



Universiteit Utrecht

Job stealers?

A close look at immigrant street traders in Cape Town

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Abstract

Since 1994, when the apartheid regime officially ended, large numbers of African immigrants, looking for safety and better economic opportunities, have entered South Africa. Due to the country's poor economic situation and its history of racial oppression, immigrants were quickly labelled as 'job stealers' by a xenophobic mass. As a means to earn a living, many immigrants resorted to informal street trade. By examining immigrant street traders in Cape Town, this research aims to find out how these people influence the well-being of South African nationals via their entrepreneurship, and to what extent the image of immigrants as 'job stealers' is justified. The findings in this study are the result of a literature review, direct observations and 34 interviews that were conducted with immigrant street traders in different parts of Cape Town. Results indicate that there are several ways in which informal street trade by immigrants can positively influence the well-being of South Africans. Firstly, immigrants employ South African locals in their businesses, providing employment and directly opposing the image of them as 'job stealers'. Secondly, immigrants transfer knowledge and skills to South African locals. Lastly, the findings indicate multiple ways in which informal street trade provides immigrants with a platform to strengthen social ties with South African nationals. The overall result is an acknowledgement of the contribution that African immigrants bring to South African society through economic as well as social development. Recommendations are made regarding research topics and policy changes, such as adjusting immigration laws and improving opportunities for immigrant entrepreneurs to receive financial support.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

I have always been interested in the history of South Africa, the apartheid era and the tensions that exist in South African society. Since the start of my master's degree in International Development I knew that I wanted to do research on a related topic. After delving into various literature during the research design phase of the course, I decided to focus on immigrant street traders in the context of xenophobia. When the opportunity to go to South Africa finally presented itself in the beginning of 2017, I travelled to Cape Town and began my research with the assistance of Western Cape Government. The following paragraphs provide an introduction on the situation of immigrants in South Africa.

After the apartheid era ended in 1994, South Africa began constructing a new identity for itself. It started voicing its concerns over human rights, international cooperation, equal opportunity and democracy. Additionally, South Africa emphasized its solidarity with other African countries by declaring the importance of racial equality, cultural equality and multiculturalism through the concept of the 'Rainbow Nation'. South Africa's Constitution, implemented in 1996, declared that equal rights apply to all, legally ending the racial divide. South Africa began a path of democratization and liberation of the economic market. At this time, and during quick reform, it was unclear what South Africa's future held for migrants from other African countries (Mudi-Okorodudu, 2009). In addition to a more liberalized economy, South Africa's border control changed and it became easier to enter the country. As South Africa grew

to become a regional power in terms of its economy, it drew in large amounts of immigrants. Scholars declared it the 'new migration hub' (Segatti, 2011).

With international migration increasing worldwide and no signs of immigration to South Africa coming to a stop (SSA, 2014), the pressure on South Africa as a desired location to migrate to will likely sustain over the coming years. Since South Africa has difficulty providing sufficient living standards for many of its own citizens, it puts immigrants in the spotlight. Nonetheless, the continued influx of immigrants seems to be inevitable and a phenomenon that South Africa will thus have to work with in an optimal way.

The total number of immigrants currently living in South Africa ranges from 1 to 4 million according to different sources. The number is estimated to be about 2.2 million according to the official 2011 Census (SSA, 2011). Of these 2.2 million, between 500.000 and 1 million are thought to be undocumented or 'irregular' immigrants (SSA, 2015). Data by the United Nations (2017) indicates a higher number of immigrants living in South Africa, with approximately 4 million individuals. Research suggests the exact number of immigrants is difficult to assess due to inadequate data collection systems and irregular migration patterns. South African media and politicians regularly make use of this ambiguous situation by exaggerating immigrant numbers and combining it with concepts such as the 'costs' of migrants entering the country, in order to push their agendas (Crush & Williams, 2018). The 2011 Census indicates that about 68% of all immigrants in South Africa came from the Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries, such as the neighbouring countries of Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

While South Africa has reformed its immigration policy over recent decades, the country still sees immigration as a 'threat'. The large influx of African immigrants is seen as leading to a decrease in wages, increase in unemployment, burdening public security, threatening national identity and a cause of health risks (Boynton, 2015). Research suggests (Landau, 2006; Vigneswaran, 2011) that South Africa's immigration policy is control-oriented by putting focus on identity documents, detention and deportation. Other research goes further and posits that South Africa has a concept of nation-building and citizenship built on exclusion and indigeneity (Boynton, 2015). These ideas are said to manifest themselves in South Africa's national immigration policies, which are seen as ineffective and inadequate by scholars such as Steinberg (2005).

Despite the obstacles thrown up by the aforementioned policies, immigrants persevere and often choose to earn a living by entering entrepreneurship. Research acknowledges that African immigrants have a disposition towards entrepreneurship and often run small enterprises successfully (Khosa & Kalitanyi, 2016). The economic prowess of immigrants is a cause of concern for many South Africans. Fueling xenophobia, it has resulted in numerous violent outbreaks over recent years (Crush et al., 2018). Indeed, some African immigrants in Cape Town are doing relatively well compared to their South African counterparts. Through street trade and within the context of xenophobia, some immigrants seem to have established a place within society. Even more remarkably so, some research suggests that the immigrants' success in informal street trade flows through to South African nationals, resulting in benefits for the well-being of the host society (Kalitanyi, 2010). However, little is known about the precise workings

of this particular phenomena. This 'research gap' is important since it can be seen as contributive to the lack of understanding regarding immigrants in general, the function of immigrant entrepreneurship and the potential pathways through which immigrants can add value to a host society via their entrepreneurship. Therefore, the research problem can be formulated as: 'the effects of immigrant entrepreneurship on the well-being of a host society is an underexplored topic'. The research question that follows in light of this is: ***How do immigrant street traders contribute to local well being despite a xenophobic environment?*** Three sub-questions will be addressed in order to come closer to answering the main research question above.

1. Who are the immigrant street traders and what is their background?
2. How does the xenophobic environment influence their entrepreneurship?
3. How do they cope and subsequently contribute to society through their entrepreneurship?

With the attempt to close in on the answers to this question in the concluding chapters of this study, the idea of the immigrants' economic prowess being detrimental to South African society is challenged. Answers are sought by examining the working lives of various immigrant street traders in Cape Town. At the end of this thesis, following the conclusion, recommendations for research and government institutions are made. To provide readers with the necessary knowledge needed to put this research into context, the following chapters give background information on South Africa, immigrants and street trade.

Chapter 2: Theoretical background

2.1 Xenophobia

The term xenophobia encompasses negative social representations and practices that discriminate against immigrants, refugees and migrants. Xenophobia has been identified as one of the most important contributing factors to urban violence (Tevera, 2013). Whilst research suggests that intolerance towards African (black) immigrants is cut across all sections of South African citizenry, xenophobic violence is thought to be mostly carried out by black South Africans (Valji, 2003). Research by McDonald and Jacobs (2005) examining media coverage of immigrant issues indicates that xenophobia is a deep rooted, pervasive and structural problem in South Africa. In 2001, the Southern African Migration Project (SAMP), conducted national surveys to examine the attitude of the South African population towards immigration and found that xenophobia was widespread throughout a range of different classes, genders, races and employment. A 2006 (SAMP) survey indicated that there was an increasing amount of hostility and intolerance towards most groups of foreign migrants. Almost three-quarters of the respondents stood behind a proposed policy that would deport immigrants if they were not thought to be contributing to the growth of the South African economy. This finding is of importance, since many South Africans believe immigrants are harmful to the South African economy, as will become clear throughout this thesis. More specifically, the SAMP (2006) findings demonstrate that South Africans did not want immigrants to have better access to street trading or other informal activities.

2.2 Xenophobia in relation to informal street trade

Despite the hostility mentioned above, over the past decades, increasing amounts of African immigrants have caused a growth in diversity and multiculturalism in the South African urban landscape, dominated by their activities in the informal street trading sector. This sector has become a place where South Africans and immigrants have to compete, but also cooperate. Over recent years, South African cities have experienced a strong growth of various informal street trading activities by both African and Asian immigrants (Tevera, 2013). The entrepreneurship of these African immigrants has helped transform post-apartheid South African urban cities by revitalizing low-income neighbourhoods through economic and social activity (Grant 2013; Hunter & Skinner 2003).

Nonetheless, research suggests that immigrant entrepreneurship has led to bitterness amongst local shop owners who are afraid that the sustainability of their businesses is under threat. Additionally, with sometimes limited street trading spots available, locals can find themselves competing with immigrants for space and customers. This apparent competition, as seen through the eyes of a South African local, has contributed to increasingly tense relations between these two groups of people (Tevera, 2013).

Further contributing to xenophobic feelings amongst South African nationals, is the perpetuating notion of the relative entrepreneurial success that African immigrants are having whilst running their businesses in South Africa. Certain immigrant groups such as the Somali indeed do relatively well business-wise (Liedeman et al., 2013). Economic

accomplishments like these do not go unnoticed and are, for many underprivileged South Africans, the source of feelings such as jealousy, threat and resentment. These feelings go hand in hand with the notion that foreigners siphon away part of 'their' South African wealth back to immigrant home countries such as Zimbabwe or Malawi. Many South Africans view their economy as a finite lump of wealth which is subject to distribution. This interpretation of the economy poses a problem, since access to resources has now become a zero-sum game (Mudi-Okorodudu, 2009). Later chapters will provide context by examining the history of South Africa that led to the dominant thought patterns mentioned above.

2.3 The perception of immigrants

With the hardening of xenophobia and recent flare ups in xenophobic attacks on migrants, like the Johannesburg riots in May 2008, during which numerous Somali traders were killed, increased attention has been given to the mainstream South African media as a platform that has the power to strongly influence the portrayal and discourse of immigrants in South Africa. The representation of immigrants as, for example, a 'dangerous threat' or 'illegal', is commonplace. Immigrants are portrayed as a threat to safety, livelihoods and the well-being of South African people. These ideas are strengthened by immigrants being persistently associated with problems such as irregular migration, violence and crime (Kariithi et al., 2017). A meta-review exploring the role of South Africa's media coverage on xenophobia (Smith, 2009), found that the bulk of print media articles are anti-immigration, make negative references to immigrants, are of an un-analytical or simplistic approach, with little in-depth analysis,

persist in using certain labels and perpetuate negative stereotypes about migrants with terms such as 'job stealers', 'criminals' and 'illegals'. Additionally, the analysis of more than 5000 relevant media articles on migration in South Africa (Kariithi et al., 2017) illustrates that discourses of success, good business acumen and survival are not highlighted whilst immigrants are portrayed as unwanted guests and an economic threat instead. Kariithi et al. (2017) mention that the causal relationship between media reporting and public opinion is not always clear but the argument that media helps form the attitudes of policymakers by using specific language and highlighting certain facets of migration while ignoring others can be made. In this way, the media is able to guide the public in the way they process the information they are given, in addition to simply providing facts (Chappell et al., 2011).

In more general terms, research suggests (Tevera, 2013) that high unemployment rates and poor service delivery amongst locals play a role in stimulating feelings of xenophobia and the increasing tension between immigrants and local communities. Immigrants are made scapegoats for poor economic circumstances by frustrated South African citizens.

Concludingly, numerous scholars suggest (Nieftagodien, 2008; Hassim et al., 2008; Hossay, 1996) that perceived threats, instead of real, substantiated economic threats are the key driver of xenophobic tendencies in South Africa. The inability to quantify migration flows and properly assess the impact of immigration has led to a vacuum that is being filled with perceptions and emotions. These are in turn open to manipulation by people with different agendas. Thus, South Africans are often not reacting to direct

experiences with immigration, but a perception constructed and attributed to them by South African society (Valji, 2003). This notion is of key importance to the relevance of this thesis, since it highlights the importance of 'perception' in the context of xenophobia. Perceptions can be changed for the greater good by increasing awareness and understanding, which is a goal of this research.

The following chapter provides information on the underpinnings for the chosen research method, the different research techniques that were used, sampling strategies, limitations, ethical considerations and possible biases.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Research Method

This research uses an exploratory approach with grounded theory as a basis. It aims to study the immigrant street trader with a focus on the influence of their entrepreneurship on their host environment. The results of this study will help to lay a foundation for future studies by gaining familiarity with the phenomenon, acquiring new insights, narrowing down the problem and providing new recommendations for research topics and policy changes. It seeks to find out what the characteristics of a street trader are, what problems concern them and, most importantly, how they manage to grow their business through interacting with their host environment whilst consequently contributing to South African society. Drawing conclusions is not the goal of this research. The results of this research will not be generalizable to the larger population of South Africa. Qualitative research techniques are used in order to answer the 'why' and 'how' of questions regarding the entrepreneurship of immigrant street trader in Cape Town. A predisposed hypothesis is not used, instead, data resulting from this study can be utilized to unearth ideas or hypotheses that can be incorporated in more definitive studies on the subject.

3.2 Research techniques

Different techniques were used to gather the data necessary to seek answers to the research questions. Firstly, secondary data from existing sources was used to get background information on the subject matter. The main data gathering technique used were interviews conducted on the streets of Cape Town. In addition, observations were made before, during and after the interviews.

3.2.1 Secondary data

Existing literature was used to get an understanding of the subject matter before conducting the actual research in Cape Town. Google Scholar with an Utrecht University proxy provided access to a plethora of valuable journals. Many different academic research papers regarding immigrants, street trade, the informal economy, South Africa and so forth, were studied. Additionally, this research uses analysis of relevant documents and policies concerning the informal economy in Western Cape province and more specifically informal trade in Cape Town. The City of Cape Towns Informal Trading policy paper (City of Cape Town, 2013) and Western Cape Government Informal Economy Research Paper (Western Cape Government, 2017) were used to gain an understanding of the official stance on street trade. Secondary quantitative data was retrieved from sources such as the United Nations, AfricaCheck and Statistics South Africa. The advantage of gathering information in this fashion it that it is unobtrusive and nonreactive in nature.

3.2.2 Interviews

For this research, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 34 immigrant street traders in the greater Cape Town metropolitan area. Semi-structured interviews have the benefit of giving the researcher freedom to probe and follow up on the answers given by respondents (Hennink et al., 2010). This is not possible when doing self-administered questionnaires. Although effort is made to keep it to a minimum, the downside to semi-structured interviews is the lack of standardisation leading to possible biases that are hard to prevent. Semi-structured interviews were chosen in order to gain an in-depth understanding of the immigrant street trader, their business and the context in which they live. Understanding the behaviour, beliefs, opinions and emotions of the participants will help to explain the choices made in the dynamic process of resilience in which the immigrant interacts with its host environment in order to stay functionally stable in the face of stress. Interviews are particularly well suited to this topic because they allow to precisely examine processes (Hennink et al., 2010), such as how a particular street trader uses flexibility and adaptivity to overcome an obstacle. Also, interviews are useful to gain insight into differing forms of context such as social, cultural, economic and physical context (Hennink et al., 2010), which come together where street trade activity takes place. Lastly, interviews are fitting because the research encompasses sensitive topics such as immigration, crime and xenophobia. In this instance, interviews allow for the retrieval of information that would otherwise would have been difficult to get at (Hennink et al., 2010).

Leading themes and ancillary questions originated from the literature review and policy documents. These were, after careful consideration, used to develop the questions that

were used in the interview guide. The interview guide was set up with the respondents in mind. The starting questions were partly chosen in order to ease the respondents into the interview. These included questions about their basic demographic profiles. In the field, other questions related to situational context were sometimes used, such as questions about the respondent's day or specific events occurring in Cape Town or South Africa that day. More intrusive questions followed naturally through the flow of the conversation in later stages of the interview. Many respondents were very willing to help a, partly foreign, research team. Most interviews took around fifteen to twenty minutes.

3.2.3 Direct observations

Direct observations were made in order to study the behaviour and actions of respondents. This was done through watching, taking photos, noting down, and analysing people's behaviour and actions. Interviewing individuals allows for a high degree of closeness and thus the possibility to have a thorough look at someone's behaviour, business and for example, way of interaction with customers. Also, time with the respondent gave an impression of the number of customers a business drew. Some individuals were noticeably hesitant to answer or nervous when touching upon certain subjects.

3.3 Sampling strategy

The initial intention of this research was to interview immigrant street traders in both the urban environment as well as the townships of Cape Town. Due to the very different

circumstances in townships compared to the urban area of Cape Town, it seemed valuable to compare these two groups of immigrants. Cape Town's townships are comprised of mostly black South Africans with immigrants mixed in and living there as a vulnerable and exposed minority. Research suggests that xenophobic outbursts are most prevalent in impoverished areas such as townships and that immigrants are often targets of crime here (Duncan, 2011). However, doing research in townships was unfortunately unattainable due to these places being high crime areas. After careful consideration, townships were considered too dangerous to visit. This is further elaborated upon in the paragraph 'Limitations'.

This study uses selective sampling to choose its selection of respondents. Based on their relevant characteristics, the individuals are deliberately picked from a larger group of street traders in a certain location. A combination of homogeneous and consequently heterogeneous sampling was used. Firstly, homogeneous sampling was performed to make sure that the street traders that were picked were all immigrants. Within that group of immigrants, in order to sustain as much diversity as possible, heterogeneous sampling was used. Country of origin, gender, age and type of business were taken into account in order to sustain as much diversity as possible and collect stories from different perspectives. This research does not claim the samples to be representative for the variety of nationalities or similarly the proportion of men to women in certain locations.

3.4 Limitations

During the early stages of the research, trips to townships such as Khayelitsha were considered in order to obtain a broad range of data ranging from street traders situated in the Inner City to impoverished peripheral townships. However, due to flare ups in taxi war violence and consequent discussion, research trips to townships were taken out of consideration.

Furthermore, there were several practical limitations. The environment in which immigrant street traders do their business, the streets, meant that noise sometimes made respondents, that were occasionally soft-spoken, difficult to understand. This was easily resolved by repeating the question. Secondly several respondents indicated that they wanted to end the interview due to it taking up too much of their time. These interviews were aborted in a polite and respectful manner. Thirdly, it was not feasible to maintain an equal men to women ratio. This was due to the fact that numerous women were unwilling to participate.

3.5 Method of analysis

The method used to analyze the data is based on the grounded theory model of analysis whereby key points with a range of themes are extracted from the transcripts of the interviews. The process of analysis uses three different stages which are: open coding; axial coding; and selective coding. During the open coding part, different phenomena in the transcripts are identified, named and categorized. Thereafter, these different

categories are linked to each other using axial coding. Lastly, selective coding is used to link the different sub categories to one main category in order to make certain inferences or hypotheses. The categories emerged from both the interviews as well as existing literature.

3.6 Ethical considerations

Proper ethics were an important part of this research. Ten ethical principles, according to Bryman and Bell (2000), that inspired the considerations made during this research, are listed below.

1. Research participants should not be subjected to harm in any ways whatsoever.
2. Respect for the dignity of research participants should be prioritised.
3. Full consent should be obtained from the participants prior to the study.
4. The protection of the privacy of research participants has to be ensured.
5. Adequate level of confidentiality of the research data should be ensured.
6. Anonymity of individuals and organisations participating in the research has to be ensured.
7. Any deception or exaggeration about the aims and objectives of the research must be avoided.
8. Affiliations in any forms, sources of funding, as well as any possible conflicts of interests have to be declared.
9. Any type of communication in relation to the research should be done with honesty and transparency.

10. Any type of misleading information, as well as representation of primary data findings in a biased way must be avoided.

To further elaborate on the application of the principles above, special care was given to these points during the interview period. Prior to the interviews, all respondents were explicitly asked for consent so that voluntary participation was ensured. Also, the respondents were told that they were free to withdraw from the study at any point.

Furthermore, prior to the interview, respondents were informed about the substance of the study, its aim and their roles as respondents. Also, respondents were informed about the researcher's affiliation with Universiteit Utrecht. This was done in order to ensure informed consent. Informed consent makes sure the respondent had sufficient information to weigh the different implications of the interview and choose freely.

Additionally, before the interview, respondents were informed of their anonymity. Pseudonyms are used in this research and photos are not linked to content of the interviews. Explicit permission was asked for photos and use thereof in this thesis.

During the interviews, care was taken in order to avoid use of language to might be considered offensive, discriminatory or otherwise inappropriate.

3.7 Biases, positionality and reflexivity

During the interview process different biases loom. Attention was given in order to keep these to a minimum. The perceived social standing of the respondents can influence the

way in which respondents behave and answer questions. This concept of positionality arises whenever the interviewer interacts with a respondent. In the case of this research, a middle class white male is the interviewer. The effect of positionality can therefore be especially strong when interacting with female traders. Individuals can be reluctant to share information or twist their stories (Miller, 2000).

Another possible factor influencing the interviews is the fact that many immigrant respondents work in close proximity to other street traders which might be South African nationals. Since the questions are often related to the interactions between the respondent and South Africans locals, it is conceivable that the immigrant respondents are hesitant to share certain information that they think might be heard by South Africans in their vicinity. In general, the perceived tensions between South African nationals and immigrants might be a reason for immigrant street traders to not answer questions or not answer them truthfully due to fear of some form of reprisal .

In order to keep positionality and biases to a minimum, the interviewer did not mention his relationship to Western Cape Government but instead introduced himself as a student from The Netherlands. Effort was taken to do the interviews at eye level with the respondents, in order to not appear dominant. A great deal of rapport building was done throughout the interviews.

The researcher's own background and position and thus ideas and behaviour can also be an influencing factor in the way the research is executed. It can, for example, affect

how answers are interpreted and questions are asked. Attention to reflexivity was given to avoid undesirable concepts such as bias or skewness.

The following chapters provide geographical context on South Africa, informal street trade and Cape Town, with African immigrants as the key actors. These chapters are the result of reviewing a multitude of existing literature written by different academic authors.

Chapter 4: Geographical context

4.1 A history of apartheid

Although the apartheid regime ended over twenty years ago, its effects are still embedded throughout South African society. One should avoid the pitfall of attributing every problem in South Africa to the apartheid era. However, everyone that has been to South Africa will acknowledge the fact that its scars are apparent in numerous facets of society, both in physical and non-physical form, and that today's South Africa cannot be separated from its past. In order to fully understand the negative sentiment towards African immigrants that is present in South Africa's society, it is important to have a good understanding of the apartheid regime (Mudi-Okorodudu, 2009).

Mudi-Okorodudu (2009) indicates two main reasons for the xenophobia present in today's South African society. Firstly, apartheid in South Africa was strict and explicit. The state enforced a system in which society was divided hierarchically by race, permitting a certain standard of living and quality of life. The blacks were situated at the lowest level. South Africa was the first capitalist country in the world to methodically structure and institutionalize inequality (Crush & Pendleton, 2004; Seekings & Nattrass, 2006). The poor economic, social and political condition for blacks made South Africa an unattractive destination for immigrants with a dark skin color. Additionally, the apartheid regime applied strict control over persons moving in and out of the country. What resulted was a situation wherein South Africans did not have lasting contact with black Africans from other countries during the apartheid era. African migrants from

other countries were only permitted into the country for short periods of time, as contract workers. This meant that migrants from African countries would come to work, secure financial gains and transport that wealth back to their countries of origin. South Africans became familiar with this pattern of behaviour and so attributed this identity to the foreign African people. This phenomena can be used to explain why South African locals have so little sympathy for African migrants. The economic activity of the migrant African workers can not, as seen through South African eyes, have been contributing towards the development of South Africa during the apartheid years. Because they were not in the middle of the hardship, they are not permitted to reap the benefits of today's post-apartheid South Africa (Mudi-Okorodudu, 2009).

A majority of African countries participated in the fight against the apartheid regime both on government and an individual level. However, the news of foreign donor countries never reached many South Africans. African people from foreign countries thought they were part of the positive developments in the struggle against apartheid and were thus expecting to be welcomed with open arms. In reality, many South Africans felt hostility towards people that were not there during difficult times but came in swiftly to reap the benefits of an absent apartheid era (Mudi-Okorodudu, 2009).

Secondly, the ending of apartheid was rooted in the premise of a total knock down of inequality and the introduction of improved living standards for black people by the democratic black government. The democratic black government had a clear public commitment to repair the damage that was done during the apartheid. The South African public was expecting economic and social empowerment. The public opinion

was that the rise of a black government would be the way to bring about the change that was needed, since they were put in a state of economic and social despair by the political white minority in the first place. The current state of South Africa is one in which inequality and poverty are still rampant and thus one wherein the government has not been able to deliver on its promises. An important reason, is that the black political elite chose a path of welfare distribution instead of a developmental path, in order to rebuild the nation. This was established through the distribution of welfare packages such as the Black Economic Empowerment program and other socio-economic policies that had the aim of de-racializing the economy and putting Historically Disadvantaged Individuals on a fast track to development. The term 'Historically Disadvantaged Individual' is used in South African society to describe an individual who was disadvantaged by the apartheid system which existed prior to 1994 (West Coast District Municipality, 2012). These policies had short-term effects that satisfied the immediate needs of the people, but had adverse effects on the South African economy in the long run. A rise in unemployment rates due to a lack of job creation accompanied by partisan politics followed. Wealth was distributed according to party loyalty and the public expected money along with their party affiliation. This resulted in a certain perception of the South African state; one in which some South Africans see foreigners as stealers of the resources of their state. Many South African nationals now view the South African economy as a single, finite lump of money that is subject to distribution. This means that every financial gain that is made by an immigrant is thought of as shrinkage of the lump. This suggests that some South Africans live in a state of mind where the foreigner takes resources until there is little left for them. The fact that many South Africans live in a country governed by a distributive government whilst

experiencing conditions of poverty and unemployment is a breeding ground for xenophobia and accompanying negative thought patterns. (Mudi-Okorodudu, 2009).

4.2 Informal street trade as a source of livelihood

Over the last decades, developing countries such as South Africa, have been dealing with an increasing rate of urbanization combined with a rapid growth of informal employment and thus a growth of street trading activity. For many underprivileged individuals that have to feed large numbers of dependents, informal street trade has become the most important source of livelihood (Mwasinga, 2013). Informal street trade thus functions as a security net for millions of underprivileged people in the South African economy.

Research (Skinner, 2008) suggests that from a planning perspective, informal street trade fulfills a crucial role by providing poor individuals in urban areas with 'goods and services in appropriate quantities and forms, and at times of day and in parts of the city that contribute to the functioning of cities'. In addition, as the purchasing power of lower income classes declines, individuals are likely to buy goods of lower quality and at lower prices from informal street traders. The informal street trading sector therefore tends to be flexible in order to rapidly adapt to changing market conditions and cater to the customer (Middleton, 2003).

From an economic perspective, money generated through informal street trade can play an important role in both local economies and as a portion a developing country's total

GDP (Willemse, 2011). In a social context, street trade can play a significant part by including and giving purpose to parts of a society that are marginalized or were previously excluded, such as African immigrants and black South Africans. In addition, street trading can enhance the confidence of individuals, since they can take pride in the ability to take care for their family and experience economic independence (Kusakabe, 2010).

4.3 African immigrants as important players

Once South Africa's apartheid regime ended and inner cities opened to all layers of society, urban places transformed rapidly. Due to an abundance of unexploited streets and pavements, informal workers that were previously excluded from these areas quickly found their way onto the city streets (Dobson & Skinner, 2009). One of the largest difficulties South Africa's cities are currently dealing with is the large influx of poor and unemployed individuals looking for jobs and the subsequent pressure on infrastructure, facilities and resources. This pressure has worsened under intense international migration from the Sub-Saharan region due to South Africa's relative economic power (Mwasinga, 2013), see table 1 for figures.

Table 1. Number of African immigrants in South Africa by country of origin in 2015 and 2017.

Country	2015	2017
Zimbabwe	604,248	649,385
Mozambique	370,347	381,386
Lesotho	295,504	312,537
Namibia	164,558	174,043

Malawi	96,751	102,327
Zambia	87,057	92,075
Swaziland	82,601	87,362
Botswana	65,391	69,160
Total immigrant population	3,816,696	4,036,696

Note: Reprinted from Population Data, United Nations. 2017. Retrieved from: <http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/data/estimates2/estimates17.shtml>

Immigrants are playing an increasingly important role in shaping the economies of cities in Southern Africa. According to census data, unemployment amongst South African nationals is higher than unemployment amongst immigrants. Nonetheless, the role of immigrants in the South African economy is often underestimated, hidden to researchers or ignored by policymakers (Crush et al., 2015).

Most immigrant street traders in South Africa settled in Johannesburg and Cape Town throughout the 90's and 2000's. Whilst the number of immigrant traders in these cities is still the largest, a growing number of immigrants traders can be observed in intermediate and small cities. This is likely due to less harsh policing of informality and immigration in smaller cities, leading to a safer environment for immigrants to conduct business in. In addition, it can be the result of exploration for new markets (Crush et al., 2015).

Many immigrants entering South Africa, whilst coming from deeply impoverished or war-torn regions such as Malawi or Congo, resort to street trading in order to survive. Entry into this 'survivalist' way of conducting business is not a choice from a range of

different business opportunities, but the only sufficiently quick way to employment (Rath, 2000). For more entrepreneurially driven immigrants, the choice to work as a street trader in South Africa can be more voluntary. Regardless, immigrants coming from different African countries share a number of similar difficulties. Despite their individual levels of education and working experience, wage jobs are often not an option, since they lack the required paperwork or are subject to discrimination and exclusion (Skinner, 2008). Immigrant street traders often have limited access to formal ways of finance or credit for their business. Opening bank accounts or taking loans is generally not possible since they do not possess the right documents (Woodward et al., 2011). Many immigrant street traders finance their start-up capital by bringing in money from outside South Africa. As the findings in this thesis support, this money can come from entrepreneurial activity in their home country or a place along the route to South Africa (Peberdy & Rogerson, 2000). As mentioned before, since many immigrant street traders in South Africa come from places far away, they are often integrated into networks consisting of family, friends, business relations and other contacts with a shared background. These networks can help in the startup and functioning of immigrant street trader businesses by, for example, giving out loans (Peberdy & Rogerson, 2000). These loans emphasize the lack of formal financing that is available to immigrant entrepreneurs (Cichello, 2005). Before starting their own business, some immigrants might choose to work for an established immigrant street trader in their network in order to gain experience and obtain enough startup capital to build their own enterprise (Peberdy & Rogerson, 2000).

Working in the informal economy can function as the first step of a ladder towards a more prosperous future. In general, it allows immigrant traders in South Africa to work long hours, leading to increased income. Combined with serious risk-taking and substantial investment, it has led to some immigrants growing very successful formal businesses (Crush et al., 2015).

Research has indicated that a certain degree of entrepreneurial success by immigrants in South Africa can be explained by their superior qualifications, such as their completed level of education. A study in Cape Town indicated that immigrants seem to have a higher education than their South African counterparts (Peberdy & Rogerson, 2000). This education can lead to higher income since learning has proven to help with building a good basis for growth of an entrepreneurial culture (Crush et al., 2015).

The findings of this research help portray the immigrant street traders as ingenious and resourceful actors. Street traders interact with their problematic environment with the aim of gaining economic prosperity. Previous studies on immigrant street traders have highlighted the importance of social networks consisting of other immigrants with related backgrounds in order to establish successful businesses (Peberdy & Rogerson, 2000). However, there seems to be a different side to the success of immigrant street traders which is apparent in different parts of the world. In order for them to truly flourish, an interdependence with the host society must exist (Rath, 2000). This relationship is examined and further elaborated upon in the following chapters.

4.4 Cape Town as a hotspot of immigrant entrepreneurship

Of all the immigrants that enter South Africa, many end up living in the city of Cape Town in Western Cape Province. After the province Gauteng, Western Cape Province attracts the most immigrants in South Africa, with 4.6% of its population being foreign, according to a report from the GCRO (2013). The general notion of Cape Town being a cosmopolitan city that offers relatively good opportunities to newcomers is known amongst African immigrants, as the findings section of this thesis supports. For example, they have knowledge of Cape Town as a popular tourist destination and see the potential for future economic growth. The large influx of immigrants to Cape Town has led to a high degree of immigrant entrepreneurship in the city, most prominently displayed in terms of informal street trading activity, due to its relatively low barriers of entry.

Several characteristics differentiate Cape Town's informal street trade from other South African cities, making it especially attractive. Firstly, there are more structured markets compared to other cities. Secondly, street trading is relatively profitable in Cape Town. Some traders earned between 800 and 960 rand per month (roughly 50 euros) at the time of writing. Such an amount would be unfeasible for survivalist traders in other South African cities, such as Durban. Thirdly, trade organizations are relatively well established in Cape Town compared to other cities (Skinner, 1999). Overall, these factors indicate that conditions for street trade are relatively favorable in Cape Town. Due to Cape Town being a hotspot of entrepreneurial activity by immigrants, it was chosen as a suitable location for the collection of data for this research.

Chapter 5: Area of research

Different locations were visited by the research team in order to interview respondents throughout the Cape Town Metropolitan Area. Four areas were chosen (see Figure 1) in order to represent a variety of environments that immigrant street traders conduct their business in. The traders in the busy Inner City for example, deal with large numbers of tourists and work in close vicinity to traders with a large variety of differing nationalities. On the other hand, traders in Belleville rarely come into contact with tourists and are surrounded by mostly South African or Somali traders.

5.1 Cape Town

Situated in the southern west corner of South Africa, Cape Town is the capital of Western Cape Province. It has approximately 3.7 million inhabitants in the greater metropolitan area (SSA, 2012). Cape Town's population is growing quickly and the city has a high influx of immigrants (SSA, 2012). Inequality and crime are large problems in Cape Town and the city is still struggling with the remnants of the apartheid era (SSA, 2012). While the Inner City of Cape Town is a vibrant area with abundant economic activity and incoming tourists, many outer areas of Cape Town are impoverished with individuals living in poor conditions. Since the Inner City is a hotspot of economic activity, it attracts a great deal of street trade. However, since informal street trade is relatively easily accessible and there is demand for it in various areas, it is found in different parts of Cape Town. A substantial amount of data was collected in the Inner City's Central Business District. Additional data was collected in the Observatory, Claremont and Belleville.



Figure 1: Map of Cape Town illustrating the four study areas: Inner City, Observatory, Claremont and Belleville. Source: Google Earth, 2017.

5.2 Inner City

The Inner City of Cape Town is its economic heart. It is where the large companies such as banks and other service providers are located. The Inner City is well developed compared to other parts of Cape Town with numerous corporate and residential high rise buildings forming the city's skyline. Tourists coming to visit Cape Town come here and spend their time and money in this area. Streets such as Long Street and Bree Street, where many of Cape Town's more well known bars and restaurants are located, are actively promoted as places to visit by the City of Cape Town (City of Cape Town, 2018). These streets and surrounding squares provide opportunities for street traders to set up stall in a potentially lucrative part of Cape Town. Other areas where interviews

were conducted are high traffic areas such as the Cape Town train station (see Figure 2)



Figure 2: Map of Cape Town illustrating the Inner City and train station. Source: Google Earth, 2017.

5.3 Observatory

Additional interviews were conducted in Observatory, a suburb popular with national and international students attending the University of Cape Town and doing internships in Cape Town. During the apartheid era, Observatory was a 'grey area', one in which both white and black people were allowed to live. Currently, approximately 7000 people are living in Observatory, of which about 40 percent is black and 35 percent is white (Census, 2012). It is a developing area that is quickly becoming more connected to the Inner City as areas in between, such as Woodstock, are gentrified. Observatory is the area where I, the main researcher of this paper, resided. By living in this area and spending time on the streets here, rapport with the street traders was easily established. There are about five street traders active in the Observatory, of which most are immigrants. Interviews with the street traders were conducted on a single street

called Station Road. This street is a central point for the community living in The Observatory since it is home to the central supermarket Spar and because it intersects with Lower Main Road which is where most retail, bars and restaurants are located. Because there are relatively few street traders here, it is difficult for them to form a block of resistance against outside influences, making them especially vulnerable to their host environment.

5.4 Claremont

Claremont is a developing suburb that has increasing commercial and residential importance. Similarly to Observatory, Claremont houses a substantial amount of students that attend the closeby University of Cape Town. It is a mostly white area with about 64 percent of the more than 17.000 people living there being white (Census, 2011). In 1969 it was declared a 'white area', which helps to explain the large number of white people living there.

5.5 Belleville

Belleville is a city which falls within the area of The City of Cape Town municipality. It has a population of roughly 112.000 people of which 50 percent is white. This area was chosen as an area further away from the other three, in order to assure geographical variety. Another reason is that Belleville is home a to large Somali society. Somali are in Cape Town known for their strong social ties and the fact that they cooperate in order to successfully run their businesses. For example, in order to trade effectively, many Somali work together and buy from their suppliers in bulk and thus more cheaply. This allows them to undercut their competitors.

Chapter 6: Institutional context

The immigrant street traders in this research were all informally employed and working in the informal sector. This research adopts the definition of informal employment as used by the Western Cape Government (2017) in their policy paper on the informal economy. Informal employment is defined as: *'People who are in precarious employment situations irrespective of whether or not the entity for which they work is in the formal or informal sector. Individuals in informal employment therefore include all people in the informal sector, some employees in the formal sector and people working in private households who are not entitled to basic benefits such as pensions or medical aid contributions from their employer and who do not have a written contract of employment.'*

The nature of the immigrant street trader's business is one in which their trading activity is largely under the radar of the authorities, and thus categorized as in the informal economy. They are generally not registered for income tax and do not enjoy benefits such as pensions or medical contributions. Informal traders often keep their income, business-related expenditure, wages and profits, hidden by not keeping records of their entrepreneurial activities (Willemse, 2011). In Cape Town, traders are required to own a permit in order to trade.

This chapter discusses formal policy on informal street trade from three different administrative levels. The first chapter highlights the national perspective on informal trade, mostly focussing on cross-border trade. This is relevant because cross-border trade is inherently linked to informal trade on the streets of Cape Town. The goods that are brought across the border can be destined as merchandise for trade on the streets of

Cape Town (Peberdy, 2000). In addition, street traders can be cross-border traders by venturing back and forth to another country to, for instance, buy merchandise in their homeland. The second chapter discusses policy on informal trade from a provincial level. From an administrative standpoint, the regional economy is what binds a province together. Thus, Western Cape Government is tasked with assessing the appropriate guidelines for the informal economy in Western Cape province. Thirdly, the policy on informal trade by the City of Cape Town is examined. The City of Cape Town is responsible for governing informal trade on the lowest administrative level. It is tasked with the facilitation of street trade through concrete measures that are applied directly to the city, such as the distribution of permits.

6.1 National policy on informal trade and immigration

National policy concerning trade in the informal economy is mostly apparent in the country's lack of proper policy focusing on informal cross-border trade with surrounding countries and the ineffective immigration policies which accompany the process of cross-border trade. South Africa is committed to establishing a strong economic zone through the SADC Free Trade Protocol and other policies that stimulate regional trade, integration and development (Peberdy 2002). However, as the aforementioned research by Peberdy points out, the positive potential impact on small, medium and micro enterprises or small informal traders is not realised by these policies, due to obstacles thrown up by South Africa's immigration policies.

Traders coming from Zimbabwe to South Africa are required to provide extensive paperwork, whilst traders coming from Mozambique have to pay hefty visa fees. Traders interviewed by Peberdy (2002) indicated that they found the increasing restrictions and demands costly in time and money, difficult to get and a hindrance to their business. This notion is in line with the findings related to the interviews conducted for this thesis, as can be read further on. Since traders wanting to enter South Africa are generally not granted business permits, they are given single-entry visitor permits instead. These do technically not allow cross-border traders to stay and set up a street trading business. In reality, many traders end up staying for extended periods of time, outstaying the legal limit. This makes immigrant street traders particularly vulnerable (Peberdy, 2002).

Since national policy on informal trading is insufficient, the burden of a proper response to an increasing amount of foreign workers in the informal economy falls on local governments (Hunter & Skinner, 2003).

6.2 Provincial policy on informal trade

A recent policy research document by Western Cape Government (2017) sheds light on the manner it approaches the informal economy. It suggests that the general transition from unemployment to the informal economy can provide a short-term boost to growth, but that it can have negative long-term consequences for an economy. According to the document, the informal sector is proven to be less productive than the formal sector. It mentions that informality affects productivity through its inability to achieve scale and

its inhibiting effect on the development of human capital. Other arguments mentioned are that informality negatively influences social provision, rule of law and inequality. It is said to be of hindrance to the government's ability to collect taxes and police effectively, reducing social service delivery and congesting public infrastructure. In addition, it posits that government revenues are being constrained by tax evasion, obstructing the government's ability to fund social services and undermining social protection such as healthcare and pension provision.

However, the document acknowledges the different reasons for individuals to work in the informal economy. One is that it offers sector specific opportunities that attract individuals to the informal side of business, the other is that it can provide someone with means of economic survival. The research mentions that survivalist individuals work in the informal sector due to 'structural development pitfalls'. People are said to work in the informal sector because formal jobs are limited or because individuals do not possess the skills necessary to be employed in the formal economy. It however makes no mention of the sometimes highly qualified immigrants that lack the required paperwork to work in the formal sector due to an ineffective immigration policy and accompanying procedures. The paper mentions that entrepreneurial informal sector workers make more conscious decisions to work in the informal economy, often related to the cost of remaining in or entering the formal sector. It says that individuals working in the informal sector by choice are often doing this to avoid taxation and consequently stunt production. Survivalists on the other hand are said to have no other options with the informal sector providing 'an avenue to produce income in the absence of skills of formal sector opportunities'.

Concluding, overall Provincial sentiment towards informal trade is negative. The document mentions that actively supporting the informal economy can put a drag on long-term growth and development. However, it does acknowledge that the Western Cape Government should 'facilitate some informal activity in order to help low-income and informal workers maintain income in a low-growth environment' (Western Cape Government, 2017).

6.3 Municipal policy on informal trade

The City of Cape Town (2013) published their policy on informal trading in an official document. It is said to be developed as a multi-stakeholder document reflecting the needs of key stakeholders. The City of Cape Town's vision for informal trade is as follows: *'A thriving informal trading sector that is valued and integrated into the economic life, urban landscape and social activities within the City of Cape Town'*. Thus, the aim of the policy is to improve conditions for informal trading by focusing on planning & development, policy issues and institutional arrangements. It posits that a developmental approach to all matters related to informal trading is needed.

The policy paper puts emphasis on spatial planning and the importance of designated trading zones where demand is high or is predicted to be high. It calls for strategic planning for certain components of the urban landscape that will reinforce informal trading and vice versa. The document mentions that areas of the city which are suitable for trading will be temporarily managed with a 'regime that reflects their demand',

meaning that the price, time and permit holder will be flexible and matched to the demand by the City.

An important part of the policy paper focuses on the allocation of trading bays, or simply put, the granting of trade permits to individuals. A set of criteria is used in order to distribute the available trading bays to individuals that sign up for a permit. Some of these criteria stand out as rules that make it very difficult for an immigrant to obtain a permit and serve as valuable background information for this research. These criteria are:

- *F) Preference will be given to Historically Disadvantaged Individuals*
- *L) The trader must be in possession of a valid South African identity document or relevant documents allowing the individual to working permit*

Immigrants do not belong to the demographic of Historically Disadvantaged Individuals. In addition, immigrants often do not possess valid identity documents (Willemse, 2011).

Concluding, the aforementioned policy document displays the required depth of strategy that is needed in order to solve the problems concerning informal street trade. Although plans to improve the informal sector are extensive, the document provides little hope for immigrant street traders in particular. This is partly because the aforementioned policies are designed to protect the interests of South Africa's own people first. In light of this policy paper, the context immigrant street traders have to sustain a livelihood in, remains challenging.

Chapter 7: Findings

Traders that were interviewed for this study were mixed in terms of their enthusiasm to talk. While some were very long-winded with their stories, others were more conservative and gave short answers. Rapport was most easily established with traders that spoke good English and were keen to share information.

Sub-question 1: Who are the immigrant street traders and what is their background?

7.1.1 Demographics

In order to learn who the immigrant street traders are, and what their background is, questions related to their demography and origin were asked. The age of the immigrant respondents ranged from sixteen to fifty-five, with an average age of 38. Out of the immigrants that were interviewed, twenty-four were male and ten were female. All respondents were asked what their country of birth is, when they arrived in South Africa and what their profession in their country of origin was. The three countries most represented were Congo, Malawi, and Nigeria.

Table 2. Countries of birth with corresponding frequency

Country of birth	Frequency
Congo	7
Malawi	5
Nigeria	5
Kenya	3

Tanzania	3
Senegal	3
Somalia	2
Angola	1
Namibia	1
Rwanda	1
Uganda	1
Zambia	1
Zimbabwe	1
Total	34

Table 3. All respondents with corresponding demographic information

Respondent	Gender	Age	Origin	Trade activity	Arrival in SA	Highest level of education	Profession in country of origin
1	M	31	Senegal	Clothing	1998	Elementary school	Street trader
2	M	25	Malawi	Souvenirs	2014	Secondary school	Student
3	F	30	Namibia	Miscellaneous	1990	Secondary school	Student
4	F	16	Uganda	Consumables (candy)	2014	Elementary school	Student
5	M	41	Nigeria	Books	2009	Secondary school	Owner of travel agency
6	M	55	Congo	Souvenirs	2000	University	French teacher
7	M	32	Tanzania	Souvenirs	2005	Elementary school	Trader
8	F	52	Angola	Textile	1998	University	Housewife
9	M	33	Zimbabwe	Consumables (fruit)	2004	Elementary school	Fruit trader
10	F	40	Congo	Textile	2002	Elementary school	Unemployed
11	M	38	Kenya	Souvenirs	2002	University	Elementary school teacher

12	M	32	Nigeria	Consumables (cigarettes)	2002	Secondary school	Transportation business
13	M	30	Zambia	Souvenirs	2007	Secondary school	Business owner
14	F	23	Congo	Textile	2001	Elementary school	Student
15	M	25	Somalia	Miscellaneous	2003	Elementary school	Student
16	M	35	Malawi	Souvenirs	2010	Secondary school	Student
17	M	34	Kenya	Souvenirs	2007	Secondary school	Business owner
18	F	41	Congo	Textile	2000	Unknown	Unknown
19	M	25	Malawi	Souvenirs	2005	Elementary school	Student
20	M	29	Malawi	Souvenirs	2016	Elementary school	Farmer
21	F	36	Kenya	Souvenirs	2009	Secondary school	Street trader
22	M	33	Nigeria	Miscellaneous	1998	Secondary school	Student / business owner
23	M	20	Somalia	Miscellaneous	2009	Elementary school	Student
24	M	28	Nigeria	Textile	2002	Elementary school	Street trader
25	M	40	Congo	Cosmetics	2002	University	Student accounting
26	F	17	Rwanda	Cosmetics	2011	Secondary school	Student
27	M	24	Tanzania	Miscellaneous	2001	Secondary school	Smartphone trader
28	M	40	Congo	Miscellaneous	2002	Elementary school	Unknown
29	M	41	Senegal	Clothing	2005	Secondary school	Street trader
30	M	39	Malawi	Clothing	2008	University	Teacher / business owner
31	M	38	Senegal	Clothing	1997	Unknown	Shop owner
32	F	43	Tanzania	Souvenirs	2000	Secondary	Tailor

33	M	39	Nigeria	Miscellaneous	2002	Secondary school	Cloth trader
34	M	42	Congo	Consumables (candy)	2000	Secondary school	Student

Respondents worked from either a steel frame with a tarp or a fixed unit. Most worked from steel frames covered by a tarp (see Figure 3). These heavy steel structures are not fixed in place but mobile after deconstruction. Every morning, the street traders put together these heavy metal frames while deconstructing them in the evening.



Figure 3: Deconstructable steel frame structure used by traders. Photo by: Herman Vulkers.

After a day of work ends, these street traders need a place to store their stall and merchandise. In some areas such as the Inner City, limited storage space is provided by

the City. In other areas, traders have to arrange their own solutions, which are often insufficient. When possible, street traders employ people that help with moving the stuff back and forth between storage space and trade location. This process is repeated each day a trader decides to work. Other traders worked from fixed units that were built by the City. These are located on top of Cape Town's train station. The units can be closed off and used for storage of a trader's merchandise at the end of a workday.

7.1.2 Motivation for migration

Respondents were asked about their reasons for leaving their home country. Most often mentioned were economic motivations. Thereafter, fleeing for war was mentioned as a motivation for leaving the country of origin. Thirdly, political instability was the reason a substantial amount of respondents migrated to another country. Lastly, reuniting with family was given as a reason for leaving the country of origin several times.

Table 4. Reasons for migrating with corresponding frequency

Motivation for migration	Number of respondents
Economic	14
War	10
Political instability	4
Family	3
No reason indicated	3

Fourteen of the respondents told the interviewer that they left their country of birth due to economic reasons. Some were pulled to South Africa by the perceived superior

economic conditions in Cape Town. Certain individuals even saw future trends and decided to jump in:

'I could see this [Cape Town] was a new place for tourism.'

- Unnamed from Kenya

Others were pushed from their home country. Some respondents indicate the poor economic environment of their home country in general:

'I came here because there [Zimbabwe] there is no jobs, there is no money, there is no value. No value. Bad economic opportunities.'

- Unnamed man from Zimbabwe

Others are more specific in their reason for those poor economic conditions, by for example highlighting climate change as a causal factor:

'Malawi nowadays is poor, because of the climate change. Because we depend on rainy season.'

- Unnamed man from Malawi

Different respondents mentioned that friends played key roles in instigating their economic reasons for leaving. Many of these friends left the country of origin to become street traders in Cape Town before the respondents did. These friends then communicated positive messages about street trade in Cape Town back to the respondents that were still residing in the country of birth. Some respondents were actively convinced to come to Cape Town by friends. The respondents were then often

also offered help by these friends, further reducing the barrier to come to South Africa to look for greener pastures.

Other respondents were forced to leave their country of birth due to armed conflicts. Ten respondents gave fleeing for war as their primary reason for coming to South Africa. Five out of these ten people came from Congo. In one of the longest and most memorable interviews conducted during the research, a woman from Congo told an almost film-like story of her escape through the jungle and subsequent evasion of armed troops by hiding in a mango tree:

'Then I was stuck in the toilet. A bit later I heard people running. I looked through the small holes to check what was happening outside, it was dark, no electricity. It was a village, so no electricity. And then I heard my feelings tell me: 'get out'. When it was quiet for a little bit, I heard people crying. I didn't know what was happening. I got out and climbed in a tree, we had a mango tree and I stayed there. And then I saw people coming for our house, it were soldiers.'

- Unnamed woman from Congo

Other countries where the respondents fleeing from war come from are Somalia, Nigeria, Kenya and Malawi. Naturally, many of these people had no prior plans to come to Cape Town and merely ended up in South Africa by following the refugee route they were forced to take.

Four respondents mentioned political instability as a reason for leaving their country of birth. Ray, a Nigerian man trading in the Observatory, accurately describes the situation in Nigeria, his country of birth:

'It was up and down, one situation after the other, we didn't like our politicians. We saw a lot of things on radio and television. No infrastructure, strikes now and then, no electricity, no roads. The infrastructure is just zero. You can't live in a place like that.'

- Ray from Nigeria

Others had to flee due to them or their relatives being actively involved in a particular country's political sphere. Certain individuals were subject to direct threats of political prosecution, such as Maria and her husband from Angola:

'My husband is politician. We did run away from the pressure. Politicians, see, when you are in the opposition party, they try to manipulate you, they don't want you, they execute you, they do this sometimes.'

- Maria from Angola

The last reason identified by this research for leaving a country of birth is to follow family members. Three individuals left their country in order to reunite with a relative in South Africa. A respondent from Tanzania said that it was not a happy decision for her to make, but her husband told her to come:

'For me, I didn't like to come to South Africa. But because of my husband... he told me I must come.'

- Rose from Tanzania

Another example is a sixteen year old girl called Eve that was left behind in Uganda while her father, three brothers and aunt had migrated to South Africa. In this case, the large number of family members leaving meant that this particular household lost a

substantial amount of income and support. She later moved to Cape Town to reunite with her father and now runs a stall selling snacks on Parliament Ave in the Inner City.

'My father has stayed here [South Africa] for long. So life there [Uganda] was not easy.'

- Eve from Uganda

7.1.3 Trading activities

Trading activities of the immigrant respondents were able to be categorized into seven categories: souvenirs, consumables, clothing, cosmetics, textile, books and miscellaneous.

Table 5. Trading activities of the respondents with corresponding frequency

Trading activity	Frequency
Souvenirs	11
Consumables	4
Clothing	5
Cosmetics	2
Textile	4
Books	1
Miscellaneous	7

Souvenirs included items such as wooden animals, pots, jewellery, paintings and other small objects often presented as hand-crafted by the traders themselves. Eleven immigrant respondents were selling these products during the time of the interviews.



Figure 4: Malawi trader trader selling his paintings. Photo by: Herman Vulkers.

All traders selling ready-made food, prepackaged food, drinks and cigarettes were categorized under consumables. For example, the Somali with their convenience stores selling different food and drink products were put in this category. Four respondents were selling consumables.



Figure 5 & 6: Somali trader selling consumables and Nigerian trader selling books. Photos by: Herman Vulkers.



An additional five respondents selling products such as shoes, shirts but also leather bags were categorized under clothing. Two respondents were selling skin care and makeup products and as such categorized under cosmetics. Another four respondents were selling fabric and categorized under textile.



Figure 7: Congolese woman selling textile. Photo by: Herman Vulkers.

One individual was selling books and got his own category. Lastly, seven immigrant street traders were selling a variety different products and were brought under the miscellaneous category.

Sub-question 2: How does the xenophobic environment influence the immigrant street traders' entrepreneurship?

In order to get an insight into the ways in which a xenophobic environment influences the entrepreneurship of African immigrants, questions such as: 'Could you tell me about the difficulties you are facing with your business?' and 'Have you had any experiences with xenophobia?' were asked. The answers that were relevant and any additional information considered relevant were filtered out and described below.

Experiences with xenophobia ranged from none to once or twice a year to every week. When asked about their experiences with xenophobia, most respondents had a story to tell. Often, the respondent themselves or an acquaintance to the respondent had been a victim of xenophobia. This included being harassed on the street, protesters destroying property, cars being burned, bodies attacked with knives, being shot with guns and even relatives having been killed. But xenophobia does not just come to light through extreme and apparent actions such as these. Some respondents told about less evident displays of dislike and prejudice. These were often forms of social exclusion such as being ignored, being excluded through the use of a language the immigrant does not understand, laughed at or being talked about behind their backs.

'When you meet them, you feel that fear. In a taxi, sometimes, I don't speak the language here [Xhosa]. They see me, I am black and they know I'm their sister. So they'll ask me in their language. And I can't reply. And you see them talking amongst each other and laugh. You are so afraid you can't reply. You just keep quiet, quiet life. If I reply or do something, they can even kill me.'

- Unnamed man from Congo

Many respondents indicated that one of the main reasons for xenophobia was jealousy. They indicated that this jealousy stemmed from the fact that the South African nationals observed many immigrants doing relatively well financially compared to them. According to the respondents that were interviewed, this has led to poor black South African nationals thinking of immigrants as people that are taking jobs that were meant for them. In reality, this is not the case, since the immigrant street traders are self-employed and, in some cases, create jobs for South African nationals.

'The majority of them [South Africans] don't believe in being self-employed. And most of us, the foreigners, do believe in being self employed, or to create something, however small it is. I set my objectives; in the first year I am hoping to achieve this and that, and I always work towards that. And within the first couple of years, I am leaving this for somebody else and go to another level. So the only thing I've seen so far is that they [South Africans] don't believe in that. '

- Henry from Malawi

On the other hand, some respondents said they had few or no problems with xenophobia. Others claimed that xenophobic violence was a side effect of criminal activity and that criminals generally have no preconceived intention to harm victims because they are foreigners. Other immigrant street traders went even further and said that sometimes immigrants themselves were to be blamed for the xenophobia.

'Sometimes it us [immigrants] who push the people to be upset. For instance, someone comes to you and says: 'I want to see your papers'. I can just open my wallet and show him. But maybe another answer can make the police officer to get nervous and you end up in trouble.'

- William from Congo

When asked about their perceived level of xenophobic tension between immigrants and South African nationals in Cape Town during the time of the interviews, respondents gave mixed answers. Some thought that it was a relatively quiet time, others indicated that xenophobia was flaring up again. An important distinction to be made is that while some immigrant street traders saw xenophobia as a profuse and structural problem throughout society, others saw xenophobia more as incidental violent attacks and 'meeting the wrong people'. Several respondents showed restraint in talking about this subject, indicating the sensitivity and possible influence of bias.

Criminal activity came forth several times as a disrupting factor to the street trading business. Problems such as drug users near trading spots, theft of property and violence were mentioned. Sometimes, the risk of becoming a victim of violence was not confined solely to these people's trading spots. Instead, the risk of being attacked is present to and from their way to work as well, and sometimes even continued while being in the presumed safety of their own homes. In these cases, xenophobia is often the underlying issue.

Furthermore, several individuals indicated a lack of trust in other traders as a hindrance to their business. Lack of trust was found to inhibit the practice of knowledge sharing amongst the traders. In this way, the full potential effect of knowledge sharing and consequent social bonding is foregone. A female respondent from Congo mentioned that she felt a lack of trust in South African competitors accompanied with a certain degree of discomfort when interacting with them. This individual conveyed that while she was greeted by South African traders every morning, she felt that they might turn against

her at any moment when issues would arise on the market. Similar ideas are shared by a Nigerian trader:

'The same person that you trusted is the same person that takes your secret outside. The same person that you know, will betray you.'

- Peter from Nigeria

In addition, many respondents indicated a lack of documents and the process of getting them as one of their most important hurdles in building up their lives in Cape Town. A large number of immigrants street traders did not have an official document such as an ID to officially identify themselves. Some did not have the money or time to renew their ID after it expired, others simply lost it and some are irregular immigrants that do not have the right to a South African ID. Not having South African identity documents leads to a variety of different issues. Acquiring start-up capital through formal paths such as bank loans becomes impossible and when looking for a wage job, an employer will prefer someone with the proper papers. These factors contribute to immigrants resorting to street trade, since it requires little start-up capital, can be performed without an ID and is fairly detached from legal status.

Complicating matters further, a limited number of official trading spots is available in Cape Town. Since many traders are without a permit, some display and sell their stock from the bare ground, without a structure. These so called 'hawkers' are highly mobile and it is known as the lowest level of street trade. Many street traders have greater ambitions and strive for a more formal way of conducting business. In order to safely

and legally trade in a fixed location and an organized fashion, a stall permit is needed. This allows a street trader to have their own structure in an often economically desirable location as designated by the City of Cape Town. However, acquiring such a permit is multiple times indicated as a tedious process, requiring numerous visits to the City Council and involving a lot of waiting. Since traders need money to survive, they resort to trading without a permit or with products that they are not licensed to sell, putting their business at risk. Meanwhile, street traders in Cape Town have little knowledge of the laws that govern them, whilst having little power to decide what, where and when they want to trade (Sassen et al., 2018).

'Even opening a business, it takes like three years - six years without getting a permit. Yeah. It took a long, long time. It took like four years without getting his [her father], he was going up and down [to the City Council] every month, every month. It was hectic.'

- Eve from Uganda

Many respondents indicated that location was one of the most important factors influencing their safety or more accurately, lack thereof. The townships of Cape Town or 'locations' as the respondents called them, are known for being hotspots of xenophobic outbreaks and violence against immigrants. Because living space in townships is much cheaper compared to the city, immigrants often find themselves living in these dangerous places despite their knowledge of the situation, especially during their first years of living in South Africa.

Several respondents mentioned leaving the townships permanently after their situations were no longer sustainable. In some cases, this was due to threats in the form

of violent xenophobic attacks against their property or themselves. A woman from Congo mentioned her car was set on fire in the township Retreat. A man from Malawi mentioned the emergence of jealousy amongst poor South African locals as a problem when coming back to the township after a day of trading in the Inner City. Later, after having decided to move to the Inner City, he felt an increased sense of freedom.

'You know, that's why I avoid staying in ghetto areas. Because obviously they are going to be jealous of the things that I bring. If I bring a little KFC or some donuts, its a problem. Obviously they're going to startle me. What I can advise foreign people is to avoid the ghetto areas. Because when you stay out of the ghetto areas you can actually live how you wanna live. Eat what you wanna eat, put on what you wanna put on. No fear, right in town is best.'

- Unnamed man from Malawi

Some respondents mentioned that they eventually moved to the Inner City in order to escape the problems that living in the townships brought them. However, while helping solve problems of physical safety, it creates other concerns. Costs of living in places such as Claremont or the Inner City are much more expensive in terms of rent of both living space as well as space for running their business. This means that the immigrant street traders have to work very long hours every day in order to pay rent. Naturally, this means that they have little time left to pursue other ambitions in their lives besides growing a business in order to survive. Respondents mentioned the pressure of a constantly increasing rent and the suspected hidden agenda of homeowners to push the immigrants out of areas where they are deemed unwelcome due to xenophobia. To pay rent, some respondents resorted to sharing their small living space with three other

people. Despite the enormous problem of paying the high rent, immigrants preferred it over living in the townships.

'I can't consider going for a cheaper life in those places [townships]. I rather stay on the street knowing that the places where I am staying is [Claremont] not for the black people'

- Henry from Malawi

In a broader sense, the relocation of immigrants to the Inner City and thus increased geographical distance to the poor black South African community in the townships means that the potential formation of positive relationships also suffers, since the number of encounters between these two groups of people diminishes. Luckily, street trade can function as a social platform between these two groups of people. One immigrant street trader mentioned that he saw street trade as the only clear point of interaction between immigrants and South African nationals that were not living in close proximity to each other in townships.

'We [immigrants and South African nationals] are separated, it's only the business that connects us.'

- Ibrahim from Senegal

While doing research in Cape Town, it became clear that different groups of immigrants suffer from different stereotypes. In this case, it is the Nigerians being labelled as drug dealers and the consequent accusations they have to endure. True or not, Nigerians in South Africa are often related to drug trade and their street trading is said to act as a front in order to hide the trade from the public. An immigrant street trader in The Observatory mentioned that the law enforcement was regularly called upon him by the

neighbourhood with accusations of him dealing drugs, without any lead or motive. He said this fitted the context of a larger scheme in South African society where the foreigner is portrayed in a negative light due to xenophobia.

'Every time they bring law enforcement against us, and they accuse us of selling drugs because when you're from Nigeria, you're a drug dealer. These are lies to paint you black, to call a pop a bad name in order to hang it. That's the way they sell it.'

- Joe from Nigeria

While some respondents reacted positively when asked about their relationship with the law enforcement, others reported problems. In all instances the respondents connected the troubled encounters to the fact that they were foreigners. A trader from Senegal mentioned a corrupt officer using his position to extort the trader.

'They are corrupt. One police officer came and stood in front of me: 'Hey my brother, how are you? Do you have this and that for me'. The reason they do that is because you are a foreigner. They come and take a chance with me. Now if you say: 'No, I don't have anything for you', he's your enemy.'

- Chiko from Senegal

A trader from Nigeria mentioned being harassed, with officers coming to his stall and pointing out trivial technicalities concerning his stall such as it being a little bit too large or his legs being on the wrong spot of the sidewalk.

As mentioned earlier on in this thesis, the way immigrants are portrayed has been subject to substantial linguistic research in South Africa. Studies have shown that

foreigners are often portrayed as 'illegal immigrants' with a negative undertones. The focus in the media is largely of the foreigner being 'illegal', undocumented and a threat. More specifically, narratives are often constructed around the idea that immigrant businesses are used as fronts for drug trade or other illegal activities. Several respondents in our research agreed with the notion that a negative portrayal of foreigners is abundant South African media. One respondent from Senegal mentioned that this negative discourse is instigated by the educated elite in the top layer of the South African society in order to control the poor black South African nationals and provide them a scapegoat for problems such as poor economic conditions in the country. This negative portrayal of the foreigner fuels xenophobia on a basis of biased rumours and doubtful truth.

Sub-question 3: How do the immigrant street traders cope and subsequently contribute to society through their entrepreneurship?

Despite the aforementioned problems and the often hostile host environment, some immigrant street traders thrive with their business acting as a conduit. By overcoming their problems, resilience is formed. There are many ways in which an immigrant street trader interacts with the host environment in order to overcome hurdles and successfully run their business. Respondents were asked about their problems and how these problems were overcome or were in the process of being overcome. As this research will indicate, the resilience formed in street trade often manifests itself in real life practices that can be beneficial to the economic and social development of South Africa.

7.3.1 Employment

Eight of the immigrants street traders that were interviewed indicated that they had South African nationals working for them. Especially the transportation of goods and the setup of stalls are activities that the respondents sought help with. Three of the respondents had South Africans helping in the front of the stall. These South Africans interacted with customers and helped with the selling of products.

Table 6. Number of South African employees and type of help per respondent

Respondent	Country of origin	Business	Location	Number of SA employees	Type of help
1	Nigeria	Clothing (shoes)	Inner City	2	Storefront, transport and setup
2	Kenya	Souvenirs (woodcraft)	Inner City	2	Storefront, transport and setup
3	Malawi	Clothing (leather bags)	Claremont	1	Storefront, transport and setup
4	Somalia	Convenience	Inner City	1	Transport and setup
5	Zambia	Souvenirs (woodcraft)	Inner City	1	Transport and setup
6	Senegal	Clothing (hats and shirts)	Claremont	1	Transport and setup
7	Congo	Textile	Inner City	1	Transport and setup
8	Malawi	Souvenirs (paintings)	Inner City	1	Transport and setup

Respondents that had South Africans working for them indicated that they initially have these individuals helping them with gathering their stock from the storage in the morning, bringing it out onto the street using trolleys, do the unpacking and the setting up of the stall. At the end of the day the same process is repeated in reverse. When business is prosperous and the South African helpers seem trustworthy, the immigrant

street traders sometimes go further and actually allow the South African employees to help run the stall or take over when the immigrant is out for lunch.

'I selected him from the guys that were pushing trolleys. I saw he was able to look after my stuff. You have to find someone that can look after your stuff so that tomorrow, there will be no degradation.'

- Unnamed man from Zambia

For some respondents, employing a South African in their stalls was a way of giving back to the South African community that allowed them to have a business in the first place. Other immigrant street traders mentioned that they employed South Africans because of their religious beliefs and in order to do good.

'There is somebody even over there, he is running his own shop. ... I gave it to him because he benefited me [when I came here], so I had to give him this opportunity as a thanks.'

- Unnamed man from Kenya

This is a prime example of the way in which the stereotypical image of the immigrant as a job stealer is refuted by a practice that is actually the opposite. In this research, the immigrant street traders were effectively job creators. In addition to the positive economic effects the employment of South Africans by immigrant street traders has on the economy, there are also social benefits. When a South African is employed by the immigrant street trader, it will likely not go unnoticed by the friends and family of that individual. It is not unthinkable that processes like these can help shift the way immigrants are thought of by South African communities in a positive way.

7.3.2 Knowledge sharing and skill transmission

Another key finding is the act of knowledge sharing and skill transmission by immigrant street traders to South African street traders. Several immigrant street traders indicated that they followed this practice. Because immigrant street traders often have extensive networks that reach all the way back to their countries of origin, they are able to easily get hold of products that are difficult to get to by South African street traders. Many respondents mentioned that a large part of their stock originated from different countries other than South Africa. These included countries of origin but also other African countries. Respondents indicated that certain items such as wooden masks and jewellery are wanted amongst the street trading community since they are known as exotic products that sell well. Additionally, respondents mentioned that it is unwise to sell the same type of product for too long since customers lose interest after a certain amount of time. A refresh in stock is needed and therefore easy access to products from foreign markets is key. Immigrant street traders have identified this problem and use it to their advantage. Some respondents indicated that once they have found a product from the international market that sells well in Cape Town, they share this knowledge with neighbouring South African traders. Some also mentioned that they advise South African traders on the products they should not sell.

'We do that because them [South Africans] don't know much about where to get things. And most things come from outside South Africa. Even me, if I see someone selling Chinese things, and tourists don't like Chinese things, then I will tell them to sell something else.'

- Unnamed female from Congo

Another immigrant street trader mentioned that he advised South Africans on the products to sell during a certain time period of the year. This allows South African traders to better adjust their stock to the season. Another immigrant street trader indicated that South Africans often come to his stall and ask him where he got certain products because they wanted to resell those products elsewhere in the country. He mentioned that he would either share the information or simply sell them those products and allow them to resell it elsewhere for a profit. When the immigrant street trader was asked about the effects of his actions on the relationship between him and the South African people, he mentioned that the act of knowledge sharing was beneficial.

'Normally they come back and say: 'You know, thanks. I respect that you tell me the truth about this and that'. So I also feel like, ah, that is good if someone comes back to me and says what I did is good.

So I feel happy, because some of them do appreciate it.'

- Henry from Malawi

7.3.3 Social cohesion

Besides the natural desire of some people do to good things to other people, the motivation behind the sharing of trade knowledge by immigrant street traders can partly be sought in the need for survival. A good relationship with local South Africans is important because it can give the immigrant street trader benefits such as increased safety due to stronger social cohesion but also reciprocated trade benefits such as the ability to let someone else look after your stall, share storage space or borrow small change.

In order to more successfully run their business and due to the open and interactive nature of street trade, a substantial amount of immigrant street traders became friends with their neighbouring South African competitors. The original intent of the friendship is likely born forcefully out of survivalist tendencies and not organically by ways of mutual respect.

Being friends with South African street traders has a myriad of benefits for the immigrant street trader. For example, many respondents mentioned the practical benefit of having the possibility to take over each other's stall when taking a break. Becoming friends with South African competitors acted as a precursor to further forms of cooperation and trade benefits as mentioned below. Mentioned commonly throughout the research period, respondents said that becoming friends with South African traders in their vicinity was dependant on themselves having an open and interested composure towards South African traders. Many seemed to express pride in the fact that they were able to do this and consequently be accepted as a friend by the South African host community.

Due to the open and interactive nature of street trade, all respondents served a mixture of both South Africans and foreigners. Because the street trading permits given out by the City Council are designated for high pedestrian traffic areas, a large number of people pass by the street trader's stalls every day. These high numbers ensure that there is ample opportunity for people to interact with each other. It is beneficial for the street trader to have an open and talkative attitude towards the people passing by. Actively seeking contact with people passing by allows the trader to sell more products.

Many traders have secured regular customers, both South African and foreign. These positive relationships between trader and customer arise partly due to the fact that street trade has mutual benefits. A product sold means income for the street trader and at the same time fulfills the need of a customer. This idea supports the finding that many respondents put emphasis on the fact that in street trade there is little room for racial discrimination between the seller and the buyer since the act of the trade is central. Numerous respondents also mentioned becoming friends with their South African customers.

A number of respondents mentioned that in order for them to cope, they had to learn South African languages such as English or Xhosa. In the case of immigrants that become a trader in Cape Town, street trade is both the driver and the gateway for them to learn a South African language. Firstly, as a driver to sell products and survive, a basic understanding of English or Xhosa is often needed. Especially in the case of areas such as the Inner City where high numbers of tourists come, being able to communicate in English is important. In other areas such as Belleville, where the black South African community is larger, being able to talk Xhosa is valuable.

'Also in order to survive, because some, they come here and don't know English, so you need to learn it. They'll [customers] ask you: 'How much?', so if you don't know... even you are not from here, you have to learn!'

- Rose from Tanzania

Secondly, street trading functions as a gateway to quickly learn a new language. As mentioned before, street trade has an open and talkative nature. The constant

interaction between street trader and customers or pedestrians passing by means there is a lot of time available to practice new language skills.

'You know, my first day at work I didn't know how to speak English, I spoke French. The guy who taught me, who's place I took over, said to me: 'Chris, listen, don't worry about the language. When they come, you know the prices! You just give the prices and start learning from there'. So that is what I did. All the time just listening to this language.'

- Chris from Congo

Several respondents mentioned the existence of street trading committee's and their membership thereof. These committees consist of both South African street and immigrant street traders. Every few weeks, the members come together and discuss common problems they are dealing with and how to tackle them. These meetings are clear examples of different groups of people working together in order to overcome shared problems. When the respondents were asked whether they thought these meetings were beneficial to the relationship between immigrants and South African nationals, they answered positively.

When asked about the problems the street traders are facing, several indicated shared issues such as petty crime, drug dealers and the nuisance of beggars in the area of their stalls. Respondents said they believed these problems scare away tourists. Tourists are a major source of income for street traders in Cape Town and therefore the street traders are highly motivated to make sure that tourists feel safe. For example, respondents mentioned warning tourists who have forgotten to close their bags properly. To a further extent, respondents mentioned working together with South

African street traders to deal with problems such as thieves pickpocketing. A respondent mentioned that this was sometimes done outside the law, in a street justice manner.

'There's people here who steal things from people, from tourists. [They] take advantage of the tourists ... from an open bag like this. They just go behind and take things like that. If we see it and we catch him, we beat him. Because they chase the tourists away'

- Unnamed man from Malawi

Chapter 7: Discussion

The findings above indicate multiple ways in which African immigrants, through entrepreneurship, obtain a position from which they can provide a positive influence on the well-being of South African nationals.

The most important finding is one that has been found by prior research (Katilanyi, 2007; Kalitanyi & Visser, 2010; Ngota et al., 2017) but is rarely elaborated upon, namely that African immigrants employ South African locals in their businesses. This creates a situation wherein the immigrant plays a providing role with the South African local as a dependant. The fact that immigrants employ South Africans is striking since it directly opposes the portrayal of African immigrants as 'job stealers' as is so common in South Africa. Through the African immigrant, South African nationals are able to get a job, earn an income and improve well-being. To go further, one can posit that South African nationals believing immigrants to be 'job stealers' can be regarded as misinformed or uneducated individuals. For this, there are likely a multitude of reasons, such as poor schooling and the negative portrayal of immigrants in the media. Consequently, one is reminded of the power of media in countries where many individuals are limited in their ability to distinguish between good or bad quality news.

A second important finding is that as a consequence of informal street trade and the employment of South African locals by immigrants, entrepreneurial knowledge and skills are transferred from immigrant to South African national. These skills and knowledge can be tangible concepts as came forth in this research, such as concrete

ideas on how to set up a stall or choose certain merchandise. Other research suggests, that in a broader sense, African immigrants are even able to transmit entrepreneurial drive to South African nationals (Khatilanyi, 2007). Knowledge and skill transfer can be considered crucial, since they form the basis of production in different economic growth theories. Knowledge allows ideas to be applied and innovation to occur, leading to growth of businesses (Booyens, 2011). Thus, knowledge transfer by African immigrants can help with one of South Africa's largest problems: unemployment. Increased employment can in turn lead to increased well-being. Knowledge and skill transfer by immigrants is a sparsely researched topic that requires more attention.

Lastly, the findings related to immigrants interacting with their host community and consequently building social cohesion are important. Street trade provides a platform whereby immigrants can connect with South African locals in a meaningful way through interdependence. Through street trade, immigrant traders and South African traders are on the same playing field, facing a shared set of difficulties to overcome. This leads to a situation wherein South Africans are dependant on immigrants and vice versa. Having to work together can lead to mutual understanding and respect.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

South Africa is facing an extensive problem with its high unemployment rates and poor job creation. Large numbers of African immigrants have entered the country over the past years and will continue to do so. It is a pattern that is recognized in different parts of the world and one that countries will have to deal with.

Immigrants in South Africa are subject to xenophobia and marginalization due to South Africa's history and poor economic conditions. Immigrants are often seen as 'job stealers' that solely take resources and do not give back. Results of this research indicate the contrary, namely that immigrants can be a valuable asset to the development of South Africa.

Through this research, we discover that entrepreneurship such as informal street trade provides immigrants with a ladder to climb and attain both social and economical integration within society. Through perseverance and resilience building, immigrants are able to build remarkably successful businesses. In the process of building these businesses, immigrant street traders employ South Africans, thereby touching on two of South Africa's largest problems: unemployment and job creation. In addition, transfer of knowledge and skills, possibly leading to innovation and economic growth, occurs. Lastly, this study indicates that informal street trade can function as a platform that forms social cohesion between South Africans and immigrants.

Thus, through street trade, a type of work that is unpopular amongst South African locals, immigrants seem to have found a way to attain a position of positive influence within South African society.

Remarkably little research has been done on the influence of immigrant street traders on a host society, with the effects on local job creation particularly underlit. This thesis serves as a reminder that immigrants working in the informal economy can provide substantial worth to a society in a number of ways. The impact of some of these pathways are possibly underestimated, such as the transmission of knowledge and skills.

As indicated in the findings section, immigrants face a large set of problems inhibiting their businesses from developing to their true potential. The difficulties described in the findings section are particularly valuable since they give first hand accounts of issues immigrant street traders are dealing with. Such an account of various problems can be used as an indication when developing appropriate policy aiming to stimulate immigrant entrepreneurship.

Concluding, this research can be seen as relevant to South African society in multiple ways. Its findings highlight the potential benefits of immigrant entrepreneurship to the wellbeing of South African nationals, hereby defining the importance of immigrant entrepreneurship. With the exposure of these benefits to the well-being of South African nationals, this study hopes to consequently improve the well-being of immigrants by increasing the general understanding of their contributions to South Africa.

Chapter 9: Recommendations

Recommendations for research institutions such as universities include:

1. Additional research is needed in order to further assess the impact of an immigrant employing a South African national, both from an economic and a social perspective. These findings could be compared to the impact of a South African national employing a South African national.
2. Additional research is needed in order to further assess the impact of skill and knowledge transfer from an immigrant to a South African national, both from an economic and a social perspective. These findings could be compared to the impact of a South African national transferring knowledge and skills to a South African national.
3. Additional research is needed in order to further assess the extent to which informal street trade forms social cohesion between South African nationals and immigrants.

Recommendations for government departments working with immigrants include:

1. To facilitate the integration and cooperation of immigrant street traders, local authorities should put emphasis on flexibility and adaptivity. Current local policies are centered mostly around structure and control which is putting many immigrants street traders without the right documents in precarious positions of illegality.

2. To stimulate immigrant entrepreneurship, authorities responsible for promoting entrepreneurship should try to include immigrants when allocating state finances through financial support programs. In addition, financial institutions such as banks could be stimulated to provide immigrants with easier access to finance, one of the most common problems amongst immigrant street traders.
3. To facilitate the inevitable future growth of people seeking employment in informal street trade, extra consideration should be given to policies that relieve pressure on infrastructure, facilities and resources.

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