THE STRUGGLE FOR DAILY LIFE IN DURBAN: CONGOLESE MIGRANTS ECONOMIC SURVIVAL STRATEGIES

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Dissertation component submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in the School of Social Sciences, University of KwaZulu-Natal

As the supervisor of the candidate I have approved this short dissertation for submission.

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2.   This thesis has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.

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Abstract

This study explores the livelihoods experiences of Congolese migrants in the city of Durban with particular reference to the various ways and means they utilize in order to survive amid a rough environment in tough times emanating from global economic meltdown sided with economic austerity measures. Qualitative methodology is the approach as the 'how', 'why' and 'what' of the Congolese migrants' economic survival strategies are investigated. The sampling area involved South Beach and Saint Georges vicinities. Five elements from both areas were interviewed using in-depth interviews. Purposive sampling technique was used to identify relevant respondents to which a snowball sampling method was added to help reaching more interviewees. The findings of this study reveal that in the absence of the local government intervention Congolese migrants are left alone to mend their way to develop economic means of survival on the quotidian in Durban. In a country that is Identity driven, their lack of proper documents hinge their integration in the mainstream of the local economy. Police harassment coupled with xenophobic patterns of attitudes from locals jeopardise their livelihoods as they wrestle to reproduce. Their economic contribution to the city is very insignificant owing to issues of disempowerment. They lack skills in general and technical training in particular to adequately compete economically in today's globalized society. The centrality of this study is that these findings can be extrapolated on other migrants at the provincial and national level and can contribute to design policies that can mitigate the plight of migrants.

Key Words: Migrants, Economic Survival, Identity Document, Police Harassment,
           Xenophobia and Migrant Empowerment

Acknowledgements

I want to thank god for making it possible for this dissertation to be completed as every gift and grace come from Him.

I am sincerely grateful to Dr. Suzanne Francis and Dr. Michael Francis for their pervasive help, assistance and support for completion of this work. Their input is worth its golden weight. Their contribution to my academic progress is and remains a great blessing. May God bless the work of their hands.

My supervisor, Dr. Michael Francis helped me all along the writing of this dissertation. He has guided and orientated me for every inch of this work, giving me more than enough time for consultations where I drew more encouragement and insight for the next step in the process of writing this thesis.

I also wish to thank every other academic authority who has helped me in a way or another in the process of writing this dissertation, lecturers and librarians among others.

To all the interviewees, I am grateful for their willingness to participate in this research.

May God bless you all!

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CHAPTER ONE: GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Introduction

This research focuses on migrants of Congolese descent living in Durban, South Africa particularly in the South Beach and Saint-Georges area. This is a community of about 100 individuals and they may be seen as representative of the South African Congolese community as they form a snapshot view of people from across the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC).

People from the DRC face extraordinary difficulties from living in a foreign country with very limited socio-economic support systems. The history of the DRC is fraught with unrest and violent social change. This history created the conditions for their departure and still shapes their current lives. The DRC is still in a state of chaos and unrest. More migration from the region can be expected and this research will contribute to understanding the lives of these migrants and build on the economic history of these people. This research may also speak to similar issues faced by other communities of refugees and forced migrations. How they now survive and create meaningful lives out of this chaos set me on a path to investigate their lives and livelihoods.

This study focused on one such community and how they survive in South Africa; it explored how they survive through a study of their recent life histories in South Africa. I wished to know what work they do and how they organize their household economics. Congolese migrants can be expected to have specific social and economic challenges and a study of their economic lives will elucidate meaningful data about life in South Africa and Africa more broadly. Refugees and migrants form significant portions of any countries' population in today's globalised world and this project built on those studies.

The Community experienced many radical changes such as moving from a French based value system in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) where basic activities of life follow patterns that are different from the English ones (Morris and Bouillon, 2001: 19). Back home they relied on a certain way of doing things themselves in settings where, generally speaking, things are liberalized with very limited control of the state. Whereas when they came to South Africa they

encountered a completely different lifestyle in Durban where almost everything is under some form of state control and bureaucracy. Congolese migrants found themselves with these and other sets of problems that emanate from living in a very different and foreign country. Survival in a new space that is shaped by specific policies and limits becomes a major issue. To be able to exist in a globalized city such as Durban, Congolese migrants will need to come up with strategies to integrate their socio-economic space with the local (Martinussen, 2004). This study is about Congolese migrants' economic survival strategies. Legal paradigms and, often more importantly, different and difficult social situations force Congolese migrants to employ novel techniques to survive economically. They are also often forced to draw on what they brought with them, which may be little more than themselves. Faced with such hardship they create interesting social and economic networks as well as specific economic techniques for survival. The role of these networks will be explored in depth against the backdrop of their specific history as well as the local history into which they are now trying to fit into.

The nature of their social status as foreign contributes to their economic status as marginalised. Just as their marginal economic status positions them within South African society, I will explore their socio-economic status as a determinant of their place in Durban and by extension South Africa. As such their lives not only speaks to studies of foreign peoples, but studies of poverty, alienation (social and political), as well as contributing to a greater understanding of post-Apartheid South Africa. Migrants are now the norm in every country worldwide and understanding how their lives fit into the local setting also speaks to globalization and how people now fit into the increasingly globalised world. This study also aims to be a starting point for further studies into this and other related communities of migrants in South Africa.

This chapter constitutes the general introduction. It presents the background of the study, the reason why this particular topic was chosen as well as the significance of the study. The research questions and objectives, the theoretical framework, the methodological approach and the outline of the study are covered in this chapter.

Background of the Study

During the colonial period, the DRC was characterized by intensive forced labor, expropriation of resources, acute poverty of indigenous people, and gross violations of human rights orchestrated by the Belgian administration until independence period (Amin, 1972: 505,

Meredith, 2011). President Mobutu led a gradual nationalization of all foreign assets known as 'Zaïrianisation'. This phenomenon led to the beginning of a slow ongoing crisis in the country (Nzongola-Ntalaja 2002: 149). Heavily dependent on its mining sector, in 1975 the world copper prices dropped and high inflation hit the country with the subsequent devaluation of the Zaire currency. By 1990, the Structural Adjustment Programmes were unable to redress the economic situation leading to worsening social and political strains. This resulted in serious riots in Kinshasa with heavy loss of lives, bankruptcy of the public service sector (Trefon 2004: 1) and a state of total disintegration of the governmental structures.

The country's hygiene and housing were capsized just like the public health was disintegrating (Persyn & Ladrière, 2004: 64). An unstable and degrading socio-economic situation deepened the political crisis. Finally, in 1997 war broke out. A coalition of foreign armies and mercenaries led by the former President Laurent Desire Kabila in both remote jungles and urban areas of DRC forced former President Mobutu to exile himself in Morocco and thousands of Congolese went into exile in neighbouring countries in the region, others were scattered to several other countries across the world due to increasing insecurity and violence (Olsson and Congdon, 2004: 321). Forced to move from country to country (Wood 1994: 607), a vast number of the Congolese population relocated to different towns in South Africa, such as Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban.

Congolese migrants found themselves trapped in socio-economic contours that confined them into a series of labour, education and administrative conundrums that cause a serious obstacle to their economic wellbeing in their host city.

Reasons for choosing the topic

I am Congolese and now live in South Africa. The struggle to survive has taken me through various trainings and jobs with a lot of obstacles on my path and this has generated questions on my mind as to the nature of a life most Congolese migrants and refugees experience. Thus I have observed the Congolese immigrant communities living around Durban, particularly in South Beach and Saint-Georges area near to where I live. Their way of making a living appeared to be a mystery and I was thus interested to embark on a research on them. Unemployment is already high in South Africa and foreign migrants often have no legal right to work further exacerbating

the problem they face in trying to survive. The difficult histories and life struggles make their lives and livelihoods particularly poignant and interesting as a topic of study.

Significance of study

There were studies in the past conducted on refuges, Congolese included (Amisi, 2005; Landeau, 2009; Khan, 2007) but Congolese migrants' economic survival strategies have not been investigated. This study addresses the issues surrounding the ways and means employed by Congolese migrants to emerge in the battle of survival on the daily basis. Congolese migrants can be expected to have specific social and economic challenges and a study of their economic lives will elucidate meaningful data about life in South Africa and Africa more broadly. As it is in today's globalised world, migrants form significant portions of any countries' population. It is estimated that 3% of the world population in this age of globalization live outside their country of birth (Stalker, 2000: 10). This study will focus on the economic survival strategies of Congolese migrants. It will explore how they survive through a study of their recent life histories in South Africa; what work they do and how they organize their household economics. Amid social and economic challenges faced by these migrants, the study will shed light not only on the economic survival strategies but also on factors that stand as impediments to the economic advancement and contribution to the economic fabric of their communities, the city as well as the country as a whole.

Research questions and objectives

The study asked the following question:

1. What are the economic mechanisms used by Congolese migrants in order to survive in Durban?
2. What are the problems faced by Congolese migrants in their daily life in Durban?
3. What is the role played by social networks in terms of economic survival among Congolese migrants?

The objectives of this study were threefold:

1. To investigate and document the various economic techniques employed by Congolese immigrants in their quotidian survival in the Durban area.

2. To explore the socio-economic state of Congolese immigrants as a determinant of their place in Durban.

3. To suggest some recommendations with regard to the livelihood of Congolese immigrants in Durban and to point at possible research needed to be undertaken in the same field.

Theoretical framework

This study will use network theory as well as the livelihood approach to understanding the lives of Congolese migrants.

Networks Theory

Migrant networks are webs of interpersonal links that connect migrants, former migrants, sending and receiving countries through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin (Massey, 1988: 396; Massey *et al.:*1993: 449-450). They argue that the expansion of networks reduces the costs and risks of movement it causes the probability of migration to rise, which in turn causes additional movement and thus expands the networks. Therefore, over time, migratory behavior spreads outward to encompass broader segments of the sending society.

Migrants establish networks that then sustain the very migrations that produced them initially. Therefore, irrespective of political or economic conditions that may have caused migration in the first place, the initial pushes and pulls or whether owing to an individual or to a group of people; the growing migratory process becomes step by step independent of the original causes and in the process migrations self establish above the conditions that caused them initially by becoming independent of their very existence. Massey attributes the cumulative causality to the formation of networks where the costs and risks drop considerably.

The livelihoods approach

The livelihood approach originates in a literature on food security and famines (Elis, 2003: 4) from where it derives particular strengths for understanding vulnerability as the concept sets out to be people-centered and holistic, and to provide an integrated view of how people make a living within evolving social, institutional, political, economic and environmental contexts. Therefore, the term livelihoods encompasses not only what people do with regard to making a

living, but also the resources that put at their disposal the capabilities of making a satisfactory living.

Livelihood is:

> A product of the interaction of capabilities, asset and activities required for a means of living. A livelihoods is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stress and shocks meanwhile maintaining or enhancing its capabilities and assets and provide sustainable livelihoods opportunities for the next generation, contribute net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels in the short and long term (Krantz, 2001: 6).

In livelihood approach, resources are referred to as assets or capital and are categorized in five types of assets that can be accessed by immigrants. These are financial capital, natural capital, produced capital, human capital and social capital.

The different types of capital constitute the principal survival building blocks for migrants to enhance their economic well-being. Thus immigrants can develop adequately if their imparted with enough capital in order to enhance their livelihoods and thus reproduce and develop; therefore, immigrants need not only a mere livelihood but a sustainable livelihood.

Methodological approach

This study will use a qualitative approach. Qualitative research methodology can be used in several social science disciplines and in many different types of research (Konaté & Sidibé, 2006: 7); it gives an idea of people's behaviours and perceptions and allows researchers to study their opinions on a particular topic in more depth than is possible with a quantitative survey (Mwanje 2000: 6). This study is interested to find more about the "how", the "why" and the "what" of the economic survival techniques of the Congolese immigrants by means of in-depth interviews that are set to last about forty-five to sixty minutes.

The interviews were conducted among Congolese communities living in the South Beach and Saint-Georges area. These two areas have been chosen for purpose of minimizing costs and relative accessibility. A sample of 10 people chosen purposively was considered for in-depth interviews. Alongside the purposive sampling method (Blanche *et al.*, 2008: 139) I used

snowball sampling as a mean to draw on networks of people already interviewed to find further interviewees (Sarantakos, 1993: 164; Braun & Clarke, 2006: 79). The anthropological methods of participant observation helped to facilitate obtaining meaningful data and contextualizing the data. Thematic analysis was used to analyse the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 79).

Chapters outline

In Chapter One I present a general introduction and background to the study as well as reasons for choosing the topic.

Chapter two deals with the literature review. It covers key themes such as the mobility of individuals across continents, the survival strategies of migrants mostly through labour migration and the involvement in entrepreneurship by means of small businesses. Here I outline the theories used.

Chapter three focuses on the research methodology. A qualitative research methodology and methods were used in a descriptive an explanatory manner. Ten Congolese migrants living in Durban central, precisely in South Beach and Saint George's area, part of them working and others operating small businesses within the informal sector were selected for interviews. In-depth interviews using a questionnaire were used to collect data. Interviews lasted between 45 minutes and one hour, followed by participant observation.

Chapter four consists of data analysis. Starting by elaborating the notions of migrants, the chapter continues with explaining that Congolese migrants were forced to leave their original country due to protracted violence and war. They embarked on sporadic journeys and came to South Africa with the hope of finding better security and a state of right. They relied on their friends and relatives who preceded in the country. As a means of survival they diversify activities within the informal sector and engage in jobs that are difficult, dirty and dangerous or 3Ds. Forced to carry a heavy luggage in terms of survival, Congolese choose to engage in self-employment. The chapter elaborates on the impediments to their livelihoods by pointing at the xenophobic attacks, the police harassments and the many obstacles encountered at the department of Home Affairs. These impediments enforce their social exclusion that is rooted in the lack of proper documentation; the lack of empowerment and the quasi-absence of the local government in their lives make them a group of vulnerable individuals within the South African

society who cannot adequately contribute to the local as well as global economy from their host community and city.

Chapter five constitute the conclusion of the study with a particular recommendation. Besides the different types of capitals required for a satisfactory livelihood, Congolese migrants could be better off if they were provided with social and economic security nets that will allow them to cope with shocks and trends emanating from the harsh political and economic climate amid which they engage in the reproduction (Martinhussen, 2004: 312). Ideally, training in various fields, particularly in a technical discipline, entrepreneurship and information technology, etc. sustained by the availability of microfinance (Marduch and Haley, 2001) can save a great deal of stress and confusion resulting from the hardship of the quotidian, especially in the context of xenophobic attitudes and intolerance towards migrants, such as experienced in Durban. The availability of the above-required building blocks will certainly help migrants to emancipate economically and contribute more to economic development of the city of Durban.

Conclusion

This study is about the economic survival strategies of Congolese migrants transplanted from a location to another due to different kinds of pushes, the main problem becomes of survival order. In South Africa, Congolese migrants needed to define new strategies and ways and means to make hands meet such as to keep their heads up above the level of the sea of socio-economic realities present in South Africa. This chapter has introduced the research background, the reason for choosing the topic, the significance of the study, the methodological approach adopted by the study as well as the elaboration of chapters.

Chapter 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

Around the world, people do not just decide to leave their original location, families and acquaintances, say goodbye to their livelihoods and relocate to foreign countries without cause. On one hand, there are forces that constrain individuals to leave their locations (push) and, on the other hand, attractions (pull) from remote areas such as cities and megalopolises entice them to migrate (Castles and Miller, 2009: 21). Across poorer regions, underdevelopment with its accompanying syndromes of poverty, unemployment, inadequate infrastructure and socio-economic dependency will push people to seek better lives (Simelane, 2004). Tensions, violence, wars and natural catastrophes when coupled with corrosive policies may force people to look for options elsewhere (Castles and Miller, 2009: 2). This may also lead to them seeking employment or engaging in small business activities for social reproduction and economic survival. In the contemporary globalised world the penetration of capitalism into former communist, socialist countries and 'underdeveloped' or 'Third World' countries further explains the current movement of peoples around the world (Massey, 1998). Professionals with acquired human capital in developed and underdeveloped countries may migrate as they quest for income maximization (Borjas, 1989: 461). All these changes assist to explain the movements of people to and fro around the world from one location to another, from one country to another.

This chapter revolves around two major sections. Section one deals with migration across continents by highlighting the incentives that underpin movements of migrants around the world and the strategies migrants employ to survive in a foreign country. Section two deals with the ways and means migrants utilize to make a living or their livelihoods and how they tap in their social network to access information, jobs and housing, such as to expand and reproduce.

Who are migrants?

Migrants are people who have been outside their country of birth or citizenship for a period of 12 months or longer. It is estimated that 150 million people live outside their country of birth, amounting to 3 percent of the world population. There were an estimated 10 million illegal

migrants in 2003, an estimated 17 million forced migrants (asylum-seekers and refugees) worldwide; of these, 4.1 million were being hosted in Europe (Sasse et al., 2005). Colonial links, labour recruitment or easiness of entry can be considered as factors that facilitate international migrations, especially between Europe and Africa (Stalker, 2002). Among migrants we can cite settlers, professionals, refugees and asylum seekers, contract workers and undocumented migrants also referred to as illegal migrants (Stalker, 2001; Solomon, 2003; Sasse et al., 2005).

Settlers

These are individuals who leave their country of origin with the thought of permanently establishing themselves in their new country. For instance, in Australia, New Zealand or Canada to qualify for a settler migrant permit one need to have skills or otherwise enter by means of family reunion or else those who are rich enough can also qualify as business investors (Whitman, 2000; Stalker, 2001: 10-11). Settlers normally end up by establishing a colony that they populate and exploit its various resources.

Contract workers

These are migrants who move from a location/country to another following agreement by means of employee-employer contract. This entails an obligation from the employer to pay a certain amount of money to foreign labourers who in turn undertake to work for the employer for a certain fixed period of time after which they are expected to return to their original country. For instance, in Southern Africa, labourers who came from neigbouring countries to work on mine sites and agricultural farms (Solomon, 2003; Whitman, 2000).

Refugees and Asylum seekers

These are people who for a well-founded fear of persecution in their countries for reasons of race, religion, political affiliation, social group membership or nationality leave their countries and thus have a well-founded reason of fearing to go back. These come in a country as asylum seekers and once the government accepts their application for asylum then they can be referred to as refugees once the status of refugee is granted. In South Africa, the signing of the 1951 Organasation of African Unity (OAU) convention has resulted into the acceptance of refugees in the country. This justifies the multitude of asylum seekers from around the world flocking in South Africa (Steinberg, 2005).

Professionals

They are made of individuals with professional qualifications such as medical doctors, researchers, teachers, lecturers, nurses, engineers and owners of financial capitals. Among this category are employees of transnational corporations (TNCs) moving from country to country. For instance, South Africans who left the country and headed to North America, Australia, New Zealand or Europe in the 1990s (Solomons, 2003). Another case is about Zairians who came to South Africa before 1994 given the types of economic and cooperation ties that existed between both countries. Zairian medical doctors, academics and other skilled professionals were recruited by the homestead governments to fill the vacuum of scarce skills they experienced then (Steinberg, 2005).

Undocumented workers

These are also referred to as illegal migrants. Among them there are those who take a tourist visa and travel to other countries and overstay as they look for opportunities, others are just migrants who sneak in and live illegally in their host country (Stalker, 2001). In the Republic of South Africa, the Alien Control Act of 1991 defines an undocumented or illegal migrant as someone who enters the country via a place other than a port of entry and remains in the country without a valid residence permit or remains in South Africa after the expiry of his or her residence permit; one who is prohibited to enter the country or becomes a prohibited person while in South Africa (Solomon, 2003: 7).

Migrants' mobility across continents

It is estimated that more than 50 million people from Europe moved to North America between 1820 and 1913 (Massey, 2003). This trend continued into the 1950s as a result of World War II, with Europeans dominating migration to North America. In countries where the Nazi had control in Europe, Jews were forced to escape the pogroms, death squads and deadly ideologies (Castles and Miller, 2003). Hunted and haunted by the Nazi killing machine, in Germany, Austria, Russia and other European countries, Jews were tracked down in the countries were the Nazi was exercising dominion and control. Thus they were forced to flee from place to place in search of security. This created a global Diaspora and Jewish communities can be found in most contemporary states especially the USA. The depredations of World War II caused many people to move within and out of Europe. Thus in 1960s, European migrants represented two-third of

migrants made of often young, single and unskilled individuals (Hatton and Williamson, 1998: 16-17). However by 1985, European emigration was reduced accounting for only one immigrant out of nine. From the 1970s and 1980s developing countries from Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean began to provide the majority of immigrants to North America. These trends were increased by immigration policies that enabled family reunion by allowing immigrants to bring in their relatives (Hatton and Williamson, 1998).

After the Second World War and its after affects waned, migration to the United States of America (USA) and Canada is explained by differential economic opportunity. This justified immigration with four main elements explaining annual immigration to both countries between 1962-1984:1) economic opportunities, 2) transferability of skills, 3) level of economic development, 4) political conditions and institutional controls that mirrored the immigration policies of the two nations (Greenwood & McDowell, 2002: 58-59). Wage differentials, several measures of skill transferability, political conditions in source countries and the policy variables prove to be important determinants of USA and Canadian immigration. Thus, incentive to immigrate was influenced by the extent to which skills are transferable.

From the 1960s, European countries were open to immigration as post-war disruptions had ended and economies and politics were stable. Countries like France, Germany, the United Kingdom (UK), the Benelux countries, Nordic countries became receiving countries. Once migration recruitments stopped in 1974, immigrants were admitted on grounds of family reunion, refugees and labour migration. Owing to an accentuated economic growth and prosperity, another group of European countries became receiving from the 1980s (Castles and Miller, 2009: 97). The likes of Ireland, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Greece and Finland became receiving countries and attracted flow of migrant labourers.

In eastern Europe (Bauer and Zimmerman, 1999), the demise of the Soviet Union lead to a mass migration of people towards the west in the early 1990s from countries such as Romania, Poland and Russia, and by 1993 the number of migrants from Central and Eastern Europe increased to two million within the European Union (EU), eventually the number decreased gradually as conditions started to improve in sending countries. The collapse of the communist system in Russia and its satellites caused a serious disintegration of socio-politico-economic structures that generated a mass exodus of people converging on the common market of Europe.

In Asia, there has been a major outflow in terms of emigration due to demographic thrusts and income disparities (Borjas 2005: 30). The Gulf region with countries such as Kuwait, Saudi Arabia received migrants from neighbouring countries like Lebanon, Palestine, which have been seriously hit by wars and instabilities. The oil-rich states in the Persian Gulf continuously attracted migrants from remote countries in the region from East Asia and India; a situation that was ended with the Gulf War in 1991. With the removal of discriminatory migration laws which were based on race, ethnicity or birthplace from the early 1970s in countries such as Australia, New Zealand, the United States and Canada, the new immigration laws based on the selection of skills and family reunion resulted in a rise in Asian immigration (Hugo, 2005: 3-4).

Furthermore, Europe also became a significant destination for Asian migrants, with movement partly being associated with previous colonial linkages. Thus, Asians now make up almost half of the streams of new settlers in the traditional migration receiving countries. It is estimated that the stock of Asian-born in developed nations was 16.83 million at the turn of the century; the largest concentrations are in the USA (8.4 million), Canada (2.0 million), Great Britain (1.6 million) and Australia (1.2 million) with considerable communities in other countries as well. The largest Asian communities in developed nations are from China, Philippines, India, Korea, Pakistan and Vietnam (Dumont & Lemaitre 2005, 31).

Though migratory movements of Asians to developed countries remain very selective, refugees and asylum seekers make up a significant part of the flow and a disproportionate number of highly skilled and highly educated migrants included. The rate of high skilled immigrants is consistent among many developed nations which have created programmes to attract and retain highly skilled workers in response to increased global competition and ageing of their populations. In recent years the recruiting of medical professionals from Asia and Africa by developed nations explain these trends (Dumont and Lemaitre, 2005).

In the Gulf region (Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, Oman and the United Arab Emirates), migratory flows from other Arab countries and remote ones in the 1950s-1960s is explained by the demands for labourers. The accumulation of capitals emanating from the increase in oil price was used to finance large-scale economic development. The demand for workers associated directly to development caused an importation of workers first from Arab countries that had large and growing populations plus a relative surplus of workers vis-a-vis the job offers. Thus,

Egypt supplied on average 60% of workers to the Gulf States and Yemen, Jordan and Sudan accounted for the remaining (Adams 1991; Feiler 1991; Omran and Roudi, 1993; cited in Massey *et. al.*, 1994).

During the late 1970s and 1980s, labour recruitment from India expanded to other countries, though initially it dated from the 1930s when the British imported labour from South Asian to manage the oil exploitation in the region. By 1990 the migration of Asian comprised the majority of all foreigners within the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), India accounted for 780 000 migrants, Bangladesh sent 297 000 and other nations (Pakistan, Sri Lanka, The Philippines, South Korea, Thailand) contributed another 1.25 million persons. Labour migration to the gulf region was conditioned to single workers who had to leave their families in their home countries which created psychological problems due to limitation of workers movements.

Africa created a different model of migration from other parts of the world discussed above. Africa has produced far less migrants compare to the demand expressed by countries in need of labourers in the North. In aggregate, Africa is losing on disparate types of gain that emanate from migration. Three major reasons explain the reduced number of African migrants in developed countries (Hatton and Williamson, 2002: 27-28), among them is the immigration policies that stress family reunification or skills in the Western countries, the absence of adequate income in the continent, Africa being the poorest of the continents, and finally the lack of propensity to move in foreign land compared to other continents as Africans are tied to the family and communal value system that posit the closeness of the individual family members and to the land (Adepoju, 1995). The majority of people on the African continent are trapped in poverty and illiteracy; this creates a barrier for them to move to the first world. Wars and protracted violence with their direct consequence such as the recruitment of minors and the dismantling of infrastructures have exacerbated the woes of the continent in by killing its different types of capital, especially human capital, and has destroyed infrastructures leading to more unemployment as investors fled.

In the Southern Africa region colonial policies of land expropriation turned the entire region into a domain of "Labour Reserves" (Letsoalo, 1987). All over the region, European settlers dispossessed colossal portions of indigenous land. The hundreds of thousands of people were either relocated to tongues of lands that were dry and unfit for sustainable farming or grazing or

made into labour tenets. Major expropriation (Bernstein, 2005) took place in countries such as Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe with large settler communities. Whereas in other countries of the region, only minor expropriations were recorded, like in Swaziland, Mozambique, Lesotho, etc. However these locations became sources of migrant labour and once independent Africans became dependent on a labour system that demanded migration.

In South Africa, the discovery of diamond in 1867 followed by that of gold in 1886 exacerbated labour migration both from within as well as from the countries surrounding (Bundy, 1972: 376, 381). Labour migration will be hence continued and strengthened by the establishment of recruiting agencies in South Africa such as the Transvaal Labour Commission (TLC) in 1904 and by the 1940s, in Swaziland, the Native Recruiting Corporation (NRC). From a migratory angle, economic activities revolving around labour migration became the pull factor whereas the push factor was the underdevelopment, unemployment and underemployment emanating directly from the colonial policies (Whitman, 2000: 13).

With the disintegration of apartheid (Morris, 2001: 9) thousands of Africans from beyond the Southern Africa region began to migrate in South Africa. The increasing economic, social, and political crisis in number of African countries such as Zaire, Nigeria, Somalia, Senegal, Cameroon, Congo Brazzaville, etc. resulted in the mass exodus of people around the Sub-Saharan region converging into South Africa. It led to the rise of a diaspora of immigrant entrepreneurs within the country who are involved in a wide range of activities such as cross-border traders; street traders and operators of small, medium, and micro-enterprises (SMMEs) connected to strong informal and formal transnational networks of traders, entrepreneurs, and migrants (Peberdy and Rogerson, 2000: 21-22). Some of these relationships are direct, as in the case of informal sector cross-border traders and shoppers. Others are less obvious, residing in transnational networks, which are nonetheless important to the capitalization and sustainability of migrant enterprises.

Consequently, scientists and technologists converged in the Southern Africa region, particularly in South Africa. The brain drain in the Southern Africa region, championed by South Africa (Whitman, 2000: 199), can be explained by its technological and economic advancement compared to the other countries in the region making South Africa the most attractive country in the region. In consequence, South Africa attracted and continues to attract migrants who are

highly trained professionals for employment as its information and technology specialist, doctors and engineers trained to a high international standard continue to emigrate, attracted to more lucrative employment abroad. This phenomenon has a rather negative impact on the sending country's economy because of its very nature of uprooting the trained and experienced professionals of various disciplines leaving a vacuum.

Migrants' Survival Strategies

Survival strategies refer to different economic activities in which migrants engage in order to survive. Migrants all too often come from a harsh and stressful environment and potentially into another difficult environment, a situation echoed by many migrants globally. Survival strategies involve ways, means and mechanisms constructed by individuals to survive in their new locations at the intersection of households and structural economic processes (Meert et al., 2005). Survival strategies aim at making savings on consumption in order to maximize earnings at household level. This section will elaborate on survival strategies used by migrants in their different new places. It will touch on migrants' survival realities from the global to local level.

Labour Migration and Small Business, Entrepreneurship

Survival strategies of migrants from China and Japan in the USA included drawing on family ties through the use of family run businesses (Sanders and Nee, 1996). Families may support self-employment by furnishing labour and enabling the accumulation of capital and resources; through self-employment, immigrants have the ability to rely on family labour significantly in order to reduce operating costs; family workers are more productive than nonfamily labour when hourly wages are low. Furthermore, family labour can be trusted to handle sensitive transactions in which the risk of opportunism and malfeasance is widespread and family members can be trusted in under-the-counter cash transactions. Therefore, family entrepreneurship may confer advantages to immigrant entrepreneurs by enabling them to economize on production and transaction costs thus establishing a trusted business environment among family members as workers aiming at the expanding different types of capital. Congolese migrants may use identical surviving model for their livelihood if enough financial capital is put at their disposal. This also opens up other possibilities beyond family ties, but ethnic or identic ties. Due to the harsh conditions that led to the exodus of Congolese migrants, the webs of family may be broken, but the new bonds that replace that may be as powerful. In this sense national ties may become

replacement for family ties. Businessmen who came to visit South Africa during President Mobutu Rule started to establish links with other people in South Africa and when they took the good news at home, many people were encouraged to come to South Africa in quest of business opportunity.

In Eastern Europe, the demise of the soviet regime led to a mass migration of people towards the West in the early 1990s from countries such as Romania, Poland and even Russia (Bauer and Zimmerman, 1999: 6). By 1993 the number of migrants from Central and Eastern Europe increased to two million in the European Union (EU). Most were migrants who were converging to sell their labour in various industries as socio-economic conditions worsened in Eastern Europe. Following those trends, the number gradually started to decrease as conditions began to improve in sending countries. In conclusion, they point out regional economic imbalances between the West and the East largely caused by the collapsing of the Soviet Block in Europe. Similarly, the destruction of the socio-economic fabric in central Africa caused by regional issues such as Rwanda, spilled over into the DRC further straining the situation there, which triggered mass migration of individuals to other regions of Africa and the world. Among these, Congolese immigrants came to settle in towns in South Africa where a large number of them live in Durban.

In Britain, the migration of Jews who were forced to save their lives from the pogroms in Russia between 1875 and 1914 settled in the east of London (Castles and Miller, 2003: 30). Other large Jewish communities became the labour force used in the clothing industry in Manchester, Liverpool and London. Most of that generation managed to drift away from wage labour and became small entrepreneurs in the rag trade on the retail sector. The second generation was then able to focus on education or engage in white-collar employment. In conclusion, racism and particularly anti-Semitism forced millions of people into exile due to fear of seeing their livelihood and lives severely threatened. This type of literature suggests that despite bleak starts on new countries immigrant communities can and do form meaningful lives. These patterns offer hope for the future for Congolese migrants.

In Germany, the African Diaspora was confronted by issues of obtaining decent work for their survival, as they were discriminated and segregated on racial grounds within the German society. During post-World War II one of the few means of making a living for the African populations

was to get to the stage and perform. With the emergence of mass popular culture, the rapid growth and development in popularity of the film industry, and popular enthusiasm for North American cultural products such as jazz, black performers were in high demand (Aitken 2010: 10). New employment opportunities opened up for African colonial migrants. Thus colonial migrants and their children took on a wide range of often overlapping jobs such as theatre or film actor, musician, dancer, and circus entertainer, some of which required a rigorous apprenticeship. As such an artistic lifestyle became fused with family life and man and wife, sibling or whole family teams of performers were formed to allow African migrants to eke their living in a socio-economic landscape where non-whites were excluded from lucrative activities reserved to all residents in Germany. Issues of exclusion and barriers to entering many job markets also face Congolese migrants in South Africa and thus may shape their economic activities.

In the Netherlands immigrants survive by means of entrepreneurship in the four major cities of Netherlands (Kloosterman *et al.*, 2001: 259). Moroccans and Turks, among other immigrants, survive by running sales of meat slaughtered according to the Islamic rite (Halal) in butcher shops within the cities in the Netherlands. Before the arrivals of Moroccans and Turks nationals, Halal meat was not obtainable on the market. As they entered the Netherlands, Muslims started to run butcheries and sell meat to the public in particular to a demand also created by the migrants themselves. As a consequence, the involvement of Turks and Moroccans in the meat industry has widened the market and has introduced a novelty on the meat market by availing and selling halal meat to the public and particularly the Muslims who only consume Halal meat.

The cause of urban migration in Indonesia was the expectations for improved economic opportunities like the search for employment or education in cultural institutions in Jakarta (Krausse, 1979: 46-70). Migration was seen as an alternative channels for upward mobility with hope to find a stable employment. Some of the migrants in Jakarta, especially the heads of households, survived within the city as "Self-employed", operating permanently located local groceries, tailor shops, repair services, or eating stands. In conclusion, much of the blame for economic precarious condition on the existing imbalance between the rate of economic growth and the rate of in-migration to Jakarta was explained by the fact that the urban economy simply was not expanding fast enough to absorb the incoming work force adequately. The majority of Congolese immigrants in Durban have been absorbed into the informal economy in South Africa

given the dualism inherent within the South African economic sector that is made of individuals living on the periphery of towns and rural areas in a condition of underdevelopment, poverty, unemployment, unable to educate and economically emancipate themselves (Turoc, 2008: 184) versus a handful of individuals who own and drive the country's economic industry concentrated in towns.

In Libya after the 2nd World War, immigrants survived by means of selling their labour on the foreign armed forces base in Tripoli. Harrison argues that before the Allies took Tripoli in 1943, there was a "war boomer" in the city, and the Italian Army employed large numbers of in-migrants (Harrison 1967: 403). After the war, migrants found employment with the British Military Administration as general labourers, cooks, launderers, and mechanics. In 1944 migrants from the coastal oasis survived by working in the construction of the United States Air Force Base at Wheel US Field to the east of the city. With the dramatic cut in the number of jobs offered by the British force in Tripoli, social disorganization and poverty among the migrants gave rise to crime, juvenile delinquency, and vagrancy. He concludes in pointing out that the increase in criminal acts was linked to the increased migration to the city which led to the conditions in the slums of Tripoli being conducive to crime, vice, delinquency, and, perhaps, political fanaticism. The lack of human capital among migrants can incline them to a life of crime and other vices.

In West Africa individuals survived by means of labour migration given that "factors" of production, i.e. labour, capital, natural resources and land, were also geographically distributed unequally (Amin, 1974: 85). People migrated in quest of arable and grazing land for pasturing purpose with a thought of finding new resources and accumulate capital for their livelihoods and reproduction. This attracted individuals living on the periphery of towns to go seek employment in capitalist plantations in order to earn their living and reproduce themselves. Amin concludes pointing out that the origin of labour migration in Western Africa was intimately linked to the establishment of the *Economie de traité*[1] by the colonial administration owing to the need to fast production within the capitalist farms of cocoa, cotton, groundnuts and palm oil demanded by the

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[1] translated from French as the economy by treaty or mutual agreement by two parties

British colonizer in order to supply raw agricultural material to the industries in Europe (Amin, 1974).

In South Africa, the discovery of diamonds in 1867 followed by that of gold in 1886 explain labour migration booms into South Africa as well as from the countries within the Southern Africa region Africa (Bundy, 1972: 376, 381). Bundy argues that labour migrants were surviving by working on the mines as well as the capitalist plantations established by the colonisers in South Africa. In conclusion, he pointed out that the result was the creation and development of industries, the expansion of the market for petty farmers with a livelihood straddling between mining and agriculture among peasants depending on the season. As industries mushroomed around mining and agricultural activities, migrants were presented an opportunity of diversifying their work accordingly. Many engaged themselves in entrepreneurship in the transport industries or in the sale of agricultural produce, which was in demand for the sustenance of migrants working on the mines. This in turn had a devastating effect on rural areas where individuals left the countryside to go work on the mines to eke their livelihood and make a way for tax payment or other expenses.

Another driving force of labour migration was the colonizers' policy of land alienation which led to the expropriation of Africans' land in the entire sub-region (Bernstein, 1996). African people were turned into a class of wage labourers that was on the move in search of a job for a livelihood. In South Africa, the Native Lands Act of 1913 and 1926 which followed the 1896 Glen Act, was the beginning of land partition that resulted in the concentration of African people in the homesteads where overpopulation and overexploitation of land caused land exhaustion which resulted into a widespread poverty of the African people (Whitman 2000: 15). This status quo had devastating consequence for millions of Africans who became destitute and forced to eke out a living in the dormitory towns[2] on the periphery of towns and cities.

The movement of people to and from different zones of the globe is a result of push and pulls that determine the emigration of different people from a given location to different one. The push is the undesirable conditions at home that entice people to migrate to a place of choice; the pull is

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[2] what is known today as township

the existence of a strong economy that may be able to absorb a large based pool of migrants in the receiving community.

Theoretical Framework

This research is structured around two theories. The first one, Network theory, will explains the notion of social network, the relations embedded within networks, the importance of network as well as its disadvantages or weaknesses. The second theory will deal with the livelihood approach, it will elaborate its origin, the assets in Livelihood, will touch up the factor that hinders peoples' livelihoods.

Networks Theory

Migrant networks (Massey, 1988: 396; Massey *et al.,*1993: 449-450) are webs of interpersonal links that connect migrants, former migrants, sending and receiving countries through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin. They argue that the expansion of networks reduces the costs and risks of movement and causes the probability of migration to rise, which in turn causes additional movement and thus expands the networks. Therefore, over time, migratory behavior spreads outward to encompass broader segments of the sending society. In the Congolese case, a couple of businessmen from the late President Mobutu's surrounding who came to explore investment opportunities in South Africa in the 1980s are the ones who opened the way to migrants when they went back and spread the good news about the good life they experienced (Massey *et al*., 1993). Then number of migrants came down to South Africa and thus a gradually growing network developed from then. Eventually with the economic crisis that hit about the same epoch with the beginning of wars in the 1990s, migrants who came to South Africa found it less difficult to settle than those who came after the return of businessmen in the 1980s.

Massey and colleagues (Massey *et al*., 1987; 1988, 1989) elaborate the notion of "cumulative causation". From it migrants establish networks, which then sustain the very migrations that produced them. Therefore, irrespective of political or economic conditions that may have caused migration in the first place, the initial pushes and pulls or whether owing to an individual or to a group of people; the growing migratory process becomes step by step independent of the original causes and in the process migrations self establish above the conditions that caused them initially

by becoming independent of their very existence. Massey attributes the cumulative causality to the formation of networks where the costs and risks drop considerably (Massey, 1987).

Ties within social networks

Ties that bind together individuals can explain the development of the social (and economic) networks. Inside social networks ties of similarities in which location in time and space are of importance; membership to the same types of clubs and events attendance; attributes like gender similarity; social relation of kinship, professional relations such as employer-employee, affective feelings of liking the other person; cognitive aspects; interactions among people by means of talking to one another or spending intimate time together with the flows of information, belief, faith or personal resources are things that weave and maintain ties which keep people together inside social networks (Borgatti *et al*., 2009: 8).

Jasso and Rosenzweig (1990) discuss the "immigrant multiplier effect" recently developed in the USA. The USA law grants most immigrant visas on the basis of a family tie to someone already in the country; this is referred to as family reunification. Legal resident aliens within the United States gain the right to petition for the entry of spouses and children, subject to certain numerical restrictions; and immigrants who are naturalized American and thus gain US citizenship automatically get the right to petition for the entry of their spouses, unmarried children, and parents without numerical restriction, and for the entry of their married children and siblings (and their spouses and children) subject to numerical restriction. Therefore, by allocating visas along family lines, USA law thus reinforces and formalizes the operation of migrant networks; each new immigrant creates a large pool of potential immigrants. This in many ways is just a formalization of the networks through which immigrants already travel similar to the networks I found in South Africa.

The strong and weak points of Networks

Network Strong points

One of the advantages of social networks is in declining costs and risks:

> The first lot of migrants is normally confronted with a complexity of problems
> and realities that involve the lack of connection with other migrants. Often they
> lack adequate documents. On their own, they have to bear the cost from scratch,

which is burdensome situation. As time goes, they make contacts with the local people and involve themselves into small jobs. From a humble beginning they grow slowly and establish a local connection that will help them to find accommodation, open small businesses and grow their presence in the area. The news of their relative success in establishing themselves and adapting to new environments will entice another group of migrants from their original location. Once the following group has succeeded to reach them, the cost involved in paying for food, accommodation and other expenses is lowered because big part of their needs is seen to by their countrymen who settled earlier on. Their relatives and friends who reached the destination earlier will help them find jobs, show them around and facilitate them the integration. Thus new migration follow suit with less cost and risks (Massey et.al., 1993).

Networks structure individuals and household migration decisions. They play a powerful role in promoting the flow of immigrants in aggregate by depleting information and minimizing the cost once first migrants reach the destination. They are a reliable source of connections, access to jobs opportunities and development for both migrants in receiving country and prospective migrants while in sending country or else to those in transit countries before they reach their destination (Massey et al., 1987; 1988, 1989).

Networks Weak points

Conversely, networks rely on facilitation and efficiency. The rationale of network is that it makes it easier for immigrants to find housing, jobs, protection, and companionship. The more this is feasible, the more networks will grow and become efficient. An efficient network discovers and exposes opportunities in terms of job and apartment that exist in local area or region where operating, introducing new immigrants, newcomers into them but without increasing the supply of jobs as a pre-requisite of immigrants' survival.

Economic saturation poses the obvious limit to existing network theory; job opportunities exercise a "restraint on the volume of migration." Economic saturation arises when localities and regions have no work or housing vacancies to offer immigrants. In this condition, a newcomer can only obtain a job or housing when an incumbent vacates it. Even hyper-efficient networks cannot find jobs or housing where none exist (Jasso and Rosenzweig, 1990). Saturation is not

inevitable but, particularly when migratory influx is rapid, and outstrips economic growth, localities may run out of jobs and housing as a consequence. If previous migrants have saturated the job and housing supply, then hyper-efficient networks alone will not find jobs or housing for newcomers. At the point of economic saturation, the network cannot provide the services that provide its raison d'etre. Flow-backs and unemployment increase, and renewed migration have to wait upon the release or creation of new migrant-supporting niches in the migrant-receiving destination.

The Livelihood Approach

The livelihood approach originates in a literature on food security and famines (Elis, 2003: 4) from where it draws particular strengths for understanding vulnerability as the concept sets out to be people-centered and holistic, and to provide an integrated view of how people make a living within evolving social, institutional, political, economic and environmental contexts. Therefore, the term livelihoods encompasses not only what people do with regard to making a living, but also the resources that put at their disposal the capabilities of making a satisfactory living, the risk factors taken into account while managing the resources together with factors that work as a stumbling block in the process of pursuing a meaningful livelihood. Congolese migrants left their country due to violence that escalated into war and destroyed several of their livelihoods and were therefore forced to live their respective communities as they went into exile.

Livelihood is:

> A product of the interaction of capabilities, asset and activities required for a mean of living. A livelihoods is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stress and shocks meanwhile maintaining or enhancing its capabilities and assets and provide sustainable livelihoods opportunities for the next generation, contribute net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels in the short and long term (Krantz, 2001: 6).

Capitals in livelihoods

In the livelihood approach, resources are referred to as assets or capital. Five types of assets can be accessed by migrants. These are: "financial capital", "natural capital", "produced capital",

"human capital" and "social capital" (Krantz, 2001; Godwin, 2003). The different types of capital constitute the survival building blocks for migrants to enhance their economic well-being. These assets are a pre-requisite for migrants to access in order to be able to make a living in their new places. Livelihoods determine the location where people live, the types of work they engage in, and ways and means they use to sustain themselves. Thus immigrants can develop adequately if they are imparted with enough capital in order to enhance their livelihoods and thus reproduce and develop; therefore, immigrants need not only a mere livelihood, but a sustainable livelihood.

Financial capital

Money is considered as capital given that it can be invested in some productive business activity for the one in its possession. Financial capital facilitates economic production, though it is not itself productive, referring rather to a system of ownership or control of physical capital; financial capital involves units like money, savings and access to loans. For migrants to mend their ways in times of tough economic crisis, financial capital is one of the surviving blocks that may enable them to engage into small business and gradually grow into a real entrepreneurship. Access to credit is fundamental regard as the sole means of helping migrants to grow economically and self-emancipate and possibly contribute to the make up their host economy. The lack of financial capital (Harrison, 1967) can lead to a life of idleness that may end up leading migrants into unlawful activities and even crime as they struggle to meet basic needs.

Natural Capital

Is made up of the resources of the natural world such soil, land, water, air, forest, fisheries and the ecosystem as a whole. Thus, the environments as well as services pertaining to it constitute resources from which useful livelihoods derive (Krantz, 2001). The natural capital is of key value in livelihoods as it constitutes the base from which other capitals are made and people can tap in as they vary their respective livelihoods.

Produced or physical capital

Consists of physical assets emanating from human productive activities capable of providing a flow of goods or services. These are things made by men and like roads, power lines, railways, buildings…it is the result of the action of man applied on natural resources (Godwin, 2003: 4). The availability of physical capital is the key to market access and establishment of communication among human and it can enhance the both economic development and growth.

Ellis (1998) refers to produced capital as infrastructures; he argues that elaborated infrastructures facilitate exchanges among individuals and groups and promote growth and development.

Human capital

Refers to the stock of capabilities such as skills, education and health which once combined allow a person to engage in the quest for multiple livelihoods. Human capital is therefore the aggregate of knowledge and training that allow the person to engage in professional and manual work as they expect a return on their investment (Elis, 2003). Human capital is very useful as individuals engage in making adequate livelihood. Livelihood kinks to migration by circulating knowledge, skills, labour and experience where human capital is a key factor in helping people acquires natural and produced capital.

Social capital

Is the accumulation of trust, shared values and experiences, mutually and shared knowledge. A mutual engagement created by, means of participation in voluntary mutual association (Fukuyama, 1995; Putnam 1995a, cited in Amisi, 2005) social capital thus is made up with a stock of trust, mutual understanding, shared values and socially held knowledge and it refers to networks and associations. Migrants rely on the social capital for information that circulate through network to access jobs, find accommodation, join a given type of mutuality, etc. Social capital can be seen as a pipe where commodities, services and resources converge.

The five types of capitals are endangered by factors that stand as obstacle in the in the pursuit of livelihood.

Impediment to livelihoods

Vulnerability

Vulnerability is the incapacity to face stress and unexpected circumstances to which people are exposed (Swift, 1989). Its visible side is expressed in terms of risks, shocks and stress to which a person is subjected whereas its internal aspect is expressed in terms of defenselessness or the absence of means to cope with those damaging losses; this reality will also expose individuals to feeling of hopelessness and helplessness. Thus vulnerability is intimately linked to assets and ownership that are key factors in providing resistance that individuals, household and communities can put together in order to manage hardship and contingencies. Thus, the bigger

the assets the better the coping mechanism when facing insecurity (Moser, 1998). Congolese migrants can be able to manage shock and trends emanating from their socio-economic environment once they are endowed with meaningful assets.

Start and Johnson link vulnerability to factors such as shocks, trends and cycles:

> A **shock** is a relatively short acting stress, such as drought, epidemic, or fall in output prices. However, the effects may be long-lived, ... If shocks are more gradual, then they become a **trend**, such as urbanisation, structural transformation, population growth, resource degradation, the distribution of new technologies or the development of new markets and demand. Trends may be less devastating in the short-term as they provide livelihood systems with time to assess prepare and adapt, but the impacts are likely to be just as permanent. **Cycles**, particularly those associated with seasonality, are more predictable, though they are often modulated by trends and shocks particularly, e.g. bad or good rains (Start, 2004:28).

In towns, Devereux (1999) attributes vulnerability to factors such unemployment and the rising price of food that can be seen as a sensible reduction in the power of purchase. In many countries in the Third World countries, particularly in Africa, macro-economic measures adopted by many states known as "Structural Adjustment Programmes" (SAPs) had a rather devastating effects on town dwellers. The imposition of "Trade liberalization' with the lifting or removal of most barriers and tariffs; the "currency devaluation', the "imposition of austerity measures", "privatization" with the notorious slogan of "The rolling back of the state" have administered a severe blow to urban residents with the loss of jobs, the closing of businesses and the hike in price of commodities such as water, electricity together with services. This has resulted in an exacerbation of violence among urban dwellers (Plaza & Stromquist, 2006:96; Reed & Sheng, 1998: 13-14; Logan and Mengisteab, 1993: 5-6; Jeffries, 1993: 24).

Violence

Violence is defined as doing harm or hurting the next party for self-interest (Kent, 1993). In all its diverse form, i.e. physical or direct violence where individual harm one another, for instance

in the case of domestic violence or war; whether social groups are marginalized and deprived from economic opportunities or forgotten in underdevelopment; whether on basis of cultural beliefs people become excluded and segregated (Glatung, 1969), their livelihood is seriously jeopardized and they are thus exposed to shocks and trends and then become vulnerable. Under these conditions, it is very difficult to make a living. The result is the incapacity to engage in meaningful production and reproduction, thus the destruction of chances to access market and credit which may lead to starvation, illiteracy, banditry and other vices.

Conclusion

Underdevelopment and debasing policies engender violence, destructs the socio-economic fabric of a human societies and end up in pushing people to flee the destruction or stress emanating from violence. They result in pushing populations to search for quiet and peaceful new places where to continue economic activities. On the other hand, people migrate in quest of bettering their income based on the acquired capital since they are pulled by a prospect of earning more from their skills in foreign countries. Under conditions of globalisation that brings the world in the size of a village, the introduction of new concepts such colonisation lead to devastation of the African societies where people were stripped off their land, transplanted to unproductive portions of land, they were forced to engage into wage labour and became a society that was inclined to live a life of migration in quest of labour.

In several regions of the world, migrants have survived using different ways and means. Among others, their survival entailed taking up employment in exchange for a salary. Thus, migrants engaged in white or blue collar jobs to sustain their families left behind by remitting from their earnings. Another category of migrants chose to engage in small entrepreneurship, preferably in family business to minimize the cost of labour and maximize their saving potential. Depending on seasons, migrants would change occupations going from employment to operating small business to make a living. Their livelihoods were intricate; migrants will do anything in the formal sector and when there is nothing left for them, they would turn to the informal sector to meet the cost demanded by their daily lives in foreign land.

Links that connect migrants with former migrants, friends, relatives, employers and employers are shed abroad by ever growing movements of individuals at local, national, regional and international levels. These ties facilitate members in various ways such as traveling information,

accommodation, work, and services and in that way facilitate integration of people in new places in the receiving countries. However, saturation creates stagnation since networks are depending on existing relations and cannot create new jobs or avail new accommodation for its members.

By changing locations, migrants are tested by new challenges relating to how to survive in new places, new environments. Several activities present to them a way of making a living. Thus they engage in diverse sort of occupations that require them to have assets or capital in order to develop and reproduce themselves. Natural capital, social capital, financial capital, produced of physical capital and human capital constitute the necessary tools that migrants need to tap in and utilize in order to meaningfully survive amidst shocks, stress, trends, and seasonality.

Thus, when individuals face these realities, they choose to leave their natural location and move to new ones as a way of making living by contracting labour. This allow them to survive and accumulate in order to reproduce and sustain the loved ones left behind by sending part of their earnings to help in the fight for survival.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology and Methods

Introduction

This study is empirical and uses a qualitative approach. The research methodology employed in this study aims at tapping into the experiences of Congolese migrants who live in Durban Central, precisely in South Beach and Saint-Georges area. It investigates their quotidian lives by shedding light on the socio-economic challenges they face on a daily basis. They are largely excluded from most of the formal economic sphere with a little support from the South African government, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO) and relief organisations such as the International Orginisation of Migrations (IOM). But by-and-large Congolese migrants are left to fight a harsh battle for economic survival in the orbit of control of the government and institutions that step back and leave them to mend their way in order sustain their lives and that of their loved ones. It is within this context that qualitative methods were chosen to elucidate rich responses rather than a broader but shallower quantitative approach.

This chapter outlines the research design and various techniques used to realize the aim of the research. Five major sections make this chapter. Section one is the introduction, section two deals with the methodology, section three presents the data collection; in section four the method of analysis are presented and finally a conclusion constitutes the last section of this chapter.

This research uses qualitative research methodology given its relevance in involving individual interviews. This study is interested to find more about the economic survival techniques of the Congolese immigrants living in Durban. As such it builds on anthropological methods of participant observation as well as historical research by drawing on life histories and situating this community within its recent past. The study uses in-depth interviews. Number of themes that were to constitute an interview schedule were used during in-depth interview to obtain detailed descriptions of individual experiences. Two reasons justify this approach; first to avoid wakening fear and suspicion from the interviewees who could automatically avoid participating in a form of interview based on a questionnaire leading to a question-answer like. Secondly, this type of approach was chosen due to the informal nature of networks under study as well as the nature of

informal work and livelihoods that characterize the lives of migrants within the Congolese circle in their living areas. Interviews lasted about sixty minutes.

The interviews were conducted among Congolese communities living in the South Beach and Saint-Georges area. These two areas have been chosen for purpose of minimizing costs and relative accessibility. They are easy to access via transport and have sizeable communities of Congolese migrants. Terreblanche (Blanche et al. 2008: 133-136) stated that, effective sampling ensures that the elements selected for a sample accurately resemble the parameters of the population they were selected from thus the sample will be draw from the population living in these areas. During the interviews, conversation took place in layman English to ease and help transcend the linguistic barrier as most Congolese speak French plus their mother tongues. For those who were not conversant in English the interview was conducted in Kiswahili or Lingala[3], these being among the most spoken languages within the community of Congolese migrants in Durban. French was also used as a medium during interviews where appropriate.

Methodological approach

This research is empirical and draws on qualitative research methods. Qualitative research methodologies can be used in several social science disciplines and in many different types of research as well (Konaté & Sidibé, 2006: 7). This qualitative method drawn on here gives an idea of people's behaviours and perceptions and allows researchers to study their opinions on a particular topic in more depth than is possible with a quantitative survey (Konaté & Sidibé, 2006: 7). Qualitative research methodology is also useful to the study because it involves individual interviews where the researcher gathers the necessary information by means of probing during the conversations that takes place with the interviewees. Informal conversations on the subject form the basis of much of the data collection as opposed to formal sets of questions. I set an interview guide to stay with key themes regarding the economic survival of the Congolese migrants in Durban. The informal nature of the livelihoods and networks that sustain themselves lends to more informal methods. Being from the DRC myself I was able to relate to the people being interviewed, which helped facilitate interviews. I was also able to converse in whatever language they are most comfortable speaking in order to assist with the research, whether

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[3] Kiswahili and Lingala are among four national languages of the DRC together with Chiluba and Kikongo, French being a language used in administration and education as well.

English, French, Swahili or Lingala. This study is interested to find more about the "how", the "why" and the "what" of the economic survival techniques of the Congolese migrants. This approach is suitable for the present study as it provides insight into Congolese migrants' socio-economic plight in Durban. The nature of the topic posited that the interviews formed the basis of a case study used during this research.

Case study is the art of the unique, it seeks to understand what is singular of a case that is understood as 'specific, a complex functioning thing', be it an individual, an institution, 'a programme, a policy, a system or a process' (Petty *et al*., 2012). A descriptive and explanatory case study helped to examine thoroughly the data both 'at surface and deep level' in such as to explain phenomena in the data (Zainal, 2007). This case study potentially speaks to larger issues of refugees and other migrants and builds on network theory.

Sampling method

Interviews were conducted in the Congolese community living in South Beach and Saint-Georges areas where the sample also was drawn. These communities were selected as they were considered to be centers of Congolese immigrant communities in Durban and represent the various peoples from the DRC. Therefore elements were considered from each of the two locations to make up the sample size. The in-depth interviews facilitated obtaining meaningful data following from anthropological methods of participant observation and also contributed to ethnography of Congolese migrants. Other interviews were conducted according to the networks uncovered until the number required for the sample was completed.

I used **Purposive Sampling** during the start of this study. Thus, people who were interviewed were Congolese migrants living in South Beach and Saint-Georges areas, and who have worked and know their environment and have had encounters with the police and the Department of Home Affairs. I posit that these experiences are common and central to how Congolese communities organize and think about social and economic spaces. I also used snowball sampling here as I drew on networks of people already interviewed to find further interviewees (Blanche *et al.* 2008: 139). This method of sampling is also useful as it outlines social and economic networks already in operation, thus enabling me to test the theories chosen. Being from the DRC myself I was able to relate to the people being interviewed, which helped facilitate

interviews. I was also able to converse in whatever language they are most comfortable speaking in to assist with the research.

Purposive Sampling This technique (Blanche, Durrheim et al. 2008: 139) depends on availability and willingness to participate in the study, cases that are typical of a certain category of the population are selected. The advantage of this method is that the researcher chooses a particular segment of the population with specific traits to produce knowledge (Bless *et al*., 2006). Thus, people interviewed were Congolese migrants living in South Beach and Saint-Georges area in Durban, and who are working, know their environment very well and have had encounters with the police and the Department of Home Affairs; these subjects were relevant to this particular study (Sarantakos, 1993).

Convenience sampling allows the research to select elements of a sample in a convenient and deliberately in accord with the qualities of the informant. This study used Judgmental or Purposive sampling. The advantage of this method is that researcher sets the parameters of what needs to be known and undertake to find people that are willing to provide information on the basis of knowledge and experience (Bernard 2002, Lewis & Sheppard 2006 cited in Tongco, 2007). Snowball technique helped as an identified respondent led to another respondent; the later led to a new one by referral and the wheel continued turning thus leading to other respondents. Snowball technique presents to the researcher the advantage of accessing vulnerable and other closed social groups (Atkinson and Flint, 2001). Conversely, the snowball technique is time consuming and labour intensive thus a smaller sample size overall. The small size of the sample is overcome through the depth and scope of the interviews.

Then **Snowball sampling** was used to draw on networks of people already interviewed to find further interviewees. The efficacy of Snowball sampling is in reaching out networks with few respondents in number or in the event where a certain degree of trust is needed to initiate contact. It acts as a technique of 'chain referral' in allowing the researcher to cloth the characteristics of the inside member of the circle and helps to access settings that conventional approach has failed to break through (Atkinson and Flint, 2001). In this study, this method of sampling is also useful as it outlines social and economic networks already in operation, thus enabling to test the theories chosen. The snowball sampling technique in social sciences allows the researcher to gain access to a chain of respondent once a respondent is interviewed, he gives the name of

another subject, who will also give the name of the following subject and the move continues (Vogt, 1999, cited by Atkinson and flint, 2001). I was thus able to speak to security officers, barbers operating small haircut salon, delivery motor bike riders for fast food, shoe makers, vender in the flea market and small business owners.

Sampling area

Two areas have been targeted in the city of Durban as per respondents. The first area is South Beach and its vicinities encompassing Masobiya Mdluli Street, Pickering and Mazzeppa Street as well as Langalibele Dube Street, broadly referred to as the Point area. The second area covers Saint Georges Street, Park Street, Mc Arthur Street and Saint-Andrews Street. These two areas have been selected for reason of convenience and accessibility as they allowed me to minimise the cost. Most importantly they are communities that represent the broader community of Congolese migrants. These communities have a large presence of migrants that live in these areas.

These two areas largely present cost-effective cheap, unmaintained apartments for rent. The absence of tough conditions of access that require that the number of occupants be sensibly reduced per flat; the lack of obligation of proof of income required before people can move in, makes it a magnet to migrants (Amisi, 2005). Of importance as well, the gregarious instinct (McDougal, 2003) is rather a determining factor of the overcrowding of Congolese migrants in Saint-Georges and Point area. Migrants from the Congo tend to flock in locations where many other Congolese nationals live for cultural, social and religious reasons and the feeling of having individual from more or less same background explain the concentration of Congolese in South beach and Saint-Georges area. Thus these two locations were chosen to conduct this research.

Field work

The field work took place during the month of May 2013. First of all, I approached a number of Congolese migrants about my research and then we appointed a day for an interview. Confidentiality and anonymity were guaranteed at the point of interview with no names collected. I had expected that people may be involved in informal or even illegal activities and could not collect any data that links there identity to anything I am told. The majority of respondent were found on site working and other running their own small businesses within the area. Among them were barbers, security guards, tuck shop operators, mechanic on the street,

some performing delivery for fast food restaurant and other selling various commodities. Respondent refused categorically to be recorded or photographed during the interviews fearing to be exposed to the cameras and there were therefore no image or voice recording during the interviews. To them, carrying a camera was seen as a potential threat to their security and privacy. Others were afraid that they would be exposed to the media and might appear on national television or local newspaper, a state of thing that seemed to create insecurity for them, even though I guaranteed them that interviews were not going to be revealed.

Interviews were done one by one and took place at work or business place from where respondent answered questions. Each interview lasted for plus minus a period of one hour. After the interview, participant observation took place and allowed me to discover other socio-economic realities that pose a challenge to the quotidian of the Congolese migrants and I was able to gather part of the information that respondents left out during one on one interviews.

Method of Data Collection

The appropriate research design for this particular study was to employ the case study approach. It uses a diversification of data gathering techniques such as questionnaire, interviews, documentation review, observation etc. thus the research can have the opportunity of taking into consideration all the Congolese migrants information using semi-structured interviews. Respondents were open and willing to cough out all their distresses emanating from their socio-economic troubles as they wrestle with tough economic conditions of life in the city of Durban.

In-depth interview

An intermittent face to face encounters between the interviewer and the respondents aiming at understanding the respondents' perspectives on their experiences as they express themselves using their own words" (MacDougal and Fudge, 2001: 4). In-depth interviews present advantages such as providing much more detailed information than what is available through other data collection methods, like surveys. In-depth interviews may provide a more relaxed atmosphere in which to collect information. On the other side, in-depth interviews are time consuming and require a well-trained person to get the best of information from respondent (Boyce and Neale, 2006: 3-4).

An interview protocol made of themes was use to guide a one on one interview with respondent. It aimed at obtaining points of view, information, reflections, perceptions and observations from Congolese migrants in the struggle for creating a way for their economic survival. The advantage of this method is that the researcher does not have to a carry a prepared questionnaire but using themes, by means of probing, the interviewer guides the interview in the manner of a natural conversation where the respondent will obtain the full information needed (Petty et al, 2012). During the interviews, migrants that exercise diverse types of activities were interviewed with regards to their economic strategies employed on the quotidian as their struggle to cope with the economic changes that occur in the scope of global, regional as well as local economy that affect their existence season in season out. Migrants were free and open to talk about their socio-economic troubles. Some of them showed a sign of relief after opening up. The interviews last an hour each.

Participant observation

This type of observation calls on the researcher to become a participant in the activities by means of observation as he hides the true purpose of his presence in the community that he joins to investigate, acting as one of the members in sharing activities thus gaining a profound understanding of what is being researched (Bless et al, 2006). As a Congolese and a member of the community being studied, I observed closely the movement of Congolese migrants as they move up and down, in and out in their daily activities. By visiting some on the site where they were working, I could notice the types of activities they were involved in, plus surrounding activities following directly from their main occupations on the daily basis. By directly observing Congolese migrants, I gained more information that allowed me to back up and analyse data. I was able to bridge the gap between what was said in the interviews and what was I noticed during observation. I was able to see, hear and understand properly how Congolese migrants act and interact in their activities (Petty *et al*., 2012). Clifford Geertz once said about his interpretation of culture, "whether or not it explains everything is irrelevant; what it does explain is something…" (Geertz, 1973: 4).

Data Analysis

Data analysis took place a month after the data collection. In this study, thematic analysis was used to analyse data (Petty *et al*., 2012). This method consists in reading the data several times by the researcher to get familiar with the entire text. The following stage was to code sentences, phrases, paragraphs or lines. Then memo writing followed and the researcher compare codes across data as a whole to identify variations, similarities, patterns as well as relationships; then the researcher continues by writing reflections and ideas pertaining to the data and goes deeper in analyzing data. Codes are set into groups in a way to make themes and a relationship is established to create a thematic map from where themes are grouped and then analysed. 'Thematic Analysis' is a method for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns, themes, within data. It minimally organizes and describes the data set in rich detail. After collection, qualitative data analysis was carried out, by categorizing them into themes, then summarized. The relevant themes were isolated and grouped, then analysed (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This methods of analysis is time consuming but effective in the analysis of data. Thematic analysis is flexible and a useful tool in any discipline in social sciences. On the other side, it can generate a lot of data.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented the methodology of the study together with the methods used for data collection. Qualitative methodology was used to gain profound insight into the economic survival strategies of Congolese migrants living in South Beach and Saint-Georges area. Purposive sampling was used to collect data, as the study gained momentum; snowball sampling was used to tap into the migrants social networks by mean of referral from interviewees. People were interviewed in both Saint-Georges and South Beach. These are individuals who are implicated in various fields of economic activities. French, Kiswahili, Lingala as well as English were used to collect data as the majority of the respondents were not fluent in English; interviews last plus minus 1 hour. Interviewees were introduced to the research content and issues of confidentiality were explained and guaranteed. During interviews, there was no recording of voice or video of respondents taken. Congolese migrants were very cold and even repellent to the idea of keeping the sound of their voices or their images on a recording device. This is in line with the troubles emanating from previous research undertaken among the foreign community that ended up with the confiscation of the tools and materials involved in the making of their

livelihoods (Amisi, 2005). Participant observation was used to fill the gap in data between the interviews and participant observation. Thematic analysis was used to analyse data.

Chapter 4: Research Findings

Introduction

This chapter explores the quotidian experience of Congolese migrants in the city of Durban. It highlights the various mechanisms, ways and means employed by these migrants in order to survive within the city, in other words their economic survival strategies. The majority of the migrants have been forced to leave their original location due to pushes of various types, mainly violence, sometimes protracted, scarcity of resources, socio-economic problems and state failure.

In coming to South Africa, they embarked on journeys with the hope of getting better conditions of life based on principles of human rights and security. Once in South Africa, they found realities of life that are diametrically opposed to the ones they hoped for. The support they envisioned to get from local authorities turned not to be a reality, thus they had to build on the existing stock of former migrants, friends, locals as well relatives left behind. Their survival involves a tough battle coupled often difficult, dangerous and dirty jobs, (3Ds), self-employment in the small and medium enterprises where their focus is not limited to their primary occupation but in varying economic activities next to their main ones.

Due to the struggles highlighted to me through my research this thesis also investigates the impact of the South African Police (SAP), the Department of Home Affairs (DHA) as well as the attitudes and behavioural patterns of locals on the lives of Congolese migrants. The institutional barriers, attitudes and behaviour of locals often undermine their livelihoods and destroy their chances of accumulating as they struggle with meager resources at their disposal. Moreover, these pressures limit the scope of their economic space. Their socio-economic reproduction is tightly linked to these phenomena and their economic contribution to their host city is depending on assets at their disposal. The more they can reproduce economically, the more they can contribute meaningfully to their host city. The findings of this research mirror the result of interviews with Congolese migrants.

The majority of respondents were using several overlapping activities in order to survive; they were working for an employer and in the meantime were involved in other activities within the informal sector. Others were running their own small business. Among the respondents, one was involved in cross borders activities where he was mainly selling second hands cars from Japan and Singapore taking them from South Africa to Zambia via Zimbabwe. Others sell items that they buy either within or outside South Africa like second hand clothes, new fashion clothes, cosmetics, food and others are service providers. Another group is involved in buying various items from the auction such as appliances, computers, cameras, furniture and other household goods to sell in the community.

Forced migrants

Forced migrants are individuals, ordinary people who move by means of making decision at individual or household as to where, compelled by situations and circumstances (Landau, 2004: 15; Turton, 2003: 12). Different motives and reason justify the presence of migrants who were forced to leave their original location to the ones that are judged better. Among the cause of forced migration can be the push emanating from overpopulation, persecution, disruption of public order, violence, lack of freedom, state failure, whereas the pull is to do with employment offer, economic development, promise of safety, or human rights protection.

In this study, nine of the interviewees admitted that they came to South Africa due to an ongoing political crisis and intermittent wars that exacerbated violence in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). A young man who was just coming out of high school when the war erupted relates his story:

> "I left my country due to political instability and war. I grew up in an environment that was peaceful. I never thought of leaving my country. We had everything and that kept us scotched to our land until a coalition of armies led by the late President Kabila invaded the country with the mission of changing the political stature of the country. It was my first time to experience machine guns spitting fire and bombs falling all over the show in my little town in the East of the Democratic Republic of Congo. I was so terrified being a very young boy freshly coming out of the high school. The fear was so tenacious that I felt nothing was worth living. There was no other option if not to leave everything behind and run in search of a safe place."

To this graduate migrant, the war was the trigger of a forced exodus of Congolese:

> "I left the DRC due to insecurity and political instability. When the war started in 1997 we did not leave because we thought that things were going to change for the better. But the people who claimed to have fought to chase the despot Mobutu and restore freedom, democracy and development were the ones who started abusing the populations in the country. We were imposed a certain code of dressing that suited them, we were oppressed and the resources of the Country looted. We were asked to not gather and discuss issues of our lives, a curfew was imposed to people from 7pm till 5am and we started noticing people disappearing. Things that we were free to do before became a sort of a taboo. Then, there were militias that terrified people and armed robbery, rape and terror took root in the eastern part of the DRC. The country lost the sense of freedom due to the things I've just mentioned. This forced many young people to leave the country and in that climate I decided as well to leave and came to South Africa."

Not only there was war, insecurity and the rule of fear imposed by militias, there was also setting of scores and vendettas that led to mass killings:

> "I am coming from a family of former rulers during the time of President Mobutu. My big brother was a minister during that time. Early in the morning I heard knockings on the gate and I went to open. To my surprise there were armed people dressed in camouflage uniform with gumboots. They asked me to get ready and follow them because they needed a driver. I followed them knowing well that if I refuse they were going to shoot me. So I started the car and we drove south. After a small town further south of Bukavu they ordered me to turn off the asphalted road and proceed with a graveled road. After a long distance they told me to stop. Then they continued without me in the bush where they went to check on a place to dig a communal grave. Few minutes later I opened the door of the car and ran because I did not know what was next. Then I thought because I was not the first one they used, abused and destroyed simply because the relatives worked with President Mobutu, they will come to look for me again. That was the beginning of my escape and that is how I was forced to go in exile."

Research undertaken by Steinberg (2005) on Congolese migrants demonstrate that the presence of Zaïrean migrants in South Africa from the early 1990s is explained by sharp economic fluctuations that depicted uncertainty sided by political instability and violence on the horizon. To this dark picture, a mutiny in the armed forces in the province of Katanga in 1993 led to a massive exodus of almost a million of individuals among whom a big number came to settle in South Africa. Subsequent political turmoil, war and insecurity of the late 1990s exacerbated the tough socio-economic conditions from decades of maladministration of the Mobutu's regime and more Congolese migrants went into foreign countries. People's hearts were set on the quest for a world in which hopes of betterment were plausible, like South Africa.

Hope for good life, Human right, Security and Prosperity

Congolese migrants came to South Africa with the hope of getting a secured and prosperous life amid a thriving democracy. The reputation of South Africa on the African continent is very good and those who are informed either by migrants' social networks or those who studied the economic history of South Africa in schools knew that life there was good and that the people living in South Africa were living in a world with plenty of material abundance. Thus, they came with hope of finding good jobs, plans of studying and working. The commercial adverts that came so often on the TV in the DRC about the good performance of companies in South Africa created the illusion about what everyone in South Africa is living a high life. There was also the belief that the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) will cater for migrants, just like it was the case in their home country or in the neighbouring countries in Rwanda and Burundi. South Africa became a magnet for many migrants seen that there was an organization in place that was going to help migrants settle (Landeau, 2004: 17).

Eight of the respondent in this study justified their presence in South Africa owing to expectations of a better life but contrary to their expectative much happened the opposite way:

> "In the DRC I was a student in high school. I got everything from my parents and my life was really pretty good. When I came to South Africa, I expected to live a far better life compared to the one my parents offered me back in the DRC. To my great surprise, I came to see how life is tough here. The types of jobs we do are menial and the payment is so insignificant. On top of that, as migrants in South Africa, we are exposed to shocks, pressures, insecurity and attacks from the locals. Living in this county entails taking a big risk."

> "Life is good in South Africa but not as I was imagining. When I was living in the DRC I had a better life compared to the one I am living right now in South Africa. Plus in South Africa we are limited in everything compared to South Africans. As a foreigner working in South Africa they are using me. I overwork but remain underpaid."

A young migrant revealed that contrary to what he thought of South Africa before he could see it, life in South Africa is of full unpleasant feelings following directly from the hardship:

> "As for me, life in the DRC was far better. I lived in my family house; my parents provided everything for me plus the member of the family as a large unit. I never had these expenses that stress me up every day. It is the rent to pay, the food to buy, the transport to pay, the studies. I always thought that life in South Africa would be far better compared to the one my family was giving me back home."

In the USA, studies conducted on migrants of Mexican and Cuban descent revealed similar patterns of findings; in Cuba, the strained political conditions under the regime of former president Fidel Castro led to a mass exodus of citizens. On the other hand, the proximity of the Mexican border, especially the closeness to the state of California, led to an ever-moving group of people from Mexico to the USA. Both Cuban and Mexican migrants migrated to the USA in search of better life (Pedraza, 1985).

Research undertaken by Morris and Bouillon (2001) on the African francophone migration in South Africa has established that the presence of African Francophone migrants in South Africa was underpinned by the quest for a better life, security and stability in a democratic South Africa with hope of engaging into business, pursuing education and continuing the journey to the North once conditions are conducive. People migrate from a country to another because they think they will be better off (Stalker, 2001)

The pursuit of an African paradise virtually constructed by migrants from the time they were still in the DRC consisted of a State endowed with better condition of life, an abundance of 'good jobs', a solid human security and prosperity for all. With illusions strongly present on their minds, they embarked on dangerous journeys towards South Africa with the hope of experiencing the real side of their dream.

Congolese migrants' sporadic journeys

In general, Congolese migrants traveled from their country by road or railway before arriving in South Africa owing to their economic situation; rare are the cases where migrants use an airplane, especially those coming from the extreme east of the DRC. The common means used were either to book a bus or a train but it also involved getting lifts or traveling by big trucks with transit goods going from border to border. According to Congolese migrants themselves, the trajectory borrowed was known to be notorious with conmen who employed themselves as underground travel agents or travel guides (Amisi 2005). In every country they crossed, there were corrupted officials in the police, the immigration and even among the army forces guarding the borders and this state of things became profitable to migrants as they jumped borders from one country to another.

In this study, eight of the respondents described their trip to South Africa as sporadic as this young migrant's detailed his journey:

> "When I left the DRC, I did not know well the surprises that were awaiting me all along the journey. I left my country using a bus from Lubumbashi. We travelled up to the border where I could see a post of immigration each side of the two countries. I did not have a travel document that allowed me to get a visa stamp. So I had to wait for the night to fall so that I could cross over to the Zambian side. Once in Zambia I boarded a bus to Lusaka and from there I got into Zimbabwe. I took a bus at night to be at Beitbridge boarder where in the early hours of the morning I jumped the border with the help of some Zimbabweans guys who robbed me of my money the moment I set my foot on the South African soil."

A mother explained how she came to be in South Africa:

> "I left Lubumbashi and after a long journey directed by a person who was acquainted with the in and out of the Southern African borders. It was six of us. We crossed the border on the DRC's side and got to Zambia. There we took a bus to Lusaka and from there we travelled to Zimbabwe before getting into Mozambique. We jumped the South Africa border and we got in Komatiport. Every time we reached a checkpoint at a given border, the leader would ask us to wait outside the immigration as he entered inside with our passports to arrange for a stamp for entry. After talking to the officials inside he would come to collect us and we would proceed. After that we never got back our documents"

A father of a family recounts the conditions in which he came to South Africa:

> "I left the DRC in a state of desolation due to war. There was such violence that we were circled by armed people and by the grace of God I managed to escape. I crossed over to Tanzania where a truck driver helped me and took me from Tanzania right into South Africa by hiding me in his truck. I never realized when we were crossing a border until when we reached Manguzi; we crossed over to South Africa and I proceeded to Durban."

If for some migrants the journey last few days, for others it took more than a year from the east of the RDC to South Africa. A middle aged migrant relate his long and sporadic journey:

> "Uvira, a small town in the east of DRC, was on fire. It then got bloody from the mass killings. I had just enough chance to cross over to Tanzania using Tanganyika Lake that separates both countries from Uvira. There I was taken care of by the UNHCR; I lived in the refugee camp of Nyarugusu for more than a year. During that time, I planned to save part of my ration every time there was a distribution in the camp. Then I would sell it and keep some cash. Once I saved enough to leave Tanzania, I left and crossed over to Mozambique and there I moved from a refugee camp to another from North to South using the same

strategy. It took me another year of moving between refugee camps until I settled in the one in Maputo. In Maputo, I met many people who were planning to come to South Africa. We encouraged one another about the intention to come to South Africa. Every day we were preparing ourselves to cross over to South Africa. Finally after another two good years spent in the camp, we left Maputo in a group of five people and we joined another mob of Mozambicans who were coming to South Africa. We got into a taxi that took us to the border. The taxi left us near the Mozambican checkpoint in the evening. There, we waited until it was dark and then in a column we took the slopes of the mountains that led to the fences that separated Mozambique from South Africa. There again we waited until the guards left their post in the early hours of the morning before crossing to the South African side. The Mozambicans have organized transport from the farms to different destinations to towns of South Africa. That is how I came to Durban."

Congolese migrants have reached South Africa after a long battle of sporadic trips that presented a lot of risks. They took their risks with both hands and embarked on a long journey in search of an 'African Eldorado'. Some managed to reach South Africa within a week, others could only reach their destination in a couple of months, but for others it was a very long journey with stopover in each country where they had to rely on the generosity of the UNHCR. Many lost their moneys and valuables in following an adventurer tour guide only to realize that he was looking for an opportunity to extort money out of the people he claimed to show the way. The journey involved various means from being hidden in a truck to cross the border by hiring the service of a professional border guide. Others made it themselves inspired by stories of those who made it before them through migrants' social networks. Wherever they may have settled or stopped over for a certain period of time, Congolese migrants needed to communicate with local people, fellow migrants that used the same route or those who knew about the journey, tapped into their networks.

Congolese migrants' social networks

Migrant networks are webs of interpersonal links that connect migrants, former migrants in sending and receiving countries through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin (Massey, 1988 & Massey et al., 1993). The value of migrants' social network resides in connecting individuals in both sending and receiving communities but it also help migrants to minimize the risks, reduce costs and facilitate the access to jobs and accommodation in receiving destination.

According to Morris and Bouillon (2001), the Congolese migrant network came to being through a group of businessmen who entered South Africa for business purposes. After exploring the country's potential, they went back and spread the news. Thus a first group of migrants came to South Africa in the 1890s. These paid in full the cost as first comers in the country, those who followed had their costs reduced in terms of settling and integrating their new communities. This is explained by the network that was already weaved by those migrants who arrived in the first place and paved the ways for the ones following immediately after and the cycle was maintained.

Congolese migrants' network has been the central axis of their livelihoods. It is the focal point where all the news, both good and bad, as well as a platform where job connections are shared. Other types of information are shared within their social network circle. Their migration to South Africa is strongly linked to those who preceded them. The types of jobs they get in Durban are the outcome of a strong network that commands everything from the decision they make to leave their countries to their destination and the life in their new environment. They have saved money on the expenses involved in the traveling and have benefitted a great deal of information from previous migrants (Massey, 1988).

In this study, eight of the respondent asserted that they came to South Africa after their friends settled down, or their relatives where already living in Durban as this migrant put it:

> "I came to South Africa because there were contacts of mine there. My cousin and my brother were living there already".

Six of the respondents said that they have had access to jobs so far by referral:

> "All the jobs I have accessed to so far were a connection of other migrants. You know when a South African happen to look for workers, he come to us and proposed us some jobs. Then the first to know about tells the ones close to him and these split the information among other brothers and sisters. That is how I got work, confided a migrant who is working as a car guard in a shopping complex in Westville."

A young man who survives solely by selling second hand clothes states that it is through migrants' network that he was able to get information and support:

> "I sell only second hand clothes in the flea market. There is nothing else that I do beside that. I was brought into this type of business by another Congolese who also was shown the way by another brother also. My friend is the one who told

me how much the business required for a start, where to get those second hand clothes, where to sell them and finally where to store them."

Research undertaken by Amisi and Ballard (2005) showed that Congolese migrants' network is very helpful in bringing them together to address issues of concern. These are events such as wedding, death, the arrest of a fellow migrant, the hospitalization of one of the migrants or the discussion of a sensitive matter that require more input from several other migrants within the broad circle. Thus it acts as safety net for Congolese migrants to manage shocks inflicted by undesirable social events.

A study conducted in the United States of America (USA) shows that migrant networks act as springboard to access jobs on the labour market by means of referral (Waldinger, 1997). Indeed migrants draw from their social networks connections that open doors leading to the access to more opportunities such as a piece jobs, temporary or even stable jobs in their new environment. Prospects for upcoming jobs and projects are found through networks. The Congolese migrants' social network is set as a central plank of their daily life. Direction of economic opportunities in terms of access to jobs and business; housing and spirituality converge in one place from where it reaches the rest of the Congolese community around Durban.

In South Africa, particularly in Durban, the absence of local government in the economic daily affairs of Congolese migrants could appears to be the primary source of vital orientation towards some Churches and certain non-governmental organisarions where Congolese migrants conglomerate in times of needs. This can be seen during the 2008 xenophobic attacks where Congolese migrants ran to for shelter and protection:

> In Durban, spiritual places such as churches, mosques and temples became the hiding places for hundreds of migrants as xenophobic violence was escalating in 2008. Emmanuel Cathedral in the Warwick Triangle area housed the largest number of refugees, and was most able to provide care and resources due to its ongoing involvement in refugee service provision in the city. Other churches became involved when refugees began arriving at their premises requesting shelter. The churches were supported to a large degree by the Red Cross but also relied heavily on their parishes for donations and resources. A number of churches did not have adequate facilities for cooking, so parishioners were called upon to prepare food at their homes and deliver it to churches (Schwarer and Mwelase, 2008:10).

Migrants' social networks play a key role into their economic survival activities.

Survival strategies

Economic survival strategies refer to an amalgam of activities in which Congolese migrants engage in as they fight for their lives in order to survive. At the bifurcation of the macro economics and the microeconomics stands the household from where migrants are forced to define means and ways of keeping up with the daily economic changes that occurring at global level and impact the local economic level. Economic policies and economic changes threaten migrants' livelihoods both at household and individual level (Portes *et al.,* 1987). To escape from the undesirable economic condition and hardships emanating by policies at global level, households and individuals both engage in informal activities inside the informal sector of the economy as primary means of survival to cope up with pressures and stress. Their strategies consist of diversification of activities.

Diversification of activities within the informal sector of the economy

The informal sector is comprised of all informal enterprises where:

> employment relationship is, in law or in practice, not subject to national labour legislation, income taxation, social protection or entitlement to certain employment benefits, for example advance notice of dismissal, severance pay, paid annual or sick leave… because of non-declaration of the jobs or the employees, casual or short duration jobs, jobs with hours or wages below a specified threshold…place of work outside premises of employer's enterprise (outworkers), jobs for which labour regulations are not applied, not enforced, or not complied with for any other reason (Hussmans, 2004).

The informal economy houses more than half of the employed people globally and it accounts for over 90 percent of economically active people in developing countries that are stricken by poverty (Chabwera *et al*., 2011: 3). The value of the informal economy is that it is flexible in nature and can easily adapt to contemporary economic vagaries such as the global recession, endowed with measures to support those most in need within its perimeter; it provides employment and income opportunities, especially for the poorer and women in particular. The informal economy is therefore playing a key role to achieving millennium development goals that aims at eradicating utter poverty and hunger meanwhile promoting gender equality and putting women at the same pedestal as men in the society.

The dualistic nature of the South African economy splits the socio-economic fabric of the South African society into two sectors (Turoc, 2008: 113; Krugman, 1981). It has created a condition of core and periphery inside the country where the modern sector, or the first economy located within towns, is endowed with all the necessary capitals and resources. Inside the first economy the wealth is concentrated in the hands of a very small group of people, encapsulated inside skyscrapers and prosperous industries with increasing productivity in the workplace. This sector is esoteric and exclusive in nature. Migrants do not have open access to formal job in South Africa even though they live in towns. The condition imposed by the formal economy is such as one must be in possession of a green barcoded South African *Identification Document* (ID). Failure to this, the only option left is to turn to a parallel sector that does not posit as its pre-requisite as the detention of a South African ID or high skills; that is the informal economic sector.

In South Africa the informal economy is referred to as the second economy (Cousins, 2007: 220; Turoc, 2008: 184). In it, people live in conditions of underdevelopment, unemployment and poverty; they struggle to pay for their education, and services such as water supply, electricity and gas. Thus, the second economy houses the masses of job seekers in townships, informal settlements and rural areas in a world of dependence on the state's generosity and relaying on a diversity of informal economic activities adjacent to the first economy. Though living in the Central Business District (CBD), Congolese migrants share the same fate of economic marginalization with South Africans within the second economy and are therefore forced to turn to the informal activities with a diversification of jobs or occupations for their survival and reproduction (Martinhussen, 2004).

In this study, seven of the respondents are operating in the informal economy. This economic sector presents a variety of survival activities inside the small and medium enterprises with activities such as shoe making, hairstyling, manicure, pedicure, selling of various items at the flea market, operating tuck shops, running small restaurants that deal with home foods, crèches, selling of fashion cloths, mechanics operating in small garages that tend to be of family orientation, buying furniture and appliances from the auctions and selling them to the member of the public within the community.

A father told about his wandering journey in between fields of work inside the informal economy:

> "I was a car guard for one year, then I went to work as a barber for another year before joining the security industry for three years, then I stayed without working for a long time. After that I started selling in the flea market and finally I got this job as motorcyclist where I do delivery for a fast food restaurant in the South Beach area."

Congolese migrants cannot afford to limit themselves on a single type of activities. In the times where one type of activity becomes unproductive, they switch automatically to another one that can produce positive results and keep them economically busy.

A technician explains how he varies his jobs to avoid getting stuck to a single type of activity:

> "I am a qualified electrician. But I also do general maintenance that involves plumbing, painting and tiling."

Even a housewife will not limit herself to the works of the house but engaged in another type of productive life after dropping her younger child at the daycare, she turns immediately to the business world:

> "I sell fashion clothing besides being a housewife. I buy them from Johannesburg and give them to people in my community on credit and after the convened time I make a turn to go collect the cash from my clients in order to get new stock."

This young man explained his mode of survival based on overlapping jobs:

> "I do different works depending on the one that happens to be suitable at that particular moment. I do car guarding, I am a barber, I work in shops as a salesman and I also buy and sell goods such as cellphones, laptop computers and then I sell them to other people after using them."

Congolese migrants have really no choice but to find a way to switch between informal economic activities. It is obvious that the profit that can be generated in one area in the informal sector is not good enough to sustain an individual with family responsibilities. This mother of three children who was trained as a hairstylist in a college in Kinshasa explained how one cannot afford to stick to one type of activity:

> "I am a qualified hairstylist but you can spend the entire day without getting a customer. In case you were depending on a single service to provide to customers,

then for that particular day you will go home without food for the kinds. But if you can vary services, like I do manicure, pedicure and eyelashes, I plaite and also relax and treat the hair of my customers, then I am open to serve many people same day, it exposes me to different types of services to different types of customers."

A family-man tells his story of jobs diversification before finding a field of economic activities that involves cross-borders within the region:

"I have been working as a car guard, once I made enough money to buy few items; I got involved in the selling of small items in the flea market on Sundays. I combined both car guarding and vending multivariate items until I made enough money to buy myself a second hand motorcar from japan and Singapore. Then I started travelling from South Africa to Zambia through Zimbabwe. When I leave South Africa, I buys stuffs like second hand TV, cellphones, microwaves, hi-fi, … so that while I wait for a customer I can sell these items to reduce the cost involved in the stay until I come back to south Africa. Unfortunately there is nothing I can bring with me when I come back to South Africa."

Studies undertaken in the Sub-Saharan region (Brycesson and Jamal, 1997; cited in Ellis, 2001: 445) echoes a livelihood strategy based on diversification of activities with one core activity surrounded by other several types of activities that can be seen as secondary. For instance, a mother would hire a tent at the Workshop in Durban and starts plaiting hair but because the customers are not frequent in that type of activity, she may decide to sell extension of artificial hair, cosmetics and in the meantime attend to her customers who may need a service of manicure or pedicure; alternatively she may choose to go sell other types of commodities in the flea market on Sundays.

Even though Congolese migrants delight in running their own small businesses for survival, they diversify activities as they reproduce themselves. The other side of the coin is engagement in such a way of life is a difficult job routine in Durban.

A difficult and hard daily life

Even if the big number of respondents agreed that they are living a better life in South Africa compared to the one they lived in the DRC, eight of the ten interviewees noted that their lives are revolving around a very tough daily routine. This was reiterated by the interviewed respondents, some at their work site and other on the day they were off duty.

A graduate housewife counts her daily routine:

> "Life in Durban is very hard. We all wake up very early to prepare the kids for school and the babies for the crèche. Then children remain behind to later go to school but I leave early to be in place of my work before seven. The baby will then be taken to crèche by their elder brother. The entire day, I am busy attending to customers and at dawn, I go back home very tired to cook supper and help the kids to do their homework. And the rhythm continues for the next day I do not have a day off."

Perhaps the emblematic of hardship in performing duties was pointed out by one of the security officers:

> "Four out of seven days I work like a horse. I have to wake up every single day I am doing day shift before 4 am to prepare the necessary things required for work during the day; then I start travelling at 4:30 am to reach the site before 6 am in order to relieve the night guard. It is tiring and I will only reach home after 7pm. When I am doing night duty, I leave home at 4:30 pm to be at my workplace outside Durban before 6 pm to relieve the dayshift guy."

A father gave his view of what entails to be a migrant in the city of Durban:

> I've never come across such hard life ever since I was borne. It is just tough and it continues to be tougher as days go by. Life in Durban is not easy at all. People must work and work and work to survive, especially here in town. Everything is expensive from rent, light, water, food to transport… and when you lack of something, you might really find yourself alone in most of the cases. It has turned me into a life of a workaholic."

Life in Durban for Congolese migrants entails a lot of sacrifices. If a migrant is without work or is not involved in informal activities, he is even more vulnerable and can face tough times, especially if he is known to have been one of the oldest guys among the migrants (observation). He may lack a place to sleep and face starvation.

The desperation emanating from the scarcity of jobs and the competition to get employment is behind their exploitation and ill-treatment by the owners of means of production. As a result many work overtime for a meager salary. Congolese migrants are thus used, abuse, overworked and underpaid (Amisi, 2005). This state of things is exacerbated by the abundance of workers versus a limited offer of employment (Smith, 1759). The more there are individuals offering to work the less their value in the eyes of those who seek to employ them, especially in the informal sector of the economy. The consequence is that many of them are working for a salary that is unable to sustain them to meet both ends since the employers remain their own referees in fixing

up their salaries. This state of thing holds these migrants to work for the lowest salary, which keep them in dependency and thus a condition of poverty.

For that reason Congolese migrants prefer to rather be working under tough conditions and it is a lifestyle that is very difficult to experience because they are compelled to survive by means of doing dirty, dangerous and difficult jobs.

Dirty, dangerous and difficult jobs or 3Ds

The concept of 3Ds or "Dirty", "Dangerous" and "Difficult" jobs was coined by Stalker (2001). In analyzing the conditions of work under which migrants are operating at global level, it clearly appears that, the fragmentation of labour, within the division of labour, has brought about a dualism on the labour market. On one side a sector with highly skilled and well paid individuals such as researchers, engineers, teacher, technicians… and on the other hand people without skills or semi-skilled workers (Castles & Miller, 2009; Stalker, 2001). No government will give preference to foreigners in a sector that is coveted by its people in the first place. However, the jobs in the unwanted sector that nationals repel are left for survivalists. Unfortunately many migrants fall in such category of survivalists and so do Congolese migrants.

Eight of the respondents in this study confirmed that they do not like the types of jobs their do but are forced to work to avoid facing shame and misery in a country where citizens are seen enjoying life to the fullest. One of the young respondents put the finger on the problems of being forced to work in order to survive:

> "I work outside Durban. I am forced to be up every single day I go to work from 3am. I start the journey to work before dawn and I reach my work place tired. Then I face the day with all its vagaries. If it rains, I have to be rained on. If it is hot like those days when it is above 30 degree Celsius I have to stand in a hot sun and if it is a very cold day I still have to stand in the cold. When it is windy I have to bear with a wind that is travelling at very high speed and carrying sand with it as it hits my face. Should I experience three different types of weather in a day while on site, I do not have to complain but stand on the ramp and watch cars. At the end of the day, I go home tired and broken with a paining body. Now that is my reality sometimes seven days a week."

Another car guard pointed at the danger he faced everyday on the ramp in central Durban while he was still a car guard:

"I do car watch in the Central District Business (CDB) in Durban. There is a syndicate of thugs and hijackers that always threaten to kill me. They tell me to let them take the car of their choice on the parking bay and order me to leave the site so that they can do their dirty job. If I refuse to obey them they swear me and promise to kill me, they call me derogatory names and one by one they threat to cause me big trouble. How can you love such a kind of work, even if you draw from it your daily bread? Such a job is very dangerous. Have you seen where a person that is providing a good service to the public but he is referred to by his customers as a masterless dog or a dirty rat?

To this father and bread earner for his family the job he does is not dirty per se but his customers taught him how dirty his job is:

"I am a shoemaker. It is a type of work that locals despise to the uttermost of their heart. They see me as a true useless type just because I fix shoes alongside the road. But, I survive from repairing shoes and that is how I earn my living. I cannot find a formal job even if I wanted to because of lack of adequate papers. I am forced to do this job that is dirty to the eyes of even some of my customers. I have got no choice, either I quit and become a hobo where at night the lords of the street will stab me to death. I hate what I am doing but it is a necessary evil that I have to perform day by day."

Another respondent who went through an ordeal has expressed the value of the 3D jobs while working for a renowned security company:

"I was called by my manager one day in the office. After he showed me the chair I sat down and waited to know the reason of my visit to his office. He said to me that he was making me a supervisor and wanted me to patrol the site going from Spar on Point Road right through Smith Street up to the market area. He said to me that he was going to give me a bicycle to help me do the job at night from 10 pm to 5 am. He said to me that I was to check every spot where guard were posted during night shift to make sure they were not sleeping and see that I report to him on the radio. The path he described to me is infested with hobos and criminal who are also carrying fire arms to commit different types of crime at night. Without a vehicle and another guard plus a fire arm for both of us it was impossible to patrol the sites where each guard was posted, especially during late night hours. He told me that I was to take the post or leave the job. Because my life was at stake, I chose to resign. I took the case to the Small Court for Mediation and Arbitration (CCMA) but because the company had more money they found a way to get away with the case."

Another respondent spoke without reservation:

"I do not like the work I am doing here. I work as a security right now. I am doing this job now simply because I need to pay for rent and put food on the table.

When I look back from where I come, with a university degree I cry tears everyday inside my heart but that the way I guess life is about in South Africa."

In the USA, Mexican migrants, in the state of California, were in demand by American farmers for harvesting crops. According to Pedraza (1985), the nature of harvesting works entailed working under a blazing sun, a dirty and hard job that local Californians despised and would never perform. Given their state of illegality on the American soil, Mexican migrants had no choice but to accept the types of work that could allow them to avoid being caught in the streets in California by the local police. This particular type of job, well rated as 3Ds, was for Mexican migrants a way of getting themselves integrated in the American society and pursue the American dream.

Congolese migrants, just like their counterparts around the world are facing the same fate. The lack of enough human capital coupled with the problem of lack of proper ID is at the center of their predicament as they are forced to dwell in the 3Ds in the streets of Durban. Though they detest the types of work they are doing, the other side of the coin is that they are grateful to put bread on the table and have a roof above their heads from what they earn in performing dirty, difficult and dangerous jobs. This has set the majority of migrants to engage in entrepreneurship.

The implication of the 3Ds jobs are such as migrants are exposed to exploitation by the owner of means of production who take advantage of their vulnerable condition emanating from desperation for survival (Amisi, 2005). 3Ds jobs may also be detrimental to the local guys due to their nature of being cheap because of the availability of labour that is more abundant and therefore marginal in utility.

Self-employment or entrepreneurship

Migrants' entrepreneurship can be seen as the engagement into opening of small business and small and medium enterprises or even firms as in the case in the United States of America. Entrepreneurship allows migrants to own their micro enterprises in the destination economy where they create employment for locals and fellow migrants. The creation of micro enterprises stretches the earnings opportunities available on the structural labour market and allows locals together with other fellow migrants to see that it is possible to rely on self-employment rather than selling labour to big firms in exchange of a meager salary (Light et al., 1993: 3).

Six of the respondents interviewed were running their own small business. The exclusion from formal jobs disillusioned migrants as to an African paradise they hoped to find in South Africa, the tough socio-economic conditions in place left migrants no choice but to engage in small business instead of stretching their arms towards the government in place in asking for social grants. They run their small business in flea markets, in patched tents along the road or by the market place and other small rented rooms along the road in Durban.

Observation showed that migrants are keeping themselves economically busy by engaging in trade such as hairstyle, manicure, pedicure, tailoring, selling of traditional food, small internet cafes, tucks shops among other small enterprises. In South Beach and Saint Georges, migrants are running small garages with auto-electricians, mechanics and panel beaters; others are operating small workshops where they fix computers, TV and hi-fi. Another group operates in the open air by the roadside where they fix shoes. Numbers of Congolese ladies are running crèches where they look after children of those who go to work, this is happening in their houses for those who cannot afford to rent facilities and hire workers, thus they look after a small number of kids. Others are service providers who have been trained by organization such as the Mennonite Christian Council (MCC) and have managed to start a formal business of daycare with certificates that allowed them to open a day care. These are running their crèches in houses endowed with the minimum of standard required by local authorities. This second category is made of well to do migrants who rent facilities, hire other migrants to look after the kids and have a considerable number of children to look after while their parents are out there busy making a living. In the face of these trends, migrants are compelled to turn to self-employment.

This state of things is encouraging in the sense that entrepreneurship is the key to economic development and growth among the masses at grassroots. To change the texture of the economy of a given country for the better may call on adequate policies but mostly, an economy will rely on the smallest economic operators who are engaged in small businesses or entrepreneurship.

A mother explained her presence in the self-employment sector:

> "I have tried all these types of jobs in which you find my fellow countrymen. If you are not a security office, you are a car guard or else you work for another person having a shop. For instance the Chinese or West Africans who are selling clothes made in China around town. They make you work for long hours and pay you peanuts. Then I realized that I can start my own business and survive. Thus I

got this space here at the Workshop and I just pay the tax to municipal collectors and use my skills. I do manicure, pedicure, eyelashes and when convenient I work as a hairstylist."

The following is a revelation of a mother as to what it means to run her own business:

"I run a crèche. Parents come to drop the kids as early as 6:30 in the morning. Then we look after the kids. We change their nappies, we feed them and monitor them during their playtime and we cradle them. In between we teach them songs, recitation, bible stories, depending on their age. I have three other ladies to help. I did this because there are no works available for us here. I had to go to learn how this type of things work and with the passion for kids I had to apply the knowledge acquired and I am grateful that it works…"

A young migrant told the story of how he got into the self-employment and how it works:

"I own a haircut saloon at the market place. I was working for my cousin and after a year he decided to sell the saloon. I offered to pay him slowly and he agreed to my proposition and that is how I got the business. I work with another boy who helps me to service clients because there are times when it is busy, especially during weekends. You know I realized that only those people who own a business make money and I set myself to work hard to have my own."

Another migrant explained that for him to survive, the auction house must be running:

"I survive by buying goods that are put on auction. A group of us go there and we put money together to buy number of tickets and chose one person to stand in for maybe three or four others. There we can buy anything like computers, printers, Hi-fi, TVs, cameras, beds, fridges, sofas… that I took to my place and go to sell in the community and in the Flea market on Sunday.

Studies conducted on migrants in Europe (Simon, 1993; cited by Light et al.: 1993: 4) show that the decline of jobs upon which migrants depended for their survival has led to the mushrooming of self-employment. In the same order of idea, Baycan and Nijkamp (2009: 5) demonstrate that Structural factors such as social exclusion, high rate of unemployment, poor access to markets and cultural factors such skills, informal network contact with other migrants from the same ethnic group, personal motivations, flexibility, international solidarity and specific values were among factors that pushed migrants to engage in entrepreneurship in Europe.

In South Africa, research undertaken by Peberdy and Rogerson (2000) has found that migrants are involved in a wide range of activities going from cross-border traders to self-employment in

street as traders and operators of small, medium, and micro-enterprises (SMMEs) connected to strong informal and formal transnational networks of trade, entrepreneurship, and migrants. Some of these relationships are direct, as in the case of informal sector cross-border traders and shoppers. Others are less obvious, residing in transnational networks, which are nonetheless important to the capitalization and sustainability of migrant enterprises.

Self-employment among migrants presents an economic advantage in creating jobs for fellow migrants and even for some locals. For instance, in Durban, migrants who run their small businesses in tents that they pitch on their various sites on a daily basis store their goods, tools and materials in storage facilities own by South Africans and use locals as porters to carry them to and fro the site and storage twice a day. Some migrants prefer to employ a local to help sell goods to erase the language barrier between him and local customers who in general will prefer to speak Isizulu rather than English.

Impediments to Congolese migrants' livelihoods

Irrespective of all the hardship experienced by Congolese in the struggle for survival in Durban, their livelihood is tainted by a tangible socio xenophobic context constructed by locals contributes to their social exclusion, problems at Home Affairs, as well as harsh treatment by the police force. This xenophobia has been a stumbling block on the path of Congolese migrants to the point of endangering their livelihoods. These issues have accentuated Congolese migrants' exclusion in their new communities in general.

Xenophobic patterns in the South African society

Xenophobia can be seen as a generalized negative sentiment towards foreign individuals at the very bottom of the social pyramid; located in the socio-economic as well as the educational spectrum. Xenophobia is an extreme hatred of a group of people with foreign characteristics or traits ranging from gender, religion, social status or ethnicity (Solomons, 2011). The most difficult issue to resolve in South Africa remains the attitudes of locals towards the foreign nationals. It appears like a big number of South Africans at grassroots level have not forgiven foreign nationals for committing the sin of coming to their country.

In this study, seven among the respondents feel that South Africans do not like foreigners at all whereas three others think that the attitudes of local guys are relative and intricate. A matured

migrant pointed at the terrible attitude of fellow black South Africans vis-à-vis migrants in Durban:

> "I feel that there is no tolerance in many of our fellow black men in South Africa. They do not like foreigners, especially other black Africans. They call us names that humiliate and bring us down, especially if one cannot speak IsiZulu fluently."

For this mother, life is made difficult in South Africa due to the attitudes of Black South Africans:

> "We are told to go back to where we came from every day. We are called derogatory and funny names. One day my brother was greeted by a local guy at the market place in IsiZulu, in Durban. My brother returned the greeting in Isizulu also. So the guy started a conversation with him in a deeper IsiZulu and my brother got stuck and he responded in English. Because of his fair complexion, the Zulu guy thought my brother was also a South African. When he realized my brother was not a Zulu, he shouted very loud the word '*IKWEREKWERE*', as if he wanted to alert the entire market to come see an alien. My brother kept quiet and pretended it was not all about him and walked speedily to avoid the embarrassment from a possible mob at market. Believe me he has never succeeded to forget that incident; it is like he has been haunted by that scene at the marketplace. What is interesting to question is that only African migrants are targeted, mostly by Africans in South Africa. Migrants from other continents are not disturbed by Africans. "

Xenophobic attitudes exacerbate already the difficult life migrants are living in Durban when it comes to getting access to social services. A woman tells the story of her visit to the public hospital for medical attention:

> "I usually leave home at 4am so that I can be among the first ones to be served. One day I went to one of the local hospitals. I held the queue for the entire day. To my great surprise no one drew near me. Nurses were moving up and down the queue. Only at the last minute, after 4pm, I was looked at and was given a tablet of Paracetamol. I left the hospital after 5pm with a frail body and only reached home around 8pm."

The sometimes-different dress code of migrants, their accents plus the lack of fluency in Isizulu make them vulnerable to a system that is already infested with sufficient germs of Xenophobia. A father of a family expressed his disappointment:

> "The other thing is that foreigners are accused of all manners of evil. I usually hear local guys saying that foreigners are the ones who brought diseases and prostitution in South Africa. All the drug dealers are said to be foreigners. We are

accused of stealing the jobs of the locals, taking their girls and all the benefits of the South Africans' political struggle of the past. But the overwhelming majority of us are surviving by the types of jobs the local guys despise. We are even excluded from certain flats when it comes to renting, other schools do not accept foreigners, sometimes if a migrant is willing to study a certain subject of his wish the policies in place are exclusive when it comes to migrants."

Research undertaken by Moris and Bouillon (2001) demonstrate that the increasing diversity of post-apartheid South Africa's population has not been welcomed by a large part of the population and xenophobia has become an increasingly serious issue. The media is constantly reporting verbal and physical attacks on immigrants but many attacks go unreported (M24i, June 12, 2011 – 8:03 am, Info update, Xenophobia, 26 May 2008 accessed on 06 October, 2013).

Furthermore, a study conducted by the South African Institute for Security Studies (ISS) concomitantly with the Human Science Research Council (HSRC) in the late 1990s presented great evidence that South Africans as a hole were becoming more and more xenophobic in their attitudes towards migrants in general (Solomon, 2003: 92).

In three major towns of South Africa, studies conducted on migrants have all revealed an amalgam of deep-seated feeling of hatred, unfriendliness and even unforgiveness towards migrants for coming to South Africa. In a survey conducted by South African Migration Project (Rwamatara, no date; cited by Khan, 2007) an overwhelming majority think that the country is letting in too many migrants. These have been accused of all the vices and xenophobia has resulted thereon. Therefore, in many ways, xenophobia has been manifested in several areas such as employment, housing, health, education, business… and it goes beyond the these reality to once again strip off the migrant of his humane dignity and replacing it by derogatory statements such as "Amakwerekwere", "Away with the foreigners" or "Shaya amakwerekwere" translated from IsiZulu as "Hit the foreigners" which eventually was exteriorized during the 2008 outburst of violence on foreigners in the major cities of South Africa (Landau 2009, Segale, 2004).

Xenophobia is a big time killer that is busy eroding the socio-economic fabric of the South African society by blindly throwing all migrants in the same basket. It does not distinguish between those who came to the country with official permits for work, study and those who simply sneaked into the country for unknown reasons. To the eyes of xenophobic individuals, all are foreigners and as a result all suffer unfriendly, inconsiderate and repelling attitudes on a daily

basis, be it in schools, residential areas or in the corporate world (McDonald, Matshike, and Golden 2000, 168-95; cited by Murray, 2003: 16). The xenophobic attitudes of locals on foreigners inform their social exclusion in Durban. It also impacts on the selling and use of businesses run by foreigners.

Social exclusion

Social exclusion discourse originated in France drawn from the notion of French tradition of national incorporation or inclusion of individuals in the solidarity social system. At the centre of the discourse is the disruption of the social bond (Lenoir, 1974; cited by Haan *et al*., 1998: 2). Social exclusion is the process whereby individuals or social group are partly or integrally shut out from taking part in the society in which they live (European Foundation, 1995: 4, cited by Haan *et al*., 1998). As a result, the social faction that is deprived is forced to live in a state of low income, unsecured jobs, menial housing, stressful experiences, and economic alienation.

In South Africa, social exclusion is observed in the economic relations between the owners of means of production and the workers. Whereas owners have total open access to markets, capitals and resources to make wealth and get richer, the masses of the poor people who supply labour to the rich people at the tip of the social pyramid remain trapped in utter poverty. The case of farmworkers on the Ceres farms in the Western Cape is as a typical example (Du Toit, 2004). The poor are excluded from taking part in the economic activities that can open them to opportunities for upward economic mobility and thus remain secluded. Congolese migrants face even greater forms of social exclusion when the differences between owners and foreign employees is further exacerbated by xenophobia and a lack of formal status meaning state protections are eroded or absent which makes it very difficult for them to fully integrate the economic spaces in the country.

In this study, all Congolese migrants interviewed admitted to not have access to credit in any form. A concerned respondent pointed at a total exclusion from the South African system as a whole:

> "In south Africa, we do not get access to credit. It does not matter the department. Money lenders want to see a green barcoded Identification Document (ID), which we do not have. For those of us who got refugee status, the red ID does not give you the right to credit."

A young woman who survives on selling petty various items in the street in Durban could not hide her frustration:

> "You know everything in South Africa is based on the ID and all is linked to the ID again. Without an ID in South Africa you are nothing. The lack of proper IDs is the reason why we are excluded in all the areas of life. The government excludes us, the banks cannot loan us money, and the big stores cannot give us credit. Even for micro-loans credit that fosters and sustains entrepreneurship are only available to the locals. It is even hard to buy a new TV in a South African store because they want your green ID for you to get a TV license. It is like they say you guys wait, you will have access to no service, and no credit… the day you are tired with that you are more than welcome to go back to your countries."

Social exclusion is the primary cause of migrants' struggle to access the most basic services such as health care, the access to specialised places for unaccompanied minors, education etc. For instance, the South African Schools Act posits that public schools must admit learners and serve their educational requirement without unfairly discriminating in any way. Irrespective of the provision within the above referred Act, it is obvious that migrants' children are entitled to the same primary education as South African children. Despite these rights, migrants face mountainous obstacles for the education for their children. They are often requested to pay school fees (where they would otherwise qualify for school fees exemptions) and as a result many migrants' children are not able to attend schools. Similar patterns of exclusion have been observed within the healthcare system. Despite the fact that the South African constitution states that no one should be refused emergency or lifesaving medical care irrespective of nationality, lack of documentation or residency status. Many migrants are unable to access basic services and equal treatment as service providers find it difficult or fail to recognise migrants' documents that are different from the South African ID, even though it entails same basic health benefits in public health institutions (Khan, 2007: 7)

Studies on forced migrants undertaken in the city of Johannesburg reveal that migrants are excluded from economic opportunities due to lack of proper papers and cannot access formal employment without the right of studying or working to the extent that even those who are having skills and willing to work are hinged by the legal prohibitions and end up going for positions that pay menial salaries without any guarantee of basic conditions of employment. In hospitals and schools, migrants have been refused access to services even where the South

African laws provide equal opportunity and access for both South African and non-South Africans (Landeau *et al.*, 1999: 40; Landeau, 2005: 109)

Research conducted on migrants in Cape Town (Khan, 2007: 6) demonstrate clearly that "South Africa is an extremely Identity driven society. In fact there is no service in the country, whether government or private, that you can access if you do not have an identity document. Whether you are applying to study at a school or want to open a bank account or buy furniture – you require an identity document." The ID being the key to services, employment, education and credit in South Africa makes it clear that migrants are indeed marginalised and left out of the economic scope by the system in place. There are all types of skills and expertise among migrants but due to the lack of ID, those with economic proposals cannot get funded. Parallel to the economic aspect is the professional aspect where qualified migrants such as mathematicians, scientists and information technology specialists, nurses, medical doctors, teachers and researchers are left out of the professional world, excluded by the system and processes in place; all these professionals struggle to find companies or schools where they can apply their knowledge and earn a living.

The lack of adequate IDs is the primary reason behind the tough and rough life they experienced by migrants on a daily basis in Durban (Amisi, 2005; Khan, 2007). It excludes and disqualifies the majority of Congolese migrants with skills and knowledge to access all the benefits as well as the services that a green barcoded ID holder enjoys. Their livelihoods are hinged by such status quo that the majority of respondents are favorable to return to the DRC as soon as conditions to normal life, security and democratic rights are restored within the DRC's borders. Beside xenophobia, the Department of Home Affair that controls and regulates identity documents and immigrant status is another impediment to migrants' livelihood.

The Department of Home Affairs

The Department of Home Affairs (DHA) is not doing a good job as it was supposed in helping Congolese migrants to legalalise their stay in South Africa. In this study eight of the respondents revealed a lot of gaps and loopholes in the process of service delivery to migrants within the DHA. Furthermore, the interaction between migrants and some officials is said to be strained. A careful middle aged migrant remarked:

> "The DHA is slow in processing the papers. Once they make a mistake on a document, it becomes very difficult to rectify it."

To the mistakes made on the documents, corruption within the DHA is notorious as noted this respondent:

"You know the DHA was right in the beginning as I was just a newcomer in Durban. Today, there is a lot of corruption in the system. There is a very smooth connection from the ground floor going up to the office upstairs. How it works is that there is a foreigner who works like an agent and who makes himself familiar with the people. If you have problems to get papers he ask you for a certain amount of money, a couple of thousands rand to get your document within a short period. It does not matter what type of paper you require, it is done easily with charges varying depending on the nature of the paper on demand by the migrant."

A mother explained how tough is the process of obtaining a paper and how still tough it is to renew the paper:

"Any time you have an appointment at the DHA, you come with all the kids. We normally leave home where we are staying before dawn to be among the first migrants so that when the person who will collect the papers to stamp them comes, I can be among the first ones. We come with blankets to cover ourselves against the early morning cold. It takes long before the papers can be collected. Each time you have an appointment it is an entire day that you have to sacrifice and it cost most of us a daily salary and that is very hard. In other instances the boss may fire you because you doing casual work and when the system is down for a big portion of the day you cannot get served. Two days out of the job cost you your job and you have to start looking for another job again and it is not easy. The other difficult thing is that if you relocate to another province, it is impossible to get a transfer. You will be forced to travel from long distances to get a stamp for renewal. If you are a family of many, everyone without exception has to be there. Now think about the scenario where you find the system is down and you cannot get that stamp. You have to find means to accommodate your family for that day. The following day you get the stamp late during the day and have to travel back. It will cost you your work and the kids will miss their days in school."

To this other respondent, what is striking is the humiliating verbal treatment, a verbal violence emanating from some officials:

"We are treated like beggars by some of the officials. Imagine an official who is supposed to welcome you and put you at easy tells you that you people from Africa, you stink, and your armpits smell bad. Or another one on another occasion tells you that why did you have to come to the Republic of South Africa (RSA). You destroyed your country and now want to destroy ours. You should have remained in the Congo and fight like we did here. When you come here you claim human rights when you never had a single right in your country…"

Not only some officials are vicious in dealing with migrants, the slowness of the pace in delivering service is inherent in the DHA. A migrant pointed at other holes within the Department:

> "In my experience, the DHA is very slow to deliver its services to migrants. For instance, a migrant can wait more than 6 months or an entire year before receiving his or her identification document he or she has applied for. In general, the personnel is corrupt and not friendly. It can happen that you apply for a document and when comes the day to collect it they tell you that you never submit proper photos or your file is missing."

Another man touched the perverted side of the ways things are done within the corridors of the Department:

> "The DHA is doing a good job. Only issues of delays in delivering papers are notorious. Beyond those ones, a migrant may apply for an Identity Document (ID) and never get to see it. In other instances documents are printed with a lot of errors. It also happens that migrants are compelled to pay for the service that is free by right; an extra fee is paid to certain officials to speed the process or push the files forward. That is very sad and it makes common rights turned into commodities."

A moderate respondent added:

> "I cannot be so negative about the DHA. They help us with those documents which we are surviving with. If you have a broad look, you will see that the DHA is much corrupted."

A father put the finger on the tough nature of the process of obtaining service at the Home Affairs:

> "The process is very tough. Everyone in the family has to be present to get the stamp or a paper, even babies. We wake up while the streets are still dark. We have to do it so that we can be among the first ones queuing by the gate in order to be among the first to be served. If it is cold in the morning, we have to take it upon ourselves or if it rains it still up to us to keep the queue until the gate is open so that we can get inside the compound. It normally takes an entire day to wait for a stamp. They may give you another appointment as the process continues and that how it is. You may spend many years in that fashion before getting adequate papers."

To this inquisitive migrant, the DHA is bullying migrants:

"Before we were assisted by the DHA without much trouble. Today people get arrested inside Home Affairs for delaying to extend their permit and they fine them a huge amount of money. For example, one of my fellow countrymen was fined R1000.00 for delaying to extend his permit for two weeks. Where do you think we will get that money when we are refugees without any support from local authorities?"

Migrants perceive the DHA as an important service provider in the sense that it helps them get papers that are required for their legality survival. However, the process seems time consuming and paradoxes are salient as to rights and favors. The department has been described as a double edged sword by performing normal duties and in the meantime, underground, by a secretive channel where some officials are busy collecting moneys from migrants before delivering papers that are supposed to be provided free of charge in the name of speeding up the process of service delivery. In general, the process is very tough. Congolese migrants are asked to pay a fine when number of days has been skipped before extending the permit.

The study on forced migration in Johannesburg (Segale, 2004) and another one on refugees in Cape Town (Khan, 2007) points out that there were migrants often reported many case of corruption among DHA to their offices. According to Segale, migrants were asked for money in return for services. There were security guards and interpreters working at the DHA who were seriously involved in corruption and who were taking bribes from migrants who were desperate to get papers. Beside the DHA failures, Congolese migrants' livelihood is also impeded by violence emanating from some members of the Police Force.

Violence from the Police Force

Migrants describe the members of the South African Police Force (SAPS) in very violent terms given the nature of their operation in migrants' circles, i.e. in their business palaces, their places of dwelling as well as in the streets of Durban. In this study, six respondents pointed at the irregularities among the elements of the SAPS. Three of the interviewees recognized that the Police are doing their job. A migrant that has been long enough living in South Africa says that the SAPS is doing its job very well:

"Remember when there were xenophobic attacks on foreigners, the SAPS tied to protect us from the mob justice. If it was not for the SAPS we could have been hurt very bad by the local guys."

A young migrant expressed his experience with the police force:

> "The SAPS is doing its job but there are many irregularities due to some of the officers' attitudes and approaches. I have been harassed and brutilised by some police officers. They raid migrants' houses in search of stolen goods; this they do without a search warrant and when they are done they may took stuff like computer, camera, cellphone or even a hi-fi that does not have a proof of purchase and that is it. They will come to your place without a search warrant just because they know you are a foreigner."

Another aspect of the SAPS faulty approach is shown in the ways of doing things streetwise as explained a graduate migrant:

> "Other members of the SAPS always take advantage of migrants. They will read the migrant by his way of dressing, walking or by the migrant's accent… When they arrest a migrant they always want to extort some money from him. Sometimes migrants are victim of wrongful arrest by members of the SAPS."

The experience of a young man who cut hair by the market place is touching:

> "I get a lot of trouble with the Metro Police. Every time they come to my tent they give me a very hard time. They want to see whether I have a permit that allows me to operate in the space where my tent is pitched. If I happen to not have one, they will seize my tent, all the clippers, the battery and the inventor plus all the accessories. They will write me a ticket that reads like a motor ticket then put all the staff in the van and drive away. Until I go to pay a fine at Metro Police I cannot be able to get back my things. When they do that, I stay without any means to survive."

Another respondent touches the passivity of the police when there is an attack on foreigners:

> "As far as their duties are concerned, I can say that they are working. But when it comes to mob of locals attacking a foreign national or when there is eruption of xenophobia, some of the policemen were seen joining forces with locals by harming the foreigners. Others just stand far and watch as if to mean that it is their own soup."

One of the migrants operating a small business by the market place gave his version of the SAPS:

> "The SAPS is doing its job quite satisfactorily. To me there is a great deal of crime and it can only beget more crime to the point where it makes it difficult for the police forces to operate with a disposed spirit. It prone the police to treat many people with preconceived ideas whereby many civilians are perceived as criminals by the police. I have been too much insulted by the police without committing a crime but just for having a foreign accent. I've observed that if one of us is found with a cellphone or a laptop bought without a receipt, the police will force that person to show them where he lives. They will keep you with them

and if necessary kick you until you take them to where you stay. From there, they sweep your room or flat by taking the valuables deemed necessary and they do that without even incriminating you and the story ends there. "

A card guard spoke about the SAPS members' behavior:

"To tell you the truth, I would say that the SAPS is doing well with regard to its mandate. However, there are elements within the force that do not like foreigners. They disturbed me too much while I was doing car guarding. They would come to some of the flats where foreigners reside and as ask them for money. I find a lot of intimidation, harassment and brutality among policemen. They will stop you any time they see you are a foreigner and ask you to produce papers. After that they would ask a person for money."

In general, Congolese migrants feel that the SAPS is doing its job well but there are isolated cases of irregularity regarding the way they treat migrants who feel the police use more than needed force and are tough in handling certain issues. For instance, they are compelled to carry their permits and the SAPS expose them to sudden police search of their business places and homes. They feel like some of the elements of the SAPS rather hold the law within their hands.

According to Amisi (2005), some police officers are intimidating migrants in their place of work by trying to get a free service and others want to pay you at their own rate just because you are a migrant." Harassment was inherent within the SAPS by means of searching for permits for legality purpose, arbitrary arrest and private belonging confiscation as well as harsh treatment to those speaking a foreign language among migrants are common currency from the SAPS in the city of Johannesburg (Segale, 2004: 51; Landeau et al.: 2009:49).

Xenophobia, social exclusion, the double mindedness of some officials in the DHA, the brutality of certain police, have been negatively impacting migrants' livelihoods and security. This point to a large lack of empowerment that has been a serious stumbling block on many Congolese migrants' paths, thus the lack of empowerment is very detrimental to their existence in Durban.

The lack of empowerment vis-à-vis migrants

One of the biggest obstacles to migrant development is the lack of empowerment from the local authorities. All the interviewees in this study pointed at the inexistency of a training programme that is designed to help them to integrate the South African society. However, the redistribution of intellectual achievement among interviewees is such as out of ten respondents, 3 were college graduates, five have matric and only two have not completed their matric due to war. This

explains also the reason why the majority of the Congolese migrants will embark on economic activities that allow them to survive even when they do not receive any training or additional skills to allow them to enter the job market in the second economy.

Consider the word of this mother regarding training or skill impartation among Congolese migrants:

> "I have never got involved in any training that was set to help me in any way. We come to South Africa with the willingness of learning something new that can help us better our situation. I have the feeling that your pre-requisites play a vital role in your life here in Durban. If you found yourself in South Africa with no skills, indeed you will remained crippled for the duration of your stay. Otherwise, one has to enroll in some college in order to acquire knowledge that is marketable here in South Africa and that is more than costly given their poor quality of life in Durban."

Another single mother points at the blessing of being a graduate before coming to South Africa:

> "I am a graduate. When I came to South Africa, I found it very difficult to integrate both socially and economically. I had to figure out what to do to overcome the vacuum that surrounded me. So I embarked on selling fashion clothes that I get from outside South Africa. On top of being a mother, I sell to other brothers and sisters in the Congolese community."

Studies undertaken by Steinberg (2005) demonstrate that Congolese migrant community is comprised of educated people who came with an important intellectual capacity and constitute a considerable human capital irrespective of the lack of further training and intellectual formation in South Africa. This state of things explains their resilience in terms of economic survival. It was going to be a sudden death to many of them once they arrive in South Africa with no education and in the face of a local government that has not designed a plan to help them train and acquire survival skills. The only problem they face is of educational system order. They came from French based educational and value system that is diametrically opposed to the English educational system and that make many of them to not be able to qualify directly for jobs that require a sound knowledge of the professional English terminology. The majority of Congolese migrants remain unskilled and semi-literate therefore inclined to a life of poverty and vulnerability.

Migrants in Durban have very insignificant access to support from local government. They receive no assistance in terms of housing, employment or skills training. Besides the legal aspect

that concerns their stay in South Africa, the task of looking after migrants is seemingly left to some philanthropic churches and few NGOs. Congolese migrants turn to them in times of needs.

Conclusion

Globally individuals move in search for a better life. At its simplest explanation, migrations are a result of 'push and pull'. Poverty, land shortage, violence, natural catastrophes, overpopulation, underdevelopment, unemployment and underemployment can be the pushes from the developing countries while the demand for workers in the developed countries are rising due to aging of populations, the need for seasonal workers can be seen as the pull. Proximity and historical ties between two or more countries also facilitate migration of individuals (Stalker, 2001; 2002)

Congolese migrants came to South Africa as a result of political turmoil, state failure and intermittent wars. The first group that came to South Africa before 1994 was made of professionals who were used to fill the gap created by the shortage of labourers and professionals in the homesteads. The other wave of Congolese migrants came as a result of internal rebellions from 1993 following the mass entry of second asylum seekers who were running away from wars from 1997 (Moris & Bouillon, 2001).

The majority of Congolese who left their country embarked on sporadic journeys some guided by former migrants and others travelling by trial and error. Once in South Africa, they found themselves exposed to socio-economic problems that their counterpart South Africans experience and are therefore obliged to share the same fate. Without any help from the local government, Congolese migrants are forced to find a way to survive. Their survival strategies entails diversifying activities by working for a salary, mostly in the security industry where they are involved in the security of personnel, buildings and assets in transit plus that of parked vehicles (car guard).

In general, the types of jobs Congolese migrants are involved in are considered to be of dirty, difficult, and dangerous nature referred to as 3Ds. Their survival demands a certain degree of fitness in performing their duties on a daily basis under very difficult atmospheric conditions. They wake up before dawn to catch transport and they travel a long distance as they go to work. They come back from their jobs late in the evening and for parents with kids another task awaits them in their homes where they are still to cook for their kids and help them do their homework

when possible. Babies and kids under age of school are left to the crèches and daycares for the remaining of the day when parents go out to make a living. The tough and rough nature of their work makes them aspire to be their own employers. They save money gradually and reorient themselves in starting small businesses.

Besides these types of jobs, many migrants are involved in informal sector where they sell multivariate items, second hand clothes or brand new fashion clothes from outside the country.

Others survive by running their small business providing services such as hair styling, manicure and pedicure. Another group runs restaurants where they sell traditional Congolese food or small internet cafes where they sell internet services to both local and Congolese customer base. Others are involved in the buying of items and furniture at the auction and then resell them to the members of the community or sometimes to locals. A small number is involved in cross border trade where they are involved in second hand vehicle selling from Durban to Zambia via Zimbabwe. They buy items such as cellphones, TVs, microwave, tyres, and hi-fi that they take to Zambia.

However, in the midst of hardship, their livelihoods are severely threatened by the xenophobic attitudes of the locals, accused of stealing the locals jobs, using their health and educational facilities whereas their children are discriminated in certain types of schools as they are far from being able to send them to a private school. The South African police is also another impediment to the pursuit of their livelihoods as they engage in economic activities for reproduction purpose. They experience harassments, nuisances and disturbances from members of the South African Police Services (SAPS). Some members of the police want to have free services in places where migrants are running their small businesses and where they provide services to the public or they want to pay according to their own rates.

In a world where the local government has been absent, migrants turn to some churches with philanthropic vocation or to some Good Samaritan's NGOs for help in times of needs. They also rely on their social network to access information that are useful regarding access to jobs, housing, business opportunities though they are facing a multitudes of problems of social and economic order, in Durban, Congolese migrants are contributing to the economic fabric of the

local government by means of creating small businesses where they create jobs for the locals and their fellow migrants.

Their contribution to municipal revenue remains very insignificant due to lack of assets or capitals. They are living in a country where they are not citizens and can hardly have access to natural capital. For example, they cannot be involved in agricultural activities or use natural endowment such as rivers, forests or water for social reproduction. They are hindered from participate in competitive economic activities in the first economy owing to the lack of proper identification in a country where everything is linked to the Identity Document, thus their exclusion from competing on the job market. As a result, the majority of them are living in poverty and destitution. The danger is that under such conditions many are prone to indulge in illegal and even criminal activities like the purchase of stolen properties.

History has shown that the mushrooming of migrants in the city and around its periphery where the economy is not growing fast enough to absorb the growing population of in-migrants as well as international migrants will generate an army of criminal and may even proliferate the utilization of small arms to support criminal activities and in the same time can be a hazard to national and regional security like it was the case in Libya after the second World War and in Zaire after the entire population of Rwanda spilled over as a result of war and genocide in 1994.

Congolese migrants struggle to meet ends due to financial constraints. They have to work very hard to survive and most of the jobs they do are risky, dangerous and in many cases it is the ones that locals will not accept to take up. In a global world as it is today, migrants are confronted with serious issues of lack of human capital. Access to better jobs posits intellectual luggage that the majority of them do not have. Alternatively, skills and trainings in areas that make them marketable to compete locally and globally are quasi-inexistent. The only area they are left to tap in is social capital from where their network is drawn.

Strengthening the Congolese migrants' plight on the quotidian is the reality of core and periphery inherent in the socio-economic landscape. These migrants are trapped in a world that is very complex to them due to the parallel existence of core and periphery within the South African society. On one hand, a handful of individuals owning means of production and commanding the leverage of economic affairs located within the main cities standing as core with are all the

necessary capitals, and technology adjacent to highly productive and efficient workspaces versus a reserve of the majority of poor, jobless and hungry uneducated located in the rural areas and townships at the periphery of the major town. Between the core and the peripheral economic sector, these migrants are faced with the issue of finding a space to operate in order to reproduce.

Chapter 5: Conclusions

This study focused on migrants of Congolese descent living in Durban central, precisely in the South beach area and the Saint Georges area. Push factors such as underdevelopment, state failure, protracted violence and repeated war are among the reasons explaining their presence in South African cities. Living in South Africa where past history of dispossession, alienation and racial separation development has left enormous socio-economic issues among the local population, Congolese migrants in Durban are compelled to eke a living in a rather complex environment characterized with tough and rough social, economic and political patterns as a result. These migrants have been pulled by a relative political stability, especially the democratization of South Africa since 1994 and its economic performance that being the top one on the African continent.

This study had three objectives. In the first place, it attempted to investigate and document the various economic techniques employed by Congolese immigrants in their quotidian survival in the Durban area. The study looked at the political and economic realities that influence the livelihoods of Congolese migrants in Durban. Secondly, it attempted to explore the socio-economic state of Congolese immigrants as a determinant of their place in Durban. Here, the social phenomena such as xenophobia, the police harassments on Congolese migrants as well their social exclusion from the primary economic stream were explored. Finally it aimed at suggesting some recommendations with regard to the livelihood of Congolese immigrants in Durban where local government intervention is quasi-inexistent besides processing papers to help them legalise their stay in the Republic of South Africa.

This study's attempt to contribute to the existing thesis on migrants in South Africa in general and Congolese migrants 'economic survival strategies in particular. While there are researches that were undertaken on Congolese descent, these were focusing mainly on Congolese refugees, one of the categories of migrants just like undocumented migrants or seasonal workers. This study went beyond the notion of refugees and asylum seekers such as researched by other scholars (Amisi, 2005; Segale, 2004; Landeau, 2009; Solomons, 2003) to embrace illegal

migrants, professionals and seasonal migrants within the scope of Congolese population in Durban.

The importance of this study finds it reason in the reading of documented materials and the interviews from data collection that yield an important source of information about the harsh economic conditions and policies put in place within the socio-political structures and which are counterproductive vis-a-vis migrants. It transpires that police harassments, stress from the Department of Home Affairs, the hatred of migrants translated by a tangible xenophobia have all impede the Congolese migrants' pursuit of a reasonable livelihood in their host communities within the South African cities, Durban being the focus of the present research. This, as a consequence, holds migrants in the clutches of poverty and vulnerabilities. Congolese migrants are exposed to a series of unpleasant realities such presented in the findings below.

The findings of this research complete the ones by other researchers on the issues of forced migration (Landeau (2004); Segale (2004); crush & Williams (2005)); the exploration of refugees' livelihoods (Amisi, 2005; Amisi and Ballard 2005); socio-politico-economic marginalization (Khan, 2007), to cite only a few. Among the findings of the study we can cite xenophobic attacks on migrants, the issue of social exclusion, lack of empowerment or the shortage of skills among migrants in general and Congolese migrants in particular; the lack of assets to enhance their livelihoods, and the quasi-absence of local government in their daily lives.

The implications of these findings are such as migrants are forced to live a life of economic isolation far from the mainstream of economic activities. Their livelihoods encompass jobs that entail a hard daily routine where those who are self-employed overwork themselves and for those that are employed are also overworked by their taskmasters, exploited and underpaid by owners of means of production. The lack of skills that allow individuals to compete effectively in a global city live them no other choice but to involve in Dangerous, Dirty and Difficult jobs or 3Ds (Stalker 2001); which is not a novelty for Durban Congolese migrants but a sort of a pattern observed globally with migrants.

As part of their survival strategies, Congolese migrants in general live a life of economic calculations that involves saving money earned through the 3Ds jobs to start their own businesses to help them climb upward the economic ladder by create their own small and

medium enterprises where they create work for their fellow migrants and in other cases for the locals. Entrepreneurship becomes their target to avoid a daily routine of tough and rough conditions, partly emanating from many employers and exacerbated by locals.

The need for putting in place a series of social and economic security nets (Sen, 1983) for Congolese migrants' integration is crucial to help mitigate the impact of psychological and physical shocks received from trying to survive in a hostile and tensed socio-economic arena. Among others, training in basic skills for survival such as required by the global citizens in today's cities (Wilson, 1999) could be a springboard for them to integrate the economic world with less shocks; access to micro loans could help them start small businesses to allow them to emancipate economically (Weiss & Montgomery, 2005; Rahman,1999)

Their contribution to local economy could be made very significant, going from their respective community to the city and beyond, and the number of economically active individuals who help move the wheels of the economy would increase by means of entrepreneurship (Seits & Hite, 2011). This could help reduce the number of jobless people and cut the number of those depending on government welfare in the sense that locals would follow suit and engage in entrepreneurship. The benefits of producing themselves goods and services would free them from leaning on the state for their needs. This could also help reduce the high rate of unemployment that the country faces partly as a result of lack of sound economic occupation.

This study cannot posit to have covered all the subsections of migrants, in the sense that individuals such as professionals or members of the transnational corporations were not represented in the sample that was based on purposive or judgmental methods of data collection. This in turn has limited the enrichment of data owing to the omission of other respondents. Nonetheless, the selection of interviewees from various fields within the economic sectors (security industry, small businesses, street and flea market vendors, beauty salon operators and even cross-borders traders or fast food motorcycle delivery boys) minimizes the limitations. The findings of the study can help those making policies with regards to migrants' economic survival strategies, with putting accent on the strategies and mechanisms involved therein.

On the other hand, migrants' economic issues are growing seriously around the planet owing to complex economic situations and the global economic slowdown. There is a need for more

research in this field directed towards Congolese migrants involved in transnational corporations as well as professionals in the country.

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APPENDIX A

RESEARCH CONSENT FORM

I hereby agree to participate in research regarding:

"*The struggle for daily life in Durban: Congolese migrants' economic survival strategies.*"

Supervisor: Michael Francis **(**Francism2@ukzn.ac.za – 03 1 260 3762)

Student: Heri Mugisha Dunia (209526636@stu.ukzn.za – 072 116 1713)

I understand that I am participating freely and without being forced in any way to do so. I also understand that I can stop this interview at any point should I not want to continue and that this decision will not in any way affect me negatively.

The purpose of the study has been explained to me, and I understand what is expected of my participation. I understand that this is a research project whose purpose is not necessarily to benefit me personally.

I have received the telephone number of the person to contact should I need to speak about any issues that may arise in this interview.

I understand that this consent form will not be linked to the questionnaire, and that my answer will remain confidential.

I understand that, if all possible, feedback will be given to my community on the result of the completed research.

_____   _____

Signature of Participant   Date

Appendix B

1. Age Group: **18-30:**   30-45:   45-60:   **Single:**Married:
   Other: (Mark with "X")

2. How long have you been living in South Africa?

3. Can you tell me about your journey to South Africa and how you came to be in Durban?

4. How do you find life in Durban, can you tell me about the solidarity among Congolese immigrants in Durban?

5. What kind of work are you doing in order to survive here in Durban?

6. Do you love the type of job you are doing? Does it cover your basic needs?

7. How do you get to have access to work or start a small business?

8. Do you have access to credit since you have been living in Durban?

9. Is there any other lucrative activity you are involved in beside your work?

10. Do you know about any informal activities going on among Congolese immigrants?

11. What do you think of the South African government and NGOs, are they helpful to immigrants in Durban?

12. How can you describe the attitude of local people towards immigrants in Durban?

13. How do you perceive the South African police force being an immigrant in Durban?

14. As an immigrant living in Durban, how do you find the department of home affairs?

15. How is the process in terms of getting papers done? What type of paper do you use?

16. Do you intend to settle permanently in South Africa?   Give a reason please!

17. If conditions are conducive for a safe return in the DRC, do you intend to go back home? Give a reason please!

18. In terms of quality of life, can you compare the life you once lived in the DRC to the one you are currently living now in Durban, South Africa?

19. What your qualification do you have in terms of education?

20. Have you acquire any training or trade purpose since you have been living in Durban?

21. What are your plans for the next five or ten years from now?