Migration for Better Employment in Ethiopia's Gold Mines: A Case Study of the town of Shakiso

ABSTRACT

Most towns in the world's opportunity economy remain a vital source of income for rural-urban migrants. The study's main objectives were to investigate, identify and examine migration to mines and livelihoods in the informal sector. Primary and secondary sources were used for data collection, and both qualitative and quantitative techniques were implemented. A descriptive case study approach and an inductive approach were used to collect and analyze data from the town's immigrant street vendors, showing that the decision to migrate inspires career opportunities, particularly in the mining sector. Migrants lure into the town by the opportunity to find mining jobs, but end up surviving on the streets. Individuals were forced to emigrate due to the need for jobs, poor living conditions, and lack of agricultural arrival in their birthplaces. The study also found that post-migration street vending is a viable source of income, employment, and economic activity. It has served as a temporary work alternative for those seeking mining jobs or wishing to relocate to another area. Despite this, municipal authorities impose repressive measures on vendors who do not conform to the town's modernist vision. Municipal authorities should recognize street vending as a legitimate and essential source of livelihood for migrants and adopt inclusive and participatory approaches.

Keywords: Street Vendors, Migration, Mining, Migrants & Livelihoods.

1. INTRODUCTION

Migration towards resource-rich regions has been an important age-old phenomenon. Particularly the youth migrate to these areas seeking predominantly seasonal jobs. Farm labor migrations to the Awash Valley State Cotton Plantations, and Sugar Plantations in Ethiopia, in the 1970s and 1980, could be the case in point (Kloos, 1982). Labor migration has been an important livelihood strategy and has had a considerable impact on individuals, households, and regions (ILO, 1972; Hart, 1973; Awol, 2000). It influences by the demand for migrant workers and imbalanced models of development. These patterns of development are the primary reasons for seasonal migration. As with Mabognje (1970), rural-urban migration, in particular, indicates a spatial imbalance in the economic development of a region. Moreover, poverty and lack of gainful employment in rural areas push youth to urban centers (Bundervoet, 2018; Mansour-Ille, 2018). As many rural-urban migrants have low skills and low human and financial capital, they resort to the informal sector mainly in cities in the developing countries (Bezu and Holden, 2014; Gebre and Maharaj, 2011; Sidzatane and Maharaj, 2013).

Street vending is an important livelihood option for migrants upon arrival at destinations. Aside from push factors, some return immigrants are viewed as heroes, as migration helps them earn income and have wealth, and therefore hinders them in choosing a mate (Zenebe, et al., 2016). It would inspire individuals to aim for migration to urban areas as their preferred livelihood option. The major urban centers in Ethiopia receive much attention in the migration and development literature (Bezu, and Holden, 2014; Teferi, 2016; Izzolino, 2018; Dereje, et al., 2008). Small towns are too many numbers in the national urban system in Ethiopia, and much of the urbanization is happening and is expected to happen because of these towns. The other typical feature of labor migration literature in Ethiopia is that it focuses much on international migration such as to the Gulf States, Southern Africa, and Europe (Gebre & Maharaj, 2011). Moreover, thematically migration and development studies tend to focus more on both formal and informal economies in larger urban centers such as cities acting as the national capital, and regional or provincial headquarters such as Addis Ababa, Dire Dawa, Hawassa, Bahir Dar, and Jimma (Awol, 2000; Jonga, 2009; Yeneneh, 2012; Bezu & Holden, 2014). An exception to this would be a study by Baker (2012) which focused on migration and mobility in a small town, Kemise, northern Ethiopia. Even concerning the mining sector, most studies on migration and mining have largely emphasized Southern, West African, & Latin American countries (Geofrey, 1992; Bury, 2007; Nyame, et al., 2009). Since colonial times, there has been mine migration

in these countries (Davies and Head, 1995; Maclin et al., 2017). Some studies focused on mining and migration, particularly migrants in gold mining in Eastern Africa (Bryceson, Jønsson, 2010; Jonssen and Brycessen, 2017).

In Ethiopia, migration and informality are closely interconnected. This is evident from any studies that documented the situation of most migrants who ended up in the informal sector in the cities where they migrated (Bezu & Holden, 2014; Teferi, 2016). This is most noticeable in the larger urban areas of the country. Studies in the informal sector have explored the causes and challenges of informality and seem to suggest formalization as a way out (Fransen and Van Dijk, 2008; Jonga, 2009; Fransen, et al., 2010). Resourceful destinations such as mining cities have not received modest attention in the studies conducted so far. Nevertheless, in the prevailing political change and ethnic unrest, inter-regional mobility and migration are the most difficult for the majority who wish to move to such areas. Migrants were targets of attacks and displacement during the political unrest in many towns in the country that endangered their livelihoods (Njaya, 2014; Brown, et al., 2015). On top of this, most workers in the informal sector, particularly street vendors, are vulnerable (Engida and Solomon, 2020).

Even though the nexus between rural-urban migration and the informal economy has been well studied, livelihood trajectories of migrant street vendors predominantly in mining cities have not been well explored. Yet, mining towns/regions have a high proportion of migrant workers who work in both formal and informal sectors. Looking at city-level data, migrants account for a larger share of the population in smaller cities in many developing countries. This is also true in Ethiopia as shown by three consecutive labor surveys conducted by the Central Statistical Agency (CSA) of Ethiopia so far (1999, 2005, & 2013 Surveys). Thus, there is a need to document, at least, the motivations for migrating to mining towns; the reasons for choosing street vending; and the challenges of working informally in the street vending in the wake of ethnic federalism which has been negatively affecting mobility within regions and political reforms happening in the country. As seen in different studies (for example, Awol, 2000; Timalsina, 2007; Jonga, 2009; Chen, 2012; Bezu and Holden, 2014), street vending remains a viable opportunity for rural-urban migrants in cities in the developing nations.

Therefore, examining the livelihoods of migrant street vendors can help to understand their situation and challenges in the face of the prevailing political volatility in the country. This study was conducted during the country's political transition and inter-ethnic conflicts and large-scale displacement in the study area. The study has policy implications in terms of helping frame inclusive and sustainable livelihood strategies with a view to supporting the livelihoods of migrants during political transitions in mining towns. The study, therefore, argues that small towns, even though they account for a high number and proportion of migrant workers in resource-rich areas, such as mining areas, have so far received little attention in Ethiopia. This might result in a shallow understanding of migrant livelihoods and apply inappropriate measures and interventions which may not help ensure sustainable livelihoods. We argue that given the prevailing high unemployment in resource-rich destinations, it would be difficult for migrants to get their desired jobs in mining, but they resort to precarious work in street vending. Nonetheless, we also argue that migrants have an agency that is reflected in their daily planning and activities in their pursuit to earn a living working on the streets.

This study will build on the existing body of literature on migrant street vendors. More specifically, it contributes to literature focusing on understanding how resourceful areas, specifically mining areas motivate the decision to migrate and how migrants lead their livelihoods to their destinations. Although it is difficult to find comprehensive data on migrant street vendors, a good number of researches suggest that rural-urban migrants are largely engaged in the street vending in various towns of the country. Against the commonly held pessimist views on informality and street vending in particular, we argue that migrants play an important role in the socio-economic development of the destinations by engaging in the informal economy. The purpose of this study is to explore the livelihoods of migrant street vendors in Shakiso town where mining plays a significant role in attracting migrants who wish to join the sector to join as formal or informal workers. Migrants account for about half of the total population of Odo Shakiso Woreda (EEITI, 2016). The town of Shakiso is the headquarters of the Odo Shakiso District. The study focused on rural-urban migration, mainly from densely populated areas to relatively sparsely populated but resource-rich and fragile areas. Here, the mining in Odo-Shakiso and the surrounding area is a case in point. The town of Shakiso attracts migrants due to its mining sector. To better comprehend the livelihoods of migrant street vendors, the study draws on interviews with 36 street vendors in various locations of the town and observations. By drawing on

interviews with vendors, city officials, and experts, this article attempts to understand their motivation for migration and resorting to street vending, livelihoods in street vending, provide some deeper insights into the challenges to livelihoods, and consider some policy suggestions. This study does not focus on migrant workers who are employed in the gold mines informally, but it focuses on those migrants who moved to Shakiso town with the expectation of getting jobs in the mines but ended up in street vending.

Globally, migration both in its forms, internal and international has received serious attention from academicians, humanitarian organizations, International Governmental organizations, and governments. Internal migration in both its forms, forced and voluntary, occurs in most developing countries. The motivation to migrate to cities is in most cases driven by dire situations in rural areas and the expectation of bright lights in urban centers (IOM, 2005). In Sub-Saharan Africa, most people migrate to urban centers of different sizes to escape poverty and make a fortune, which is usually in the informal sector. The informal sector has ease of entry as it does not require high human and financial capital to start a business of one's own choice (ILO, 1972; Chen, 2012). As a result, men and women are making significant contributions to the informal economy in cities in developing countries (ILO, 2018).

Ethiopia is the least urbanized country, even compared to East African countries, but it has a rapid rate of urbanization. Urbanization largely comes from natural increase and migration, even though administration reclassification plays a smaller portion. Smaller towns play a key role in the urbanization process in the country. They are expected to make up the largest proportion of Ethiopia's urban population between 2020 and 2035. More specifically, internal migration has been playing an important role in the rural-urban transformation process of Ethiopia. Economic motivation, particularly the search for jobs, is the most important driver of internal migration in the country (IOM, 2005; Bezu and Holden, 2014; Bundervoet, 2018). It influences by individual characteristics and location-related factors. Specifically, Ethiopian rural-urban migration is a growing phenomenon. Although country-to-rural flows have historically dominated Ethiopia's internal migration, large public investments in infrastructure, factories, and public services, as well as job opportunities, have fueled rural-urban migration (OECD and PSI, 2020). This is partly because migration and mobility play an important role in fostering economic interdependence between rural and urban areas shaping and influencing the rural and urban economies (Baker, 2012).

According to Ghanaian research, Keith Hart credits for creating the informal sector. In a study conducted in Kenya, the ILO also described the characteristics of the informal sector. The International Labor Organization defines informal sector activities as easy access, dependence on domestic resources, family ownership, small business, labor-intensive and adapted technology, skills acquired outside of formal school, and unregulated and competitive markets (ILO, 1972). For Hart (1973) it refers to those escaping the count, the low-productivity urban sector, the reserve army of underemployed and unemployed, and the urban traditional sector. Amis (2005), however, cautions that any definition of the sector should consider a contested relationship with state regulation; a small enterprise size; a self-employed or survivalist livelihood strategy; and a dynamic and trans-transient boundary between the first three notions.

Street vending existed from time immemorial and is considered to be as old as human civilization itself (Bhowmik, 2010). However, it appears difficult to have a well-thought conceptualization of the street vending due to its complexity and diversity of activities and spaces used for vending activities. For instance, it might refer to various groups of people who use the streets as livelihood capitals to make a living. In addition, street vendors could be defined as people who use the streets as business venues where transactions take place. Moreover, the focus may be geared towards the way street vendors are related to urban officials/authorities for having access to and use of the streets for their businesses. Street vending still transforms the streets into commercial or business centers (Jonga, 2009; Chen, 2012). Notwithstanding the conceptualization, streets create business opportunities for vendors. This transformation of the streets into business avenues could generate city-scale challenges of planning, governance, management, poverty, and gender inequality, to mention just a few.

There is a complex relationship between migration and development. Migration is a persistent phenomenon, having both positive and negative impacts, both on origin and destination. The impacts

could be demographic, economic, social, political, or environmental (IOM, 2005). The relationship between migration and development has received substantial attention in studies conducted on migrants in the global north and south. The role of foreign migrants in Johannesburg's informal sector and notes that migrant entrepreneurs employ both migrants and non-migrants (Peberdy, 2016). As a result, the informal economy presents growth opportunities. Additionally, migrant entrepreneurs are often perceived as having an advantage in terms of business skills and experience compared to South Africans. Gender-wise, according to Bello-Bravo (2015), migration has contributed to the economic empowerment of women in West Africa in which migrant women have financially improved their lives and entrepreneurial activities. In this respect, an earlier IOM study indicates the feminization of migration as a new pattern of internal migration in developing countries. The study suggests that internal migration plays an important role in poverty alleviation and economic development, as migration is an important subsistence strategy (IOM, 2005).

A large volume of literature has been published on the role of the informal economy, the challenges of workers engaged in it, and municipal responses to informality and urban public use in general in many cities of developing countries. For example, Hart's study provides the best illustration of rural-urban migrants working in the informal sector in Accra, Ghana (Hart, 1973). However, there has been relatively little literature published on the connection between migration to mines and the subsequent livelihoods in the informal economy, mainly in Ethiopia. Outside, few authors have investigated the relationship between migration and informality (Davies & Head, 1995; Bury, 2007; Jonssen & Brycessen,2017; Macklin, et al, 2017; Yendaw, et al., 2019). In Laos, 'migration to two mines' (Jackson, 2017); in Brazil, migration to the Amazonian gold mining frontier could be an example of the relationship between mining and migration.

As the relationship between migration and development, the connection between migration and informality is not straightforward. Different scholars have attempted to understand the relationship between migration and the informal economy. According to him, the informal sector acts as a transitory job for workers who aspire to enter the formal sector. As migrants struggle to find formal jobs, they resort to informal jobs in destination countries (Abdulloev, et al., 2011). They went further to consider migration and informality as substitutes and found that there was a negative significant correlation between informal activities and migration. One of the views is that the informal sector is considered a complement to migration. This further means that it could serve as a springboard for those migrants who aspire to get formal jobs.

Objectives of the study

(a) General objective

To comprehend the relationship between increased migration and increased street vending activity, as well as the impact on the livelihoods of people in the town.

(b) (b) Specific objectives

The specific objectives of this study include

- To analyze the spatial patterns of street vending.
- To investigate the reasons for their participation in street vending.
- To identify the major challenges of street vendors.
- To evaluate the impact of the street vending on their livelihoods.
- To explore public and government responses to deal with the increasing street vendors.

2. MATERIALS & METHODS

Study area

The study was carried out in Shakiso, a predominantly gold mining town in the Odo Shakiso district of Ethiopia's Oromiya regional state's Guji zone. Administratively, the Shakiso town is also the

headquarters of the Odo Shakiso district, which is located 494 kilometers south of Addis Ababa, the country's capital (see figure 1). According to the Shakiso Town Administration, the town's population is estimated to be 57648 with 28347 males and 29301 females. There are five primary ethnic groups in the town: Oromo (43.52%), Amhara (33.33%), Soddo Gurage (4.12%), and Gedeo (3.95%), with all other ethnic groups accounting for 11.46 percent of the population. The Guji Oromo is the largest ethnic group, and Protestant Christianity is the major religion in the area. Oromo (43.52%) and Amhara (33.33%) are the most common ethnic groups, with Soddo Gurage (4.12%), Gedeo (3.95%), and other ethnic groups accounting for 11.46 percent. Protestant Christianity accounts for 38.31 percent of the population, whereas Orthodox Christianity accounts for 25.96 percent, traditionalist Christianity accounts for 22.45 percent, Catholicism accounts for 6.78 percent, and Islam accounts for 6.5 percent. The town of Shakiso is believed to have been established in the late 1930s or the early 1940s (Metassebia, 2019). Gold mining is a major industry in Shakiso town, which served as a melting pot for many ethnic groups who had come from various parts of the country. Gold mining is a source of livelihood; employment and income for many migrants while a major economic activity for Shakiso and its environs. In addition to gold, there are Kenticha Tantalum and Emerald mines in its environs. About fifty percent of the residents of the town were migrants (Ethiopia Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative [EEITI], 2016). Artisan and small-scale mining sites, according to Maclin et al. (2017), provide livelihood alternatives in locations where security is a concern. Gold mining has been carried out both traditionally and in modern ways. As a result, both formal and informal jobs are observed in the town's gold mining sector. Government, the private sector, and small-scale enterprises are also involved in gold mining. Ethiopian Minerals Development Share Company and Adola Mining Enterprises are examples of state-owned mining enterprises. Notable major gold mining industries in the area include MIDROC Gold Mine Private Limited Company (PLC), Adola Gold Mine Enterprise, Leg-Dembi Gold Mine, and Sakaro Gold Mine (Metassebia, 2019). There are micro and small enterprises engaged in gold mining in Shakiso (EEITI, 2016). In addition, retail and micro and small business are widespread activities in the town, and they play a vital part in socio-economic development and job creation. In terms of urban function, Shakiso could well be considered a mining town. This implies that mining is the main economic base of the town; particularly gold mining is a case in point.

The mining sector, particularly gold mining contributes a lot not only to employment and income, but also to regional and national development. Even though Ethiopia has a huge reserve of minerals; it has not yet been explored and is well exploited. Gold mining carries out by state-owned companies, private companies, and craft and small businesses. As such, its contribution to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is low and has only a 10% contribution to foreign exchange earnings. However, it directly employs 1.26 million people and supports 7.5 million people throughout the country. Artisan and Small-Scale Mining (ASM) accounts for around 65 percent of this. The largest gold production comes from the Oromiya region, Ethiopia’s largest region. In particular, there are conflicting findings on the contribution of the gold mines in the Odo-Shakiso area. In 2016, the Ethiopia Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative documented the contributions of mining companies to local community development. MIDROC Mine PLC, in particular, has made significant contributions to the development and maintenance of essential public services such as education, water, and roads. A study by Cherinet (2018) compares the contribution of gold mining companies with micro and small-scale gold mining enterprises in the town and found that have contributed a lot more to the employment creation and poverty reduction in the town. On the contrary, it has increased the cost of living and increased social evils like prostitution, out-of-wedlock pregnancy, crime, and divorce.

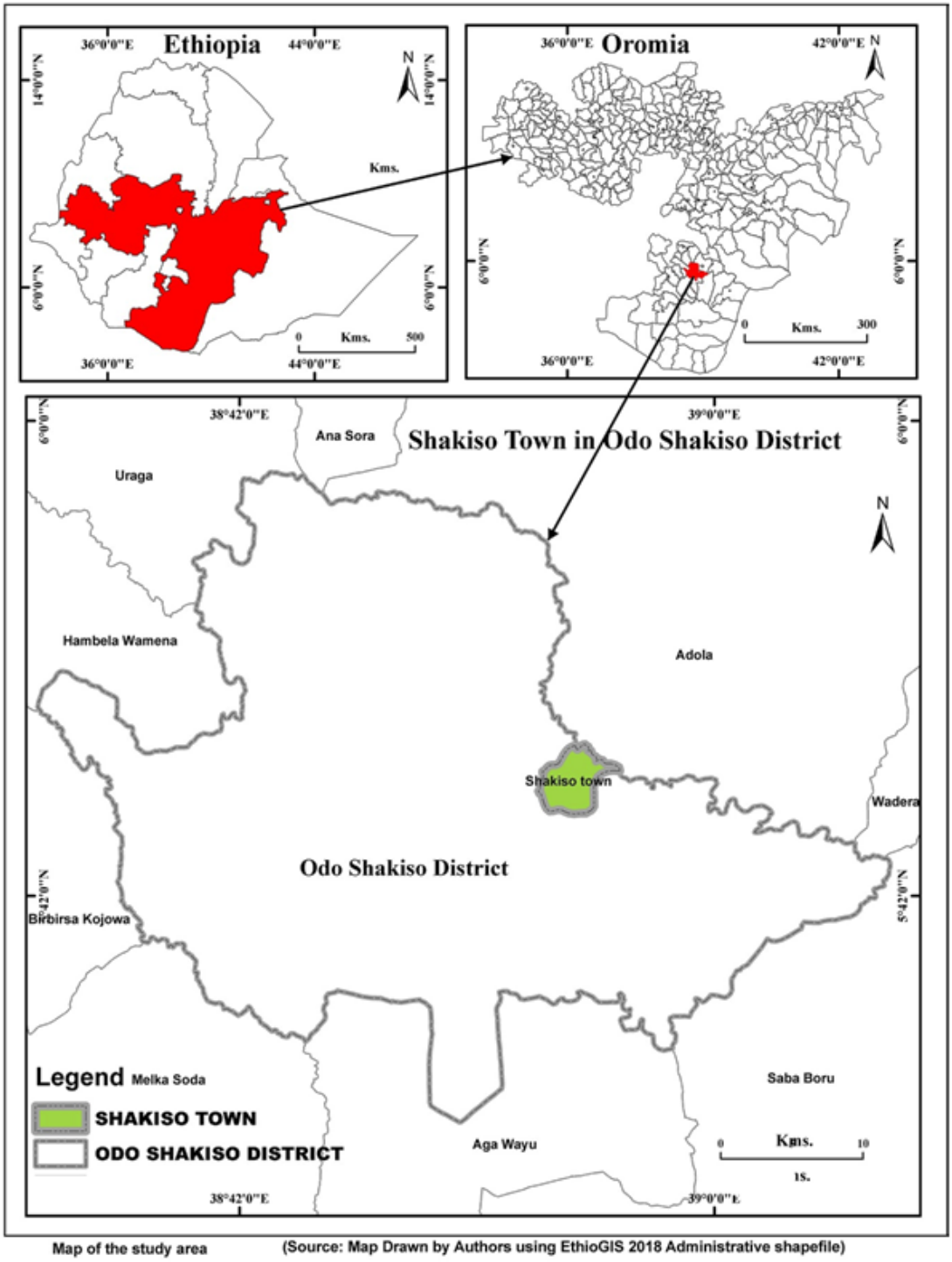

Figure 1. Map of the study area

Research Methodology

In this study, qualitative research, as well as quantitative, were used to explore the livelihoods of migrant street vendors. Qualitative research design focuses on exploring personal views by collecting and analyzing text and image data (Plano Clark and Creswell, 2015). This particular study adopted a descriptive case study approach following Robert Yin (Yin, 2003) where multiple cases are used to generate data. This design refers to a set of qualitative procedures for exploring abounded systems in depth (Plano Clark and Creswell, 2015). In light of this, a system is street vending activities in Shakiso town while an individual migrant street vendor participated in this study is a case. Nonetheless, an

obvious limitation of such an approach is that the findings are not generalizable to all migrant street vendors in town as could be possible with a positivist approach. Nevertheless, the findings still contribute to the understanding of the debate by providing in-depth insights into the livelihoods of migrant street vendors in the town. Thus, this study was based on qualitative data drawn from in-depth and key informant interviews conducted in informal conversational ways with 36 migrant street vendors working in Shakiso town and relevant municipal authorities and non-participant observations.

Participants in the study were selected based on the principle of criterion (Yin, 2003). Notably, they had to comply with meaningful conditions to participate in the study. They should be migrants to towns who migrated on or before the last six months and should be engaged in the street vending in the town as itinerant, semi-mobile, and in a fixed location with or without structures. Using a purposive sampling technique, 36 migrant street vendors were selected for interviews. Vendors work during an interview in the main streets of the town, Wellena, Menaharia, Bisot, and Kongo areas of the town. Major ethical considerations were followed while collecting data. Participants were briefly told about the purpose of the study and the fact that the data they provided could be used for research purposes and kept confidential and real names would not be reported. So, rapport was established with them to conduct the interviews in a friendly and conversational manner.

A total of 36 migrants were interviewed in-depth, with open-ended questions asked informally and conversationally in manners. This helped the researchers in establishing rapport and approach, as well as obtaining the necessary information. The interviews included a semi-structured section on the participants' background characteristics and their reasons for migrating to Shakiso. The second part covers the livelihood strategies of migrant vendors, mainly the reasons for engaging in street vending, their social, financial, and human resources, and the prospects of their vending activity. The third part concentrated on the difficulties they had encountered when vending in various locations across town. The participants were selected with due consideration to ensure greater diversity and location. The diversity is in terms of the personal attributes of vendors such as age, sex, educational level, and marital status. In addition to the in-depth interviews, key informant interviews were held with relevant individuals in Shakiso Municipality who have direct responsibility for managing street vending and urban public space. The interview was semi-structured and conducted with five key informants. The questions asked to address their view of the street vending in the town, the measures they have been taking so far and their plans about the street vending in the town. Moreover, observation was conducted to identify the hotspots of street vending activities in the town in the morning, and afternoons on both weekdays and weekends. The observation was also meant to determine the town's spatial patterns of vending, vendor-customer contacts, and vendor-municipal authority interactions.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The profile of the street vendors

The socio-economic characteristics of migrant street vendors participating in this study have shown that the majority of them were females, young, with low levels of education, and single. In terms of gender and age, there are twenty females and sixteen men, and the majority of responders are between the ages of 19 and 28 years old, nine are between the ages of 29 and up, and three vendors are under the age of eighteen. In terms of marital status, 20 were single while 16 were married. There are 13 street vendors with illiteracy, 14 with primary education, 4 with secondary education, and the remaining 5 with post-secondary education. The results are consistent that most immigrant vendors are young and single with low educational status (Yendaw, et al.,2019). According to Tesfaye and Cochrane (2019), youth finish school to migrate internally and externally in southern Ethiopia. The study further argues that early school leaving may have negative effects on the human capital accumulation at micro and macro levels. However, one of the migrant street vendors interviewed in the town is a graduate who expected to get a formal paid job in the public sector, but he could not get such a job, as he says:

I graduated in 2015 with a diploma in accounting and after failing the certificate of competency exam, I migrated from the Dama district to Shakiso town in hopes of finding a better job. When I read about the job offers, the requirements are very high to get jobs in the public sector. It is difficult for me to get a job because I have no experience. Since I don't want to return to my family in Dama, I have decided to work as a street vendor.

As the informant explains, passing the certificate of competency exam is a mandatory requirement for transition into the civil service. If they fail this test, they will have to look for other ways to stay unemployed as graduates. Unemployed with a college degree is increasing in most cities in different parts of the country and has become one of the serious challenges (Temesgen, 2017). Moreover, in Shakiso town, unemployment was a serious problem because the formal sector was unable to absorb the labor force, including the rural-urban migrants. The effects of unemployment, therefore, include social exclusion, negative feelings toward the unemployed, addiction, and alcoholism (Fraol, 2015).

All participants in the study area are migrants from the surrounding rural areas and small towns of the Guji Zone or from other regions of the country. There are 26 people from the outer Guji zone and only 10 people from the Guji zone. 20 migrants came from the state of South Nation Nationality People Regional (mainly from Wolayta and Guraghe zones), 6 from the Amhara region, and 10 from the Oromiya region, mainly from the Guji zone. The majority of migrants' origins are highly populated and resource-depleted places, which compelled them to migrate to resource-rich areas such as Shakiso. People in high-density rural areas are found to be more likely to migrate than those in low-density areas (Bundervoet, 2018).

Reasons for migration

The motivation to migrate to both urban areas within the country and abroad is high among children and youth in Ethiopia because migration is considered one of the major livelihood strategies for the poor (Teferi, 2016; Sintayehu, 2016; Iazzolino, 2018; Dereje, et al.,2018; Bundervoet, 2018; Tesfaye and Cochrane, 2019). This could be seen in several youths attempting to migrate to South Africa via Kenya, Tanzania, Malawi, and Mozambique routes, and those who move to the Gulf States legally and illegally every year. Many studies have documented the motivations for migration, working conditions, and livelihood trajectories of such migrants, both internal and international, in destinations. Thus, migration is viewed as largely a pathway out of poverty and dire conditions in mainly rural areas (Gebre and Maharaj, 2011; Bezu and Holden, 2014; Bundervoet, 2018). It considers an important livelihood strategy adopted by the poor; youth, children, and women (IOM, 2005). In many developing countries, rural-urban migration predominates, with migrants from poorer areas to resource-rich or prosperous areas. It clearly shows that the migrants have low human capital and a lack of education and other important assets.

Participants were asked the reasons they left their origins and chose to migrate to Shakiso town as their destination. As a result, the inability to meet household needs, a lack of employment opportunities, difficulties in rural life, a lack of agricultural land, and natural disasters were mentioned as push factors. The pull factors are mainly economic in the study context. The rural-urban migration pattern in Ethiopia indicates that most economic migrants target resource-rich areas, like mining towns, as their destinations. This finding is partly consistent with Jackson (2017), migration to two mines in Laos, Cambodia took place due to personal ties between migrants, pre-existing residents, and earlier migrants.

In response to the question of why they chose Shakiso as their destination, most vendors mentioned that they chose to move to Shakiso town with the expectation of getting a mining job. This is in line with the findings of different studies conducted in Africa and Latin America. A study conducted o local artisans and small mining sites in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) reveals the specific motivations behind the push and pull factors. This indicates that economic push factors are responsible for migration decisions to mining areas, as evidenced by migrant Artisan and Small-scale miners in DRC (Maclin, et al, 2017). Moreover, according to Geofrey (1992), migrants consider gold mining as a viable alternative to farming in a study conducted in Amazonia.

Study participants migrated from rural areas to urban areas, expecting better opportunities in urban areas and skipping limited opportunities. Vendors view that there is a bright future in urban areas in terms of income, education, and livelihood in general. One respondent says the following:

In my opinion, life in a city is slightly better than in a rural area in many ways. When I was in a rural area, I simply expected to till my parents' small plot of land once a year during the summer season, but in the town, I have access to opportunities such as education, jobs, and gaining various skills and life experiences compared to rural areas, these options are not available.

As mentioned above, migrant street vendors stated that the main reason for their migration to the town of Shakiso was the expectation of better job opportunities Some of them expected to work mainly in the town's mining sector, where they hoped to earn a higher income. Because they heard the news that some former migrants are employed in mining and are earning a good income. In this regard, it is worth considering the views of one of the interviewees:

I came from Bore, the eastern part of the Guji Zone, and was expected to get a formal paid job in the public sector or in a private mining company. When I saw the limited options in the city, I realized that it was impossible. On the advice of my friends, I started selling brand new and used or smuggled clothes on the town streets to help myself and my family. The goods enter the country mainly via Moyale, a border town between Ethiopia and Kenya, and are widely available in the town.

Education, employment, and business opportunities are all important economic pull factors in mine migration (Maclin, et al., 2017). However, once they arrived in Shakiso, the migrants found that there were no mining jobs for them. This pushed them to start the street vending to survive and earn income. According to Davies and Head (1995), increased migration to mining areas could lead to the loss of mining jobs at the destination, which could have negative cumulative effects. As discussed above, in this study, migrant street vendors chose to move to the city of Shakiso for various reasons, which can be categorized into poor living conditions and limited origin options. Rural poverty, accompanied by population pressure and limited job opportunities, has pushed most of them to seek livelihoods in the town. Here is what one participant says in this regard:

I am 27 years old, and I came to Shakiso because I had no other options. My family had a small plot of land, which was not enough even to feed our family. I had a small house that sold out to come here. I couldn't find a job here and decided to start vending. Currently, both I and my wife sell on the street to make a living.

As economic hardship signaled the limited opportunities of original life, the prospect of migrating to mining areas was seen as a liberating experience for a meaningful future. Most vendors' decision to go to Shakiso is a positive response to the desolation of the original life they left behind. The perceived capacity of urban life to provide employment and income encouraged the vendors to consider leaving. Many migrant vendors made the final decision to come here out of chance contact with previous migrants who were returning to their places of origin, whose own stories contrasted starkly with rural life, and who spoke of the town as an exciting place of opportunity. Often these previous migrants sent money, clothes, and possessions to the families they had left behind, and it was these possessions that gave greater credibility to the belief that the town offered many opportunities and motivated the decision to follow their desire for a better life in the town.

Reasons for street vending

The context in which migrant vendors operate could determine their livelihoods. This is for the reason that the economic, environmental, social, and political factors determine the assets and the way they can use these assets, and the capability to have modest livelihoods. As discussed, rural people see new opportunities in urban areas. This could be in terms of employment and income-generating opportunities. In most instances, the migrants who were working in rural areas in a vulnerable situation see themselves as more beneficial working in the urban informal sector. Migrants' livelihoods vary according to their characteristics such as demographic, socioeconomic, and politics. Very few competent and skilled migrants may find formal jobs either in the public or private sector, but in Shakiso town there is the domination of unskilled and uneducated migrants who work in the informal sector. This is for the reason that youth unemployment is high as migrant inflow is high in the town, despite the influx of migrants to the town (Fraol, 2015).

The reasons for migrants engaging in street vending in Shakiso vary. It could be categorized into three: the source of livelihood income, employment, and economic activity. The need for employment was the most important reason that pushed them to street vending. The reasons for engaging in street vending could be explained either as opportunity-driven or necessity-driven, or a mix of the two. Necessity-driven motivation clearly explains the engagement in street vending by migrants in Shakiso town, as could be seen from most informants interviewed in the town. For example,

I am 14 years old and working on the street as a shoe shiner. I live here in Shakiso town. My mother is a petty trader; she sells fruits and vegetables on the street. My elder brother, the 9th grader, helps her in the morning by taking the goods to the street from home and carrying them. When he goes to school, I take over to help her besides my shoe shining.

I have been working on the street for the last five years selling vegetables and fruits around Menaharia Sefer, near the bus station. I chose the place because it has a high concentration of population. In most cases, my customers are travelers and some residents of Shakiso town

In their livelihood pursuits, street vendors use their agency to maximize their income and avoid risks. One of informants explains how he manages his day to earn income, as he clearly describes:

To get more customers, you get to know strategic locations in the town where there is a high number of people. I plan for each day about where to sell and whom to target. Due to this, I do not vend from one particular place, but change places to get more customers and sell more.

The livelihood of street vendors is always vulnerable due to the context in which they operate. This vulnerability mainly emanates from their informal and illegal status in light of the modernist view of the city (Chen, 2012; Njaya, 2014). Municipal authorities think that street vendors create problems rather than solutions. In light of this, one of the informants said, I have been working on the street for the last four years. The town authorities and the police expropriated my goods twice. It took me two months to get my expropriated goods back. This makes their livelihood precarious, as sometimes it may cause trouble in their life. The response from one of the interviews clearly shows that.

Before I started street vending, I worked as a shoe shiner in Kongo Sefer of the Congo area. I decided to start vending second-hand clothes because I could make more money doing it. I have been vending for the last three years, and it was good at the beginning, but later I faced harassment from town code enforcement. It is common to see vendors running to escape officers, sometimes causing accidents. One of my friends had a car accident while running from the police.

It is quite clear from the above informant that the livelihood of street vendors is vulnerable in the town. Despite the daily challenges they face, migrant vendors carry an urgent burden of changing their own life and the lives of others, especially their parents, by sending money, clothes, and other materials to their place of origin. Thus, in the destination, migrant vendors need to work hard by working long hours to earn more income.

Municipal responses for street vending

It is evident in this study that street vending is a means of livelihood for migrants in Shakiso town. As their livelihood is precarious, vendors have been grappling with various challenges. The main challenges they mentioned during the interview include lack of working space, harassment from local and municipal authorities, lack of financial capital, and the difficulty of vending on the street being a girl. Most of the migrant vendors participating in this study have reiterated that the municipal/local government is not creating a conducive working environment for them. Rather, it focuses on supporting the formally organized micro and small enterprises (MSEs). Thus, the MSEs get support in terms of working space provision, e.g. a container shop, business skills training, and loans. In this respect, it is important to look at the municipal authorities' view on street vending activities. Interviews conducted with MSE officers indicate that they encourage formal sector MSEs rather than informal street vendors. The officers also consider the lack of demographic, socio-economic, and business data on street vending activities in the town a challenge and they view street vending as illegal. Another challenge faced by vendors is harassment by municipal and local authorities. Most vendors interviewed reiterated that they faced harassment multiple times, eviction, and expropriation. According to the key informant interview with officials from the town's Trade Department, the bureau was responsible for controlling and managing the city's commerce, acreage, and footpaths, controlling the sales activity, and ensuring easy movement for pedestrians. They believe that street vending activities deteriorate the town environment by increasing solid waste, overcrowding, and social evil. They observed that street vendors in Shakiso town have been increasing in the last four years.

In response to the interview, about what the town Trade Department is doing to solve the problem of street vending, the officer replied that “we have identified the main causes that lead to the street

vending phenomenon. These are unemployment, lack of formal jobs in the town, lack of start-up capital, and increasing rural-urban migration into the Shakiso town. To be organized as formal MSEs, they are expected to save twenty percent (20%) of the loan they claim". He continued by stating that the Trade Department wants to provide training and make it easier to connect with a small micro finance office. Shortly, the urban authorities will consider solving the increasing problems by providing working space to the vendors and becoming formal traders. The administrator also wants to resolve the problem in the long term. When asked about the main challenges they have faced, the officer responded, "We do not know the exact number of street vendors because it changes from time to time." This demonstrates the municipal statistics' neglect of street vendors, which makes their status illegal and their livelihood insecure. It is, therefore, possible to argue that given the limited opportunities both in mining and other sectors, the influx of migration to the town shall continue making engagement in the street vending a persistent challenge to the municipal authorities.

4. CONCLUSION

The study investigated mining migrants and livelihoods in the informal sector, with a special focus on street vending in Shakiso town, Oromiya region, Southern Ethiopia. It set out to explore whether migrants' expectations were met upon arrival at the destination. It has shown that migrants were not engaged in the mining sector at the destination. Rather, they ended up being engaged in the street vending activities as fixed and itinerant vendors. The findings contribute to our understanding of the livelihoods of migrants in a small mining town, mainly during political transitions in cities of developing countries. The study sheds light on the literature that discusses migration to mines and livelihoods in the informal economy. It illustrates how resource-rich areas continue to be destinations for aspiring migrants, despite their inability to offer much-expected jobs.

The study has shown that most migrant street vendors are young. Gender-wise, the majority of street vendors are women, indicating the feminization of migration to mining areas. In most cases, the low-skilled worked in the informal sector, especially street vending, as they could not meet the requirements of the formal economy. As migration is a livelihood strategy, migrant street vendors come from different areas of the country to earn livelihoods in Shakiso. The majority of migrants come from densely populated and resource-poor areas of the country. The informal sector is composed of migrants from different parts of the country. Rural-urban migration is increasing in Ethiopia due to increasing household-level population pressures, particularly loss of agricultural land, urban-rural divide, rising unemployment, and difficult rural life. As discussed, migrants see employment and income opportunities in the towns. Many unskilled and uneducated migrants have been working in the informal sector for their livelihoods; street vending is, thus, a way of life for those migrants poor in Shakiso town.

The immigrant vendors decided to come to Shakiso town for various reasons, each of which could be classified as the poor condition of the place of origin, the lack of jobs, and the lack of agricultural land. Most street vendors are farmers before they start selling. The reason for entering this sector is to find jobs and not enough capital to start a formal business. The reason for choosing Shakiso is to get a job in mining and other sectors of the town. Most street vending activities are located at Wellena Sefer, Menaharia Sefer, Bisot, and Kongo Sefer. These locations cover the main types of street vending activities such as clothes, small durable goods, vegetables, fast food, and fruits and vegetables. Street vending does not view positively favorably by the town's municipal and local authorities. Vendors facing harassment by the local government, difficulty getting space, lack of capital difficulty staying on the street, and being a girl are among the challenges they face. Municipal authorities encourage the formalization of street vendors as micro and small enterprises at least in principle. It's difficult for those workers in informal sector businesses to receive loans from financial institutions. The start-up capital for migrant street vending was from their source and borrowed from friends or relatives. Most of the interviewees prefer working in the formal sector to working in the informal sector if the system is accessible and favorable to them. However, the requirements to join the formal sector are difficult for them.

Migrant street vendors who participated in this study were playing an important role in the economy of the town. They provide goods and services for sections of society who cannot afford formally established shops. Moreover, they were helping themselves and their families of origin by sending money and assets such as tv sets, mobiles, shoes, and clothes. Therefore, we argue that vendors constitute an integral part of the urban economy, provide an essential service, create employment and

opportunity for migrants, and contribute to economic growth. Street vending in the Shakiso town has become a livelihood opportunity for most of the migrants. The most migrant street vendors are investing in basic needs for their consumption, education, sending for their relatives at origin, and investment in other income-earning activities. We argue that street vending is not a problem, but rather a solution as it creates unemployment for rural-urban migrants and provides goods and services at affordable prices for the poor. It is therefore evident that migrant street vendors contribute to the town's economy by offering goods and services at relatively cheaper prices to sections of society not served by the formal sector. Moreover, they earn income from vending to help themselves and their family instead of engaging in illegitimate criminal activities or becoming a burden to the town. However, the contribution of migrant street vendors doesn't recognize and appreciated by municipal authorities. As such, it is clear from their reiterations that migrant street vendors are living with several challenges. They reported that they have been facing harassment, eviction, and expropriation of merchandise multiple times in the name of ensuring order in the streets of the town. Understanding this, the municipal authorities should provide vendors with working spaces in the most convenient locations and create favorable working conditions to help benefit vendors and reap the benefits of vending as a town.

The study revealed migrant vendors have somehow developed their capital assets even though they started it with no or limited knowledge of the business. This is because they have acquired skills and experience from vending. Most importantly, migrant street vendors prove they can make a living and handle the daily challenges. The Trade Department should provide training to these street vendors to build their business skills. Providing a specific job could be one of the solutions as well as experience in small and micro finance. So, the town's small and micro-enterprise should facilitate the working areas for the vendors by communicating with the local trade office. Upgrading of the vendors into the formal sector should be facilitated in a participatory way. The provision of credit and the encouragement to set up formal businesses through training and education in entrepreneurship, business skills, financial exploitation, and value chain integration should be managed by the city's small and micro enterprises. This study has several limitations or limitations that must be acknowledged. Firstly, our study is not based on large representative surveys, which made generalization impossible. As it is an exploratory study, it has focused on an in-depth investigation by using qualitative data collected from small samples selected using purposive sampling techniques. Thus, it would be interesting to investigate the livelihoods of migrants in the informal sector by using large samples and by employing various quantitative analyses and mixed methods.

Acknowledgments

We would like to thank Shakiso Municipality, Trade Department, and participant migrant vendors who have provided the information needed for this study.

REFERENCES

Abdulloev, I, Gang, I, N, Landon-Lane, J. (2011). Migration as a substitute for informal activities: Evidence from Tajikistan, Institute for the Study of Labour (IZA), Discussion Paper No 6236, Bonn

Amis, P.(2005). Regulating the informal sector: Voice and Bad Governance, in Carole Rakodi & Tony Lloyd (ed.) 2005: Urban Livelihoods: A People-centred Approach to Reducing Poverty. London: Earthscan Publications Limited.

Awol A. (2000). Street Vending is a Survival Mechanism: A Study in selected streets of Addis Ababa. MA Thesis in Geography, School of Graduate Studies, Addis Ababa University.

Baker, J.(2012). Migration and mobility in a rapidly changing small town in Northeastern Ethiopia, Environment and Urbanisation, 24 (1), 345-367, https://doi.org/10.1177/0956247811435890

Bello-Bravo, J. (2015). Rural-Urban Migration: A path for empowering women through entrepreneurial activities in West Africa, Journal of Global Entrepreneurship, 5(9), 1-9, https://doi.org/10.1186/s40497-015-0027-6

Bezu, S. & Holden T. (2014). Rural-Urban Youth Migration and Informal Self- Employment in, Technical Report, Norwegian University of Life Sciences (NMBU).

Bhowmik, S. (2010). Street Vendors in the Global Urban Economy. New Delhi: Rutledge.

Biney, I, K. (2019). Unearthing entrepreneurial opportunities among Youth vendors and Hawkers: Challenges and Strategies, Journal of Innovation and Entrepreneurship, 8 (2), 1-4 https://doi.org/10.1186/s13731-018-0099-y

Bryceson, D.F., Jønsson, J.B., (2010). Gold digging careers in rural East Africa: small-scale miners' livelihood choices. World Development, 38 (3), 379–392. **https//:10.1016/j.worlddev.2009.09.003**

Bundervoet, T. (2018). Internal Migration in Ethiopia: Evidence from a Quantitative and Qualitative Research Study, World Bank."

Bury, J. (2007). Mining Migrants: Transnational Mining and Migration Patterns in the Peruvian Andes, The Professional Geographer, 59 (3), 378-389, Association of American Geographers, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9272.2007.00620.x

Chen, M. (2012). The Informal Economy: Definitions, Theories, and Policies, WIEGO Working Paper No. 1, Cambridge: WIEGO

Cherinet, B. (2018). Gold mining and its effects on the natural and socio-economic environment: The case of Odo-Shakiso district, Oromiya Region, Ethiopia, Master's Thesis in Public Policy, Ethiopian Civil Service University

CSA (2013) Population Projections for Ethiopia 2007-2037, Addis Ababa, July 2013

CSA (2018). Statistical Report on The 2018 Urban Employment Unemployment The survey, Statistical Bulletin 586, Addis Ababa

Davies, R & Head, J. (1995). The future of Mine Migrancy in the context of Broader Trends in Migration to Southern Africa, Journal of Southern African Studies, 21 (3), 439-450 https://doi.org/10.1080/03057079508708456

Dereje F, Milkessa, M and, Ketema W. (2018) Expectations and belonging in Dire Dawa Drivers, dynamics and challenges of rural to urban mobility, EU Trust Fund Research, and Evidence Facility, SOAS University of London and Rift Valley Institute, Nairobi, https://www.soas.ac.uk/ref-hornresearch/research-papers/file128404.pdf

EEITI. (2016). Artisan Mining Operation and its economic Values, Ethiopia, A final Draft Report, April 2016, Addis Ababa

EEITI. (2018). Contribution of extractive companies to community Development and Environmental Protection, A Final Report, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Engida E. & Solomon M. (2020).Analysis of Socioeconomic Vulnerability of Street Vendors: Case Study for Dire Dawa City, Eastern Ethiopia, Theoretical And Empirical Researches in Urban Management, 15(2), 49-65, http://um.ase.ro/no152/4.pdf

Fransen, J.,& Van Djik, P.(2008). Informality in Addis Ababa. Rotterdam: HIS.

Fransen,J., Samson K. and Van Djik, MP.(2010, ed.). Formalization and formalization process in Urban Ethiopia: incorporating informality. Maastricht: Shaker Publishing

Fraol, U. (2015). The Social Impact of unemployment on unemployed youth (In Oromia Regional State the case of Shakiso town), Master's Thesis in Urban Management, Ethiopian Civil Service University

Gebre, L, T., and Maharaj, P., (2011). The experience of Immigrants in South Africa: a Case study of Ethiopians in Durban, South Africa, Urban Form, 22, 23-35, https://doi:10.1007/s12132-010-9105-6

Geoffrey, B,. (1992). Migration to the Gold-Mining Frontier in Brazilian Amazonia, Geographical Review, 82 (4), 458-469, https://doi:10.2307/215202

Gibson MA, Gurmu E (2012) Rural to Urban Migration Is an Unforeseen Impact of Development Intervention in Ethiopia. PLoS ONE, 7(11): https://doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0048708 Hart, K. (1973). Informal Income Opportunities and Urban Employment in Ghana.The Journal of Modern African Studies, 11, 65-89. https://www.jstor.org/stable/159873

Iazzolino, G. (2018) The Lure of the City Synthesis report on rural to urban migration in Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda, EU Trust Fund Research &Evidence Facility, SOAS University of London & Rift Valley Institute, Nairobi, https://www.soas.ac.uk/ref-hornresearch/research-papers/file128760.pdf

ILO. (1972). Employment, income, and inequality: A strategy for increasing productive employment in Kenya, Geneva: Author.

ILO. (2018). Women and Men in the Informal Economy: A Statistical Picture, Third Edition, Geneva

IOM. (2005). Internal migration and Development: A Global Perspectives, Migration Research Series No 19, International Organization for Migration (IOM)

Jackson, R, T. (2017). Migration to two mines in Laos, Sustainable Development,26, 471-480, https://doi:10.1002/sd.1892

Jonga, W. (2012). Street Vending at Megenagna (Ethiopia): Challenges and Prospects. Review of Management Innovation and Creativity, 5(15), 50-69.

Jønsson, J.B., Bryceson, D.F., (2009). Rushing for gold: mobility and small-scale mining in East Africa Development and Change, 40, 249–279 http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-7660.2009.01514.x .

Kayuni,H,M. & Tambulasi, R.I.(2009). Political Transition and Vulnerability of Street Vending, Theoretical and Empirical Research in Urban Management, 3 (12), 79-96

Kloos, H. (1982). Farm Labour Migrations to the Awash Valley of Ethiopia, International Migration Review, 16(1):133-168, https://doi.org/10.1177/019791838201600105

Maclin, B, J, Kelly, J, Perks, R, Vinck, P, Pham, P. (2017). Moving to the mines: Motivations of men and women for migration to artisanal and small-scale mining sites in Eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo, Resources Policy, 51, 115-122, http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.resourpol.2016.12.003

Mansour-Ille, D. (2018). The economic dimensions of mobility: Access to jobs and sustainable livelihoods, Briefing Note, The Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House

Metassebia, H, Z. (2019). Opportunities and Challenges of Large Scale Private God Mine Investment in Ethiopia: Tripartite Interest and Contest, MA Thesis in Public Administration and Development Management, Addis Ababa University

MoLSA. (2009). National Employment Policy and Strategy (NEPS), FDRE, Addis Ababa.

Nchito, W, S. (2010). Migratory Patterns in Small towns: the case of Mazabuka and Kalomo in Zambia, Environment and Urbanisation, 22 (1), 91-105, https://doi.org/10.1177/0956247810362846

Njaya, T. (2014). Coping with Informality and Illegality: The case of street entrepreneurs of Harare Metropolitan, Zimbabwe. Asian Journal of Economic Modeling, 2(2), 93-102, http://www.aessweb.com/pdf-files/ajem-2014-2(2)-93-102.pdf

Nyame, F,K., Grant, J, A, and Yakovleva,N. (2009). Perspectives on migration patterns in Ghana's mining industry, Resources Policy, 34, 6-11, https://doi:10.1016/j.resourpol.2008.05.005 OECD and

PSI (2020), Rural Development Strategy Review of Ethiopia: Reaping the Benefits of Urbanisation, OECD Development Pathways, OECD Publishing, Paris, https://doi.org/10.1787/a325a658-en.

Perberdy, S. (2016). International Migrants in Johannesburg's Informal Economy, South African Migration Programme (SAMP) Migration Policy Series No 71, Cape Town.

Plano Clark, V and Creswell, J,W. (2015). Understanding Research: A consumer's Guide, 2nd Edition, Pearson, Boston

Sidzatane, N, J. & Maharaj, P. (2013). On the fringe of the Economy: Migrant Street Traders in Durban, Urban Forum, 24, 373-387, https://doi:10.1007/s12132-012-9181-x

Sintayehu M . (2016). Child Rural-Urban Migration and Migrant Sending Families' perception towards child migration: the case of Haleha Kebele, Kucha Woreda, Gamo Goffa Zone, SNNPR, Unpublished MA Thesis, School of Graduate Studies, Addis Ababa University

Teferi M. (2016). The Effect of Rural Youth Out-Migration on Migrant-sending households in Gojjam and Wolaita, Ethiopia. Arts and Social Science Journal, 7(5), https://doi:10.4172/21516200.1000222

Temesgen, L (2017). Experiences of Graduate Unemployed Youth in the Tabor Sub City of Hawassa City, MA Thesis in Social Work, Addis Ababa University

Tesfaye, S, & Cochrane, L.(2019). Education-Migration Nexus: Understanding Youth Migration in Southern Ethiopia, Education Sciences, 9 (77), 1-15, https://doi:10.3390/educsci9020077

Timalsina, K, P. (2007).Rural-Urban Migration and Livelihoods in the Informal Sector: A case of street vendors of Kathmandu Metropolitan City, Nepal, MPhil Thesis in Development Studies, Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU), Trondheim

UN-Habitat. (2014). Structural Transformation in Ethiopia: The Urban Dimension, Nairobi: Author

World Bank. (2015). Ethiopian Urban Review: Urban Institutions for a Middle-income Ethiopia. Washington: Author.

Yendaw,E.,Tanle,A., Kumi-Kyereme., (2019). Analysis of livelihood activity among itinerant West African migrants in the Accra Metropolitan area, Global Journal Entrepreneurship Research, 9 (11),1-21, https://doi.org/10.1186/s40497-018-0126-2

Yeneneh B. (2012). The Contribution of Street Vending to urban livelihoods of street vendors in Jimma Town, Unpublished MA Thesis in Urban Management, Ethiopian Civil Service University.

Yin, R, K.(2003). Case Study Research Designs and Methods, 3rd Edition, London, Sage

Zenebe Y., Kassahun D. & Mulugeta B. (2016). The "Migrant Hero": Culture of Migration on mate selection among Hadiya Society, Southern Ethiopia. Global Journal of Human-Social Science, 16 (4), 614-627