



**Assessing the Effects of Economic Participation of Burundian Migrants in
Durban's Informal Economy**

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ABSTRACT

Economic issues are typically at the heart of migration decisions globally. Disparities in incomes between countries play a major role in motivating people with different levels of skills to migrate from developing countries to countries with more developed economies in search of secure livelihoods and improved quality of life. In Africa, South Africa is the leading migration destination country in Sub-Saharan Africa because of its buoyant economy and relative security. However, upon arriving migrants are confronted with the harsh reality of unemployment and little support from the host countries with a high level of discrimination from natives. Additionally, lack of assistance and empathy from non-profit organizations compound the situation further. Boxed into a corner and a hopelessness migrants have no alternative but to take up informal income generating activities. The informal sector plays a significant role in addressing unemployment among migrants. Street trading, which is the most visible sector of the informal economy, has been blamed for urban decay and the negative impact it has on the urbanization of different cities across South Africa. Such views have contributed to the challenges of street traders and have affected how they make a living. Street trading is a growing phenomenon in the Central Business Districts (CBDs) where many are people dependent on the practice of street trading for livelihoods. Durban has a large number of informal sector traders operating in the center's streets, corners and road reserves. The city's informal sector is constrained by inadequate infrastructure, poor policy implementation, negligence from the city authorities, inadequate trading spaces and contradictory policies from local and national government. The space scarcity is worsened by the involvement of the formal sector in space allocation and control. Environmental pollution is prevalent and spatial organization on income activity patterns. The informal sector is inherently a challenging environment for those eking out a living in the shadows of the formal economy. However, the challenges are more acute for African migrants on the periphery of the Durban's formal economy. It is in this context that the study explores challenges that are faced by Burundian migrants in Durban's informal economy. The study will highlight various livelihood activities of Burundian migrants in the city of Durban. It will further seek to understand the nature, types of activities that Burundian migrants are involved in to survive in Durban. Finally, the study will provide an understanding into the misconception that foreign owned businesses has no benefits to the city and to the country as a whole.

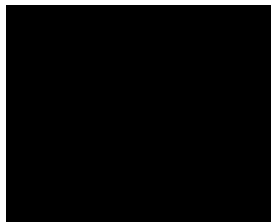
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Declaration

I, Niyonkuru Hassan declare that this dissertation is my original work, thoughts, ideas and knowledge. It was never submitted to any academic institution or any examiner for whatever purpose. All borrowed ideas, views, and opinions from various scholars were properly acknowledged through citations and references.

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As the candidate's supervisor, I agree to the submission of this dissertation.

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Signed

Date: 10 November 2023

Sultan Khan

Abbreviations and Acronyms

ACCORD	African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes
ANC	African National Congress
BEE	Black Economic Empowerment
CBD	Central Business District
CORMSA	Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa
DPMF	Development Policy Management Forum
DTI	Department of Trade and Industry
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
DFID	Department of International Development
DESA	Department of Economic and Social Affairs
GNP	Gross National Product
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEAR	Growth Employment and Redistribution
ILO	International Labor Organization
ID	Identity Document
ID	In-depth Interview
ISS	Institute for Security Studies
IIED	International Institute for Environment and Development
KZN	Kwazulu- Natal
NRBA	Northern Region Business Association
MEC	Member of the Executive Council
LEAN	Lean Enterprise Acceleration Programme
SAMP	Southern Africa Migration Programs
SARS	South African Revenue Services
SAPS	South Africa Police Services
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SMMEs	Small, Medium and Micro Enterprises
SSA	Statistics South Africa

SAAPAM South Africa Association of Public Administration and Management

SEDA	Small Enterprise Development Agency
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
SSA	Sub Saharan Africa
SOES	State Owned Enterprises
UN	United Nations
VAT	Value Added Tax
WTO	World Trade Organization
IOA	In On Africa
ILO	International Labor Organization
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OXFAM	Oxford Committee for Famine Relief
UCT	University of Cape town
USA	United States of America
UK	United Kingdom
UKZN	University of KwaZulu-Natal
UNHCR	United High Commissioner for Refugees
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Program
MCC	Mennonite Central Committee
NDP	National Development Plan
WIEGO	Women in Informal Employment Globalizing Organization

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

South Africa needs a revolution, not a politically inspired one that would seek to overthrow its democratically elected government, but rather one that seeks a creation of a radical, innovative and holistic strategic paradigm that will release the country from the current socio-economic malaise (Dorrian, 2005). South Africa's political and economic landscape has dramatically changed in the past decades because of the abrupt transition from apartheid to a democratically elected government (Kon and Lackan, 2008). After decades of political isolation, upon democracy it has been integrated in the political economy of the globe. In the African continent, South Africa occupies a center stage due to its political economy and takes a leading role in socio-political matters. Many African states look up to South Africa for leadership and economic well-being due to its developed infrastructure inherited from the apartheid regime. Notwithstanding, the big brother role that South Africa plays in the continent, on the home front it is plagued by serious socio-economic distresses as many citizens have not realized the full benefits of post liberation promises. Almost half of the citizens are in dire straits of poverty and underdevelopment. Unemployment is rife, homelessness persists, and poverty levels are chronic and endemic. Despite the precarious socio-political and economic strains that the country faces, foreign nationals from the continent, migrate to the country in the belief that it is a land of economic prosperity which they want to tap given their own socio-economic and political circumstance. It is estimated that South Africa is home to an estimated 242 000 refugees and migrants from the African continent mostly originating from Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda, South Sudan and Zimbabwe. As there is no encampment policy, refugees and migrants reside amongst communities, primarily in the country's urban areas. Given the complex environment of mixed population flows in the broader migratory context, getting a clear picture of the numbers of migrants in the country can be challenging (EGRISS, 2022).

Many migrants to South Africa escape political turmoil in their home countries to seek political asylum as refugees. Burundi is one such country in the continent plagued by ethnic violence displacing a large segment of their populace to different parts of the continent as refugees. South Africa is one such country where Burundians have migrated as refugees seeking political asylum. It is in this context that the study focuses on Burundian migrants who seek safety and well-being together with other migrants motivated by economic benefits that can be derived in South Africa.

The migration to the so-called promised land for better economic promise is dashed by South Africa's internal state of affairs wherein a significant segment of its populace is confined to the margins of unemployment and chronic levels of poverty. Many South Africans find participation in the informal economic sector as a source of livelihood as well. With almost a third of South Africans being unemployed, participation in the informal economic sector becomes the only safety net for survival. It is in this context that innocent migrants in search of economic prosperity have their hopes and dreams dampened by the lack of economic opportunities and join their South African counterparts in the informal economic sector to eke a living. The chapter provides a backdrop to the study, the rationale, the aims and objectives with a theoretical perspective that guides the study. The chapter concludes by providing the structure of the study.

1.2. Background to the Study

Between 1960 and 2008, Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) has been characterized by a weak growth performance and a high and persistent dependence on natural resources (Carmignami and Chowdhury, 2010). During this period, per capita GDP in SSA has grown at an average annual rate of 0.74% (Carmignami and Chowdhury, 2010). South Africa's unemployment rate of 26% is among the highest in Southern Africa and in the world (Hovsha and Meyer, 2015). Additionally, South Africa is the most unequal society in the world (Ranchhod, 2019). Despite repeated promises to reduce poverty by the previous governments, the number of people living in poverty has actually increased (Saul, 2006). Thus, the need for employment opportunities is cited by the South African populace as the foremost priority (Lighthelm, 2006). However, employment in the formal sector is scant and inadequate. Consequently, the informal economy plays a significant role in absorbing the unemployed and plays a significant role in poverty alleviation in developed and developing countries (Hovsha and Meyer, 2015). Faced with the enormous economic challenges unleashed by the apartheid government over decades, the new democratic government introduced various development programs to address past injustices and bring about economic reform (Bhorat and Kanbur, 2006) The Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP) which was introduced in 1994 upon accession to democracy, describes itself as an integrated, coherent socio-economic framework that will uplift the country from its socio-economic woes (Bhorat and Kanbur, 2006:59). The RDP incorporates ideas of democracy, prosperity and sustainable growth that are environmentally friendly (Corder, 1997). The programme set ambitious goals, such as major infrastructure projects, social services in housing and redistribution of land reform to previously disadvantaged sections of the country (Bhorat and Kanbur, 2006.).

The idea was to have integrated, coherent socio-economic policies that would address problems brought about by the lack of equitable development under apartheid (Bailey, 2017). However, the implementation of the policy have not been successful as people had anticipated, with the majority of the population still poor and disenfranchised by a slow pace of development (Roux, 2014). This is due to high levels of corruption and mismanagement in state social services (Bailey, 2017). The shortcomings of the RDP program gave birth to the creation of GEAR (Growth Employment and Redistribution Program). GEAR promised to reduce poverty and inequalities through a surge in economic growth. The economic growth engine in GEAR takes the form of the demand led by a rapid stimulus and expansion in the private sector (Streak, 2004). While, the GEAR strategy was sufficient for the achievement of macro-economic objectives, it clearly fell short with regard to the social challenges of the country, most notably poverty reduction and employment creation as was envisaged. Low levels of economic growth and private investment were insufficient to contribute to the reduction in unemployment and the policy achieved very little success with the distribution of wealth. Given South Africa's high rate of unemployment in the formal sector, the informal economy has emerged as a major source of income and provides livelihoods for poor urban households (Southern African Migration Programs, 2015). The term informal sector was first coined by Keith Hart in his study of the economic activities of Accra, Ghana in 1973. Hart described and analyzed the many and varied activities of the urban poor and the important part they played in supplying essential services in Accra (Hart, 1973). In South Africa, the informal economy is characterized by various forms of street trading which has gone through the process of transformation over the years. During apartheid, Black street traders were faced with harassment and violent evictions if they wanted to trade in previously known whites-only cities (Rogerson, 2016). However, from 1994 policies became more relaxed and street traders started to operate in bigger cities like Durban, Cape Town, and Johannesburg. Currently, street trading attracts people as far as beyond the borders of South Africa. Callaghan's (2014) study indicates that in 2008 12% of street traders in Johannesburg were originally from Johannesburg whilst 56% were migrants and 32% were from South Africa but born outside of Johannesburg. In 2009 these numbers changed as the number of migrant street traders grew compared to the number of South African born street traders that declined.

According to Sinha (2009), businesses in the informal sector are known to be unregulated and unrecorded by the government. As a result, informal traders are often compelled by circumstance to operate outside the framework of the law (Sally, 2016). The inability of the South African formal economy to provide sufficient jobs for the rapidly growing labor force and uneven distribution of skills within the labor force is the most disturbing feature of the current economic environment (Roux, 2014:54).

Consequently, the South African government has been encouraging its citizens for over many years to start up their own business in order to create job opportunities and to accelerate economic growth (Chisoro et al, 2015). Thus, much to the expectation of the government's vision for job creation in the formal sector resulted in growth in the informal sector (Chisoro et al, 2015). The informal economy constitutes an important part of the South African economy. It has been highlighted considerably in terms of research during the past two decades, not only because of its sheer size but also because of its potential role in providing income opportunities, particularly for the unemployed in South Africa (Ligthelm, 2006). The informal economy is estimated to be worth 164 billion Rands which represent between 30% and 40% of the food spent in the country (Zourides, 2018). The informal economy offers alternative and often long-term means of survival to thousands of people who cannot find formal employment (Blaauw, 2017). The informal sector comprises half to three-quarters of non-agricultural output in Africa, 51 % in Latin America, 65% in Asia, and 72% in Sub-Saharan Africa (Burnett and Manji, 2006).

According to Sally (2006), employment in this sector operates without contracts, worker benefits of social protection. Informal trading is spreading in the cities of most developing countries and is a source of employment and income to a large percentage of urban households (Burnett and Manji, 2006). The trade takes place at strategic points where there is dense human traffic- along main roads, in parks, on pavements, and streets and road junctions where traders are visible to pedestrians and motorists (Burnett and Manji, 2006). Informal trading is usually necessitated by various factors such as unfavorable economic conditions, corruption, low economic growth rate and large-scale unemployment. Regulations and finances are some reasons that prevent informal traders to operate formally and thus are forced into the informal trading places (Abdul et al, 2015).

In Africa, informal work during the past decade is estimated to have accounted for almost 80% of non-agricultural employment, over 60% of urban employment and over 90% of new jobs. In Sub-Saharan Africa in particular, street trading predominates in much of the informal sector (Becker, 2004). Due to the high levels of unemployment among youth in developing countries, young people are found to be working informally. By the end of the 1990s, 57% of those involved in non-agricultural work in the age group 15–19 years were to be found in the informal economy (Becker, 2004). In South Africa, the labor absorption capacity of the formal economy has fallen dramatically during the past two decades, with the result that the informal sector has become increasingly important as a safety net for people who are unable to secure a formal sector job (Ligthelm, 2006). It is in this context that locals and migrants have seized the opportunity to participate in the informal economy in order to eke a living. Migrants find employment in the informal economy

unproblematic as the bureaucracy and red tape involved in the formal economy is something not easy to overcome. Migrants in the informal sector are playing an important role in the economy by buying goods in bulk from the formal sector and contributing to paying Value Added Tax (VAT) and providing jobs to the unemployed locals (Sally, 2011). However, the importance of that role is invisible to researchers, policymakers and the public at large.

Consequently, the entry of Burundian migrants in Durban's informal sector trading is a result of government's discriminatory policies towards migrants and lack of access to the formal labor market (Fatoki and Patswawairi, 2012). Migrants who come to South Africa from elsewhere in the African continent engage in a number of different occupations and forms of employment to earn a livelihood (Jacobsen, 2004). Although some are in formal employment, many earn their living in insecure, informal employment – such as casual labor in construction or domestic service – or through entrepreneurial activities as traders, artisans or providers of various personal services (Crush et al, 2015). However, in the process of participating in the informal trading, migrants encounter various challenges in trying to make a living in the host country (Jacobsen, 2004). Challenges include but not limited to a lack of proper resident documentation which exclude migrant's access to credit from formal institutions to start their businesses. Additionally, harassment and intimidation at the hands of the South African police and citizenry occur on a daily basis on migrants in Durban's street trading. Street traders are the most visible segment of the informal economy and comprise a significant proportion of the total number of informal workers in South Africa (Motala, 2002). When the ANC government (African National Congress) came to power after South Africa's democratic elections in April 1994, it faced daunting economic challenges such as severe poverty, inequality, and economic stagnation. The mandate of the new government had to be the redistribution of wealth and incomes between privileged whites and deprived blacks (Hirsch, 2005:1). However, the economy that they inherited was in decline, having virtually stagnated in real terms for a decade (Hirsch, 2005). Consequently, challenges to address previous inequalities remain a big challenge. In the first decade of democracy, government made little progress in terms of expanding employment, achieving employment equity in the private sector and upgrading human capital (Gqubule, 2006:23).

However, the South African economy was growing below its potential, significantly below the growth rate required by the government to reduce unemployment and poverty and to address previous economic imbalances (Cilliers, 2017:144). It is against the background of unemployment and poverty that the majority of the citizens have entered the informal trading market (Mathebula and Motsoeneng, 2014).

Statistically, women comprise the largest number of street traders in the informal sector and as such street trading is an important poverty alleviation mechanism for them (Motala,2002). In Owerri, Nigeria, street trading make considerable contribution to urban life through providing goods and services at prices which the poor can afford (Chukuezi, 2007). The contribution of the informal sector in relation to providing employment is crucial in the fight against poverty (United Nations Economic Social Council 2006). In South Africa, migrants in the informal economy are playing a significant role in reducing poverty among themselves and also creating employment for locals (Jacobsen, 2004). Historically, the apartheid government set a limit on migration. However, since its post-1994 readmission to the global community, South Africa has experienced significant numbers of immigrant entrepreneurs trading in various sub-sectors of the informal business economy, most commonly in street vending and home-based enterprises or spaza shops (Ntema, 2016). The fall of apartheid resulted in a significant number of African refugees fleeing wars and strife on the African Continent. This has resulted in a significant movement of migrants and refugees into South Africa, particularly from other African countries (Mothibi et al, 2015).When they arrive in the country, migrants depend on fellow countrymen, either friends or family, for support. These social networks are very useful because they are a means of quickly securing employment and an income (Crush et al, 2015). However, upon arriving they encounter various challenges such as unemployment (Jacobsen, 2004). Given the current unemployment rate at around 26%, which is defined as the percentage of the labor force that is unemployed but willing and able to work, and actively seeking employment the figures are shocking (Cilliers, 2017). Unemployment rate has grown every year since 2008, when the financial recession impacted on South Africa's economy. In the context of a high level of formal unemployment in South Africa and the difficulties of obtaining employment as non-South Africans, African migrants are forced to use a variety of livelihood strategies (Jacobsen, 2004). During the initial period in South Africa, they are most likely to work in the informal businesses of other migrants from the same country already settled in Durban. This gives them time to become familiar with the new environment and to decide on the best way forward (Crush et al, 2015). Most migrants are involved in various informal small businesses of various kinds that provide the possibility of earning some income. These include trade in small goods and services, which range in size from hawking a few wares on the street to small stores and businesses that sell shoes, bags and accessories in the city of Durban (Maharaj, 2009). According to Jacobsen (2004:60), the income from such activities tends to be limited and unpredictable, and street traders who work outside of it risk theft, violent robbery, and police harassment. Furthermore, migrant street traders operating in Durban encounter various challenges such as operating and not given a space to trade or the space's traders make

usage of are regarded as illegal since they have not been set aside for trade. In cases where they are allowed to operate, the spaces are considered temporary and eviction occurs at the will of urban authorities (Abdul et al, 2015). The contribution of migrant entrepreneurs has not only been neglected by government, academia and the public discourse, but has also been under-reported in the media. While popular perceptions of immigration involve migrants arriving in South Africa to take jobs and depress wages, corruption and criminal activities, illicit trading, etc. migrants actually tend to be highly entrepreneurial and business risk takers (Makgahlela and Lesabe, 2015). However, widespread allegations of unethical tendencies being responsible for the success of migrant owned businesses persist.

For instance, reasons forwarded as to why non-South Africans out perform their South African counterparts are a legion and commonly include: allegations of selling products which have passed their sell by date or fake products/goods, non-payment of tax returns; operation of unregistered businesses; and the fact that many of these business people are alleged to be in the country illegally, persist (Ntema, 2006). A lot of what has been said and reproduced is based on hearsay and anecdotal evidence or myths.

1.3. Problem Statement

South Africa's constitution includes the basic principles of refugee protection such as freedom of movement, right to work and basic access to social services to those that are within the Republic (UNHCR, 2015). Thus, the UNHCR 1967 Convention and Protocol relating to the status of refugees and migrants highlighted that refugees should have access to the same rights as natives without any discrimination (Paulk, 2015). However, the lack of growth in the South African economy in recent years and within the Sub-Saharan region ranks second after Nigeria, which is considered to have the biggest economy in the region is of concern. Socio-economically South Africa is facing many challenges as many young people cannot find employment. The government is trying to encourage the youth to participate in the informal economy by promoting SMMEs and other financial incentives. Given the above background of unemployment and lack of opportunities in the formal sector, migrants are increasingly forced to earn a living in the informal sector of the city. The South Africa's constitution declares that South Africa belong to all regardless of race, creed and origin. However, these rights stipulated are not universal applied to refugees and thus many Burundian migrants do not enjoy the rights and privileges as stipulated in the Constitution. Thus, Burundian migrants have been discriminated against on the basis of their origin. Consequently, opportunities to work, and live a dignified life is impugned upon. Additionally, institutionalized discrimination against migrants and refugees that blame for crimes,

, lawlessness and unemployment has increased tensions between refugees and native that spill over into xenophobic attacks. Policies adopted by local government have had implications and municipal by-laws regulating street trading often have had a negative direct impact on the livelihoods of migrant street traders; these include Operation Clean Sweep, which was implemented in Johannesburg. The study therefore seeks to understand the challenges faced by migrants while seeking to earn a living in the shadows of the South African economy. Additionally, difficulties in accessing permits and the regulation thereof by the eThekweni Municipality, especially in the public spaces, has proven to be difficult for some of the street traders in their efforts to make and sustain an acceptable livelihood. The contributing factor for choosing Burundian as a study case was mainly due to the fact that I am Burundian migrant participating in the informal sector of Durban and have experienced similar challenges that afflict my brethren. Therefore, the study was initiated to understand challenges and derive deep understanding and produce an ethnographic source of knowledge of the challenges faced by this community in order to equip the next generation, scholars and academia into understanding the challenges faced by migrants in Durban's informal economy at a broader level.

Additionally, available literature on migrants in Durban's informal economy is limited and inadequate, insufficient, narrow in scope and mainly centered on xenophobic attacks. This study promises to provide an insider understanding of the challenges faced by a case study in the informal economic sector which knowledge can be used to compare with other case studies of communities engaged in this form of economic activity.

1.4. Rationale for the Study

Whilst, it is of significant importance to address and counter negative assumptions and generalization regarding African migrants, the issue of African migrants in South Africa is well documented and supported by a rich literature with varying titles. However, few studies have dealt with Burundian migrants in relation to their participation in Durban's informal economy. Hence, undertaking the current study seeks to advance a clear understanding of African migrants and their contribution, it is important to examine their socio-economic participation of the host country. However, the objective of this study is not to seek facts about foreign migrants and their economic contribution or otherwise to the host country, rather it is to explore and provide insights into the experiences of foreign migrants in Durban's informal economy, with specific focus being on Burundian migrants residing in Durban. A considerable literature on foreign migrants in South Africa has been published extensively. Unfortunately those studies have been general in nature rather than specific.

Such literature however rich in content and significance have unfortunately been insufficient in terms of exploring the impact of the socio-economic participation of Burundian migrants, which this study specifically has set as its objective. The current study upon completion would be beneficial to the migrant community as well as the eThekweni Municipality in terms of generating new knowledge that will enhance the understanding of the dynamics and difficulties involved in earning a living in the informal economy. Additionally, it will contribute to policy development and evaluation and review.

1.5 Research Aim and Objectives

The overall objective of the study is to evaluate the ranges of experiences of Burundian migrants in Durban's informal economy.

The specific objectives are:

- 1.4.1. To determine the nature of informal trading amongst Burundian migrants in the Durban CBD.
- 1.4.2. To explore the role of informal trading on employment creation amongst Burundian migrants in the Durban CBD.
- 1.4.3. To assess the relationship between Burundian migrant traders and the metropolitan government in the Durban CBD
- 1.4.4. To determine the challenges faced by Burundian migrants in the informal sector in Durban CBD.

1.6 Research Questions

Specific questions that will be asked are:

- 1.6.1. How is the informal economy organized by Burundian nationals in the Durban CBD?
- 1.6.2 To what extent does the Burundian national in the informal sector economy create jobs for locals?
- 1.6.3 What is the relationship between Burundian migrant traders and the municipal authority in Durban CBD?
- 1.6.4. What are some of the positive impact that Burundian informal traders have on the formal economy of the city?
- 1.6.5. What are some of the challenges confronting Burundian informal traders?

1.7. Theoretical Perspectives upon which the Study will be constructed

For its theoretical framework, the study draws on the literature on **livelihood** and the **network theories**. These theories are both essential and important for migrants – to settle and thrive in the new environment. The term livelihood refers to one's resources of living, which involves one's assets, capabilities and those activities that are necessary to making a living (Chambers and Conway, 1991). Network can also be characterized by formal contractual relationships between organizations, strategic alliances and joint business ventures within a particular community. Livelihood strategies are a combination of activities that are chosen by people to meet their needs (Arun, 1999). According to Haidar (2009), the main focus of livelihood theory is on minimizing poverty, give power to the poor to make use of opportunities and to provide support for accessing assets. According to Serat (2008), livelihood can also refer to combination of activities and choices that people undertake to achieve livelihood outcomes such as securing food, shelter, and education. The livelihoods structure provides a thorough, and multifaceted, approach to understanding how people make a living (Kanji et al, 2005). Livelihood emphasizes understanding of the context within which people live, the assets available for them, livelihood strategies they follow in the face of existing policies and institutions, and livelihood outcomes they intend to achieve (DFID, 2000). Livelihood is central to development and the identification of appropriate poverty-reducing intervention what do people do to gain a living? What income options provide the most promising means to escape poverty? And what are the entry barriers? (Davis et al, 2010).

1.8. Network theory

Over the past decade, there has been an explosion of interest in network research across the physical and social sciences. For social scientists, the theory of networks is very useful in yielding explanations for social phenomena in a wide variety of discipline from psychology to economics. According to Poros (2011), a social network is made up of individuals and organizations, often called nodes, which are tied together by different sorts of relationships, such as friendship, economic exchange, influence, and common interests. An individual person can think of him or herself as a node that has ties to kin, community members, schoolmates, and colleagues, as well as to larger religious, political, educational, and state institutions. Networks are different from groups or communities in that they do not have closed boundaries. They are, in principle, open configurations of relationships that can encompass groups and communities, among other social formations. (Stephen et al, 2009). One of the most potent ideas in the social sciences environment is the notion that individuals are entrenched in thick webs of social relations and interactions. Social network theory provides an answer to a question that has preoccupied social philosophy for a long time, namely the problem of social order; how autonomous individuals can combine to create enduring, functioning societies.

Network theory also provides explanations for myriad of social phenomena from individual's

creativity to corporate profitability (Stephen et al, 2009). Migrant networks are sets of interpersonal bonds that connect migrants, returnees and non-migrants to contacts and relatives in both the sending and destination countries through ties of kinship, camaraderie and shared values from the home country. For newcomers, social networks enable access to information, goods and services in the host country, and help maintain a link with the homeland (McMichael and Manderson, 2004). This web of connections, loyalties, investments and obligations represent a concept useful in settling. Migrants are often among the most vulnerable, facing the excessive barriers to economic and civic integration (Jacobsen, 2004). Social networks have the potential to provide information about jobs, or adjust to society in the destination country in other ways (Poros, 2011). For migrants, social network help them cope with heightened stress and anxiety during the asylum process, which might also improve their employment prospects. Some migration networks include humanitarian agencies and refugees based services organizations that play vital roles in assisting migrants in settling in a new environment. Consequently, the increase in migration networks and their expansion in terms of destination across the globe enhance and effect global migration.

1.9. Push and Pull Theory in Migration

The push and pull theory argue that migration is a product of push factors from the sending countries and pull factors at the receiving countries. These factors include population growth, state failure, corruption, economic restructuring and environmental degradation in the sending countries, and migration laws, demand for labor and high wages in the receiving countries. Globalization, economic crises, political instability, conflicts, civil wars, ethnic cleansings, social inequality, the development of market economy, gender discrimination, the wider processes of transformation, especially the last ten years, contributed significant wave of migration in the world. Over the past three decades, migration has emerged as a major force throughout the world. In traditional immigrant-receiving societies such as Australia, Canada, and the United States, the volume of immigration has grown and its composition has shifted decisively away from Europe, the historically dominant source, toward Asia, Africa, and Latin America (Massey et al, 1993). The present study examines the livelihood strategies and theory as the main theory which the current study will consult. However, push and pull factors will also be considered to better understand the situation of Burundian migrants in informal trade in the city of Durban. The Livelihood approach comprises the capabilities (assets) material and social resources that is required by a particular community to enable their survival (Petersen and Pederson, 2010). The approach provides a more holistic view on what resources, or combinations of resources are important for survival.

According to Petersen and Pederson (2010), the sustainable livelihoods framework is built on the belief that people need assets to achieve a positive livelihood outcome.

The choices made to achieve livelihood are influenced by income status, religion, political or social status and other factors. Livelihood strategies are precarious in nature and include a mix of low paying, unsafe, often arduous work for low returns. The livelihood strategies for the poor are predominantly in the informal economy and sometimes illegal (World Bank, 2001). The network theory refers to a description of the relationship of people within a particular setting. In this context it refers to family and friends of the same ethnic composition. How they relate among themselves will ultimately determine how successful they become. Networks are able to play the role that they do because of the way in which they affect livelihoods. The above theories complement each other in a sense that the livelihood comprises means of survival and, network assist in relation on how to utilize such means to ensure a better life for the community. The above theories have been used extensively in the fields of social sciences in a bid to understand phenomenon within a community of people. The extensive usages of both theories have been preferred by social scientists to bring about quality outcome of the research.

1.10. Organization of the Study

The dissertation is made up of five chapters. Chapter One is the introduction and covers the rationale as well as the objectives of the research. It also examines the theoretical framework that guides the study. Chapter Two discusses literature review. Chapter Three lays out the methodology used in this study. Chapter Four analyses the findings that emerged from the interviews that were conducted. Chapter Five provides a discussion of the results. Conclusions are then formulated and recommendations for future policy, as based on the findings are presented.

1.11. Conclusion

South African is an important destination for immigrants from Sub-Saharan Africa. Migration and its impact remain significant in South African society. The study aims to offer insight into the lives of Burundian migrants and their struggle to earn a living in South Africa. The study aims to put forward arguments for the reasons for migration by highlighting push and pull factors influencing the movement of people from their country. By deploying various perspectives on urban informality, the researcher will seek to explore why Burundian migrants in Durban's inner city have resorted to informal street trading in the midst of challenges relating to, among others, harassment by officials and various barriers meant to acquire trading licenses.

Additionally, Social exclusion and xenophobic attitudes from some key officials and ordinary

people worsen the already precarious situation of the refugee communities. The study seeks further to analyze various networks mechanisms employ by Burundian migrants within Durban inner city. Networks constitute a social net for newcomers and provide important support during random events such as unemployment, illness and death. However, access to the benefit of these networks is often subject to class, gender and age differentials which can have negative effects on both members and non-members. Burundian migrants are found to be in whatever opportunities they can to establish their livelihoods and increase their resilience to shocks and uncertainty in Durban. Thus their incomes originate from different economic activities. Incomes also come from social support remittance from other countries and provinces of South Africa. However, ethnicbased competition and mistrusts among Burundian migrants are widespread and a reality and often affects those new arrival's livelihoods in the community. NGOs, political parties, and various anti-foreign national's social groups are increasingly making the lives of African migrants in Durban difficult.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

This chapter is divided into seven sections. Section one is the overall introduction which covers the background on migration. Section two presents factors contributing to migration internationally and locally. Section three presents challenges faced by migrants globally and locally. Section four therein contains challenges faced by migrants while participating in South Africa's informal economy, additionally, an overview of poverty and its adverse consequence on urban migration are discussed. Section five concerns the overview/background of the informal sector in South Africa. Section six outlines the contribution of migrant informal traders to the South African economy. Lastly, section seven is the conclusion.

2.2. Background to Migration

According to Crush et al, (2005), Southern Africa has a long history of intra-regional migration, dating back centuries. Migration was probably the single most important factor tying together all of the various colonies and countries of the sub-continent into a single regional labor market during the twentieth century. According to Connor (2006), entrenched patterns of migration have undergone major restructuring in the last two decades. Consequently, Southern Africa is now a region on the move. Several broader changes underlying this shift towards greater and greater intra-regional mobility (Crush et al, 2005).

Firstly, the end of apartheid, a system designed to control movement and exclude outsiders, produced new opportunities for internal and cross-border mobility and new incentives for moving (Shaw, 2007). The ensuing integration of South Africa within the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region brought a major increase in legal and undocumented cross-border flows and new forms of mobility. Secondly, the region's reconnection with the global economy has opened it up to forms of migration commonly associated with globalization. Thirdly, growing rural and urban poverty and unemployment have pushed more people out of households in search of a livelihood in urban centers (Crush et al, 2005). According to Connor (2016), millions of people have migrated from their homes to other countries in search of safety and prosperity. Some have moved voluntarily, seeking economic opportunities.

While others have been forced from their homes by political turmoil, persecution to seek protection elsewhere (Jacobsen, 2004). Consequently, poor countries all over the world generally produce generations of emigrants for rich or relatively richer counterparts (Oucho, 2002). Due to its middle-income status, stable democratic institutions, and comparatively industrialized economy, South Africa hosts the largest number of immigrants on the African continent. Immigration has tended to increase over recent decades, particularly since the arrival of democracy and end of apartheid in 1994. However, despite its comparatively industrialized economy, the country does not create enough jobs to meet the demands of the large numbers of unemployed residents.

High rates of inequality are perpetuated by a legacy of exclusion and the nature of economic growth, which is not pro-poor and does not generate sufficient jobs. Inequality in wealth is even higher, and intergenerational mobility is low, meaning inequalities are passed down from generation to generation with little change over time (Moyo, 2021). Partly as result of these economic challenges, South Africa is undergoing a changing political environment in which the African National Congress (ANC), which has been in power since the advent of democracy, is losing support. The 2021 local government elections were the first since 1994 in which the ANC won fewer than half of the votes nationally. Among the parties that have risen in response are some that have advocated for stronger securitization of South Africa's borders and a more selective immigration system, often using the language of economic anxiety (Moyo, 2021).

According to Connor (2016), migration has increased substantially in terms of absolute numbers, but less so as a share of the world's current population. The absolute number of international migrants has grown considerably over the past 50 years, from about 79 million in 1960 to nearly 250 million in 2015, a 200% increase. Therefore by population size, there are far more international migrants today than any other period in history (Connor, 2016). According to United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) (1995:188), the final decades of the 20th century have been marked by increasingly large movements of people, crisscrossing the globe. But those people who have left their own country for various reasons constitute one portion of the global migrant population. Consequently, the increasingly visible presence of migrants in South Africa has produced some negative responses from the local population, since the new arrivals are perceived to be providing unfair competition for scarce jobs, educational opportunities and social welfare services (UNHCR, 1995:190). The following section will highlight factors contributing to migration worldwide.

2.3 Factors Contributing to Migration

2.3.1 Globalization

Over the past 20 years or so human mobility has accelerated and diversified, and also become increasingly globalized and politicized (King et al, 2010:60). Freedom of choice and freedom of movement are universal rights, and the trade of human skills, or simply the expression of human preference, means that millions of people cross borders every year in search of satisfying existence (Parker, 2010:25). In contrast to the characteristic of migration patterns of the post-transatlantic settler migration, or post-war guest worker's migration, today's migrants are more socially and demographically varied, and exhibit an increasing heterogeneity of forms of mobility and reasons for moving (King et al, 2010:61). The term globalization is widely applied to identify the growing depth, extent, and diversity of cross border connections that are key characteristics of the contemporary world (Kesselman et al, 2010:6). Globalization also involves the movement of peoples due to migration, employment opportunities, business and educational opportunities (Kesselman et al, 2010:7). Most mainstream analysts have defined globalization as a complex phenomenon made up of number of parallel processes, each of which grows, more or less inevitably, out of changes which are themselves beyond control (Mc Giffen, 2002). In this view, globalization may be either welcomed or lamented, but it must, in the end, be accepted. Changes in telecommunications, transport, in how things are made and the way people think have led inexorably to a world in which information and capital can travel from continent to continent instantly (Mc Giffen, 2002:17). The great expansion of international trade has created an integration of the world economy. Subsequently, integration of the economies of many nations has been the source of many nations being the main force in creating a new situation in the world called globalized (Seitz, 2002:21).

However, the subsequent movements of goods and people through various frontiers have reached an unprecedented proportion, producing a global migration crisis (Mc Gowan et al, 2006:253). It raises a host of moral issues, such as the ethnic balance inside host countries, meaning of citizenship and sovereignty, the distribution of income, labor supply, xenophobia, protection of basic human rights and prevention of exploitation and potential for large flows of migrants and refugees to undermine democratic governance and state stability worldwide (McGowan et al, 2006:255). Concurrently, with the ongoing process of globalization and consequently large numbers of migrants from Asia and Africa, many European countries have experienced a sharp rise in the number of migrants and this has been accompanied by outbreaks of hostility towards foreigners who are perceived as a threat to precarious resources and livelihoods but also posing a challenge to national cultures and identity (Guibernau, 2010). Increased migration is one of the most visible and significant aspects of globalization. According to Mbeki (2009:8), African

independence did not bring about economic transformation in Africa as it did in Asia, if anything, it entrenched the economic inequalities inherited from colonialism. The new black elites merely replaced the former white colonial elites, but the exploitation of the black masses continue as before, as did the exploitation of Africa's resources. Despite being so richly endowed naturally, Africa has drawn little benefit from this mineral wealth (Lebert, 2015). These inequalities gave rise to migration phenomenon, the movement of people across the continent surge significantly. According to Connor (2016), migration has increased substantially in terms of absolute numbers, but less so as a share of the world's current population. The absolute number of international migrants has grown considerably over the past 50 years, from about 79million in 1960 to nearly 250 million in 2015, a 200% increase. Therefore by population size, there are far more international migrants today than any other period in history (Connor, 2016). According to United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) (1995:188), the final decades of the 20th century have been marked by increasingly large movements of people, crisscrossing the globe. But those people who have left their own country for various reasons constitute one portion of the global migrant population. Consequently, the increasingly visible presence of migrants in South Africa has produced some negative responses from the local population, since the new arrivals are perceived to be providing unfair competition for scarce jobs, educational opportunities and social welfare services (UNHCR, 1995:190). The following section will highlight factors contributing to migration worldwide. The following section highlights various push and pull factors in migration.

2.4. Push and Pull Factors in Migration

2.4.1. Push Factors

The push and pull factors argues that migration is a product of push factors from the sending countries and pull factors at the receiving countries. According to Amisi (2005), factors influencing movement of people from their birth countries include population growth, state failure, economic restructuring and environmental degradation in the sending countries, and migration laws, demand for labor and high wages in the receiving countries (Amisi, 2005). The last few years have witnessed some significant changes in the scale, scope and complexity of the global migrant's problems (UNHCR, 1995). According to (UNHCR 1995:19), on the onset of the 21st century millions of people have been forced to abandon their homes as a result of political terror, social violence and conflict (UNHCR, 1995:19). Africa is often seen as a continent of mass migration and displacement caused by poverty, violent conflicts and environmental stress. Influenced by distorted images of massive refugee flows (in Europe) and boat people (UK) and alarmist rhetoric of politician's suggestion of an impending immigrant invasion has received extensive coverage and attention. However, the problem of this outlook and ideas are based on

assumptions and selective observations. The global north have failed to address the fundamental cause of migration which in most cases are the outcome of ill- advised military adventure on their part that have contributed to conflicts around the globe. For instance, since the start of the conflict in Sudan in mid-April, large numbers of civilians have been forced to flee, including people who were already internally displaced and refugees from other countries who had sought safety in Sudan.

Hundreds of thousands of people have fled into neighboring countries or returned home in adverse circumstances – notably to the Central African Republic, Chad, Egypt, Ethiopia and South Sudan. Others self-relocated within Sudan (UNHCR, 2023). The war in Sudan has resulted in the displacement of over 3.7 million people. In the Grand lake region, a record 6.9 million people have been displaced by conflict across Congo, which the United Nations migration agency said, making it one of the world’s largest displacement and humanitarian crises (Katumba, 2023). Conflict has been responsible for more death and displacement than famine or flood (DFID, 2001). Unfortunately violent conflict and lawlessness have caused a severe humanitarian crisis in Africa as many displaced people are now spread throughout the continent (Olaosebikan, 2010). Unresolved conflicts on the continent are generating record numbers of forcibly displaced populations. Extended forced displacement compels people to move driving up migration (Williams, 2024). The current wave is not confined to the African Continent alone, in Middle East, the war between Israel and Palestine has resulted in the forced displacement of 80% of the population of Gaza. Since the outbreak of the Syrian civil war in 2011, over 6.6 million people have fled the country of which 5.6 million found refuge in countries near Syria. In addition, 6.7million people are internally displaced inside Syria. In early April 2021; the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) put the number of refugees from Syria at approximately 3.6million in Turkey, 855000 in Lebanon and 665 000 in Jordan.

After over a decade of conflict, Syria remains the world’s largest refugee crisis. Since 2011, more than 14 million Syrians have been forced to flee their homes in search of safety. More than 7.2 million Syrians remain internally displaced in their own country where 70 percent of the population is in need of humanitarian assistance and 90 percent live below the poverty line. Approximately 5.5 million Syrian refugees live in the five countries neighboring Syria, Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq and Egypt. Germany is the largest non-neighboring host country with more than 850,000 Syrian refugees (UNCHR, 2024). Worldwide, the number of people forced to flee violent conflict has more than doubled in the last ten years (Culbertson, 2023). In Europe, the United Kingdom and Rwanda agreed on a migration and Economic Development partnership in 2022. The agreement allows the agreement allows the United Kingdom to send prospect asylum seekers to reception centers in Rwanda for processing. Several European countries have incentive for poorer states to set up centers for processing refugees that are seeking protection. However,

such actions have been vehemently criticized by Human Rights bodies, warning that it is unlikely to address the issue of migration. South Africa hosts hundreds of thousands of refugees, asylum seekers, and diaspora members largely from other African countries. Despite a well-known trend of Xenophobic attacks on African migrants and intermittent diplomatic and legal responses, South African authorities are largely ill-prepared or lack capacity to address the problem comprehensively. Social exclusion and negative attitudes from representative officials to the citizens on the ground contribute to an already precarious situation for the refugee communities in Durban. Given the above circumstances and challenges that refugees face in various communities in Durban, Burundian migrants in particular take whatever opportunities that they can to earn a living in Durban. By securing their own ways to negotiate challenges of socio-economic livelihood, Burundian migrants survive on unskilled work, mainly as car and security guard, working in hair salon and other informal businesses. This form of self-employment is present in the cities of Burundi. The establishment of these informal businesses forms a resilience barrier for Burundian migrants to manage social and financial support for themselves and their families in Durban. The participation of migrants in various forms of informal activities is a form of coping mechanisms in the trauma they face as Burundian migrants during their forced flight from the home country due to wars, repressions and poverty which are considered as push factors in migration. To illustrate the push factors, the outbreak of war between Russia and Ukraine has impacted many spheres of political, economic and social life. The war has forced the displacement of more than 14 million people- nearly one third of Ukraine's population to flee their homes seeking safety elsewhere in the country or abroad. The widespread destruction and loss of life have resulted in the largest humanitarian emergency in Europe since the Second World War (Duszczuk and Kaczmarczyk, 2023).

According to Amisi (2005), push factors entails the forced movement of people from their familiar surroundings due to factors beyond their control such as natural disasters including floods, drought, man-made tragedies such as conflict. Conflict is not limited to Africa, and it is a natural part of interaction among peoples in many parts of the world (McGowan et al, 2006). It is difficult, if not impossible to avoid conflict in every society. Occasionally, the choices and demands made by one group may threaten the identity and survival of another (Lemarchand 1996). Inter-group and interpersonal relations in every society are affected by the nature of their competition for resources to satisfy their needs and demands. If those resources are insufficient conflict may arise (McGowan et al, 2006:265). It often initially manifests itself simply in the form of disagreements or disputes over the distribution of resources (McGowan et al, 2006:266). Occasionally conflict takes the form of ethnic rhetoric between different ethnic groups (Lemarchand 1996). The Rwandan genocide of the minority Tutsi by majority Hutu extremists in 1994 resulted in the killing of more than 800 000 to one million Tutsi in just 100 days remains one of the darkest

period in recent history (Maron, 2019). The current war in Sudan between the Sudanese Armed forces and the paramilitary Rapid Forces has resulted in the forceful displacement of nearly 8 million people, including internally displaced, and those seeking safety in the neighboring countries (UNHCR, 2024). Consequently, the war and strife and massive displacement of people are the result of such conflict mentioned above (Ndikumana, 2005). As a result of the above mentioned factor, more than seventy wars have been fought in Africa since the early 1980s. According to McGowan et al, (2006), at the beginning of the twenty first century, sixteen of Africa's fifty four countries were affected by armed conflicts. Nevertheless, it is true that political turmoil in several parts of Africa has resulted in armed conflicts causing heightened insecurity and promoted the militarization of the state, which has often come at a great social and economic cost (McGowan et al, 2006:267). This is partly due to incumbent presidents on the African continent who are not willing to relinquish power and use state power to maintain their grip on power with all means. An example, Pierre Nkurunziza of Burundi who decided to run for a third term, won in July 2015. The subsequent clampdown on dissent caused more than 240,000 Burundians fleeing the country and to seek asylum in neighboring countries.

2.4.2. Pull Factors

More than 244 million international migrants were estimated to live in foreign countries in 2015, leaving apart the massive number of people that have relocated in their country (Castelli, 2018). Furthermore, a substantial proportion of international migrants from Southern countries do not reach Western nations but resettle in neighboring low-income countries in the same geographical area and find work in low-skilled jobs in host countries (Castelli, 2018). Migrants in this type of work generally do not have the same rights as citizens and live on the margins of society (Jacobsen, 2004). Cross-border labor migration between South Africa and its neighbors dates back to the mid-19th century, when diamond and gold mining industries were founded and the country began its trek toward a modern industrial economy (Crush, 2008).

Over the past twelve years, migration to South Africa has increased significantly as the country became the major regional economic and political power in the continent. Consequently, South Africa has struggled to cope with refugee and economic migrant flows from the continent. According to Jinnah (2010), democracy, natural wealth, and the country's developed industrial infrastructure are all pull factors for migrants from countries fleeing war, strife, poor economic conditions, and oppression. South Africa is seen as the most developed and therefore most attractive of all target countries inside Africa for those migrants seeking economic prosperity (Arnold, 2012:141).

Employment is an important pull factor with high levels of employment having a propensity to attract more migrants. People in areas characterized by high unemployment rates are amongst

groups with propensity to move away in search of better opportunities (Roux, 2009). People are attracted to migrate from one place to another as a result of better incomes offered by the destination country (Ngobeni, 2014). Migration can be viewed as a process of cultural evolution and social change and migrants bring new ideas, skills and a host of cultural practices related to food, dance, music and other life styles which should be welcomed (Ngobeni, 2014).

2.4.3. Overview of Inter- ethnic Tension in Burundi and Reasons for Migration

Burundi has the unfortunate distinction of being one of the most marginalized countries on the world's most marginalized continent (Abrahams, 1995). It is a small African nation with a high population density, extremely poor and lacking in strategic value or resources. Burundi has been largely ignored by most of the world. The population is divided between two main ethnic groups: the Hutu and the Tutsi (Ndayizigiye, 2005). According to Lemarchand and Eggers (2019), the Hutu form about 85% of the populace, while the Tutsi, and comprise about 14%, who originate from a small but politically and economically powerful minority. It borders Rwanda in the north, Tanzania in the East and the Democratic Republic of Congo in the West. The kingdom of Burundi developed its present territorial base starting in the 17th century. Under the leadership of a royal clan, *hima* pastoralists entered the country from southern Ethiopia and extended their control over the indigenous Bantu societies, within which they then assimilated (De Beer and Cornwell, 1999). However, since independence from Belgium in 1962, to date, intermittent conflict has engulfed this tinystate in the heart of Africa (Mokoena, 2006). At the core of the conflict is the issue of ethnicity. Sometimes these inter-ethnic conflicts over opportunities and resources develop into rebellions and armed fighting between the ethnic groups and the state (Bujra, 2002). The ensuing conflict has been responsible for the direct deaths of millions of civilians and has contributed significantly to the low levels of human security in the region (Bowd and Chikwanah, 2010).

In the capital city of Bujumbura especially, ethnicity and opportunities often move together and manifest in political competition (Jones, 2015). Burundi's military history is filled with ethnic conflict and genocide between the Burundian Tutsi and Hutu. Few Burundians escaped the ensuing anarchy into which the country is constantly plunged when inter- ethnic rivalries flare up (Lemarchand and Eggers, 2019). No society in this world loves conflict (Angessa, 2013). However, as long as people live together, work together, and interact with each other, disputes remain inevitable between sub-groups or individuals in a group, or between different groups (Angessa, 2013). Prolonged conflict in the great lakes region has long been fueled by poor governance, ethnic tensions, land conflict, poverty and competing international interests and corrupt power relationships (Baker et al, 2017:44). According to Brachet and Wolpe (2005), chronic waves of pre-emptive violence and revenge killings, have produced a culture of impunity,

deeply ingrained inter-ethnic grievances, and mutual fear and mistrust. The main elements of this tragedy are the millions of uprooted people who have lost their homes and livelihood (Huggins et al, 2005). The subsequent dislocations of people have created an unprecedented refugee crisis resulting in refugees seeking asylum in countries around the world including South Africa (Olusola, 2008). South Africa has, since the dawn of the new political dispensation in 1994, had to deal with a massive influx of people fleeing wars, persecution and poverty from both within and outside of the SADC (Southern African Development Countries) region (Akokpari, 2000). During the last two decades, Sub-Saharan Africa has been the most conflict affected region in the world. The countries of Sub-Saharan Africa that have been embroiled in violent conflict are characterized by abject poverty, inadequate service provision, political instability, retarded economic growth and other challenges to overall development that deter the enhancement of human security (Bowd and Chikwanah, 2010). According to Mujawamariya (2013: 32), South Africa has had a particular historical relationship to the rest of Africa, shaped by its apartheid history. The countries in the region share trans-border insurgencies, economic linkages, ethnicities and fault lines (Mokoena, 2006). Consequently, post-apartheid South Africa has become a destination for many migrants fleeing civil wars and violence in search of safety and economic opportunities (Livesay, 2006). The following section will highlight the process involved when people fleeing their home countries become migrants in foreign countries.

2.4.4. The Process of Becoming a Migrant

According to Zeleza (2008:1), violent conflicts of one type or another have afflicted Africa and exacted a heavy toll on the continent's societies, politics and economies, robbing them of their developmental potential and democratic possibilities (Zeleza, 2008). The causes of the conflicts are complex as the challenges of resolving them are difficult. No continent is immune to the problem of mass displacement. Refugee population can now be found in 70 countries around the world. For many years it is regarded as an essentially African, South-East Asian and Latin American phenomenon (UNHCR, 1995: 20). However, within Africa, the focus has shifted from north eastern and Southern parts of the continent to the Western and Central regions (UNHCR, 1995:20). To become a migrant is to experience a deep sense of loss.

When people go into exile, they are frequently obliged to abandon many of the assets which they had accumulated in their sending countries, however meager those might have been (UNHCR, 1995:26). Large scale movements of refugees and other forced migrants have become defining characteristics of the contemporary world (UNHCR, 1995:11). In several parts of the globe, large numbers of people have been obliged to leave their own countries and communities to seek safety elsewhere (UNHCR, 1995:11). Statistically, since 1980, Afghanistan has been the largest producer of refugees, and Africa the most severely affected continent (King et al, 2010:63). The

pattern of asylum seeking is closely related to patterns of conflict and human rights abuses (King et al, 2010:68). According to Arnold (2012:141), the first decade of the 21st century has seen wars, civil unrest and repression in Ivory Coast, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Rwanda and the DRC, to make only the most obvious cases that have led to an emigrant population seeking a new life in other African countries or further afield (Arnold, 2012). When people are forced into exile, they are separated from their familiar environment and cut off from friends, family and established social networks (UNHCR, 1995:26). As a result of this influx of migrants, international migration is attracting increasing attention, both among government in the industrialized countries and within various international agencies (Robert, 2008:3).

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2.5. The Root Causes of Burundian Crisis

Burundi is a small country covering a land mass of 27 834 square kilometers, with a population

numbering just over 8 million (Wolpe, 2011:5). The dimensions of the human tragedy that has played itself out in Burundi since the country's independence in 1960, however, are anything but diminutive: an estimated 400,000 killed, some 800,000 forced to flee the country, and many tens of thousands internally displaced (Wolpe, 2011). It is this combination of extreme inequality, on the one hand, and recurrent inter-communal violence, on the other, that has made the conflict one of the most intractable in Africa (Wolpe, 2011). Rwanda and Burundi are two small neighboring countries in East-Central Africa that share the same ethnic composition: approximately 85-90 percent Hutu, 10-14 percent Tutsi, and 1 percent Twa (Uvin, 1999:253). According to Bentley and Southall (2015:31), however, these divisions are far from hard and fast for over the centuries there has been considerable inter-mixing with, for instance, upwardly mobile Hutu being absorbed amongst the Tutsi by virtue of power, wealth and familiar connection.

Both countries are predominantly agrarian in economy, religion, language, and history. Most significantly, they both have been theaters of massive violence between their main ethnic groups, the Hutu and the Tutsi (Uvin, 1999). Given these similarities, it is no surprise that most analysts approach mass violence in both countries in an almost identical manner (Uvin, 1999). The inherent conflict often lead to massive loss of life as it mutates into protracted warfare between ethnic and regional militias, which in turn develop into guerrilla armies that threaten the viability of the nation-state (Lermarchand,1995). The periodic explosions of genocidal violence in Rwanda and Burundi, demonstrated most horrifically in the Rwandan genocide of 1994, which shows the destructiveness of inter-communal conflicts abetted by the state and reinforced by the devastations of economic stagnation, as well as the politicization and manipulation of ethnic differences by a cynical and bankrupt political class (Nhema and Zeleza, 2008:8). In Burundi, the events, which may have triggered the actual crisis, can be located in the brutal political and social changes introduced by the 1991 democratic process, which included the contradiction in leadership vision: the Tutsi fight to maintain the status quo while the Hutu increasingly demand for democratic elections. According to Ndayizigiye (2005:2), the tipping point of the violence was the assassination of the democratically elected president and his cabinet; the anarchy characterized by the absence of authority resulted in the lack of a strong government for decision making. Consequently, in 1995 active combatants in the ranks of the Tutsi militias and various guerilla groups organized by the Hutu extremists.

The war continued through 1997 and it was often fierce and included civilian massacres. Between 1993 and 1999 an estimated 250 000 people had died as a result (Arnold, 2012:167). Two key issues that characterize the Burundian conflict were **-Identity**, and **Resources**. These variables will then be discussed below to shed light on the circumstances that lead to such historical devastations.

2.5.1. Identity

According to Northrup (1989), identity is defined as an abiding sense of the self and of the relationship of the self to the world. It's a system of beliefs or a way of construing the world that makes life predictable rather than random. When a revived sense of group identity coheres around resentment and grievance, especially in time of crisis and war, it can produce apparently irreconcilable hatred in protracted and often cyclical conflicts, and the Hutu/Tutsi rivalries of Burundi can be seen as a primary contemporary example of this (Teshome, 2008). While blacks clash with whites in Africa over resources, blacks clash with blacks over their identities (Mazrui, 2008). White and black people, in other words, fight each other about who owns what, but blacks fight blacks about who is who (Mazrui, 2008). According to Ndayizigiye (2005:4), once ethnic differences in Burundi had become established as a symbol of superiority versus inferiority they were used as weapons in later group conflicts. Ethnic groups engaged in pre-emptive violence in weak state environments because they fear for their own survival (Julian et al, 2012). This process is borne out of marginalization and exclusion based on ethnic lines (Julian et al, 2012). Ethnic exclusion is a political strategy enacted by those controlling the state. It aims to secure their political, cultural, and economic interests by selectively denying parts of the population from access to valuable political and economic goods based on ethnic groups (Julien et al, 2012). But such exclusion comes at a substantial cost, as it often invites strong reactions from potential challenges against the state. The elites, as a result, became compelled to live in a constant state of readiness for aggressive response from the marginalized masses (Herrisse, 2002). The arguable defense became do unto others before it is done unto me. Ultimately so began a vicious cycle of action- reaction-vengeance (Herrisse,2002). Major clashes between blacks appear to be related to cultural demarcations. The struggle between the Hutu and Tutsi in Rwanda and Burundi is one such example (Mazrui, 2008). The worst case of ethnic conflict in recent years occurred in Rwanda. Tensions and suspensions between two major ethnic groups, the Tutsis and Hutus reached a climax in 1994 where Hutus killed more than 800,000 Tutsi civilians in revenge killings over the next several months (Johnson, 2019). In sum, members of excluded ethnic groups are more likely to continue fighting, which allows resistance from exclusion to the disadvantages to endure (Julien et al, 2012).

2.5.2. Resources

Rwanda and Burundi share a common historical background in that German and Belgian colonizers admired the taller people called Tutsis, who formed a small minority in both colonies (Hinton 2002). Many Tutsis are tall and many Hutus short. The Belgians bestowed the Tutsis with privileged access to education and jobs (Hinton, 2002). In most regions of the colonies the categories became economic

labels: poor Tutsis became Hutus, and economically successful Hutus became Tutsis. Where labels Hutu and Tutsi had not been used; lineages with lots of cattle were simply labeled Tutsi. Colonial discrimination against Hutu created what had not existed before, a sense of collective Hutu identity, a Hutu cause. Consequently, in the late 1950s Hutu began to rebel against Tutsi rule and privileges (Hinton, 2002: 336, 367). Burundi presents a typical example of how discrimination and unequal access to scarce resources lead to violence.

As the discrimination took place largely along ethnic lines, the violence and counter violence became ethnic too (Uvin, 1999). The violence led ultimately to large scale displacement of people both within and outside. The following section will highlight challenges faced by migrants internationally and locally.

2.6. Challenges Faced by Migrants Globally

2.6.1. Anti- Immigrant Sentiments in Europe

In the last fifteen years or so, prejudice, fear and resentment towards immigrants and refugees from Eastern Europe and Africa gave rise to talk of an invasion of the poor and expressions such as the storming of Europe (Guibernau, 2010). Over time, a number of economic, social, political barriers have been developed to justify a negative attitude towards immigrants. These range from the downward pressure that immigrants push on wages and raising unemployment among the native population, to their comparatively high birth rates with potential detrimental implications for the existing welfare system, demographic developments and national identity (Guibernau, 2010). In most European cities locals who thought crime in the city was increasing believed that immigrants were among the primary perpetrators. But neither police statistics nor statistical evidence support this narrative. A central premise of the hostility towards foreigners globally is that they steal jobs meant for locals. However, such assertions are not backed up by statistics (Wadsworth, 2015).

2.6.2. Xenophobia in South Africa

South Africa continues to be a crucial destination for immigrants from the African continent. Issues arising from migration remain significant and polarized in South African society, not merely demographically but also politically, economically and socially (Blaauw and Pretorius, 2022). Statistics from the 2011 census estimate that South Africa plays host to an estimated 2.2 million immigrants which translate to 4.2% of the total population (Statistics South Africa, 2018). However, these figures are hotly contested by various non-governmental organizations. According to Valji (2003), the first democratic elections in South Africa introduced a new democracy that has been heralded internationally as a 'miracle' transition. The multi-racial dispensation that

replaced apartheid has progressively addressed the country's legacy of a racially divided past: discrimination has been criminalized, affirmative action policies are in place, and the new constitution is perhaps the most progressive of any democracy in the world currently. Nevertheless, discriminatory attitudes and practices continue to manifest themselves, not just in historically familiar divisions but also in new forms of identity-based violence, the most disturbing of which has been xenophobia (Williams, 2008). In terms of high unemployment, experiences show that the public and policy makers become more concerned about the potential adverse effect of immigration on native's opportunities (Somerville et al, 2009). Over the past decade, incidents of violence and discrimination against African migrants have increased significantly (Valji, 2003). South Africans do not have access to enough resources to lead a life of dignity and with significant high levels of unemployment. The poorest of the poor, with the least resources, in desperation to acquire sufficient to meet their basic needs turn on the softest, most vulnerable targets (African foreigners without the social and legal support structures to protect them) to fight for limited resources and opportunities (Davis, 2008). In April 2015, a Whatsapp text message instructed African immigrants in South Africa to go home. The message drew on xenophobia and Afrophobia to criminalize African immigrants in South Africa. Broadly, immigrants are seen as breaking the law by illegally crossing a sovereign border and becoming illegal foreigners.

Having entered the country without authorization (documentation) these foreigners were perceived as drug dealers, traffickers of children, squatters, facilitators/exploiters of an informal economy, and thieves stealing socio-economic opportunities from South Africans (Velcamp, and Shaw, 2016). Consequently, South Africans face a post-colonial conundrum of how to handle immigrants who arrive across borders that are inherently porous, of colonial origin, and paradoxically symbolic of sovereignty (Velcamp, and Shaw, 2016). African migrants in South Africa are urban based, unlike their counterparts who live in camps in many other countries (Jacobsen, 2004). The urban nature of asylum has brought particular challenges to a country that is ill equipped for dealing with welcoming refugees (Harris, 2003). Although these immigration problems are rooted in global contexts, the congestion of immigrants in South Africa offers insights into the future of African continental migration flows (Harris, 2003). In 2016, Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe admitted that his government needed foreign food aid owing to the drought affecting southern Africa, causing a large number of Zimbabweans to continue to migrate to South Africa. As displacements of this nature continue in Africa, the number of Africans migrating to South Africa is more than likely to increase (Velcamp and Shaw, 2016). Xenophobia refers to the irrational fear of the unknown, or specifically, as the fear or hatred of those of a different nationality (Williams, 2008). The fear relies heavily on the circulation of myths and stereotypes about foreigners. Foreigners in South Africa are typically accused of

committing crimes; bringing disease (particularly HIV/Aids) stealing employment and swamping social services. However, contrary to perceptions such as this one however, research has shown that migrants were more than twice as likely to be self-employed than South Africans, and those who start their own businesses actually created jobs by hiring others (Hopson, 2009). African migrants have quickly become the scapegoats for the continuing social and economic ills facing many South Africans (Steenkamp, 2009). African migrants are thus often blamed for increasing hardship and lack of opportunities in relation to jobs and services such as houses, basic infrastructure and services (Granaham et al, 2015). Handmaker and Parsley (2001:44), cited in Steenkamp (2009), observe that xenophobia can take a variety of forms, ranging from derogatory language to violence. African migrants in South Africa are urban based, unlike their counterparts who live in camps in many other countries (Jacobsen, 2004). The urban nature of asylum has brought particular challenges to a country that is ill equipped for dealing with/welcoming refugees (Harris, 2003). Although these immigration problems are rooted in global contexts, the congestion of immigrants in South Africa offers insights into the future of African continental migration flows (Harris, 2003). In 2016, Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe admitted that his government needed foreign food aid owing to the drought affecting southern Africa, causing a large number of Zimbabweans to continue to migrate to South Africa. As displacements of this nature continue in Africa, the number of Africans migrating to South Africa is more than likely to increase (Velcamp and Shaw, 2016). The high levels of foreign nationals in South Africa will ultimately lead to animosity, resentment and xenophobic attacks perpetuated by locals. More subtle forms of xenophobia also permeate South African society—whether in the townships, or in the ethos and operations of powerful state institutions. For instance in march 2000, the South African Police Service launched Operation Crackdown in Johannesburg where thousands were arrested; immigrants were taken to deportation camps and loot and arms seized (Steenkamp, 2009). Such operation was simply targeting migrants in the name of fighting crime (Crush et al, 2015). Immigrant-bashing and persecution embody a ruling class tactic going back centuries that blames outsiders for a society's woes (Capaldi, 1997:241). South Africa has made great strides in the past decade in addressing the racially- based devastation of the apartheid regime and the centuries of colonialism which preceded it (Valji, 2003). However, it may be asserted that if the new democracy is to consolidate a culture of human rights and democratic values, new forms of prejudice and intolerance must also be addressed. Xenophobia must be recognized as a form of racism and be granted the same priority and given the same efforts at eradication as the new government has thus far accorded to addressing inherited racial divisions (Valji, 2003). Migrants face the trauma of war, forced migration, and the violence of exile. According to Harris (2003: 10), ongoing exposure to xenophobia compounds the impact of already complex trauma -related work in the South African context. While xenophobic views are not espoused or approved by

all local residents of affected settlements, their prevalence suggests that they do enjoy sufficient support and that there are few deterrents. Elected officials support also conveys a sense of legitimation and impunity, reducing the inhibition of potential offenders and, at the same time, enhancing the opportunistic aspects of violence. According to Crush et al (2015:47), official's tolerance and passivity convey ambiguous messages that are only likely to perpetuate and shore up repeated cycles of violence against migrants. More subtle forms of xenophobia also permeate South African society—whether in the townships, or in the ethos and operations of powerful state institutions. However, it may be asserted that if the new democracy is to consolidate a culture of human rights and democratic values, new forms of prejudice and intolerance must also be addressed. Xenophobia must be recognized as a form of racism and be granted the same priority and given the same efforts at eradication as the new government has thus far accorded to addressing inherited racial divisions (Valji, 2003). Migrants face the trauma of war, forced migration, and the violence of exile.

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2.6.3. Challenges Faced by Migrants in Durban's Informal Economy

Durban is a complex city, constantly expanding outwards, eating up the countryside that surrounds it, and linking up villages and traditional settlements inland (Sitas, 2010). Since 1994, the volume of trade going through its maritime channels has been on the increase (Sitas, 2010:115). According to Maharaj and Moodley cited in Sidztane (2011), a large percentage of migrants choose Durban because job and business opportunities prospects are seen as being better in Durban than elsewhere in the country. The city of Durban is part of eThekweni municipality which is located on the east coast of South Africa in the province of KZN. This municipality encompasses an area of approximately 2297 (SK) Square Kilometers and it's inhabited by about 3.5 million people (Stats South Africa, 2011). It is composed of a diverse society, which is challenged by various social, economic, and government factors. A striking characteristic of immigrant communities is ethnic clustering (Epstein and Gang, 2003). For instance concentrations of Turks are found in Germany, Tamils in Switzerland, North African nationals in the Netherlands and Belgium, Italians in Argentina, Greeks in Australia, and Ukrainians in Canada. Clustering can be very narrow, such as when immigrants from a town or region are concentrated in the one foreign town or region (Epstein and Gang, 2003). Clustering is done to

ensure safety among migrants from the same country of origin. Additionally to be close to employment opportunities within the city center (Jacobsen, 2004). Migrants in cities and towns are predominantly engaged in various informal set of activities of the city (Bhagat, 2014). A large number of these activities are seasonal and temporary in nature. Burundian migrants in Durban's informal economy are a complex and often problematic in different ways. During the ethnographic research the researcher witness and experienced the negativity and hostilities between African migrant traders and their South African counterparts. African migrants are often accused of selling expired foods, fake products and being in the country illegally and therefore deserving of the harsh treatment. Unfortunately, such environment does give way to attacks perpetrated by South Africans towards migrants from the African continent resulting in being chasing them away from their trading spaces. In 2021 African migrants trading at the Workshop and Soldiers Way in Durban were chased out from their trading places and those spaces have been allocated to South Africans only by the eThekweni municipality. However, there are instances of collaboration and mutual support between African migrants and South African traders as they experience similar challenges while earning a living in the informal sector of Durban. However, tensions also arise due to competition for limited resources and customers. According to Maharaj and Moodley (2000), Durban is one of four major industrial centers in South Africa, one of the most densely populated regions in the country. The prospect of better job and business opportunities is cited by migrants in choosing to settle in Durban (Maharaj and Moodley, 2009). The other factor is the level of violence and crime is significantly lower in Durban than Johannesburg and Cape Town (Maharaj and Moodley, 2000). People in Durban were more cordial and state policing more benign. However, migrants in the informal economy are subjected to various challenges such as harassment, crime and intimidation (Jacobsen, 2004). According to Benson et al (2014:6), informality is traditionally associated with undesirable development outcomes such as tax evasion, unregulated enterprises, environmental degradation and illegal activities. Since the mid- 1990s there have been an increasing number of migrants, particularly from other African countries, working on the streets of many South African cities and small towns (Jacobsen, 2004). There have been many reports of sometimes, violent conflict between South African and foreign street traders (Hunter and Skinner, 2003). According to Wills (2009:9), the inability of the formal economy to absorb unemployed individuals has become more pronounced in recent years. Consequently, the informal economy has played a key role in addressing poverty. Sadly, lack of policy certainty regarding informal economy has been problematic in realizing the full potential of the informal economy (Jacobsen, 2004). Migrants have also entered the informal economy as means to earn a living (Hunter and Skinner, 2003). Regrettably, very little information about migrants living and working in the Durban area is limited and outdated. This includes their numbers, where they come from, what economic

activities they are involved in and which parts of the city they live and work in. It is therefore difficult to obtain a representative sample of migrants working in the informal economy (Durban Unicity, 2001). Notwithstanding the above, the informal economy plays an important role in the city of Durban.

Migrant businesses are portrayed by officials, citizens and the media as having a negative impact on the South African economy and undermining the livelihoods of South Africans. The prevalence of such perceptions helps to explain growing xenophobic sentiment against migrants and refugees (Crush et al, 2015). According to Fatoki and Patswawairi (2012), migrant informal traders also face significant security challenges.

South Africa has an extremely high crime rate but there is also evidence that migrants are disproportionately affected by violence (Parker, 2010). Some of this can be attributed to business competition or what has been labeled violent entrepreneurship where attacks are orchestrated by South African competitors (Crush et al, 2015). However, theft and looting of migrant owned businesses by ordinary citizens, including children, is also common. In terms of business risks, the official government stance towards violent attacks on migrant owned businesses is that they are actions of fringe criminal elements (Crush et al, 2017). While South Africans are not immune, migrants are more vulnerable to violence at the hand of South Africans (Crush et al, 2017). There are many challenges/barriers faced by migrants that impacts on their socio-economic well-being. These will be presented briefly.

2.6.4 Lack of Access to Financial Assistance

Migrants face the same economic problems such as scarce jobs, housing, credit, and banking services and crime and political marginalization (Sally, 2016). The authorities restrict migrants 'right to work, grant little or no public assistance (Jacobsen, 2004). In terms of economic challenges confronting the informal- sector migrants lack access to financial services including start-up capital. Formal financial institutions are extremely reluctant to do business with migrant informal entrepreneurs. These entrepreneurs have limited access to debt finance from commercial banks as they have problems in opening bank accounts, and acquiring visas and permits (Jacobsen, 2004). In addition, most have never applied for credit, despite the need for credit and may thus be classified as discouraged borrowers (Crush et al, 2015). According to Hunter and Skinner (2001), foreign traders in Durban also complain about not being able to access basic financial services such as savings facilities. It is essential for migrants to be able to use banking services in order to ensure all their savings are secure and to have the possibility of accessing credit or loans so as to start a small business (CoRMSA, 2008). Despite these financial challenges, there is evidence of upward mobility of migrant-owned businesses in terms of the

growth of business capital (Crush et al, 2015).

2.6.5. Level of Education

According to Hunter and Skinner (2001:49), migrant traders have better educational standards than local traders, and political migrants have more schooling on average than economic migrants. According to Maharaj (2009), a great percentage of African migrants involved in informal trading have a better educational background than their host counterparts. The standard of education acquired by migrants is off higher standard compared to those locally schooled in their native country (Bernstein and Dagout, 2008). Notwithstanding this, the economic activities of migrants do not match their levels of education or business and professional experience (Jacobsen, 2004). Hence migrants have to work largely in the informal sector, mainly self-employed in trade and services, or in some form of paid employment; few work full-time in either the formal or informal sector (Jacobsen, 2004). The majority of migrants in South Africa's informal economy have a higher degree of educational qualifications and business skills than their host communities. However, their chosen occupation in street trading does not correspond with their level of education (Jacobsen, 2004). According to Durban Unicity's study on migrants in 1997 found that among ten Durban-based Zairian refugees there was a veterinary doctor, a primary school teacher, a science teacher, an assistant pharmacist, a gold prospector with a degree in commerce, a carpenter, a tailor, a bodyguard and a mechanic (Durban Unicity, 2001).

2.6.6. Exclusion from Educational Opportunities

Access to education is a fundamental right guaranteed by the South Africa's Constitution (CoRMSA, 2008). The South African School Act explicitly state that no child may be refused access to schooling, whether on the basis of documentation, language and nationality (CoRMSA, 2008). Furthermore, the refugee Act of 1998 states explicitly refugees and their children are entitled to the same basic health care services and primary education, which citizens of the Republic receives from time to time (Cert, 2012). Unfortunately, some schools incorrectly require study permits from non-citizens - a requirement which in fact is illegal (CoRMSA, 2008). However, despite the pledge laid down by the legal framework, research indicates that 65 per cent of migrant children of school going age are in school (CoRMSA, 2008). However, migrants whom are affected are reluctant and scared to fight their case because they fear the hostility and derision that their children will receive at school (Motha and Ramadiro, 2005).

2.6.7. Lack of Access to Health Services

The South African Constitution guarantees access to healthcare for all and everyone in the country regardless of their legal status (CoRMSA, 2008). Refugees in South Africa have the

same right to access healthcare as South African citizens, as set out in the Constitution. This right is also considered to include asylum seekers (Sonke Gender Justice, 2019). The above laws are clear on refugees and migrant's rights to access health care services in South Africa. However, such services can be difficult to access for migrants and are mostly of poor quality (Lee, 2004). Given the nature of informal trading, migrants cannot afford to be away from their business. Consequently, migrants are forced to attend to their businesses rather than going to the hospital (Chazam, 2006). Lack of empathy and poor treatment from health practitioners towards African migrants result in migrants not seeking medical help (Human Rights Watch, 2009). Out of fear of deportation, many migrants are in hiding and chose not to seek health care (Palitza, 2008). To compound the health situation of refugees and migrants they often have to survive in inadequate living conditions (Palitza, 2008). Medical remedy and services should be made available by the Department of Health to all people regardless of their ethnicity and origin (Department of Health, 2004). The country's health policy additionally states that with regard to medical treatment the department of health is compelled to deliver services to both locals and migrants. Access to health care must be structured to comport with the constitutional right afforded to everyone, and with progressive realization pursued through a non-discrimination policy regarding vulnerable migrants (Velcamp, 2017).

2.6.8. Lack of Security

With hindsight some 30 years on it is evident that despite the great optimism that characterized the immediate post 1994 period in South Africa, many of the same social problems that predated this period have resurfaced or endured (Eagle, 2015). The South African transition bought about a restructuring of the criminal justice system, the abolition of a number of laws and implementation of new ones has resulted in a compromised criminal justice system (Louw and Schonteich, 2001). The expectation which many had in 1994 that crime would decrease has not materialized. In fact it has increased significantly to the extent that South Africa has some of the highest rates of crime in the world. (Parker, 2010:138). Consequently, crime is increasingly a major concern to South Africans and the government (Louw and Shaw, 1997). Crime leads to loss of investment, reduces the capabilities of growth and frightens tourists and generally has a negative impact on trade and development (Mittulah, 2003). According to Jackson (2004), crime often operates as symbol, expressing or condensing a number of other issues, conflicts, insecurities, and anxiety regarding one's neighborhood, its social make-up and status. According to Mittulah (2003:18), acts of crime threaten the lives and possessions of both migrant traders and their customers. EThekweni Municipalities drive to tackle the surge of crime in the city of Durban has resulted in police raiding migrant owned businesses and residences under the guise of combating crime (Gema, 2001). However, such operations are simply an exercise meant to

threaten and shake down migrants for bribes (Jacobsen, 2004).

2.6.9. Police Harassment and Intimidation

Migrants commonly cite harassment, bribery and the destruction of documents, as well as more extreme instances of physical violence, by those intended to protect them as a serious concern (Harris, 2003). According to Mittulah (2003), the majority of migrants involved in the informal sector trading cite the lack of security as the main concern. According to Jacobsen (2004), Authorities often tolerate or even encourage police harassment or even vigilante justice against migrant traders including violence, illegal detention, or deportation. While in most cities the police perennially raid migrant owned informal businesses and try to prevent hawking and other forms of street trading, while they are more likely to seize the goods of immigrants or ask them to pay bribes or other forms of protection money (Gema, 2001). In most case, migrants were far more likely to be victims of crime or police harassment than South Africans (Jacobsen, 2004). According to Harris (2001), an additional form of victimization of the migrant traders involves tactics that include verbal abuse, at times physical violence, the tearing up of valid documents, and the apprehension of the migrants (Sally, 2016:47). High level government officials are implicated in fanning hatred of migrants (Crush et al, 2015). For instance, another unfortunate, and reckless statement made by a former Minister of Small Business Development Lindiwe Zulu that implored foreign retailers to share their trade secrets to avoid any further harassment only played in the hands of those with sinister intentions (Tshabalala, 2015). Some by-laws, like confiscation of goods without warning of street traders who commit an offence, can be devastating to migrant street traders who cannot easily replace their stock. Even if traders feel unfairly treated, challenging by-laws in court that street traders may feel are unfair, as well as litigation for actions against officials, can be intimidating and unaffordable for migrant street traders (Ndulo, 2013). According to Maharaj (2009:5) police frequently link migrants with criminal activities with scant or credible evidence to back up their claims. In most cases police would bring personal items (shoes, torn clothes) to the street traders, expecting the traders to repair the items for free (Amisi, 2006). Additionally, local population and various law enforcement agencies often react to African migrants with snide comments, xenophobic tone, harassment and violence (Jacobsen, 2004). Local people widely believe migrants to be responsible for the increase in crime (Fatoki and Patswairi, 2012). Most South Africans who thought crime in the city was increasing believed that African migrants were among the primary perpetrators. But neither police statistics nor survey evidence support this (Jacobsen, 2004). The other form of intimidation originates from questionable business forums or organizations such as northern region business association (NRBA). These types of organization occasionally send out a letter to all migrant owned businesses in Durban's northern townships warning that they should cease to operate and move

out of the township or face the consequence. The above organization's constitution is clear and adamant that all foreign owned shops in the Durban's northern townships should cease to operate. Additionally, in 2018 in Mahikeng, North West Province protesters were sending similar messages that migrants in the province should all leave. Migrants owned businesses were looted in the process and reasons put forward by locals for such looting ranges from lack of jobs for locals, to the increase in crime and that migrant owned businesses operate illegally. This is just an example and the reality that migrants have to cope with while trying to earn a living in the informal sector. Some migrant's entrepreneurs may enjoy material advantages over ordinary South Africans in settlements where they operate their informal businesses, trading stalls or spaza shops (Jacobsen, 2004). However, their status as foreigners and outsiders in South African society makes them markedly vulnerable to constant victimization, harassment and violence. More than that, these common place actions magnify the sense of constant insecurity experienced by migrants and refugees, compromising the ability of victims to fully integrate into South African society. According to Crush et al (2015:52), the pervasive sense of fear and insecurity and the constant possibility of violence directed at their bodies and properties is a reality they face on a daily basis.

2.7. The Role of the Media

Media house is regarded as a cornerstone of every democratic state and plays an important role in everyday life and has a significant position in society such as the South African Press Code (SAPC) 2007. In democratic countries, the sole purpose of the media houses is to serve society by reporting news and events truthfully, accurately and fairly (SAPC, 2007: 9-12). It constitutes an undeniably powerful and complex component of the public sphere. Its power to shape, inform and direct derives from its multifaceted and, in the modern world, universal character (Hadland, 2010). However, some section of the media ignores or completely disregards the constitution and the press code which preaches the right to dignity and equality for all (Da Silva, 2008). Consequently, the media has been accused of intensifying xenophobia by publishing anti-migrant stories and thus entrenching anti-migrant sentiments (Danso and McDonald, 2001). Media houses do not necessarily incite xenophobia, but they often exacerbate it, either deliberately or inadvertently. This process is done through the framing of news in certain ways to suggest an intrusion or invasion of outsiders into the job market, which may deprive legitimate owners of the environment access to their source of livelihood (Danso and Mc Donald, 2001). A relentlessly covering of African migrants in South Africa, members of the host environment feel nervous based on the false belief that arrivals will diminish their opportunities to earn a decent living. When these events dominate the media, resentment grows, animosity follows, and the end

point is often violent (Mogekwu, 2017). Media monitoring should play a critical role in exposing the media when they report falsely negative things about migrants. Most of this negativity in official circles is directed towards migrants from other African countries, while migrants from Europe and North America are treated much more positively, suggesting a certain degree of racism compounding an otherwise across-the-board anti-foreigner perspective (McDonald and Jacobs, 2005). An example includes the Rwanda genocide in 1994 which was triggered by ethnic hatred spread incessantly by the media (Lemarchand, 1995). In South Africa, the Daily Sun which has a circulation of 500 000 copies nationally indirectly supported and condoned violence and injustice meted against African migrant because of the constant use of the word aliens to describe non-South Africans to incite attacks on foreigners residing in townships across the city (Bakare, 2013). Most disturbing of all is the manner in which the press tends to nationalize and racialize crime involving migrants. Criminal syndicates, smuggling, and drug trafficking are usually associated with particular groups of foreign nationals in South Africa, with black Africans being portrayed either as perpetual criminals or prone to commit serious crime. In the process, crime is not only radicalized but also Africanized and consequently it reinforces problematic stereotypes about migrants (Danso and Mc Donald, 2019).

2.7.1 Lack of Trading Places

Informal traders can be found all over the world. According to Velcamp and Shaw (2016:985), these informal traders are usually necessitated by unfavorable economic conditions, a low growth rate and large scale unemployment. The South African literature indicates that the informal business sector has, over the years, remained a source of employment for millions of unemployed South Africans (Ntema, 2016). However, regulations and finances are some reasons that prevent informal traders to operate formally and force them into the informal places (Abdul et al, 2015). However, in the process of setting up their businesses, migrants encounter challenges such as having to do with operating and not given a space to trade. According to Durban Unicity (2001), Durban has the most progressive street trading policy in the country. However, such reputable policies are not implemented properly or are chauvinistic in nature (Mittulah, 2013). Amisi (2005) argues that eThekweni Municipal officials constantly refuse to grant trading sites and licenses to Congolese street traders. In case where migrants are granted trading permits, the spaces allotted are classified by authorities as temporary and evictions and confiscation of their goods occurs at the whims of municipal authorities (Powerman, 2010). Additionally, such spaces occupied by migrants are regarded by many as filthy and a health hazard. Despite these problems, a small number of migrant informal traders flourish, and they are often a source of economic rejuvenation in areas that otherwise lack resources and have been largely abandoned by the authorities (Jacobsen, 2004).

2.7.2. Types of Migrant's Trades

The entry of immigrant entrepreneurs, particularly those involved in various informal economic activities is a global phenomenon. As in other developing countries, the South African informal business landscape in general has, and to a large degree, been occupied by informal immigrant entrepreneurs (Ntema, 2016). According to Jacobsen (2004:60), most migrants are involved in various informal small businesses as a way of getting some income. These include trade in small goods and services, which range in size from hawking a few wares on the street to small stores and businesses. According to Jacobsen (2004), many start their own businesses as food sellers, carpenters, shoemakers, hairdressers, and tailoring services. According to Masonganye (2010:16), migrant traders use readily made stands and any space that is not occupied to sell their goods. These goods are covered by a tent or an umbrella in the rainy days. However, these types of covering are inexpensive, light and easy to carry in case the police want to confiscate their goods (Masoganye, 2010). The majority of migrants begin their entrepreneurial businesses by involving themselves in various activities in the informal sector in order to make ends meet and provide for their family (Jacobsen, 2004).

3. Overview of Poverty in South Africa

3.1. Background to Poverty

According to Amisi (2005:37), individuals, families and groups in poverty can be said to be in poverty when they lack the resources to obtain their dietary needs, participate in social and cultural activities and have living conditions and amenities, which are customary, or at least widely encouraged and approved, in societies to which they belong. According to Clay and Shaw (1987:79- 80), the struggle against poverty and for human conditions of life by and for poor people is not a new phenomenon, neither is it limited to the poor countries of the South nor is it a static one. Poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa is a historic fact- as it is virtually universal. In South Africa, one of the most enduring legacies of apartheid is the grinding poverty suffered by the country's majority black population (Chutel, 2017). The apartheid regime was very harsh and inhumane towards the majority of the population. Apart from land grab by the apartheid regime which has sacred and of symbolic significance, it was also the vital economic underpinning of traditional society (Welsh, 2009:30).

The post - apartheid government had to deal with five fundamental issues with which the young democratic government had to grapple with in the economic sphere immediately it came to power (Corrigan et al, 2002). These issues were poverty, inequality, unemployment, and economic

stagnation and world alienation from the international community. The apartheid government had become a pariah state (Velcamp and Shaw, 2015). Alienation on such a large scale, combined with taxes that required men to go to work as migrants sounded the death-knell of self-sustaining and the beginning of the incorporation of Africans into white controlled society as a subordinate color-caste system (Welsh, 2009:31). The two decades from 1973 to 1994 had seen a dramatic decline in economic growth (Giliomee and Mbenga, 2007: 423). Due to sanctions and embargo on international trade there was a staggering drop in fixed investment, rising unemployment and high levels of poverty and inequality, with Blacks being affected the worst (Aron et al, 2008). The end of the first decade of democracy in South Africa naturally resulted in a wide ranging set of political events to mark this date. South Africa's formal baptism as a democracy in April, 1994, received international acclaim and recognition – which to this day serves as a model for other countries undergoing difficult and protracted political transitions. However, perhaps the greater struggle since the early post-apartheid days has been the attempt to undo the economic vestiges of the system of racial exclusivity of the past (Bhorat and Kanbur, 2005). South Africa is characterized by endemic poverty (Hovsha and Meyer, 2015). Given the country's history it was not surprising to find that nearly 95% of South African poor were black (Corrigan et al, 2002:3).

Poverty in South Africa has racial, gender and spatial dimensions, a direct result of the policies of the successive colonial, segregationist and apartheid regimes (Desai and Padayachee, 2008). Reducing unemployment and creating a better-functioning labor market is the major economic and social challenge in South Africa, which is explicitly recognized by the current South African government. Indeed, employment creation has emerged as a top policy priority of the African National Congress (ANC) led government (Finn et al, 2014). South Africans have trusted democracy with the hard task to deliver jobs, wealth, healthcare, better housing and services to the people.

But now that all of this is slow in arriving, there is growing disquiet and increased community protests that have sought to challenge the government on the pace of service delivery (Desai and Padayachee, 2008). According to Oxfam (2008:11), extreme poverty is actually increasing in Sub-Saharan Africa. According to Mbeki (2009:8), half a century after its liberation from colonialism, Africa has dropped so far down the development scale that the experts refers to Africans as mankind's bottom billion, who can only come out of the black hole they have dug for themselves through engagement with the rest of the world. The new evidence also shows that much of humanity has barely escaped poverty, with just under half the world's population – 3.4 billion people – subsisting on less than \$5.50 a day, which is the World Bank's new poverty line for extreme poverty in upper- middle-income countries. According to the World Bank (2018:17), KwaZulu-Natal had the largest share of the poor in South Africa. This is partly due to the

relatively high population share in Kwazulu- Natal.

3.2. Rural Poverty and Urban Migration

Rural-urban migration is associated with a range of issues linked to rural poverty and lack of opportunities to find paid work or engage in entrepreneurial activity in rural areas are extremely limited (Shaw, 2007). Wages in rural areas are also considerably lower than those in urban areas (Atnafu et al, 2013). According to Clay and Shaw (1987:90), the pattern and balance of absolute poverty have continued to shift the worst declines. Rural poverty has grown unevenly with the general rule of thumb being that households in peripheral areas, geographically, politically, in absolute agricultural potential or in perceived commercialized production- have fared worse on production and service access quite apart from being particularly prone to drought and civil government collapse (Clay and Shaw, 1987).

Most migrants living and working abroad are found in the developing countries. In 2000, there were 34 million people who had lived outside their countries of citizenship for more than a year in Sub-Saharan Africa, and 51 million in Asia out of the world total of 100 million (Duvell and Jordan, 2003:64). More than half of the world's population now lives in cities (Oliver, 2017). The urban population of the world has grown rapidly from 746 million in 1950 to 3.9 billion in 2014 (United Nations, 2014). According to the United Nations (2014), globally, more people live in urban areas than in rural areas, with 54% of the world's population residing in urban areas in 2014. According to Mitlin et al (2009:1), Africa's urban transition involves local migration, but also includes international migration with contradictory policies in origin and destinations countries, migrants often face unnecessary obstacles, prejudice, and are subjected to arbitrary, policy changes as economic and political conditions shift. Poorly coordinated policies not only cause problems for urban migrants, but for international relations (Granaham et al, 2009). The policy problems facing many African cities are many, but to make changes in planning and development projects that will benefit urban residents in African countries must first understand the historical legacies of the problems and their permutations in the present (Steven et al, 2009:289). South Africa has been recognized for a long time as having among the highest levels of inequality in the world (Finn et al, 2014). The need for employment opportunities received top priority, particularly because losing a job or having no job results in the prospect or reality of lapsing into extreme poverty. This is particularly relevant in a country with no or a limited social security system (Lightelm, 2006). According to Baker (2004), the challenge of urban poverty is worsening in developing countries cities. The incidence of urban poverty or the share of poor as a proportion of the urban population is highest for South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa. Limited access to income and employment opportunities is at the core of urban poverty. High unemployment remains the key challenge as the country struggles to generate sufficient jobs.

Overall, since 1994, a growing economy created many jobs in South Africa—but not enough to significantly reduce unemployment. Although the National Development Plan (NDP) envisions the creation of 11 million jobs between 2011 and 2030, this is unlikely to occur (World Bank, 2018). It is against the background of unemployment that has led to a large segment of the South African society to participate in the informal sector (Crush et al, 2015). However, since the informal sector is vulnerable to economic fluctuations and characterized by lack of social insurance, poor working conditions are perceived as illegal thus translating into poverty to the poor who have little savings.

According to Seabrook (2007:44), each year, 70 million people are added to the urban population of the developing region of the South. According to Amisi (2005:8), migration waves move back and forth and affect all countries, poor and rich, those in political and social transition as well as stable countries, some more than others, and to differing degrees. This is mostly true in the era of economic globalization. At the local level, in-country migration follows the same model within national boundaries, from poor and insecure locations to developed urban areas, and to industrialized nodes from the countryside. World-wide, however, it is estimated that about 200 million people leave their home each year in search of better life, or driven by conflict and persecution or even the threat of environment catastrophe (Oliver, 2017). In post-apartheid South Africa restrictions on internal migration, interms of who could move and where they could move to, were lifted giving way for a significant increase in urban migration by South Africans in search of greater opportunities (Potts, 2010:59).

A great number of those migrating to urban areas seeking jobs find themselves moving repeatedly from one town to another in the hope of securing a job. They find themselves being perpetually unemployed urban residents, depending on government grants or the livelihood of the extended kin (Atkinson, 2007). While urbanization generally contributes to economic development and hence to urban capacities, growing towns and cities in low-income countries often face severe urban housing, infrastructure and service deficiencies (Mc Granaham et al, 2015).

3.3. The Informal Economy

According to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (2009), informal employment refers primarily to employment in enterprises that lack registration and social security coverage for their employees. It also refers to self-employment and precarious employment in formal enterprises. A distinctive feature of this type of employment is lack of social coverage and other related benefits applicable to formal employment. Hence, it is highly precarious and vulnerable (OECD, 2009). According to Swaminathan (1994), the term "informal sector" is today widely used in writings on both developing and developed countries. It is invoked

to refer to street vendors in Bogota, shoe-shine workers in Calcutta, specialized knit wear makers in Modena and producers of fashion garments in New York City. What these activities appear to have in common is a mode of organization different from the unit of production most familiar in economic theory, the firm or corporation (Swaminathan, 1994). According to Baker et al (2011), people working in the informal sector tend to have a lower level of labor organization as well as poorer access to public infrastructure and benefits. Thus those in informal labor are vulnerable to harassment and abuse. Employers may also take advantage of the absence of formal contracts by not complying with government standards, such as ensuring adequate working conditions and paying the minimum wage. Gasperini and Tornarolli's (2007) study on informality in South America found that it's dominated predominantly by the unskilled operating in low productivity jobs, in marginal, small scale and often family-based activities. Thus they are self-employed in small, precarious firms without a signed contract in compliance with labor regulations, and without access to protection against health and unemployment shocks, to savings for old age, to employment protection and to labor related benefits. Informal workers are concentrated in small firms with less than five workers, are likely to be engaged in low productivity activities. Micro and small firms, which account for a large share of enterprises and private sector jobs in the region, are mostly unregistered and employ workers informally. Informal workers earn lower salaries than formal workers with similar skills, with an estimated wage premium for formal jobs varying from 10 to 50 percent across the region. According to Fakude (2018), mobility from informal to formal jobs was found to be extremely limited. The informal sector currently accounts for over half the global employment, involving an estimated 1.8 billion people as compared to the 1.2 billion of the formal sector (ILO, 2002). In developed countries, the informal sector predominates as a livelihood activity for poorer people.

3.4. Public Sector Services

An increase of the informal economy leads to reduced state revenues which in turn reduces the quality and quantity of publicly provided goods and services (Schneider, 2002). Ultimately, this led to an increase in the tax rates for firms and individuals in the official sector, quite often combined with a worsening in the quality of the public goods (such as the public infrastructure) and of the administration, with the consequence of even stronger incentives to participate in the informal economy (Schneider, 2002).

3.5. Intensity of Regulations

The increase in the intensity of regulations (often measured in the numbers of laws and regulations, like license requirements) is another important factor, which reduces the freedom (of choice) for individuals engaged in the official economy. One can think of labor market regulations, trade barriers, and labor restrictions for foreigners (Scheineder, 2002). The informal sector is deemed as backward, traditional, with low productivity (with many people producing what one person could in the formal sector), low technology, low incomes, and low capital use and low levels of investment (Potts, 2008). The policy perception was that developing cities needed to get rid of these types of activities since development required modernization and a shift to higher productivity, more sophisticated technology, and more capital intensive. The informal sector typically includes unregistered, unrecorded employment and production that did not feature in government statistics (Kinyajui, 2010).

3.6. Overview of the Informal Sector in South Africa

There lacks a clear definition of the concept. Different scholars and institutions have come up with varying definitions of the concept though there is an element of similarity in these definitions. This aspect of similarity in the definition is from the way they describe what entails the informal sector (Mwau, 2005). A general definition of the informal sector could be all those activities outside the formal regulation. Regulation in this sense entails licensing, registration and standards. In relevance to urban planning, this definition is extended to cover illegality in urban space utilization (Mwau, 2005). According to Reddy (2007), the informal sector is characterized by unlawful activities by individual operating outside the formal sphere for the purpose of evading taxation or regulatory burdens. Within the context of sustainable development and poverty eradication, the opening up of the informal economy is imperative (Smit and Musango, 2015). According to Pratap and Quintin (2006), a distinguishing feature of developing economies is the importance of untaxed, unregulated activities. According to existing estimates, it is not unusual for the informal sector to account for over half of low incomes countries Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Informal employment consists of those economic activities which are neither taxed nor regulated by the government. Many employers and employees find this type of work beneficial as it allows them to increase their take home pay (Pariona, 2019). Monetary reasons include avoiding paying taxes and all social security contributions - regulation reasons include avoiding governmental bureaucracy or the burden of regulatory practices. The informal sector is characterized by a lack of written employment contracts and no basic benefits (Leap, 2015). High unemployment rate in South Africans thus attributed to an underperforming formal sector and to the inability of the unemployed to enter the formal sector (Davies and Thurlow, 2009). Consequently, the unemployed enter the informal sector in order to earn a living (Jacobsen, 2004).

Informal trading has always played a role in South Africa's economy. It creates livelihood opportunities, contributes to alleviating poverty and serves as a buffer between employment and unemployment (Potts, 2008). However, the informal economy is largely marginalized. It has a weak voice and is rarely listened to by policymakers in government or in international organizations (Jackson, 2016). Statistically, Sub-Saharan Africa, generates 90 per cent of employment opportunities in some countries, and contributes up to 38 per cent of GDP in others. In rural areas, the informal economy sustains livelihoods of impoverished populations through natural resource and land based economic activities such as farming, logging and mining. The informal economy is messy and complex; activities are at times classified as illegal yet are often rooted in traditional resource and land rights (Weng, 2015).

Local communities may receive significant income, but sustainability of resource use is a pressing concern as informal trade increasingly serves ever-expanding urban and international markets (Weng, 2015). Since it was discovered in Africa in the early 1970s, the informal economy has been subject to interpretation and debate and has gone in and out of fashion in international development circles. Despite the debates and critiques, the informal economy has continued to prove a useful concept to many policymakers, activists, and researchers because the reality it captures—the large share of economic units and workers that remain outside the world of regulated economic activities is large and significant (Chen, 2007).

Today there is renewed interest in the informal economy worldwide. This re-convergence of interest stems from two basic facts. Initially, despite predictions of its eventual demise, the informal economy has not only grown in many countries but also emerged in new guises and unexpected places (Lighthelm, 2006). Secondly, despite continuing debates about its defining features, supporting informal enterprises and improving informal jobs are increasingly recognized as key pathways to promoting growth and reducing poverty (Chen, 2007). The realization of full potential of the informal sector is hampered by numerous obstacles that make the operation of informal sector activities complex, unpredictable and dynamic. These problems also affect the formal sector, but their negative impacts are much felt in the informal sector due to lack of appropriate regulatory environment and the sectors marginalization in many economies (Mwau, 2005).

3.7. Background of Informal Economy in South Africa

The informal economy in South Africa is relatively small compared with other developing or emerging economies (Rogan, 2018). According to ILO (2018:67), informal employment is the main source of employment for Africa, where its share reaches 85.8 per cent and 71.9 per cent of employment excluding agriculture. This is a large segment of the Southern African workforce.

The informal economy is a vibrant and growing phenomenon, offering both opportunities and lessons on resilience and innovation. When considering global implications of informal sector, social economic, environmental challenges, resilience and innovation are valuable response strategies (Smit and Musango, 2015).

According to Ligthelm, (2006), since the activities of the informal sector are not recorded, it is impossible to determine its size. This sector is probably conducting its activities in silent rebellion against excessive authoritative measures and often hides its activities. For this reason, one can accept the fact that most published research results and estimations, underestimate the size, growth and role of the informal sector (Abdul et al, 2015). The advantage of the informal sector is that it allows people without capital to open a store and keep records and pay employment taxes to make a living (Jacobsen, 2004). The informal economy within Southern Africa has become associated with alleviating not only poverty levels but weak employment conditions (Fakude, 2018). The more credible the state enforcement apparatus is, the more likely its record-keeping mechanisms will miss the actual extent of the informal economy and, hence, the weaker the basis for developing policies to address it. Negligent enforcement and the generalized character of these activities make informal sector owners and workers less apprehensive about answering questions about their work (Portes and Haller, 2010).

3.8 Characteristic of the Informal Sector in South Africa

South Africa's informal business sector serves a burgeoning consumer market worth more than 100 billion Rands in the country's rural areas, townships and cities (Comins, 2019). Informal markets are present all over the world, particularly in developing countries. Latin America and Sub-Saharan African are two of the most unequal regions in the world (Romero, 2007). As a result, it is widely recognized that the majority of workers in the developing world earn their livelihoods in the informal economy (Skinner et al, 2013). Modern South Africa was built on one of the most vicious forms of labour exploitation in the history of capitalism. The evolution of segregation and the migrant labour system into the apartheid system was designed to crush all black initiatives and to protect all white interests (Hirsch, 2005:26). The economic effect of apartheid were not only the social consequences of its racial policies, apartheid rule had a long-lasting consequence, on the broader characteristics and competitive capabilities of the country (Hirsch, 2005:19). These racial policies led to fewer opportunities in the rural parts of the country. Subsequently, it led to the high rate of urbanization to seek for better opportunities which unfortunately led to increased urban management challenges. Consequently, income differentials have led to the emergence of two main sectors that compete for the urban space, namely, the formal and the informal sectors. The informal sector is a major constituency in the development

of sustainable pro-poor urban policies, and it thrives much in the informal slum settlements (Mwau, 2005). The informal sector is an economic sector that is largely untaxed, which is excluded from the government's Gross National Product (GNP) and is largely unsupervised by the government (Velma, 2006).

A distinguishing feature of employment in the developing countries is that it varies enormously in terms of quality and other characteristics, compared with the developed countries (Canagarajah and Sethuraman, 2001). Both the government and business have roles to play in ensuring sustainable social and economic development in South Africa (Smith et al, 2010:251). The informal sector is a crucial theme in interventions that seeks to overcome underdevelopment and poverty (Hovsha and Meyer, 2015). The informal economy is characterized by underdevelopment, incorporates the poorest of the rural poor, and is structurally disconnected from both the first economy and the global economy (Kondlo and Maserumule, 2010:108). Employment in the informal economy remains volatile, with three successive quarterly declines observed since the third quarter of 2011 (Hutchinson and De Beer, 2013). The informal sector also plays an important role in transitional and developing countries in facilitating successful adjustment to globalization and structural reforms (Blaauw, 2011).

The South African informal economy is made up of multiple instances of unofficial trade (Hovsha, Meyer, 2015). It is not a direct part of the formal economy and often generates its own, smaller markets in areas where this unregulated sector thrives (Hovsha and Meyer, 2015). Businesses in informal sector typically operate at a low level of organization, with little or no division between labour and capital as factors of production, and on a small scale. Labour relations-where they exist- are based mostly on casual employment, kinship or personal and social relations rather than contractual arrangements with formal guarantees (Andre, 2006).

3.9. The Informal Economy in Durban

According to Budlender (2015: 15), in 2014, 18 per cent of people employed in Kwazulu- Natal worked in informal sector. About 94 per cent of the traders were classified as African, although Africans account for less than 75 per cent of eThekweni's total population. Expressed differently, it is mainly poorer people who are informal traders as the poverty rate is higher for Africans than for other race groups (Budlender, 2015). The informal sector is a versatile and dynamic sector which includes a variety of economic activities. Statistically, Durban is credited as being the first city in South Africa to develop a policy for street traders (eThekweni Unicity, 2001). Set against the backdrop of South Africa's constitutional requirements for local government to provide for the rights of all citizens and for them to benefit equally from services (Ndulo, 2013). The South African constitution guarantees freedom of trade, and profession, and those individuals who

perceive themselves as having no option other than street trading are protected by the law.

The Constitution, through section 152, also empowers local governments to take action to encourage the involvement of local communities and community organizations in matters of local government (Ndulo, 2013). Hence, with local government responsibility to promote economic development, relevant and important measures for survivalist traders have been taken by the Durban city (Ndulo, 2013). The informal economy is a phenomenon which people come into contact with on a daily basis, whether it is buying a watch from a street vendor or hiring a domestic worker to clean properties (Pillay, 2008). Consequently, the informal economy makes an important contribution to the economic and social life of Durban. The informal sector has been a major provider of employment, goods and services to lower income groups in the city of Durban (eThekweni Unicity Municipality, 2001). In the 1990s, the city of Durban/eThekweni South Africa established a department dedicated to informal traders management and support and allocated resources to infrastructure development for informal traders. Despite the overall improvement in relation to informal economy. However, a number of critical problems and challenges remain. A few examples will suffice

- Despite improvements, there are still strong negative perceptions of informal traders. Many people associate informal traders with high crime rate, and with littering in parts of the central city.
- Efforts to support the informal economy are to a large extent fragmented and uncoordinated.
- Relations between formal and informal business people are often hostile.
- There exist tensions between foreign and local traders (Segatti, 2011:2).
- In 1997, The chairperson of the inner Johannesburg hawkers Committee was quoted as saying:
—we are prepared to push those (foreign traders) out of the city, come what may. We are not prepared to let our government inherit a garbage city because of these leeches (Williams, 2008:3). the informal economy encompasses activities that circumvent reporting requirements of government statistical agencies. Its summary measure is the amount of income that should be recorded in national accounting systems but is not (Portes and Haller, 2010:405).

3.10. Importance of the Informal Sector

According to Schneider (2002), the burden of direct and indirect taxation, both actual and perceived: a rising burden of taxation provides a strong incentive to work in the informal economy. The burden of regulation as proxy for all other state activities: it is assumed that increases in the burden of regulation provide a strong incentive to enter the informal economy.

The tax morality (citizens attitudes toward the state), which describes the readiness of individuals to leave their official occupations and enter the informal sector. In South Africa, it was estimated that, in 1998, over 20,000 traders in Durban generated annual revenue of R500 million in informal outlets, including street vendors, shebeens, Spaza, tuck shops and private persons (Durban North Central and South Central Councils, 2000). The general advantage of the informal sector in South Africa is measured in terms of providing employment and generating income to unemployed locals and migrants. This income and employability from the informal sector reduced the level of poverty among locals and migrants (United Nations Economic and Social Council, 2006). The city of Durban acknowledged the contribution of the informal economy to the city's economy by quantifying the value of the street trade. For example, the value of the sale of cooked, green mealies (corn) on the street was estimated at a monthly turnover of R1-million, and products that cater for African populations who utilize traditional medicine as well as other materials in one market place was valued at more than one R170-million in 1998. Further, the informal sector employs many people who would otherwise be unemployed (Ndulo, 2013). For instance migrants who participate in the informal economy provide jobs to themselves and the local unemployed (Jacobsen, 2004). Additionally, it contributes to the formal economy of the country by buying goods in bulk from formal retailers and paying taxes on those goods (Crush et al, 2015). While the informal sector is the forgotten sector in many ways, it provides livelihoods, employment and income for majority of workers and business owners. South Africans believe that the biggest economic problem in South Africa is unemployment (Hirsch, 2005:171). Consequently, the informal sector is key to reducing poverty. Statistically, one in every six South Africans work in the informal sector (Ndulo, 2013). The annual entry of new enterprises is quite high, as is the number of enterprises that grow their employment. There is no shortage of business initiative and desire to grow (Ndulo, 2013). However, obstacles and constraints cause hardship and failure, pointing to the need for well-designed policies to enable and support the sector, rather than suppress it (Abdul et al, 2015). The same factors which emphasize the importance of SMMEs, such as job creation, also apply to the informal sectors. Many see the informal sector as the most important self-help option currently available in South Africa. In spite of opposition from various quarters, the informal sector enjoys the support of a wide variety of groups. Economists agree that, it is a way to develop prosperity and job provision (Abdul et al, 2015).

3.11. Economic Contribution of Migrant Traders to the Economy

Worth of the informal economy is defined in terms of the jobs it creates, the flow of money that it generates, and the number of goods that it puts into economic circulation (Motala, 2002). Migrants often bring with them new or different skills, more business experience than their local counterparts, and knowledge of markets in their home countries (Jacobsen, 2004). Majority of

Burundian migrants participating in Durban's informal economy are found to be more educated than their South African counterparts (Jacobsen, 2004) participating in the informal economy for many is the last resort and a means to make a living due to limited opportunities in the formal sector. They secure their own ways to negotiate challenges of socio-economic livelihood. The ability to establish small trading spaces like shops and curbside business in the city of Durban reflect the socio-economic life lived in their home countries, which is re-enacted throughout their trajectories and in South Africa today. As such these activities contribute significantly to the economy of Durban in particular and South Africa as a whole. For economically active urban migrants, informal small businesses of various kinds offer some income. These include trade in small goods and services, which range in size from hawking a few wares on the street to small stores and businesses (Jacobsen, 2004). In many African cities, informal enterprises are operated by internal and international migrants (Jacobsen, 2004). The extent and nature of mobile entrepreneurship and the opportunities and challenges confronting migrant entrepreneurs are under-researched in African general and Southern Africa in particular (Potts, 2008). Their contribution to the informal economy and employment generation in countries of destination and origin are similarly undervalued by policymakers (Crush et al, 2015). Migrants in the informal trading are often viewed with suspicion, if not outright hostility, by citizenries and officialdom (Crush et al, 2015). In part, this is because central, local and national governments see the increase of an informal sector that they would rather see tamed or eradicated (Fatoki and Patswawairi, 2012). In addition, it is because they are often incorrectly viewed as illegal migrants and therefore, by definition, engaged in illicit activities (Crush et al, 2015). The misconceptions that exist among South Africans are that migrants take jobs away from the local citizens is unfounded (Valji, 2003).

Migrants are crucial contributors towards the economy of the host country. Migrant traders contribute to the economy by sourcing 90% of their goods from a wholesaler in South Africa and another 10% from local small shops (Southern African Migration Programme, 2015). Another way in which South Africans benefit from the activities of migrant entrepreneurs is through their purchasing behavior. Almost one third of the entrepreneurs use at least two sources for supplies for their businesses while others use up to five different kinds of outlets (Peberdy, 2016). All of these outlets charge value added Tax (VAT). Thus migrant informal traders not only contribute to the profitability of South Africa's formal sector enterprises and indirectly contribute to job creation in the formal sector they also contribute to the tax base of the South African economy (Peberdy, 2016).

Contrary to the situation in Kenya, where most informal traders employ family workers because they are likely to be loyal to the firm and therefore work in solidarity with the owner, and also because of their perceived honesty and reliability as a work ethic (Kinyanjui, 2010). Migrant informal traders in South African cities, such as Durban, employ many local citizens to help run

their businesses (Kinyanjui, 2010). Migrant street traders prefer to employ local personnel mainly due to the language barriers as he/she will act as go between clients and facilitate the smooth running of the business (Jacobsen, 2004). Migrant informal traders encountered many challenges that prevented them from achieving their dreams and a better life for themselves (Fatoki and Patswairiri, 2012). Despite these extensive barriers and hardships of migrants in informal trading, a small number of migrant informal traders flourish, and they are often a source of economic rejuvenation in areas that otherwise lack resources and have been largely abandoned by the formal sector (Jacobsen, 2004).

According to Wadsworth (2015), there is an inefficient data and a lack of evidence of an overall negative impact of immigration on jobs, wages, housing or the crowding out of public services. One of the largest impacts of immigration seems to be on public perceptions. Migrants in informal sector of the city of Durban generate favorable economic effects in South Africa. They have an upward effect on income per capita and a positive net fiscal contribution, while in general they do not displace a South African. African migrants are prolific entrepreneurs by nature and in the process of setting up various entrepreneurship ventures also generate additional employment opportunities for native-born workers (OECD/ILO, 2018).

4. CONCLUSION

According to Vawda (2017), migrant informal traders can easily be an economic asset rather than a burden to societies in the global south. Developing countries need to harness the economic power of the informal sector by creating or smoothing the passage of the informal sector businesses into a formal one. Urban migrants are a good example of a potential win-win situation for both host countries and migrants. Many urban migrants are entrepreneurs whose economic contributions to the city can be maximized by implementing their rights to work and to freedom of movement (Jacobsen, 2004). The South African government should encourage people to become entrepreneurs and to create small enterprises (Abdul et al, 2015). African migrants choose to take the risk of participating in the informal economy in order to improve their living conditions while at the same time creating employment for locals. Government should therefore take note of this and implement friendly policies that govern all informal traders (Viser and Kalitanyi, 2010).

To the host country under any other circumstances they would probably be lauded by government as exemplars of small-scale and micro entrepreneurship (Crush et al, 2017). However, the state (and citizens) view their activities as unwanted simply because of their national origins and are more likely to encounter various challenges (Crush et al, 2015). Harassment, extortion and bribery by officials are some of the daily costs of doing business by migrants in South Africa.

Many entrepreneurs, especially in settlements and townships, face constant threats and enjoy minimal protection from the authorities (Crush et al, 2015). This is in addition to all other constraints they face simply due to operating informally such as lack of infrastructure, hostile municipal regulations and no access to skills training and financial services (Crush et al, 2015:17).

A general climate of xenophobia renders migrants in general and migrant traders specifically vulnerable to exploitation and violence (Harris, 2001). Whereas xenophobia has tended to be located in contested urban spaces, xenophobic attitudes are widespread (Freeman and Lee, 2018). Research about foreigners in Europe has identified that negative views about foreigners are higher among people who are socially and economically vulnerable (Semyonov et al, 2008). In South Africa, public opinion surveys from 1990s onwards show high levels of anti- foreigner sentiments across socio-demographic markers, class, and racial divides (Freeman and Lee, 2018). A 2006 survey by South African Migration Policy (SAMP) found that 78% of South Africans wanted restrictions on migration, and nearly 50% wanted all migrants to be deported regardless of their status in the country. The 2017 South African reconciliation barometer show high levels of distrust towards non- nationals, the most distrusted being Africans (Freeman and Lee, 2018). South African narrative around migrant in academia, civil society and the media may be doing more harm than good in focusing almost exclusively on migrants as the subject of random victimization and the object of pity (Landau, 2018).

This focus prevents empathy from citizens grappling with the competition of scarce resources such as houses, or for jobs, as well as the ethical dilemmas of migration and ignores the reality that the effects of immigration on local communities can be unsettling and disoriented, especially during economic hardships and transition (Landau, 2018). Firstly, the attitude and animosity towards migrants is traced to different reasons. There is critical and urgent need to tackle collective violence against migrants- owned shops and businesses. Violence will not stop until there are robust sanctions against perpetrators through hate crime legislation and other measures, criminal charges are laid and convictions secured. This is a matter for the South Africa state respecting basic human rights. This needs to be combined with much stronger statements from national and local leaders, politicians condemning violence against migrants (Sally, 2016). Since the advent of democracy in South Africa in 1994, migrant entrepreneurs have been consistently portrayed by Government and media houses as unwanted parasites, as driving South African businesses to the wall, and taking jobs from citizens and are engaged in nefarious activities (Crush et al, 2015).

Despite operating in the same localized environment and under similar conditions, migrant informal traders encounters a more challenging set of hurdles and on a more frequent basis (Crush et al, 2017). The general effect of operating small businesses in the informal economic sector does make business owners of all kinds vulnerable, but this alone cannot explain the greater

vulnerabilities of migrants in informal trading. Instead, xenophobia and their status as outsiders add another layer of risks for such operators (Crush et al, 2015). Limited access to police protection and mistreatment by officers only exacerbates this insecurity (Sally, 2016). Ultimately, comprehensive national and localized strategies are required to develop and support informal entrepreneurship and small business growth in South Africa (Crush et al, 2017). The above literature has attempted to highlight various issues and challenges within the context of migrants and informality. Firstly, the literature highlighted the issues of migration and factors contributing to migration. Secondly, it unpacked the informal economy firstly as a subject and its characteristics. The poverty phenomenon was highlighted to provide a clear understanding for participation in the informal economy. Furthermore, the literature highlighted the various challenges encountered by migrants while in the informal economy.

Despite the prevalent misconception from locals about migrants taking jobs from them, in fact migrant street traders create employment. This assertion is backed up by credible and reliable statistics. The review has also explained the contribution of migrant traders in informal trade of the city, and the impact of such contribution to the municipality. Additionally, migrants in the informal economy continue to share their skills with local employees, who in turn gain expertise. It is hoped that the government adopts a consistent migrant policies and that in lieu of South African identity documents, these institutions recognize the rights that are accorded to this constituency through Section 22, 28 or 41 permits (Harris, 2001). Government needs to be aware that the creation of obstacles to migrant's livelihoods through backlogs of documentation not only prevents refugees from pulling their economic weight, they create an environment of resentment and rule breaking. By speeding up access to refugee statuses, as well as simple improvement in access to financial institutions, bank, government and corporate sector can smooth the way into the formal sector. Where local and foreign owned businesses can be taxed and regulated to the benefit of the country (Jacobsen, 2004).

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

Scientific research adopts qualitative and quantitative methodologies in the modeling and analysis of numerous phenomena, the qualitative methodology intends to understand a complex reality and the meaning of action in a given context. On the other hand, quantitative methodology seeks to obtain accurate and reliable measurements that allow statistical analysis (Faria, 2017). However, the current study adopts the qualitative approach. This chapter outlines the research methodology that is utilized in the study. In-depth interviews were utilized for data collection. Burundian street traders within the Central Business District were interviewed during the collection of data. The process of data analysis will be comprehensively explained. This chapter deals with certain ethical considerations that are crucial to the study, such as informed consent. The challenges that were encountered during the course of the research study are briefly explained. The present research investigates and seeks to bring new insights, using qualitative methods in the form of participant observation, within the Burundian refugee community. Indeed, this research aims to gain familiarity with the coping strategies of the day- today activity of this community given its size, the lack of financial and material assistance from the South African government, local and international non-governmental organizations, and the

High Commissioner for Refugees. The study explores issues such as the rationale of networks and how new migrants meet their respective countryman and how they assist in settling in South Africa and in Durban specifically. How they get their first job in the host country and the dynamic of networks. Existing networks within the Burundian community will ultimately determine the livelihoods strategies adopted to ensure survival. This chapter lays out the research design and the research methodology which were applied to reach the objectives and ultimately answer the core intentions of the study which is the assessment/impact of Burundian migrants in Durban's informal economy, in five sections. Section one is the introduction. Section two presents the research methodology. Section three explains the data collection. Section four presents the methods of analysis. Section five is the conclusion.

3.2. Profile of Durban

The city of Durban is a dynamic, inclusive city with a rich history. It has a port that is advantageously located on the eastern coastline of South Africa (Ellmore, 2005). The metropolis is famed by high temperatures and high level of humidity that are characteristic of southern Africa

(Ellmore, 2005). Perhaps the most striking characteristics of Durban (CBD)

is how quickly things change from one street to the next, even from building to building. For example in Albert Street, St. Andrews, now Diakonia Avenue, on a good day looks like a postcard from Miami with its high rise flats and wide avenue lined palm trees. Yet within a minute's walk away to St. George Street, garbage bags rather than palm trees line the street. Here the street is both residential as well as filled with small formal and informal businesses. According to Statistics South Africa (2005), KZN has 9.4 million citizens. The ethnic language that is spoken by the majority of the populace is isiZulu. Durban plays a crucial role in the procurement of revenue for the eThekweni municipality. According to Schaffer (2008), the economic growth of the city is appealing to more and more people in search of employment. Durban has the continent's leading infrastructure base, including virtual infrastructure like globalized financial services (Guardian, 2015). Durban has the most awards winning electricity distribution on the continent, a vast road network, and new opportunities for a partnership accelerated water treatment and supply.

3.3. Qualitative Research Method

The researcher made use of the qualitative research method. According to Atieno (2009), the aim of qualitative analysis is a complete, detailed description of the phenomena under study. No attempt is made to assign frequencies to the linguistic features which are identified in data, and rare phenomena receives (or should receive) the same amount of attention as more frequent phenomena in qualitative analysis allows for fine distinctions to be drawn because it is not necessary to shoehorn the data into a finite number of classifications. There are several advantages to using the qualitative research method. Qualitative research produces a wealth of valid data. According to Wilson (2000), qualitative research explores the real-life situation of the people who are being studied and it yields far-reaching information. Qualitative research involves understanding the complexity of people's lives by examining individual perspectives in context (Heppner et al, 2008: 256). According to Crossman (2019), qualitative research is a type of social science research that collects and works with non-numerical data and seeks to interpret meaning from these data that help in understanding social life through the study of targeted population or places. It typically focuses on the micro-level of social interaction that composes everyday life; it allows the researcher to investigate the meanings that people attribute to their behavior, actions and interactions with others. According to Mitchell et al, (2005:8), one of the aims of qualitative research methods are to establish the socially constructed nature of reality, to stress the relationship between the researcher and the object of study. Thus the researcher tries to understand the significance which respondents attach to their environment through this methodology. Qualitative research continues to produce rich and relevant detailed descriptions

and particular interpretations of people and the social, linguistics, material and other practices and events that shape and are reshaped by them (Bryman et al, 2004: 893). Qualitative research typically includes, but not limited to discerning the perspectives of these people, or what is often referred to as the actor's point of view. According to Davids et al. (2014), qualitative research often refers to a whole-world experience, because they are interested in the depth of human experience, including all the personal and subjective peculiarities that are characteristic of individual experiences and meaning associated with a particular phenomenon. According to Hancock et al. (2007:7), qualitative research is concerned with developing explanations of social phenomena that is to say, it aims to help us to understand the social world in which we live and why things are the way they are. It tends to focus on how people or groups of people can have (somewhat) different ways of looking at reality (usually social or psychological reality). The main disadvantages of qualitative approaches are that the findings cannot be extended to wider population with the same degree of certainty that quantitative analyses can. This is due to the fact that qualitative findings are not tested to discover whether they are statistically significant or due to chance (Atieno, 2009).

3.4. In-depth Interviews

According to Marshall and Rossman (2011), studies with the aim of understanding individual life experiences will regularly rely on approach that involves in-depth interview. The primary issue of interviews is to generate data which gives an authentic insight into people's experiences and it provides access to the meanings people attribute to their experiences and social worlds (Glassner and Miller, 2011:133). Qualitative researchers usually employ semi-structured interviews which involve a number of open-ended questions based on the field of study that the researcher wants to cover. An in depth interview present advantages such as providing much more detailed information compared to other data collection methods (Boyce and Neale, 2006). In depth interview needs to include the actual events, the social context in which an event or experience takes place, the person's behavioral response, feelings, perceptions and belief before, during and immediately following the experience, and the person's evolution and current interpretations of the experience (May, 2002). Consequently, a well-structured in depth interviews goes well beyond the more structured survey to explore a range of theoretically important dimensions, including pre-existing beliefs, events and situations that trigger or prevent action and the social contexts in which choices are made, the social and psychological consequences of contextually embedded choices, and the longer term interpretations that people develop as their lives proceed (May, 2002).

According to Boyce and Neale (2006), in-depth interviews are a qualitative research tool that involves conducting intensive one on one interview with a small number of respondents.

3.5. Sampling Procedure

In collecting data, the researcher sought to acquire knowledge and insights into the experiences, perceptions, challenges and contributions of local and migrant street traders. Such information was essential in achieving the objectives of the study. Purposive sampling was used which is a non-probability form of sampling. The researcher does not seek to sample research participants on a random basis. The goal is to sample cases/participants in a strategic way, so that those sampled are relevant to the research questions that are being posed. This type of sampling is essentially to do with the selection of units (which may be people, organization, documents with direct questions reference to the research questions being asked (Bryman, 2012:416).

The aim of this approach is to ensure that the sampling is inclusive and the result is representative according to the focus of the study because different people in different settings face specific challenges. The present study made use of the snowball sampling method to identify local as well as migrant respondents. According to Bryman (2012), snowball sampling is a technique in which the researcher samples initially small groups of people relevant to the research questions, and these sampled participants propose other participants who have had the experiences and characteristics relevant to the research. These participants will then suggest others and so on. In this research a total of 28 respondents participated in the study, of which twenty five (25) were male and 3 were female.

A significant challenge was encountered by the researcher in the process of trying to include other stakeholders in the study such as the local police station (Broad Street in Durban CBD). Unfortunately the request was denied. Extensive emails to the director of the Local Refugee Reception Center (in Moore Road) were sent to their office requesting comment but the invitation were declined. It was rather unfortunate that other stakeholders were not willing to be interviewed.

3.6. Data Analysis

Essentially, qualitative data analysis involves a process of immersion in data, through which the researcher can identify and interpret the experiences of your study participants (Hennink et al, 2011:205). It involves a process of discovery that enables the researcher to remain close to the data and form an evidence-based understanding of the research issue. In the process you identify the unique perspectives of the study participants, understand social or cultural

meanings attached to behavior and begin to explain and develop a theory about people's actions or beliefs (Hennink et al, 2011). The current study sets out to use an ethnographic approach in gathering data. Ethnography refers to a process whereby a researcher immerses himself in a social setting for an extended period of time, by observing the behavior of the members of that setting, listening to and engaging in conversations of those members (Bryman, 2004:293). It also has been noted that the researcher used percentile statistics to analyze some aspects of the data. According to Bryman et al. (2004), ethnography is the art and science of describing a group or culture, strength and weakness. Ethnography provides the reader with a detailed picture of what's going on, from the perspective of natives of the given culture. Ethnography is an approach to research that provides a description of the way of life of a culture. The unit of research is often a research of a particular community, where the researcher wishes to get a holistic picture of this community. In the process the researcher not only wishes to collect data on a certain behavior, but also understand the economic, social and cultural context of the community itself (Bryman, 2004:46). Once data collection has been completed and checking has been completed, the researcher should begin the process of analyzing the data. The researcher will make use of three data collection theories in analyzing the data. Thematic theory, grounded theory and participant observation theory will be used interchangeably in the process of analyzing data. Subsequently, the researcher will classify the diverse group's responses according to the different objectives of the study.

Furthermore, the researcher will draw attention to the main themes that developed from the different perspectives of his participants. Finally, the researcher will create headings that will represent the recurring themes that occurred and grouped the ideas of these groups to form titles for additional discussions. According to Bryman, Beck and Liao (2004:797), participant observation is a method of data collection in which the researcher uses participation in an area of ongoing social life to observe it. This approach has mainly been used for studies of groups in a work setting or of informal groupings in small communities or the social life of groups of friends. These are situations in which patterns of face-to-face interaction develop, and a researcher can gain access and establish a role within the particular setting, thus getting quality outcome for the study (Bryman et al, 2004: 798).

3.7.Limitation of the Study

The one significant concern in the accessibility to the targeted respondents due to the fact most migrants are very mobile and can be very difficult to locate them in one place. Additionally, due to the nature of informal activities most migrants are constantly changing businesses and various opportunities in order to stay to make a living in a constant and changing environment.

The other significant barrier would be the language proficiency in which the measuring instrument are authored, as many do not understand the English languagesufficiently to grasp what has been asked in the interview. Participants could decide not to participate for various reasons, such as political affiliations - they would decline to participate on the basis that information provided could be used by the Burundian government and cause harm to their families back home. However, the major obstacles could be the issue of ethnicity. Animosity and mistrust exist among different ethnic groups due to historical factors.

3.8. Ethical Considerations

According to Saldana (2009), ethical issues, which vary in importance, exist in almost every study consisting with individual respondents. The research findings of this study will not be disclosed to the public and no names of participant who will become part of this study will be revealed. Respondents in the study will be identified through the use of pseudonyms and all interviews shall be conducted in environments preferred by participants.

Burundian migrant's traders were initially reluctant to participate in the study - their fear ranges from the nature of the study and the questions, and fear that the answer that they provide would impinge on their rights. Additionally, the participants feared that the responses they provide would be captured by the Department of Home Affairs and therefore their document/ refugee status will be denied and canceled. It was therefore important that the researcher addressed those legitimate fears by insuring participant's names are not used by adopting the usage of pseudonyms. This arrangement was made in order to protect the identity of the respondents.

The researcher will give assurances to the respondents that the information collected through the interviews will be treated as confidential. None of the respondents were forced into taking part in the research. The researcher will subsequently advise the respondents that taking part in the study was voluntary and thus they can withdraw from taking part anytime during the process. The researcher needs to make clear that no rewards or favors of any kind could be expected as the result of their participation. Ethical clearance is regarded as a fundamental tool within the social science discipline. It's an instrument used to measure the ethical fulfillment of a research process. Approval from the office of ethics was sought before the research was undertaken. Research Clearance Ethics is a reference for researchers in upholding the values of integrity, honesty, and fairness in conducting research. Additionally, the researcher approached the community leader of Burundian migrants in Durban to seek permission to conduct the research in a responsible and ethically and accountable way. Assurances were made to the leader that the respondents won't be harmed and that the responses provided is for academic purposes only.

The researcher outlines the benefits of the research to the community of Burundian migrants in Durban. Gatekeeper permission letter was granted by the Burundian representative in Durban.

3.9. Conclusion

This chapter has provided an outline of the methodology utilized to gather data and the rationale for using them. The approach used to analyze data, the sampling method, and in-depth interviews were all discussed. Ethical considerations together with the limitations of the research were also explained. An explanation of the methodology was discussed in great detail in order to answer my research questions and test my hypotheses. Snowball sampling was employed because the aim of this study is to investigate how a particular group of people. In this case Burundian migrants, who live in Durban, make a living and deal with the daily challenges on the assumption that social networks are the cornerstone of their livelihoods. While, the outcome of my research cannot be generalized, purposive sampling is the best method for my case study. I used the interviews and participant observation to collect primary data and a wide range of tools to collect secondary data including books, journals, newspapers, and the Internet. In the process of gathering data ethical considerations were fully taken into account in order to avoid misrepresentations.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.1. Introduction

The findings of this research are presented in this chapter. It provides background information about Burundian migrants in Durban's informal economy. Information is provided about their support mechanisms within the Burundian community in Durban. The motive behind their involvement in the informal trading activities is expounded upon. The advantage and disadvantages to being involved in the informal sector of Durban is further discussed. Additionally, whether various NGOs and financial institutions (Non –Profit Organization) conferred any support to Burundian migrants in Durban is discussed. The relationship between Burundian migrants and the Burundian community organization is also highlighted. Woven into the discussion is their perceptions on the South African government and the South African population at large. The insight provided by different organizations and their perspectives on informal trading amongst the Burundian community is discussed. The chapter concludes by reflecting on migrant's future aspirations.

4.2. Sample Characteristics

In total there were twenty eight Burundian migrants who served as participants in this study; five of them were females and twenty three were male. Their level of education was relatively high. Only one individual did not have any formal education among the sample of twenty eight respondents. The majority had completed secondary school. One respondent had a Master's degree from the University of Burundi before he was forced to flee due to political conflict. Among the respondents, one had attended an Islamic school and attained an Islamic qualification. Among those with tertiary education was one with a Diploma in food and hospitality. The ages of the Burundian migrant informal traders fall in the category between twenty five to sixty years old. However, the majority falls in the category of 30-45 years. The participant's actual periods of stay in Durban ranged from one to twenty-five years. The majority of the participants have spent a period of ten years or more in South Africa and Durban in particular.

4.3. Gender Composition of Research Participants

The majority of respondents in this study were males, (81.4 percent). In this study, women represented a small portion of this sample (18.5 percent) for various reasons as well as the fact that there are fewer women than men in the refugee population, and women are less agreeable to talk to strangers.

Table 2 Gender Distribution of Participants

Gender	Number of Participants	Percent
Male	23	82.2
Female	5	17.8
Total	28	100

These trends support Hunter and Skinner's 2003 findings on migrant traders which assert that, in Durban, women are under-represented among foreign traders. This however, contradicts with South African traders who are mainly women (Lund, 1998: 18; Lund, Nicholson and Skinner, 2000; cited in Hunter and Skinner, 2002: 9). According to ILO (International Labor Organization, 2017), men constitute a larger proportion of migrant workers. The larger presence of men among migrant workers is likely explained by their larger share among international migrants of working age. In this study men outnumbered women by 82.1%. According to Survey of Employees and Self-Employed (SESE, 2017) unemployment was the main reason why most people started their businesses, accounting for more than 60% of the business owners.

4.4. Age Composition of Participants

The Table below indicates that most migrants are males over the age of thirty. This distribution of the migrant population may be explained in terms of the physical constraints that the journey to South Africa imposes on potential candidates who take the risk of travelling without proper documents.

Table 3 Distribution of Participants by Age

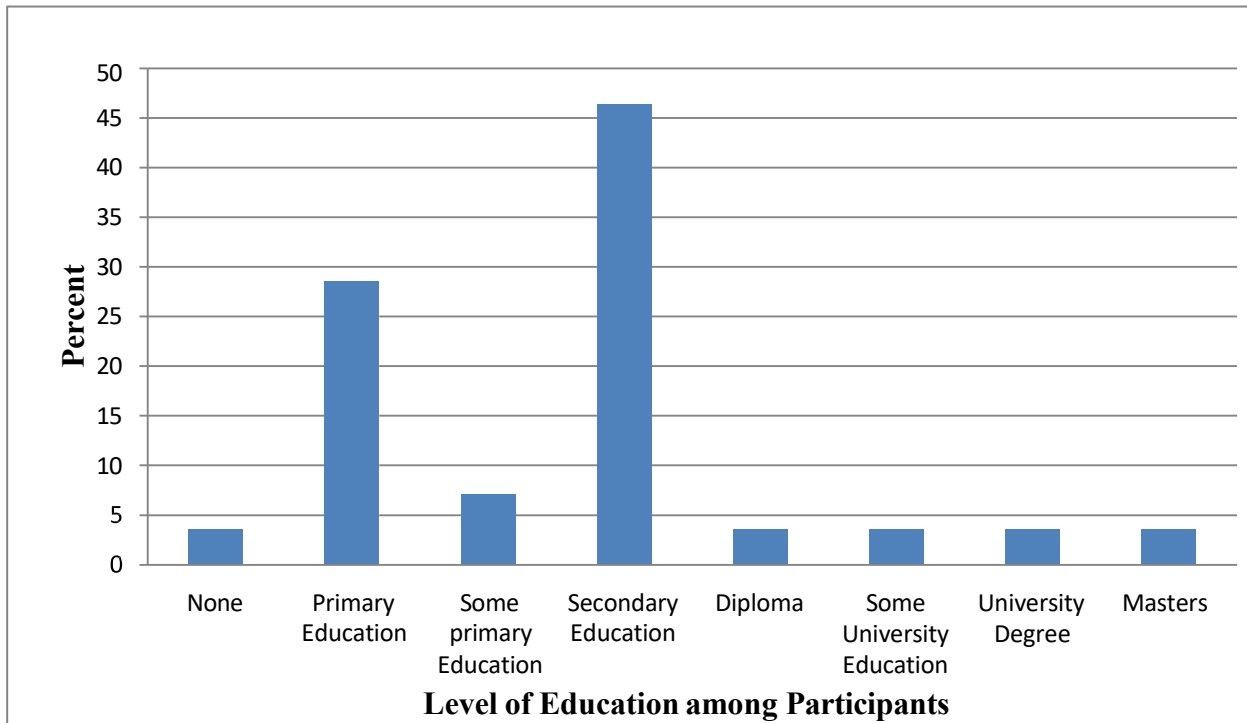
Age group	Frequency	Percent
18-29	1	3.57
30-44	16	57.14
45-59	11	39.28
60-75	0	00
Total	28	100

It will be noted from Table 3 that more than half (60%) of the participants were between the ages 19-44 suggesting that Burundian migrants engaged in informal economic activity are very youthful. The youthful nature of participants suggests that they can endure the stresses and strains of informal trading activities as it demands physical engagement. The age categories between 45-59 year are individuals with families and household responsibilities both in South Africa and in Burundi. The age category between 30-45 year comprises mainly young adults. The general youthfulness of the participants in this category is both a reflection of migrants to South Africa to be working age adults.

4.5. Educational Level of Participants

According to Hunter and Skinner's (2002), foreign traders have more schooling than local traders, and political migrants have more schooling on average than economic migrants. According to Jacobsen (2004), the economic activities of migrants do not match their level of education. The participants are relatively well educated as compared to only 3.57% that had no formal education in this study.

Graph 1 Distribution of Participants by Level of Education



Graph 1 indicates that most of the respondents (46.42%) had some secondary education whilst 28.57% had completed primary education. Around 3.57% held a diploma, 3.57% held some university degree, another 3.57% held university degree, and around 3.57% held a Master’s degree. A study by Mc Donald and others found that in spite of most of the participants being educated, skilled and enterprising; they largely found work in the informal economy (Mc Donald et al, 1999). A national survey reported in the Mail and Guardian (2003) revealed that nearly a third of refugees and asylum seekers were tertiary level students before they migrated to South Africa. The above statement is supported by numerous studies on migrants both locally and internationally. Hunter and Skinner’s study on foreign street traders working in the inner city of Durban, found that 71 percent of foreign traders have had some secondary education whereas only five percent had no formal education (2002).

Some of the respondents had hoped to utilize their educational qualifications in order to obtain decent employment in South Africa. However, such hopes and aspirations were put on hold due to limited opportunities in the formal economy. Consequently, participants in this study ended up in informal trading activity because they could not secure low to semi- skilled jobs in the formal economy. For all participants, trading in the informal economy has hopes to end their physical hardship and provide for themselves and their families in South Africa and in their home country. Trading in the informal economy is tedious. However, notwithstanding this, it is the only strategy that Burundians use to survive. However, many migrants engaged in informal working activities that yield low income in crime-ridden communities.

Consequently, participants are exposed to opportunistic and often violent crime in the form of theft, robbery and assault. Additionally, Burundian informal traders lack proper infrastructure, trading licenses and sites, police harassment and illegal arrests (Hunter and Skinner, 2002).

4.6. Immigration Status of Participants

As can be noted from Table 4.4 most participants possess valid immigration documentations. The statistics below refute the myth that most migrants in informal street trading are illegal immigrants therefore are involved in illegal activities. A total of 75 percent of participants possess a refugee permit which legitimizes their immigration status in the country.

Table 4.4 Distribution of Participants by Immigration Status

Immigration Status	Frequency	Percent
Asylum seeker permit holder	6	21.42
Refugee permit holder	21	75
Permanent resident of South Africa	1	3.58
Total	28	100

While 21% possess an asylum seeker permit which allows refugees to work and study; 4% have a valid permanent residency in South Africa which gives the holder the same rights as South Africans except voting rights as stipulated by the constitution of the Republic of South Africa. Thus, the majority of migrants in this study were forced migrants entitled to human rights protection under international and South African refugee laws. Immigration to and from countries in Southern Africa are driven largely in pursuit of economic opportunities, political instability and increasingly environmental hazards.

An estimated 2.9% of migrants resided in South Africa in the midyear of 2020 (IOM, 2021). This is largely attributed to South Africa being the most industrialized economy in the continent and as such it becomes a particularly attractive destination for those in search of education and better economic opportunities. Immigration has been part and parcel of South Africa's in post democracy in 1994. In the post-apartheid era the ruling government's mandate and the pressure was to redress the past and provide opportunities for native-born South Africans increased, while managing migration flows from neighboring countries and further afield became more challenging (OECD, 2018). South Africa's history and position as a regional economic powerhouse make it a major destination country for migrants from the region and further afield. However, the rapid increase in the migrant population has been a cause for concern in most countries.

The governments of net receiving countries are concerned, among other things about the number of work- seekers added annually to their already saturated labor markets (Kok et al, 2006). During the process of participant observation, it was noted that Burundian migrants are documented and therefore possess documentation issued by the Department of Home Affairs. Burundian migrants in the city of Durban are predominantly to be found in the informal sector of the city’s economy as a last resort due to limited work opportunities

4.7. Duration of Residence in Durban

It will be observed from Graph 2 that the distribution of participants stay in Durban varies from 1- 5 years to 21-25 years. The largest concentration of participants is between 10 – 15 years (28.57%) and 16 – 20 years (32.14%). A further 17 which represent 87% of participants lived in Durban for the duration of 21-25 years. What was observed during the field work and interactions with the Burundian community was that the majority of participants were individuals who have been residing in Durban for a period of over 10 years. The majority of participants were individuals who have been residing in Durban for a period of over 10 years.

Graph 2 Duration of Stay in Durban

Distribution of Participants by Duration of Stay in Durban



The above graph highlights the numbers of years participants in this research have been residing in South Africa and Durban in particular. Majority of respondents have been in the country for more than 10 years and subsequently perceive South Africa as a second home. Surprisingly, most participants are educated and have qualified in various fields such teachers, nurses and doctors. Many of the participants have different reasons for fleeing Burundi, these ranges from war, persecution and hardships. When the duration of stay in Durban is cumulatively calculated a total of 77% of participants were living in the city between 11-25 years. This suggests that the Burundian migrants are well established in the city as a community. However, recent development (such as xenophobic attacks, lack of documentations and fewer economic opportunities) in the country and Durban in particular have resulted in the majority of migrants within the Burundian community contemplating migrating overseas or returning home.

4.8. Marital Status of Participants

Table 4.6 Marital Status by Gender

Status	Frequency by Gender		Percentage of Sample Category	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Single	9	1	39	20
Married	14	3	60	60
Divorced	0	1	0	20
Total	23	5	100	100

Table 4.6 depicts that 39 percent of male participants in the sample are single, while 20 percent of women in the sample were found to be single, one of the reason put forward by participants were that was becoming difficult to find and maintain employment and such volatility is not conducive to settle down through marriage. On the other hand, 60 percent of male and female participants respectively were married. Only 20 percent of females in the sample were found to be divorced. The fact that 60% of males and females were married suggests a significant number value family life. This trend suggests that the participants have a greater desire to establish family due to economic opportunities, safety and security accorded by the host country.

4.9 Ethnographic Setting of Participants

The ethnographic picture captures a vibrant scene in the heart of Durban, where a tight-knit community of Burundian migrants has established their presence. The picture showcases a bustling marketplace, set against the background of colorful storefronts and restaurants that offers traditional Burundian cuisine like ‘*mukeke*’ (steamed fish), ‘*imigati*’ (bean stew), and ‘*ubugali*’ (a staple cornmeal dish). The tantalizing scents attract both members of the Burundian community and curious locals, fostering an exchange of culinary traditions and cultural experiences. In the background, children are engaged in play activities, showcasing their youthful exuberance. Some play traditional Burundian games, while others participate in more contemporary activities like soccer, blending their cultural roots with the dynamics of their new environment. It is evident that the community places their cultural identity foremost while embracing the opportunities and challenges of their newly found home. The biggest challenge confronting Burundian migrants is finding work and making remittances to support their family back home. It is estimated that African migrants pay more to send money home to their families than any other migrant group in the world (Siegfried, 2013). Remittances flows to low-and middle-income countries reached \$550 billion in 2019, surpassing foreign direct investment and official development aid (Ratha, 2021)

The ethnographic picture serves as a visual testament to the resilience, resourcefulness, and unity of the Burundian community in Durban. It highlights their vibrant marketplace, cultural pride, and the social fabric that binds them together as they navigate the complexities of integration while upholding their Burundian heritage. During the course of gathering data the researcher was made aware by the community of various activities such as cultural events, gatherings, and religious ceremonies to stay connected to their roots and foster a sense of belonging in Durban. Some individuals participated in the broader South African society, contributing to the city’s cultural diversity and the local economy through various activities of entrepreneurship and social activity. The researcher encountered other migrants from various African countries such as Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Malawi who shared an amicable social relationship with Burundians.

Durban is home to a diverse community of African migrants, and various community organizations, cultural observances play an important role in supporting these individuals. Various community organizations such as the Christian Centre and Mennonite Central Committee plays a crucial role in assisting Burundian migrants in various aspects such as legal assistance, shelter and basic needs, education and skills training (empowerment tools), health care and community integration.

Overall, non-profit organizations play a crucial role in providing essential services, protection and advocacy regardless of their origin and migration status. It is estimated that over 60% of the world's migrants live in urban environments, but host governments often restrict their right to work, forcing urban migrants into precarious position and often confined to the informal economy to eke a livelihood (Brown et al, 2017). The Burundian migrant lives in the city of Durban amidst the most culturally diverse community with a strong European influence, Indian immigrants, and in the center of the Zulu heartland.

The CBD becomes the first port of call for many Burundian nationals, themselves a very diverse group of people in terms of economic and social circumstances. Many Burundians are refugees who have left horrific situations in their home countries. The city offers easy access to the large transport hub in Warwick Triangle and through this hub routes via taxis to various suburbs and townships which becomes accessible to business facilities and a large consumer base for various economic activities including formal and informal trading activities. Considering that in developing countries, state resources and formal employment opportunities have continued to shrink (Horn, 2011) Burundian migrants have turned to the informal sector, and more specifically street trading to create a means of livelihood (Lighthelm, 2006).

The informal economy of South Africa, as well as in the rest of the world, comprises diverse informal economic activities, which fall into different occupational sectors. It supports some of the most vulnerable in society. According to Weng (2015), in Sub-Saharan Africa, it generates 90 per cent of employment opportunities in some countries, and contributes up to 38 per cent of GDP in others. The informal economy makes an important contribution to the economic and social life of Burundians in Durban (Unicity, 2001). Obvious example includes street trading and hawking, and the provision of street services, such as shoe repairs and hairdressing (eThekweni Edge, 2016). Street trading is one of the most common activities in the informal economy (Pillay, 2008). According to Chisoro et al (2015), informal activity plays a pivotal role in alleviating the high levels of unemployment in South Africa. These high levels of unemployment forces a significant population seeking out a living within the city's informal economy. Burundian informal traders in the city pursue their businesses around the hub of formal trading and retailing business (Misgun, 2005). The CBD was chosen as the case study because much street trading activity is conducted there. It is therefore an important site for investigating the experiences of both migrant and local street traders. The ground floors of most buildings in Durban are occupied by retail stores and various economic activities of an informal nature are conducted in this vicinity.

The common assumption of street traders is that trading outside the busy stores is highly profitable, as they open space for a multitude of customers shopping around formal businesses. The saturation of street trading around chain stores such as Game, Shoprite and Checkers are cases in point (Misgun, 2005). A typical business site of the migrant street trader is characterized by many small stalls, which consist of plastic coverings supported by removable iron rods, wooden tables and trolleys. Elsewhere in the city, the sites in the vicinity of the Workshop appear to be convenient for informal trade because it is close to both the taxirank and the bus stop, so is the central post office which has a large open space.

4.10 Durban Housing Challenges

Durban, located on the eastern coast of South Africa, is the third most populous city in the country and faces several related challenges in relation to migration and housing. These challenges are not unique to Durban but are shared by many rapidly growing urban populations in the world. The arrival of migrants, coupled with the lack of affordable housing options, has resulted in the proliferation of informal settlements, commonly known as shantytowns or slums. These settlements often lack basic amenities such as water, sanitation, and electricity, and their residents face a precarious living condition. The inner city area known as Albert Park is situated south-east of the Durban CBD. The area takes its name from the adjoining large public park. It is primarily a residential area characterized by medium and high-rise flats, with small formal and informal businesses operating at pavement levels. Many Burundians share apartments in this vicinity whilst others live in informal settlements in and around the city.

The Albert Park area is largely occupied by students and young professionals. This heterogeneous urban space has also seen a new influx of people, both legal and illegal, from diverse African countries. A large population of foreign nationals from various geographic locations resides in these apartment blocks. The Emmanuel Cathedral also rented space in the area to assist refugees. However increasingly different nationalities have started to congregate in these areas. This bundling together of significant number of migrants has created tensions between South Africans and migrants thus culminating into violent xenophobic attacks against immigrants. Notwithstanding African migrants residing in Durban bring both opportunities and challenges to the city. Their presence enriches the cultural fabric and contributes to the economy through various economic activities; therefore a careful attention is needed to ensure their integration, protection (as enshrined in the constitution) and empowerment. When people migrate to a new country or community, they often leave behind familiar surroundings, family and support networks and attempt to integrate into the host community. By addressing issues related to economics, social integration and fostering collaboration between key stakeholders at various levels of government,

Durban can strive towards a more inclusive and harmonious community that embraces diversity.

4.11 Social Exclusion

I conceptualize social exclusion as being about lack/denial of access to opportunities to a better livelihood because of an individual's identity. Social exclusion is an important factor in understanding the complex disadvantages and inequalities that a variety of groups, including migrants and ethnic minorities face in modern society. In reference to migrants, the contention is if migrants are excluded and disadvantaged particularly through participation in the formal labor market, this will ultimately affect their children who may inherit their marginalization. South Africa's prosperity and stability remains a key attractive aspect for African migrants from across sub-Saharan Africa. Challenges around migration remain significantly global and in South African society in particular, and is manifested not merely demographically but also politically, economically and socially. In the context of this study, social exclusion of migrants refers to the process by which migrants, due to their immigration status or cultural differences are marginalized or denied access to social, economic, political opportunities within the host country. Migrants may experience barriers to entering the labor market, such as language requirements, and discriminatory hiring practices. Immigrants who are less skilled often find themselves in informal sectors of the economy. This ultimately leads to fewer job opportunities within the formal sector and thus forces migrants to participate in economic activities in the informal sector.

4.12 Religious Organization and Migrations Patterns

The scale and forms of migration have undergone massive changes over millennia, but migration remains a phenomenon that is intractably bound up with religion. In some cases migration has religious motivation and causes. However, in many other cases it has implications not only for migrants and their descendant's religious practices but also for the societies and social institution of the host communities (Beekford, 2009).

Social institutions have and continue to play a significant part in the creation and sustaining of migrants social support networks through religion. Religion is a general and abstract term. It can be used to refer to institutionalized structures such as Churches, Mosque, Faith Based Organizations, personal practices and beliefs. Migrants are more receptive to religion in host countries than in their countries of origin to cope with the challenges of migration and the alienation of residing in foreign countries. This coming together of migrants and forming a community represents social cohesion locally. Utilizing religion as a point of entry, migrants also integrate with local communities that share similar beliefs and practices.

Migrants have used religion as a coping mechanism. Migration is often a traumatic experience as some individuals have fled wars in search of better living conditions in host countries without documentation or even relatives and friends to turn to. These migrants more often than not come together through religious beliefs to overcome this trauma. Religion has thus in many ways provided a moral or normative basis for social interaction and solidarity among African migrants in Durban (Vawda, 2017). Integration or assimilation into South African society is not a simple process: It's not without its power plays between, what may be called the struggle between the powerful elements such as the state and its agencies, and the poor particularly those that try to making a living in the hidden worlds of undocumented migrants, or as refugees and exile. In the process of negotiating their livelihoods forced migrants- especially those staying in urban areas have recourse to a wide range of survival strategies such as small businesses, self-employment, studies and use of local assistance channels. Alongside these common coping mechanisms, another important coping mechanism taking shape and plays a critical role in assisting new migrants is religion (Nzayabiro, 2010).

4.13. Conclusion

The Burundian based migrant community is very diverse from various viewpoints. They came from different provinces and ethnic backgrounds in Burundi and subsist economically using a range of informal and a few formal economic activities. The majority are males since women are underrepresented in this community for various reasons including the hardship of the journey from Burundi to South Africa, less willingness to talk to strangers, and less exposure to public for the few who are married. The majority of respondents are relatively highly educated.

CHAPTER FIVE

BURUNDIAN MIGRANTS IN DURBAN'S INFORMAL ECONOMY

5.1. INTRODUCTION

The objective of this chapter is to assess the challenges faced by migrants in the informal economy of Durban. This chapter examines the qualitative findings pertaining to and influencing the decisions migrants make regarding livelihood strategies and decisions that influence their participation in the informal economy. This section also highlights the challenges faced by Burundian migrants in Durban. Additionally, it discusses the benefits that Burundian migrants enjoy while engaging in informal economic activity. Five respondents agreed to be interviewed for this part of the study through in-depth interviews.

5.2. Job Creation

The informal economy plays a significant role in the entrepreneurial landscape of the city of Durban and is patronized by the majority of the city's residents. Migrants owned businesses are portrayed by officials, citizens and the media as having a negative impact on the South African economy and undermining the livelihoods of South Africans. However, an emerging literature on migrants in the informal sector of Durban is beginning to demonstrate a positive economic contribution to the city's economy.

One participant in the study alluded to the fact that Burundian migrants create employment for local people in their businesses. *“There is no support from anybody; I have to hustle to get anything and find any kind of work to support my family”*. *“I had a salon before but now is quite, now I am selling hair pieces in the street”*. (Participant No, 22. 15 October 2020).

“Currently, I employ seven South African ladies in my shop, therefore I have created jobs for South Africans” *“so I think I am contributing to the country as well”* (Participant No.26. 07 October 2020).

Apart from Burundian migrants possessing more than satisfactory levels of formal education, they are also skilled artisans and entrepreneurs within the community. A participant commented as follows:

“When I finished schooling in Burundi, I didn't get the marks to go to University, then I started to learn welding for three years and I got the certificate. And when I came to South Africa 22 years

ago I had to do welding in order to survive and support my family, and to be able to pay rent, and pay transport for children to go to school, that is why you must make a plan''. (Participant No 23, 10 October 2020).

From the above narrative it may be deduced that although Burundian migrants look for employment in the country, at the same time they bring to the country entrepreneurial skills which they transfer to locals.

Migrants do migrate within the host country. They move around the country to find opportunity to better their livelihood. A participant stated that:

“I was staying in Johannesburg, then visited Durban and decided to stay as I found better work opportunities in Durban’’. (Participant No 24, 16 October 2020).

Another respondent alluded to the fact he did receive support upon arriving in Durban.

“ I received a support through Cathedral (a non-profit organization based in Durban). I am fashion designer work’’ (which is the work that I have doing since home). (Participant No 25, 03 October 2020).

Forced migration due to political reasons were common among respondents

“ I left my home country due to political reasons and I have been here in South Africa for 18 years. I had to do car guard after arriving due to lack of support from my community or any other organization. It was not easy for us because you can't get another job. I also started to sell clothes in the street after I had saved enough through small jobs and by eating once every 24 hours until I managed to open my own shop that sells clothes’’ (Participant No.26. 07 October 2020).

The overwhelming responses from participants paint a picture of extreme hardship while settling in Durban. This is compounded by the fact that lack of support from either government or community based organizations results in migrants to venture into informal economic activities in order to survive and support themselves and their families. According to the study by Jacobsen (2004:60) regarding urban refugees found that in Johannesburg, relatively few migrants are eligible for assistance from the state or humanitarian agencies in assisting migrants in meeting basic needs including food and shelter. Additionally, many struggle to meet their basic needs, including shelter and food. The majority of the respondents in this study engage in small informal trade activity purely as survival mechanisms. Hence given the size of the business, it does not permit to employ local South Africans.

The above response is supported by a study of migrant entrepreneurs from Cameroon, Ethiopia, Ghana, and Somalia in Cape Town that found that 52 per cent had paid employees and of these, 48 per cent employed South Africans (Tengeh, 2012). Another study of migrant entrepreneurs from Somalia, Nigeria and Senegal, also in Cape Town, found that 96 per cent employed South Africans (Kalitanyi, 2007).

5.3. Police Harassment

The majority of migrants in the informal economy expressed concern at the treatment they receive from the Metropolitan police who misuse their law enforcement powers by arresting, charging, confiscating goods and maltreating migrants. Police frequently solicit bribes from traders in order for them to continue with their business activity (Jacobsen, 2004). This was the response by one of the respondents:

“That one police harassment is worse of my life, every day is a struggle, mostly twice a day you get harassed by police, every day they coming to chase us because they don’t want us to work in the street. Sometimes they take your stuff and give you a ticket (fine) of 600 Rands. Sometimes even my profit is not 600 Rands. Every day, we sell and run because they (police) coming to take our stuff. Sometimes when they take your stuff, and you go to get it, you can’t find it”. (Participant No 22. 15 October 2020).

Police harassment is a constant theme that emerged among migrants in the study. The following excerpt illustrates this. *“Even the police are used to arrest us, they can put you in police station for four to five hours for nothing, just to show you that is in charge and that you are a foreigner. They will randomly stop you and ask for paper and ask for money, if you don’t have it, or your paper has expired they put in a van and move you around in a van and take you very far until you get tired and said I have 100 rand for you, but they said is too small, you can see we are three or four, phone your brother to bring 300 Rands or 400 Rands more. And you end up paying because you are afraid of being taken to police station or Lindela repatriation center” (Participant No 23, 10 October 2020).*

The other respondent echoed these sentiments.

“Yes, I have been harassed by police, when they (police) came to my shop only to ask a name of someone, before I even answer I was slapped, and I was very surprised. I just kept quiet and luckily his colleague stopped him from assaulting me. I was innocent because I didn’t do anything, and I am not that kind of person that does crime. So I could see that the police man can harass someone for being a foreigner” (Participant No. 25. 10 October 2020). In most South African cities the police regularly raid informal businesses and try to prevent hawking and other forms of street

trading, they are more likely to seize the goods of immigrants or ask them to pay bribes or other forms of protection money.

5.4. Scarcity of Jobs

In the last two decades, South Africa has become a major destination country for both economic and forced migrants. Most live in urban areas where they compete with locals and each other for jobs and other services. Because many migrants fail to secure formal employment on arrival they join the burgeoning informal economy, particularly street trading. Migrants in street trading participate in entrepreneurial businesses in order to obtain a livelihood. Various literatures highlight that many migrants participate in informal economic activities because it is the only means of survival. Participants in the study were lured to the country in the hope that the city of Durban will provide them with opportunities to earn a living only for their hopes to be dashed when they arrive as there are limited occupational opportunities. According to Jacobsen (2004:61), the livelihood problems facing all urban poor in the country, are similar. However, the difference is that migrants face additional problems related to their legal status and to xenophobia.

Asylum seekers and refugees from various countries are largely excluded from the formal labor market and show high levels of enterprise and innovation in the informal economy (Maqanda, 2012).

One respondent stated: *“Life is not easy in Durban, there are no jobs, I have to hustle to support my family and my kids back home in Burundi home, I have to find any kind of work to support my family”* (Participant No. 22, 15 October 2020).

One respondent highlighted the fact due to his limited educational qualifications he had no choice but to engage in informal trade activity.

“I had to do panel beaters in order to support my family and put food on the table for my family. Back home I didn’t get the marks to go to university, and I had to welding because my father was a welder and he teach me, and I learned my trade at an organization for three years, and we get certificate after finishing”. (Participant No. 23, 10 October 2020).

According to Rogerson (1999) and Skinner (2000), participation in the urban informal economy is widely characterized as a survival strategy which has been growing in importance in South Africa.

5.4.1. Lack of Financial support

Nearly all of the migrant traders that were interviewed maintained that they came to Durban without capital required to start a business activity. Consequently, they depended on friends and relatives to assist them with the money needed to start their business. However, having borrowed

money to make their journeys, by the time they arrive they have nothing left and have to work extremely hard in order to survive in a foreign land. Hard working is the running theme among respondents interviewed. This respondent stated:

“When I arrived in South Africa I had no one to support me, so I had to do car guard for a long time in order to make a living and the conditions were tough, had to wake up early in the morning and come back home at around 10 pm”. (Participant No. 26, 07October 2020).

“I started selling clothes outside on the street and after I had saved enough, I open my own shop. I had to work hard and managed to save enough money that allowed me to open my own shop” (Participant No. 26, 07October 2020).

As migrants have an obligation to support their families back home and pay the loan taken to make the journey a participant highlighted how he started his trading activity, and the difficulties in getting a loan or financial assistance.

“There is not any support here, everything we got it’s through our hands, we help ourselves only..., and we get no support from anybody to us. How we survive in this country is because of God only””. I didn’t get any support when I started to do my work (welding) I buy the machinery from my pocket. Because, In South Africa you can’t get a place to borrow” (Participant No, 23. 10/10/2020). Lack of financial supports from non- profit organization and host country are the running theme among participants in the study.

One migrant expressed satisfaction with the government.

“ From the government point of view, they help us in giving us access to open our businesses when you got asylum seeker permit” (Participant No. 26, 07 October 2020).

Migrants in South Africa can settle anywhere in the country and enjoy freedom of movement. This approach is in contrast to the majority of African states, which put refugees in camps, withholding several rights to social support, work and free movement. Additionally, access to health care and social grants by migrants is cited as a key support by the South African government.

5.4.2. Social Support Networks

According to El-Abed (2003: 5), social networks refer to ties and kinship which provides social, financial and political support in order to facilitate social development of their members. Many of the respondents stated that they preferred Durban because of the information they had obtained through their networks of friends and relatives. However, a picture emerges through the interviews which revealed that networks and unity within the Burundian community does not exist due to the fact that high level of mistrust experienced by the refugee community, a combination of their

experiences in the DRC, en-route, and in Durban, makes the formation of cohesive structures and a coherent approach difficult. The proliferation of small churches, political parties and self-help projects is symptomatic of this fragmentation. Nevertheless, social networks are the only support that is available and they are the key to livelihood strategies. It would appear from the narrative of participants below that the Burundian traders lack proper organizational capacity as a community. The community does not have resources to offer support of any kind.

“There is no any support at all in the Burundian community, there is no any kind of support that I have received from the community” (Participant No, 22. 15/10/2020).

The difficulties of finding formal sector employment and lack of support led to migrants to create employment opportunities for themselves

“No there is nothing I can tell you that is coming from the government; everything is coming from our hands, no support from the Burundian community” (Participant No, 23. 10/10/2020).

According to Crush et al (2015:26), migrants who owned informal enterprises were financially self-sufficient. The use of both formal and informal financial institutions was limited which emphasizes self-reliance and personal networks as sources of business start-up capital. Those who tried to get bank loans were invariably turned down.

5.4.3. Street Trading as a Means of Survival

Majority of the study participants said that they would gladly accept employment in the formal sector or any other work that can reliably and consistently provide an income that is sustainable. They started their own small businesses to provide a source of income. One participant indicated that he chose informal trading to be able to earn a livelihood.

“ I choose this type of work, because it’s not easy for us because you can’t get another job, I have no choice but to sell in the road” (Participant No.26. 07 October 2020).

5.4.4. Availability of Income

The majority of respondents derive satisfaction from the fact that they earn an income from the sales of their goods or services. Their turnover may not be very large, but the minimum earnings that they obtain from their trade make a difference in their lives.

“...by doing this job, I get to pay school fees for my son, and pay rent and have some pocket money, I am happy about that” (Participant No, 22. 16 October 2020).

“If I work, I get money to buy bread for my daughter because if I don’t work, I can’t survive. If I don’t work I won’t be able to pay rent, there’s no profit in this work. All the money I get is simply to survive” (Participant No. 22, 15 October 2020).

One respondent alluded to the fact that the change of government from Thabo Mbeki to Jacob Zuma was the beginning of difficulties and hardship for migrants in Durban.

“During the previous government of Thabo Mbeki, the country’s economy was very good and the climate very accommodating of outsiders and opportunities existed for all regardless of origin. However, when Zuma came, everything stopped. No more jobs for migrants and anti- foreigners rhetoric intensified and it’s been tough ever since” (Participant No. 23, 10 October 2020). The advantage of being a street trader is that they are self-employed and that they have control over money that they make. Other factors aside, the failures and successes of street entrepreneurs depend on how they manage their businesses.

5.4.5. Support from Host Country

With little or no help from the government, self-reliance is fundamental to survival in a foreign land for migrants (Jacobsen, 2004)

“I can’t lie to you, we don’t get any help anyhow, and you have to survive yourself to put food on the table” (Participant No. 22, 10 October 2020). There is no assistance from government or organization, we surviving through the grace of God’’. During the lockdown period only Muslim organization that was distributing food to families” (Participant No. 23, 10 October 2020).

5.4.6. Local Treatment of Migrants

The assertion by South Africans engaged in street trading is that foreigners ‘steal jobs’ and are ‘criminals’ are often accepted as the prima facie reasons for general attitudes of intolerance and hostility. This ultimately leads to violence targeting foreigners.

“You may find that someone come to your shop and take advantage because you can’t speak isiZulu and he doesn’t pay for the stuff. Is not easy to fight or to call police to arrest him because the police can’t arrest their people” (Participant No 25, 03 October 2020).

*“Local people’s treatment of foreigners is not good”” (Participant No. 26, 07 October 2020).
“I blame the apartheid government, because the apartheid didn’t teach their people of other African countries”” (Participant No, 23, 10 October 2020).*

“For me the relationship is good because I never have a problem, but my brothers have been found in difficult situations with locals”” (Participant No. 22. 15 October 2020).

5.4.7. Migrant’s Wishes

Given that the majority of the migrants stay in the city, housing is expensive and contributes greatly to challenges faced by migrants in urban centers. Migrants often have to pay more than locals for accommodation. The high rental is the major challenge highlighted by migrants in Durban.

“We are disturbed by rent, which we faced here in Durban. The rent is too high in town and it goes higher and higher every year, but we can’t go to stay in location because we fear for our safety”. We are appealing to the government to approach the owners of the building to put a reasonable price on renting” (Participant No. 23, 3 October 2020).

The high rental costs is clearly a challenge for those migrant traders who are just trying to make ends meet. The situation is not easy for the street traders given the fact that at certain times they are only able to sell very few or no items at all. Local and national housing regulations that require proof of residence or citizenship make housing more expensive for them than for other urban poor.

5.4.8. Response from Non- Governmental Organization (NGOs)

During the course of data collection, contact was made with several organizations that deal with migrant related issues in Durban. However, due to lockdown regulations and subsequent closures of many offices created a difficult situation to obtain an interview with many of the organizations that deals with migrant related issues in Durban. However, I managed to get an audience with representatives of three organizations namely the RSS (Refugee Social Services), ASN (African Solidarity Network); and a written statement was received from AFRIS (African Solidarity Campaign).

A Malawian refugee representative in Durban did offer a general insight into the challenges faced by Malawian refugees, which is similar to the case of Burundians and various mechanisms that are in place to assist them in Durban. The following are the responses from the above organizations. The African Solidarity Network’s secretary general contends that *“The organization was founded in 2014 in Durban with aim of representing and be the voice of the refugees and asylum seekers”*.

“The main objective for the establishment was due to the lack of organization locally that represented the issues of migrants and refugees”.

The organization offers services such as the facilitation of dialogue, social inclusion and nation building between local political office bearers about refugees’ rights and migrants in Durban. Refugees face a myriad of challenges including but not limited to xenophobic attacks, lack of proper documentations, lack of access to social services such as grants. Additionally, to those in informal economy there is a lack of proper planning on informal economy by the municipality, lack of trading permit towards migrants in informal economy”. (Daniel Dunia, Secretary General of African Solidarity Network. 7/10/2020).

According to Yasmin Rajah the director of Refugee Social Service *“In 2003 we started the social programs such as counseling, health care programs and child protection program with social workers and financial assistance. The main challenge that we encountered in the last three years is the lack of documentation and lack of cooperation with the Department of Home Affairs regarding the issue of migrant’s documentation. Consequently, lack of documentation put migrants in vulnerable position and at a mercy of unscrupulous police officers. We have been involved with uplifting programs aimed at empowering the migrant community”.*

However, the biggest obstacle is the lack of funding to execute many of the programs to empower the most vulnerable in the community. Especially, now the need is great due to corona virus and subsequent lockdown that has greatly affected the refugee communities in the city”. (Yasmin Rajah Director of Refugee Social Service. 23/9/2020).

The following views are from a Malawian refugee’s representative who works with disaster management of Malawi consulate in relation to assistance offered to refugees/migrants in distress in Durban *“ we offer food parcels, blankets in case of disaster and emergency such as repatriation of dead Malawian citizens to be buried at home”.* Additionally, we offer assistance in applying for documentations at Home Affairs. However, our assistance is not limited to Malawian citizens only; we offer assistance to those in need regardless of nationality subject to availability of funds. Fortunately, the United Nations do provide assistance in monetary to assist refugees, however, the South African government has not been forthcoming with those funds. *“Therefore the major issues hampering our efforts are lack of funding and proper cooperation with Governmental department in relation to refugee’s issue”* (Adam, Representative of Malawian nationals in Durban, 07/10/2020).

5.4.9. Present-day State of Affairs

Lately, there has been a growing outcry and animosity directed towards refugees and migrant owned businesses in Durban. Members of the Umkhonto Wesizwe (Military Veterans Association - MKMVA) of the African National Congress organized a demonstration in Durban calling for all foreign owned shops to be closed down (Duma, 2021). The MKVA members described their actions as a cleanup campaign, adding that the closure of foreign owned shops in Durban will benefit all South Africans. The leader is quoted as saying that —we want locals to enter all these shops and work (Mavuso et al, 2021). The above xenophobic sentiments and subsequent actions has been growing in the province, which resulted in businesses owned by foreigners to shut down and looted in Durban early that year. The group's actions started when they evicted all foreign traders at the Workshop shopping center. Members of MKVA said that the aim of their actions was to take a stand against the system which allowed foreigners to take control of the Central Business District (CBD) and secure jobs at the expense of South Africans (Singh, 2020). As a result, immigrant shop owners in Durban fear for their lives after the looting and vandalizing of their businesses (Nokulunga, 2020).

There have been several sporadic attacks on foreign vendors and their tented stalls since November 2020. The most recent attacks in the city's bustling Victoria Street resulted in the torching of three vending tables and two foreign nationals being seriously injured resulting in them being taken to hospital (Erasmus, 2021). Migrants in informal trading face significant security challenges such as high levels of crime that are affecting migrants disproportionately. This can be attributed to business competition (Crush et al, 2015).

Furthermore, 73% of migrants in the informal sector cite crime and theft as a significant challenge to their operations. Additionally, physical attacks and assault by South Africans were of concern to 36% of the respondents (Crush et al, 2015). Some felt they are systematically targeted because criminals know that the police will not act. Business competition is cited as the most contributing factor on assaults of migrant owned businesses. According to Misago (2009) the causes of xenophobic violence in South Africa, is around perceptions on business competition which is listed as a trigger for the horrific May 2008 xenophobic violence. Additionally, theft, and looting of migrant owned businesses by ordinary citizens and members of organizations such as MKMVA is also common and frequent.

According to Modi (2003:3) the government and media have aggravated the problem through unsubstantiated reports against illegal migrants. The media subscribe to the link between crime, violence and migration. Such observations have affected popular imagination adversely. South Africans wrongly believe that illegal migration is a new phenomenon, that there are

millions of undocumented migrants in South Africa, and that the presence of illegal migrants tends to increase crime and steal jobs meant for South Africans. Despite the prevalence of evidence to the contrary, most South Africans tend to concur that the nation is suffering from an immigration crisis of tremendous proportions (Segatti and Landau, 2008). Migrants in informal trading contribute significantly to the economy in the form of paying rent to South African landlords, often employing South Africans and contribute to the tax base through suppliers. Key beneficiaries of their activities are low-income consumers who can access cheap and accessible goods and services at any time of the day (Crush et al, 2015). Migrants in informal trading also generate additional employment opportunities for native born-workers.

The following section highlights how each objectives of the study were addressed by the outcomes of the study.

1. Determine the nature of informal trading amongst the Burundian community of Durban

The majority of respondents are involved in the hawking of various items in the city center, among them are those selling second hands clothes and shoes, wares and hair as street trading is a last resort for many as participant No, 26 allude to below

“I choose this type of work, because it’s not easy for us because you can’t get another job, I have no choice but to sell in the road” (Participant No.26. 07 October 2020).

Other participant started in car guarding and managed to save enough to open a shop *“When I arrived in South Africa I had no one to support me, so I had to do car guard for a long time in order to make a living and the conditions were tough, had to wake up early in the morning and come back home at around 10 pm” (Participant No. 26, 07October 2020).*

“I started selling clothes outside on the street and after I had saved enough, I open my own shop. I had to work hard and managed to save enough money that allowed me to open my own shop” (Participant No. 26, 07October 2020).

2. The role of informal economy as an employment tool for Burundian migrants in Durban

The overriding theme is simply the fact that participation in the informal sector is the only option to earn a living due to various barriers in finding employment in the formal economy. *“That one (police harassment) is worse of my life, every day is a struggle, mostly twice a day you get harassed by police, every day they coming to chase us because they don’t want us to work in the street. Sometimes they take your stuff and give you a ticket (fine) of 600 Rands. Sometimes even my profit is not 600 Rands. Every day, we sell and run because they (police) coming to take our stuff. Sometimes your stuff get taken, and you go to get it, you can’t*

find it". (Participant No 22. 15 October 2020. "Even the police are used to arrest us, they can put you in police station for four to five hours for nothing, just to show you that is in charge and that you are a foreigner. They will randomly stop you and ask for paper and ask for money, if you don't have it, or your paper has expired they put in a van and move you around in a van and take you very far until you get tired and said I have 100 rand for you, but they said is too small, you can see we are three or four, phone your brother to bring 300 Rands or 400 Rands more. And you end up paying because you are afraid of being taken to police station or Lindela repatriation center"" (Participant No23, 10 October 2020).

3. Challenges faced by migrants in Durban's informal economy.

Challenges cited by respondents varied from participants as it will be observed

"We are disturbed by rent, which we faced here in Durban. The rent is too high in town and it goes higher and higher every year, but we can't go to stay in location because we fear for our safety". We are appealing to the government to approach the owners of the building to put a reasonable price on renting"" (Participant No. 23, 3 October 2020).

Refugees face a myriad of challenges including but not limited to xenophobic attacks, lack of proper documentations, lack of access to social services such as grants. Additionally, to those in informal economy there is a lack of proper planning on informal economy by the municipality, lack of trading permit towards migrants in informal economy"" (Daniel Dunia, Secretary General of African Solidarity Network. 7/10/2020).

According to Yasmin Rajah the director of Refugee Social Service *"In 2003 we started the social programs such as counseling, health care programs and child protection program with social workers and financial assistance. The main challenge that we encountered in the last three years is the lack of documentation and lack of cooperation with the Department of Home Affairs regarding the issue of migrant's documentation".*

Consequently, lack of documentation put migrants in vulnerable position and at a mercy of unscrupulous police officers. We have been involved with uplifting programs aimed at empowering the migrant community. However, the biggest obstacle is the lack of funding to execute many of the programs to empower the most vulnerable in the community. Especially, now the need is great due to corona virus and subsequent lockdown that has greatly affected the refugee communities in the city". (Yasmin Rajah Director of Refugee Social Service. 23/9/2020).

5.4.10. Conclusion

The researcher has tried to provide insight through this study that the migrant street trader contributes towards the development of the City of Durban. The research has delved deeper into various challenges faced by Burundian migrant street traders as they conduct their daily business. An attempt was made to document how migrant traders are perceived by local traders. The social challenges encountered by migrant street traders were also explored in this research. Through constant reference to the recorded comments of the migrant traders, the researcher has tried to map the way forward as to what could be done to support the migrant traders in their business endeavors as well as develop greater cooperation between them and the government. Many migrant street traders, as has been revealed in the study, resorted to this type of trade in order to survive due to the lack of job opportunities in the city. The findings were that social exclusion is the key to the difficulties of economic survival of the Burundian migrants in Durban, particularly given the difficulties that they encounter with officials and the lack of supportive NGOs and government officials at all levels of government.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

6.1. Introduction

In this chapter an effort is made to demonstrate how Burundian migrant street traders contribute towards the economic development of the eThekweni municipality in general and the city of Durban in particular. The experiences that they encounter in the process of pursuing their trade will be emphasized. The implications of the maltreatment by locals, police and municipal officials and how this can affect their business operations are briefly explained. Recommendations are then offered as to what should be the way forward in dealing with the issues surrounding migrant street traders in general and Burundian street traders in particular.

6.2. Discussion

International and local migration in addition to voluntary and forced movement, whether temporary or permanent, is a compound and multidimensional practice which calls for an inter-disciplinary approach in order to be understood, explained, and predicted. Throughout history, people have been migrating across continents for various reasons (Kalitanyi & Visser, 2010). Some of the reasons for migration are escaping civil wars and economic instability in their home countries. When migrants arrive in the host countries, they usually experience hardships in securing formal employment, due to difficulties associated with attaining required legal documentation. As a result, in pursuit of survival, some migrants resort to creating self-employment through trading in the informal trading sector. Therefore, informal trading becomes most of the migrant's livelihood strategy (Mago, 2018; Moyo, 2015). This research had four main objectives. Firstly, it tried to understand the nature of informal trading amongst Burundian migrants in the City of Durban. For instance, this research tried to understand how Burundian migrants make their livelihood in a foreign land without assistance from NGOs and various departments of government.

Secondly, this research focused on the challenges faced by Burundian migrants in Durban's informal sector and the key roles played by different government officials and departments such as the Department of Home Affairs, various law enforcement agencies such as South African Police Service, metropolitan law enforcement officers as well as Non-Governmental Organization. Thirdly, this research looked at ways in which migrant's lives could be made better by proper policy implementations that not only better the lives of the indigenous but also migrants. The importance of this particular study lies in that, given the political and economic instabilities

prevalent in Africa; cities such as Durban in a relatively prosperous and stable part of Africa is likely to experience a steady inflow of migrants from the rest of the continent in seeking greener pastures. How the city deals with these people will depend on decision makers' understanding of the difficulties they have experienced and methods they have adopted to resolve their problems. Regarding social networks and social capital they provide an important link for individuals and society. According to Mario and Wodon (2001:84), social capital and social networks serves as a coping mechanism against vulnerability and exclusion. Additionally, it can provide useful information about opportunities, financial support, accommodation and jobs for the new arrivals. However, the Burundian social network exists in theory but not in practice. Majority of participants alluded to the fact that they have never received any assistance from the Burundian network. This is due to the historical mistrust between different ethnic members among Burundians dating back decades in Burundi and amongst Burundian migrants in South Africa. It is common knowledge among Burundian migrants in Durban to seek help or assistance among their own ethnic groups. However, strong reliance on ethnic ties to survive and integrate in a hostile host community, as perceived by many respondents, may end up with Burundian refugees excluding themselves from the local community and from other foreigner groups which may well include refugees. At a tribal level, extreme self-reliance tends to widen the divide between Burundian groupings which is based initially on the conflict back home and is further fueled by manipulation over fewer resources in Durban by some South African NGOs.

As a result, extreme self-reliance weakens refugees' livelihood strategies in terms of mutual support, inclusive assistance to new arrivals, and useful information-sharing regarding both constraint and opportunities in the host country. This study further seeks to deepen academic understanding on the lives of Burundian migrants in Durban. The study's findings bring new insights to the understanding of migrant's survival strategies, types of work they do to make a living and challenges faced in the city's informal economy as well as interactions with the local population and provide implications for policy-making. Refugee migration needs a similar approach to make sense. Political conditions such as poor leadership and incompetent and corrupt government officials may create socio-economic malaise which may result in political instability and repression and human rights violations by the state. There is no clear cut division between these political and socio-economic difficulties since one may be the cause and the consequence of the other and vice versa. In this chapter an endeavor is made to highlight migrant street trader's contribution towards the economic development of the city of Durban. The experiences that they encounter during the performance of their trade are also highlighted. The implications of the maltreatment of the migrant street traders by locals, police and municipal officials and how this can affect their business operations are briefly explained.

Recommendations are then given as to what should be the way forward in dealing with the issues surrounding foreign street traders. The contribution of the migrant street traders in terms of job creation in the city is a beneficial one and does not seem to be clearly recognized by the municipality as well as by members of the public. In terms of the findings of this study, the evidence does confirm that migrant street traders do contribute towards the city of Durban in various ways. In spite of the survivalist nature of their occupation, migrant's street traders pay taxes for the goods purchased and create employment for themselves and local South Africans. It can be argued that African migrants in street trading do not create jobs in substantial quantities when compared to huge corporations and formal business enterprises. It is worth noting that their input may be justified by an argument that the opportunities benefits by their engagement in job creation activities provide income for others through accommodation rentals, on transport for transport operators and purchase of their stock from formal traders contributes to the development of the City of Durban. The goods that the migrant traders buy from the suppliers in the city help keep the business activity of the city vibrant, and the migrant traders therefore add to the revenue of the metropolitan government. In the interviews conducted responses vary from one individual to the next, however the overriding consensus among respondents were the lack of financial support or otherwise from the Government and hence the move to the informal economic sector to make a living.

In the interviews, the migrant street traders reported that they have to pay rent to their landlords for accommodation in the CBD where they live. Many of the migrants are unable to live in the townships because xenophobia tends to be common in such places (Maharaj, 2004). Furthermore, they are not allowed to benefit from the government's RDP (Reconstruction and Development Programme) housing programs because the policy is designed for South African citizens. There is also the problem of hostile attitude of the local communities towards migrants, who include the traders; the locals can grow angry at the prospect of migrants receiving houses instead of locals. Therefore, the landlords who provide the migrants with accommodation in the City are able to make use of the migrant's plight by demanding that the latter make regular rent payments. By paying rent, the migrant entrepreneurs are making an indirect contribution towards the well-being of the metropolitan government because the municipal services rendered to the apartments and houses that they share are constantly being paid for by utility bills, rates and taxes. If it were not for migrants, many buildings in town would possibly remain vacant, which might well have led to such places becoming havens for robbers and thugs. These findings are consistent with those of Peberdy (2000), who points out that the migrant traders spend between 40% and 50% of their income in South Africa on rental. Large parts of migrant trader's income therefore go towards food and other items that they buy in the city who pay Value Added Tax (VAT) which is taxed by the business houses and returned to the national treasury.

According to the participants own reports, the migrant street traders have to endure maltreatment by certain Metropolitan police and municipal officials, some of whom demand bribes. Migrant traders face continuous harassment even when they possess legal permits that allow them to trade legally. It can be presumed that this hostile treatment of the migrants hinders any further potential contribution that they could make towards the city's economy.

The perpetuation of this state of affairs could have negative repercussions because the migrant traders might eventually become unwilling to ply their trade anymore, which would mean the loss of jobs for locals as well as less employment opportunities. This finding of this study corresponds with the findings of Berry (2009), who conducted research on female vendors in the informal economy in Pretoria who have provided employment opportunities for locals. According to Berry (2009:82), the implications of intimidation by criminals are that informal traders might decide not to expand their businesses due to crime. They may keep lower levels of stock out of fear of their goods being stolen. Passing trade may be lost due to clients being scared away by criminal activities. All of the above results in the lack of growth and sustainability of these businesses. The nature of intimidation and hostile environment that migrants and refugees experience is a contrast to the right of migrants and refugees that are guaranteed in the South African Bill of Rights and the Refugees Act of 1998.

However, extensive gap between refugee law in theory and the way it is implemented in practice unfortunately results in many refugees not experiencing the rights and protections guaranteed to them (Mc Knight, 2008). Furthermore, the Department of Home Affairs has, in terms of Section 29 (20) of the South African Immigration Bill, the duty of both educating the countries citizens and civil society on the rights of migrants and refugees and carrying out activities that discourage and prevent xenophobia. The government, together with its police force, has failed dismally in this regard (Mc Knight, 2008). Some of the migrants interviewed for this study alluded to the challenges they faced while participating in the informal economy. The overriding consensus was that they are drawn into the informal economy for different reasons, but mostly the lack of employment in the formal sector, discrimination and a lack of proper home affairs documentation. Many employers refuse to hire them and express hesitation at hiring a refugee because their status papers expire and are not renewed, hence the employer will have to retrain another worker for the job. Respondents referred to the corruption and discrimination of Home Affairs officials when applying for documentation. The following are responses from two migrant based organizations in Durban on the challenges faced by migrants in the City of Durban.

"The lack of recognition of refugee's documentations by most institutions such as banks mostly

disadvantaged refugees and migrants in seeking banking services'' (Daniel Dunia, Secretary of Africa Solidarity Network).

''South African refugees policy is the most progressive in the world which speaks of rights of refugees and migrants to work and study, however, the problem lies with the implementation of the policy'' (Yasmin Rajah, Director of Refugees Social Services).

The Burundian Migrants that serves as respondent alluded to the fact that participation in the informal street trading has benefits, such as the ability to pay rent, buy food and other necessities. One respondent alluded to the survival nature of informal trading and the benefit.

'' I have to come out and sell on the street even with police harassment so that I can buy bread for my daughter and save the small money left for rent'' (Participant no 25).

One of the major limitations faced by the migrant traders with regard to their businesses is the unwillingness of the financial institutions to provide them with credit and loans. The lack of access to loans due to lack of appropriate documents is another challenge that hinders the growth of their businesses. Reasons put forward by the financial institutions for denying them credit and loans are that migrant street traders do not have proof of a fixed address, they do not possess a South African identity document (ID), and they do not have assets such as cars and houses which could serve as security. It is thus necessary for the eThekweni Municipality to incorporate the Burundian migrant traders together with other national migrants in their plans so that the latter can provide an even greater contribution towards the development of the City of Durban.

6.3. Recommendations

The following recommendations have been framed in accordance with the findings of the study. Firstly, the Metropolitan Government should pursue ways of attending to the wishes and aspirations of the migrant street traders in general, as they are fundamental actors of the municipalities' economy. According to the study, Burundian migrant street traders have a long list of needs, such as affordable accommodation, lack of easy access to clinics and educational institutions, and larger trading sites, all of which needs attention from the municipality. Training sessions and workshops by their relevant institutions should be run for the policemen and municipal officials, who need to be taught extensively and re-educated about the implications of discrimination and bribery and how these tarnish the image of the City of Durban. Municipal officials should also be encouraged to adopt a positive attitude and be more willing to assist migrant street traders. Officials at all levels of metropolitan government should be educated about the rights of the migrants in the City. A certain amount of discipline must be injected into the Government at all levels.

Police officers must be better trained to recognize asylum seeker permits and refugee status papers so they will not wrongly arrest or detain refugees. Officers also need to be punished for any bribes or other illegal acts they commit. According to Harris (2001), for many migrant without money, there is no service for the many seeking to attain and maintain legal status in South Africa. Money and corruption are central to staying in the country. The guise of checking status (more than any concern with status per se) also creates a space for ongoing economic exploitation and sometimes, violence, at the hands of the South African authorities. Engagements and other forms of gatherings can be productively used to teach the migrants about their rights.

The eThekweni Municipality should create means for providing safer and more secure structures for the street traders so that adverse weather conditions will not adversely affect their products and their ability to continue trading. Appropriate trading documents should be made available to all regardless of a person's background and origin.

The availability of convenient shelters of better-quality material at their business sites would mean that migrant and local street trader businesses are not disrupted by inclement weather conditions. With better trading structures migrant traders business activities would be able to proceed under adverse weather conditions and more income can be generated. Migrants in the city's informal sector should convene regular meetings of migrant street traders to deal with the many issues that affect them. Chief among the issues to be dealt should be for migrant traders to access the programmes that are aimed at improving the relationship between the Metropolitan government and street traders. The eThekweni municipality should set up an interim committee that will arrange a meeting with municipal officials so as to address their needs and improve their relations with the municipality. The committee should also arrange meetings with government officials and Non-Profit Organizations so that they can be taught about the rights of migrants.

All spheres of government should be proactive in educating the local communities about the negative and long-term effects of xenophobia. The municipal government should educate these communities that xenophobia tarnishes the reputation of the city and, as a consequence, discourages further economic investments in the eThekweni Metropolitan government. All key stakeholders, such as faith-based organizations, the business sector, community-based organizations and political organizations, should organize such joint meetings. These meetings ought to focus on various methods that can be used by various informal economy formations to educate locals about African migrants in the City of Durban. Anti-xenophobia campaigns should be launched by community organizations. The mass media should also assist in underlining and educating the public about the meaningful contributions of the migrants in the City of Durban. The municipality should incorporate in their policies an article that specifies how they expect the media to assist them in educating the public.

In forums that involve the media and the municipality, the officials should, in appropriate circumstances, highlight the importance of educating the public about migrants. Workshops and educational sessions dealing with the importance of co-existing with people of different colors, creeds or ethnic origins should be held within the various communities. Various community stakeholders should be allocated a role to play in such programmes. It is critical for community members to participate in and own such resolutions, rather than perceive them as being government meetings. The eThekweni municipality needs to create a conducive environment that is more favorable for the migrant street traders to obtain business training. The eThekweni Municipality has in the past played a role in helping the local street traders to acquire these skills. Training sessions should be conducted during those working hours when the migrant traders are not very busy so that the meetings do not seriously interfere with the migrants' work. The Metropolitan government should engage NGOs in assisting them to run these training sessions since many NGOs have expertise and experience in working with migrant communities within the city. The training sessions should be informal in approach and they should empower the migrant street traders by teaching them the skills involved in starting a business, marketing, selling, keeping accounts and the migrants should also be trained in humanresources management. The skills that are taught at these training sessions should be those that will equip the migrant traders to be more productive, thus enhancing their contribution to the Metropolitan government. The eThekweni Metropolitan government should intervene and hold meetings with the city's micro-financial institutions. The municipality officials should aim at these meetings to convince the financial establishments to exercise flexibility in their stringent policies so as to accommodate migrant street traders in order for the latter to access loans. Migrant street traders should be assisted by the government to form associations. Members of these associations should be allowed to obtain credit as a group. The terms and conditions of repayment by the migrant street trader groups should be clearly formulated.

6.4. Conclusion

The study uncovered that Burundian migrants within Durban's informal economy attained both benefits and challenges in equal measure in the space of the informal economy in Durban, South Africa. In terms of the benefits, they experience economic stability where they can run businesses and services which can afford them a comfortable living. Consequently, the researcher made an effort to demonstrate throughout this studies that Burundian street traders in general and Burundian migrants specifically contribute towards the improvement ofthe city of Durban. Their participation has been very positive to the city in terms of taxes paid for the goods or services, and rental monies paid to building owners that a certain percentage goes towards rates and other amenities. The study has illustrated challenges confronted by migrant street traders as they conduct their business. The social challenges encountered by Burundian migrant street traders were also explored in this

study. Throughout the study a continuous reference to the recorded comments of the Burundian migrant traders, have been made to plot the way forward as to what could be done to support Burundian migrant traders in their various informal business activities as well as means to develop greater cooperation between them and the government. Burundian migrant street traders, as has been revealed in the study, resorted to this type of trade in order to survive due to the lack of job opportunities in the city. This research has endeavored to demonstrate that Burundian migrant street traders who come from African countries contribute towards the economic development of Durban.

The contribution that they make is not on a grand scale, but the jobs that they create in the city of Durban help alleviate poverty and such a contribution should not be undervalued. Burundian migrant traders have focused on forward-looking approach in their business, trying to expand and grow and, as such, have yielded the rewards, such as loyal customers, greater profits and an expanding business. One of the major challenges identified by Burundian migrant was the lack of access to financial institutions which has adverse consequences as it serves as an impediment to Burundian street traders who need credit to keep their businesses running. Some of the Burundian migrant street traders need money to make their businesses grow so that they can generate greater profits. It has been revealed in this study that tensions sometimes arise between migrant and local street traders because of the success of the migrant traders, who often drop prices at the expense of other traders. The hostilities between local and migrant street traders were reported as posing a significant challenge to Burundian migrants in the informal economy of the City. Many participants expressed their fears with regard to the xenophobic attitudes of some of the local citizens while others have been victims of such incidents in the past. Migrant street traders in general are often condescendingly referred to as amakwere kwere by certain locals in the city. The study has also shown that Burundian informal traders are sometimes unfairly victimized by policemen who demand that they pay bribes and by some municipal staff members who maltreat them. It is a challenge for the migrant street traders to obtain accommodation within the city. Many of them stay in the City and pay exorbitant rents. The migrants are also sometimes robbed of their possessions and/or their money by the city's criminals. An area that requires further research is the failure of the government to provide support to the migrant street traders. The contributions of the migrant entrepreneurs warrant further quantitative research and explanations should be backed up with relevant statistics.

Further research could lead to greater insights into the migrant's role in the City. The information could also be of use to the government, as it could highlight appropriate ways for it to provide the migrant traders with support in the future. Institutions of higher learning could also use the information to advocate policy outcomes.

The findings call for a holistic approach to the management of the City of Durban which includes all economic actors since each and everyone has a role to play for the sustainability of local economic development. According to Ballard (2003:108), migrant issues should not remain forever "a blind spot in the Metropolitan government or a taboo to policy development" because, whether it is widely recognized or not, migrants are here to stay. South Africa has the most stable economy in Africa and one of the most liberal Constitutions in the world with respect to human rights. Valuing the skills that refugees and asylum seekers bring to the country and allowing them to rightfully seek employment and study without encountering a violent barrier will improve the economic infrastructure for all South Africans. An area that requires further research is the failure of the government to provide support to the migrant street traders. The contributions of the migrant entrepreneurs warrant further quantitative research and explanations should be backed up with relevant statistics. Lastly, collaboration and cooperation between all branches of government, civil society organizations, and the local community is crucial in addressing the challenges faced by African migrants in Durban. Effective communication, dialogue, and partnership can foster a sense of collective responsibility and encourage the development of sustainable solutions. By working together, stakeholders can create an environment that benefits both migrants and the host country, fostering social harmony, economic development, and cultural exchange. In conclusion, African migrants in South Africa and Durban in particular bring both opportunities and challenges to the economy, but it also requires careful attention to ensure their integration, protection (as stipulated in the South African Constitution) and empowerment. By addressing issues related to economics, social integration, legal status, and fostering collaboration, Durban can strive towards a more inclusive and harmonious City that embraces the diversity brought by its African migrant population making it a rainbow City.

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For a study that involves surveys, please append a provisional copy of the questionnaire to be used. The questionnaire should show how informed consent is to be achieved, as well as indicate to respondents that they may withdraw their participation at any time, should they so wish

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Purpose: The purpose of this study is to assess the effects of economic participation of Burundian migrants in Durban's informal economy.

The following is a list of guided questions that will be used during the in depth interview data collection process.

1. Can you tell me about your journey to South Africa and how you came to be in Durban?
2. How do you find life in Durban, are there support mechanisms within the Burundian community?
3. What kind of work are you doing in order to survive here in Durban?
4. Why did you choose this type of work?
5. What type of goods/services that you are offering? And why did you choose this type of products /service?
6. Where do you get your goods from?
7. Do you offer credit to your customers?
8. Do you employ anyone (local or foreigner)?
9. Do you have access to credit since you have been living in Durban?
10. What do you think of the South African government and NGOs (Non Government Organization), are they helpful to migrants in Durban?
11. How can you describe your relationship with South African traders in Durban (CBD)?
12. How can you describe your relationship with metropolitan officials Durban (CBD)?
13. How can you describe the treatment of home affairs/immigration officials towards migrants?
14. Have you faced harassment from the police? If yes what type of harassment?
15. What are benefits that you enjoy while being in informal trading?
16. What are challenges of being in informal trader in Durban (CBD)?
17. What changes would you like to see in informal trade policy?
18. In terms of quality of life, can you compare the life you once lived in Burundi to the one you are currently living now in Durban, South Africa?
19. Do you intend on settling permanent in South Africa?
20. If conditions are conducive for a safe return to Burundi, do you intend to go back home? Give a reason please!

SECTION ONE: Demographic questions

Personality questions refer to individual's characteristic patterns of thought, emotion and specific behavior that are inherited in individuals.

1. Age:
2. Marital Status:
3. Education background?
4. Gender:
5. Do you have documents to be in South Africa?
6. How long have you been living in South Africa?
7. Do you intend to settle permanently in South Africa: Give a reason please!

APPENDIX B



14 September 2020

Mr Hassan Niyonkuru (215068619)
School Of Social Sciences
Howard College

Dear Mr Niyonkuru,

Protocol reference number: HSSREC/00001088/2020

Project title: Assessing the effects of economic participation of Burundian migrants in Durban s informal economy.
Degree: Masters

Approval Notification – Full Committee Reviewed Protocol

This letter serves to notify you that your response received on 27 August 2020 to our letter of 09 June 2020 in connection with the above, was reviewed by the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (HSSREC) and the protocol has been granted **FULL APPROVAL**.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number. PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

This approval is valid for one year until 14 September 2021

To ensure uninterrupted approval of this study beyond the approval expiry date, a progress report must be submitted to the Research Office on the appropriate form 2 - 3 months before the expiry date. A close-out report to be submitted when study is finished.

All research conducted during the COVID-19 period must adhere to the national and UKZN guidelines.

HSSREC is registered with the South African National Research Ethics Council (REC-040414-040).

Yours faithfully



.....

Professor Dipane Hlalele (Chair)

/dd

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee
UKZN Research Ethics Office Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building
Postal Address: Private Bag X64001, Durban 4000
Tel: +27 31 260 8360 / 4567 / 3587
Website: <http://research.ukzn.ac.za/Research-Ethics/>

Founding Campuses



Edgewood



Howard College

Medical School



Pietermaritzburg



Westville

INSPIRING GREATNESS

Turnitin Originality Report

Processed on: 30-Nov-2023 1:06 PM CAT
 ID: 2242965633
 Word Count: 36882
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Assessing the Effects of Economic Participation of

Burundian Migrants in

Durban's Informal Economy. 1% match (Internet from 05-Dec-2018)

By Hassan Niyonkuru

[https://link.springer.com/article](https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007%2Fs12114-015-9211-8)

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[/10.1007%2Fs12114-015-9211-8](https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007%2Fs12114-015-9211-8)

ABSTRACT Economic issues are typically at the heart of migration decisions globally. Disparities in incomes between countries play a major role in motivating people with different levels of skills to migrate from developing countries to countries with more developed economies in search of secure livelihoods and improved quality of life. In Africa, South Africa is the leading migration destination country in Sub-Saharan Africa because of its buoyant economy and relative security. However, upon arriving migrants are confronted with the harsh reality of unemployment and little support from the host countries with a high level of discrimination from natives. Additionally, lack of assistance and empathy from non-profit organizations compound the situation further. Boxed into a corner and a hopelessness migrants have no alternative but to take up informal income generating activities. The informal sector plays a significant role in addressing unemployment among migrants. Durban has a large number of informal sector traders operating in the center's streets, corners and road reserves. The city's informal sector is constrained by inadequate infrastructure, poor policy implementation, negligence from the city authorities, inadequate trading spaces and contradictory policies from local and national government. The space scarcity is worsened by the involvement of the formal sector in space allocation and control. Environmental pollution is prevalent and spatial organization on income activity patterns. The informal sector is inherently a challenging environment for those eking out a living in the shadows of the formal economy. However, the challenges are more acute for African migrants on the periphery of the Durban's formal economy. It is in this context that the study explores challenges that are faced by Burundian migrants in Durban's informal economy. The study will highlight various livelihood activities of Burundian migrants in the city of Durban. It will further seek to understand the nature, types of activities that Burundian migrants are involved in to survive in Durban. The study is informed by 25 in-depth interviews with Burundian

Gate Keeper Letter

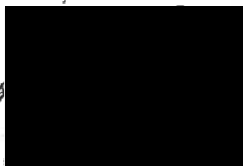
I AM NKUNZIMANA EMILE^P the representative of the Burundian community in the Durban area. I can confirm that I have been in contact with Mr. Hassan Niyonkuru student number 215068619 currently enrolled for a Masters in Social Science (conflict resolution) at University of Kwa Zulu – Natal (Howard College) in relation to the project titled “Assessing the effects of economic participation of Burundian migrants in Durban’s informal economy”. The aim of this study is to assess various challenges faced by Burundian migrants in Durban’s informal economy. I have been thoroughly consulted by the student on the benefits of the project as well as a lack of literature available on the Burundian community in the Durban Central Business District. The project consists of set of questions that will be administered through the use of interview schedule that potential respondents will answer within 45-55 minutes. I have been informed by the researcher that an informed consent form will be presented to the respondents to confirm their participation in the study. Therefore their participation will be voluntary. The benefits of this research upon completion would be to the migrants’ community as well as the Ethekwini Municipality in terms of new knowledge gathered and will enhance the understanding of the dynamics of migrants in informal economy which will in a way contribute to policy change.

Having taken consideration of the above I have given the student the permission for the study to be conducted. However, I reserve the right to withdraw this permission at any time. For more information and clarity please do not hesitate to call.

I NKUNZIMANA EMILE

Role title: BURUNDI COMMUNITY LEAD

Signature:



Date: 10-09

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