



A report on a study project presented to
The Department of Social Work
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Faculty of Humanities
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In partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree Master of Arts
(Social Development) by Coursework and Research Report

By
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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this research report is my own original and unaided work and that I have correctly referenced all the sources utilized. This research report has not been submitted previously for any degree or examination.

Signature:

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'Sydney' followed by a stylized flourish.

Date: 11 February 2021

DEDICATION

To God be the glory forever and ever. Amen.

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God's grace got me through this entire project. I am grateful that His grace is sufficient to carry me always in spite of limits.

To my gracious and patient supervisor Dr Nkosiya Dube

To my mom, dad and younger brother for their constant support and check in, I love you guys so much

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Abstract

There has been an increase in the movement of people migrating globally and within the African continent. South Africa is one of the countries that have been hardest hit by migration issues within the Southern African region. Within the South African context, Johannesburg, being the economic hub of South Africa, has been one of the attractive cities to migrants. This is because Johannesburg is the economic and industrial capital of South Africa and it is seen as a place with opportunities that can lead to economic prosperity for many. Whilst there has been an increase in migration literature regarding women migrants, there are few studies that have investigated the experiences of women migrants within the Johannesburg CBD, who work within the informal economy as street vendors. Street vendors are often confronted with many different challenges, therefore, researching on the experiences of women migrants is necessary in order to gain a deeper understanding of their needs. The study was qualitative in nature and employed a case study as a research design. The study population consisted of 15 women migrants who worked as street vendors within Johannesburg CBD, and they were selected using snowball sampling technique. A semi-structured interview guide was used as a research tool, with one-on-one interviews used as a data collection method. Collected data was analysed using thematic analysis. The study findings revealed that women found working as a street vendor challenging, as they faced issues relating to making a living and navigating the vending space. Recommendations are made in relation to programmatic interventions and future research.

Key words: experiences, women migrants, street vending, informal economy, Johannesburg CBD

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

Migration is an age-old phenomenon that has increased due to the push towards internationalization and the growing global interconnectedness. People migrate for differing reasons; most in search of better lives away from conflict and political instability and towards better educational or employment opportunities (World Migration Report, 2018). Issues such as conflict, fight for survival or the need for social protection arise with the increasing movement of people (Grant & Thompson, 2014; Crush, 2008). Additionally, there has been an increase of women who migrate globally, this has resulted in an increase in research that focuses on the potential challenges and triumphs women face within the countries they migrate to. Thus, there has been a growing need to explore the various components which are impacted by the change in migration patterns.

With that said, Johannesburg has been a city whereby many migrate to. It has a history of migration which is one that speaks into the migratory history of Southern African (Grant & Thompson, 2014). Historically, pre-1994 migration had policy restrictions on who could migrate and on what conditions (Crush, 2008). In most instances, men were the ones whom would migrate so that they could work in the mines across the country. Men were brought in from different parts of the Southern African rural areas into the city (Wentzel & Tlabela, 2006). When these men would move to the city, the women would stay behind with the children, for this reason, migration had been classified as a male-centred phenomenon. Post-apartheid era resulted in a shift of who migrated, and this resulted in growing number of people migrating from varying parts of the continent (Crush, 2008). Johannesburg has been a site of interest for many, because it has been seen as a site of hope as well as escape. It is home to people from many parts of the continent, it is the place where many people from different parts of Africa move towards.

Kinyanjui (2014) highlights the informality of urban Africa and how many who move into

an urban setting within the continent often end up in the city. Johannesburg, being a part of urban Africa is characterized by streets filled with people moving up and down, mainly selling, buying, or going somewhere and characterized by stalls, mainly selling perishables such as fruit and vegetables, with some having clothes; or crafts. Selling is done with the aim of needing to make enough to go home with at the end of each day (Bilal, Dick & Knoll, 2018; Kinyanjui, 2014). Additionally, women migrants are often those who fill urban spaces, within the informal economy. Kihato (2013) notes that within urban spaces women are often visible and invisible. They are visible to the point where their legal status is questioned and are made invisible whereby their socio-economic well-being is often overlooked by the people who surround them in these places (Kihato, 2013). This being said, it is necessary to unpack the realities that women migrants face, to develop various interventions that may be suited to these growing changes (Landau & Madhavan, 2011). Furthermore, a disaggregated gendered approach is necessary, in understanding challenges unique to women migrants.

According to Mohapatra (2012), women within the developing world tend to work in informal employment, where, informal employment relates to the unregulated market, and it is in this sector that the most vulnerable of groups are found (Garcia-Bolivar, 2006). This research adds to the conversation about the informal sector. The informal sector is thriving due to the easy accessibility, not only for those participating in the service delivery, but also, those who are utilizing the services which are offered. In this particular research there is focus on women migrants who are street vendors, and their experiences. Street vendors are the most visible, and street vending is the easiest form of market entry for those unemployed, which makes it more attractive to those who need work. Street vending is often occupied by migrants, especially those whom are unregistered (Swider, 2015).

Highlighting the diversities that are within the city, help foreground the research in engaging the experiences of the women, as they try and make a way to access basic needs for themselves and for their families. Research prevalently generalizes the experiences of street vendors, and therefore, accommodating for the various diversities

which are prevalent in the city is not possible without a foundational understanding of how they experience the city, being street vendors and being foreign. Henceforth, engaging with space and place gives this understanding of how fragmented Johannesburg is and how those who come into Johannesburg may experience it. Thus, the diverse complexity of the city can be categorized by explaining space and place. The word space has entered the lexicon to describe something abstract and complex. Tuan (2001) describes it as something which refers to the social relations that exist within it. Space and place, however, go together. Over time, space can become place as one gets to know that space; place then becomes a more concrete, defined establishment that operates as a site of security (Tuan, 2001). Those who move across borders move across different spaces, and often when they settle in a particular place it takes time to understand.

Therefore, migrants experience spaces in relation to how they make meaning of their surroundings. People differ in how they assign value to various parts of their world, wherefore, moving into different spaces would often bring division in people's worlds (Tuan, 2001; Joseph & Khan, 2015). Johannesburg is a place where different cultures exist. Furthermore, Johannesburg is a space which is fragmented and experienced through times which differ (Mazibuko, 2016). The result of a place as fragmented as Johannesburg becomes different and diverse realities that may be in contradiction to the initial expectations of those who now settle in the city (Isike, 2017; Kihato, 2013; Mazibuko, 2016). These diverse realities include the perceived hope for a better life, that women who migrate to South Africa, visualize an escape from their present reality (Kihato, 2013). However, when they come to Johannesburg, they are faced with finding home, in a space which has not been cultivated because of where they come from. In order to explore the experiences of women, this research engages with ideas of space and place in order to understand the various ways women make way for survival and to cope with their daily needs. Furthermore, this research looks at women's experiences to further engage on the day to day interactions to understand how these women can be supported through changes within institutional structures.

1.2 Statement of the problem and rationale for the study

Historically, migration has been male-centric but presently women have begun to migrate independently and become breadwinners of their households. The trajectory of the ways in which migration is shaped, and the way the economic sector is situated has changed, and now more women are seen to be migrating, of which is labelled the feminisation of migration. This term, feminisation, is used to indicate the increasing number of women who are migrating (Chammartin, 2002; Isike, 2017; Mbiyozo, 2018), which will be explored to much depth in chapter two. This change and move in the migratory pattern has resulted in research which has emerged around women, the challenges faced through migration and the ways in which they have situated themselves into the countries they move into (Kihato, 2013; Isike, 2017; Mbiyozo, 2018).

The migration of women in Africa has increased from 43% in 1960 to 48% in 2000 (Hiralal & Jinnah, 2018). There has been an increase of 85 million migrants since 2000, from 173 million in 2000 to 258 million in 2017 (International Migration Organization (IMO), 2018). Currently, 49% of migrants are women, this indicating the increasing nature of migration of women. Although migration is a well-researched phenomenon, literature on migration often neglects gender as a definitive axis of difference in the experience of being a migrant (Isike, 2017). Gender is an aspect of everyday identity which has an impact on how various spaces could be experienced. Thus, it is necessary for migration literature to consider gendered histories, narratives as well as current realities, to have an elaborate understanding of the experiences and even perceptions of these women (Isike, 2017; Hiralal & Jinnah, 2018; Kihato, 2013).

Scholars highlight that women who are migrants are more vulnerable because of the normativity attached to gender identities such as the structural and symbolic policing of the movement of migrant women (Isike, 2017; Hiralal, 2017; Kihato, 2013; Mbiyozo, 2018). Immigrant women have to bear the brunt of heavier scrutiny and judgement from their host communities, because of them being foreign and being women, this makes it difficult for them to navigate the spaces they enter and make a home in (Kihato, 2013).

Women who migrate experience the spaces they move in based on their identities and this projects how they are to situate themselves (Joseph & Khan, 2015; Isike, 2017; Avenarius, 2009; Tuan, 2001).

In recent years, with the increase in independent women migrants, there has been a rise in literature which looks at the experiences of women who migrate without their male counterparts. However, in spite of this increase, women have been portrayed as not having agency in the spaces that they move into (Kihato, 2013). This research does not focus purely on independent travellers; however, this research was evoked on the basis of the increase in women who migrate independently.

Additionally, Gumbo, Moyo and Nicolau (2016) interrogates why African migrants who are traders in the inner city of Johannesburg have sought informal street trading. Those who migrate from other countries are exposed to harassment from law officials, such as traffic cops or South African Police Services (SAPS) (Rugunanan & Smit, 2011). As a means of making a living, they resort to setting up informal businesses (Gumbo, Moyo & Nicolau, 2016; Rugunanan & Smit, 2011). These assessments give insight into why immigrants resort to street trading. While this is well documented, women's day to day experiences are not entirely explored. When considering the inclusion of women into migration literature, one ought to highlight literature that looks at the informal economy often negates the position that women play within that space (Palmary, Burman, Chantler & Kiguwa, 2010). Chireka (2015) highlights that there is a need to employ a holistic account of migration. To employ this approach allows one to investigate a gendered analysis of migration and the informal economy (Chireka, 2015). Doing this would highlight how migrant women navigate this space and thus how they perceive their inclusion in these spaces.

Therefore, this research added to the conversation of gendered migration literature through having investigated the challenges women migrants come across within this space and how they experience the informal sector economy, namely being street vendors. This research was of significant value as it potentially adds to understanding

the possible challenges of immigrants entering the South African informal economy, and ways in which policies could be adjusted to consider female migrants' rights and access in the informal economy

1.3 Definition of terms

Migration

Migration has varying and often contested definitions. Some scholars include various aspects when talking about migration, these might be aspects such as time span, aspects such as documentation, whether one left by choice or whether it was forced. Some definitions could be that a migrant is defined as “any person who is moving or has moved across an international border or within a state away from his or her habitual place of residence” (Mbiyozo, 2018, p. 4). Whilst the oxford dictionary defines migration as “a person who moves from one place to another, especially in order to find work”. Although there are varying understandings and definitions of the term, the general understanding is that migration includes movement, from one place to another. Thus, this research study will consider migration as being according to the Mbiyozo's consideration of migration, where it is argued that it refers to a “any person who is moving or has moved across an international border or within a state away from his or her habitual place of residence” (Mbiyozo, 2018, p. 4).

Informal economy

The informal economy is labelled as a way of life and is considered the way of global south. The informal sector is classified as being part of an unregulated portion of the economy which is easy to enter into (Garcia-Bolivar, 2006). However, the informal economy is complex and there are varying definitions which are prevalent to define the informal economy (Chen, 2012). The informal economy can be seen as

“any economic activity or source of income that is not subject to government regulation, taxation or observation” (Chambwera, MacGregor & Baker, 2011, p. 5)

“that one in which the common traits are low level of technology, few capital requirements, simple division of labour and little differentiation of ownership of

means of production. But in many cases, there are businesses that are partially informal and partially formal. They comply with some of the regulations but not with others.” (Garcia-Bloivar, 2006, p. 4)

Thus, the informal economy is not the black market solely, however, entails various components and ‘industry’. The informal economy is merely regarded as unregulated. Therefore, this study will refer to the informal economy as “any economic activity or source of income that is not subject to government regulation, taxation or observation” (Chambwera, MacGregor & Baker. 2011. p. 5)

Street vendors

Street vendors form part of the informal sector, and whilst some scholars elude to defining street vending as separate from the informal sector (Bhowmik, 2005); it still maintains characteristics of an entity within the informal sector, which necessarily means that it is unregulated market or occurs within informal structure or often participants of street vending are self-employed. Conversely Shrestha (2013), asserts that street vending is categorized under the informal sector, street vendors are defined as follows

“A street vendor is broadly defined as a person who offers goods or sale to the public without having a permanent built-up structure from which to sell (Bhowmik, 2005, p. 2256).

“Global phenomenon where millions [of] people earn their living wholly [or] partly by selling a wide range of goods on the streets, sidewalks or public places” (Shrestha, 2013, p. 727).

Street vending can also be considered as street hawking or street trade, and often in some studies these words are used interchangeably. However, this study will remain to using ‘street vending’ as relating to people who offer goods or sale to the public without permanent structure which is the definition given by Bhowmik.

1.4 Scope of the study

The geographical location of the study was limited to the inner city of Johannesburg and it covered Bree, Rissik, Small and Joubert streets, which are all found in Johannesburg CBD. Johannesburg is South Africa's industrial capital and had a number of informal traders, who are both migrants and South African citizens. Therefore, it presented itself as a preferred setting for the study. Thus, it was seen that it might be the best place to explore the experiences of women migrants who are working as street vendors in this setting.

1.5 Significance of the study to social development

Midgley defines social development as "a process of planned social change designed to promote the well-being of the population as a whole within the context of a dynamic multifaceted development process" (Midgley, 2014, p. 13). Social development includes progressive change and is brought about through human agency, which includes programmes and policies which help drive forward interventions toward social change, depending on the issues at hand (Midgley & Pawar, 2017). Social development does not only include theoretical aspects toward social change, however there is an active practical process. This being said, within the social space, this project focuses on migrant women, which is said to be overlooked within the social development space, it further engages in on the informal sector. Gendered understanding of social issues needs to be engaged, as each gender experiences their surroundings differently, due to the embedded structural issues. Furthermore, within South Africa there are prevalent injustices which still take heed and it is necessary to understand how to account for, in this instance, the needs of women migrants based on their challenges and experiences.

Rowe-hill (2011) asserts that social workers have not explored research which looks at immigrants, whilst Hugo and Piper (2017) elude to migration not being explored to

lengths within social development. Migration is a contemporary issue, which is inevitable, and it therefore needs to be explored. Ross-Sheriff (2011), notes that there are many causal factors which result from migration, and these issues ought to be addressed, by social workers, additionally migration augments many issues pertaining to policy issues, issues of governance and development. Not only is the welfare of migrants needing attention but engaging with how migrants enter into the occupations which they do in their host countries and what having an increase in migration means for those in host countries as well as for the migrant (Hujo and Piper, 2010; Ross-Sheriff, 2011). Kofman and Raghuram (2010) assert that there is little attention paid to the care relating to migration and gender relations, within social policy and care provision. The 'feminisation of migration' eludes to the need for more interest to be paid to this. This research adds to the conversation about women migrant within the informal sector. The research is done with outlook in the social development sector, which has not paid much focus on the issues relating to migrants, of which is necessary considering that the wellbeing and empowerment of migrants needs to take heed. Therefore, the aims to understand the study of women migrants, and aims to understand how they cope with their daily challenges.

Additionally, with the growing number of people informal sector, there is a need to further investigate ways in which these migrant women, within the informal sector can be supported. As scholars such as Bhowmik, 2005; Peberdy (2010) and Shrestha (2013) have, asserted that street vendors are the most visible yet the most neglected of the informal sector. Additionally, migrant women are often visible, yet neglected (Kihato, 2013). Women who are migrants and are in most instances black, they have intersecting identities that play a role in how they are experienced in the spaces they are in. The existing social injustices and institutional gatekeeping require advocacy from those in positions of power, to systematize ways of empowering women who migrate into a space such as Johannesburg. This makes this research to be more relevant within the field of Social Development.

The increase in women migrants and them predominantly being within the informal sector requires more attention for those within social development. Ross-Sheriff (2011), highlights that there are complexities which come with less attention being paid to women migrants; these being social issues, such as their protection and welfare as well as that of the children they have. Therefore, there is a need for greater research within the discipline of social development, to be researching matters pertaining to women migrants, in order to understand needs and put in policies or social infrastructure which is accommodating. Migration will continue and there is nothing that can stop the flow of people; thus, the increase of migrants is unavoidable. Therefore, this research hopes to add to research within migration and the informal economy which engage and explore the experiences of women, in order to encourage means of support within the welfare system.

1.6 Overview of the research design and methodology

This study was qualitative in nature and employed a case study design. Women migrants, who were over the age of 18 years, and had been street vendors for longer than a year participated in the study. Additionally, they had to understand and be able to converse in English. Those who did not fit this criterion were not included in the study. A total of 15 participants, who were chosen using snowball sampling, participated in the study. The research tool was a semi-structured interview guide, with face to face interviews used as a method of data collection. Some interviews were audio recorded with the permission from participants, and these were conducted in the working spaces of the participants, as these were their preferred venues. Two of the participants did not consent to audio recording and were not recorded. To ensure the credibility of the data, the researcher interviewed participants in the comfort of their vending spaces. The data was analysed using thematic analysis.

1.7 Limitations of the study

Language might have been a limitation, however, only those participants who could

understand and were fluent in English participated in the study. On two occasions, the participants began interviews and thereafter spoke in isiZulu and in French. For the portion where they did not speak in English entirely, this data was excluded from the discussion. This is a limitation, in that the data was not included in the study, which takes away valuable information from the study.

Additionally, because the participants were interviewed in their workplace, this presented a challenge, not solely because of customers, but because of the areas in which the interview was conducted, the surroundings made it difficult to have full conversations due to outside distractions such as noise or bypasses nearby. The researcher tried to find alternative times, outside the allocated times, additionally, the researcher, wrote down notes in those instances. Furthermore, not all participants were comfortable with being recorded, thus vital information was lost.

Finding participants, was a challenge, however, the chosen sampling technique helped the researcher as there were referrals made.

1.9 Organisation of the report

In chapter one, an orientation and introduction to the study is provided. This is done through the provision of an overview of the study, through the introduction, the statement of the problem, definition of key terms, scope of the study, significance of the study, overview of methodology, limitations of the study. What follows after chapter one is chapter two, which provides the review of literature in migration, women in the informal sector and women as street vendors as well as the theoretical framework that guided the study. Following, is chapter three which describes the methodology of the research. Chapter four provides the presentation and discussion of the findings, and this is done according to the objectives of the study. Chapter five is the concluding chapter, which provides the summary of the findings, conclusions and

recommendations emanating from the study.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This section unpacks the various understandings of the literature and how the literature adds onto the conversation of women who migrate and work in the informal sector. The literature reviewed particularly paid attention to gender and migration and the informal sector, and experiences of women as street vendors, engaging with the theoretical framework for this study. The first section gives an outline of what migration is and the lens in which this research will focus on with regards to migration, thereafter, a section on gendered migration follows. Following this, is the section which discusses women

within the informal sector, then highlighting the experiences of women migrants who work as street vendors and looks at the theoretical framework.

2.2 Conceptual overview of migration

In order to understand migration, it ought to be broken down. Many scholars refer to a migrant and migration differently, additionally, to classify migration there are various factors which are considered, these could include social, political or cultural factors. According to McAuliffe and Khadria (2019) migration is related to broader issues namely, economic, social, political and technological transformations which have an effect on various policy issues, which shape our lives as globalization deepens. These authors bring about the elements which are affected by migration and bring the reader to understanding that migration does not only include the movement of people but also the transfer of information or culture. According to Kavuvo (2015) migration includes refugees, asylum seekers, labour migrants or immigrants. The glossary of migration, highlights that there is no accepted umbrella term which is defined under international law for migration, however there is a common lay understanding of migration, which is defined as “a person who moves away from his or her place of usual residence, whether within a country or across an international border, temporarily or permanently, and for a variety of reasons” (IOM, 2019, p. 130). The Oxford dictionary includes that those who migrate, do so to find work. Additionally, migration can be internal or it can be international. This research focused on international migration.

Castles (2010) on the other hand draws on the argument between migration and mobilization, whereby political theory discourse would assert that the term migration should not be used because of how it eludes a long-term movement, asserting that the term is not timely and is informed by an older pattern of movement. Whereas in this century, there is much openness to movement with the advancement of technology (Castles, 2010). In disagreement with this analysis, it should be noted that although there is an increase in technology which allows for fluidity, there is much gatekeeping

which does not allow for this implied openness. The afore mentioned scholars elude to migration as not only including the movement of an individual but also the largescale diffusion and movement of information across borders; although migration includes the movement of people it also includes engagement with people from different ethnicities (Anthias, 2012). Migration can also include, population change, and can be seen as something that provides the diffusion of ideas and information, which does not only include human migration (Demko, Ross & Schnell, 1970; Anthias, 2012). This being said, we can understand that migration is and can be virtual as well, and with the movement of people it brings along the diffusion of ideas and information too.

Kihato (2013) often asserts throughout her research how migrants have autonomy in how they navigate space, and how they're able to influence the countries they move into. Baring the previous notion of migration in mind, we can elude to migrants being a mechanism for change in the host and home countries, often with the mix of people there is a result of acculturation. These ideas deepen this study in helping navigate how various women interact and are able to navigate their space in Johannesburg. With them being street vendors, how that impacts not only their lives but also the lives of those around them, it could be that their presence adds to how the city can be understood. These understandings help contextualize this research within a Johannesburg context, where there are many factors and issues at play when it comes to Johannesburg and how migrants are received, this will further be discussed later on in the chapter.

The term migration has contrasting views, for instance, there is the element of culture, whereby culture or ideas can migrate without the physical movement of an individual, furthermore does migration only constitute a long-term movement, or does it also include those who migrate for a few months- example two months. What are the elements which constitute as a migrant, and for this reason "the definition of migration is a controversial activity" (Kok, 1999, p. 1). Migration has many grey areas, the debate on what constitutes as migration can go on, however, that is not the subject of this paper and perhaps others can further unpack what are the varying elements of migration. This study will look at migrant as that "any person who is moving or has

moved across an international border or within a state away from his or her habitual place of residence” (Mbiyozo, 2018, p. 4).

Literature which looks at gendered migration (Hiralal & Jinnah, 2018; Hiralal, 2017, Isike, 2017; Joseph & Khan, 2015; Mbiyozo, 2018), often exclaims that there is a need to look at gendered perspectives of migration, in order to further understand the challenges and benefits which come with being women who migrate. Considering that the various identities which immigrants might have affect the way they are received and further the way they experience their host countries (Hiralal, 2017; Joseph and Khan, 2015). What is noted is that over the past few decades there has been an increase of independent women migrants, who have migrated without a male counterpart and have migrated in search for a better way of life, economic liberty, education, or migrating in hope to escape what they leave behind (Mbiyozo, 2018). This increase in women migrants was labelled as the feminisation of migration (Mafukidze & Mbanda, 2011; Chammartin, 2002; Mbiyozo, 2018) and because of this increase, there has been a growing interest in looking at gendered perspectives of migration, taking into account that women and men experience different realities in the countries which they migrate to. Thus, this research focuses on the experiences of women migrants in retrospect of their varying identities which intersect, in order to explore their needs and ways of survival to possibly institute means for migrant women.

2.3 Migration and gender

“As a social phenomenon, migration has a gender dimension, and a gender analysis is therefore pertinent in understanding African migration” (Isike, 2017, p. 8550). Isike (2017) highlights the necessity of having a “gender disaggregation analysis” (Isike, 2017, p. 8550) of migration, in order for there to be an understanding of what is experienced by men and women in their journeying towards and around their host country. The research study adds to understanding why it is necessary to speak into women

migrants as a group without necessarily looking at men migrants. The researcher adds that it does not mean that these happen in isolation, where one would look solely at women, however in relation to how they relate to men and women from South Africa around them. Furthermore, there is a need to enforce human rights in the working conditions of labour migrants, often it leaves room for human rights violations, this will further be unpacked in later sections (Chammartin, 2002).

South African history is that which constitutes of varying time periods of migration. Pre-colonial, apartheid, post-apartheid, this therefore affects the way migrants are viewed and their positionality in their host countries. Within South Africa, from the 1960s, migration occurred mostly because of the increase in resources, and there was a need for labour, hence the migration of men from surrounding rural areas of Johannesburg and neighbouring countries (Mafukidze & Mbanda, 2011). Those migrating were mostly men, and this had an impact on how migration is viewed. Subsequently, there is a decrease in work available for males in countries in the global south which has resulted in women needing to ensure the survival of the family; not only this but the impacts of development have also resulted in the changing trajectory of migration (Dobrowski & Tastsoglou, 2006). Women migrants are increasingly becoming proletariat migrants, which means that they have become those of the lower working class, which affects the trajectory of how we should think about women in migration literature, that there is a need on being gender sensitive.

Hiralal (2017) emphasises the necessity to look at the experiences of women exclusively or men exclusively to draw the distinction in experiences in host countries. However some scholars such as Kou and Bailey (2017) assert that to highlight the experiences of the different genders independently is a disservice as they do not work apart from each other however, work in relation to one another, arguing that gender is a set of social relations which organise immigrant patterns meaning that the relations which occur between varying genders result in migration. When women migrate, they are met with various issues, for example, they become exposed to the danger of being

trafficked, abused and victimized. In most cases, as outlined by Isike (2017), women go beyond to improve living conditions of themselves and their families. This therefore warrants the exclusive explorations of the experiences of women migrants who work as street vendors in Johannesburg.

Additionally, women are constantly in some way or form impacted or affected by men and the same goes for men migrants. However, if we consider the notion of intersectionality, the intersecting of identities which then impact the way they then experience their surroundings and how their surroundings impact them, it is necessary to look at women exclusively. Moreover, women have been portrayed as passive, however Kihato (2013; 2007) privileges women's voices and stories to highlight the significance women have in the spaces they occupy and that, these women impact the ways in which urban policies are seen and ways in which these policies are implemented and further played out.

Ross-Sheriff (2011) asserts that social workers do not dive into issues which affect migrant women's productivity, thus the scope of scholarship in proportion to their needs is low. Within social development, it is necessary to understand what constitutes as issues of women's livelihood, the growing issues of gender-based violence which constantly re-occur and the need to understand and engage their lived experiences within the spaces migrant women occupy and work in. Often the citizenship status of a migrant does not guarantee access to certain spaces, such as education or work, and therefore in order to bridge this gap, it is necessary to engage with migration and migrants. Additionally, the changing world and the shift of migration patterns, unearths the necessity to dive into the needs of women migrants. According to Kihato (2013), Isike (2017), Hiralal (2017), Jinnah (2018), Sigsworth, Ngwane and Pino, (2008) women, migrants face a 'double jeopardy' because they are women and are foreign. In addition to the double jeopardy experienced by women migrants within Johannesburg Central Business District (CBD), most migrants who are women are also black and are of the lower class. According to Garry (2011), various facets of people's identities are

impacted differently. The varying facets that arise in the context of migrant women include, them, being women, foreigners and black, and this plays out in how they experience the world and how these spaces experience them.

This is likely to affect their livelihood, positively or negatively, their positionality could be that of financial stability, that of race, of education, or that of skills which are had, or which are. All these factors influence their livelihood and thus have an impact on how they make a living in whichever city that they arrive in. Kihato (2013), looks at the experiences of African migrant women and their everyday lives in Johannesburg, she looks at the liminality of the women, how they live suspended between a past and a future elsewhere. Almost painting a picture of these women living in constant limbo and in-betweenness. She asserts that these women are both visible and invisible in the city, where they are no more known by their home, and are not necessarily known by the state, however, are the most visible in the city (Kihato, 2013, 2007). This argument adds to this research in understanding the reasons why they may continue to be street vendors in spite of the tensions which they may face, in the face of xenophobia or where individuals may possess the papers which allow them permission to be in the country or have a table to sell, however, are still not granted access to means for education, adequate housing or jobs in the formal sector. Kihato (2013) engages on liminality in ways which help foregrounding this research in conceptualizing the way these women experience space and the way they position themselves within these spaces. Furthermore, it adds to the sensitive experiences of these women.

Kihato (2013) infers this liminality as being that which maintains thresholds, threshold which are social, political, economic or psychological, this permanent in-betweenness can either be a prison, where these women cannot move forward or back. However, can be seen as empowering, where they have a space outside of the gaze of the state, in which they can use their agency (Kihato, 2013). Literature often looks at women as being victims in the fend for survival, whereby the growing reality of issues related to women being at danger of harassment even furthermore that they are foreign. Although

there has been an increase in gendered migration, or migration looking at women, it has often been on status of the migrant or refugee and not an extensive geographical and thematic scope (Joseph and Khan, 2015).

Palmary, Burman, Chantler and Kiguwa (2010) assert that with the feminisation of migration, there have been new ways of looking at migration, there has been a rise in considering the intersecting identities of women, as well as how women become active agents in the migratory process (Hiralal & Jinnah, 2018; Kihato, 2013). Mostly in migration literature, women are perceived as not having a say in where and how they navigate their host country. However, women often cultivate space in how they come up with ways of survival in their host country. For many women, migrating is seen as a means toward freedom and escaping the probable gender roles which exist within their home countries (Hiralal & Jinnah, 2018; Kihato, 2013; Chen, 2012) and some leave to shield themselves/flee from the probability of female genital mutilation forced marriages or leave in pursuit of their desire for a sense of independence. These are all varying things which women move away from, indicating that women from many different countries move away. However, their expectations before reaching their host countries differs from the reality.

2.4 Women in the informal economy

Knowing and understanding this, there is then a need to highlight the affect and the impact of the informal economy. The informal economy is best understood as the part of the economy whereby people operate underground, it is eluded to be the unknown of the economy (Bhowmik, 2005). Some scholars elude to the legality or lack thereof, of the informal economy; and some scholars (Sarker, 2010; Rogerson, 2018) elude it into being a way of life in the global south, asserting that the informal economy grew from lack of ability to absorb people into the formal economy and therefore resulting in the need to resort to other ways which allows for survival. Additionally, the informal sector is a growing phenomenon in the urbanized settings (Rogerson, 2018). However, the informal economy often is a means for livelihood for majority of the population, what

needs to be highlighted is that informality has different facets and is not one-dimensional, it needs to be broken down into what firstly is considered informal and how can something be classified within the informal category of the economy.

The introduction of 'Informal sector' was used in 1972 by the International Labour Organization (ILO) in the Kenya Mission Report, where the report defines informality as 'a way of doing things' (Fapohunda, 2012), it is often in the forms of "unregistered businesses, self-employed manufacturers, temporary street vendors and casual retailers" (Garcia-Bolivar, 2006, p. 4). There is no distinct service, however it includes varying activities, in which some elude to the informal sector as services which are seen as illegal. Historically it has been an alternative of the formal sector or a way of avoiding taxes (Chen, 2012); consequently, Chen, Roever and Skinner (2016) assert that many of those in the informal sector pay some form of taxes, either to rend services or levies. Therefore, they do not avoid taxes as is the thinking, however they in some way, pay taxes.

Highlighted is that the informal sector holds some form of illegality, it is perceived as a ghost, that is necessary however unwarranted, and because of this, the informal sector is seen as the lower ranking of the economy. Chen, Roever and Skinner (2016) adds to this idea, by referring to those who operate in the informal sector as the urban poor, the urban poor would then create informal settlements through pre-occupation of private land or public space and thus pursue livelihood by using space and resources available (Chen, Roever and Skinner, 2016). According to Crush, Chikanda and Skinner (2015), migrants seemingly contribute largely to entrepreneurship within the informal sector and could therefore aid towards development. However, due to national boundaries and gatekeeping, there is often violence which arises against these migrants within the informal sector.

Moyo, Nicolau and Gumbo (2016), look at the lives of immigrants within the informal sector, exploring reasons why they do not work within the formal sector; due to the growing number of people moving in from various areas, and because of the shortage

for employment this leads to many moving towards the informal sector in order to meet their needs (Albachew, 2017; Chen, 2012). In an article about the labour market and immigrants it is argued that there is a drive to protect citizens in the labour market, therefore making it difficult for non-citizens to have access to the labour market (Kavuvo, 2015). Kavuvo (2015), further goes on by explaining the laws and regulations of the labour market and how they are constructed. All humans have the right to work, and therefore, people should not be turned away, this is according to international law. However, contextually South Africa's labour market is saturated, and the amount of jobs which are available do not match the amount of people who need jobs. Thus, many resorts to finding employment in the informal sector. Bilal, Dick and Knoll (2018) highlight that there is often a concentration of socio-economic activities that takes place within spaces which contain mostly migrants; the inner city is filled with residents whom are not South African, in most instances urban areas are the spaces which migrants are most likely to occupy. Johannesburg inner city is seen as a "hive of formal and informal trade networks" (Grant and Thompson, 2014, p. 181). Grant and Thompson (2014) expand on how immigrants navigate in the urban space and add to how we can best understand the way Johannesburg space functions as a whole. Gathering that the space of Johannesburg is filled with entrepreneurship, how do those within this space navigate their way in order to do business.

The argument made is that immigrants are becoming essential in urban small businesses. Thus, adding to the value of the informal sector, not only, but also, the informal sector is a source of food or clothing or security for those whom are in the informal way of life (Chen, 2012). Because of the growing informal urbanization which continues in the global south, there is a need to look at the labour laws which are prevalent for migrants, in particular, they are most vulnerable when it comes to working conditions and the lack of laws. Kinyanjui (2014) asserts that economic informality in Africa has been a subject of discussion, but many fail to understand how it functions. The unplanned nature of African cities, alongside the rapid urbanization, gender inequality and economic informality, make African cities different (Kinyanjui, 2014). Kinyanjui (2014) makes the reader aware of the difference in the structure and function

of urban Africa, highlighting the need to look at the cities differently. Additionally, highlighting that women play a large role in urban Africa. Conversely, research which has been done on street vendors, has been either generalized; where both men and women were researched; or has had focus in Asia or Latin America.

This being said, women are often overlooked and undervalued whilst they are the ones to occupy the informal sector at most (Kinanjui, 2014; Kwar, 2004; Grant & Thomaspon, 2014; Mbiyozo, 2018). Piper and Hujo (2010) assert that most migrants pose lower skills, this makes for a saturated informal economy. With this said, women often carve out space for themselves within the informal sector, which is often already filled with locals and men Kihato (2013). Mohaptra (2012), further support this analysis in the inference that about 60% or more constitute women in the informal economy of developing world. In most instances they are the primary earners for their families. Women often occupy the informal sector, as many find it difficult to find employment that honours their skillset (Mbiyozo, 2018). Furthermore, Mbiyozo (2018) asserts that in most instances, women migrants are less likely to be employed in comparison to their male counterparts. This making it easier for women to start their own businesses, hence the increase in street vending.

2.5 Experiences of women working as street vendors

One can look at the informal sector and continue to scrutinize the complexity of it, the challenges that come with being in this space and the challenges that come with trying to cultivate a place, street vending is a part of the informal sector which is said to be the most visible in the informal economy. "Street vendors can be classified on the basis of the commodity sold" (Sarker, 2012, p. 88); these could either be food items or non-food vendors. Non-food items that could include clothes, bags, books or toys (Shrestha, 2013). Street vendors although very visible are the most neglected in the informal sector, this is due to the negligence of this sector and the overlooked inner city as a

whole, with its high-immigrant population and various economic districts (Mitullah, 2003; Grant and Thompson, 2014). Bhowmik (2005) defines a street vendor “as a person who offers goods or sale to the public without having a permanent built-up structure from which to sell” (Bhowmik, 2005, p. 2556). Street vendors are often in the public, and are visible, they are situated either on busy routes, thus allowing them access to large number of customers. They are often self-employed and enter street vending as a means for survival (Shrestha, 2013).

Rowe (2000) eludes to there being no recognition of street vendors, until the need arises, and yet when one walk down the streets there are many who sell goods of various kinds. Street vendors are often left vulnerable to harassment, bribes from officials, evictions and confiscations due to the lack of representation (Alebachew, 2017). Few cities are able to successfully manage supporting livelihoods of those who work as street vendors and manage the public space (Roever & Skinner, 2016). Street vendors are often underrepresented within policy and do not have provision within the urban development space. Street vending has relations to urbanization and the growing urban population often relates to the increase in street vendors, this has been highlighted in countries located in Asia and South America. Within Africa, the increase in street vending has more to do with international migration (Sarker, 2005). In most instances those who become street vendors are migrants from rural areas with low skills and education who need a job and to access their basic needs (Shrestha, 2013).

Women are often the ones who dominate this space, where they seek survival for their families (Kinyanjui, 2014; Mohapatra, 2012). Street vending has easier accessibility, therefore, making for an attractive form of employment, and ability for women whom are homemakers and sole providers to navigate their working times. Mitullah (2003), highlights the need to pay attention to putting into place policies, organisation and regulation for street vending, which can assist in their working spaces. This study adds light to the subject of women as street vendors, women become street vendors due to the need for work and need for survival (Shrestha, 2013). Kinyanjui (2014) highlights

that urban Africa is bustling with women in the informal economy. As there was an increase in number of women migrating, there was a change in the population of those whom are working in this space.

Women's conditions are often poor and mostly due to their socio-economic background (Sarker, 2005). Additionally, women are open to abuse in these spaces due to the lack of structures to support them or lack of policies to affirm their positionality. When considering the migrant women, they face risk of abuse and manipulation. This line of inference is helpful in thinking through the background of these women. Understanding the various facets that either hinder or push them toward successfully empowering their journey.

However, women are not the only players within the spaces they are in, but are surrounded by migrant men, and local men and women. Often this plays a role in how they engage and interact with that space furthermore; they are often faced with the state's authorities. How are these women able to cultivate a space in order to survive and have access to their daily needs? Having a document does not necessarily imply legality (Takabwirwa, 2010). Women often interact with the social and legal structures. However, scholars such as Kihato (2013) assert that urban regulation is often based on how officials observe those within the space. One's status is assumed by how the official chooses to view the person in question. This places strain on those who enter the space. They may have the documentation that says they can occupy that space, yet not have autonomy over the spaces they want to enter. Thus, legal status is often engrained in certain social codes, only known by those who hold the authority and those who are marked as belonging legitimately in a particular place (Kihato, 2013; Kihato 2011). Yi-Tuan (1977) defines place as "whatever stable object catches our attention" (Yi-Tuan, 1977, p. 161); from this we gauge that place is not just an idea, but something tangible and something which draws in our interest. So, as we search with our eyes, we come to find a sight of rest. Often place is found to be place, through experience, and as highlighted in my introduction, space becomes place once there is meaning attached to

it. From this, one eludes to women being able to identify with that space, when meaning is made of it.

2.6 Theoretical framework

The study was guided by the intersectionality theory. This theoretical concept that highlights the multidimensional forms of identity is termed intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1991). According to Crenshaw (1991), the focus includes intersections of race and gender, that highlights how there are multiple grounds of identity when it comes to the construction of the social world (Crenshaw, 1991). Bastia (2014) asserts that intersectionality looks at destabilizing forms of oppression which are distinct. Intersectionality looks at the categories of individuals who are subordinate to expose complexity and interconnectedness (Nash, 2008). Those who travel across borders often come to cross various boundaries of race, class and gender. Therefore, intersectionality allows the engagement of the complex lives of migrants (Bastia, 2014).

Anthias (2012) contends that although intersectionality argues for the recognition of the interconnectedness of class, gender and race, it negates other axes of difference which make up an individual. Anthias (2012) then suggests the translocal positionality. This conception looks at the “social locations and processes” (Anthias, 2012) that not only look at groups of class, gender and ethnicity. Furthermore, Translocational positionality considers identity and belonging (Anthias, 2008, p. 5). This includes ways in which social locations are products of constellations of social relations” (Anthias, 2012, p.8). Anthias argues for different ways of engaging the complexities of migrants, in their identities and experiences with and of them. Therefore, with the benefit of Anthias’ (2012) notion of the translocal positionality, intersectionality can be broadened to include various other axis of difference to form a truer theory of the realities we face.

Migrants who are women, often come to face what is called a 'double jeopardy' being foreigners as well as being women (Sigsworth, Ngwane & Pino, 2008). This term expresses the intersecting identities, which then result in how they are experienced and experience the spaces they occupy. This brings about the multidimensional identities of women who migrate. In Johannesburg CBD, women migrants who are street vendors are often of the lower class and are black. These identities play a role in how they are received, how they experience the space they are in and how they can insert themselves within a society which marginalizes. Mbiyozo (2018) infers that black migrant women, often are at an intersection with these three identities, in that they are black, they are women and they are foreigners.

According to Anthias (2012), those who have migrated often face complexities when it comes to their positionality within the spaces which they migrate to. Translocational positionality does not only focus on the intersections of different social locations "but also relates to the shifting locales of people's lives in terms of movements and flows. It relates to the importance of context, meaning and time in the construction of positionalities" (Anthias, 2008, p. 13). Furthermore, this framework considers the migrant concerning those around and does not focus particularly on gender, class and ethnicity (Anthias, 2008).

2.7 Chapter Summary

This section highlighted literature which looks at contextualizing migration, gendered migration and in the informal sector as well as street vending. As highlighted the term migration is contested and has no universal definition, however the lay understanding of migration, considers it to be a movement of a person from one country to another, either for a long time or short time for varying reasons. Migration is an ongoing phenomenon, and the demographics of people moving have gone from being manly

men, due to the history of industrialization, to an increase in women migrating of which has been labelled the feminisation of women. Many of these women in finding a place often, find themselves looking for a job, and due the easily accessible informal sector, many end up in this space. It is said that majority of street vendors are women, and this is because of the low skills needed and the easy access. However so, although street vendors are the most visible, there are the most neglected. There is a growing need to look at their experiences due to the need for human rights policies to be put into place, considering the possible vulnerabilities which are faced by them. Within social development, there is often little attention, which is paid, especially to migrant women, however due to various social needs which need to be attended to as well as policies put in place for the safety, advancement and protection of these women. These women having varying identities in which result in the way they experience their space and the way the spaces experience them, the framework employed is translocal positionality, which considers the surroundings of these women, in relation to them and vice versa.

The next sections will look at the methodology of this study, thereafter the discussion of the findings and thereafter the concluding chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

This chapter explores the methodological approaches that were employed in this study. It begins by looking at the research questions, aims, objectives thereafter the research approach and design, the population, sample and sampling procedures, research instrument, pre-testing of the research instrument, data collection, data analysis,

trustworthiness and the ethical considerations of this study.

3.1 Research question:

- What are the experiences of women migrants working as street vendors in Johannesburg's central business district?

3.2 Primary aim

- To investigate the experiences of women migrants working as street vendors in Johannesburg's central business district.

3.3. Secondary objectives

- To understand the factors that drive women migrants to work as street vendors in Johannesburg's CBD.
- To explore the experiences of women migrants working as street vendors in Johannesburg's CBD.
- To engage on the views of women migrant working as street vendors in Johannesburg regarding how they can be supported to deal with their experiences.

3.4 Research approach and design

This research applied a qualitative approach. A qualitative approach allows the researcher to look at the macro-social changes which occur due to migration (Castles, 2012). Furthermore, the qualitative approach is relevant in studying social relations (Flick, 2012). It allows the pluralistic nature of life to be studied and investigated and since this study engages with the experiences of women within Johannesburg central business district who are participants in the informal economy; it gave way to engage with the women with more depth in understanding the objectives. Therefore, the various structures implicated in this research made it necessary to employ a qualitative

research method (Flick, 2012; Oxford, 2012).

A case study was used as a research design. According to Flick (2012), case studies include the reconstruction and description of a case, whereby an individual or social community is taken as a case analysis subject. Thus, the aim would be identifying the case which is significant to the research question (Flick, 2012). According to Flick (2012) case studies include generalized conclusions, and these are conclusions that elude to broad assumptions. A case study design would include a typical or a specific example which is more instructive, for a general problem. Therefore, case studies fall short and assume generalized conclusion outlook to problems (Flick, 2012). However, case studies are able to capture details of the study and are not restrictive (Flick, 2012). This was a suitable design in understanding the experiences of these women as street vendors in Johannesburg CBD, as it looks at a particular group of people within Johannesburg, particularly women who are migrants and who work as street vendors. The findings would be generalized and not a representation of street vendors experiences who are women in other parts of the Gauteng or South Africa at large, as Johannesburg CBD has differing complexities to surrounding areas, this having been discussed in Chapter two. However, in understanding what the daily challenged of these women are as street vendors, a case study was relevant. The case study explores a particular area in South Africa, of which addresses an issue which is pertinent to urban cities in host countries, when it comes to women who become street vendors, whom are not from the countries in which they sell in. By employing this research design, those whom are to understand various cases of street vendors or of women, it gave an overview to what women experience in urban areas.

3.5 Population, sample and sampling procedures

This research was done in Johannesburg, which is a site of many migrants who come in from various parts of Africa. According to Stats SA the current migrant population of women is 18 million, between the ages of 15 and 64 in South Africa, (Maluleka, 2020) of which is expected to increase within the coming years. Additionally, the city center is the site of many street vendors. Many enter this space due to the high foot traffic, which gives allowance to probable business (Grant and Thomspson, 2014). Johannesburg seem to house many migrants, and the number continues to increase. Furthermore, much of informal sector is vibrant in Johannesburg CBD, making it a good space to have explored what these women's experiences are.

The targeted population was migrant women who work as street vendors within the Johannesburg CBD. Therefore, women who were not from South Africa, and were selling were chosen as participants. A total of 17 participants were chosen within the Johannesburg CBD area, however only 15 participants were noted in this study due to issues around langue. The Johannesburg CBD areas which were included were along Bree, Jeppe, Small, Joubert, Von Brandis and Rissik streets. Snowball sampling was used to recruit participants for the study. Snowball sampling included approaching the first participants who then provided the researcher with other potential participants for the study (Flick, 2012). Although this might have been possible with some, there were some who had merely pointed the researcher in the direction of a possible participant, as opposed to communicating to the next. Additionally, some were not familiar with other migrant women, as some migrant women kept their identity hidden, bearing in mind that those within the areas were their competition. This technique is usually used when dealing with participant groups that are difficult to find. Snowball sampling gave access to people and provides an element of trust, due to the referral from a familiar individual. Furthermore, this method provided the researcher with participants, finding participants was difficult, on the basis that the women did not trust the idea that they were being recorded and asked questions about their personal life.

The inclusion criteria for these participants was that they needed to all be women

street vendors, having been in South Africa for a minimum period of 1 year and were 18 years or older. Additionally, they needed to be able to speak English, although some of the participants were fluent in English. Throughout the interviews, some participants had started interviews with English and transitioned halfway, thus 2 of the participants were not included, the other 2 participants were not used in the data as they did not fit the criteria due to language. Therefore, the number of women included in this study includes 15.

3.6 Research Instrument

A semi-structured interview guide was used as a research tool. A semi-structured interview guide is defined as interviews which often occur in one meeting, semi-structured interviews often linked to participants' views are expressed in a designed interview as opposed to a standardized interview and questionnaire (Flick, 2012). It allows the researcher to gain insight into the participants' experiences. Semi-structure interview guides also allowed the researcher to bring about follow-up questions that would come about throughout the interview. In addition, a semi-structured interview guide allowed for flexibility and is not as rigid as structured interviews (Greef, 2005). Semi-structured interviews are better suited in areas of complexity and of controversial issues and that involve personal experiences (Greef, 2005). This was a suitable instrument to help the researcher to understand and engage with experiences of women migrants who work as street vendors in Johannesburg CBD. This is because during the interviews as something had come up that needed further elaboration, there was space to further explore the answers which were given. Additionally, the researcher used the guiding questions as a tool for a deeper understanding of their experienced due to the scepticism of the women during the interviews too. Semi-structured interviews are also helpful in the research design, in understanding a particular case, in this instance it was street vendors.

3.7 Pre-testing of the research instrument

Pre-testing is the portion of developing the interview schedule which provided validity of the interview schedule and the time allocated to each participant (Reynolds, Diamantopoulos & Schlegelmilch, 1993). Pre-testing allows the researcher to make modifications to the research schedule, and further refine it. In addition, pre-testing helped to give an indication if the expected results will be yielded (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). For this study, the researcher conducted an interview with one-woman participant which had similar characteristics as the participants, this person was not include in the study. The suggestions, thereafter, was the need to position the recorder carefully, the time of day in which the researcher approached the women and the ways in which to approach the women, furthermore it guided the manner and sequencing of how to ask the questions. Through the pre-testing, three additional questions were added to help guide the participant in answering questions, this was done by altering the language of the questioning order to help with understanding. Language was seen to be a problem and was complicated, however in the pre-testing part the woman interviewed spoke English fluently however during the interviews there were those whom could not, thus there were no measures put into place to facilitate this.

3.8 Data collection

Face-to-face in-depth individual interviews were used as a method for data collection. These included one-on-one interaction between the researcher and the participants (Cresswell, 2014). Face-to-face interviews help both parties to engage and, in most cases, there is rapport and a relationship which therefore forms. However, face-to-face interviews required that the researcher's interviewing skills were sharp in order to get

the desired outcomes and to keep control of the interview process (Cresswell, 2014). The researcher met with the participants in their workspaces and this made it convenient for the participants. These interviews, with permission from the participants, were audio recorded so that the exact words of the participants were captured when writing up the findings. However, two of the 17 of the interviews did not want to be recorded and therefore, for these interviews, notes were written down. This resulted in some components of the questions being lost in translation due to the interview not having been recorded. Throughout the interviews, some participants had started interviews with English and transitioned halfway, thus 2 of the participants were not included, the other 2 participants were not used in the data as they did not fit the criteria due to language. Therefore, the number of women included in this study includes 15.

3.9 Data Analysis

Thematic analysis was used to analyse the data. Thematic analysis includes the identifying, analysing and reporting patterns that are within data. During the analysis the researcher was familiarized with the data. There are six phases to this form of analysis namely, being familiar with the data, generating initial codes, searching for the themes, reviewing the themes thereafter defining and naming of the themes and finally producing the product (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

The first phase includes being made familiar with the data. The researcher re-listened to the recordings and took out the things which were repeated from the interaction with the women, the researcher then categorized that as a theme for each of the objectives. According Braun and Clarke (2006), through transcribing one is made familiar with the data. Through transforming texts which are spoken into written text, many conventions exist. Thus, familiarizing the data occurred through listening and re-listening to the interviews, making markers where there were possible themes and taking notes throughout. The next phase of the thematic analysis included the generation of initial codes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The various themes were coded, according to the identified codes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Thus, potential themes were highlighted,

however at this phase there were broad ideas of what themes could've have been and patterns of similarity and difference were highlighted and noted, this was done through the coding. This occurred through re-reading and re-listening to the data, in order to track the codes in the transcriptions. Once the data had been coded and sorted accordingly, the various components as they were coded were grouped together and the themes were identified and forms.

This leading to the phase of sifting through the codes to identify the varying themes as they came up through re-listening and identifying the differences and similarities. This occurred through colour coding the data and noting these, to have a visual of what themes existed and what fell under each theme. These themes will be expounded on in the next chapter, which is chapter four that presents and discusses the findings. The phase gave an overview of the story in which the data tells (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The fourth phase then followed, this included reviewing the themes. There are two levels to this, these includes reviewing the level which the extracts of coded data are. The researcher read through the data and considered if the themes were coherent. The second level included and considered if the data did not fit into a theme or needed to be moved to another theme or be a theme separately.

The fifth phase was defined and naming the themes, this the themes are definable and described in a sentence (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This included the researcher doing further refining, thus sifting out what could be used as an alternate theme or within a theme, if codes were overlapping. The sixth and final phase included producing the report. This process begins when there are fully worked-out themes, and it involved the final analysis of the data and the writing up of the research report.

3.10 Trustworthiness

According to Graneheim and Lundman (2003), findings ought to be trustworthy. Four

criteria are required to ensure trustworthiness in qualitative studies. Namely; credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (Shenton, 2004). Credibility looks at the process of data analysis, and how well it addresses the focus of the study, from the approach of gathering data to selection of participants (Graneheim & Lundman, 2003). Shenton (2004), states that credibility looks at the internal validity, thus ensuring if the study tests what is intended. The researcher ensured and enhanced credibility through describing the setting of the interview space and the targeted population. Another criterion for trustworthiness is, transferability and it refers to how findings can be transferred to other settings. Thus, a rich presentation of findings enhanced transferability (Graneheim & Lundman, 2003). Shenton (2004) asserts that transferability assumes work can be applied to wider population. The researcher enhanced transferability through a detailed explanation of the setting, as well as the tools and protocols which took place. Dependability considers factors of instability and reliability (Shenton, 2004; Graneheim & Lundman, 2003). Thus, to address dependability the researcher conducted all the interviews and all participants were asked similar questions to ensure consistency throughout the research. Confirmability considers that objectivity of the research (Shenton, 2004), therefore the researcher used member checking, whereby the researcher's supervisor checked the themes against the collected data to ensure that there is correspondence with the presented data. The limitation, however, was that instead of using an independent ratter, the supervisor was the one who did the checking, and this might have constituted a limitation.

3.11 Ethical considerations

3.11.1 Ethical clearance

Ethical clearance included the research submitting a research proposal which thereafter went through, the university's review board, for the approval of the study. A letter was given by the department which gave permission for the study to have proceeded, after the research proposal was approved. After the letter had been received the researcher proceeded to the collection of data.

3.11.2 Voluntary participation

Participants who were approached were given a chance to refuse to participate in the study, this ensured that the sessions of data which was included were participants who had a genuine interest in the involvement in this study (Shenton, 2004). In most instances, on agreement of participation, a consent form which the participant signs voluntarily and is not forced to sign, however in this instance, participants were asked to give verbal consent to record the interview and be asked questions. Participants were allowed to refrain from the process and pull out if at any point it became difficult or was dangerous for the participant, furthermore they were given the option to not be recorded yet scribed instead. This was a limitation which was highlighted in chapter one.

3.11.3 Informed consent

Participants were not be forced into participation of research. This included verbal consent where there was an agreement and allowance of being interviewed and recorded (Creswell, 2014). The participant was approached by the research and asked before being audio recorded, if they were okay with participating in the study and being recorded. This gave the participants an option to refrain from not participating.

3.11.4 Confidentiality

Confidentiality refers to a promise that was made to participants that their data was not identified outside the organisation without permission (Kennedy, 2011). This often protects the participants from harm that they might face, if they are to reveal their identity, and harmful information attached to their name is exposed through research. Thus, to ensure their safety codes and pseudonyms were used (Creswell, 2014).

3.11.5 Anonymity

Anonymity includes how the roles, incidents and projects of individuals will remain anonymous (Creswell, 2014). This, including names being disassociated in responses throughout coding phase and recording process (Creswell, 2014). To ensure anonymity, coding and pseudonyms was used. According to Creswell (2014) coding includes the organizing of data through bracketed chunks as well as writing representative words of categories. Pseudonyms according to Ogden (2012) are names which are fictionally

assigned to participants for anonymity or confidentiality. The participants however were not asked for their names or station of selling, therefore maintain anonymity.

3.11.6 Doing no harm

There ought to be reciprocity to participants for involvement in study. This would include, involving them in the research process and sharing final report results (Creswell, 2014). The participants were taken through what the study was, some participants asked why the study was being conducted and I therefore proceeded to ask them.

3.12 Chapter summary

This section looked at the method which was employed to conduct this study. That being a qualitative case study. This study included 18 participants, who were women from outside South Africa, that were street vendors and had been working as street vendors from a year and longer, and that were 18 years old or older. However, 15 participants were used in this study due to language barriers. The interviews were conducted in Johannesburg central business district, and participants were interviewed where they worked.

The next sections will look at the findings and discuss these in relation to the objectives, thereafter the concluding chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR
PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

This section of the report provides the presentation and discussion of the findings that emanated from the collected data. Simple descriptive statistics were used to analyses demographic information, while thematic analysis was used to analyses the qualitative data in order to record themes relevant to the study. Findings of the study are discussed in relation to the study objectives. Themes are supported by verbatim responses from participants.

4.2 Demographic information

Table 4.1 Demographic profile of the participants (N=15)

Demographic factor	Sub-Category	No.
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Age	20-30	2
	31-40	4
	41-50	3
	51-60	1
	61-70	1
	No age given	4
Country	Nigeria	2
	Zimbabwe	3
	Malawi	4
	Congo	4
	Kenya	1
	Zambia	1
No. of years selling	1-10	9
	10-15	1
	15+	5

Table 4.1 shows the demographic profile of the participants. This study had 17 participants, who were located in Johannesburg CBD, along Joubert, Small, Rissik and Bree streets; but only 15 participants met the criterion for the analysis, 2 out of the 15, only portion of the data was used in the findings. They were all women and had been street vendors for more than a year. The participants were aged between 27 and 67 years of age. However, 4 of the participants refrained from making their ages known. Participants were originally from Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Congo, Kenya and Zambia; however, the majority of the participants were from Zimbabwe. Some of the participants had been working elsewhere before becoming street vendors, either cleaning kitchens or as domestic workers. They became street vendors due to the easy accessibility and the ability of them to have autonomy over when they could be at work, additionally some of the participants felt that they could earn more money if they remained street vendors.

4.3 Factors driving women migrants to work as street vendors in Johannesburg CBD.

4.3.1 Unavailability of jobs

The findings of the study revealed that the unavailability of jobs within Johannesburg was one of the driving factors for women migrants to work as street vendors. Women migrants indicated that they were finding it difficult to get salaried employment within the Johannesburg CBD, and that pushed them to work as street vendors. To support this theme, the participants said the following:

"...see there was no job that I can do that was fitting me in the moment, so..." 42-year-old Zimbabwean

"There was no job, so that's why I think to start this business to start selling things to work myself" 43-year-old Zimbabwean, 3years selling

"Because there was no job, no nothing, because I told you I worked in ma kitchen that money is too small...."42-year-old, Congolese, 10years selling

Many of the women had commented that they became street vendors because of the lack of jobs and that street vending was the only lucrative form of employment which they were able to do. Migrants often move to cities because there is promise of a better future yet on entry their hopes are deferred in them not being able to access the job market (Grant & Thompson, 2013). Street vending is accessible, in that there is little gatekeeping involved in accessing this space, therefore, for many who move into Johannesburg accessing street vending jobs is easier (Mohapatra, 2012). Johannesburg is a melting pot of diversity and there are people who come from different parts of the continent, many people leave for various reasons and in most instances, they end up in Johannesburg. This has resulted in the increase in the migrant population (Grant & Thompson, 2013). This has implications on the economy, with increase in human capital and the lack in job creation, currently South Africa has a high unemployment rate, therefore, many have resorted to the informal sector. Additionally, the decline in jobs in the formal sector, for locals can make for a highly competitive informal sector, particularly street vendors. Migrant women are faced with complexities which include their varying identities, coming into a space like Johannesburg means coming into a space where there are existing forms of marginalisation. Due to its historical legacy, the inequalities which are prevalent in the city mean that the positionality of those entering the city, would be faced with structures that hinder them

from progressing or entering the space. However, these women locate themselves in a space fitting their existing identity. In not being able to find a job that fits her abilities or knowledge, these women carve out a way within the existing structures of oppression.

4.3.2 The desire to meet daily survival needs

The findings of the study revealed that the desire to meet daily survival needs was a driving factor for the women migrants to work as street vendors. Women exclaimed how they needed jobs in order to provide for their families, buy food or have a place to stay they needed to start selling products as street vendors. To support this theme, two of the participants said the following:

*"...I decided to sit down and sell so that I can survive" 42-years-old Zimbabwean
19 years selling*

*"...I can manage to pay rent, find something food to eat, little to support my
kids..."43-year-old, Zimbabwean, 3years selling*

Working as a street vendor allows one access to attaining the daily needs of themselves and their families. Henceforth, most of the women expressed their need to support their families, and that this was the simplest way to do so. Street vending has been a means for survival, where these women can have access to their daily needs, sending their children to school and also providing for their families in their home countries. The study concurs with the findings from Peberdy, (2016) and Shrestha, (2013), that those who entered this space only entered due to lack of other possible employment and the need to meet daily survival needs.

4.3.3 Street vending being the only available option

The findings of the study revealed that street vending was the only option for the women in terms of work. When trying to find work with what they were able to do, there were not many jobs, instead, they ended up being street vendors. To support this theme the participants said the following:

"...I decided to be a street vendor because it was the only thing fitting me..."

This statement indicates that, there were no other jobs the participant could find, which they were able to do. Being a street vendor was the one job which was fitting their skillset. This could be for a number of reasons, in some instances, it could be education, lack of adequate documentation permitting individuals to work, or lack of adequate skills. In most instances, the women had worked in kitchens or as domestic workers prior to their venture as street vendors. According to Mbiyozo (2018) many who migrants end up working in jobs which are underpaid and face the brunt of harassment. The labour market is segmented, and as migrants come into that space they are faced with existing issues of class, gender and ethnic segregation. This plays a role in what job they are able to work and how they are able to make a living. There are many institutional processes which prohibit the entrance into living within the space.

"It's not for me to sit idle at home, I need to pay rent, I need to eat, I need to feed my children, I need to buy something like clothes whatever, so if I sit at home then I'll be begging who will give me money, it will make me now a mama like prostitute which is wrong" Kenyan selling 5years

For this woman, selling was the only way to have money in order to survive. The informal sector is vast and can constitute of various means to making money, thus as people navigate this space, they find jobs which are in line with what they are able to do. Additionally, there is no employment which is lucrative in which skills are possess in order to work in the formal sector (Bhowmik, 2005).

"...next year I won't be here when you come..." Kenyan selling 5 years

The same women exclaimed that she would not be here again next here, her desire for a better future than the one she was presently at supports this notion and that this job is a "stopgap". Peberdy (2000) highlights that street vending is a 'stopgap' for those whom are unemployed. Thus, street vending is a momentary job until something else comes along, when given the opportunity to leave, they would.

4.3.4 Liberty and independence

The findings of the study revealed that another driving factor was the need for independence and freedom within how one works and where one works. The women migrants indicate that it was better to work alone, as they were able to care for their families and make their rules as they worked within this space. To support this, the participants said the following:

"...at least with this job I can look after my daughter at home and come and work here too..." Kenyan selling 5 years

The nature of the informal economy is eluded to being temporary, although this is so, there are people who choose to be within this space, often they are those who are entrepreneurs or aspiring to being. Although the stigma stands, the informal sector continues to grow, particularly street trade it is a form of business. Henceforth, some of the women had jobs prior to becoming street vendors, the women explained how they chose these jobs as mothers because it allowed them the freedom to take care of their children and work for money additionally they felt it better to work for themselves because they would get more money. Mitullah (2003) highlights that street vending is flexible, therefore women are able to combine household duties with street vending. Many of the women are alone, and are the sole care takers and home makers, and therefore the ability to both be present and take care of their children is something that they noted. Additionally, there were women who had worked in other places before becoming street vendors but found that they got more money as street vendors, working under their own rules and regulations also attracted the women to being street vendors. According to Mitullah (2003), street vending is moving towards not being only a low skilled job, however it is a job which many entrepreneurs pursue,

"You know when I came in SA, there is someone who introduced me he used to sell in the street, he introduced me to come and sell in the street and it's when I started selling in the street" 33-year-old, DRC, selling 6years

This woman had been a receptionist prior to coming to South Africa, on following her husband, someone had pointed her to this job which she could do. She stayed a street vendor and has been for over 6 years. This illustrates that firstly, street vending has easy access, and is therefore more desirable, it reveals people start working as street

vendors through networks of people whom are already street vendors, and that this is a growing profession.

"I got a job as a teacher, but they placed me in a location, so me and my husband felt it better I come and sell here, I didn't like the idea of being in the location"

Nigerian women

Others choose the job as street vendors out of preference. Being a street vendor means you can choose your location, in most instances people work close to their residential area and are able to save on transport. Street vending is moving towards not only including those of the lower social group, however, there is an increase in number of people becoming street vendors (Mitullanh, 2003).

4.3.5 Same trade, different country

The findings of the study revealed that these women began work as street vendors because they used to work as street vendors in their home countries, and this was the profession in which they were familiar with. Women indicated the difficulty of working as street vendors in their home countries and found that they would make enough in South Africa in order to survive and support their families. To support this theme one of the participants said the following:

*"I just decide to do this business because I'm used even in Malawi, I'm just used"*31-year-old Malawian women 6years selling

Four of the participants who had been from Malawi had expressed that they had done this before and therefore became street vendors when they moved to South Africa. The participants had mentioned that they preferred to sell in Johannesburg because they were able to make a living to survive and be able to send their children to school and put food on the table. Thus, street vending is also a trade, although it is informal and within the informal sector, it is still an occupation which needs to further be researched and understood in order that infrastructure and policies can be put into place to encourage the growth and development of these businesses. It is seen as lower ranking, yet fills most of the urban economy, where many not only participate in the selling, but also in

the buying. Additionally, when people move into South Africa, many are told of being street vendors as a way of making money

"Because sometimes in Malawi you know Malawi things are too hard, its better here, you find money, to do this, you find money to pay rent, to eat everyday but in Malawi its hard sometimes you didn't sell, so I think here its better" 27-year-old Malawian women selling 1 year

This indicates the social network which exists between migrants but also those whom champion the establishment of this space. Additionally, in interviewing these women, which most were Malawian had expressed the lack of jobs that were there back home. Some of the participants had been street vendors in their countries but chose to continue doing the same job in South Africa.

4.4 Experiences of women migrants working as street vendors in Johannesburg CBD.

4.4.1 No more business

The findings of this study revealed that the experiences of these women included the decline in business. Many of the women asserted that business was slowing down and was not like before, some eluded to it being because of economic climate, or because there are many street vendors. Thus, there is constant competition between those whom are within this space for the need to continue to strive for livelihood. To support this theme one of the participants said the following:

"...then after some years like right now since last year until especially this year now the business is down..."

"Like right now as I said I can't eat but before it used to be booming, I don't know if it's because we are too many or the economy I don't know, but long time ago it was fine, I was doing fine with my business" 33-year-old, DRC, 6years selling

Many of the women have alluded to the decrease in sales that had occurred within the

last 10 years, some had been street vendors for as long as 20 years and had seen the increase and decrease in their customers. The probable cause may be an over saturation of those working in the informal sector as street vendors. Scholars such as Kinyanjui (2014) or Bhowmik (2005) highlight urban informality, Kinyanjui (2014), highlights that the constant migration of people within the continent due to political instability, conflict or economic instability, results in the increase populations within urban Africa.

This decrease in business has an adverse effect on the way street vendors operate, as well as the need to cultivate space within the city. Within Johannesburg, often there are rows of street vendors, all in the same vicinity selling similar items, often street vendors could be sitting next to each other and selling the exact same items. These are some of the challenges these women face, people buy at their table by chance, there are not always marketing strategies, however there is a need for patience and wisdom in how to organise stock and position within the space one is in. Crush, Chikanda and Skinner (2014) assert that many are in competition with one another, both internal and international migrants.

4.4.2 No place to sell

The findings of this study revealed that the experiences of these women revealed that there were no places to sell, that there was a lack in infrastructure which hindered the progression of business. To support this theme one of the participants said the following:

"Sometimes we run away from metro, the rain the is coming sometimes we run away from metro, from the rain sometimes we suffer because we don't have shelter" 40-year-old, Malawian, 3 years selling

"we can lose business, because we cannot sit in the rain"

The women highlighted how they would go through each of their days, noting the change in the ways in which the handle situations like cop raids and dealing with the

reality that, not every day will you make a sale enough to put food on the table. Many of the women highlighted that one thing that made being a street vendor difficult was the lack of shelter, because of this, if there is rain, they don't go out and sell, and they lose money from that day. Many of the women are allocated on the side of the road and are therefore exposed to the elements of rain, hail, sun, whatever the weather condition, and for those selling vegetables, this harm their produce and they could lose business from spoilt stock. Shrestha (2013) and Alebachew, (2017), highlights that there are fewer official designated spaces for people to sell. Scholars (Mitullah, 2003; Shrestha, 2013) highlights the poor conditions in which street vendors work under, and Mitullah (2003), also states that street vendors are viewed as being temporary, and for this reason little attention is paid to them.

4.4.3 Exposure to exploitation and crime

It was also found that women are also exposed to exploitation and crime, if whereby their stock can be stolen, or they can be harassed by customers. Many are undervalued and fall short of any growth in their business, the, they are also met with passivity from law enforcement. The following quotations support this theme:

"very long time now you see my table is small the people they are steal my sock all is gone" Congo 4years selling

"...if we have a place to sell, maybe people will not steal, because sometimes they steal my stuff..."

The reality is that most street vendors or those selling within the urban setting are overlooked, with the reality of them being foreign, they are left vulnerable, their fear results in scepticism to find help or find ways in which they can be supported, as well as reporting to officials their needs as those working. The reality is, they work, they add value to the places which they are in, many of those within the urban area, or those within the lower socio-economic levels are often helped, as it has been highlighted that street vendors counter food insecurity within urban areas. Therefore, there is a need for governance within the urban informal economy to find ways to assist street vendors and attend to their human rights. According to Rogerson (2018), often migrants have to accept inflated prices for rental space to sell goods due to the inability to have access

to certain space as locals have access to these spaces or documentation becomes an issue. Therefore, many resorts to selling on the side of the road, where there is access to that space. Roever (2014) highlights that due to no access to stable workplace, they are faced with challenges of being temporarily chased away or being harassed whilst staying in these spaces, however many are unable to report these abuses due to the 'illegality' of being in these spaces.

As migrant women in the city, they are often faced with intersections of their vulnerabilities (Kihato, 2007), in questions of where to move, there are other ties such that are at interplay when considering their identity as well as their location, there are structural forces at play within their processes of movement (Anthias, 2012). This often plays a role with how they relate to the space they are in, of being in South Africa and not being of South Africa. Henceforth, the lack of reporting in the crimes they might face and the injustices they may come across on a daily basis, this could be their inability to be a part of the space. Therefore, many women therefore continue in their daily activities and navigate their daily experiences as normative to who they are.

4.4.4 The lived reality

The finding revealed that women were in acceptance with their daily encounters with the cops, with criminals who would come to steal and with not making enough to get through each day. This was their lived experience and there was no other way to respond to these issues, but to carry on. The women had this to say to support this finding:

"I cope because it is my experience" 42-year-old Congolese selling 18years

"We just run away, and we come after when the metro the goes then we come back again" 40-year-old Malawian selling 3 years

Many of the women have to succumb to their present realities, as understanding that this is a part of their reality. Urban areas have become a site of street vending, Abebe (2016) mentions that there are no laws made by the international labour organisation

which pertain particularly to street vendors. This leaves them open to incidences of violence and harassment, additionally leaves them vulnerable to issues concerned with urban governance. This could be from customers who refuse to pay, who steal and run off with the goods, or those who might attack the vendors on the basis of them being migrants. The women who were interviewed had to succumb to metro cop raids, which involved metro cops taking the goods which are being sold, some street vendors manage to take their things and run before the cops get to them, however, some do not get so lucky and end up losing stock. This occurs because of the fewer demarcated street vending areas. In most instances, the demarcated areas for street vendors are overpopulated by existing street vendors. Thus, there is a constant struggle between the need to survive and the contentions that come with being in this space. To support this, another participant said:

"Ahh I hold my things and run away, if I see the situation is not good, I have to hold my things and runaway" 43-year-old Zimbabwean selling 5years

The two of the women highlighted that when they would see that the atmosphere was unpleasant and there was violence or disturbance arising, they would grab their things and run away and hide themselves. Grant and Thompson (2014) assert that Johannesburg is the most immigrant unfriendly city in the world. This is because of the violence that comes with being foreign within these settings. Many have fallen victim to incidences of xenophobia, which is a form of discrimination against foreigners. Some of the women highlighted that they were left alone, and some highlighted that they were at danger of being attacked.

4.4.5 The fight to carry on

The findings revealed that the women would just carry on through their grief and pain, in order to put food on the table, there was nothing to do but to continue striving.

"I can't do nothing I can't cry because I'm old" Congolese 4years

"you must fight hard, work hard"

When asked how she deals with people stealing her goods or cop raids, her answer is

this. The reality is, many of these women are faces with varying challenges on a daily basis, this could be detrimental for their business. Many of the women have succumb to many conditions which are hurtful and harmful, however they remain resilient. There is an uncertainty that comes with being in this space, not knowing if there will be customers, not knowing who a customer will be, and that results in much insecurity. However, the women navigate this space in trying to find alternative ways of dealing with the daily inconsistencies of being street vendors. The varying identities of these women push them to survive as street vendors, being mothers, sisters or children and needing to provide for all those whom they are responsible for. Literature which looks at street vendors neglects looking at the day to day challenges of street vendors, therefore research further needs to do ethnographic exploration of how women manage their day to day encounters with officials, thieves and lack of demarcated areas for women migrants (Roever & Skinner, 2016).

4.4.6 Not making enough to meet all their needs

The findings revealed that the women do not get enough to meet their needs, although they get money, there are some days where not enough goods are sold in order for them to make profit to get their daily needs. To support this, the participants said the following:

"I don't have a problem, if there is business there is business, if there is nothing, I can get nothing if there is business, I can get little" 43-year-old, Zimbabwean, selling 3years

"If you have R20 you must know I must buy soap, tomorrow if I have another R20 you know that I must if there is nothing there is nothing you must close your mouth and buy cold drink" Zimbabwean

There are some days where the women do not make enough, and these instances the women might not have food on their table that night. There is no constant flow of customers, many get customers by chance and are therefore able to make money, however when customers do not come, they then lose business. Rogerson (2018)

asserts that many who are poor city dwellers work outside the informal economy, in these instances they work striving for daily livelihood through the making of their own rules, operating out of sight of authority. Additionally, street vendors' profits are dependent on ability to sell in areas with a large customer base and small competitors (Roever, 2014). The daily earnings were not consistent, and the women would not make the same amounts each day. One of the women had exclaimed:

"...we sell by chance..."

"It doesn't pay, you can't do anything for business, but we are doing because you [need] to do something"

Although the women strive each day to make earnings, there are no other lucrative means to survive their basic needs. This woman exclaimed that although this job does not pay enough, it gets her enough to put food on the table and send her children to school.

4.4.7 Dealing with fear and discrimination

The finding revealed that women experience fear, from being in the surroundings which they are in. They are hostile to those who come into that space to question them of their position in that space. Thus, many evade questions through silence or through laughter or choose to ignore you entirely. The reality within this space of Johannesburg is the history it holds with alienating those whom are not citizens, thus many build coping mechanisms to deal the possibility of being a victim of discrimination. This theme was eluded from conversation and the way in which the women reacted to the presence of the researcher:

"I can't say" 33-year-old DRC 6years selling

"I can't speak... I don't want to say" Malawian women

"... when we move, we move, like we are afraid to be caught with police, so I like when I go to stock, then I come here, I don't like moving here and there, ya..." 27-year-old Malawian women 1 year

If fear had an image, it would be most of the women that were interviewed. Many were sceptical about the presences of an outsider, asking them questions about their lives, that they would often defer in laughter or silence. In order to survive a space which was not meant for one, there is often a tendency to not be heard, yet to merely do one's duty and move from that space. The women face various axis of difference, they are women, they are foreign, they are black, and they are of the lower social class, this plays a role in how they are perceived by those whom are on the outside and therefore have positioned them. Therefore, in cultivating a space for themselves, there are ways in which the women would then react or mobilise. In instance when there are xenophobic attacks, they make themselves unseen (Kihato, 2013). Although these women are available to the by passer when something is needed, they are often seen as an enemy to the state.

4.5 Views of women migrant working as street vendors in Johannesburg regarding how they can be supported to deal with their experiences.

4.5.1 Unionization of street vendors

Findings revealed that the women were not a part of any union, yet desired support in their venture within their businesses. Many of the women had highlighted that they are all alone and have no-one to support them, others had said that they have children whom come sometimes to help them. When asked if they were part of a union or group of people which help them, they responded with no. Women indicated their willingness to be part of a union or a body that will support them during difficult times. To support this theme, this is what the participants said:

"Ya, if there are people who support street vendors, I could take it, I am willing to"

"... I'm alone, no people supporting me... I don't have any support at all whatsoever..." 42-year-old Congolese

Street vendors are the most visible of the informal economy, whilst some scholars (Sarker, 2012; Roever & Skinner, 2016; Rogerson, 2018) mention this; others mention the

need to identify street vendors in their own category and not amongst the street vendors which exist. Street vendors are everywhere and are constantly growing in population. Walking down the street in town, there is no hiding from them, however what does that mean for street vendors. The growing informal sector points out the need for more to be done within the city, some cities have organisations which assist street vendors when it comes to advocacy, stock or attainment of permits. However, in some instances those whom are foreign are unwanted. The growth in the number of migrants working in the informal sector, eludes to a need to institute policies which can encourage their protection and livelihood. Additionally, Crush, Chikanda and Skinner (2014) asserts that unions exist, however in most instances they exist in order to assist citizens. There ought to be more unions which can help migrant street vendors, there are associations such as 'Somalian Association' which stands to advocate for the Somalian population, however there is a need to have more platforms which can be formed in order to help advocate for women, who are migrant street vendors.

"As a street vendor if I get support from somewhere sponsors to help me, because I have the kids, I am supporting them alone" 43-year-old, Zimbabwean, 3years

Many of the migrants are unable to access financial support from banks or open bank accounts in order to help the growth of their business (Rogerson, 2018).

4.5.2 Do not need support as they have families playing that role

Findings also revealed that the participants did not want support because they were able to cope with the challenges that they faced, through the support received from family members. The participant said the following to support this theme:

"I'm not alone I have children the big children and grandchildren they support me... No, no I don't like it because give people stress and problem..." Congolese

"My child sometimes helps me" 56-year-old, Zimbabwean, 9years selling

"...we have got children's grandchildren they have got family members like your grannies your what the other support we do have because I can't stay here

leaving my house alone it means there is somebody who is looking after I must work to support me my girl..."42-year-old, Zimbabwean women, 18years

Support for the women was in the form of family, one of the women did not want support from anyone else, eluding to the possible stress this might bring. Whilst some of the women felt protected and supported by other family members. Kihato (2013) highlights how some women have support networks such as churches or communities which help them in their daily struggles be it financially or helping to sell. There is a culture of collective responsibility especially within the urban space which allows for support, which is needed, this can come with trying to avoid being capture by urban authorities. By having support around them, they avoid getting external parties involved which could impinge on their safety and on the way their profits (Kihato, 2013). For this reason, one of the women was adamant on not receiving help, because it would be bothering or stressing other people. Thus, by having support from her family members there was a sense of trust.

4.5.3 More demarcated areas of selling to be created

Findings indicated that the women required demarcated areas in order to sell, and in order to be within areas whereby the women will not be raided by the cop. The participants answered as followed to support this theme:

"...I need the right stand a place where I can sell..."

"...sometimes we suffer because we don't have shelter"40-year-old, Malawian, 3years selling

Many of the women had revealed that they struggled because they did not have demarcated areas. The informal economy, especially street vendors remain marginalised through exclusionary practices which keep street vendors at the peripheries (Roever & Skinner, 2016). Street vendors are seen as temporary and therefore not much is put into place to enable the advancement of street vendors in the spaces they are in, however street vendors continue to fill up the streets and the cry remains the same, of needing a place to sell. Many of the women struggle with the notion that they did not have adequate structure to conduct business which meant that

they were governed by the weather and the incidences which were occurring within the surrounding areas.

“...thing is if I can find a space... will be better for me because I’ll stock some of the things...” 56-year-old, Zimbabwean, 9years selling

Some of the women exclaimed that if they could find a space to sell, of which they could even pay a small fee, they were willing to do so, they just needed to be out of the way of police harassments, relocations and removals, as well as shelter in order to enable that their produce (if they were selling fruit and vegetables) would remain fresher for longer.

4.6 Summary of the Chapter

The chapter presented and discussed the findings that emanated from the study. It was found that women become street vendors for various reasons which would include lack of work, the need to survive, the availability of space and access in this space. However, many of the women found working as a street vendor challenging and were found to not receive adequate support to manage their businesses. The following section looks at summarising the findings and concluding the research report with recommendations.

CHAPTER FIVE

MAIN FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary of the main findings

The research explored the experiences of women migrants working as street vendors in Johannesburg Central Business District.

5.1.1 Factors driving women migrants to work as street vendors in Johannesburg CBD

The experiences of women and men differ, and with the shift in the number of independent women migrants, there is a growing need to look into systems and policies which can aid toward their growth and their support. The findings revealed that women became street vendors due to lack of employment in other spaces and becoming a

street vendor was the only available option for them. Additionally, the women were not able to get lucrative employment, and this resulted in the women putting up stands to sell as street vendors. The findings revealed that street vending is easily accessible for many, where people are able to purchase stock and begin selling. For this reason, there have been many people selling as street vendors.

The findings also revealed that women migrants became street vendors because they needed to make enough to get through each day. These women supported their children as well as their families back home. Thus, as they were unable to find work, they then became street vendors in order to survive their daily needs.

Street vending is not only a last resort; however, some women prefer to work as street vendors. Some have a desire to be entrepreneurs and this drives them into ways to begin their venture as businesswomen. Additionally, the women preferred the freedom that came with being a street vendor as they were able to negotiate their time between being homemakers and caring for their children, thus many preferred to continue their work as street vendors.

The findings also revealed that because street vending is a global phenomenon, some had previously worked as street vendors in their home countries, however moved to another country due to there being a market for the products they were selling, or for them to have the ability to make more from their selling. This, like any other profession, can be seen as a relocation for better pay. From this, one can infer that street vending is not just a last resort, however, is a career. This therefore highlights the need for policy makers to interrogate ways to integrate this into the economy and ways to protect those within the informal sector.

5.1.2 Experiences of women migrants working as street vendors in Johannesburg CBD.

In most instances, findings revealed that women found working as a street vendor

challenging, that the space was not conducive for them, in that there were no areas in which they could work. The city is filled with street vendors, and this is a result of its easy access to the space, the need for survival or street vending being the only available option for the women. However, even though there might be a possible form of employment, there are challenges which these women experience on a daily basis. The women were asked what the benefits of working as street vendors are and what their challenges were, in most instances the women responded with their challenges more than they did their benefits. To them, street vending merely gave them the ability to support their families.

The findings revealed that over recent years there was a decrease in the number of people buying from their sales, some women believed it to be because of the economy, or because there were too many stalls. However, many had struggled to make enough due to this decrease. These findings therefore revealed that there was no guarantee that one would get the same number of customers in one day as they would get in another. This, therefore, taking away the access to their daily needs.

The findings also revealed that, with not having demarcated areas where these women were able to sell, this resulted in them experiencing confiscations from the metro cops, which resulted in decrease in the stock which they had. Additionally, they would be unable to sell when there was rain, or their stock would get damaged by the sun. The findings also revealed that they were affected by the weather and the lack of provisional protection of their welfare. Many of the women migrants were at a disadvantage when it came to accessing ways of receiving help.

The findings also revealed that the women were sceptical to any outsiders entering their space, in fear of harassment or being victimised. Consequently, the findings revealed that the women were resilient to the daily challenges that they would face, that they were motivated by the various people that needed their support and therefore continued

to go to work in spite of the challenges which they experienced.

5.1.3 Views of women migrant working as street vendors in Johannesburg regarding how they can be supported to deal with their experiences.

Mixed reactions were raised under this section, with some women calling for unionization and some preferring to rely on their families for support. Findings revealed that the women are not supported and that they relied on their families or surrounding networks to survive. There are no advocacy mechanisms which can help in them navigating the space around them. The findings revealed that there was no adequate shelter for them to conduct their business and this was something which was needed by the women.

Women migrants who work as street vendors, are at intersections of the various identities which they exhibit and the spaces they move into. The historical legacy of the place in which Johannesburg holds, is one that classifies individuals when entering the space, classifying in terms of class, gender and ethnicity. This plays a role in how the individual would experience the place they move into.

5.2 Conclusions

Experience defines a way in which an individual makes sense of their surroundings, how they construct their reality and how then they make decisions based on the ways in which they have constructed their position. Looking at experiences helps us mould the possible ways in which the future realities can be shaped, what can be put in these spaces and how to better understand the present challenges and triumphs of those whom face these streets of Johannesburg. This study revealed how women try to

navigate the space in which they are in and how they try to find coping mechanisms and ways to put food on the table. These women are resilient to the changes and the uncertainties that come with each day.

Many of the women had highlighted their experiences of their daily interactions. These could be seen through the way they interacted with the researcher, in their suspicion of approach when the researcher entered the space and then refraining from questions or their abrupt answers when they could not understand the question and eluded to thinking the researcher was an official asking for papers, answering *“if you want to see my papers, I have them”*. Research done on street vending highlights the possible vulnerabilities which women face, the way they hold their breath at the site of an outsider asking questions about their life. Additionally, more needs to be done in understanding the daily challenges that come with being within these spaces, in order to find mechanisms for their survival. Experiences are not only told in what people say, but in how they say it and how they react to the presence of an outsider.

In conclusion, those within social development need to pay closer attention to the possible challenges that migration brings not only for the citizens but also for those whom are migrating. Additionally, those working in the informal sector are susceptible to vulnerabilities such as harassment and there is a growing number of people who continue to enter this space, especially women. Thus, this study revealed that many of these women do not have the help they need in order to survive this space in terms of social protection. Being mindful that social development considers the injustices and welfare of individuals and how they can be empowered toward a sustaining life, from understanding their positionalities, one could deduce that who they are plays a role in how they need support. That, them being women, who are not South African, need systems which consider these things.

5.3.1 Recommendations for programmatic interventions

- Unionization particularly for migrant street vendors, some cities have street vendor unions and organisations which exist to advocate for them, additionally there exist for citizens who are street vendors, against migrant street vendors.
- Policies implemented that particularly look at the welfare of migrant women and their protection and ways that can encourage their movement and settling in the country, as there is no way to stop migration.
- More infrastructure to allow for secure demarcated space to sell in the city centre.

5.3.2 Recommendations for future study

- Migration is ever increasing and there is hostility from citizens which is influenced from governing leaders, there are little or no regulatory functions in place to assess the number of individuals entering the space, and this challenges not only those who migrate but also those who are from the country. There is a growing need to research issues around migration, especially that which is gendered within social development.
- This study was done with a small sample, over a single area and precludes generalisation to the broader population of migrant women, thus, other areas need to be further investigated in different spaces, with a larger sample size and varying demographic profile.
- As the focus of this study was solely on women migrants, it is recommended that a study be done looking at the experiences of male migrants who work as street vendors in Johannesburg CBD.

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APPENDIX A



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PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Title of the study: Experiences of women migrants working as street vendors in Johannesburg's central business district

Good day,

My name is Elekeana Nyirenda and I am a post graduate student registered for the degree MA in Social Development at University of the Witwatersrand. As part of the requirements for the degree, I am conducting research regarding '*the experiences of women migrants working as street vendors in Johannesburg's central business district*'. It is hoped that the study might add value to understanding the experiences of immigrants entering the South African informal economy, and ways in which they can be supported in accessing the Johannesburg formal vending system.

I therefore wish to invite you to participate in my study. If you accept my invitation, your participation would be entirely voluntary, and you are free to withdraw at any time without penalty. There are no consequences or personal benefits of participating in this study. If you agree to take part, I would arrange to interview you at a time and place that

is suitable for you. The interview will last approximately 45 minutes to one hour. If you choose to participate, you may withdraw from the study at any time and you may also refuse to answer any questions that you feel uncomfortable with answering. If you decide to participate, I will ask your permission to tape-record the interview. No-one other than the researcher and the supervisor will have access to the tapes. The tapes will be kept in a locked cabinet for two years following any publications or for six years if no publications emanate from the study. A copy of your interview transcript without any identifying information will be stored permanently in a locked cupboard and may be used for future research.

Please be assured that your name and personal details will be kept confidential and no identifying information will be included in the final research report. The results of the research may also be used for academic purpose (including books, journals and conference proceedings) and a summary of findings will be made available to participate on request.

Should a participant become uncomfortable or distressed during the interview, the following action will be taken by the researcher:

- It will be recommended that the participant speak to a professional counsellor to discuss their concerns and support them if appropriate.
- A qualified and registered Social Worker or Therapist employed by Johannesburg Parent and Child Counselling Centre (JPCCC) will provide counselling services at no costs to participants. The centre can be contacted at 011 484 1734.

Please contact me on 082 806 7646 or 719736@students.wits.ac.za , or my supervisor, Dr Nkosiya Dube on or Nkosiya.Dube@wits.ac.za if you have any questions regarding my study. We shall answer them to the best of our ability. If you have any concerns and complaints about the study, please contact Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical) Contact Details: Chairperson : Jasper.Knight@wits.ac.za or the administrator: Ms Shaun Schoeman Tel 011 717 1408 Shaun.Schoeman@wits.ac.za.

Thank you for taking the time to consider participating in the study.

Yours Sincerely,

Elekeana Nyirend

APPENDIX B

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPATION IN THE STUDY

Title of the study: Experiences of women migrants working as street vendors in Johannesburg's central business district

I hereby consent to participate in the research study. The purpose and procedures of the study have been explained to me.

I understand that:

- My participation in this study is voluntary and I may withdraw from the study without being disadvantaged in any way
- I may choose not to answer any specific questions asked if I do not wish to do so
- There are no foreseeable benefits or particular risks associated with participation in this study
- My identity will be kept strictly confidential, and any information that may identify me, will be removed from the interview transcript
- A copy of my interview transcript without any identifying information will be stored permanently in a locked cupboard and may be used for future research
- I understand that my responses will be used in the write up of an honours project and may also be presented in conferences, book chapters, journal articles or books

Name of participants:

Date:

Signature

APPENDIX C

CONSENT FORM FOR AUDIO TAPING OF THE INTERVIEW

Title of the study: Experiences of women migrants working as street vendors in Johannesburg's central business district

I hereby consent to tape-recording of the interview

I understand that:

- The recording will be stored in a secure location (a locked cupboard or password-protected computer) with restricted access to the researcher and the research supervisor
- The recording will be transcribed and any information that could identify me will be removed
- When the data analysis and write-up of the research study is complete, the audio-recording of the interview will be kept for two years following any publications of for six years if no publications emanate from the study
- The transcript with all identifying information directly linked to me removed, will be stored permanently and may be used for future research
- Direct quotes from my interview, without any information that could identify me may be cited in the research report or other write-ups of research

Name:

Date:

Signature:

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR WOMEN MIGRANTS WORKING AS STREET VENDORS IN JOHANNESBURG CBD

Title of the study: Experiences of women migrants working as street vendors in Johannesburg's central business district

Demographic information

Age:

Number of years in South Africa:

Number of years working as a street vendor:

Interview questions

Understanding the factors that drive women migrants to work as street vendors

- o Please tell me how you decided to become a street vendor?
- o What are the factors that drove you into this type of work?
- o What work did you do in your home country before coming to South Africa?
- o What are the benefits of street vending?

Experiences of women migrants working as street vendors

- o How long have you been a street vendor?
- o What have been your major highlights or experiences as a street vendor?
- o How do you cope with these experiences?

Views of women migrant working as street vendors in Johannesburg regarding how they can be supported

- o In view of your experiences, are there any support mechanisms available for women migrants working as street vendors in Johannesburg CBD?
- o What do you think can be done to support women migrants' street vendors working in Johannesburg CBD?
- o What are the recommendations you would make to ensure better support for women migrants working as street vendors in Johannesburg CBD?