneurs emerge to supply these goods and services that are of high demand and common within the immigrant community. These include especially foodstuff and certain services like conveyance of remittances.
- Immigrants are motivated by the zeal to create their own enterprises in their home countries once they go back home and can easily accumulate the capital and experience in the host countries where the conditions are favourable to get it started.
- Natives sometimes move out of immigrant suburbs with their commercial activities leaving the migrants with no option than to establish their own ethnic economies. This is further favoured by the concentration of immigrant population and the development of strong social networks (Veronica de Miguel-luken et al. 2009).

- The above factors may apply to both the formal and informal sectors of the economy. Immigrants' involvement in the informal sector has just recently attracted some interest from researchers especially in the developed world. Informal trading has earlier been seen as a thing of the developing world (Pécoud 2005). The informalisation of economies of developed nations is a replication of the situation that has long prevailed in the developing countries though it is not necessarily the source of informal sector in the developed world. The cause is probably the weakening of the production sector and the growth of the tertiary sector (Pécoud

2005). This leads probably to the polarization of the society between the rich and the poor. The poor easily find livelihood in the informal sector. Hence poor immigrants easily find the informal sector as a breakthrough in their search for a “new life”. This of course is facilitated by the social networks of which they form part. Factors that contribute to immigrants’ insertion in the informal sector of their host countries include:

- The low capital needed to start the business. In most cases migrants are always provided the low needed capital by some relations (friends, family members and ethnic associations).

- Another encouraging factor may be the legal framework surrounding the operation of this form of business. Most often, there is little or no bureaucratic work needed to go through in order to start up business in the informal sector. This therefore encourages most immigrants who status in the host country is not stable in the host country or even not legal.

- The development of partnerships between the formal and informal sector also favours the insertion of immigrants in the informal sector. A case in point is the development of partnerships by textile companies in Britain with immigrant street traders (Pécoud 2005). This is similar to what some authors term “fronts”.

While some immigrants enter into business in their host countries as big entrepreneurs, it is true that a majority of immigrants from developing countries are often involved in informal trade especially street vending owing to the fact that they come from poor backgrounds or might have gone through major setbacks in their lives in their home countries.

2.3 Street vendors as part of the informal sector

Street vending is fast becoming a global phenomenon. Though it is most practiced in developing countries, it is not uncommon in the developed world. Millions of people earn their livelihood by selling on the streets. A study in 1990 showed that about 275000 people were engaged in street vending in Mexico City alone (ILO 2002). In another study in India, 7% of those employed in the formal sector in one city were street vendors (Charmes et al. cited in ILO 2002). Another study done by Muiruri Philomina (2010) in Nairobi-Kenya showed that 97% of the female population depended solely on street vending for their livelihoods. The table below shows some statistics of street vendors for some countries.

Table 1: Street vendors in ten developing countries: Estimated number, share of non-agricultural employment and proportion of women.

Country	Number of street vendors	Percentage of non-agric. Labour	Percentage of women
Tunisia(1997)	125619	6	2
Benin(1992)	45591	5	81
Kenya(1999)	416294	8	33
India(1999-2000	3881700	3	14
Turkey(2000)	255000	2	3
Brazil(1991)	1445806	3	30
Costa Rica(1997)	13085	1	18
Guatemala(2000)	259203	9	55
Mexico(2000)	1286287	4	44
Venezuela(1997)	318598	4	32

Source: Jacques Charmes (in ILO publication 2002 pp 52).

In developing countries especially in Africa and Asia, street vending represent between 73 and 95% of employment in trade and contribute about 50 to 90% to the GDP in some countries. In South Africa, the 2000 Labour Force Survey estimated that there were 445000 street vendors in the country while street vending accounted for 26% of value added in trade in 1999 (ILO 2002). How do these vendors acquire space, capital and experience? What are their demographic as well as socio-economic characteristics? What are their problems and some attempted solutions? These are some of the issues I will be looking at in the rest of this part of the review. A street vendor can be defined as a person who offers goods or services for sale to the public without having a permanent built-up structure and not being captured by the tax system of the geographical area in which he or she trades. Street vendors may have semi-permanent trading structures or mobile. They range from people who sale manufactured goods through providers of services like barbing and shoe repairing to those acting as agents of shops and well-established firms (in the formal sector).

Street vendors seem to have some generally common socio-economic and demographic characteristics though there are also great differences on an individual scale.

2.3.1. Characteristics of street vendors.

a. Socio-economic

Street vending is often associated to people with no skills and low levels of education who cannot pick-up jobs in the formal sector due to this handicap (Pécoud 2005; Nontyatyambo 2009; Kamala et al. 2007). They probably get their training still from the street through constant practice of the trade and their capital mostly from personal savings. (Kamala S. et al. 2007). Studies done in both Johannesburg CBD and Durban Metropolitan in 1997 (Lund 1998) showed that the level of education of street vendors was generally very low with 10% and 18.3% of vendors not having primary education in both Johannesburg and Durban studies respectively. Another half of the vendors in both cities had finished only the primary school education (six years of schooling). There are also gender disparities in the level of education with more women than men not having any educational training. This pattern also holds for higher level of education which are themselves very few among street vendors. However, the author points out that in the Johannesburg study, migrant street vendors had higher levels of education that their South African counterparts (Lund 1998).

On the types of products marketed, street vendors sell products ranging from manufactured goods like clothing and shoes through self-made products like craftworks to services like hairdressing and the sale of insurance and other related services. Lund points out that in South Africa, manufacturing constituted a very small proportion of goods and services sold as opposed to manufactured goods like clothing and cosmetics as well as foodstuff (especially fresh produce)(Lund 1998). This means that many more hawkers sold goods not produced by themselves. Only 3% of the street vendors sold goods produced by themselves. This is contrary to another study done in Kenya where about half of the street vendors were involved in manufacturing (Claudia Manning 1994 cited in Lund 1998). The studies done in Johannesburg and Durban showed that food accounted for 41% of the products sold by street vendors, clothing was 37% and fruits and vegetable carried 30% while services were the least.

Street vendors are often associated with very low earnings from their activity (Sankaran et al. 2007). Despite the fact that the vendors mostly work under very difficult conditions like selling in the open air exposed to rain and hot sun, with little social protection, they also come back daily with very little as their earnings. This has also been true in the case of Lesotho where the study of Pius Tanga shows that despite more and more poor people in Lesotho being engaged in hawking in a bid to counter the effects of unemployment and poverty, lesser number of these people and actually getting out of the poverty net (Tanga 1994). He cites the main causes of poverty as being retrenchments, absence of a vibrant private sector and the inability to create jobs on the part of the government (Tanga 1994). In the Durban and Johannesburg studies (cited earlier), the results showed that 54% of street vendors in the Johannesburg earned averagely 600 Rands per month while 16% of women earned 200 Rands per month from their trade (Lund 1998). In another study in India, Kamala Sankaran found that vendors earned between 40 and 80 Rupees per day (Sankaran et al. 2007).

b. Demographic Characteristics:

Many studies have shown some similarities as well as differences in the demographic characteristics of street vendors.

There seems not to be a general trend in terms of age of vendors worldwide. However certain localities show some common trends in the ages of street vendors. There exist some similarities in studies done in Johannesburg CBD and Metropolitan Durban with 77% of most street vendors between the ages of 25 and 49 years. However there were many more men than women entering into street trade though many more men also left the activity earlier for other employment opportunities (Lund 1998).

Gender disparity is also a major characteristic of street trade with more men than women engaged in the activity in some areas and the reverse is true in other localities (ILO 2002).The activity is also very gender-segregative with respect to the numbers and types of goods or services sold in some localities. In India for example, there are more men engaged in street vending than women (Kamala et al. 2007). Another example of this feature can be seen in the study of street vendors in Lesotho (Tanga 1994) where women specialised in the sale of perishables and foodstuff while men dominated in the sale of manufactured products. The Johannesburg and Durban Metropolitan area studies confirmed the gender disparity nature of street vending where 40% of women in the Durban surveyed sold fresh produce with more women than men in both studies working as employees or as agents (fronts). Both studies also showed little diversification in the types of goods or services sold. (Lund 1998). According to the ILO report of 2002, the proportion of female vendors seem to vary from country to country and even between regions and towns of the same country. The percentage varies from 2% in Tunisia to 81% in Benin, (see table 1 above). These disparities are also seen in the value added to trade especially in developing countries. Many factors can be responsible for these disparities. These may include the cultural differences between localities, the policies and laws relating to street vendors and the level of democracy. Women in South Africa are also more concentrated in the sale of foodstuff and manufactured goods (Lund 1998).

There seem to be no general trend concerning the marital status of street vendors. In other words, the marital status does not have any relationship with street vending except in some areas where cultural practices bar the married women from carrying out any economic activity which is very rare nowadays. In the study in Durban Metropolitan area done in 1998, about one quarter of both men and female surveyed were married while in Isipingo, the proportion was 40% of the traders being married and 56% being single (Lund 1998).

2.3.2. Problems faced by street Vendors

Street vending has often been characterized by what some authorities would called the "invasion" of street, walks, major junctions, parks and other public areas by poor hawkers who want to make a living by exposing their wares to potential buyers (Vicki Robinson 2005). This means that the acquisition of space for the activity is uncontrolled in most cases. However, there have increasingly been regulatory measures taken to this effect in many urban centers and metropolis especially in South Africa (Tara 2008). This has also been one of the major sources of contention between street vendors and the authorities (Jenny 2009; Crossa 2009).

Street vendors often face many problems. Firstly, the very nature of their activity is seen in most cities as a hindrance to the development of the city (ILO 2002; Nontyatyambo 2009; Vicki 2005). This has in most cases led to most of their activity being classified as "illegal" and hence the ensuing problems encountered. Nontyatyambo (2009) asserts that street vending is the most vulnerable career after prostitution in terms of harassments and associated risks involved. The very fact that the activity is often poorly regulated in most cases puts the vendors at the mercy of some government officials like the police who often carry out arrests, confiscation of goods and even demand for bribes. Hence, a constant infringement on the rights of the traders as this may also be accompanied by beatings and even detentions (Muiruri 2010; Nontyatyambo 2009). Jenny Anderson (2009) examines the struggles of informal traders for public space in Zanzibar highlights this contention. Other difficulties common to street vendors are the environmental risks involved in the activity. Here, one may cite the constant exposure harsh weather conditions like heavy rains and harsh sun especially in tropical Africa as the traders mostly carry out their activity in the open areas without any form of shelter (Lund 1998).

2.3.3. Street trade and past experience:

According to Lund, the relationship between past work experiences and the insertion in the informal sector is generally a neutral one as the above-mentioned studies reveal that about 80% engage in informal trade not by choice but due to the lack of skills and employment (Lund 1998). However, the study of Pentz in 1992 (cited in Lund 1998) of Warwick Avenue showed that about 75% of male street traders had had employment in the formal sector. Gender disparities in past experiences have been shown in the work of Nair (1996) of street vendors in Beachfront-Durban (cited in Lund 1998).

2.4. Link between street vending and the formal sector (Independence). On what can be termed the "link between the formal and informal sector" Lund notes that some writers argue that street traders are merely "fronts" for formal traders (Naido 1993 cited in Lund 1998)). They argue that street vendors are merely the extension of formal traders and he cites enterprises like Edgars negotiating with street vendors to sell or market their products and *Uniliver* aligning with small stalls selling various soap powders (Lund 1998).

2.5. Planning Programmes/Policies and impacts on street vendors

Most urban Planning Programmes and policies often do not take the activity of street vendors in their design or incorporate the street vendors in the discussions for any urban planning. This leaves most street vendors at the receiving end of the consequences of the policy implementation. A case that I cited earlier is the *Programa de Rescate* that was designed for Mexico City in 2001 and which particularly targeted the street vendors as they were seen as a hindrance to the city Centre's prosperity through the attraction of tourists and foreign investments in the Centre (Crossa 2009).

2.6 Policy on street vending in South Africa: Policies governing street trade in South Africa has evolved with time. It can be divided into two scenarios namely the situation during the Apartheid era and the post apartheid era. The legacy of apartheid has had a huge impact on the development of the informal sector in general and street vending in particular. Policies during the apartheid era were aimed at restricting movement and activities (including business activities) of the black (poor) community. This was done through a series of acts. One of those act was the Native (Urban Areas) act of 1923 which restricted many blacks from residing in urban areas (let alone operating any business venture).They (blacks) could only do so if they were recruited to work for the "white men" residing in these areas. This was later modified by 'move-on laws' which stipulated that any street vendor had to be strictly mobile (changing his locations at given time intervals). Other acts which had the same consequences of stifling self-employment include the 'Group areas act' and the 'Development and Trust and Land Act' (Lund 1998). After much resistance from the national and international communities with the official abolition of apartheid, these acts were discarded and replaced by the 'Business act' in 1991 which removed all the barriers to business in general and informal trade in particular. This was followed by the 'Small Business act' in 1995 that actually aimed at promoting and encouraging the development of the informal sector through the provision of financial services to small enterprises and incorporating the sector in urban planning policies through a participative approach. Policies regarding street vending in urban South Africa have henceforth been enacted by provincial legislatures and municipalities in line with national policies on urban development. One of the cases is the Johannesburg 2030 Development Plan whose implementation started in 2005. In its quest for a "world-class city" the city of Johannesburg embarked on a series of measures in 2005 aimed at "cleaning" the city streets of informal traders and making the city more attractive for investment. The plan was intended to boost investments in the city by ensuring that hawkers were kept off the streets in some areas which affected about 15000 informal traders in 2005. The city officials assert that street traders are “a brake” on growth as new investments are hindered by their activities despite also asserting that the council of Johannesburg is not opposed to informal trading but to “illegal trading”.

In a bid to mitigate the consequences of the Plan, the Council constructed 8 markets to accommodate the street vendors. This meant that thousands of these street vendors had to be relocated in these traders markets. This created another problem as traders were not satisfied with the relocation as this meant the narrowing of the market. This is because they were confined to particular areas remote from the busy city centre where they located their businesses at strategic locations to give a maximum view of their goods to passers-by. Vendors also complained of overcrowding in these markets. This of course seriously affected their sales and profit margins and hence their livelihood. However, one city official could admit the consequences by saying “an African city cannot be like New York” (Vicki 2005).

In view of all the negative impacts of urban policy implementation on the weaker population of the urban frame, many authors and groups have been quick to point out the need for street vending to be incorporated in the mainstream economy and to call for the respect for the rights for livelihood of the poor members of the society (Nontyatyambo 2005). Hence any attempt of meeting the millennium development goal on poverty should be through strengthening the informal sector and street vending in particular which is the source of livelihood for a majority of the poor.

2.7. Role of Associations:

In view of the conflict between urban planning policies and the very survival of the informal sector in general and street trade in particular, there has been a growing need for the formation of agencies and associations to deal with these problems and empower the 'poor' members of the community to participate in the development of their communities. The most prominent among these associations is the 'Street Net' which is an international alliance of street vendors started in 1995 with members from eleven countries. They then drafted and adopted what has come to be known as the "Bellagio international Declaration of street vendors". Associations would certainly play an important role as far as the success of street vendors and their survival through the activity is concerned. These associations can better address or make the grievances of these traders be heard through ways such as assisting in bulk buying; negotiating with local governments for improved amenities, organizing for self-regulation for better marketing and above all fight for the rights of the traders. However in most cases, these associations are either absent or very few or even merely "toothless bulldogs". In other situations, the street vendors do not affiliate themselves to the few existing ones as in the case of Lesotho (Tanga 1994). In the study at Johannesburg CBD, only 15% of the vendors belonged to an association (Lund 1998).This coupled with the failure of the government to regulate the sector, make the vendors prone to harassments and extortion from the forces of law and order.

2.8. Methodological Approaches used in some related studies.

In the study of the economic and social integration of the immigrant population in Portugal, Coutinho and others look at the factors that influence the entrepreneurial choice of immigrants in the country (Coutinho et al. 2008). Their study comes as a follow-up of an earlier study done by the International Solidarity Association (ASI) in the country .It had been found that the past experiences in entrepreneurial activities of immigrants in their home countries as well as the amount of money brought from these countries are positively related to the entrepreneurial carriers of immigrants in Portugal.

The researchers focus their study on immigrants from Brazil, Ukraine and Guinea-Bissau (largest immigrant groups in the country in terms of their numbers) and particularly those who have been resident in the country since 2000. Their study was based on a survey of 591 respondents from the sample group. Their analysis was based on measuring such aspects as: the migratory project or trajectory; social integration; job transition/labour integration; individual human, social and financial capital as well as the mental focus of these migrants with special focus on the nationality and gender aspects. They affirm that it would be possible to trace the migratory trajectory from the above themes.

The Pearson correlation test was used by the researchers to test the relationship between the professional career (past experiences) and the entrepreneurial initiatives of the immigrants. The variables considered in the analysis were human, financial and social capital and the socio-demographic characteristics of the migrant entrepreneurs. It was found that social and human capital of the migrants was not related to the integration of the migrants in Portugal through entrepreneurship (*Migracôes* 2008:248-249). The researchers also found a strong correlation between the quantity of money brought from the migrants' home countries and the integration through entrepreneurship. However, there is no specification on the level of entrepreneurship and this may not apply to small-scale business like street vending. They also found that there is no relationship between the demographic characteristics of immigrants and their choice of activity or as professional careers as entrepreneurs in Portugal. A further regression analysis confirmed the strong association between the past experience in entrepreneurship as well as the amount of money brought from the home country and the entrepreneurial choice of immigrants in Portugal.

Obstacles to socio-economic integration of immigrants in Portugal through entrepreneurship include: lack of knowledge of mechanisms regarding the creation of businesses in the country, difficult access to credit facilities which is a corollary of legal and institutional barriers related to immigration.

Despite the fact that the paper makes no distinction in the level of entrepreneurship, it gives an indication of some of the relationships between some aspects of migration and the integration of immigrants who use entrepreneurship as a 'break-through' in their integration in their host countries.

Francie Lund makes a synoptical study of some research works in street trading in South Africa with a focus on women. The report touches on three areas namely: government regulation; the variables considered in various studies done in some cities in the country and the role of organizations. Some of the variables considered in her comparisms include; age, education, types of products sold, marital status and previous experiences. Though this work does not deal with the migratory aspect of street vendors, it gives some vital empirical findings on certain aspects of the activity as well as the relationship between variables such as age, sex and work experiences and street trade as an activity itself (Lund 1998).

Pius T. Tanga in his study of street vendors in relation to poverty in Lesotho takes a look of the activity as survival strategy by the poor (Tanga 1994). His study is based on the hypothesis that despite the fact that more and more poor people in Lesotho are engaged in hawking, lesser number of these people and actually getting out of the poverty net. He cites the main causes of poverty as being retrenchments, absence of a vibrant private sector and the inability to create jobs on the part of the government.

His methodology involves both quantitative and qualitative methods where he makes use of primary data gotten through a survey of 558 people, coupled with focus group discussions and oral interviews. His findings reveal that the primary reason for most people engaging in street vending is to improve or sustain their livelihood. Many of them remain in the informal sector being unable to raise huge sums to buy in bulk or even establish bigger enterprises due to various reasons which include the a gender disparity nature where woman specialize in perishable goods like food stuff and men predominating in the sale of non-perishables. Good to mention that these are some of the aspects that my study is equally interested in the case of South Africa but in relation to migrants.

In her work on street and Beach trade in Zanzibar, Jenny Anderson (2009) looks at the struggles of informal traders for public space. Her main focus is how these traders get access to public space in Zanzibar. She tries to explore the various processes, procedure and problems involved in the acquisition of space for informal trade in Zanzibar. However, the work of Anderson does not touch on immigrants alone as is the main focus of my research. Her methodology is generally qualitative and based on oral interviews of the various stake-holders involved in the use of public space. The demographic aspect is not of importance in her study though she concedes that the practice of street trade is sex-segregative with mostly the men engaged in street trade in Zanzibar. This is of interest to the researcher as he intends to find out the situation in South Africa

In her paper on street vendors' struggle in Mexico's City's Historic Centers, Veronica Crossa (2009) examines the strategies used by vendors to continue with their activities in this centre despite being excluded and targeted from the plan to renovate the center. The "*Programa de Rescate*" or Rescue Program had been drawn to be implemented in the Historic Mexico City Center aimed at making the Center more and more innovative, beautiful, attractive to foreign investment and tourist and as well as making it more secure. This meant the evacuation of thousand of street vendors in the center. Veronica Crossa shows that despite being forced to evacuate the Centers, street vendors have continued with their activities in other forms. She then seeks to examine the various strategies used by these vendors to resist their eviction from the center.

Her methodology is similar to that used by Anderson in her work in Zanzibar which is based on oral interviews with the various stake holders involved in the implementation of the programmers as well as street vendors (Jenny 2009). In other words the study has little quantitative undertone.

2.9 Conceptual Framework

Having looked at some of the theories and previous studies around migration and street vending, I found that little has been done to explain the link between migration and the negotiation for space in the cities of their host countries by immigrants.

The migration network theory explains how networks can help in subsequent migration but does not explain the dynamics of these networks in the entrepreneurial city. One may therefore seek to know whether social networks are destroyed after the migration process or continue in the urban area. The restructuring theory on its part holds that the main reason for the growth of immigration and the development of the informal sector is the imbalance between the economies of the sending country and the receiving one but fails to explain how immigrants "fit" themselves into the informal sector in cities. The Entrepreneurial city theory also does not provide an explanation on migrants' insertion in the entrepreneurial city. I therefore argue that the migratory trajectory among street vendors and their economic insertion in the informal sector is a reflection of the extent to which migrants are capable of mobilizing resources from different layers with their web of relations. This translates into different individual strategies to gain access to resources such as housing, capital as well as information and experience in business practices. In the process of establishing themselves as street vendors, it is assumed that different forms of experiences to negotiate for business space may emerge. There could be variations in the migratory trajectories depending on aspects such as nationality, gender, age, duration of stay, level of education, to name but a few. This study is aimed at establishing the nature of these differences.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

3.1 Introduction: Having seen in chapter two, some previous work done around the area of migration and entrepreneurship (street vending in particular) either jointly or separately, this chapter strives to trace the link between the two concepts using street vendors in Cape town (South Africa) as a case study. It explains the methods and procedures of tracing this relationship.

3.2 Research Design: The research design is the guiding framework on how the researcher will get and analyse information. "It situates the researcher in the empirical world" (Keith 1998). Hence, this research takes a quantitative dimension though there may be some aspects of a qualitative study. This is simply because there is hardly any social science research work that is strictly quantitative or qualitative (Judith Bell 2005). Since the research is based on the immigrant vendors and it is very difficult to study all of these vendors and whose sampling frame is not available, it is evident that the design is a cross-sectional one or "correlational survey" design, (Keith 1998). It was therefore only appropriate to use a sample of the population.

It is also important to note that 'random sampling' could not be used as a sampling procedure for the simple reason that has been explained above (no sampling frame on the entire population). Hence the "purposive" or "convenient" sampling method was the most appropriate. The sampling units (respondents/participants) were subjectively selected by the researcher on the site based on his knowledge. This was also combined with "snow-balling" as some respondents directed the researchers to potential respondents who constituted part of the population of interest (immigrant vendor of African origin).

3.3 Population of study: The population of interest in the study was that of immigrant street vendors from other African countries irrespective of age, sex, marital status. There was also no distinction of socio-economic background. The population was chosen by the researcher because of his interest in African migrants and also because they constitute the majority of poor immigrants in urban South Africa who depend largely on the informal sector in general and street vending in particular for their livelihoods.

3.4 Study Sites: The study was based in some suburbs of Cape Town. The sample was drawn from five main suburbs namely: Bellville, Parow, Wynberg, Mitchells Plain and the CBD (Cape Town Central). Some road junctions were also visited to select some participants. These sites were chosen based on the researcher's knowledge of the trading sites in Cape Town. Caution was however taken to avoid the "concentration bias" as the sites were sufficiently separated from each other.

3.5 Instrument: The study is based on a survey conducted by the student to get primary data. A semi-structured questionnaire was used in this case. The questionnaire was made up of both closed-ended and open-ended questions. Open-ended questions were used in cases where a wide range of answers (mostly qualitative) was anticipated which were later categorized during the data analysis phase. The strategy of open-ended questions in the questionnaire instrument was used to get detail information about the past experiences (sort of narratives) of the respondents which are needed to test the hypotheses of the research (despite of this procedure not being common in quantitative studies). The questionnaire was divided into eleven sections representing some of the major aspects that would be considered in the analysis and the testing of the hypothesis set forth in chapter one. These sections are:

personal details; migratory trajectories, networks/social capital, educational background, place of residence, house tenure/accommodation, street vending per se, affiliation to associations, problems/difficulties intension to migrate and remittances (see appendix for details).

Each of these sections contents a number of variables which are summerised in the table below:

Table 2: Some variables of the questionnaire.

Components	**Variables**
Personal details	Demographic characteristics: age, sex, marital status, number of children
Migratory Trajectory	- date of first arrival -habitation or not in another country before S.A -countries of previous stay, length of stay and activity/reason -means of travel to South Africa.
Networks/Social Capital	-Source of advice to migrate/travel to South Africa -Other known persons in South Africa before arrival -Other sources of information concerning the country -Description of information received about the country -Overseas assistance before travel to South Africa - Any assistance to other persons to migrate to S.A
Educational Background	-Highest qualification before entry in South Africa -Other professional qualification before entry in the country -Other educational qualification obtained in South Africa -Means of finance of studies in South Africa -Other professional qualification obtained in the country
Place of Residence	-Suburb of residence on first arrival in South Africa. -Person responsible for accommodation during the first month. -Change of initial residential suburb or not -Various suburbs of residence with corresponding duration, main reason of changing and main activity.

House Tenure/Accommodation	-Type of residence. -status of occupancy of the residence. -relationship with the household head. -business activity in the residence.
Street Vending per se	-Reason for doing hawking. -Source of starting capital. -mode of insertion into the activity in South Africa. -Approximate monthly profit at the beginning. -types of goods/services specializing in at start. -Mode of acquisition of trading space. -present approximate monthly profit. -present specialisation in terms of goods/services. -source of acquisition of stock for sale. -Ownership of the business. -other activities. -previous experience in the activity. -formal training in the current activity. -tax/fees pay for trading space. -trading permit needed.
Affiliation to associations/Grouping	-Affiliation to any association -Association of countrymen, hawkers and all African foreigners -objectives, benefits, legality and role in each of the associations.
Problems/Difficulties	-Various problems experienced by the vendors (specific and general). -mode of resistance/evasion to some of the problems.
Intention to migrate	-intension to migrate or not. -reason for the decision -probable destination and date if intend to migrate.
Remittances	-type assistance/support received from home country. -type of assistance/support sent to home country.

3.6 Data Collection: The data collection process took place between 28 of June 2010 and the 13 of August 2010 during which a total of two hundred and eight (208) questionnaires were administered in the 5 conveniently selected main sites and other road junctions in Cape Town. The total of 500 questionnaires had been envisaged but this number could not be achieved mainly due to the time factor and logistical problems. This was done by the researcher himself and an assistant (a postgraduate student from the same department). The questionnaires administered can be subdivided as follows:

Table 3: Distribution of questionnaires by suburb.

Suburb	**Number of questionnaires**
Bellville	50
Parow	40
Cape Town (CBD)	54
Mitchells Plain	32
Wynberg	20
Road Junctions	12
TOTAL	208

The administration of the questionnaires took the form of face-to face interviews with the respondent which necessitated some time and patience as it was done on the respondents' place of activity.

3.6.1 Sampling: The Sampling method used in the study was purposive where access to the respondent was through direct and indirect contact. Direct access was by introduction of the subject matter to the potential respondent and the explanation of the raison d'être of the project to have his or her consent (as seen on the cover page of the questionnaire). Indirect access otherwise known as "snowballing" as mentioned earlier was used in especially when potential respondents appeared suspicious and skeptical of what we were out for. After the preliminary introduction by the third party (known respondent), the researcher then explained the whole process to the potential respondent to get his or her full consent. Respondents were selected subjectively on the sites while caution was taken to make sure there was no bias of any nature. There was no gender, nationality, age or other preferences (apart from ensuring that the potential respondent was an immigrant from any other African country. However, we were guided by the idea of representativeness of the sample.

3.6.2 Difficulties encountered during Field work: The difficulties and obstacles were enormous. The first was weather-related. Since much of the field work took place at the heart of the winter season, we had to rely on good days which not rainy to be able to get the respondents who in most cases, a majority were absent on rainy and or extremely cold days.

The second obstacle has to do with the attitude of potential respondents. In some cases, we were seen as spies sent by the government to probe into the activities of migrants. While some also understood the reason after explanation, other still refused for various reasons some of which they did not mention to us.

Another problem had to do with the language barrier. Some of the potential respondents could not understand or speak English since they were from different national backgrounds. This was peculiar within the vendors from Somalia as well as some Congo who are fluent only in French or their native languages of their countries of origin. The researcher tried to solve some of these by interpreting the questions himself in French in the case of French-speaking vendors while some Somalis helped in interpreting the question in some cases to their brothers and sisters who did not understand English.

Another problem or obstacle came from the logistical domain. The researcher had to grapple with their own limited resources for transportation, feeding, phone calls and other expenses related to the field work. This obviously had negative effects on the number of questionnaires administered.

One other obstacle was the demand for compensation by some respondents and potential respondents. In this case we just emphasized on the objective of the survey which is not a money-making exercise but an academic one and the fact that we were still students.

3.7 Methods of Analysis: In order to answer the research questions, the following procedure was used in the data analysis. It should be mentioned here that the Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS version 19) was used to analyse the data and the analysis was basically descriptive as inferential statistics could not be used due to the lack of viable data on the study population as a whole. Hence external validity of the instrument cannot be ascertained.

The general quality of the data collected can be said to be good as the rate of non-response was relatively low (0.832%) judging from the fact that two hundred and eight (208) questionnaires out the initial two hundred and fifty questionnaires printed for the field work were effectively administered. Also, very few questions were not answered by the respondents except the question on affiliation to association which had a considerable proportion of none response perhaps due to the fact the question required much thinking and detail that the respondents did not have sufficient time as they were interviewed on their business sites where they had to attend to customers as well. Other blank questions were mostly situations that do not apply to the respondents.

The information from the questionnaires was first coded and entered into a data base developed to this effect. During the process, the open-ended questionnaires were categorized following the responses from the field. Care was taken to cover all the responses gotten from the field. Age was entered as absolute figures (completed years) while date of first arrival was also entered as absolute years (no specification on month).

The spatial migratory trajectories was traced from the type of transport means used to get into the country to determine whether they were direct or indirect as well as the number of countries the migrant passed through. This was displayed on a two-way table

To test the first hypothesis on the modes of insertion of the street vendors, frequency schedules were first ran for country of origin and type of activity (market niche) and cross-tabulations for nationality, type of activity and source of advice to come to south Africa .Then a test of association was done between the type of goods/services of specialty and nationality using the Fisher Exact and Lambda. This was further compared with the test of association between the past activities in the country (using the variable on whether the respondent has engaged in his/her present activity in home country or other countries before coming to South Africa). Association was also tested for country of origin and current specialty in street vending. The Cramer's V and Lambda was used in the test of association.

To determine the main source of capital for the street vendors, a frequency schedule was ran for the various source of capital and a cross-tabulation was made between the various sources of capital (see fig. 32).

On the characteristics of the street vendors, six major features will be of interest to the researcher. These are: age, sex, marital status, level of education the type of residences and profit from the activity. In the analysis frequencies of all the features will be ran and descriptive statistics was used for age to determine the average age of the respondents as well as other measures of central tendency.

A bar chart was used to illustrate the level of education of the immigrant vendors from the various countries. To determine the main reason for residential mobility and possibly its relationship with the business site, a pie chat was used to illustrate the different reasons which were later at the analysis narrowed down to four categories since it had been an open questionnaire. A multivariate regression analysis was ran for the various reasons of change of residence to determine the predominate reason why migrant street vendors change their residences.

The regulation of street vending will be gauged from question (n) and (o) where frequencies will be ran and results displayed on pie charts. The role of Associations as part of the network will be measured from the frequency schedules that will be roles for the associations indicating the proportion of those that belong to each association. This will be further strengthened by the benefits from the groupings whose frequencies will also be run.

3.8 Limitations of the Study: First and foremost it should be highlighted that the researcher depended on the respondent for accurate information. However the information could be verified by direct field observation and the questionnaire itself as some questions auto-checked the responses of others. Secondly the data collection took place during the busy period when the soccer world cup was going on. This could have an impact on responses to certain questions like the approximate monthly profit of street vendors which might be different from normal periods. The season (winter) also could have an impact on some of the responses. Other factors that could influence the responses include the waves of xenophobic attacks that had just swept through some of the informal settlements which could have an impact on the responses especially on the reason to leave the country or not as well as the reason of change of residence. On the whole, these impacts would be negligible and could be used to assess their migratory trajectories of these street vendors and the role played by social networks in their eventual incorporation.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS

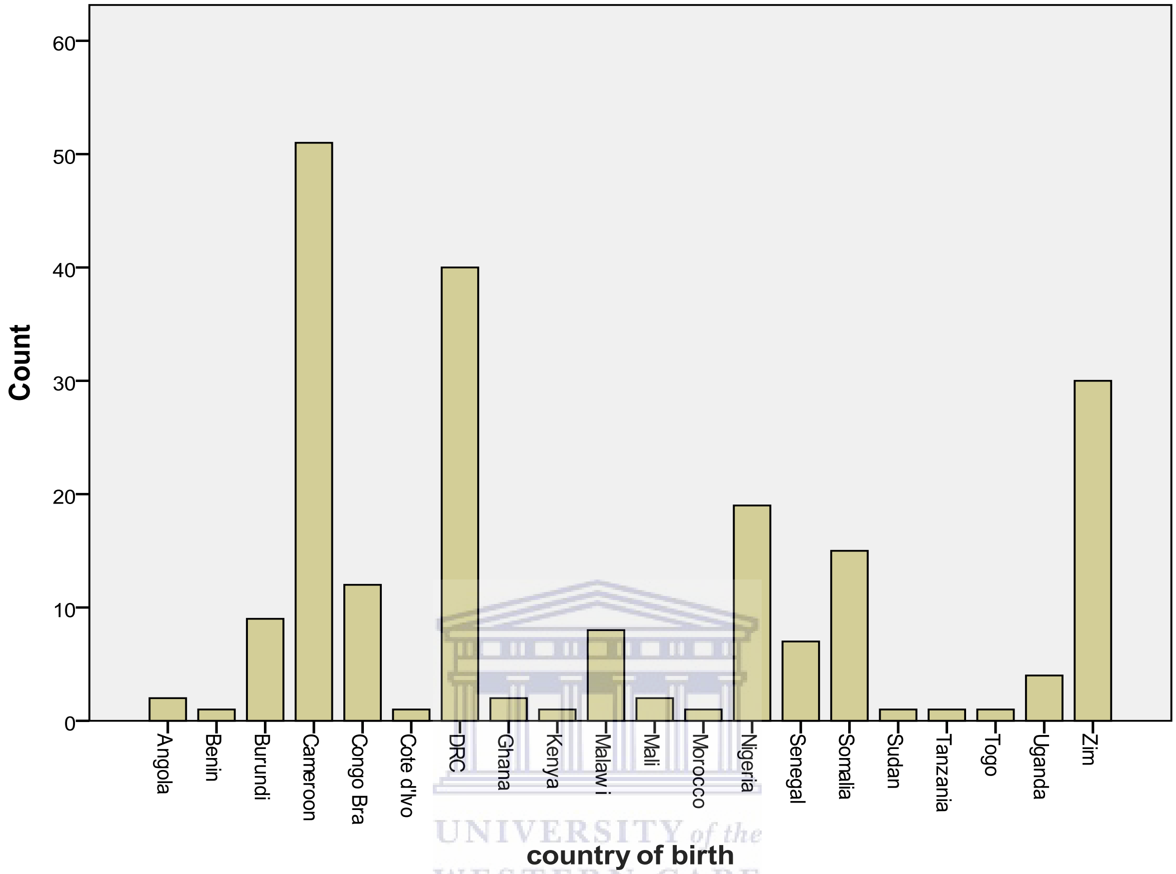
4.1 Introduction: Having dealt with the circumstances under which the survey was carried out and describing the methods that were used to exploit or analyse the data collected in the precious chapter, this chapter presents the results coming from the practical analysis itself. In the chapter, the researcher tries to verify some of the views surrounding migration and entrepreneurship that had been expressed by various authors as elaborated in the chapter on Literature review while at the same time trying to bring out possible answers to the research questions set forth in chapter one. This is done using the sample from the survey. The chapter is presented in three major parts namely: Introduction, general characteristics and the migratory trajectories. The trajectory aspect is sub-divided into social, economic and network trajectories which are interwoven.

4.2 General Characteristics of the Sample: It is worth noting that 20 countries of immigrants are represented in the survey (see annex 1) with three countries namely: Cameroon, DRC (Democratic Republic of Congo) and Zimbabwe being highly represented with 24.5%, 19.2% and 14.4% respectively of the sample of street vendors as displayed by the table and bar chart.

Table 4: Nationalities of the vendors

Country	Frequency	Percent
Cameroon	51	24.5
DRC	40	19.2
Zimbabwe	30	14.4
Nigeria	19	9.1
Somalia	15	7.2
Congo Brazzaville	12	5.8
Burundi	9	4.3
Malawi	8	3.8
Senegal	7	3.4
Others	17	8.2
Total	208	100.0

Fig 1: Countries of birth of the street vendors. **(derived from annex 2)**



It should be noted that vendors from Central and Southern African countries such as Cameroon, Congo Brazzaville, DRC and Zimbabwe dominate in the street vending activity. To these countries can be added Nigeria and Somalia. Vendors from these six countries constitute more than 80% of the total sample of street vendors. (see annex 1). This might be explained by the importation of these survival strategies from their countries of birth or residence (some have migrated more than once) where street vending is the order of the day in these countries for survival due to scarcity of jobs. On the other hand vendors from West African countries such as Benin, Togo, Mali and Ghana are very few. This might be due to their small migrant population that is in Urban South Africa as whole and those that are engaged in street vending in particular.

4.2.1) Age: The ages of the street vendors range from 18 years to 56 years with an average of about 32 years and a variance of about 7. (see table 5a) .More than half of the street vendors are between the ages of 25 and 35years and about 59% of the vendors are 30 years and above (see table 5(a) and (b) below and annex 2. This shows that most of the vendors have reached their peak activity age. This contrasts with the general notion that most migrants are young people in search of a better start to their active life. Clearly, the sample portrays a picture of mature people who might be thought not to have gotten employment in the formal sector either in their home countries or host countries due to their low skills and qualifications as is the case with most street vendors in most instances (John Walsh 2010; Pécoud 2005) but engaged in it because it is perhaps the easiest means of insertion and integration in the host country. This argument may be sustained when we would later look at the level of education of the street vendors.

Table 5a: Statistics on age of vendors.

N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	variance
208	18.00	56.00	31.9087	7.48889

Table 5b: Age distribution of the street vendors

	Frequency	Percent
<20	6	2.9
20-24	24	11.5
25-29	55	26.4
30-34	53	25.5
35-39	37	17.8
40-44	20	9.6
45-49	8	3.8
50+	5	2.4
Total	208	100.0

There is a contrasting pattern when one considers age and gender. From the survey, female street vendors are younger at all ages than men in the sample (as seen on table 6 below) whereas in most cases street vending has been dominated by relatively aged females (ILO 2002; Kamala et al. n.d) This may just be a confirmation of the general assertion that international migration is dominated by single males.

Table 6: Age groups and Sex distribution

Age groups	Sex		Total
	male	female	
<20	4	2	6
20-24	15	9	24
25-29	36	19	55
30-34	35	18	53
35-39	19	18	37
40-44	12	8	20
45-49	6	2	8
50+	5	0	5
Total	132	76	208

4.2.2 Sex: The sample shows a wide gap in the gender aspect with only 36.5% of the vendors being females and 63.5 percent being males. The number of males is almost double that of females engaged in street vending in the sample. (See table 7 below).

Table 7: Sex distribution of vendors

Sex	Frequency	Percent
male	132	63.5
female	76	36.5
Total	208	100.0

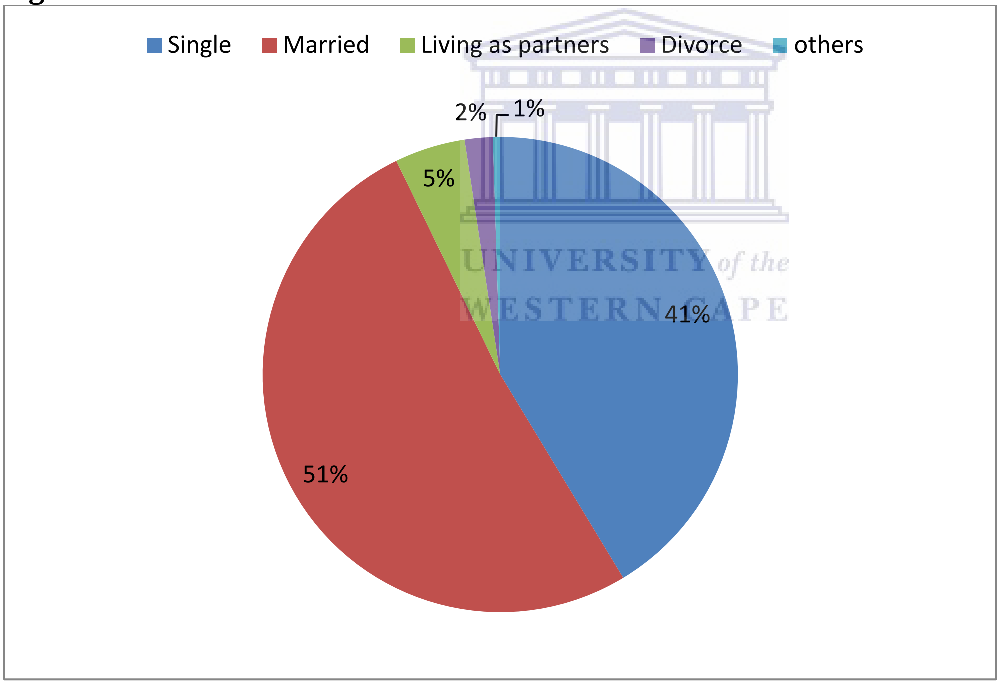
4.2.3 Marital Status: There seem to be a lower disparity in the marital status of the street vendors. However single vendors are lower than married in their numbers with a proportion of

41.3% as against 51.4 with a further 5.3 living together as partners. This gives a total of 56.7 who live together as couples. (See table 8and fig. 2).

Table 8: Marital status of vendors

Marital status	Frequency	Percent
single	86	41.3
married	107	51.4
living together as partners	10	4.8
divorce	4	1.9
other	1	.5
Total	208	100.0

Fig 2: Current marital status of vendors



However the disparity within married and single vendors is very significant when one looks at the gender aspect. A far greater proportion of the female vendors are married or living as couples (about 71% of all female vendors) than married male vendors who represent only 47.7% of the total male population as can be seen from table 9 below:

Table 9: Gender and current marital status

Sex	current marital status					Total
	single	married	living together as partners	divorce	other	
male	66	54	9	3	0	132
female	20	53	1	1	1	76
Total	86	107	10	4	1	208

This is probably an indication that most married women prefer to in the survivalist sector due to flexible working hours as they also have to carry out their domestic duties coupled with the little experience and capital needed to engage in the activity.

4.2.4 Level of Education: In many cases street vendors are often regarded as illiterates or lack the vital educational qualifications and skills for formal employment. This may not be case with immigrant street vendors (in South Africa). This confirms with earlier findings done in the Johannesburg CBD and Metropolitan Durban (see Lund 1998). One notices a relatively very high level of education among this population as seen in table 10 below:

Table 10a: Highest level of education

	Frequency	Percent
none	11	5.3
Primary	16	7.7
Secondary	32	15.4
O-level	31	14.9
High school	14	6.7
Matric	38	18.3
A-level	27	13.0
College	8	3.8
Diploma	7	3.4
University	7	3.4
B degree	15	7.2
Postgraduate level	2	1.0
Total	208	100.0

Table 10b: Highest level of education (regrouped)

Educational Level	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
No formal education	11	5.3	5.3	5.3
Primary	16	7.7	7.7	13.0
Secondary school	63	30.3	30.3	43.3
High school	79	38.0	38.0	81.3
College	15	7.2	7.2	88.5
University	22	10.6	10.6	99.0
Postgraduate level	2	1.0	1.0	100.0
Total	208	100.0	100.0	

Table 10a shows the raw classification of the level of education as captured while table 10b shows the level of education regrouped into certain educational levels that are common in South Africa to make the interpretation easier. This is because levels like "O" level (obtained after five of studies in a secondary school) and "A" level (after two years of study in a High school) are qualifications that are not in the South African school curriculum but are common in countries like Cameroon and Zimbabwe. From the tables it can be seen that only 5.3% can actually be classified as "illiterates" in the strict sense of the word. 7.2% of the vendors are in possession of a Bachelors degree with a further 4.4% and 7.2 % who have been to university and college respectively. This makes a total of about 18.8% who have at least attended a tertiary institution.

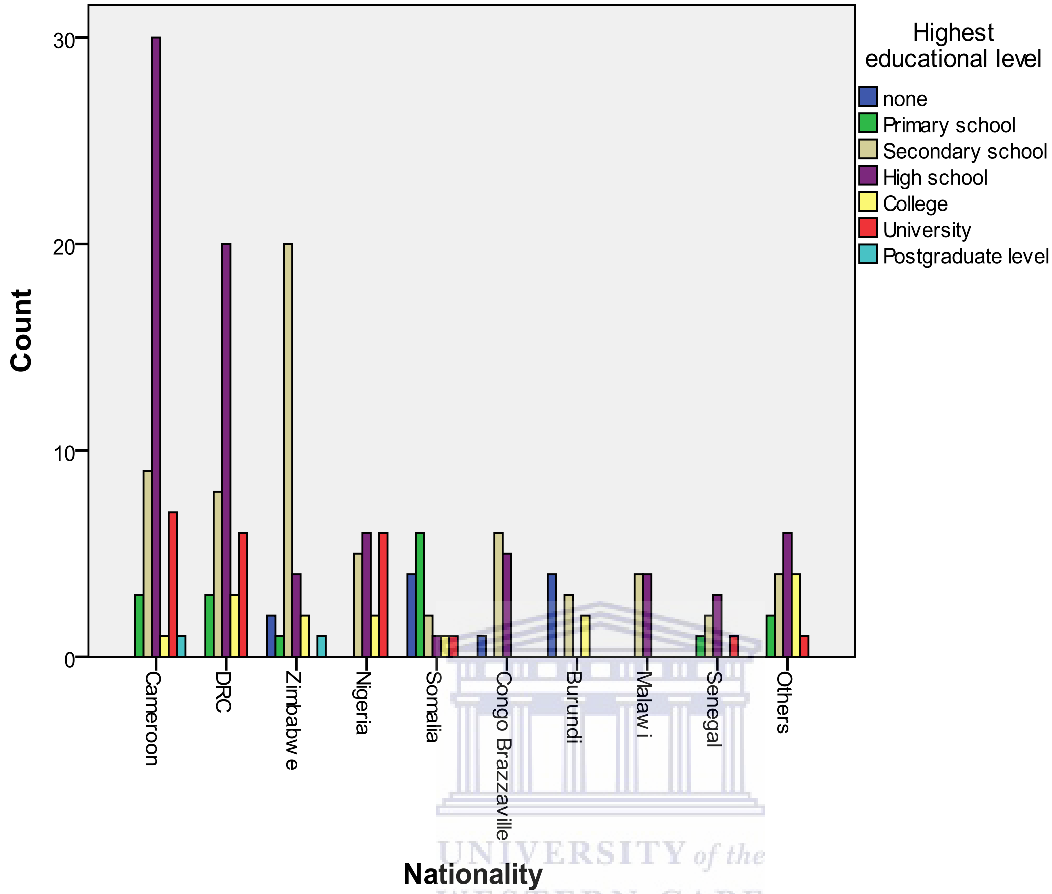
Disparities in the educational level exist among nationalities. Incidentally, one finds the main countries dominating in the street vending activity also dominating level of education. We find that vendors from Cameroon, DRC and Nigeria are relatively highly educated as seen in table 11 and annex 3.

Table 11: Nationality and Highest educational level.

Nationality	Highest educational level							Total
	none	Primary school	Secondary school	High school	College	University	Postgraduate level	
Cameroon	0	3	9	30	1	7	1	51
DRC	0	3	8	20	3	6	0	40
Zimbabwe	2	1	20	4	2	0	1	30
Nigeria	0	0	5	6	2	6	0	19
Somalia	4	6	2	1	1	1	0	15
Congo Brazzaville	1	0	6	5	0	0	0	12
Burundi	4	0	3	0	2	0	0	9
Malawi	0	0	4	4	0	0	0	8
Senegal	0	1	2	3	0	1	0	7
Others	0	2	4	6	4	1	0	17
Total	11	16	63	79	15	22	2	208

58.8% of Cameroonians had attained the high school level before their migration with a further 15.7% that had reached the tertiary level. This ratio is 50% and 22.5% for vendors from DRC and 31.6% and 41.6% of vendors from Nigeria had attained High school and tertiary levels respectively. This ties with the perception of some authors that most migrants (voluntary) are highly educated and/or skilled (Elaine Lynn 1984).Vendors from Burundi and Somalia appear to be the least educated with 44.4% of Burundian traders who had never had any formal education while 26.7% Somali vendors had never gone to school with a further 40% who had attained just the primary level before their migration. This is perhaps because these countries have been ravaged by war for many years and hence there were hardly any formal schools. Figure 3 below is a simplified comparism of education level between the various nationalities.

Fig. 3: Education and nationality



There also exists a huge disparity between male and female vendors as concerns the level of education which is generally lower for females than for males as shown in the table 12 below. One may see from the table that the proportion of female vendors who have never been to school is higher (6.6%) than that of males (4.5%). Furthermore, the proportion of females is lower than that of males at all levels of education with the exception of those who have been to secondary and high school (where the proportion of females is higher). This is a clear reflection of gender disparities in education that exist in less-developed countries especially in Africa hence the UN campaign "Go girls Education for every child" launched in April 2003. However, it is worth noting that the gender gap in the level of education in this sample is not so wide at the level of the university.

Table 12: Gender and Highest educational level

Highest educational level		Sex: male	Sex: female	Total
none	Count	6	5	11
	% within Sex	4.5%	6.6%	5.3%
Primary school	Count	14	2	16
	% within Sex	10.6%	2.6%	7.7%
Secondary school	Count	38	25	63
	% within Sex	28.8%	32.9%	30.3%
High school	Count	44	35	79
	% within Sex	33.3%	46.1%	38.0%
College	Count	13	2	15
	% within Sex	9.8%	2.6%	7.2%
University	Count	15	7	22
	% within Sex	11.4%	9.2%	10.6%
Postgraduate level	Count	2	0	2
	% within Sex	1.5%	.0%	1.0%
Total	Count	132	76	208
	% within Sex	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

4.3 Migratory Trajectories: The trajectories of the vendors are sub-divided into four types of trajectories namely: spatial, economic, social and network trajectories. The spatial trajectories trace the routes of the migrant vendors while the other types of trajectories trace the economic, social and networks adaptations of the migrant vendors in order to insert themselves in the labour market of the host country.

From the data gathered, the migration of Africans into South African cities increases sharply as the years go by. The number of migrant street vendors almost doubled between 1993 and 2002 and almost tripled between 2003 and 2007 while the marked increase actually started in 2004 (see table 13 and fig. 4 below). This is ten years after the first democratic elections in the country in 1994. The stable political atmosphere probably played a role in making South Africa an attractive destination for many migrants especially from the African continent (Peberdy and Rogerson 2000).

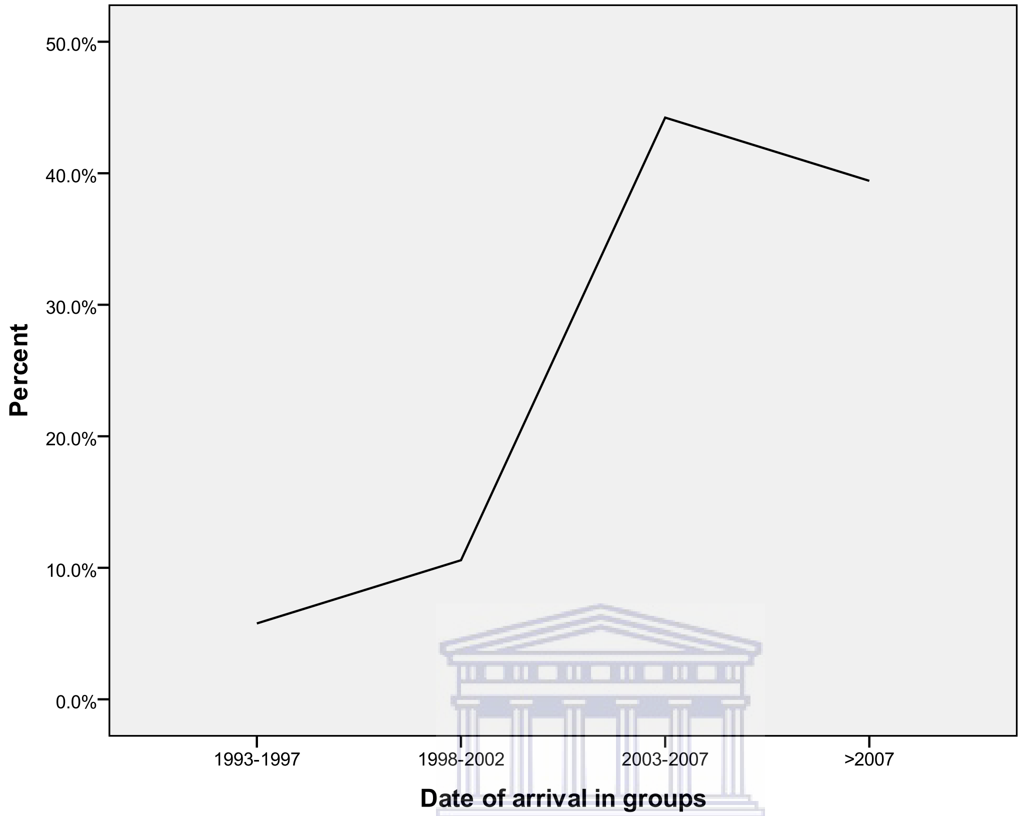
Table 13a: Date of arrival in South Africa

Year	Frequency	Percent
1993	2	1.0
1994	4	1.9
1995	2	1.0
1996	2	1.0
1997	2	1.0
1998	2	1.0
1999	6	2.9
2000	6	2.9
2001	3	1.4
2002	5	2.4
2003	9	4.3
2004	22	10.6
2005	21	10.1
2006	14	6.7
2007	26	12.5
2008	34	16.3
2009	32	15.4
2010	16	7.7
Total	208	100.0

Table 13: Arrival of immigrant street vendors (five-year interval)

	Frequency	Percent
1993-1997	12	5.8
1998-2002	22	10.6
2003-2007	92	44.2
>2007	82	39.4
Total	208	100.0

Fig. 4: Curve showing the arrival of foreign street vendors



This can be attributed to the advent of democracy in the country from 1994 which also led to the opening of the country to the rest of the world coupled with the relaxation of laws (examples are the “move-on law” and the “urban areas act” of 1923) that hindered the development of the informal sector in general and street vending in particular. The last row shows a relatively smaller number of street vendors as compared to the previous probably because the interval in terms of duration is not complete (not a five-year interval as in the other cases).

Figure 5 also give the graph of the duration of stay of the vendors. We notice that the slopes downwards with increase in the duration of stay.

Fig5: Duration of stay

This graph (duration of stay) also portrays the sharp increase in the number of immigrant street vendors as the years go by with the exception of those who have spent less that one in the country (understandably as the the duration was calculated in complete years).

4.3.1 Spatial migratory trajectory: The actual migratory trajectory of street vendors shows that most of the vendors come to South Africa directly from their countries of birth. Among the 208 respondents interviewed, only 90 passed through other countries or have lived in other countries apart from their countries of origin. Hence 56.7% of the vendors had never lived in any other country or passed through one. This is buttressed by the fact that 50% of the migrants entered the country by direct flight into the country. See tables 14 and 15 below:

Table 14: Spatial migratory trajectory (direct or indirect)

Stay/transit through other countries	Frequency	Percent
yes	90	43.3
no	118	56.7
Total	208	100.0

Table 15: Means of travel to South Africa

Mode of travel	Frequency
vehicle	91
airplane	104
Ship	6
foot	7
Total	208

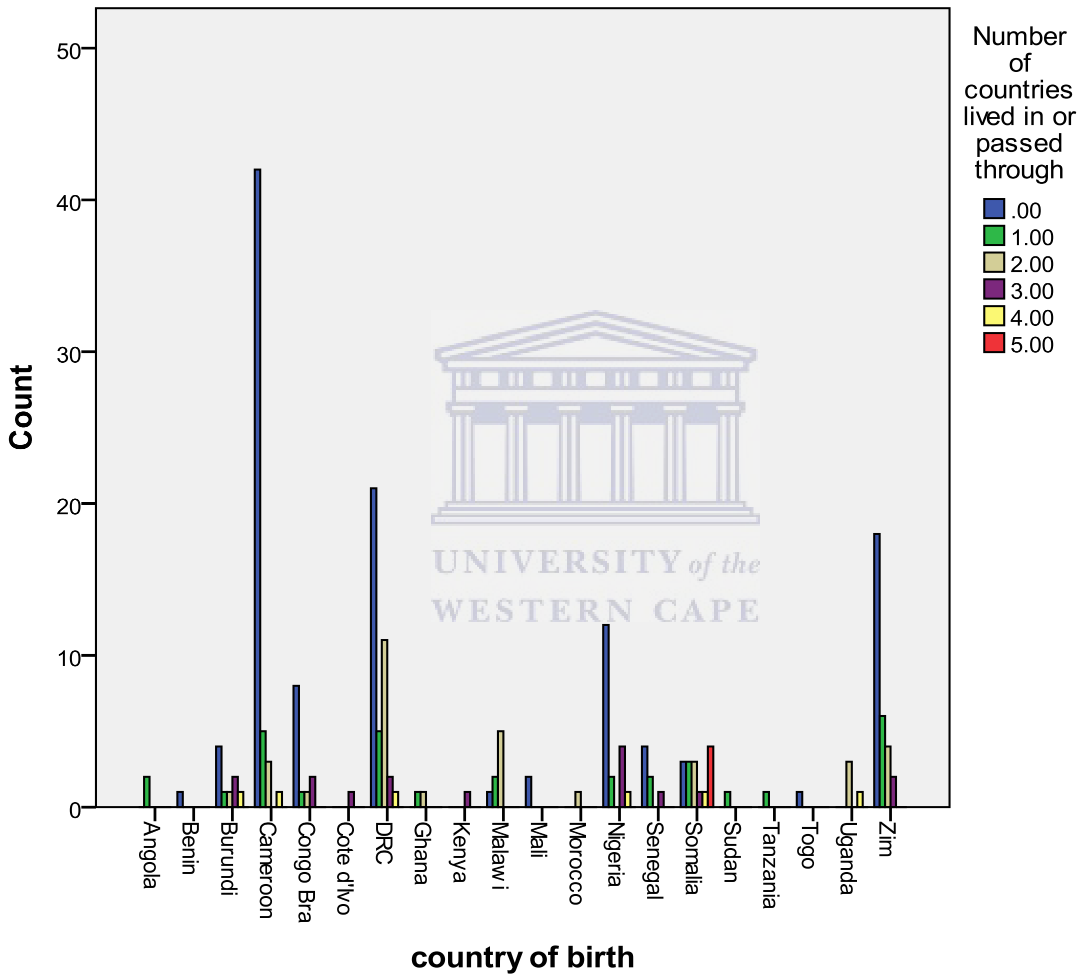
Table 16: Nationality and spatial migratory trajectory

Nationality			Stayed in another Country before South Africa?		Total
			yes	no	
	Cameroon	Count	9	42	51
		% within Nationality	17.6%	82.4%	100.0%
	DRC	Count	21	19	40
		% within Nationality	52.5%	47.5%	100.0%
	Zimbabwe	Count	13	17	30
		% within Nationality	43.3%	56.7%	100.0%
	Nigeria	Count	7	12	19
		% within Nationality	36.8%	63.2%	100.0%
	Somalia	Count	9	6	15
		% within Nationality	60.0%	40.0%	100.0%
	Congo Brazzaville	Count	4	8	12
		% within Nationality	33.3%	66.7%	100.0%
	Burundi	Count	5	4	9
		% within Nationality	55.6%	44.4%	100.0%
	Malawi	Count	7	1	8
		% within Nationality	87.5%	12.5%	100.0%
	Senegal	Count	3	4	7
		% within Nationality	42.9%	57.1%	100.0%
	Others	Count	12	5	17
		% within Nationality	70.6%	29.4%	100.0%
Total		Count	90	118	208
		% within Nationality	43.3%	56.7%	100.0%

4.3.1.1 Nationality and spatial migratory trajectory

However, marked disparities exist between countries and regions of birth as concerns the migratory trajectories. The trajectories of the immigrant street vendors can best be analysed using table 16(above) and fig 6 below:

Fig.6: Previous migration experience of vendors by nationality.



Vendors from Cameroon, Congo Brazzaville and Nigeria have the least experience in migration as 82.4%, 66.7% and 63.2% of vendors from these countries respectively have never stayed in any other country other than their countries of birth even in the course of their migration to South Africa. This implies that their migratory trajectory to South Africa is a direct one. On the other hand vendors from Malawi as well as from Somalia show a high experience in migration as

87.5% and 60% respectively have migrated at least once before coming to South Africa. The case of Somalia is understandably due to long-lasting civil war in the country while the Malawian experience can be attributed to the high degree of cross-border trade within neighbouring Southern African countries.

Table 17: Nationality and Means of travel to South Africa.

Nationality			Means of travel to South Africa				Total
			vehicle	airplane	Ship	foot	
	Cameroon	Count	2	49	0	0	51
		% within Nationality	3.9%	96.1%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	DRC	Count	25	15	0	0	40
		% within Nationality	62.5%	37.5%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Zimbabwe	Count	24	0	0	6	30
		% within Nationality	80.0%	.0%	.0%	20.0%	100.0%
	Nigeria	Count	2	17	0	0	19
		% within Nationality	10.5%	89.5%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Somalia	Count	12	0	3	0	15
		% within Nationality	80.0%	.0%	20.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Congo Brazzaville	Count	2	10	0	0	12
		% within Nationality	16.7%	83.3%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Burundi	Count	6	1	2	0	9
		% within Nationality	66.7%	11.1%	22.2%	.0%	100.0%
	Malawi	Count	8	0	0	0	8
		% within Nationality	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Senegal	Count	0	7	0	0	7
		% within Nationality	.0%	100.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Others	Count	10	5	1	1	17
		% within Nationality	58.8%	29.4%	5.9%	5.9%	100.0%
Total		Count	91	104	6	7	208
		% within Nationality	43.8%	50.0%	2.9%	3.4%	100.0%

It can be seen from the table that most of the immigrant street vendors from West and Central African countries such as Senegal Cameroon, Nigeria and Congo Brazzaville entered the country through direct flight from their countries of birth (96.1%, 89.5% and 83.3% respectively) On the contrary, vendors from the East and Southern African Countries such as Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Malawi and Zimbabwe including Somalia travel to the country by road. This sometimes entailed spending weeks or even months in other countries during their transit. This is typically the case with immigrant vendors from Somalia where most of them usually pass through countries like Kenya, Mozambique, Malawi, Botswana and Zimbabwe before finally entering South Africa. This is also the case with some of the street vendors from DRC who had to pass through Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. These trajectories could sometimes take months before they reach their final destination. This is also buttressed by the fact that the proportion of vendors who have stayed or passed through another country shows the same trend .We also notice the only vendors coming to South African on foot are those from Zimbabwe. This is perhaps due to the political turmoil in the country since 2007 coupled with its nearness to South Africa.

One can also notice from table 7 above, a greater mobility of vendors from Southern African countries such as Malawi, Zimbabwe, and DRC with the exception of those from Somalia who are also very mobile. This is probably due to the unstable political atmosphere in Somalia. This mobility of the vendors could be explained by the effectiveness of strong social and migration networks as well as the effects of globalization and its impact on legislation governing migration in most countries today.

4.3.1.2 Prospects for return migration: The prospect of further migration of the vendors is largely positive with 76% of them indicating their intention to move with only 24% indicating their intention to stay permanently in the country as shown in table 18 below:

Table 18: Further migration prospects

	Frequency	Percent
yes	158	76.0
no	50	24.0
Total	208	100.0

However, a majority of those who intend to leave the country indicate the destination to be their countries of birth of origin. Numerous reasons were given by various immigrant street vendors for their intention to leave the country ranging from socio-economic, through financial to socio-political problems. A majority of the vendors (about 58 percent) who expressed their intentions leave the country said the reason was just that the host country was not their "home" country as some simply put it, "home is home". There was therefore a high proportion of 'return migrants' who hoped to return to their home countries to reunite with their family members and other loved ones. On the socio-economic domain, many of the vendors who intended to leave the country cited economic hardship as the main push factor as shown by the expressions "hardship", "not a better place" and "difficult here"(see appendix 14a). This implies that they were finding it difficult to survive on their trade. Problems of insecurity like the fear of further xenophobic attacks like to the one that took place in 2008 in most informal settlements in the country were among the socio-political reasons of further migrations (the fear was greatly fanned by rumours that there were going to be such attacks again immediately after the 2010 FIFA world cup that was hosted by South Africa). Others just expressed their intentions to go to "better" places such as Europe, Canada or USA where they perhaps had family members and/or friends or anticipated better living conditions in these paces (see table 19 below and appendix 14).

Table 19: Some main reasons for decision on further migration

Further migration intention		**No intention for further migration**	
Reasons	**Approx. percent**	**Reasons**	**Approx. percent**
go back home	58.2	Family here	14.0
go to developed countries	10.1	No money for transport	12.0
difficult living here	7.0	Better here/o.k here	20.0
insecurity	3.2	Kids' welfare &education	8.0
xenophobia	3.2	Not yet achieved goal	14.0

Source: derived from appendix 14(a) and (b)

However, a huge proportion of vendors who intended to migrate further were not certain about the date of migration (84.4%) as seen on table 20.

Table 20: Date of departure

	Frequency	Percent
2011	3	1.9
2012	2	1.3
2013	2	1.3
2014	1	.6
2015	1	.6
2020	1	.6
Anytime	1	.6
Confidential	1	.6
Dec. 2010	5	3.2
Dec. 2011	4	2.5
Jan. 2011	3	1.9
March 2012	1	.6
unknown	133	84.2
Total	158	100.0

On other hand, having a family was the main reason keeping most the immigrants in the country as seen by expressions “education of my kids”, “my partner/kid is here” and “family here” which meant they had the task of raising their family (especially children) in the country. Another proportion of the vendors gave their reason for not intending to leave the country as lack of financial means as seen by the expression “no money”. These are immigrant vendors who wished to leave the country but lack the financial means that could permit them to either travel back to their home countries or start up an economic activity in a different country. This proportion probably forms part of the ‘return migrants’. Another proportion the vendors (about 20%) simply admitted that South Africa was the best destination for them and did not wish to migrate further. Hence they gave expressions such as “it is better here” and “good here”. Yet, another proportion of the vendors did not intend to leave soon because they had not yet achieved their goals. This implies that they had well-defined goals and could only leave or return once the goals have been achieved. Perhaps this is the reason why a majority of those who intended to leave never had no fixed date of departure.

It would also appear that in as much as many of the immigrant vendors were intending to return "home", many equally never encouraged their relation to migrate to South Africa for various reasons. This can be seen from the number that had helped other prospective migrants to migrate into the country (see table 24).

4.3.2 Network Trajectories: One sees a strong influence of social networks in the migration process of these vendors as more than 68% of them got the advice to migrate from close relations while 66.3% of the vendors received supplementary (encouraging) information from other persons already resident in the country before their actual migration into the Country (tables 21 to 23 and figures 7 give an illustration of this aspect).

Table 21: Source of advice to migrate

	Frequency	Percent
relation in S.A	95	45.7
Friend/acquaintance/country men	48	23.1
myself	61	29.3
other	4	1.9
Total	208	100.0

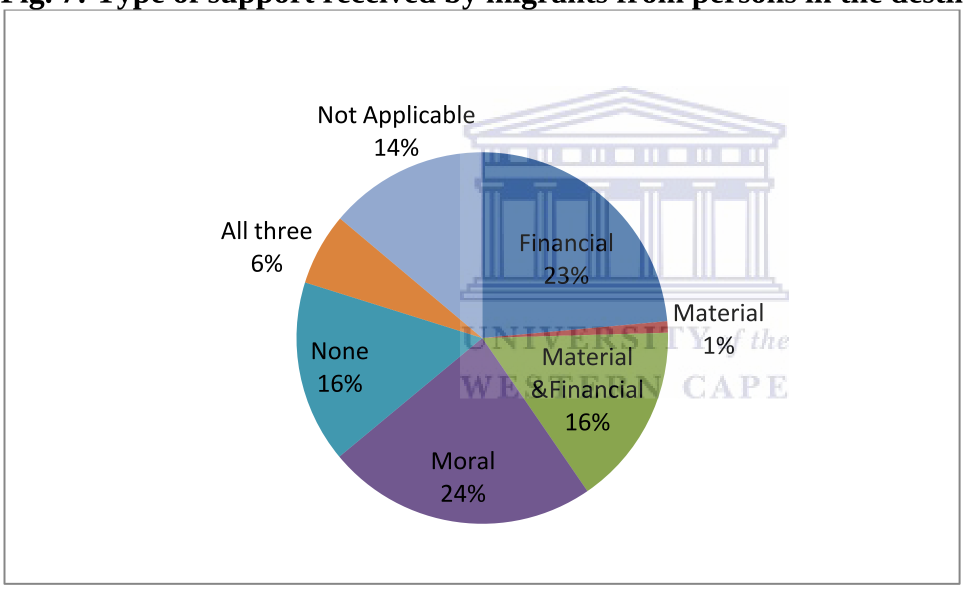
Table 22: Information from other residents in destination country prior to migration

	Frequency	Percent
yes	138	66.3
no	70	33.7
Total	208	100.0

Table 23: Support received from persons in South Africa

	Frequency	Percent
financial	49	23.6
material	2	1.0
both financial and material	33	15.9
moral	49	23.6
none	33	15.9
all three	13	6.3
not applicable	29	13.9
Total	208	100.0

Fig. 7: Type of support received by migrants from persons in the destination country.



It can be seen from table 21 that more than 45% of the vendors received advice to migrate and on the migration process from family members. These include parents, brothers, sisters, etc.

Table 24: Assistance to other prospective migrants

	Frequency	Percent
yes	76	36.5
no	132	63.5
Total	208	100.0

We find from table 24 above that 63.5% have never helped any one to migrate into the country as against 36.5% who have done so. This may be because many who have lived in the country do not see the country to be what they thought before migrating into it and do not see the country as a better place of destination for their relations.

4.3.3 Social Trajectories: This section examines the social adaptations by the migrant vendors to insert themselves into the host society. We will look at the way these vendors get accommodation and further strategies of social improvement like further work and/or education.

4.3.3.1 Accommodation: The problem of getting accommodation (especially first accommodation) is always primordial for an immigrant and is not different with immigrant street vendors in urban South Africa. We find the strong influence of social capital in resolving the problem of (first) accommodation for the immigrant vendors as 49% of them rely on strong family ties with their family members in South Africa accommodation (at least first place of stay) while a further 21.2% and 12% rely on friends/acquaintance and countrymen respectively for their initial accommodation (see table 25 below).

Table 25: Initial accommodation

Source of first accommodation	Frequency	Percent
relation in South Africa	102	49.0
Friend/acquaintance	44	21.2
Fellow countrymen	25	12.0
myself	11	5.3
other	26	12.5
Total	208	100.0

Disparities can be seen between the various nationalities in accommodation. It can be seen the vendors from Burundi and Somali depend most on personal efforts in order to get accommodation. This situation ties with the earlier analysis on assistance before migration and where migrant vendors form these countries depend least on social networks and can be explained by the very reason of war-torn countries that leads to unplanned migration of their citizens while vendors from Congo Brazzaville and DRC depend most on the family members for in solving the problem of accommodation (66.7% and 60% respectively) as seen on table 26.

Table 26: Nationality and accommodation within the first month in South Africa.

Nationality			Person responsible for first accommodation in S.A					
			relation	Friends	Fellow country-men	self	other	Total
	Cameroon	Count	28	9	9	1	4	51
		% within Nationality	54.9%	17.6%	17.6%	2.0%	7.8%	100%
	DRC	Count	24	11	2	1	2	40
		% within Nationality	60.0%	27.5%	5.0%	2.5%	5.0%	100%
	Zimbabwe	Count	17	4	2	2	5	30
		% within Nationality	56.7%	13.3%	6.7%	6.7%	16.7%	100%
	Nigeria	Count	8	9	0	2	0	19
		% within Nationality	42.1%	47.4%	.0%	10.5%	.0%	100%
	Somalia	Count	6	2	1	3	3	15
		% within Nationality	40.0%	13.3%	6.7%	20.0%	20.0%	100%
	Congo Brazzaville	Count	8	1	3	0	0	12
		% within Nationality	66.7%	8.3%	25.0%	.0%	.0%	100%
	Burundi	Count	3	1	3	0	2	9
		% within Nationality	33.3%	11.1%	33.3%	.0%	22.2%	100%
	Malawi	Count	3	3	1	0	1	8
		% within Nationality	37.5%	37.5%	12.5%	.0%	12.5%	100%
	Senegal	Count	2	2	0	0	3	7
		% within Nationality	28.6%	28.6%	.0%	.0%	42.9%	100%
	Others	Count	3	2	4	2	6	17
		% within Nationality	17.6%	11.8%	23.5%	11.8%	35.3%	100%
Total		Count	102	44	25	11	26	208
		% within Nationality	49.0%	21.2%	12.0%	5.3%	12.5%	100%

Statistics from the sample also show that 71.6% of the vendors had changed their initial residences for various reasons seen on table 27 below.

Table 27(a) :Change of initial residence

	Frequency	Percent
yes	149	71.6
no	59	28.4
Total	208	100.0

Table 27(b): Reasons for change of residences.

Main Reasons	Percentage per residential Suburbs		
	Initial Suburb	Suburb 2	Suburb 3
Family-related issues	18.1	1.3	0.7
Environmental issues (dirty area, overcrowding, etc)	12.8	8.2	1.3
Business(activity)-related e.g. close to business site, etc	12.1	11.4	7.4
management issues (e.g. lease expired, property sold, etc)	16.1	7.4	1.3
Insecurity (e.g. xenophobia, theft)	6.7	5.4	1.0
other reasons	30.2	13.4	5.4
not applicable	3.4	53.0	81.9

Source: Derived from annex 8

It can be seen form table 27b above that the proportion of vendors who change their residences decreases at each suburb as indicated by the increase in the proportion of 'not applicable' response. This may mean than vendors become more and more stable as time goes on. It also be seen that family-related issues are the dominant reason for change of residence. These include change of marital status, arrival of another family relation and just an increase in the family size staying together that warrant the migrant vendor to look for another residence. Business-related causes of change of residence only start dominating as from the second residence. This is probably when the immigrant vendors start experiencing some stability and start looking for more suitable business ventures and locations. Incidentally, insecurity plays the least role at all suburbs in determining whether the migrant vendor should move or not as seen from the proportions that are lowest at all suburbs. This can be interpreted as a sign of a good relationship between the immigrant vendors and the host communities contrary the what one might think to be the impact of xenophobia that has been widespread in most informal settlements in the country before this time (survey period). It should be noted that the causes of residential mobility might be multiple but here we are dealing only with the main ones.

4.3.3.2 Other activities (Further education): We have established in 4.2 that the immigrant vendors in urban South Africa are relatively very educated with about 56% of the sample who of attained at least the high school level and only 5.3% who had never had any formal education. The educational trajectories of some of them continue in the host country with 15.9% of them having got an additional qualification in the country with 7.7% still studying at the time of the survey as and 57% of the vendors indicate their intention to continue with education once conditions (especially financial) improve (see table 28 below).

Table 28(a): Other qualification(s) obtained in South Africa

	Frequency	Percent
yes	33	15.9
no	175	84.1
Total	208	100.0

Table 28 (b): Current studies

	Frequency	Percent
yes	16	7.7
no	192	92.3
Total	208	100.0

Table 28(c) Intension to study further in South Africa

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	yes	120	57.7
	no	88	42.3
	Total	208	100.0

Most of the qualifications obtained by these migrant vendors are professional qualifications (see annex 9 for the various qualifications). This is perhaps an indication of the intention for some of them to get formal employment in the future.

4.3.3.3. Affiliation to associations: It can been seen from table 29 below that almost half of the vendors are members of at least an association but the majority belong to their ethnic unions/associations rather than street traders unions (see 29b).

Table 29(a): Affiliation to association(s)

	Frequency	Percent
yes	94	45.2
No	114	54.8
Total	208	100.0

Table 29(b): Membership in various associations

Associations	Frequency	Percentage
Ethnic/Countrymen	70	33.7
Hawkers	43	20.7
African immigrants	1	0.5

The ethnic associations probably helped them better than hawkers associations in solving some of their social as well as financial problems as can be seen on annex 11. These ethnic associations help in maintaining the social networks through which these migrant vendors can get information on almost everything concerning their lives in the host country and even beyond. Hawkers associations play mostly regulatory roles in collaboration with municipalities.

However, there rate of affiliation to associations various between the different nationalities. It will be seen that idea of belonging to a grouping is very high among Cameroonian and Nigerian vendors while very low among vendors from Congo Brazzaville and Malawi. This reflects perhaps the cultural differences between the various nationals (see table 30).

Table 30a: Nationality and affiliation to associations

Nationality	Affiliation to an association yes	no	Total
Cameroon	41	10	51
DRC	13	27	40
Zimbabwe	3	27	30
Nigeria	12	7	19
Somalia	7	8	15
Congo Brazzaville	1	11	12
Burundi	6	3	9
Malawi	1	7	8
Senegal	3	4	7
Others	7	10	17
Total	94	114	208

Table 30b: Nationality and affiliation to ethnic association

Nationality		Association of ethnic or countrymen yes	no	Total
Cameroon	Count	39	12	51
	% within Nationality	76.5%	23.5%	100.0%
DRC	Count	7	33	40
	% within Nationality	17.5%	82.5%	100.0%
Zimbabwe	Count	0	30	30
	% within Nationality	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Nigeria	Count	12	7	19
	% within Nationality	63.2%	36.8%	100.0%
Somalia	Count	4	11	15
	% within Nationality	26.7%	73.3%	100.0%
Congo Brazzaville	Count	1	11	12
	% within Nationality	8.3%	91.7%	100.0%
Burundi	Count	0	9	9
	% within Nationality	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Malawi	Count	0	8	8
	% within Nationality	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Senegal	Count	3	4	7
	% within Nationality	42.9%	57.1%	100.0%
Others	Count	4	13	17
	% within Nationality	23.5%	76.5%	100.0%
Total	Count	70	138	208
	% within Nationality	33.7%	66.3%	100.0%

Up to 76.5% and 63.2% of vendors from Cameroon and Nigeria respectively belong to an ethnic association. Other countries that had remarkable representation in ethnic associations include Senegal, Somalia, and DRC.

4.3.4. Economic Trajectories: The social capital theory (specifically the Migration network theory) has been used to explain the persistence of migration (Light 1989; 2004). The theory can also be used to explain the choice of market niche used by immigrants for integration in their host countries. Through their social networks, these immigrants can easily answer the question of "what to do? where and how to do it"? The question of what to do was answered for many of the street vendors (26%) by friends, family members or mere acquaintances that had been in the country before the would-be vendor. This is illustrated by the table 31 below.

Table 31: Reason for doing business (hawking)

Possible Reasons	Frequency	Percent
first acquaintance in S.A introduced me to it	54	26.0
No official document to get employed in S A	22	10.6
No Qualification	29	13.9
wanted to be boss of myself	58	27.9
no other choice	31	14.9
other reason	14	6.7
Total	208	100.0

It should be noted that only a relatively small proportion decided to do hawking due to lack of official documents (identification documents, work permits, etc.) or lack of qualification that could permit them to get formal employment. This confirms earlier findings on the educational level of the vendors which is not very low while also showing that most of the vendors also had official documents that could permit them to search for formal employment but chose street vending for other reasons. It should also be noted that these are only main reasons for engaging in street vending and in most cases many reasons may be responsible (which may include all of the above-anticipated) for the choice of doing informal trading by migrants.

Taking a deeper look of the network aspect in business (street vending), one would also notice the strong influence of the connections made by the immigrant vendors when one looks at the source of initial capital and how the vendors actually got involved in this trade. Tables 32 and 33 below give an illustration of this aspect.

Table 32: Source of initial capital for business

	Frequency	Percent
.00	1	.5
Friends and/or relation in South Africa	91	43.8
Ethnic association in South Africa	6	2.9
Past savings from work in south Africa	58	27.9
money brought from country of birth or other countries of stay	22	10.6
from loan in South Africa	2	1.0
Relations abroad	10	4.8
others	6	2.9
not applicable	12	5.8
Total	208	100.0

Table 33: Initiation into business the host country

Initiation in street trade	Frequency	Percent
as mobile vendor	49	23.6
selling with relation	79	38.0
working for somebody	28	13.5
Acquired own space	49	23.6
other	3	1.4
Total	208	100.0

One finds from table 32 that a greater proportion (43.8%) of the vendors got the start-up capital from connections in the form of family members, friends or acquaintances. By 'capital' it refers to both fixed and liquid capital needed to start up the business. This of course may also be accompanied by moral support in the form of guidance and advice on how to go about the business. This is further buttressed by the fact that up to 38.0% of the vendors actually start the carrier by selling with someone they know before later selling for themselves with a further 23.6% actually starting their experience by selling for others (probably ethnic businesses). This is probably how experience and training is acquired (as pointed out in Pécoud 2005 and Light 2004).

One also notes the gender disparity in this aspect as more women than men (64.5% as against 31.8% for men) depend on others to start their business. The situation is the same as concerns the starting of the activity as more women than men (48.7% for women and 31.8% for male actually get their experience by initially operating with somebody they know (see table 34 and 35 below).

However, one should note the very negligible part played by financial institution in the host country as only 1% actually starts up their business capital from loan. This might be due to the fact that these immigrant vendors do not qualify for loans for various reasons which may range from the very legal framework of their sojourn in the country, through the lack of collateral security required by financial institutions to shear ignorance of the existence of financial institutions or even the lack of coordinated action to acquire financial assistance. Ethnic associations or groupings that form part of the network chain also play a little role in the establishment of the business ventures of these immigrants as only 2.9% of the vendors actually received financial aid from these associations to start their businesses. A considerable proportion of the traders actually decide to be independent after being formally employed as 27.9% actually got their start-up capital from previous employment.

Table 34: Sex and initial source of capital.

Source of initial capital			Sex: male	Sex: female	Total
	.00	Count	1	0	1
		% within Sex	.8%	.0%	.5%
	Friends and/or relation in South Africa	Count	42	49	91
		% within Sex	31.8%	64.5%	43.8%
	Ethnic association in South Africa	Count	5	1	6
		% within Sex	3.8%	1.3%	2.9%
	Past savings from work in south Africa	Count	47	11	58
		% within Sex	35.6%	14.5%	27.9%
	money brought from country of origin or other countries of stay	Count	20	2	22
		% within Sex	15.2%	2.6%	10.6%
	from loan in South Africa	Count	2	0	2
		% within Sex	1.5%	.0%	1.0%
	Relations abroad	Count	5	5	10
		% within Sex	3.8%	6.6%	4.8%
	others	Count	3	3	6
		% within Sex	2.3%	3.9%	2.9%
	not applicable	Count	7	5	12
		% within Sex	5.3%	6.6%	5.8%
Total		Count	132	76	208
		% within Sex	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Connections also play a vital role in the acquisition of space as a non-negligible proportion of the vendors (19.7%) actually got their trading space from relations as can be seen on table 35 below.

One starts to notice from table 35 below the strong hand of regulation as up to 42.7% of the vendors actually got their trading space from a regulatory body (the council or municipality in most cases) after going through a formal procedure. It should be noted that the “missing system” (2 in this case) are respondents who did not declare how they got their trading space.

Table 35: Acquisition of trading space

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
	Just occupy it	53	25.5	25.7
	Applied through council or regulatory body	88	42.3	42.7
	friend/ relation gave it to me	41	19.7	19.9
	Bought it from someone and later register it with the council	3	1.4	1.5
	Just occupy it but later registered with the council	6	2.9	2.9
	do not know(in case of working for somebody)	15	7.2	7.3
	Total	206	99.0	100.0
Missing	System	2	1.0	
Total		208	100.0	

Table 36: Gender and initial entry into street trade.

Start of activity in South Africa			Sex		Total
			male	**female**	
	as mobile vendor	Count	40	9	49
		% within Sex	30.3%	11.8%	23.6%
	selling with relation in his/her stall	Count	42	37	79
		% within Sex	31.8%	48.7%	38.0%
	working for somebody	Count	20	8	28
		% within Sex	15.2%	10.5%	13.5%
	Acquired own space	Count	29	20	49
		% within Sex	22.0%	26.3%	23.6%
	other	Count	1	2	3
		% within Sex	.8%	2.6%	1.4%
Total		Count	132	76	208
		% within Sex	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

4.4.1) Market niches of vendors: It can be seen from statistics that a greater majority of the vendors are involved in the sale of goods as oppose to services. About 28% of the vendors are strictly involved with the provision of services such as haircutting and hairdressing (haircutting is used in the text to refer to the services of barbers while hairdressing refers to the services of hairstylist mostly provided by females) while the sale of general manufactured goods and foodstuff carry the bulk of the market niches in which the vendors are involved. General manufactures carries the highest share of the niches with 32.7% of the vendors involved in this domain while hairdressing comes second with 22.1% .General manufactures here include items like belts, wallets, sunshades and many others. This is a domain where vendors change the items in function to the season and activity at the time and covers a wide variety of articles or goods. Foodstuff here covers both cooked and raw food items including vegetables and fruits. The table below gives some details on some of the common commodities and services marketed by these vendors.

Table 37: Market niches of the vendors

Market specialties	Frequency	Percent
Footwear	3	1.4
Clothing	12	5.8
Hairdressing	46	22.1
Haircutting	12	5.8
foodstuff	3	1.4
Cigarettes, sweets and......	9	4.3
General manufactures	68	32.7
Arts /crafts works	12	5.8
Audio/video CDs	16	7.7
Others	27	13.0
Total	208	100.0

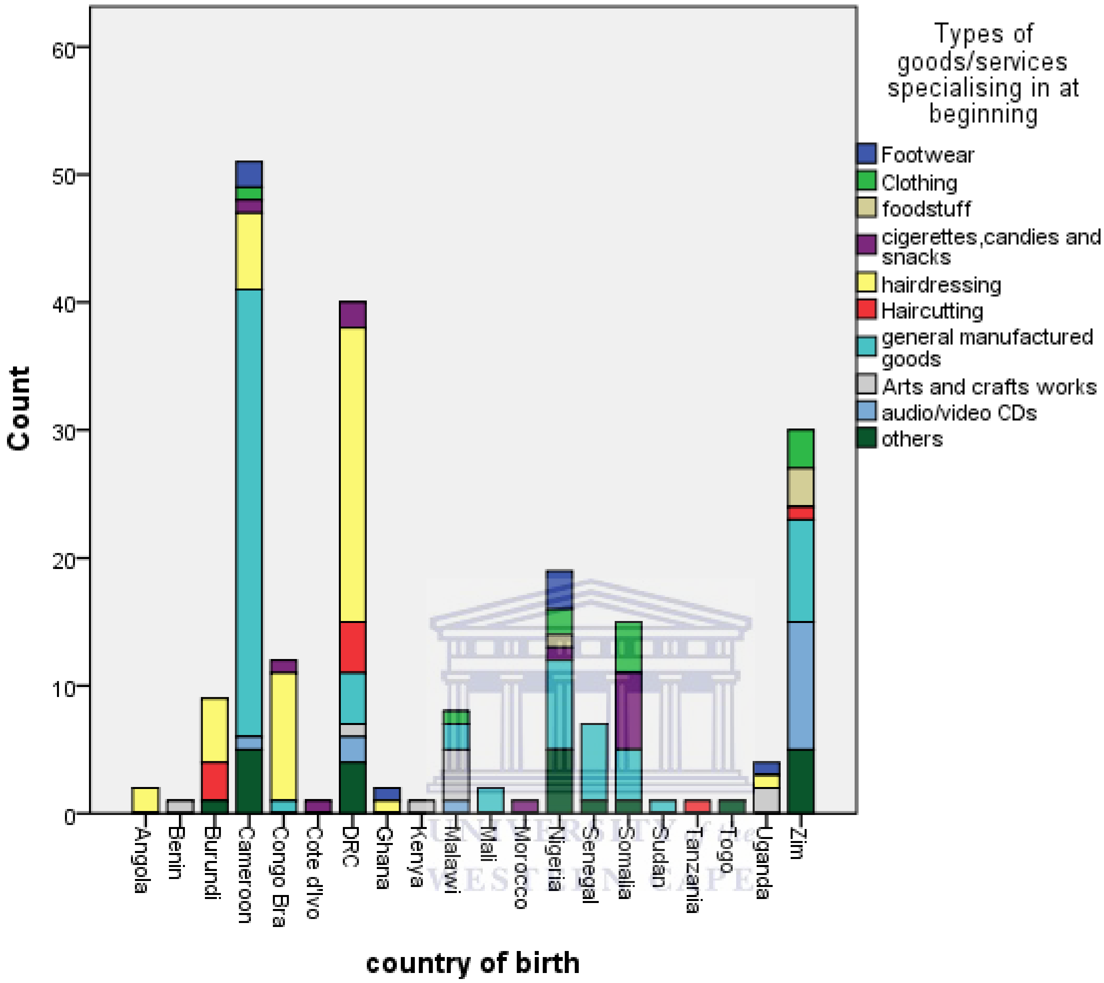
4.3.4.1 Gender and market niche: There are gender disparities in the types of commodities marketed by these vendors, with a concentration of women in the hairdressing and general manufactures sectors. These two sectors account for 46.1% and 23.7% respectively of the female population. The male population is almost evenly distributed among the various specialties in the street vending activity with the exception of general manufactures with engulfs 37.9% of the males (see table 38 above).

Table 38: Market niche and gender

Types goods/services			Sex		Total
			male	female	
	Footwear	Count	2	1	3
		% within Sex	1.5%	1.3%	1.4%
	Clothing	Count	6	6	12
		% within Sex	4.5%	7.9%	5.8%
	Hairdressing	Count	11	35	46
		% within Sex	8.3%	46.1%	22.1%
	Haircutting	Count	12	0	12
		% within Sex	9.1%	.0%	5.8%
	foodstuff	Count	0	3	3
		% within Sex	.0%	3.9%	1.4%
	Cigarettes, sweets and......	Count	9	0	9
		% within Sex	6.8%	.0%	4.3%
	General manufactures	Count	50	18	68
		% within Sex	37.9%	23.7%	32.7%
	Arts /crafts works	Count	11	1	12
		% within Sex	8.3%	1.3%	5.8%
	Audio/video CDs	Count	12	4	16
		% within Sex	9.1%	5.3%	7.7%
	Others	Count	19	8	27
		% within Sex	14.4%	10.5%	13.0%
Total		Count	132	76	208
		% within Sex	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

4.3.4.2 Market niche and country of birth: There are two different patterns when it comes to the relationship between country of birth and types of goods/services offered by the vendors namely. This has to do with the duration of residence where one sees a change from one activity of specialty at the beginning to something different at a later stage of stay. The figures below help to show this dichotomy in some cases. The hairdressing domain is dominated at all times by vendors from the two Congos (DRC and Congo Brazzaville) who make up 68.75% of those selling these services (see fig.8a and 8b). Cameroonians specialize in the sale of general manufactured goods at all stages of their residence with 50% when they just arrive and 48.5% of those selling these goods at a later stage. In fact an average of about 67% of all Cameroonian vendors are involved in the sale of general manufactured products at all times of their stay. This probably because it is a general phenomenon even back in the country (as noted in Sunkekang, 1998 quoted in Peberdy and Rogerson 2000).

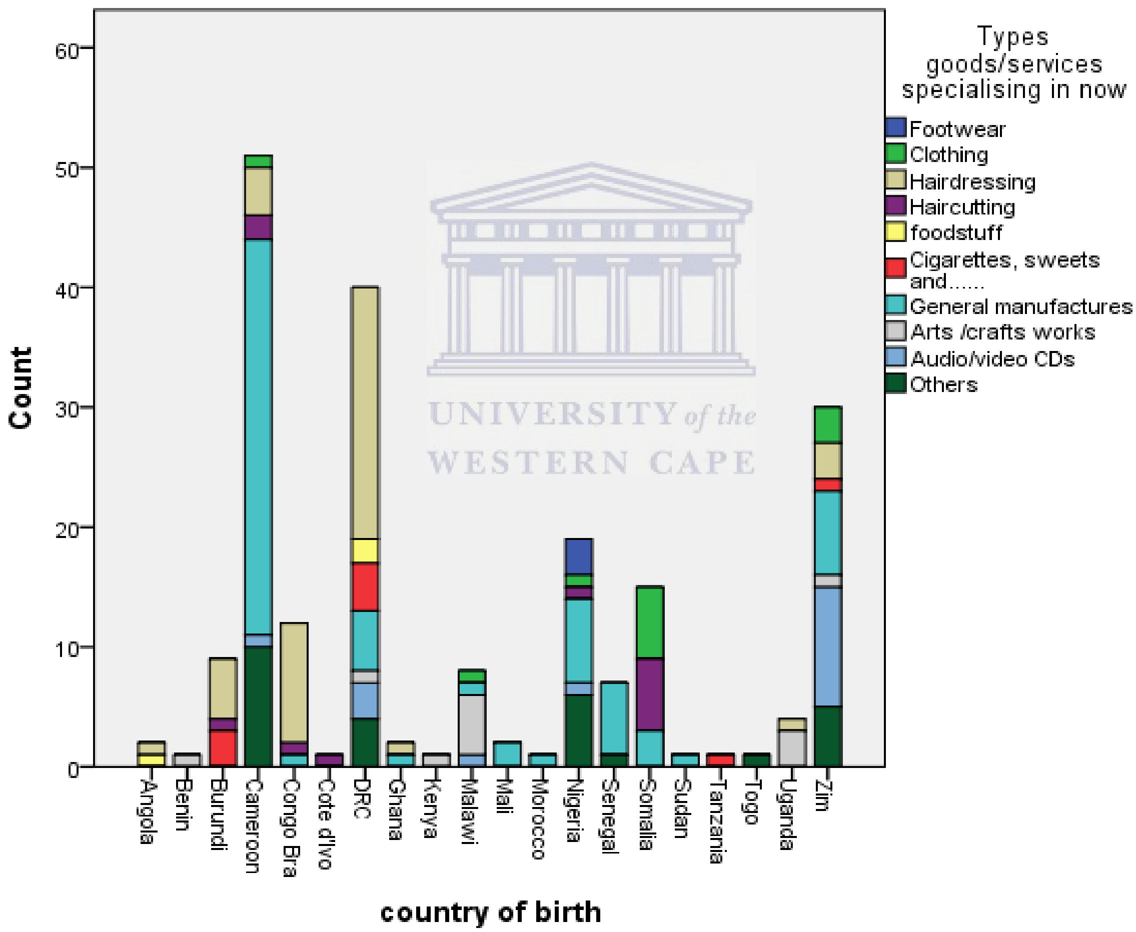
Fig 8a: Country of birth and market niche at start.



The arts and crafts domain is dominated by vendors from Malawi and Uganda. This is probably because they have some experience in the manufacture of sculpture, bronze works and other works of art from their countries of birth. There also exist a kind of network in the importation and distribution of these commodities within most vendors from Southern Africa like DRC, Zimbabwe and especially Malawi. There emerges an inter-play between the network aspect and the country of birth in determining the type of commodity to be sold by the vendors. Vendors from a particular country specialize in particular commodities at the beginning probably because their fellow countrymen are also engaged in the domain and advice them to also do the same.

This is quit visible when one looks at the reason for engaging in the activity discussed earlier as well as the source of capital. Somalis make up the bulk (more than 46%) of those whose initial market niches (in their economic trajectory) are cigarettes, snacks and other related items. This is particularly true in Cape Town as a majority of immigrant mobile vendors brandishing these items at taxi terminals, pavements and train stations are those from Somalia. However they may later change to haircutting and the sale of clothing at a later stage.

Fig. 8b: Country of birth and market niche at a later stage.



4.3.4.3 Market niche and past experience: It is postulated that many immigrant entrepreneurs are mostly endowed with survival strategies from home countries or with experience gotten throughout their migratory trajectory. It therefore appears that there is little formal training in this domain especially in street trade. However, certain services sold on the streets of urban South Africa such as hairdressing and barbing may require some formal training but this seem not to be the case with immigrant street vendors. Vendors rely much on their relations for "on the job" training. Table 39 and 40 below give a picture of the situation with regards to this aspect.

Table 39: Previous experience in current activity

	Frequency	Percent
yes	115	55.3
no	93	44.7
Total	208	100.0

Table 39 above shows that 55.3% of the vendors have some experience in what they are doing while 44.7% of them have never done what they are doing presently to earn a living. The question now of how they come about doing street vending can have many answers to the question. One of the reasons may be the influence of social networks that the migrant made use of during migration. This same network helps him/her have street vending as a means of insertion and integration into the new environment. Paradoxically, very few of the vendors had had any formal training on their trade. Only 16.3% of the vendors had actually been trained in the particular activity as shown by table 40 below:

Table 40: Formal training in current activity

	Frequency	**Percent**
yes	34	16.3
no	173	83.2
2.00	1	.5
Total	208	100.0

This is a clear indication that the marketing skills are acquired through the practice. This also confirms the assertion that street vending requires little skill and experience and the reason why it is a very suitable activity of insertion for immigrants in their host country. Skills and training in this domain are therefore gotten informally as persons who have been doing the activity pass on the training to new immigrants in the form of what to sell, where to sell, how to start up, etc.

4.3.4.4 Income: The monthly profit margin can be analyzed at two stages namely: at the start of the street vending activity and at the time of the survey. The table on annex shows the distribution of profits as well as statistics (from which table 41 below has been derived) at both scenarios. There is a wide gap between the profit margin at the beginning of the business and at the time of the survey. For example the average monthly profit at the beginning is 1900 Rands while at the time of the survey, it is about 3100 Rands. This reflects perhaps a normal situation in business where at the beginning one may not have as much profits as compared to when the business is already stable. It should be noted that the total number of vendors dropped when it comes to the aspect of profit due to the fact that some of the vendors were reluctant to declare their monthly profits for personal reasons.

Table 41: Statistics on monthly profits:

	Situation at Start of business	**Situation at present**
Total	176	184
Mean (in Rands)	1942.7841	3131.5217
Mode (in Rands)	1000.00	2000.00 and 4000.00
Median(in Rands)	1600.00	3000.00
Minimum(in Rands)	80.00	400.00
Maximum(in Rands)	10000.00	8500.00
Range (in Rands)	9920.00	8100.00
Variance (in Rands)	1411.62062	1721.66709

Table 42: Profit at start

Profit range(in Rands)		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
	1-499	9	4.3	5.1
	500-999	18	8.7	10.3
	1000-1499	42	20.2	24.0
	1500-1999	33	15.9	18.9
	2000-2499	23	11.1	13.1
	2500-2999	18	8.7	10.3
	3000-3499	17	8.2	9.7
	3500-3999	4	1.9	2.3
	4500-4999	1	.5	.6
	5000-5499	4	1.9	2.3
	6000-6499	3	1.4	1.7
	6500-6999	1	.5	.6
	7000+	2	1.0	1.1
	Total	175	84.1	100.0
Missing	System	33	15.9	
Total		208	100.0	

Table 43:Profit at present

Profit range(in Rands)		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
	1-499	1	.5	.5
	500-999	12	5.8	6.5
	1000-1499	14	6.7	7.6
	1500-1999	22	10.6	12.0
	2000-2499	16	7.7	8.7
	2500-2999	23	11.1	12.5
	3000-3499	17	8.2	9.2
	3500-3999	20	9.6	10.9
	4000-4499	19	9.1	10.3
	4500-4999	15	7.2	8.2
	5000-5499	9	4.3	4.9
	5500-5999	1	.5	.5
	6000-6499	5	2.4	2.7
	7000+	10	4.8	5.4
	Total	184	88.5	100.0
Missing	System	24	11.5	
Total		208	100.0	

Table 44: Profit at start and at present compared.

Profit range (in Rands	Frequency		Percentage	
	Start	Present	start	present
1-499	9	1	5.1	0.5
500-999	18	12	10.3	6.5
1000-1499	42	14	24.0	12.0
1500-1999	34	22	19.4	13.0
2000-2499	23	16	13.1	8.7
2500-2999	18	23	10.3	12.5
3000-3499	17	17	9.7	9.2
3500-3999	4	20	2.3	10.9
4000-4499	0	19	0.0	10.3
4500-4999	3	15	1.7	8.2
5000-5499	4	9	2.3	4.9
5500-5999	0	1	0.0	0.5
6000-6499	2	5	1.1	2.4
6500-6999	1	0	.6	0.0
7000+	2	10	1.1	5.4
Total	175	184	100.0	100

Source: Derived from annex 13(c) and (d)

It can be said that that the profit margins are encouraging as none of none of the vendors is absolutely poor (living on less than one dollar or approximately 7 rands a day), (see annex 13b). Only 13% of the vendors lived on less than a thousand rands while up to 20% of the vendors had five thousands and more as profits per month at the time of the survey. It is worth noting that the profit margins could be influenced by a number of factors such as gender, duration in the activity, time of the year and location as well as the particular market niche.

4.4. Status of the street vendors: It can be seen from table 32 that 27.9% of the immigrant street vendors got their initial start-up capital from their savings from previous employments while 10.6% brought their start-up capital from either their country of birth or from country of origin (in the case of previous countries of stay) or from both. This means that most of these migrant street vendors migrate with the intention working independently for themselves. This is quite true when one looks at the ownership of their businesses. Table 45 below gives an illustration of this:

Table 45: Ownership of business

	Frequency	Percent
working for somebody	21	10.1
self- owned	119	57.2
joint ownership	65	31.3
other	3	1.4
Total	208	100.0

57.2% are sole proprietors of their business while a further 31.3% operate under partnership and only 10% are mere workers employed by some other persons. Those working for other persons are mostly immigrants from southern African countries especially from Zimbabwe and Malawi as seen on table 46 below.

It would appear that the Somali vendors working for other persons (4 in this case) are mostly newly-arrived migrants working for their brothers and sisters for some sort of settlement after selling for that person for a particular length of time. We also note the strong spirit of partnership among the Congo Brazzaville, DRC and Burundian communities as 75%, 65%, and 55.6% of the vendors respectively from these countries have joint businesses unlike vendors from Central African and West African countries such as Cameroon and Nigeria and where 88.2% and 84.2% of the vendors from these countries respectively operate as sole proprietors.

Table 46: Country of birth and ownership of business

Country of birth	Ownership of business				Total
	working for somebody	self- owned	joint ownership	other	
Angola	0	2	0	0	2
Benin	0	0	1	0	1
Burundi	1	3	5	0	9
Cameroon	0	45	4	2	51
Congo Bra	0	3	9	0	12
Côte d'Ivoire	0	1	0	0	1
DRC	2	12	26	0	40
Ghana	0	1	0	1	2
Kenya	0	1	0	0	1
Malawi	4	3	1	0	8
Mali	1	1	0	0	2
Morocco	0	0	1	0	1
Nigeria	1	16	2	0	19
Senegal	0	5	2	0	7
Somalia	4	6	5	0	15
Sudan	0	0	1	0	1
Tanzania	1	0	0	0	1
Togo	0	1	0	0	1
Uganda	0	3	1	0	4
Zimbabwe	7	16	7	0	30
Total	21	119	65	3	208

A relationship also emerges between the age, sex and duration of stay and the status of the vendors.

4.4.1 Age and status of vendors: The status of the vendors also depends on their age. More relatively younger vendors tend to be workers rather than owners of the business while the relatively older ones tend to be owners or partners in the business (see annex 4 and table 47).

Fig 9: Business status by country of birth

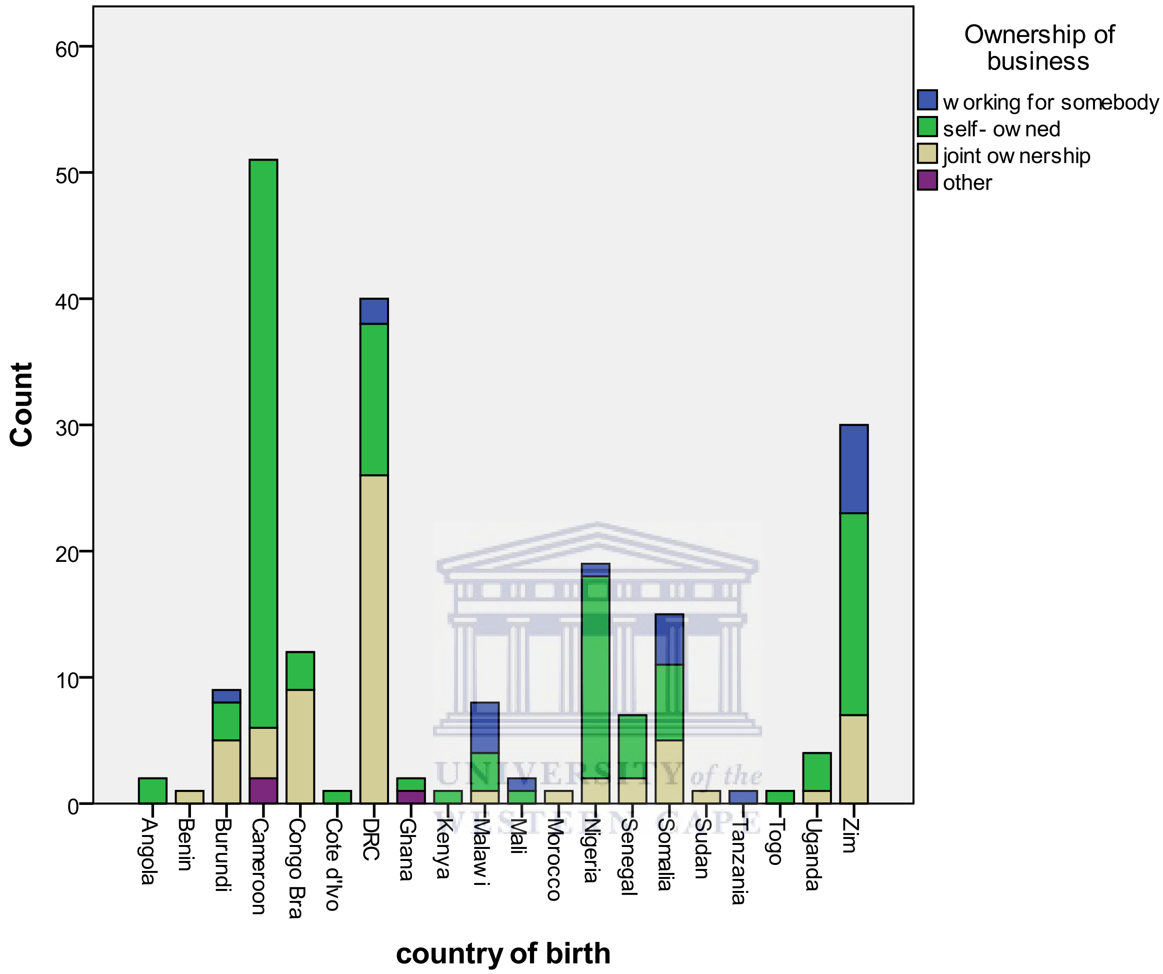


Table 47: Age groups and ownership of business.

Age groups	Ownership of business				Total
	working for somebody	self- owned	joint ownership	other	
<20	2	3	1	0	6
20-24	4	9	10	1	24
25-29	9	23	22	1	55
30-34	1	37	14	1	53
35-39	4	24	9	0	37
40-44	1	14	5	0	20
45-49	0	5	3	0	8
50+	0	4	1	0	5
Total	21	119	65	3	208

The vendors who do not own the businesses are mostly between the ages of 20 and years with a greater majority between 25 and 29 years of age. There is however an exception of those between 34 and 39 years of age who still salesmen for other persons. In fact from the age of 41years all the vendors are either sole proprietors or working in partnership as concerns ownership of the business (see annex 4).

4.4.2 Gender and status of vendor: Table 48 below gives an illustration of the status of the vendors considering the gender aspect:

Table 48: Gender and ownership of business

Ownership of business			Sex		Total
			male	female	
	working for somebody	Count	14	7	21
		% within Sex	10.6%	9.2%	10.1%
	self- owned	Count	88	31	119
		% within Sex	66.7%	40.8%	57.2%
	joint ownership	Count	27	38	65
		% within Sex	20.5%	50.0%	31.3%
	other	Count	3	0	3
		% within Sex	2.3%	.0%	1.4%
Total		Count	132	76	208
		% within Sex	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

It can be seen from table 48 above that half of the female vendors operate in partnerships. This is probably because most of them are married as we saw earlier and therefore might be an indication that they operate joint businesses with their partners or spouses. Another explanation could stem from the fact that the female vendors mostly deal with the provision of services such as hairdressing. This calls for the provision of services of other associated specialists such those dealing with cosmetics and esthetics and the more reason to operate joint businesses. The proportion of vendors working for others is slightly higher for males than for female (10.6%

against 9.2%). This is contrary to the general assertion that women are more likely to work as salesmen than males and to the findings of an earlier study done Johannesburg CBD and Durban Metropolitan (Lund 1998). There is also a gap in self-owned businesses between males and females with 66.7% of the male having their own businesses and 40.8% of females being masters of their own ventures.

4.4.3 Marital status and business status: The explanation given above about the women and joint business is sustained as the majority of those operating joint business are married (60%), with a further 3.1% of the business partners actually living as spousal partners. (See table 42).

Table 49: Ownership of business and current marital status

Business ownership		current marital status				
		single	married	living as partners	divorce	Total
working for somebody	Count	16	4	0	1	21
	% within Ownership	76.2%	19.0%	.0%	4.8%	100.0%
self- owned	Count	44	64	8	3	119
	% within Ownership	37.0%	53.8%	6.7%	2.5%	100.0%
joint ownership	Count	24	39	2	0	65
	% within Ownership	36.9%	60.0%	3.1%	.0%	100.0%
other	Count	2	0	1	0	3
	% within Ownership	66.7%	.0%	33.3%	.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	86	107	11	4	208
	% within Ownership	41.3%	51.4%	5.3%	1.9%	100.0%

We also note majority of those working for other persons are not married. Up to 76.2% of those working for some other persons are single. This is a general phenomenon as married people would not like to work as vendors for others as it may look degrading. It should also be noted that the category of ownership designated as “other” apply to respondents who were either just helping the proprietor or vendor (for no remuneration) or who were not permanent in the activity at the time of the survey.

4.4.4 Duration of stay and status: From table 50 below, one can see that the status of the vendors changes with the duration of stay in the country. In fact as from 7 years of stay in the country, the street vendors are virtually owners of their own business ventures while a few are operating as partners. We also notice the drastic reduction in the number of street vendors at all levels from the 7 years of stay upward. This might be explained by the fact that those who were originally employed in the street vending activity must have either gotten formal employment or expand their businesses to stable businesses in the formal sector. Another explanation could be that many of the street vendors leave the country after staying for about 7 years and found that they could not survive in the country on street given the high cost of leaving and the uncertain socio-economic atmosphere (especially after the 2008 xenophobic attacks on foreigners in the country).

Table 50: Duration of stay and business status

Duration of stay(in yrs)	Ownership of business				Total
	working for somebody	self- owned	joint ownership	other	
.00	2	7	5	2	16
1.00	6	17	9	0	32
2.00	4	16	14	0	34
3.00	3	15	8	0	26
4.00	2	8	4	0	14
5.00	2	9	10	0	21
6.00	1	16	5	0	22
7.00	0	4	4	1	9
8.00	0	3	2	0	5
9.00	0	2	1	0	3
10.00	0	5	1	0	6
11.00	0	6	0	0	6
12.00	0	1	1	0	2
13.00	0	2	0	0	2
14.00	0	2	0	0	2
15.00	0	2	0	0	2
16.00	0	3	1	0	4
17.00	1	1	0	0	2
Total	21	119	65	3	208

Table 51(a): Source of goods

	Frequency	Percent
broker	7	3.4
do not know	6	2.9
factory	6	2.9
farms	1	.5
imported	4	1.9
markets	1	.5
not applicable	65	31.3
photo shops	1	.5
self-made	6	2.9
Wholesale shops	111	53.4
Total	208	100.0

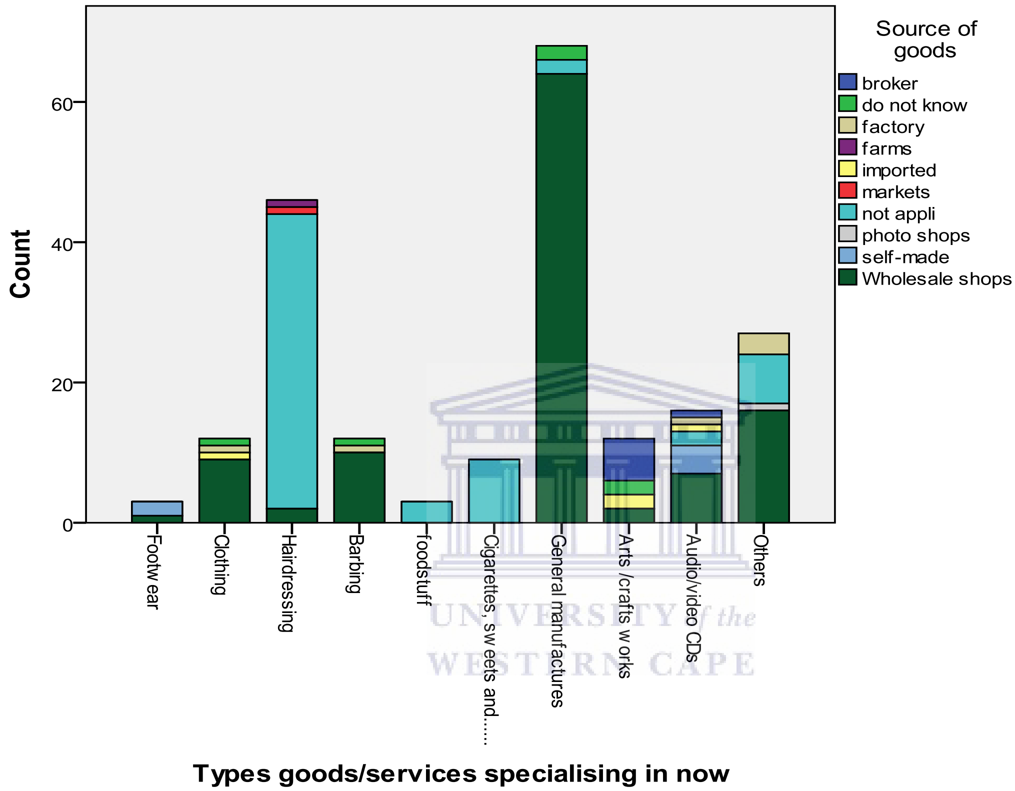
4.4.5 Acquisition of goods: The source of goods can be better analysed using table 51 below. If one excludes the vendors whose answer to the question on the source of goods were "do not know" and "not applicable" (these answers apply to those who were working for others and they that were engaged in the sale of services respectively), one would have the following table:

Table 51(b) Main sources of goods

Source	**frequency**	**percentage**
wholesale shops	111	81.02
broker	7	5.11
Self-made	6	4.38
Factory	6	4.38
imported	4	2.92
Farms	1	0.73
Photo shops	1	0.73
Markets	1	0.73
Total	137	100

From table 51(b) above, we find that 81% of the vendors get their merchandise for wholesale shops while only 4.4 of the vendors sell goods that are produced by themselves. These are mostly foot wears and crafts works while those having brokers as their immediate suppliers are mostly those involved in the sale of art works and sculpture (see annex 5 and fig 10).

Fig 10: Various types of goods marketed and their sources.



4.5. Regulation: It can be seen from the sample that street vending is very well regulated in urban South Africa as a greater proportion of the vendors are currently pay fees for trading spaces as well as expected to have trading permits before operating their activities (see table 52 and 50 below). This means that these vendors also contribute positively to the effective management of the entrepreneurial city. It should be noted that the response 'still to pay' concerns vendors whose registration process as informal traders was not yet completed at the time of the survey while 'do not know' applied to vendors that were working for other persons or were simply ignorant about regulation in the sector.

Table 52: Fees or taxes paid for trading space

	Frequency	Percent
yes	126	60.6
no	62	29.8
still to pay	17	8.2
do not know	3	1.4
Total	208	100.0

Table 53: Knowledge of trading mandatory permit.

	Frequency	Percent
yes	132	63.5
no	73	35.1
do not know	3	1.4
Total	208	100.0

Table 54: Problems/ difficulties faced by the street vendors

	Nature of problem	Frequency	Percent
Valid	harassment (beating, arrests, confiscation of wares, etc	79	38.0
	Lack of services (water, electricity, toilets, etc)	30	14.4
	Lack of financial assistance (grants/loans).	14	6.7
	no problem	85	40.9
	Total	208	100.0

4.6. Problems/difficulties: The immigrant street vendors seem to experience the same problems and difficulties common to street vendors in many parts of the world. The most common and most prominent is harassment (38% of the vendors experience it as seen on table 54 above). Curiously, almost half of the street vendors (40.9%) did not experience any problem. This might be an indication that they are in conformity with the rules governing the trade or do not expect any better situation than what they are currently experiencing.

4.7. Some Relational measurements:

The relationship between nationality and market niche can be analysed as shown on table 55 below. The Fisher Exact test shows a significant relationship between nationality and market niche as indicated by the p-value of 0.000 which is below 0.05.It should be noted that the Chi Square could not be used as it was invalid for the test (more 25% of entries had values less than 5). The value of Crammer V and Phi also confirm the association as seen in table 55b.

Table 55a: Fisher Exact Tests for nationality and market niche.

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	347.143[a]	81	.000	.[b]	
Likelihood Ratio	265.402	81	.000	.[b]	
Fisher's Exact Test	.000			.000	
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.955	1	.162	.[b]	.[b]
N of Valid Cases	208				

a. 90 cells (90.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .10.
b. Cannot be computed because there is insufficient memory.

Tale 55b Test of association between nationality and market niche using Lambda (Symmetric Measures)

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	1.292	.000
	Cramer's V	.431	.000
N of Valid Cases		208	

There is no relationship between past experience in activity and the market niche of the migrant vendors as seen on table 56 .The Fisher Exact test was used where the p-value was above 0.05

(0.577).This result is equally confirmed by the value of Phi and Lambda as seen in table 55b. The p-value in both cases is above 0.05 (0.58). It should also be noted here that the Chi-Square value could not be used as it was invalid for the test (more 25 percent of expected counts were less than 5.

Table 56a: Test of relationship between past experience and market niche.

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)	Point Probability
Pearson Chi-Square	7.499[a]	9	.585	.606		
Likelihood Ratio	7.604	9	.574	.656		
Fisher's Exact Test	7.690			.577		
Linear-by-Linear Association	.550[b]	1	.458	.473	.238	.016
N of Valid Cases	208					

a. 6 cells (30.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.34.

b. The standardized statistic is -.742.

Table 56b: Test of association between past experience and market niche using Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approx. Sig.	Exact Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.190	.585	.606
	Cramer's V	.190	.585	.606
N of Valid Cases		208		

Table 56 c: Directional Measures between past experience and market niche.

			Value	Asymp. Std. Error[a]	Approx. T[b]	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Lambda	Symmetric	.030	.038	.769	.442
		Previous experience in current activity Dependent	.075	.094	.769	.442
		Types goods/services Dependent	.000	.000	.[c]	.[c]
	Goodman and Kruskal tau	Previous experience in current activity Dependent	.036	.025		.589[d]
		Types goods/services Dependent	.006	.005		.261[d]

Table 56 c: Directional Measures between past experience and market niche.

			Value	Asymp. Std. Error[a]	Approx. T[b]	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Lambda	Symmetric	.030	.038	.769	.442
		Previous experience in current activity Dependent	.075	.094	.769	.442
		Types goods/services Dependent	.000	.000	.[c]	.[c]
	Goodman and Kruskal tau	Previous experience in current activity Dependent	.036	.025		.589[d]
		Types goods/services Dependent	.006	.005		.261[d]

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

c. Cannot be computed because the asymptotic standard error equals zero.

d. Based on chi-square approximation

The results from these relational measures confirm the hypothesis that nationality influences the choice of market niches of the migrant vendors rather than their past experiences.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSIONS OF RESULTS

PART ONE: DISCUSSION

Introduction

This study investigated the means used by immigrants for their insertion into the economic landscape of the entrepreneurial cities of their host countries using street vendors in Cape Town as a case study. The concept of social network was central in the explanation of the mechanism of immigrant insertion in the entrepreneurial city. It helped to explain some of the strategies used by immigrants for their insertion into the market space of urban areas in the destination country.

The study was based on a survey of two hundred and eight (208) immigrant vendors from other African countries in five suburbs of Cape Town. The data was analysed using SPSS (version 19). Migratory trajectories were classified into spatial, social, economic and network trajectories which are interwoven. Aspects investigated included the general characteristics of vendors such as age, sex, marital status and educational level with comparisms between the different nationalities represented in the survey. Results from the analysis showed that nationality was a major factor in the migratory trajectory as well as the market niche used for insertion.

The Chapter is divided into two parts. Part One looks at the general characteristics of the vendors and street trade while part two tries to situate the study in a broader context by looking at its implications.

5.1 General Characteristics of vendors

From the analysis done, twenty countries were represented in the survey with about six major countries dominating in terms of the number of vendors. These are: Cameroon, DRC, Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Somalia and Malawi. This might be explained by the strong social networks between nationals of these countries which are very active especially in helping migrants find a market niche. It was also found that the age of the vendors ranged from eighteen to fifty six years with a concentration between the ages of twenty and forty years. This corresponds to the active age group. It is an indication to the fact that contrary to some people's perception of street trade as a job for the old, immigrants (who are mostly economically active people) take advantage of its easy access as a means of insertion in the host country's economic landscape. This is however a major characteristic of developing economies such as in Africa and Asia where people of all ages find survival in the informal sector. It however confirms some previous studies conducted in the country which found that a majority of street vendors were between the ages of twenty five and forty-nine years (Motala 2002).

There is a wide gender gap among immigrant street vendors in the sample. The number of males is almost double that of females engaged in the activity .This is the exact opposite of most studies that have been done in the country and elsewhere where the bulk of the street traders were women (Motala 2002; Lund 2000; Tanga 1994). This might be explained by the migration pattern as it has been widely documented that more males migrate than females (Dumont and Lemaître 2004). Another explanation could be the fact that most of the females who migrated into urban South Africa did not use street vending as a means of economic insertion (were engaged in activities other than street trading) or are simply house wives who spent their time taking care of the home. However, one could attribute it to the selection of the sample but there was no bias in the selection of the sample as indicated earlier in chapter three.

The marital status of the vendors also showed some marked gender disparities with about three quarters of the female vendors being married while less than half of the male vendors were married. However, the overall gap (both males and females) between married and single street vendors was not too wide. It should be noted that married here includes those living together as partners. An explanation for the higher proportion of married women in the sector could be the fact that most of the women carry out other domestic duties like taking care of children and so prefer to be self-employed since they can decide on their working hours.

The general educational level of the street vendors can be said to be relatively very high as more than three quarters of them had been at least to a secondary school. About one third of the vendors of had been to high school and close to a quarter had reached tertiary institution with some even getting their first degrees and even postgraduate degrees and diplomas .About one fifth had other professional qualifications. This shows that immigrants are in most cases very educated and skilled. However, this aspect would be better put into perspective if levels of education of immigrant street traders are compared with those of nationals (engaged in the same activity).

However, there were remarkable disparities in educational level between the various nationalities and gender groups. Vendors from Cameroon, Nigeria and DRC were relatively the most educated as the highest proportion of vendors who had attained high school and tertiary education were from these countries. This is perhaps a reflection of the high literacy levels in these countries and the high levels of unemployment that force these active population to migrate to other places in search of survival opportunities. Vendors from Somalia and Burundi appeared to be the least educated as the highest proportion of vendors with no formal education are from these countries with very few vendors who have attained either high school or tertiary education. The low educational level among vendors from these countries could be attributed to political unrest especially in the case of Somalia where the country has been under civil war for about two decades.

Male vendors also appeared to be relatively more educated than their female counterparts as the proportion of female vendors was lower than that of males at the tertiary level of education and greater for the category of no formal education. This shows the gender gap in education that still exists in developing societies especially in countries where these vendors come from. Hence, the hypotheses that immigrant street vendors are illiterates is rejected based on the analysis of characteristics.

5.2 Migratory trajectories and nationality: There were sharp increases in the number of street vendors from the sample as from 2004.This is probably as a result of the full implementation of the provisions of the 'Business Act' (about nine years after the introduction of the so-called "white paper" on small businesses or "Business Act", see chapter two). It can also be said that by this time, strong migratory networks had been developed that facilitate subsequent migrations as it comes ten years after the introduction of democracy in the country.

The various spatial migratory trajectories are somewhat shaped along nationality where particular trajectories are common to vendors from particular countries. Vendors from West and Central African countries such as Cameroon, Senegal, Nigeria and Congo Brazzaville mostly had direct spatial trajectories with direct flight from their country of birth into the country. This is probably due to the longer distance between these countries and the host country. Vendors from Southern African countries like Malawi, and Zimbabwe were the most represented countries in terms of experiences in previous migrations. This is probably due to their proximity to the host country and the high degree of cross-border trade. Somali vendors also fall in this group (experiences in previous migrations) with perhaps the longest spatial trajectory (mainly by road through about three and more countries of transit) .This can be understandably due to the war in that country that makes them always seeking for asylum in other countries.

5.3 Accommodation and residential mobility: More than two third of street vendors are provided accommodation on arrival by someone resident in the country whom they know before their arrival. This can either be a family member, a friend or someone recommended by another relation. This reflects the strength of social capital in facilitating migration and insertion. The immigrant street vendors change mostly their first residence as a process of insertion and integration continues. Further change of residence is mainly as a result of other factors such as location of activity and property managerial issues like the sale of residential property or expiration of lease. Insecurity and environmental issues (dirty environment, overcrowding, etc) also influenced the vendors' decision to change their residence subsequently. This result goes a long way to answer the question on the residential mobility of street vendors. In sum the economic activity influence the change of residence only after the immigrant has had some stability in the activity. This only partially confirms hypothesis four.

5.4 Acquisition of space, capital and experience by the street vendors: One may first seek to know why these immigrants get involved in the activity despite their apparent high level of qualification that could permit them get jobs in the formal sector. The answer could lie in the discriminatory or selective labour policies in the host country where nationals are given preference in the job market (Tukufu et al. 2005). Another explanation could stem from the legal status of these migrants as the migration policy of the country is aimed at keeping migrants from other African countries on temporary stay in South Africa (Peberdy and Rogerson 2000). This makes formal employment for this category of immigrants in South Africa difficult as most of the vendors hold temporary permit such as Asylum seeker/Refugee permits while most of them hardly qualify for business permits (Tara Polzer 2008). Though only a small proportion of vendors indicated that they engaged in the activity due to lack of legal documents to get employment, this was understood to be the minimum legal documents that permitted the migrants to stay in the country legally. Yet another reason may just be that street vending was an easy way to start the integration processes. Some vendors may change to other sectors after successfully 'fitting' themselves in the entrepreneurial city. This might be the subject of another research that seeks to determine the economic situation of the street vendors after a certain length of time.

The acquisition of space needed for the activity has always been a problem for vendors in most cases especially in the entrepreneurial where the activity is highly regulated due to the high economic value attached to urban space. If the acquisition of space is an uphill task for citizens, then is should be tougher for immigrants to get the much needed space for their activity. However, this would be facilitated in the face of strong social networks. The case of immigrant street vendors in urban South Africa is no different. Close to one fifth of the vendors got their trading spaces directly from relatives or friends who might have either moved to other places or changed their economic activities. A small proportion of the vendors actually bought their spaces from a third party while the majority actually went through the process of application to be allocated trading spaces. Another one fifth of the vendors indicated that they just occupied the space that they saw fit for their activity. These are probably mobile vendors who have no fixed locations for their businesses. This means that migrants do not rely on friends and relations for the acquisition of space for their activity as hypothesized because the activity is highly regulated in urban South Africa. However, friends and relations may play advisory roles as to where to and how to get space that was not captured by the questionnaire.

Despite the small capital needed to start-up the activity, immigrants still has to ponder over it. Here, one sees a significant role played by the vendors' social networks as almost half of the vendors got their start-up capital from relations or friends resident in South Africa. Approximately one tenth of the vendors got their start-up capital from ethnic associations in South Africa and relations abroad (out of the host country) respectively. It is important to note that only 1 percent of the vendors got their initial capital from a financial institution in host country (South Africa) while about a quarter had their initial capital from past work (savings) in the country. This is an indication that these vendors do not depend very much financially on the host country to start-up their activity as another one tenth of the vendors came into the country with (liquid) capital to start-up their businesses. This can be explained from the fact that the vendors did not have the necessary legal documents to qualify for financial aid or that micro-finance institutions adapted to the needs of the informal traders are absent. This however confirms the hypothesis that vendors depend on their connections rather than on the host country's government or financial institutions for their capital needed for the business.

It can be concluded from the data analysis that training and experience in the activity was basically achieved in the course of carrying out the activity as only about one eighth of the vendors had formal training in their current specificity while just above half of the vendors had previous experience in street vending before their migration. This proportion is surprisingly below expectation considering the countries of origin of these vendors. Coming mostly from developing countries were the informal sector employs a bulk of the population, one would have expected the proportion that had had previous experience in street vending to be relatively very high. This can be explained from the fact that migrants engage in certain activities like street vending which they may deem to be ‘degrading’ only in countries other than their nationality (Pécoud 2005). Furthermore about half of the vendors got initiated into the activity by either selling with a relative or working in the domain as an employee during which they probably cultivated the entrepreneurial spirit. This confirms most of the studies in relation to this aspect (Motala 2002; Tanga 1994).

5.5 Market niches (specializations): The immigrant street vendors specialized in a wide variety of goods and services that were broadly classified into ten categories. The sample showed gender disparities as well as specialization along national and even regional lines. Women dominated in hairdressing and the sale of foodstuff while men dominated in most of the niches especially in barbing and the sale of cigarettes and snacks. However, ‘general manufactures’ was the niche that employed the highest number of vendors. More men and women were engaged in the sale of general manufactures (belts, wallets, sunglasses, small kitchen utensils, etc). One also finds that hairdressing was a specialty of females from the two Congos (DRC and Congo Brazzaville) while Cameroonians of both sexes were mostly involved in the sale of general manufactured products. Vendors (mostly men) from most SADC countries especially DRC, Malawi and Zimbabwe dominated in the sale of Art and Crafts works (mainly from this region).This also confirms previous research in this domain (Lund 1998; Perberdy and Rogerson 2000). This pattern can be partly explained by the social networks that permit these immigrants to easily get involved in a particular market niche as information concerning the market is gotten from family members and fellow countrymen. Another explanation can be the importation of these skills in the particular niches from the country of origin. This confirms the hypothesis that the choice of market niche is determined by nationality.

5.6 Role of Associations: The associational spirit seemed to be very lacking among the sample of immigrant street vendors especially street vendors associations. Considering the fact that associations form part of social capital/network, one would have expected it to be a prominent aspect among the immigrant street vendors. Only about a third of the street vendors belonged to ethnic associations and about one fifth to traders' association. However, differences could be seen when nationality was considered. Affiliation to ethnic associations was very high among Cameroonian and Nigerians and very low among Burundians and Malawians. Incidentally, this shows the same pattern as the educational level among nationalities. This is perhaps an indication that associational affiliation to association is a direct reflection of educational level. Affiliation to street traders association was found to be very low as stated above. This might be due to the fact that the vendors do not face major problems that need collective action for solutions or that vendors do not see any significant role that is played by the existing ones. Most existing ones(hawkers' associations) were merely formed to liaise with the municipality in the process of application and allocation of trading bays as stipulated in the by-laws governing street vending in the Cape Town municipalities (see www.capetown.gov.za/en/policies). This confirms the hypothesis that agencies and associations of vendors are lacking among immigrant street vendors.

5.7 Street trade: Link with the formal sector: The informal sector does not function in isolation from the formal section and this is not different with street trade. Most of the goods sold by these vendors a gotten from established shops and even factories in the formal sector. Many of the vendors got the goods by purchasing as retailers while close to two thirds were sole proprietors of their business activity. About one third operated joint business mostly with family members and friends with female dominating in joint business and males dominating in sole proprietorship. Few of the vendors were working as salesmen for others (mostly migrants) who either had other activities (like studying) or other business ventures. The study found no immigrant vendor in the sample involved in the marketing of particular products of a particular firm on a regular basis for a commission. In order words the vendors were totally independent in their activities. However, a few ladies from mostly Zimbabwe were found marketing the services of astrologers or what is popularly known as “sangomas” (mainly immigrants also) by distributing their flyers at a junctions on a fixed salary and fixed amount of work per day. This therefore rejects the hypothesis that the street vendors operate as “fronts” for major established shops in the formal or for particular brands or trademarks.

5.8 Hindrances to street vending: The most common problem experienced by the vendors is the harassment from city officials (law enforcement) in charge of enforcing the rules governing the trade in the city. Other problems encountered by the vendors ranged from lack of enclosed structures that exposed the vendors to harsh weather conditions, through theft of wares to the imposition of exorbitant fines(by the law enforcement officials) for minor or even “fabricated” offences. This is of course common where there is strict regulation of the trade as is the case in the City of Cape Town. It should be noted that this is the perception of the vendors but the officials may just be implementing the by-laws governing the trade. Another problem expressed by the street vendors in linked to xenophobia where some immigrants are harassed by nationals especially when the sale the same products like the nationals. This was common among those selling foodstuff and fresh farm produce. Surprisingly, close to half of the vendors indicated that they had no problem. This could be explained from the fact that the regulation has made the activity much better that the situation in their home countries and so they do not see any problem in their current environment. Another explanation can be their non-affiliation to hawkers association that could enlighten the street vendors on their rights as well as obligations. The immigrant vendors do not therefore see anything wrong with their situation as street vendors. However it would appear the City has started addressing the problem of structures in some suburbs as can be judged from appendix 22.

5.9 Prospects of return migration: Despite the fact that it may seem that these vendors make a good living from their activity judging from the profit margin which is relatively very high as compared to previous studies done in the countries especially among nationals, a huge proportion of the vendors indicated their intention to leave the country in the future.

Many reasons might account for this overwhelming show of no intention of permanent stay. First and foremost the legal status of the street vendors might be deterrent for their permanent stay in the sense that their status might mean that they foresee no concrete improvement in their lives. It should however be noted that the legal status of the vendors was not considered in this study though it may constitute a major factor integration of the vendors. This may also be another dimension of subsequent studies on immigrant street vendors. One of the main reasons given by the street vendors for wanting to migrate further was the strong attachment to their homelands or places of origin. Some of the immigrants indicate their intention to go back and reunite with their family members and other loved ones in their home countries. It can be seen for the expressions of the immigrant vendors (see appendix 14b) that hardship (probably economic) was another strong 'push factor' that contributed to the vendors' decision to leave the country in the future (see appendix 14a for a full list of expressions of the vendors on why they would want to leave the country as captured from the survey).

Besides those intended to leave the country is another 24 percent of the vendors who indicated their intention of a permanent stay in the country. One of the major contributing factors for the decision was related family issues. A majority of the vendors expressed the fact that already had a family (wife and/or children and had to take time to raise their off spring. It can also be seen that another proportion of the vendors simply appreciated the country as good place for them and did see any reason for further migrations (see appendix 14b for a full list of expressions on this issue as captured from the survey). Incidentally, insecurity and xenophobia was not very prominent among the expressions of the vendors for reasons of wanting to leave the country.

PART TWO: CONCLUSION

The study investigated the ways by which immigrants use street vending as a "port of entry into cities' economic landscape. It was found that the nationality of the vendors play a major role in the economic insertion of immigrant vendors through social capital. An issue that can be a subject of further research is the subsequent integration of the immigrant street vendors into the economic landscape of the country. This may seek to answer the question "after the insertion of these migrants using street trade as the 'port of entry' into the economic landscape, do these migrants remain as street vendors or move on to the formal sector?"

Limitations of the Study: The study was not without its limitations. Firstly, the selection of the sample might pose a limitation as the sample was a 'purposive' one. However, it was seen as the most convenient one as there was no full data that gave the exact number of street vendors in general and immigrant street vendors in particular. There was therefore no sampling frame that could permit random sampling. This explains why inferential statistical methods could not be used in testing the hypothesis. External validity of the study can therefore not be ascertained. Another aspect that could be a limitation was the concentration of immigrant vendors only from other African countries. One may argue that the situation of street vendors could better be put into perspective immigrants vendors are compared with nationals in the domain. This might be a topic of further research as said earlier while the scope of this study was around immigrant vendors and their ways of insertion.

Policy implication and recommendations: From the analysis and observation, it was found that municipalities together with other stakeholders are doing a great deal of work to include the informal sector and street vending in particular in their city management framework through regulation. However, some basic recommendations can be made in order to improve on the sector in terms of management as well as increase information on the sector. This would greatly boost the sector as a strategic tool to fight unemployment and poverty. The following recommendations are therefore put forward:

- In view of the increasing number of persons (both nationals and non-nationals) engaging in street vending in most urban areas of South Africa, municipalities and other stakeholders involved in the urban management should make provision for more space to accommodate this increasing population in this sub-sector.
- In order to make street trade more viable, municipalities together with other stakeholders involved in its regulation should facilitate financing of activities through the creation of microfinance institutions that can provide loans on favourable conditions for the street vendors (both nationals and immigrants).
- It was found that migrant street vendors do not get involved in agency activities and the few agencies that exist do not benefit the vendors financially or materially. Associations among street vendors (including nationals and non-nationals) should not only be encouraged as is the case but also given more power so that there can be of concrete benefits to the individual street vendor such as bulk buying and discounts. Immigrants especially should strongly be encouraged to join these associations. Vendors should be educated on the importance of these associations to their activity.
- Nationals should also be encouraged to learn from immigrants by becoming self-employed in the informal to reduce dependence on the government and the formal sector for employment. This could be done through open days, competition and awards to outstanding street vendors. This would go a long way to reduce dependence other the

government and reduce xenophobic attacks that has often be directed towards foreign vendors.

- The study made use of Cape Town as the geographical setting; a study of the other towns in the country would give good picture of the situation of the country in relation to immigrant street vendors. This would mean a continuation of the study in other Towns of South Africa.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

- City of Cape Town (2003): “Informal trading policy and management framework”. www.capetown.gov.za/en/Policies. (Accessed on 22 April 2011).
- Coutinho Ana Luisa et al.(2008): “Immigrant entrepreneurship in Portugal: Factors that influence this professional choice and ASI’s activity on results of the PEI Project” in *Migrações Journal* no. 3
- Crossa Veronica (2009): “Resisting the Entrepreneurial City: street vendors” struggle in Mexico City’s Historic Centre” in *International journal of Urban and Regional Research*, vol.331, Blackwell Publishing.
- Crush J. and McDonald David, D. (2000): “Transnationalism, African immigration and new migrant spaces in South Africa” in *Canadian Journal of African Studies Vol. 34:1-19*
- De Miguel-Liken V. et al. (2009): “Migratory Trajectories and geography of the family of the foreign population in Spain” unpublished manuscript.
- Dumont, J.C. and Lemaître, G. (2004): “Counting immigrants and expatriates in OECD countries: a new perspective” in *Trends in International Migration*. SOPEMI.
- Duncan Cramer (1994): Introducing Statistics for Social Research: Step-by-step calculations and computer techniques using SPSS. Routledge
- Edwards, R. (2004): “Present and absent in troubling ways: Families and social capital debates” *The Sociological Review, 52*:1 pp 1-21.
- Gidengil Elisabeth and Stolle Dietlind (2009): “The role of social networks in immigrant women’s political incorporation” in *International Migration Review,* vol. 43:4, pp 727-763. Centre for migration studies –New York.

- Howard E. Aldrich and Roger Waldinger (1990): "Ethnicity and Entrepreneurship" in *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 16 pp 111.
- ILO (2002): Men and Women in the Informal Economy: A Statistical Picture. International Labour Organisation publication.
- Jenny Anderson (2009): 'street trade, beach trade on struggles over public space in Zanzibar' (unpublished thesis).
- John Walsh (2010): "The Street Vendors of Bangkok: Alternatives to Indoor Retailers at a Time of crisis" in *American Journal of Economics and Business Administration 2 (2): 185-188,* Science Publications.
- Judith Bell, (2005): Doing your research project: A guide for first-time researchers in Education and Social science. 4th edition. Open University Press.
- Kamala Sankaran et al. (n.d): "Street Vendors in India" in *WIEGO Law Project on the Informal Economy*: unpublished manuscript.
- Keith Punch, F. (1998): Introduction to Social Research: Quantitative and qualitative approaches. SAGE publications.
- Light Ivan et al. (1989): "Migration Networks and Immigrant Entrepreneurship" in *California Immigrants in world perspective: The Conference papers* vol. v- 1989-90.
- Light Ivan (2004): "Immigration and ethnic economies in giant cities" in *2004 UNESCO Publication*, Blackwell publishing Ltd.
- Lund, F. (1998): Women street vendors in urban South Africa: A synthesis of selected research findings *CSDS research report no. 15*.University of Natal.

- Lund, F et al. (2000): Street trading. School of Development studies, University of Natal.
- Maryam Wulff and Dharmalingam, A. (2008): “Retaining Skilled Migrants in Regional Australia: The Role of Social Connectedness” in *Journal of International Migration and integration*, vol. 9, pp 149-160, Springer.
- Motala Shirin (2002): Organizing in the informal economy: A case study of street trading in South Africa. SEED working paper No. 36. International Labour Organisation.
- Muiruri Philomina (2010): Women street vendors in Nairobi, Kenya: A situational and policy analysis within a human rights framework. Ossrea.
- Myron Weiner and Michael Teitelbaum S. (2001): Political Demography, Demographic Engineering, Berghahn Books
- Neil A. et al. (2002): “Migration, Remittances, Livelihood Trajectories and social Resilience” in *Ambio* vol. 31, no 4. Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences http://www.ambio.kva.se accessed on 10th March 2010.
- Nontyatyambo Petros (2009): “Fighting poverty and saving street vendors in South Africa” in *The Globalist* of 17 August 2009 www.theglobalist.com/global development. Accessed on 05 May 2010.
- Pécoud Antoine (2005): “Les enjeux de l’entreprenariat immigré” in *Journal of international migration and integration*, vol.6, no 4.
- Putnam, R.D. (2000): *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community.* New York: Simon and Schuster.

- Randhir Kumar and Arbind Singh (2009): "Empowering the Street Vendors in Changing Indian Cities: A Case Study of Bhubaneswar (Orissa)".unpublished manuscript.
- Tanga Pius (1994): Informal Sector and Poverty: The case of Street Vendors in Lesotho. Ossrea publications.
- Sally Peberdy and Christian Rogerson, (2000): "Transnationalism and Non-South African Entrepreneurs in South Africa's small, medium and Micro-Enterprise (SMME) economy" in *Canadian Journal of African studies, Vol. 34(1)*, Canadian Association for African studies.
- SEDA/City of Tshwane (2008): "Generic informal/street trading policy framework for Metropolitan and Local municipalities" (2008).
- Tara Polzer (2008): "Migrant employment in South Africa: New data from the Migrant Rights Monitoring Project" in *Migrant experiences within the South African labour market* ed. Simona Galo-Mosala, pp 35-50. Scalabrini Centre of Cape Town.
- Tim Elrick (2008): "Networks and their Influence on Migration Policies: Conclusions from the Romanian-Spanish Migration Space" in *Policy Brief* no.11, Hamburg Institute of International Economics http://www.focusmigration.org. Accessed on 4th May 2010.
- Tukufu Zuberi and Sibanda, A. (2005):"Migration and employment" in *The Demography of South Africa.*
- Vicki Robinson (2005): "City Squeezes Soul from Trade" in *Mail and Guardian* of July 22-28, 2005.

APPENDICES

1: Countries of Birth of the street Vendors.

Countries	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Angola	2	1.0	1.0	1.0
Benin	1	.5	.5	1.4
Burundi	9	4.3	4.3	5.8
Cameroon	51	24.5	24.5	30.3
Congo Bra	12	5.8	5.8	36.1
Côte d'Ivoire	1	.5	.5	36.5
DRC	40	19.2	19.2	55.8
Ghana	2	1.0	1.0	56.7
Kenya	1	.5	.5	57.2
Malawi	8	3.8	3.8	61.1
Mali	2	1.0	1.0	62.0
Morocco	1	.5	.5	62.5
Nigeria	19	9.1	9.1	71.6
Senegal	7	3.4	3.4	75.0
Somalia	15	7.2	7.2	82.2
Sudan	1	.5	.5	82.7
Tanzania	1	.5	.5	83.2
Togo	1	.5	.5	83.7
Uganda	4	1.9	1.9	85.6
Zimbabwe	30	14.4	14.4	100.0
Total	208	100.0	100.0	

2: Age distribution of the vendors					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	18.00	3	1.4	1.4	1.4
	20.00	3	1.4	1.4	2.9
	21.00	6	2.9	2.9	5.8
	22.00	8	3.8	3.8	9.6
	23.00	3	1.4	1.4	11.1
	24.00	7	3.4	3.4	14.4
	25.00	15	7.2	7.2	21.6
	26.00	14	6.7	6.7	28.4
	27.00	6	2.9	2.9	31.3
	28.00	15	7.2	7.2	38.5
	29.00	5	2.4	2.4	40.9
	30.00	15	7.2	7.2	48.1
	31.00	6	2.9	2.9	51.0
	32.00	11	5.3	5.3	56.3
	33.00	13	6.3	6.3	62.5
	34.00	8	3.8	3.8	66.3
	35.00	6	2.9	2.9	69.2
	36.00	11	5.3	5.3	74.5
	37.00	5	2.4	2.4	76.9
	38.00	9	4.3	4.3	81.3
	39.00	6	2.9	2.9	84.1
	40.00	8	3.8	3.8	88.0
	41.00	4	1.9	1.9	89.9
	42.00	3	1.4	1.4	91.3
	43.00	2	1.0	1.0	92.3
	44.00	3	1.4	1.4	93.8
	45.00	3	1.4	1.4	95.2
	46.00	1	.5	.5	95.7
	47.00	2	1.0	1.0	96.6
	48.00	1	.5	.5	97.1
	49.00	1	.5	.5	97.6
	50.00	2	1.0	1.0	98.6
	52.00	1	.5	.5	99.0
	54.00	1	.5	.5	99.5
	56.00	1	.5	.5	100.0
	Total	208	100.0	100.0	

4: Age and Ownership of business.

Age		Ownership of business: working for some one	self-owned	joint ownership	other	Total
	18.00	1	1	1	0	3
	20.00	1	2	0	0	3
	21.00	0	3	3	0	6
	22.00	2	2	3	1	8
	23.00	2	0	1	0	3
	24.00	0	4	3	0	7
	25.00	6	3	5	1	15
	26.00	1	7	6	0	14
	27.00	0	2	4	0	6
	28.00	1	9	5	0	15
	29.00	1	2	2	0	5
	30.00	0	8	7	0	15
	31.00	0	5	0	1	6
	32.00	1	8	2	0	11
	33.00	0	11	2	0	13
	34.00	0	5	3	0	8
	35.00	1	4	1	0	6
	36.00	1	5	5	0	11
	37.00	0	5	0	0	5
	38.00	1	6	2	0	9
	39.00	1	4	1	0	6
	40.00	1	5	2	0	8
	41.00	0	3	1	0	4
	42.00	0	2	1	0	3
	43.00	0	1	1	0	2
	44.00	0	3	0	0	3
	45.00	0	3	0	0	3
	46.00	0	0	1	0	1
	47.00	0	0	2	0	2
	48.00	0	1	0	0	1
	49.00	0	1	0	0	1
	50.00	0	1	1	0	2
	52.00	0	1	0	0	1
	54.00	0	1	0	0	1
	56.00	0	1	0	0	1
Total		21	119	65	3	208

6: Highest level in education

Qualification	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	2	1.0	1.0	1.0
A-level	27	13.0	13.0	13.9
B degree	16	7.7	7.7	21.6
Certificate	1	.5	.5	22.1
College	7	3.4	3.4	25.5
Diploma	7	3.4	3.4	28.8
High school	14	6.7	6.7	35.6
Matric	38	18.3	18.3	53.8
none	9	4.3	4.3	58.2
O-level	31	14.9	14.9	73.1
Postgrad	2	1.0	1.0	74.0
Primary	16	7.7	7.7	81.7
Secondary	32	15.4	15.4	97.1
University	6	2.9	2.9	100.0
Total	208	100.0	100.0	

7: Nationality and Means of travel to South Africa

Country of birth	Means of travel to South Africa				Total
	vehicle	airplane (flight)	Ship	foot	
Angola	2	0	0	0	2
Benin	0	0	1	0	1
Burundi	6	1	2	0	9
Cameroon	2	49	0	0	51
Congo Bra	2	10	0	0	12
Côte d'Ivoire	1	0	0	0	1
DRC	25	15	0	0	40
Ghana	0	2	0	0	2
Kenya	1	0	0	0	1
Malawi	8	0	0	0	8
Mali	0	2	0	0	2
Morocco	1	0	0	0	1
Nigeria	2	17	0	0	19
Senegal	0	7	0	0	7
Somalia	12	0	3	0	15
Sudan	1	0	0	0	1
Tanzania	1	0	0	0	1
Togo	0	1	0	0	1
Uganda	3	0	0	1	4
Zimbabwe	24	0	0	6	30
Total	91	104	6	7	208

8a :Reason for leaving suburb 1

Main reasons	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
family issues	27	18.1	18.1	18.1
Environmental issues(dirty, overcrowding, etc)	19	12.8	12.8	30.9
Business(activity-related e.g. close to business site, etc.	18	12.1	12.1	43.0
management issues e.g. lease expired, property sold, etc.	25	16.8	16.8	59.7
Insecurity e.g. xenophobia, theft, etc.	10	6.7	6.7	66.4
other reasons	45	30.2	30.2	96.6
not applicable	5	3.4	3.4	100.0
Total	149	100.0	100.0	

8b: Reason for leaving suburb 2

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00	2	1.3	1.3	1.3
	2.00	15	10.1	8.1	11.4
	3.00	14	9.4	11.4	20.8
	4.00	11	7.4	7.4	28.2
	5.00	8	5.4	5.4	33.6
	6.00	20	13.4	13.4	47.0
	7.00	79	53.0	53.0	100.0
	Total	149	100.0	100.0	

8c: Reason for leaving suburb 3

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00	1	.7	.7	.7
	2.00	2	1.3	1.3	2.0
	3.00	11	7.4	7.4	9.4
	4.00	2	1.3	1.3	10.7
	5.00	3	2.0	1.0	12.8
	6.00	8	5.4	5.4	18.1
	7.00	122	81.9	81.9	100.0
	Total	149	100.0	100.0	

8d: Reason for leaving suburb 4

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	.00	1	.7	.7	.7
	6.00	2	1.3	1.3	2.0
	7.00	146	98.0	98.0	100.0
	Total	149	100.0	100.0	

9: Other qualifications obtained in S. A

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	B degree	2	6.3	6.3	6.3
	B(hons)	3	9.4	9.4	15.6
	Catering	1	3.1	3.1	18.8
	Electronics	1	3.1	3.1	21.9
	Certificate	1	3.1	3.1	25.0
	CISCO	1	3.1	3.1	28.1
	City& Guilds	1	3.1	3.1	31.3
	Computer cert.	1	3.1	3.1	34.4
	Computer certi	1	3.1	3.1	37.5
	Social Dev't	1	3.1	3.1	40.6
	engineering dip	1	3.1	3.1	43.8
	Fire fighting	1	3.1	3.1	46.9
	House-keeping	1	3.1	3.1	50.0
	I T cert	1	3.1	3.1	53.1
	Lang. Cert.	1	3.1	3.1	56.3
	Lang. cert.	1	3.1	3.1	59.4
	mechanic cert.	1	3.1	3.1	62.5
	none	1	3.1	3.1	65.6
	Nursing cert.	2	6.3	6.3	71.9
	Office Admin.	1	3.1	3.1	75.0
	Prof. driving	1	3.1	3.1	78.1
	Rescue& Red cross	1	3.1	3.1	81.3
	security	1	3.1	3.1	84.4
	Tourism diploma	1	3.1	3.1	87.5
	waiter	3	9.4	9.4	96.9
	Welding diploma	1	3.1	3.1	100.0
	Total	32	100.0	100.0	

10a : Association of ethnic or countrymen

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	70	33.7	33.7	33.7
	No	138	66.3	66.3	100.0
	Total	208	100.0	100.0	

10b: Association of Hawkers

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	43	20.7	20.7	20.7
	No	165	79.3	79.3	100.0
	Total	208	100.0	100.0	

10c: Association of all African immigrants

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	48	23.1	23.1	23.1
	yes	1	.5	.5	23.6
	no	159	76.4	76.4	100.0
	Total	208	100.0	100.0	

11(a): Benefits of Ethnic association

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	139	66.8	66.8	66.8
	00	1	.5	.5	67.3
	fian/moral	1	.5	.5	67.8
	finan/help	1	.5	.5	68.3
	finan/moral	59	28.4	28.4	96.6
	financial	3	1.4	1.4	98.1
	moral	1	.5	.5	98.6
	moral/finan	1	.5	.5	99.0
	social	2	1.0	1.0	100.0
	Total	208	100.0	100.0	

11b: Benefits of Hawkers' association					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		1	.5	.5	.5
	0	160	76.9	76.9	77.4
	00	1	.5	.5	77.9
	finan/moral	11	5.3	5.3	83.2
	Finan/moral	1	.5	.5	83.7
	finan/regulatory	1	.5	.5	84.1
	financial	1	.5	.5	84.6
	get permit	2	1.0	1.0	85.6
	moral	1	.5	.5	86.1
	protection from harassment	1	.5	.5	86.5
	regulatory	28	13.5	13.5	100.0
	Total	208	100.0	100.0	

12: Statistics

a) Approximate monthly profit at beginning

N	Valid	176
	Missing	0
Mean		1942.7841
Median		1600.0000
Mode		1000.00
Std. Deviation		1411.62062
Range		9920.00
Minimum		80.00
Maximum		10000.00

b) Approximate monthly profit at present

N	Valid	184
	Missing	0
Mean		3131.5217
Median		3000.0000
Mode		2000.00[a]
Std. Deviation		1721.66709
Range		8100.00
Minimum		400.00
Maximum		8500.00

13a: Approximate monthly profit at beginning					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	.00	32	15.4	15.4	15.4
	80.00	1	.5	.5	15.9
	100.00	1	.5	.5	16.3
	250.00	2	1.0	1.0	17.3
	300.00	3	1.4	1.4	18.8
	400.00	2	1.0	1.0	19.7
	500.00	7	3.4	3.4	23.1
	600.00	1	.5	.5	23.6
	700.00	3	1.4	1.4	25.0
	750.00	1	.5	.5	25.5
	800.00	4	1.9	1.9	27.4
	900.00	2	1.0	1.0	28.4
	1000.00	26	12.5	12.5	40.9
	1200.00	10	4.8	4.8	45.7
	1300.00	2	1.0	1.0	46.6
	1400.00	4	1.9	1.9	48.6
	1500.00	18	8.7	8.7	57.2
	1600.00	4	1.9	1.9	59.1
	1700.00	1	.5	.5	59.6
	1800.00	10	4.8	4.8	64.4
	1900.00	1	.5	.5	64.9
	2000.00	16	7.7	7.7	72.6
	2100.00	1	.5	.5	73.1
	2200.00	1	.5	.5	73.6
	2300.00	4	1.9	1.9	75.5
	2400.00	1	.5	.5	76.0
	2500.00	14	6.7	6.7	82.7
	2600.00	1	.5	.5	83.2
	2800.00	3	1.4	1.4	84.6
	3000.00	17	8.2	8.2	92.8
	3500.00	4	1.9	1.9	94.7
	4500.00	1	.5	.5	95.2
	5000.00	4	1.9	1.9	97.1
	6000.00	3	1.4	1.4	98.6
	6500.00	1	.5	.5	99.0
	8500.00	1	.5	.5	99.5
	10000.00	1	.5	.5	100.0
	Total	208	100.0	100.0	

13b: Approximate monthly profit at present					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	400.00	1	.5	.5	.5
	500.00	5	2.7	2.7	3.3
	600.00	2	1.1	1.1	4.3
	700.00	1	.5	.5	4.9
	800.00	2	1.1	1.1	6.0
	900.00	2	1.1	1.1	7.1
	1000.00	11	6.0	6.0	13.0
	1200.00	3	1.6	1.6	14.7
	1500.00	13	7.1	7.1	21.7
	1600.00	2	1.1	1.1	22.8
	1700.00	1	.5	.5	23.4
	1800.00	6	3.3	3.3	26.6
	2000.00	15	8.2	8.2	34.8
	2200.00	1	.5	.5	35.3
	2500.00	14	7.6	7.6	42.9
	2600.00	1	.5	.5	43.5
	2700.00	3	1.6	1.6	45.1
	2800.00	4	2.2	2.2	47.3
	2900.00	1	.5	.5	47.8
	3000.00	12	6.5	6.5	54.3
	3200.00	3	1.6	1.6	56.0
	3400.00	2	1.1	1.1	57.1
	3500.00	9	4.9	4.9	62.0
	3600.00	2	1.1	1.1	63.0
	3800.00	8	4.3	4.3	67.4
	3900.00	1	.5	.5	67.9
	4000.00	15	8.2	8.2	76.1
	4100.00	1	.5	.5	76.6
	4200.00	2	1.1	1.1	77.7
	4300.00	1	.5	.5	78.3
	4500.00	10	5.4	5.4	83.7
	4800.00	4	2.2	2.2	85.9
	4900.00	1	.5	.5	86.4
	5000.00	9	4.9	4.9	91.3
	5600.00	1	.5	.5	91.8
	6000.00	4	2.2	2.2	94.0
	6300.00	1	.5	.5	94.6
	7000.00	6	3.3	3.3	97.8
	7500.00	1	.5	.5	98.4
	8000.00	2	1.1	1.1	99.5
	8500.00	1	.5	.5	100.0
	Total	184	100.0	100.0	

13c: Profit at start (grouped).					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1-499	9	4.3	5.1	5.1
	500-999	18	8.7	10.3	15.4
	1000-1499	42	20.2	24.0	39.4
	1500-1999	33	15.9	18.9	58.3
	2000-2499	23	11.1	13.1	71.4
	2500-2999	17	8.2	9.7	81.1
	3000-3499	18	8.7	10.3	91.4
	3500-3999	4	1.9	2.3	93.7
	4500-4999	1	.5	.6	94.3
	5000-5499	4	1.9	2.3	96.6
	6000-6499	3	1.4	1.7	98.3
	6500-6999	1	.5	.6	98.9
	7000+	2	1.0	1.1	100.0
	Total	175	84.1	100.0	
Missing	System	33	15.9		
Total		208	100.0		

13d: Profit at present (grouped).					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1-499	1	.5	.5	.5
	500-999	12	5.8	6.5	7.1
	1000-1499	14	6.7	7.6	14.7
	1500-1999	22	10.6	12.0	26.6
	2000-2499	16	7.7	8.7	35.3
	2500-2999	23	11.1	12.5	47.8
	3000-3499	17	8.2	9.2	57.1
	3500-3999	20	9.6	10.9	67.9
	4000-4499	19	9.1	10.3	78.3
	4500-4999	15	7.2	8.2	86.4
	5000-5499	9	4.3	4.9	91.3
	5500-5999	1	.5	.5	91.8
	6000-6499	5	2.4	2.7	94.6
	7000+	10	4.8	5.4	100.0
	Total	184	88.5	100.0	
Missing	System	24	11.5		
Total		208	100.0		

14a: Reasons for further migration intention					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Angola	1	.6	.6	.6
	Any country	1	.6	.6	1.3
	Anywhere	1	.6	.6	1.9
	Australia	1	.6	.6	2.5
	Canada	4	2.5	2.5	5.1
	difficult here	11	7.0	7.0	12.0
	England	1	.6	.6	12.7
	Europe	8	5.1	5.1	17.7
	family at home	1	.6	.6	18.4
	family not here	1	.6	.6	19.0
	further education	1	.6	.6	19.6
	Further studies	1	.6	.6	20.3
	get experience	1	.6	.6	20.9
	go to Europe	1	.6	.6	21.5
	harassment	1	.6	.6	22.2
	hardship	2	1.3	1.3	23.4
	hardship, insecurity	1	.6	.6	24.1
	High living cost	1	.6	.6	24.7
	Home	92	58.2	58.2	82.9
	insecurity	5	3.2	3.2	86.1
	Namibia	1	.6	.6	86.7
	not a better pl	1	.6	.6	87.3
	not better here	3	1.9	1.9	89.2
	other places	5	3.2	3.2	92.4
	Others countries	1	.6	.6	93.0
	Overseas	1	.6	.6	93.7
	USA	4	2.5	2.5	96.2
	weak currency	1	.6	.6	96.8
	xenophobia	5	3.2	3.2	100.0
	Total	158	100.0	100.0	

Appendix 14b: Reasons for not intending to migrate further.					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	better here	5	10.0	10.0	10.0
	built my life	1	2.0	2.0	12.0
	Children education	1	2.0	2.0	14.0
	Children care	1	2.0	2.0	16.0
	Children education	1	2.0	2.0	18.0
	family here	7	14.0	14.0	32.0
	Freedom here	1	2.0	2.0	34.0
	good here	1	2.0	2.0	36.0
	Have to do more	1	2.0	2.0	38.0
	hope in SA	1	2.0	2.0	40.0
	I'm African	1	2.0	2.0	42.0
	I'm observing	1	2.0	2.0	44.0
	I'm OK	4	8.0	8.0	52.0
	I'm still looking	1	2.0	2.0	54.0
	insecurity home	1	2.0	2.0	56.0
	just arrived	3	6.0	6.0	62.0
	Look for money	1	2.0	2.0	64.0
	my kid is here	1	2.0	2.0	66.0
	my partner	1	2.0	2.0	68.0
	naturalised	1	2.0	2.0	70.0
	no money	6	12.0	12.0	82.0
	not ready	2	4.0	4.0	86.0
	Not yet achieved	2	4.0	4.0	90.0
	Still busy	4	8.0	8.0	98.0
	Still looking	1	2.0	2.0	100.0
	Total	50	100.0	100.0	

Annex 3: Distribution of Types goods/services and Country of birth

Country of birth		Types goods/services										Total
		Footwear	Clothing	Hairdressing	Barbing	foodstuff	Cigarettes, sweets and......	General manufactures	Arts /crafts works	Audio/video CDs	Others	
Angola	Count	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
	% within Types goods/services	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	4.3%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	1.0%
Benin	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
	% within Types goods/services	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	8.3%	.0%	.0%	.5%
Burundi	Count	0	0	0	1	5	3	0	0	0	0	9
	% within Types goods/services	.0%	.0%	.0%	8.3%	10.9%	33.3%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	4.3%
Cameroon	Count	0	1	0	2	4	0	33	0	1	10	51
	% within Types goods/services	.0%	8.3%	.0%	16.7%	8.7%	.0%	48.5%	.0%	6.3%	37.0%	24.5%
Congo Brazzaville	Count	0	0	0	1	10	0	1	0	0	0	12
	% within Types goods/services	.0%	.0%	.0%	8.3%	21.7%	.0%	1.5%	.0%	.0%	.0%	5.8%
Côte d'Ivoire	Count	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	% within Types goods/services	.0%	.0%	.0%	8.3%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.5%
DRC	Count	0	0	0	0	23	4	5	1	3	4	40
	% within Types goods/services	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	50.0%	44.4%	7.4%	8.3%	18.8%	14.8%	19.2%
Ghana	Count	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2
	% within Types goods/services	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	2.2%	.0%	1.5%	.0%	.0%	.0%	1.0%
Kenya	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
	% within Types goods/services	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	8.3%	.0%	.0%	.5%
Malawi	Count	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	5	1	0	8
	% within Types goods/services	.0%	8.3%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	1.5%	41.7%	6.3%	.0%	3.8%
Mali	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
	% within Types goods/services	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	2.9%	.0%	.0%	.0%	1.0%
Morocco	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
	% within Types goods/services	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	1.5%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.5%
Nigeria	Count	3	1	0	1	0	0	7	0	1	6	19
	% within Types goods/services	100.0%	8.3%	.0%	8.3%	.0%	.0%	10.3%	.0%	6.3%	22.2%	9.1%
Senegal	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	1	7
	% within Types goods/services	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	8.8%	.0%	.0%	3.7%	3.4%
Somalia	Count	0	6	0	6	0	0	3	0	0	0	15

	% within Types goods/services	.0%	50.0%	.0%	50.0%	.0%	.0%	4.4%	.0%	.0%	.0%	7.2%
Sudan	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
	% within Types goods/services	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	1.5%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.5%
Tanzania	Count	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
	% within Types goods/services s	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	11.1%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.5%
Togo	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
	% within Types goods/services	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	3.7%	.5%
Uganda	Count	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	0	0	4
	% within Types goods/services	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	2.2%	.0%	.0%	25.0%	.0%	.0%	1.9%
Zimbabwe	Count	0	3	3	0	0	1	7	1	10	5	30
	% within Types goods/services	.0%	25.0%	100.0%	.0%	.0%	11.1%	10.3%	8.3%	62.5%	18.5%	14.4%
Total	Count	3	12	3	12	46	9	68	12	16	27	208
	% within Types goods/services	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Annex 5: Types of goods/services sold and Source.

Types of goods/services sold	**Source of goods**										
	broker	**do not know**	**factory**	**farms**	**imported**	**markets**	**Not applicable**	**photo shops**	**self-made**	**Wholesale shops**	**Total**
Footwear	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	3
Clothing	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	9	12
Hairdressing	0	0	0	1	0	1	42	0	0	2	46
Barbing	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	12
foodstuff	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	3
Cigarettes, sweets and......	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	0	0	0	9
General manufactures	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	64	68
Arts /crafts works	6	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	12
Audio/video CDs	1	0	1	0	1	0	2	0	4	7	16
Others	0	0	3	0	0	0	7	1	0	16	27
Total	7	6	6	1	4	1	65	1	6	111	208