Women, migration, livelihoods and the "fallacy" of "migrants as a burden to state coffers": the case of Ghanaian women in the hair care industry in the city of Pretoria

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WOMEN, MIGRATION, LIVELIHOODS AND THE "FALLACY" OF "MIGRANTS AS A BURDEN TO STATE COFFERS": THE CASE OF GHANAIAN WOMEN IN THE HAIR CARE INDUSTRY IN THE CITY OF PRETORIA

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ABSTRACT

Since 1994 the number of migrants to South Africa has significantly increased and there has been a growing population of economic, female migrants in and around the country's big cities. At the same time, with the increase in migration there has been an increase in xenophobic attitudes amongst local South Africans towards migrants from other African countries which has led to violent clashes in recent years. Negative perceptions about migrants are a key issue fueling xenophobic attitudes in the country. In many cases, migration is an economic strategy taken by individuals to improve their financial well-being and has the potential to benefit both receiving and sending countries. Migrants who move to South Africa for work and income earning opportunities are often wrongly classified as being a burden to the state while their positive contributions to the country are neglected and this has the potential to fuel xenophobia. This study challenges the idea of migrants as a burden to the state by studying a particular group of women migrants in South Africa with the aim of revealing them to be positive contributors to their industry and the South African economy. The research questions are answered through an ethnographic study of the lives and economic activities of Ghanaian women migrants in the hair care industry of South Africa. The study carries important lessons for society and the government by showing the potential that immigrants have to promote development in both sending and receiving countries and the value of countering xenophobia in South Africa. On this basis, it is recommended that key strategies are undertaken to safeguard migrants and encourage community education and integration amongst local and foreign populations.

Keywords: migration, women, informal economy, xenophobia, South Africa, Ghana, hair care.

DEDICATIONS

I dedicate this dissertation to my family, without whom I would not have had the strength or courage to complete and see this dissertation through. To my father, my mother, and my brother (Joseph, Alice and Leo), I thank you for all your support. I would also like to thank my extended family and close friends for your encouragement and being my listening ear. And last but not least, I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr Vusi Thebe for helping me from the inception of my topic to the final stages, thank you for all your guidance, encouragement, comments, and ideas- I am very grateful. And most importantly, I thank God for making this possible.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ANC- African National Congress

AU- African Union

FAO- Food and Agriculture Organization (United Nations)

GSS- Ghana Statistical Services

GLSS- Ghana Living Standards Survey

KPMG- Klynveld Peat Marwick Goerdeler

IOM- International Organisation for Migration

NRC- National Redemption Council

OECD- Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development

SADC- Southern African Development Community

SAMP- South African Migration Project

SMME- Small, Medium and Micro Enterprise

StatsSA- Statistics South Africa

UN- United Nations

UNDESA- United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs.

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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This study focuses on Ghanaian women migrants who have settled in South Africa, have secure livelihoods, and contribute positively to the economy through small/medium business activities. Economic migrant women are defined as females who travel from one country to another to improve their livelihoods. Traditionally migration studies have focused on male dominated migration patterns, however, this study departs from this tradition and sets out to explore the changing trends in migration in South Africa since the fall of Apartheid. Migration patterns in South Africa have now become dominated by women. Very little has been written on the topic, the work of Vivian Besem Ojong has been particularly inspiring in changing the way studies on migrant women and their economic activities in South Africa are conducted. The dissertation will be the first detailed account that challenges the misconception about women migrants being a burden to state coffers by showing them to be entrepreneurs and major economic role players who engage in small, micro and medium enterprise (SMME) activities for their livelihoods and survival. It will help explain the independence of some migrants from state assistance and the potential entrepreneurial migrants have for contributing towards employment and the economy. In this respect, it carries significant lessons for South Africa in her quest for a progressive policy on migration after the recent waves of xenophobia unrest and economic downturn.

This chapter introduces the topic at hand starting with providing the reasons for this study by historically recounting the rationale behind the approach to migration studies in South Africa thus far and explaining the gaps in this rationale and the literature. The chapter then presents the study objectives and research questions relevant to this research, all of which seek to advance understanding around the feminisation of migration and contributions of women migrants to the South African economy, while avoiding the shortfalls of previous approaches. Thereafter this chapter describes the methodology of this research and then concludes with a

chapter summary. This chapter is important for laying the foundation for the approaches used in the chapters to follow.

1.2 REASONS FOR THE STUDY

With deepening globalisation and national borders becoming increasingly permeable, the seamless movement of goods, capital, information, and people has brought new perspectives on international migration, and these continue to dominate development and policy debates. The migration-development nexus continues to draw interest from actors from different backgrounds (academics, civil society and development agencies); the general consensus among these actors is that international migration can bring development at an individual, social and economic level (IOM, 2013). In Southern Africa, debates on migration intensified after the end of Apartheid in South Africa in 1994, and following the subsequent influx of migrants from neighbouring countries, as well as in response to her challenges to manage immigration (Crush, 1999; Crush & Williams 2001; Ocho & Crush, 2001; Peberdy, 2001; Polzer, 2008). However, there is little in these debates relating to women migrants and their experiences in South Africa, even with the growing numbers of women migrants and the acceptance that women constitute almost half of all the international migrants in the world. Women migrants and their experiences have remained in the periphery of debates. Where women are mentioned, they are typically in the context of crisis and forced migration such as Zimbabwean refugees escaping political crisis, as a burden to the state (Morreira, 2015), or as circulatory traders (Dodson, 1998; Muzvidziwa, 2001; Tevera & Zinyama, 2002). Additionally, women are also often studied as dependants who migrate together with their husbands or relatives (Nkau, 2005). Portrayals of women as independent, voluntary migrants that impose no burden to the state but contribute positively to the economy have been absent from the currently available literature. This is problematic because it stems from a long-standing tradition that views women as economically inactive and irrelevant (Steans, 2013).

In South Africa and the region, the absence of women migrants from literature is hardly surprising. From the discovery of diamonds in Kimberly in the year 1871 to the present, dominant views on migration have been based, implicitly or explicitly, on a gendered perspective, mainly due to a combination of both a largely male academia and the dominance of androcentric bias, as well as the domination of what Henry Bernstein terms ‘combinations of wage and hoe…in the context of the massive migratory labour regimes that supplied the

mining complexes of Southern Africa, and South Africa above all' (Bernstein, 2004: 211; Hobson, 2005; Peterson, 2005). Historically, the push factors to migrate for individuals were both circumstantial and, in countries in transition to capitalism like South Africa and Zimbabwe, the laws tended to favour the employment of single men migrants and to encourage circular migration between the urban and rural areas (Potts & Matumbirwa, 1990). As such, the traditional pattern of migration was seen to be male-dominated, long-term and long-distance, while women traditionally stayed at home and engaged in various forms of care-giving; taking care of the household, the land, the livestock, the children and other relatives (Adepoju, 2004; Potts, 2000). The patterns of migration created by the male-dominant migratory labour regimes resulted in migration largely being seen and studied as a male phenomenon. This was further perpetuated by the education and employment of predominantly male scholars who dominated knowledge production within the social sciences and moulded the mainstream accounts of social reality which tended to be based on masculinised androcentric norms (Hobson, 2005). Thus, scholarship tended to focus on the migratory experiences of men, as these were assumed to be typical and adequate for explaining the process of migration in the region.

Following the end of Apartheid, South Africa emerged as a destination for both men and women who migrated independently in pursuit for economic opportunities (Crush, 1999; Ojong, 2002; Dodson, 1998). Because of its relative stability and status as a middle-income state, South Africa continues to attract significant inflows of migrants from all over Africa (Crush & McDonald, 2001). One particular group of women who have maintained a visible presence in South Africa, most notably in the Small Business Sector, mainly involved in the beauty sector, are Ghanaian women. Ghana was formerly one of the richest countries in tropical Africa with an economy based largely on agriculture and mining, and as such, Ghana was recognised as an important destination for immigration by neighbouring West African countries (Oppong & Abu, 1987). Following the economic crisis in the 1960s, immigration to Ghana reduced and then dropped even further in the 1980s as a result of shortages in basic consumer goods (Oppong & Abu, 1987; Shaw, 2007). Ghana's transition from a net immigration to a net emigration country saw mass rural-urban migration and international emigration to other economically stronger countries (IOM, 2009). Ghanaian women have been amongst the most highly visible migrants in migration flows in Africa and their numbers have continually grown over the years; increasing from 27% in 1960 to 49% in 2005 (Shaw, 2007). A number of reasons have been advanced as an explanation for this trend, one reason is that

Ghanaian women have historically played an active role in economic life which makes them more ready to pursue income-earning activities outside their home activities and communities (Oppong & Abu, 1987; Adjei, 2006). Other reasons include high levels of poverty and increasing economic needs, increases in male unemployment and female headed households, as well as improved female educational realisation (IOM, 2009; Adeji, 2006). With this, a significant number of Ghanaian women migrants are based in South Africa and continue to dominate and innovate the hair care industry, enabling them to sustain their livelihoods as well as support their families and kin networks, contributing to their own and their family's well-being and development, as well as the South African economy's (Ojong, 2002; StatsSA, 2011). Ghanaian women are an example of economically active women migrants and studying their activities and contributions is important for expanding and advancing the currently available migration literature and illuminating particular opportunities and implications as it relates to South Africa's migration policies.

1.3 STUDY OBJECTIVES

1. To explore the livelihood strategies adopted by migrant Ghanaian women living in South Africa's major cities.
2. To investigate the reasons or push factors for the migration of Ghanaian women to South Africa.
3. To analyse the complex relationship between the Ghanaian women migrants and the immigrant Ghanaian community, as well as the places of origin and the local environment.
4. To understand the types of state and other assistance economic migrant women in South Africa receive.
5. To show how migrant women contribute positively to the hair care industry, the economy and development in South Africa.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The study seeks to provide answers to one major question and four research questions, which will assist in understanding the role of certain women migrants as key economic players in South Africa.

Main Question

To what extent have Ghanaian migrant women used their migration to South Africa to improve their livelihoods and how do their activities contribute to the hair care industry and the South African economy?

Specific Research Questions

- ✓ What circumstances in the country of origin contributed to the migration of women into South Africa?
- ✓ What kind of activities do these women employ for their livelihood and survival in South Africa and how do they negotiate the harsh foreign environment?
- ✓ Have the activities they engage in led to improvements in the conditions of the women, places of origin and new environment?
- ✓ What evidence is there of the migrant women's positive contributions to the haircare industry and South African economy?

1.5 METHODOLOGICAL INTRODUCTION

The methodology of this study is guided by the purpose and objectives of this research. The study sets out to explore the changing trends in migration in South Africa after independence. This study focuses on a certain group of women migrants, from Ghana, who have settled in South Africa, have secured livelihoods, and contribute positively to the economy through small/medium business activities. This research will mainly use a qualitative research design; however quantitative techniques will be employed to enhance the information collected. A qualitative research design creates the opportunity for the researcher to get an in-depth and detailed understanding of the subject matter (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). In this research the qualitative design creates an opportunity for the researcher to know every aspect of the migrant women's life, as is relevant to this study, in order to understand the lifestyle and working environment of the individual as well as their community engagement. In order to best achieve

this outcome this research will use a three-tier methodological approach starting with a review of the literature, followed by ethnography and finally the use of key informants.

1.5.1. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The literature review for this study explores trends in migration in South Africa after independence with a lens that is particularly sensitive to gender. The literature review employs thematic data analysis to analyse common themes in the South African migration context, starting with an analysis of migration pre-democracy and thereafter a discussion of migration in the post-Apartheid climate. The section looks at migration both before and after South Africa's democratic shift but pays specific attention to post-Apartheid South Africa because of the increased relevance of this context to the study, however, without neglecting the importance of history in understanding the present. The review refers to scholarly articles, policy documents and statistics (mainly from the South African department of Home Affairs, SAMP, and StatsSA) to depict the socio-economic and political opportunities and challenge for migrants in South Africa. The period studied spans the early mining-migration networks to present time to study the trends in migration in the country and thereafter relate these trends to prevalent migration theories. The literature review is thus instrumental to understanding the push and pull factors that inspire individuals from across Africa to immigrate to South Africa, situating the study within a certain and applicable theoretical framework and positioning the study in relation to other works.

1.5.2. ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY

The ethnography for this study is used to collect primary data from Ghanaian women migrants in the hair care industry in selected salons around Sunnyside and Hatfield areas in Pretoria, South Africa. Conducting the ethnographic study is important for collecting raw data that is true to the experiences of the Ghanaian women as told by them whilst also providing an outsider's perspective to formulate a more complete image of the migratory experiences and activities of economic migrants in South Africa. The ethnography seeks to answer the research questions by engaging with the lives of the women migrants, their wealth, their social and economic roles, and their community engagement. As suggested by Worby (2001, 24-33), this "work is grounded on long-term research that normally involves sustained engagement in daily

lives of those about whom they are writing, and in the effort to understand the latter on their own terms."

The ethnographic study lasted one year and during that time data was collected from four Ghanaian small enterprises (hair salons), owned by either women or women and men in partnership, within the designated areas and saw twelve migrant Ghanaian women who either owned or worked as hair stylists in these enterprises being interviewed and observed. The selection of Sunnyside and Hatfield as study areas was based on a number of criteria including the relatively high number of Ghanaian-owned and staffed beauty salons hosted by the regions that are easily accessible and personal ties to hair stylists working in the area. The first salon was chosen for study as a result of experience by the author of this study with the salon as a casual aid prior to commencing this study. The other three salons were conveniently selected according to access and relevance using a snow-balling technique. The ethnography relied on participant observation to pick up on unspoken information and habits of the business and the women, as well as in-depth interviews that took the form of discussions rather than any structured questionnaire to engage each participant on their migration experiences. The ethnography was particularly insightful bringing to light a variety of issues and topics that distinguished this research from other works within similar fields.

1.5.3. KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS

The key informants were used to fill any gaps in the literature and to give feedback on the information gathered. The data collected was used to supplement that collected from the migrant women. Interviews were conducted with identified people who had specific insight and knowledge of the topic and were chosen according to availability and expertise. The key informants identified were two consular service officers from the Ghana High Commission in Pretoria, South Africa, and one associate of the hair care industry and professional hair stylist. Their interviews with the consular service officers were particularly valuable in explaining the push factors in the pre-migration phase before the migrants came to South Africa by linking migrant's experiences to historical socio-political and economic factors in Ghana, and the hair care associate interview was effective in realising the contributions of Ghanaian women migrants to the beauty sector of South Africa. The key informants were interviewed using a

semi-structured interview schedule to collect key points that sought to add credibility to the arguments put forth towards answering research questions.

1.5.4 DATA ANALYSIS

As the data was collected, the data analysis process began by transcribing the data and then analysing it to identify common areas and highlight important information and findings. The data collected was understood within the framework of the theories and themes identified in the literature review. This process took place at two levels; a basic level which involved a descriptive account of the verbal data collected in order to summarise the discussions and stories narrated, and on a higher level at which the data collected was interpreted in accordance with the aims and objectives of the study. This process sought to make sense of the data collected within the framework of the study objective's in order to not only describe the phenomenon but, understand what it meant. These themes were then followed up in the key informant interviews in order to corroborate the findings and direct the study.

1.5.5. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

This study is held to maintain the integrity of the research, data collection, compilation, analysis and interpretation processes. This research does not seek to bring harm to the participants nor the greater society. Before participating in the study, all subjects were required to read and sign a consent form that stated that the anonymity of the participants would be maintained upon request, the roles and purposes of this research, as well as the potential uses of this research and participation was voluntary and without compensation. Permission was obtained from informants to record and take notes in the discussions and interviews that were conducted and subjects were informed that at any point withdrawal from the study was allowed. The research was carried out independently and impartially in accordance with the rules and regulations set by the University of Pretoria.

The ethical concerns and challenges identified by this study were an unwillingness to share certain information related to the subject's legal status in the country. As this was an important theme in the research, the study was limited in understanding the process of acquiring permits and citizenship in South Africa from the perspectives of the women because they were often

unwilling to divulge in depth information relating to the topic. In order to avoid these concerns, full disclosure of the purpose of the study was made prior to interviews in order to extract some surface-level information, however, in this way the study was limited.

1.6 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This paper consist of six chapters all directed towards answering the main and specific research questions. The introduction chapter serves to outline the research paper and its aims and objectives. Chapter two is a literature review that theorises international migration in the world today and contextualises South African migration within these theories. Chapter three details the methodology applied to conduct this study, giving the reader insight into the rationale and procedures of the research process. Chapter four is a discussion and analysis of the issues in Ghana causing out-migration from the country. Chapter four situates and explains the livelihood and survival strategies, as well as the economic contributions of Ghanaian women living in South Africa and working in the hair care industry. And Chapter six summarises the main findings and conclusions of this research and proposes the policy implications of these findings for the South African society.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW: MIGRATION IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA- THE THEORY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

More people are on the move today than at any other time in recorded history; according to the 2013 United Nations population report, at least 3% (232 million) of the human population are international migrants who have moved across borders (IOM, 2014; UNDESA, 2013). As more people move across international borders so the relevance of migration and migration studies increases. However, the theorisation of migration within migration theory is lacking. Though there is a wide body of migration literature, there is no recognised all-encompassing migration theory. This chapter introduces some of the most prominent migration theories, as related to economic migration in order to better understand the process. These theories are then applied in later chapters to link and contextualise the data collected and guide the understanding of migration in South Africa.

This chapter is divided into two main parts: the first presents a summary of the theories of migration; and the second looks at migration theory in relation to the history of migration in South Africa. The theories discussed in this chapter provide a summary of some of the important work done in migration studies. Because the literature on migration theory is so extensive, presenting all the theories of migration written throughout history in this paper is not feasible. In light of this, this chapter presents only those theories of migration that are most widely recognised and cited in literature, and that are linked to economic migration. These theories seek to explain why and how people migrate in order to understand the entire process of migration from its inception. The purpose of reviewing the history of migration to South Africa lies in understanding the kind of environment that immigrants to South Africa are likely to encounter. The time frame applied to studying the history of migration to South Africa spans from pre-Apartheid to the present democratic era. This is done to show the progression and study the trends in legislation, practices and attitudes towards foreigners in the country as well as contextualise the environment navigated by migrants to South Africa that affect their well-

bring and contributions in the country. These observations are then applied in later chapters to analyse the relationships with the state of immigrants in South Africa and consider the impact migrants have on the host country. This chapter is important because it lays the foundation for interpreting the data collected during the research process.

2.2 THEORIES OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

International migration is a powerful force throughout the world; not only does migration affect every country across the globe but it is an indispensable structural feature of almost all industrialised countries. The relevance of studying migration and its underlying forces thus cannot be overstated. Unfortunately the theoretical base for understanding these forces remains weak within the field (Massey *et al*., 1993). There is no single, all-encompassing theory for international migration, but rather a mix of alienated theories that seek to explain causes of migration, the factors that perpetuate it and the resultant effects. According to King (2012), this is largely because migration is too diverse and complex to be explained and understood through one single theory. Massey *et al*. (1998) explain that a comprehensive understanding of the trends and patterns in international migration requires the application of more than just one theory. Many theories have been put forth to explain the phenomenon of migration, however, considering the diverse nature of the subject, not all can be covered here, instead this analysis will focus on the theories that have been applied specifically to understanding aspects of migration from economically poorer countries to richer ones (King, 2012). In looking at these theories this chapter will seek to explain and integrate these theories of migration in order to broadly contextualise international migration as is relevant to this study.

2.2.1 RAVENSTEIN'S LAWS OF MIGRATION

In a paper given in 1885 before the Statistical Society of England, E.G. Ravenstein, a German-English geographer cartographer, hypothesised seven laws of migration (see, Macisco & Pryor, 1963; Haas, 2008). These laws formed the first scholarly contribution towards migration theory. In later papers Ravenstein built upon these laws and together they formed what is considered to be the backbone of modern migration theory, to which any paper on migration needs to pay homage (Dinbabo & Nyasulu, 2015). Ravenstein's laws identified empirical generalisations that sought to explain the movement of people between places (Macisco & Pryor, 1963; Dinbabo & Nyasulu, 2015; King, 2012). Below is a summary of these laws:

1. The majority of migrants only travel a short distance;
2. Most migration is from agricultural to industrial areas;
3. Migrants going long distances generally choose to go to one of the greater centres of commerce or industry;
4. Each wave of migration produces a complementary wave of expanding industries, transport and commerce;
5. Large towns grow more by migration than by natural causes;
6. Females are more migratory than men but men travel longer distances than women;
7. The major causes of migration are economically motivated.

There are various opinions on the relevance of Ravenstein's laws to modern day international migration, especially as his work was based on nineteenth century Britain and the belief that his work relates more to internal rather than international migration (King, 2012). However, the key points of this theory are that migration is an inseparable part of development, and Ravenstein attributes the major causes of migration to capital and economic factors.

2.2.2 PUSH-PULL THEORY

Ravenstein's laws were based on a rational-choice analysis with reference to social inequalities, which are also the underlying assumption in Lee's push-pull theory (King, 2012; Haas, 2008). Lee's theory divides the causes of migrations into two groups of factors: push; and pull factors. Push and pull factors are those economic and socio-political factors which either forcefully push people into migration or attract them to a destination country (Dinabobo & Nyasulu, 2015). Factors such as poverty, unemployment, political repression, poverty etc., are thought to drive ('push') people out of their home countries. At the same time, there also factors present in the destination countries, which tend to 'pull' or attract migrants; these include better income and employment prospects, better social welfare services, political freedom, etc. Lee adds that for the 'pull and push' factors to effectively influence migration there are several primary obstacles that must be overcome (Dinabobo & Nysaulu, 2015; King, 2012; Haas, 2008). These obstacles can be physical (e.g. distance), economic (e.g. financial cost of migration), political (international borders), and cultural barriers (e.g. language problems). Personal factors also play a vital role in migration since people's response to the 'pull and push' stimuli will differ depending on the socio-economic and cultural orientation of the individual.

The push-pull theory describes simply the different factors playing a role in migration decisions. The theory however, neglects to explain the role and importance of the factors that are said to push or pull migrants to a country and because they are so general and almost arbitrary, this theory could almost be said to be "stating the obvious" (Haas, 2008: 9). However, the importance of this theory is in highlighting the perceptions of the differences between different locations that migrants may have which encourage individuals to migrate; there are those factors that make people want to leave an area and those that make them want to go to a specific location.

2.2.3 NEO-CLASSICAL ECONOMICS MODEL

Push-pull models dominated migration theory during the twentieth century and are reflected in the neoclassical economics model (King, 2012). As Massey *et al*. (1993) explain, the neoclassical economics model works at both macro and micro levels. The neoclassical economics macro theory explains labour migration in the process of economic development, which is said to lead to the modernisation of states and enterprises. The neo-classical macro theory argues that differentials in income and employment, migration costs, and actual differences in the supply and demand of labour between countries cause people to move from lower wage to higher wage countries (Haas, 2008; Massey *et al*., 1993; Massey *et al,* 1998). The central argument of this theory is that wage differentials between countries cause migration and therefore international migration relies on the existence of supply and demand forces without which migration would cease to exist (Haas, 2008; Massey *et al*., 1993; Massey *et al,* 1998). At the micro level, an individual's decision to migrate is based on a rational, cost-benefit calculation for income maximisation. People will choose to move to locations where they can be most productive given their skills with the expected outcomes of them moving including both monetary and non-monetary benefits (Nkau, 2003). In Lee's (1966) model individuals also need to consider the monetary and non-monetary costs of travelling, such as the financial costs involved while in transit and leaving behind familial connections respectively. Potential migrants will therefore weigh the pros and cons and move to the country where they are likely to achieve the greatest net returns in the future. Migration within the neoclassical theory is thus driven by supply and demand, wage differentials between sending and receiving countries for increased income earning opportunities as well as non-monetary indicators and dependent on rational-choice actors (Haas, 2008; Massey *et al*, 1998; King, 2012).

There has been extensive criticism of the neoclassical approach. While it has been acknowledged for its simplicity and internal logic; it is a well-known fact that development is associated with the movement of economic actors from rural locations to urban modern societies for increased income earning opportunities, the model neglects the influences of family, community and socio-economic factors on one's choice to migrate and assumes that people are only rational actors and therefore, as historical structuralists have said, do not have free choice and are constrained by structural forces (King, 2012; Haas, 2008). The theory neglects the reality of barriers to movement and employment, such as government restrictions, arguing instead that the existence of wage differentials alone drive migration. It also fails to explain why some countries have high rates of out-migration, whilst others with the same economic conditions have low rates (King, 2012).

2.2.4 NEW ECONOMIES OF LABOUR MIGRATION

In more recent years a new economics of labour migration has emerged to challenge many of the assumptions and conclusions of neoclassical theory. According to this theory migration flows and patterns cannot be explained solely at the level of individual workers and their economic incentives, but instead, larger social entities, typically families or households, will make a joint decision and act collectively not only to maximise wages and income but to diversify income in a variety of markets, minimise risks to family income and overcome capital constraints (King, 2012; Massey *et al.,* 1993; Hagen-Zanker, 2008). Risk reduction is particularly relevant in poor-sending countries where different family members may be allocated different tasks and others may be sent abroad to reduce risks of an insufficient household and thereafter those individuals may send remittances (Jennissen, 2004; Hagen-Zanker, 2008). This means that members of a household may still move even in the absence of wage differentials between countries as the incentives to migrate extend to include other markets.

This theory is particularly interesting because it takes into account the possibility of return migration, which can be viewed positively as one having achieved their targets abroad and retuning home with their accumulated savings for investment in their home country (King, 2012). The weakness of this theory of migration is that it assumes a uniform harmonious dynamic within the household leading to unity and cohesive decision-making, neglecting the possibility of tensions and rivalry, which may lead to distorted decision-making.

2.2.5 DUAL-MARKET LABOUR THEORY

Both the neoclassical and new economics theories are essentially micro level decision models, what differs are the units assumed to make the decision (individual versus the household) the entity being maximised or minimised (income or risk), assumptions about the economic context of decision making (complete and well-functioning market versus missing or imperfect markets), and the extent to which the migration decision is socially contextualised (whether income is evaluated in absolute terms or relative to some reference group) (Massey et al., 1993). The dual market labour theory however stands apart from these theories of rational choice, arguing instead that international migration stems from the pull of the structural labour demands for certain types of cheap labour to modern industrial societies (Massey et al., 1993; King, 2012). The dual markets within this theory refer to a primary labour market of secure, well-paid jobs favour the citizens of a country , and a secondary labour market of "low-skill, low-wage, insecure and generally unpleasant jobs" in the service sector, filled by many migrant workers which are shunned by local workers (King, 2012: 16). Foreign workers accept these poor labour positions because they do not have any bargaining power and because these wages and jobs are preferable to the options available in their home countries (King, 2012). Immigrants may be recruited to these jobs by employers, recruitment agencies and labour agents, and often, subsequent recruitment is network-based from within the immigrant community (King, 2012; Massey *et al*., 1993).

The dual market labour theory neglects the examples of migrants who do prosper in foreign countries. Though many migrants are abused, underpaid and experience discrimination and unfair practices against them, there are cases of migrant who are able to benefit from migration and make progress, prosper and in turn can even become the recruiting agents providing employment to other migrants and local staff; there are many examples of successful business men and women, professionals and alike working in foreign countries, i.e. George Soros (King, 2012). Furthermore, this theory pays no attention to the influences of the state on migration flows especially in limiting the efficacy of recruitment agencies to expand the local workforce (King, 2012). The state has the power to control the volume of, the types of activities engaged in and the duration of the stay of migrants in a country. At the same time this theory depicts the sad reality that many migrants face when moving to a new country in terms of the types of jobs 'reserved' for them; migrants are often treated as second-class workers, less deserving than local workers (Haas, 2008).

2.2.6 WORLD SYSTEMS THEORY

The world systems theory takes a historical structural approach and links international migration to the structure of the capitalist market (Massey et al., 1998; Hagen-Zanker, 2008). The world systems theory is based on the propositions of neo-colonialism and corporate capitalism and argues that international migration is a natural consequence of economic globalisation and market penetration. As core neo-colonial governments and multinational firms have expanded for investment opportunities, so they have penetrated the global economy, in most cases moving to peripheral countries. This has created mobile populations moving to these peripheral countries, going in the opposite direction as the flow of goods. Migration is thus interpreted as increasing the unequal terms of trade between developed and underdeveloped countries, depriving rural populations of their traditional livelihoods and uprooting populations to become part of the urban proletariat (Massey et el, 1998; Haas, 2008).

The major flaw of the world systems theory is that it regards migrants as "little more than passive pawns in the play of great powers and world processes, directed by the logic of capital accumulation" (Arango, 2004). It reduces the interpretations of the course of history to "univocal, reductionist interpretations of history in which all countries pass through… as if following a grand script or some rigid laws of historical development" (Arango, 2004: 27). Furthermore, migration flows are not all channelled along rigid pathways of market penetration but can be more spontaneous (King, 2012; Haas, 2008). There are also historical examples that refute that migration fundamentally leads to underdevelopment as examples of previous migrant sending countries, such as the Asian Tigers, sustained economic growth despite being connected to global capitalism; capitalism alone cannot be blamed for the problems of underdevelopment (Haas, 2008). One cannot ignore the possibility for migration to facilitate development through reverse flows of capital, knowledge, ideas and people (Haas, 2008).

2.2.7 NETWORK THEORY

While the above mentioned theories explain why people migrate, the network theory is the predominant theory used to explain the perpetual increases of international migration over time. The network theory is very important in explaining how international flows of people between countries generate networks of migrants and interpersonal linkages between migrant sending countries and migrant receiving countries; migrants, non-migrants and former migrants

(Dinabobo & Nyasulu, 2015; Massey *et al*, 1993; King, 2012; Jennissen, 2004). A network exists in the informal recognition by people of sets of obligations and rights in respect of certain other identified people that can be used to achieve objectives and tie them in webs of kinship, friendship, and shared origin (Ojong, 2002; King, 2012). These networks make it relatively easy for the migrants to travel, settle in and adapt to the foreign environment, and to access employment opportunities at the destination, making migration a more reliable and secure source of income, thus reducing the cost and risk of travelling and facilitating the likelihood of migration. Because of these networks, the likelihood of migration increases as the ease of access generates more interest in moving. While a lot of research focuses on the strength of family networks and other close personal ties in facilitating migration, it is also important to apply Granovetter's (1973) notion of the "strength of weak ties" in this regard (King, 2012). Weak ties are based on perceptions of common cultures or ethnicities, or even passing alliances between migrants in vulnerable positions (King, 2012). These generate a sense of mutual trust and create ties that generate assistance and companionship amongst migrants. Strong ties are based on family and community linkages and because of the closeness of the network; such ties are more likely to lead to even more migration (King, 2012). The existence of networks greatly affected the number of people who are able and willing to enter into migration streams, mainly by increasing the number of migrants between countries. In the context of migration in South Africa, networks have played a significant role throughout history in linking sending states and receiving states.

2.3 MIGRATION IN AFRICA

Patterns of migration in South Africa have become increasingly complex and diverse in recent times with South Africa attracting a wide array of migrants; from refugees and asylum seekers to skilled professionals and socio-economic migrants (Khan, 2007). With a rapidly growing population, increased globalisation, and permeable borders, migration routes are becoming more deeply engraved and accessible. Increasing numbers of migrants from all over the world and more specifically, from Africa, are moving to South Africa essentially to improve their well-being (Skeldon, 2008). Because of its power to influence development in both the sending and receiving countries, migration rates are an important determinant of a country's socio-political and economic status. For this reason tracing the history and experiences of migrants and migration policy in a country is an integral part of understanding a country's development, its current state as well as understanding the conditions migrants face today and why. It brings

an understanding of the changing patterns and issues in a country. This section will therefore trace the literature that relates to the history of migration in South Africa and its trends.

The relative inequality between different states is a fundamental incentive for international migration in Africa (Adepoju & Hammar 1996; Dinabobo & Nyasulu, 2015; Adepoju, 2001). African migrants tend to move from capital-poor to more capital-rich countries in search of better living conditions. The decision to migrate in Africa is usually dependent on a variety of push and pull factors; on a combination of socio-economic and political factors, such as lack of access to resources, to find or engage in paid work, family reunification, a lack of social security and justice, to escape conflict or natural disaster, or for opportunities to improve their standard of living, and earn increased wages (Kurunova, 2013). Migration flows between sending and receiving states create socio-economic and political challenges in both sending and receiving states and have therefore raised a series of questions for policy makers and researchers who seek to better understand and capture this phenomenon as well as improve the safety, treatment and opportunities for migrants and countries throughout the migration process (Dinabobo & Nyasulu, 2015).

According to Adepoju (1995), migration in Africa can be understood within pre-colonial and post-colonial contexts by evaluating the political, economic and historical progression of African societies. Unlike during pre-colonial times, in post-colonial Africa, migration trends have shifted from being determined by the search for subsistence food, shelter, and security, to being determined by rational responses to economic functions as well as the demands for labour by post-industrial societies (Massey *et al*, 1993). Post-independence most African states modelled their economies and governments to replicate those of their colonial predecessors, leaving few cities with concentrations of investments and other areas severely underdeveloped and impoverished (Nkau, 2003). The developmental imbalance between regions and states resulted in considerable inequality, which continues to affect the continent (Adepoju 1995). As a result of the limited opportunities for personal growth and the demand for workers in other places, migration became important strategy for improving ones well-being (Adepoju 1995). To this day these trends continue.

In the year 2015 the United Nations (UN) published that the number of migrants in the world reached 244 million (UNDESA, 2015). South Africa is on the list of 20 countries hosting the largest number of migrants in the world with a total of 3 million documented migrants in the country, noting that 16 years ago and prior South Africa was not on this list (UNDESA, 2015).

This shows the exceptional increase of migrants to the country especially after South Africa achieved its democratic independence in 1994. With high concentrations of investments and being one of the most developed countries in Africa, South Africa is the preferred destination for various categories of migrants and presently hosts the second largest number of migrants in Africa, the history of which extends many centuries (IOM, 2014; Crush, 2000).

2.3.1 MIGRATION IN SOUTH AFRICA: PRE-DEMOCRACY

Migration in South Africa dates back many centuries (Crush, 2000; Ojong, 2002). Before the arrival of the European settlers in the 16th century and the subsequent establishment of colonial rule, indigenous populations moved freely throughout southern Africa for trade and livelihood (Shillngton, 2005; Dinabobo & Nyasulu, 2015). The socio-political landscape of southern Africa began to change with the arrival and settlement of hundreds of thousand European sailors and their families in present-day Cape Town (Shillington, 2005). As Cape Colony grew, a local population of white settlers was established that migrated over the land, expanding and penetrating deeper into southern Africa (Shillington, 2005). Thereafter, the establishment of large sugarcane fields in the Natal Colony brought large inflows of immigrants into the country, particularly from India (Dinabobo & Nyasulu, 2015). From the 18th century approximately 150 000 Indians arrived as indentured labourers, some of which later established themselves in the general workforce, engaging mostly in industrial work and trade. Some of the indigenous tribes were at the same time involved in labour migration for small wages, such as the Pedi's who worked on the farms in the Cape Colony to earn a living for bride wealth and agricultural and military tools (Wentzel, 2003). Labour migration became the driving force for migration within southern Africa and it saw these groups of people (White, Indian, Coloured and the indigenous Black), though not all first class citizens, come together to develop and establish modern day South Africa.

Labour migration in South Africa boomed in the late 19th and early 20th centuries with the establishment of diamond and gold mining in Kimberly and the Witwatersrand, respectively (Shillington, 2005). The diamond and gold mines relied on a large workforce greatly encouraging labour migration. By the year 1874, there were close to 10 thousand labourers working on the mines in South Africa (Wentzel, 2003). The vast scale of the mining industry created a huge demand making South Africa heavily reliant on large numbers of foreign labourers, most of whom were male and unskilled, and had to be recruited by the Employment

Bureau of Africa (Dinabobo & Nyasulu, 2015; Wentzel, 2003). The benefit of foreign, African labour was that it was cheap and accessible labour. The foreign miners predominantly came from neighbouring countries, such as Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique and Zimbabwe (Crush *et al*.,2005; Wentzel, 2003; Shillington, 2005). Between the years 1920 and 1940, the number of foreign miners in South Africa doubled from 100 thousand to 200 thousand (Crush 2000). The 1922 Census showed that foreign migrants from neighbouring countries made up 6 per cent of South Africa's total population (Dinabobo & Nyasulu, 2015, Census 1922). At its peak in the early 1970's, the number rose to almost 300 thousand foreign miners working in South Africa's mines; at this point almost 80 per cent of the mine workforce was foreign (Crush, 2000). There was also a small number of skilled professionals migrating to South Africa, drawn especially from Ghana, Uganda and Nigeria who migrated clandestinely to the Bantustans (homeland states) (Adepoju, 2003). These migrants were mostly university professors, nurses, teachers and engineers.

At this time, migrants predominately entered the country either as contract labourers working in the secondary sector on the mines or commercial farms and plantations, informal immigrants to work on the construction, transport and service sectors, refugees mainly from the Mozambican conflict, and white asylum seekers from neighbouring countries (Ayala et al, 2013; Crush et al, 2005). Most of these migrants were male, although there were also migrant women working in the domestic services (Dodson & Crush, 2006).

2.3.2 MIGRATION POLICIES UNDER THE APARTHEID GOVERNMENT

The Apartheid government's migration policies greatly restricted the movement of people into and within South Africa (Dinabobo & Nyasulu, 2015; Peberdy & Crush, 1998). During the apartheid era, South Africa's social and political institutions were organised primarily on the basis of race and this determined the mobility of populations. The four official racial groups instituted a socio-economic hierarchy, with White people being on top, Black people at the bottom, and Indian and Coloured people in between. This hierarchy allowed the Apartheid governments to enact racially orientated migration policies that favoured White immigration while restricting Black immigration into the country (Dinabobo & Nyasulu, 2015). The Act relating to the entry of foreigners into South Africa was the Aliens Control Act. Section 4 (1) of the Aliens Control Act stated that a person could only immigrate to South Africa if that

person's habits of life were suitable to the requirements of South Africa, which, considering the socio-political climate of the country as the time, could be interpreted to mean that one of the key conditions of migration was that an immigrant had to be able to socially integrate into the white population, which could only be achieved if one were classified as a White person. This meant that Black people, in particular were not considered for immigration.

Black Africans were severely restricted from migrating to South Africa. For example, the foreign miners who were working in the country were privately recruited as clandestine workers on a contract basis (of up to two years) and could only reside within the designated mining compounds during their contract, after which they were transported back to their home country on a bus (Crush, 2000; Crush *et al.*, 2005; Adepoju, 2003). Despite the need for cheap labour the government only encouraged this type of immigration and blocked Black foreign migrants from obtaining temporary or permanent South African residency and furthermore restricted foreign workers from immigrating with their families for the duration of their stay in South Africa (Dinabobo & Nyasulu, 2015; Crush *et al.*, 2005). For example, during the Mozambican civil war in the 1970's, approximately 350 thousand Mozambicans were displaced and fled the country seeking asylum in neighbouring nations, many of whom were denied formal recognition as refugees by the government of South Africa with many others resorting to enter South Africa's borders illegally (Crush, 2000). In response, South Africa employed stricter border control regulations and erected an electrified fence to keep irregular immigrants out of the country (Crush, 2000). Whether as workers or emergency migrants, immigration to South Africa was difficult for Black Africans.

In contrast to the government's reaction to Black African immigrants, the Apartheid government continued to offer asylum during the 1960s and 1980s to White immigrants escaping political uncertainty in newly democratised African countries, such as Kenya, Zambia and Zimbabwe (Dinabobo & Nyasulu, 2015). Unlike the Black Africans, the White asylum seekers were offered citizenship upon arrival, speculatively to boost the white population in South Africa (Dinabobo & Nyasulu, 2015; Peberdy, 1997; Peberdy & Crush, 1998). Black African immigrants coming to South Africa were continually subject to harsh border controls that sought to limit their entry into and the duration of their stay in the country for the fear of increasing the Black population in South Africa. In this way the Apartheid government sought to retain the resources and opportunities of the land for White people.

African migration to South Africa was strictly monitored during Apartheid. Those Black Africans who managed to enter the country legally were mainly clandestine male contract labourers (Crush *et al*, 2005). While historically there has been as strong presence of Black, African, foreign nationals residing and working in South Africa, in many instances these foreign nationals have been subject to discrimination and unfair treatment while in the country. The mineral revolution was the greatest contributor of migrants to South Africa, it also made South Africa an economic powerhouse which further attracted greater flows of migrants to the country (Shillington, 2005). It also meant that both the reality and perception of migrants and migration was and has continued to be heavily male-biased, as more men than women migrated, and therefore women as migrants and their perspectives, experiences and needs were and continue to be largely neglected in Southern African migration studies and policy (Dodson & Crush, 2006).

Table 2.1: Foreign labour migration to the South African gold mines, 1920-1990

Year	Angola	Botswana	Lesotho	Malawi	Mozambique	Swaziland	Tanzania	Zambia	Zimbabwe	Other	Total
1920	0	2 112	10 439	354	77 921	3 449	0	12	179	5 484	**99 950**
1925	0	2 547	14 256	136	73 210	3 999	0	4	68	14	**94 234**
1930	0	3 151	22 306	0	77 828	4 345	183	0	44	5	**99 355**
1935	0	7 505	34 788	49	62 576	6 865	109	570	27	9	**112 498**
1940	698	14 427	52 044	8 037	74 693	7 152	0	2 725	8 112	70	**168 058**
1945	8 711	10 102	36 414	4 973	78 588	5 688	1 461	27	8 301	4 732	**158 967**
1950	9 767	12 390	34 467	7 831	86 246	6 619	5 495	3 102	2 073	4 826	**172 816**
1955	8 801	14 195	36 332	12 407	99 449	6 682	8 758	3 849	162	2 299	**192 934**
1960	12 364	21 404	48 842	21 934	101 733	6 623	14 025	5 292	747	844	**233 808**
1965	11 169	23 630	54 819	38 580	89 191	5 580	404	5 898	653	2 686	**232 610**
1970	4 125	20 461	63 988	78 492	93 203	6 269	0	0	3	972	**265 143**
1975	3 431	20 291	78 114	27 904	97 216	8 391	0	0	2 485	12	**220 293**
1980	5	17 763	96 309	13 569	39 539	8 090	0	0	5 770	1 404	**182 449**
1985		18 079	97 639	16 849	50 126	12 365	0	0	0	4	**196 068**
1990	0	15 720	108 780	72	50 104	17 816	0	0	2	0	**192 044**

(Source: Republic of South Africa (2007))

2.3.3 WOMEN MIGRANTS

The traditional pattern of migration in Africa has been "male dominated, long term and long distance" (Adepoju 2004), and is increasingly coming under threat with the feminisation of migration. The feminisation of migration refers to the significant increased movement of

female migrants; more and more women are said to be engaging in voluntary, independent migration. Traditionally in Africa, women stayed at home involving themselves in reproductive work in the private sector, such as child bearing, care giving, and taking care of the household, while the men went out in search of income-earing activities in the public sector, often requiring men to travel over long distances or relocate (Nkau, 2003; Dodson & Crush, 2006). When women did migrate they did so either with their spouses or family as a dependant or it was involuntary, such as in the case of human-trafficking. Because of the predominance of such flows, migration has mainly been considered a male phenomenon and this argument has been used to explain why women have not been the focus of migration studies.

However in the case of South Africa, evidence points to the fact that women have migrated independently for years and have therefore been ripe for study (Dodson & Crush, 2006; Nkau, 2003; Crush, 2000). Many forms of migration across South Africa's borders have involved significant numbers of women, not only migrating as dependents but practising independent migration in search of various opportunities to improve or expand their livelihood (Dodson and Crush, 2006; Crush, 2000). Bonner's (1990) researched on Basotho women on the Witwatersrand between the years 1920 and 1945, Miles (1991) as well as Cockerton (1995), who studied women migrants from Swaziland and Botswana, documented the migration and employment histories of these women. According to these authors, African women have not only migrated to South Africa, but they have been employed in various occupations in South Africa for decades. The authors agree that female migration to South Africa has a long history and is not a new, post-Apartheid phenomenon. Despite their presence in and familiarity with migration streams as labour migrants or economic migrants, women migrants in South Africa have not received extensive attention in the field as subjects of study.

During Apartheid there were very few legal gateways for women migrants to enter the country, even less than men (Dodson & Crush, 2006). Because of the restrictive migration laws which stipulated that women may only enter South Africa as dependents, much of the migration was clandestine (Crush *et al*., 2005). In addition to restrictive entry laws, women were subject to abuse at border-posts by border control officers, syndicates of smugglers, and other male migrants, making migration a risky process for women (Cursh & Williams, 2001). The few women who did manage to enter the country predominantly worked in the domestic services or commercial agriculture with others turning to illegal professions, such as informal trading, liquor production and prostitution; constantly placing them at odds with the law and creating negative perceptions against them amongst community members (Crush, 2000; Dodson &

Crush, 2006; Crush *et al.*, 2005). In addition to the risks associated with migration, there were very few opportunities for work for women migrants and because of the dominant view being that women were meant to remain in the homestead to provide care-work, women were held back from migrating by communal chiefs and male elders (Crush, 2000). The decision to migrate for many females was deliberated by the household and community and was not often an independent choice (Dodson & Crush, 2006). Despite many women not being able to move and being unwelcomed in many local communities studies showed an increase over the decades in the number of women (particularly young and single) moving to South Africa for various reasons (South African, 1960; Crush, 2000). Since 1994, female migration into the country has continued to increase as women have become more independent. According to recent studies, women represent 42.7 per cent of the total cross-border migrants (IOM, 2013). Today women migrants are predominantly concentrated in cross-border trade, domestic work and informal sector activities, are usually younger than men and often hold irregular status and are therefore more exposed to adverse conditions (IOM, 2013).

2.3.4 MIGRATION IN SOUTH AFRICA POST-APARTHEID

The end of Apartheid and the start of democracy during the late 1980s and the early 1990s brought dramatic social changes to the South Africa. All freedoms were legally granted to all people equally irrespective of race, gender, ethnicity, social, political and economic statutes and protected under Chapter 2 of the Constitution (RSA, 1996). Furthermore many of the aforementioned restrictions against migration were lifted and South Africa's integration into the South African Development Community (SADC) eased and increased the flow of migrants to the country (Crush, 2005; Ngomane, 2010). These changes altered the face of international immigration to South Africa and incited more and more Africans to move to South Africa and in high volumes. Many of these migrants were highly skilled and qualified economic migrants seeking to benefit from and contribute to the new South Africa (Wentzel, 2003; Ojong, 2002). There has been a steady acceleration of immigration and a shift in the patterns of migration to the country since South Africa's democratic evolution (Nkau, 2003).

Prior to the demise of Apartheid, many African countries had been decolonised and had become vulnerable to changing international markets, corrupt appropriation of resources, rising debts and external direction of their policies, and as a result they were facing a series of socio-economic and political challenges which saw large communities confronting economic

stagnation, underdevelopment, a lack of opportunities for growth and overwhelming poverty (Ojong, 2002). Furthermore, more than half of the sub-Saharan African countries had also experienced civil wars or uprisings, which left many cities and towns devastated and in ruins (Ojong, 2002). Due to the political and economic instabilities it became more and more difficult for governments to satisfy their citizens and for citizens to protect and sustain themselves; these circumstances ultimately led to large scale migration.

Because South Africa, an upper middle income country, presented itself as the economic and political hegemony of Africa, many Africans were attracted to immigrate to South Africa not only for its improved wage and income-earning opportunities, but for its protectiveness for employment and socio-economic and political opportunities, and thriving economy (Adepoju, 1995). Outside of the opportunities for improved standard of living and economic well-being, many migrants chose to move to South Africa for education, tourism, family reunification, and medical treatment. South Africa's admission into SADC created increased flows of migrants by allowing nationals from the Community eased access of entry (Adepju, 2003). In addition, African migrants were further encouraged to move to South Africa because of the promises made by the ANC to welcome them to a democratic South Africa as gratitude for the assistance offered by other African states during the struggle against Apartheid (Ojong, 2002; Crush & McDonald, 2001). During Apartheid many African states hosted exiled freedom fighters from South Africa and assisted in the campaigns and resistance against the Apartheid regime, some African governments even prevented their citizens from traveling to South Africa, for example in Cameroon, if one obtained an international passport, within the passport was a clause stating that entry to any country except South Africa was permitted (Ojong, 2002). Migrating to the newly democratic South Africa was not only made easier by more lax border control but, it presented an opportunity to flourish, especially economically as the new generation of free Africans.

Many of the movements into South Africa were facilitated by already established networks of labour migrants that were based in South Africa (Ngomane, 2010). These networks encouraged more people to immigrate and eased transition to life in South Africa. These immigrants were both male and female and were from a variety of backgrounds (Dodson & Crush, 2006). According to Wentzel (2003), four streams of migration can be used to identify different groups of migrants who immigrated to South Africa:

- Skilled migrants (mainly highly skilled, professional, semi-professional, managerial and technical people);
- Documented migrants (temporary residents in possession of visitors, business, study, or medical permits, or skilled migrants who enter as temporary residents with work permits);
- Undocumented or unauthorised migrants (migrants who enter clandestinely without proper or any documentation or acquired false papers, migrants whose permits have expired, contract workers who stayed in the country past the expiry of their contracts);
- Refugees

In the year 1990, there were less than five hundred thousand documented migrants in the country and by 1995, there were 3, 3 million (Wentzel, 2003). Klotz (2000) noted that each year hundreds of thousands of migrants from all over the world travel to South Africa legally and illegally. There are no official figures on the number of non-documented migrants in the country therefore making it almost impossible to quantify the total number of migrants in the country. Nonetheless, the estimated number of migrants in South Africa in 2010 was 3.7% of the total population and rose to 5.7 per cent in 2012, ranging between seven and eight million migrants, a clear and significant increase from 1990 (UNDESA, 2013). It is estimated that migration to South Africa involves more than two million economically active people and an unspecified number of undocumented migrants (IOM, 2013). With the increase in the number of immigrants coming to South Africa xenophobic attitudes towards Black African migrants have also become more evident.

Xenophobia in South Africa has largely been pitted against Black migrants from African countries, manifesting itself through the government, the public and the media (Ngomane, 2010). It can either be subtle, blunt and even violent, as seen in the violent attacks that erupted throughout the country in the year 2008 (Crush, 2008). Xenophobic attitudes arose from accusations that foreigners are the cause of unemployment among nationals and they depress wages for workers and make it difficult for trade unions improve the working conditions of employees (Adepoju, 2003). Immigrants have further been accused by the local population of being involved in criminal activities, taking away scarce housing, working for very low wages thereby undercutting the potential for higher wages, bringing disease, and exploiting local girls by marrying them solely to obtain residence permits (Adepoju, 2003). Xenophobic attitudes have made it increasingly difficult for foreigners to integrate with local communities and obtain good jobs. Skilled migrants may often be forced to settle for secondary sector jobs though they

are qualified for primary sector work because local staff are favoured over the foreign workers. Unskilled immigrants are more prone experiencing xenophobia and women migrants are further disadvantaged because they fall at the bottom of the spectrum, coming in last to local men, local women, and foreign men. Under these conditions, migrating to South Africa can prove to be a hostile experience for African migrants.

South Africa remains the region's powerhouse, exhibiting a wide income-earning disparity between itself and other African states, and thus is an attractive destination for migrants, with employment opportunities for both men and women (Dodson & Crush, 2006). Migration is a strategic response to social, political, economic, environmental or personal circumstances, and especially for women, it can also be a means of escaping patriarchal systems of control (Dodson & Crush, 2006). In a series of surveys conducted by SAMP, women's migration was characteristically multi-purpose, with women migrating for a broad range of social, productive and reproductive reasons, as opposed to men who migrate largely for increased wages and employment (Dodson & Crush, 2006; Crush & Williams, 2001). Nonetheless with the high volumes of immigrants coming to South Africa, it is important that South Africa has an inclusive migration policy that maximises the opportunities and averts the risks of migrating for both migrants as well as the country.

2.3.5 SOUTH AFRICA'S MIGRATION POLICY

With the ever-increasing number of migrants coming into the country, the South African government has had to develop a policy response to manage and administer immigration control. South Africa's change to a new, post-Apartheid immigration policy has been slow (Dodson & Crush, 2006). The immigration Acts following the fall of Apartheid included the Aliens Control Act, amended in 1995, the 1997 Green Paper on International Migration, and the 1999 White Paper. The Green Paper studied the underlying concerns about the influx of foreigners into the country and the xenophobic reactions by the local population and the White Paper shifted the balance of enforcing immigration control measures from border controls to inspection at the work place (Adepoju, 2003).

South Africa's immigration policy is formulated and implemented by the National Department of Home Affairs. The present policy on international migration is set out in the 1999 White Paper on International Migration. The central purpose of the immigration policy is to define which foreigners will be allowed to become part of the South African community and for how

long, either on a temporary or a permanent basis (Ojong, 2002). The current Green Paper (RSA, 2016: 9) proposes that "international migration must be managed proactively and strategically in order to contribute to national priorities such as nation building and social cohesion, inclusive economic growth and national security". Outlined in South Africa's immigration policy is the agenda that immigrants who are able to contribute to the broadening of South Africa's economic base are welcomed to apply for residence (RSA, 2016; Khan, 2007). Applications by skilled workers in occupations for which there is a shortage in the country are also encouraged but particularly applications by industrialist and other entrepreneurs who wish to relocate their existing business or establish new businesses in South Africa are encouraged (Khan, 2007). Any immigrant coming to South Africa for work and seeking documentation will have to show that he/she is able to meet the country's needs (Khan, 2007). While South Africa is willing to take in skilled and professional workers, un-skilled workers are not prioritised for immigration, as they will most likely threaten and deprive South Africans of employment opportunities to earn a livelihood (Khan, 2007). However, the underlying premise of South Africa's migration policy is that immigration can be a positive tool of social and economic development, without compromising the rights and economic status of South African nationals or basic human rights of migrants (Dodson & Crush, 2006).

Views about South Africa's immigration policy have ranged between two extremes, with some calling it diverse and others calling it restrictive (Crush & Williams, 2001). Despite the increase in cross-border movement, some argue that the ANC-led government has continued to pursue a more restrictive immigration policy and that there has also been a hardening of attitudes towards foreigners in the country (Dinabobo & Nyasulu, 2015; Crush & Williams, 2001; Ojong, 2002). For example, employers have identified difficulties in securing permits for foreign employees which has contributed to the increase in undocumented migrants within the country, migrant mineworkers are still not permitted to bring their wives or family members with them to South Africa, nearly one million people were deported from the country (a record high) following the democratic election of the ANC in 1994 and the implementation of their illegal migrant policies in 1996 which made the fear and deportation of undocumented migrants one of its top measures, there has been a massive clampdown on unauthorised movement into the country, "marriages of convenience" are more closely policed, and the number of permanent residence permits issued by the Department of Home Affairs declined by two thirds during the ushering out of the Apartheid government and the year 2008 (Crush & William, 2001; Crush & McDonald, 2001; Dinabobo & Nyasulu; 2015; Wentzel, 2003; Dodson &

Crush, 2006; Adepoju, 2003). The view of immigration as a public policy tool that could benefit South Africa is not widespread, instead, South Africans are said to be largely intolerant of foreigners and supportive of restrictive policies; immigrants (even the most highly skilled) are more often stereotyped as a threat to the economic, social and security interest of South Africans (they are said to be taking opportunities away from the local South Africans and bringing crime and disorder to the society) with widespread negative attitude towards foreigners (Crush, 2000; Crush *et al*., 2005; Ngomane, 2010).

South Africa's process of nationalism has also placed great emphasis on defining the boundaries of citizenship; South Africa is an extremely identity driven society placing a lot of emphasis both legislatively and socially on those who do and do not belong, thus access to services, such as health care or education, without an identity document is extremely difficult as well as being accepted within local communities as a member of set community (Khan, 2007; Ojong, 2002). Foreign migrants are forced to become self-reliant, receiving little state support for social services. Many Africans feel alienated, most notably those foreigners who lived side-by-side with Black South Africans during Apartheid find themselves feeling more estranged in the democratic South Africa, and find it difficult to start a new life in South Africa due to the stringent controls (Ojong, 2002).

However, there are also those who believe that South Africa's migration policy is transformative. For example, in 2007 the South African government stated her intention to ease cross-border movement and downgrade border controls by signing an agreement with Lesotho; residence status was granted to 90, 000 former Mozambican refugees, and about 124, 000 nationals of the SADC countries who had been living in the country since 198; the South African Immigration Act 2011 states that the government is making the import of skills and rooting out xenophobia in communities a priority; Statistics South Africa (2013) shows that a total of one hundred and forty two, eight hundred and thirty three thousand temporary residence permits (TRPs) and permanent residency permits (PRPs) were issues in the year 2012 by the Department of Home Affairs, of which 54.4 per cent of the TRPs and 53.2 per cent of the PRPs were issued to people from the African continent; and in 2008 previous Minister of Home Affair, Mapisa-Nqakula endorsed the AU Strategic Framework on Migration and the Common Position on Migration and Development (Crush, 2008) . These examples show how South African policy is dedicated to including foreign migrants into South African communities. However, according to Crush (2008), one of the key problems facing the country is that the

public remains extremely hostile towards immigration and the key issues remain the negative perceptions that many South Africans hold towards Black, foreign nationals.

According to the Department of Home Affairs, as a result of the decline of the South African economy employment opportunities are scarce to the extent that skilled and qualified people are being retrenched and are finding it difficult to secure alternative employment. For this reason it is a prerequisite that foreigners wishing to take up employment in South Africa to be in possession of a firm and acceptable offer of employment that correspond with their training and qualification before a work permit can be considered, for example (Ojong, 2002). These measures are put in place to ensure that South African workers are protected against the scarcity of jobs that comes with the influx of economic migrants and to protect migrants once in South Africa. As a result of the decline of employment opportunities, most notably in the formal economy, informal economy is becoming an important source of employment for migrants to South Africa. However, with reduced regulations and an already heavy presence of migrants within the informal economy, under the conditions of rampant competition and economic strife, xenophobic attitudes are becoming more visible.

Thus when migrating to South Africa migrants are faced with a challenging circumstances to overcome. According to the literature discussed, as a skilled migrant wishing to contribute to her own development and that of the country, one may be welcomed by the state however dismissed by a society that wishes to reserve growth for its own people. In this context of trying conditions theorising the motivations and manner of migration by migrants moving to South Africa becomes increasingly interesting as this research moves to understand how much migrants are benefiting from living and working in South Africa and how much they are contributing to society, despite the hostile environment.

2.4 CHAPTER SUMMARY: INTERGRATING THEORIES AND APPLYING THEM TO SOUTH AFRICA'S MIGRATION CRISIS

The theories on migration seek to conceptualise the process of migration at different levels of analysis- the individual, the household, the national and the international, and can therefore be understood interchangeable as they are not inherently contradictory or alienated unless one adopts the rigid position that causes must operate at only one level (Massey *et al*,. 1993). No single theory captures the full complexity of migration and therefore Nicholas Van Hear's (2010) conceptualisation of 'mixed migration', which refers to the mixed nature of migration

flows and the mixed motivations for migrants, is particularly relevant in empirical understandings of migration. According to the IOM (2014), migration in South Africa is characterised by mixed flows of migrants moving to the country to find employment and economic opportunities in both formal and informal sectors. This paper therefore steers away from theoretical exclusivity and instead, in line with Massey *et al*. (1993), takes the broader position that causal processes can function at several levels simultaneously. In order to contextualise and frame for this research this section will organise which theoretical explanations are relevant and testable empirically with respect to migration within the South African context.

The neoclassical economic model states that migration is directly related to expected wage differentials between sending and receiving countries and therefore empirically wage differentials between South Africa and Ghana should be the leading factor in analysing the theory and data set, as well as employment probabilities in South Africa (Massey et al., 1993). According to the new economics of migration theory, migration is a household response to income risks and market failures, which limit local income opportunities and therefore those households confronted with the greatest local market imperfections should be the most likely to emigrate from Ghana, and migration and remittances should positively influence local income generating-activities (Massey *et al*., 1993). The dual market labour approach theorises that immigration is driven by conditions of labour demand rather than supply, which can be tested by observing a higher degree of demand forces within South Africa as compared to Ghana, by tracing flows to some sort of recruitment programme and observing that secondary-sector wages are flexible downward (Massey *et al*., 1993). The world systems theory postulates that migration goes in the opposite direction to international capital flows and thus streams of foreign capital going into peripheral regions need be observed as accompanied by corresponding outflows of emigrants to global cities as opposed to other places in the developed or developing world, as well as indicators of prior colonial relationships, common languages, trade relations and the existence of transportation and communications links (Massey *et al*., 1993). The world systems theory can be adapted to suit the African continent by acknowledging South Africa as hosting some of the key continental cities and should therefore be an attractive destination for intra-continental migration. With regard to the network theory the probability of international migration should be greater for individuals who are related to someone who has previously travelled internationally, or individuals connected to

someone who is living abroad and the likelihood should increase with the closeness of the relationship (Masey *et al*., 1993).

Migration to South Africa can be understood within a variety of paradigms at different levels. In accordance with Ravenstein's theory, historically, South Africa has been considered the hub for economic migrants in the continent. By virtue of its strong economic position, South Africa experiences high volumes of migration into the country, with migrants (both male and female) choosing to immigrate to the country to pursue income-earning activities in the formal and informal sectors (IOM, 2014). The high levels of migration to the country pose risks to South Africa's socio-economic capacity. As such, South Africa' immigration policy prioritises migrants possessing scarce skills that contribute towards the development of the country for immigration. Though migrants may be 'pulled' by the prospects for employment in the country, as is argued by the dual-market labour theory, they do not always receive the top-leading jobs in the country due to the scarcity of employment opportunities and entry into the country is highly regulated, sifting out the types of immigrates that can positively contribute to the economy, in many instances perpetuating illegal and undocumented migration. While South Africa is an increasingly popular destination for economic migrants and their networks, it is often an intimidating destination as a result of the prevalence of xenophobic attitudes towards foreigners. However, despite the challenges associated with migrating to South Africa, there are still increasing flows of migrants to the country (IOM, 2014). Understanding the push factors in the sending country, in accordance with Lee's theory are important to explaining why so many migrants still choose to travel to South Africa and the kinds of activities they engage in in the country. These factors, pushing women to migrate from Ghana, are discussed in more detail in chapter three.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The methodology of this study was guided by the purpose and objectives of this research which sought to understand the survival strategies and contributions of Ghanaian migrant women in South Africa. The starting point of this analysis was to explore the changing trends in migration in South Africa after independence by focusing on a certain group of women migrants, from Ghana, who have settled in South Africa, have secured livelihoods, and contribute positively to the economy through small/medium business activities. This research primarily made use of a qualitative research design; however quantitative techniques to formulate statistics for the purpose of more easily conveying the data were employed which enhanced the data analysis. As Babbie and Mouton (2001) suggested, the qualitative research design created the opportunity to gain an in-depth and detailed account of the subject matter; to know every aspect, as was relevant to the topic, of the migrant women's lives, which later informed the analysis and conclusions of this paper. In order to understand the way of life of the women migrants this research used a three-tier methodological approach starting with a review of the literature, followed by ethnography and finally the use of key informants. This chapter presents and explains each step of the chosen methodology and data collection process, followed by the challenges encountered and how they were overcome, and finally the ethical considerations in order to inform the reader of the credibility of the research process.

3.2 REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The methodological approach applied in this research began with a review of the currently available literature on migration. The literature review applied in this study is divided into two parts that seek to establish the theoretical framework of migration from an academic standpoint and then with specific attention to the South African context. The first part of the literature review begins with a discussion and analysis of some of the most prominent migration theories

that I believed would be relevant to this study as approaches to understanding the lives of independent Ghanaian women migrants. The theories discussed are drawn from secondary literature including books and journals and explain the entire migration process beginning with the pre-migration phase and the factors leading to and perpetuating migration, the process of relocation and then the settlement phase, each emphasising different factors that determine who migrates, how and their well-being thereafter. The analysis of the theories discussed helped guide the data analysis and highlight important elements for consideration in the framing the arguments applied in this study. These theories were combined to form a multifaceted understanding of migration in a way that was suitable to the South African context with reference to economic migrants.

There is interesting literature on migration to South Africa both during and after Apartheid, but at the same time, there is also a significant lack of research relating to the experiences of migrant women in these contexts. Migration studies in South Africa has largely focused on the experiences of male migrants and assumed that these experiences were typical and sufficient for explaining and understanding the migratory trends in the country however this is seen as insufficient as migration impacts differently on men and women (Pessar, 2005; IOM, 2014). This approach employs thematic data analysis to analyse common themes in the South African migration context, starting with an analysis of migration trends pre-democracy and thereafter a discussion of migration in the post-apartheid climate with specific attention paid to the opportunities for growth in South Africa and attitudes towards migrants. Secondary literature, using a top-down approach has specifically been selected which begins by introducing the broader topic of international migration and its relative theories and thereafter zooms in to explain the international migration trends in Africa, South Africa and situates the experiences of women migrants in this context.

The approach to the literature targeted four subject areas: international migration, migration policy in South Africa, women migrants in South Africa, and xenophobic attitudes and practices in the country. This paper relied on the secondary literature in varying amounts throughout the research process and this is reflected in the writing of each chapter. Chapter Three, which is the literature review chapter, is based on a selection of some of the most relevant published works relating to the theory and history of migration in South Africa. Chapter Four displays a balanced reliance on both secondary literature and primary research covering the issues of circumstance perpetuating female emigration from Ghana. Chapter Five deviates from this trend and is heavily reliant on primary data collected during the ethnography

and key informant interviews with minimal reference to secondary data sources, which mainly relate to migration policy and the hair care industry in South Africa.

At this point it is important to address gender as an approach to studying migration to assist in framing the thought process and approach to this research paper. Scholars from different disciplines have been interested to explore and explain how gender, as an organising social construct, shapes and defines human experience. As more women have come to be visible and present in migration streams, so scholars have taken a more keen interest in studying the lives and experiences of women migrants (Pessar, 2005). However, gendered theories of migration remain few and far between. The approach to the literature and subsequent methods are thus determined to contribute uniquely to the field of work and focus purely on women migrants throughout the research paper and while employing an approach that is sensitive to gender studies and an awareness of the gender inequities and patriarchy in society, women's strength has been emphasised to showcase a certain group of women as innovators in their industry.

This study particularly benefitted from the contributions of some key migration authors. In his various publications, Aderanti Adepoju has offered a remarkable coverage of migration trends in Africa and paid attention to gender divisions. His work has informed the fundamental understanding applied to an understanding of migration and its' history in Africa. The Southern Africa Migration Project (SAMP) publications offer detailed analysis of the history and trends of migration in South Africa and Ojong (2002, 2005) provides a notable account of women migrants in South Africa working in the hair care industry. However, aside from the important work of Ojong, the experiences of Ghanaian women are not dealt with in great depth. West African migrant women have not been extensively studied in South African migration studies, instead focus has been more widely directed to the plight of women migrants from Southern and Eastern Africa in the context of cross-border trading or fleeing political crisis, and this is largely as a result of their visible dominance in migration streams (Dodson, 1998; Muzvidziwa, 2001; Tevera & Zinyama, 2002). However data from the United Nations has shown that more women from West Africa are moving to South Africa and in this paper recognition is duly given to the impact made by Ghanaian women. Ojong (2002; 2005). Therefore this paper not only makes use of a variety of key sources and approaches but it expands on and contributes to the existing literature on gender and migration in South Africa, recognising the importance of historicising one's understanding of the existing social structures and political and economic interactions, and informs some of our first theorising of Ghanaian women in South Africa.

3.3 RESEARCH FRAMEWORK AND FIELD WORK

Two primary research methods have been used to address the questions about how Ghanaian women migrants construct livelihoods and their socio-economic contributions: an ethnographic study of select businesses in a small area and key informant interviews. The ethnographic study was chosen as a method because it allowed interaction with the women migrants in their working environment and the extraction of in depth, detailed information about their experiences both in the pre-migration phase and the post-migration phase. This information informed the writing of Chapters Four and Chapter Five of this study. The key informant interviews were the logical next step in corroborating the findings from the literature review and ethnography as well as gaining access to important information and statistics that may not have been publically available.

The research was conducted over a period of four months in the year 2016 in four Ghanaian-owned hair and beauty salons in the suburbs of Hatfield and Sunnyside, Pretoria, Gauteng, South Africa. As a direct result of the author's pre-existing familiarity and relationship with three Ghanaian hair stylists in these areas, suitable participants were readily identified to participate in the study and to begin the data collection phase of the research. The following sections detail the primary research methods adopted.

3.3.1 ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY

The ethnography for this study was used to collect primary data from Ghanaian women migrants in the hair care industry in selected salons around the suburbs of Sunnyside and Hatfield, Pretoria, South Africa. The ethnography formed the core of this research and was the main primary data source used to inform the arguments of this paper. Conducting the ethnographic studies was important for collecting raw data explaining decisions, and telling the stories of the Ghanaian women being studied. The ethnography sought to answer the research questions by understanding the lives of the women migrants, their wealth, their social and economic roles, and their community engagement in order to relay and compare the actualities of migration to South Africa to the theories proposed in the literature review. The data collected is not necessarily reflective of the national circumstances of Ghanaian women migrants in South Africa however it does illustrate how a certain group of women migrants in a particular industry are ensuring their survival in South Africa and contributing to the growth

of the hair care industry, encouraging readers to reflect on their perceptions of women migrants and offers a unique insight to the informal market of South Africa.

The ethnographic study lasted four months and during that time data was collected from four Ghanaian-owned small enterprises (hair salons) within the designated areas. Twelve migrant Ghanaian women who either owned or worked as hair stylists in these enterprises were interviewed and observed. The ethnography relied on the participant observation to pick up on unspoken information and habits of the business and the women as well as in-depth interviews that took the form of discussions rather than any structured questionnaire to engage each participant on their migration experiences. The ethnography took place within the salons on Saturdays (which were typically very busy) and Sundays (which were relatively less busy) to accommodate the author's timetable and allow observation of the salon during its peak and quieter hours. One month was spent studying each salon. During the ethnography use was made of targeted interviews, informal discussions, informal observations, group discussions in the salons between stylists and clients. This technique was crucial as it enabled the study of and engagement with the lives of the women from the outside as well as gain an insiders perspective, identifying different views from different people at their convenience. The data was recorded both with hand written notes and an audio recorder, subject to the participants' consent. Follow-up questions were usually conducted via cell phone or in person. By using the author's initial contacts within the salon industry the author was able to gather more participants to the study using a snowballing technique which led to the introduction to other Ghanaian hair stylists within the study area. The selection of Sunnyside and Hatfield as study areas was based on a number of criteria including the relatively high number of Ghanaian-owned and staffed beauty salons in areas that were readily accessible to the author. The ethnography proved essential to understanding the circumstances of the migrant women and informed the greater part of the data chapters of this study.

3.3.2 KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS

Understanding the relationship between migrants and the state was important in understanding how migrants interact with and are affected by the migration regulations stipulated by the government of South Africa. As such it was important to approach particular individuals who had specific insight and knowledge in the study area, understood the institutions and regulations, and had access to valuable information. The key informants were further used to

fill any gaps in the literature and to give feedback on the data gathered. Three interviewees were chosen for this study based on their expertise and availability.

The key informants chosen for this study were two consular service officers from the Ghana High Commission in Pretoria, South Africa, and one associate and professional hair stylists currently working in the hair care industry. Each interview was conducted during the fourth month of my data collection phase and lasted 30 minutes on average. The interviews with the consular service officers were particularly valuable in explaining those factors encouraging Ghanaian migration to South Africa and the institutional environment in South Africa as experienced by migrants. The hair care associate interview was an effective tool for emphasising the economic and social value of the hair care industry as well as the contributions of Ghanaian women migrants to the industry in South Africa. These interviews were very helpful because there is limited literature about Ghanaian women migrants and their work in the hair care industry of South Africa. It was hoped that an interview with a representative of the South African Department of Home Affairs and Labour could be arranged but such an interview was not possible. Such an interview would have offered critical immigration and labour information especially as it relates to the history and trends of Ghanaian migrants in the country. However, access to a wide variety of recent online and print publications from their office was useful for the literature review and analysis chapters.

The key informants were interviewed using a semi-structured interview schedule to collect key points around specific questions relating to the experience and expertise of the informants. The Ghanaian consular officers were formally invited to the interview and targeted in accordance with the specifications set out by the Ghanaian High Commission and chance meetings were also used which created the opportunity to identify the hair care associate as a key informant to the study as a useful source. During the interviews a series of questions based from a prepared schedule were asked as well as up questions based on informant's answers to delve deeper into certain topics that developed from conversations. The key informant interviews offered notable insight into the status and policy surrounding migrants and foreign-owned businesses in the country.

3.3.3 DATA ANALYSIS

As the data was collected it was analysed by transcribing the data and then studying it to identify common themes and highlight important information and findings. The data analysis

phase was carried out after the fourth month of the research framework phase and directed how the data collated was presented in the writing up of this paper.

Data collected was organising into a series of key themes that later informed the chapter headings and subheading in this paper. These themes were identified and drawn from the theories discussed in the literature review. This process made it easier to understand and further explain the data and ensured that the data was more effectively used to form a coherent argument by drawing on the common themes. This process took place at two levels; a basic level which involved a descriptive account of the verbal and non-verbal data collected during the ethnography and key informant interviews in order to summarise the narrated stories and identify key points made during the discussions and interviews, and on a higher level at which the data collected was interpreted in accordance with the aims and objectives of the study. This process sought to make sense of the data collected within the framework of the study's objectives in order to not only describe the phenomenon but, understand what it meant and identify convergence between the data to develop common themes and experiences which informed the arguments and conclusions of this study. Those themes that did not fit within the identified categories were also included as in this paper as areas that required further research.

3.4 RESEARCH DIFFICULTIES AND RESPONSES TO THEM

Three main difficulties were encountered during the course of this research relating to the procurement and interpretation of data: an unwillingness on the participants' part to share certain information, concerns about researcher objectivity throughout the research study, and a limited pool of existing literature. In order to improve the strength of the evidence and its interpretation, the number of initial participants was expanded to include more Ghanaian women migrants with greater attention being paid to the data analysis phase to avoid any potential bias.

3.4.1 PARTICIPANT RELUCTANCE DIFFICULTIES

Migration has become a contentious issue in South Africa especially as it relates to the legality of foreign migrants living in the country. Hostility towards migrants from South Africans has been reflected in the laws, institutions and attitudes towards migrants living in the country. This has made foreigners reluctant to engage with others, especially local South Africans, on

particular issues that relate to their migration status in the country largely for fear of persecution either socially or by law enforcing authorities. Conducting the ethnography and interviews amongst the Ghanaian women migrants was thus made difficult because of the unwillingness of the women to share certain sensitive information related to the legality of their residency documentation and its acquisition. The women feared that they would be put at risk by sharing in depth detailed accounts of their personal experiences and legal status in South Africa and preferred to use general statements that expressed not only the difficulties of migrating to a new country but also posed a challenge to be overcome during the research process.

Several steps were introduced in order to overcome this challenge and ensure relevant collection of data without putting the participants at risk or causing any discomfort. These steps included: first explaining the aims, purposes and use of this study verbally and within the signed consent forms; secondly, by informing the women that participation within the study was voluntary, could be withdrawn at any point, and any information they wished to remain anonymous would be included as such; thirdly, by assuring each woman that the study did not seek to cause them any harm and that the information collected would not be used or discussed for any purpose other than for this research project. The author was able to gain the trust of the women and put them at ease by establishing common ground as women and foreigners living in South Africa. Throughout the ethnography the author sensitised herself to each woman's story and the extent to which she was willing to share in order to ensure that boundaries were not overstepped discomfort caused. When in groups, participants were encouraged to participate in informal group discussions in order to ease the flow of information sharing and make the women more open to share. These techniques helped to ensure that the women did not feel threatened by the author's presence and were willing to share as much information as they deemed prudent within a comfortable environment.

3.4.2 CONSIDERATIONS OF OBJECTIVITY

Being a foreign woman in South Africa made the author pay significant attention to her own objectivity during this study. During the analysis of the migrant's lives the temptation to overly empathise and emphasise the struggles encountered by migrant's in South Africa and deprecate those individuals and institutions contributing to the women's strife was present. However, conducting this research required the author to be precise and impartial which began by first recognising the risks of bias and subjective influence and thereafter managing these risks.

In order to manage the risks of bias critical attention was paid to ensuring that the types of questions asked during the data collection started off broadly and became more specific according to the information gathered from each participant. This allowed the information gathered to inform the research and its themes as opposed to the researcher informing the study. Close attention was paid to ensuring that the author did not probe any particular kind of responses and instead the information remained true to its informant. This was further achieved by maintaining emotional objectivity. Particular attention was paid during the data analysis phase to solely reflect the views and experiences of the participants interviewed in the same light that they were expressed and from there draw conclusions and identify themes. Throughout the research the author reminded herself that she was not telling her own story but those of the women in the study.

While the author's proximity to the topic may have created an obstacle to be overcome, it was also advantageous, as is noted above, in easing the access to and communication with the migrant women. Certain information may have been inaccessible to an 'outsider' or may have been more difficult to gather and understand as the women might have felt less comfortable sharing and as a result of more stark culture and language barriers. However, the author was able to openly (to an extent) engage with the women and understand the culture and expressions (due to the author's pre-exposure to Ghanaian culture), while taking care to ensure her objectivity as a researcher and not as a participant in the study.

3.4.3 LIMITED LITERATURE

The third challenge encountered during this study related to the limited amount of accessible literature about migration in Africa and women. As is extensively discussed in this paper, most migration studies available today are either gender neutral, androcentric or completely neglect women as a category or approach. Furthermore, there are limited in-depth analysis of African economic migrants in post-Apartheid South Africa in industries outside of mining, informal cross-border trading, farming, and other popular topics. Thus, this research relied heavily on internet sources, SAMP publications, and the works of key authors to develop an understanding of the field in the African context. In other instances, where there was literature, transcribing the literature into English was not possible and/or the information was outdated. However, the author was able to successfully collate an extensive reading list that directed this study by reading very widely and using a variety of resources.

3.5 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

This study is held to maintain the integrity of the author's research, data collection, compilation, and analysis processes. This research does not seek to bring harm to the participants nor the greater society. Before participating in the study, all subjects were required to read and sign a consent form that stated that the anonymity of the participants would be maintained upon request, the roles and purposes of this research, as well as the potential uses of this research and that participation was voluntary and without compensation. Permission was requested from informants for the author to record and take notes in the discussions and interviews that were conducted and informants were advised that they could withdraw from the study at any time. The research was carried out independently and impartially in accordance with the rules and regulations set by the University of Pretoria.

3.6 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has presented the methodology chosen and followed by the author of this research paper. The steps discussed within this chapter and the subsequent information formed the greater majority of this research paper, informing the themes identified, arguments put forth, and the conclusions drawn. This chapter described and explained the data collection process and informed the reader where and how that information is used in this paper. This chapter has thus been important in justifying the research and its methods as well as showing the extent and limitations of this paper. The following chapters present the outcomes of the methodology, presenting and analysing the data collected.

CHAPTER FOUR
GOING FOR THE EXIT: THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PUSH FACTORS, AND THE WOMEN IN POSTCOLONIAL GHANA

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Ghana was once known as Africa's shining beam of hope; a country that attracted scores of migrants to its commercial centres and a country with immense potential to lead Africa into a new era of development and solidarity. But like many other African countries, Ghana was unable to capture long-term growth and the eventual decline and collapse of the economy left widespread communities in dire poverty, without access to resources and basic services, and with slight margins for personal and community growth. Because women bore the brunt of these challenges, many women chose to emigrate to ensure better livelihood security outside of Ghana. This chapter provides an in-depth discussion about the push factors leading to emigration from Ghana from the time the country achieved independence and the social, kin and professional networks linking Ghanaian migrants to South Africa. The chapter is based on a combination of secondary material and key informant interviews in addition to relevant material from the case study which has been used to support the arguments put forth.

The first sections of this chapter describe Ghana's transition from a migrant receiving country to a migrant sending country. These sections trace Ghana's fortunes from the time of decolonisation and discuss the accompanying economic challenges that spurred the exit of its citizens from the Ghanaian economy. Women's circumstances are then assessed within this setting by looking at the economic limitations and socio-economic status of women in Ghana and their impact on the socio-cultural dynamics on women's well-being. Thereafter the chapter moves into the migration process and discusses how migration presented an opportunity to overcome the relative deprivation that women experienced while living in Ghana. The chapter describes the push factors that caused women to migrate, as well as the networks that eased the process of migration and in so doing, this chapter provides an in-depth discussion about the pre-migration phase and describes the circumstances in Ghana that contributed to the migration of the women into South Africa. This chapter is thus important for answering this project's

specific research questions and providing background for the analysis and arguments put forth in chapter five.

4.2 TRANSITION FROM NET-IMMIGRATION TO NET-EMIGRATION

The Republic of Ghana became a symbol of hope for pan-Africanism when it became the first African country to obtain independence in 1957 under Dr Kwame Nkrumah (1909-1972), the popular leader of the Convention People's Party (Meng, 2004; Shillington, 2005). Much was expected for Ghana from her move to an independent democratic society. Independence was meant to bring a new era of political and civil autonomy, freedom, equality, growth, and development for the nation, finally giving Ghana the opportunity to benefit from her agricultural and mineral wealth (Pickett & Shaeeldin, 1990; Meng, 2004; Manuh, 2001). Initially, Ghana achieved much developmental success in her post-colonial era, enjoying an unrivalled privileged position and attracting floods of migrants. Ghana benefitted from a relatively stable regime, an overwhelmingly popular and charismatic leader, a variety of rich natural resources, and a high stock of human capital. However, Ghana was unable to sustain her short-term growth in the long term (Meng, 2004). The Ghanaian economy suffered from excess demand, currency overvaluation, foreign dependence, overextended state involvement, financial sector inhibitions, and long periods of military rule, which were marked by gross human rights abuses and eventually led to Ghana's decline (Meng, 2004; Abdulai, 2009).

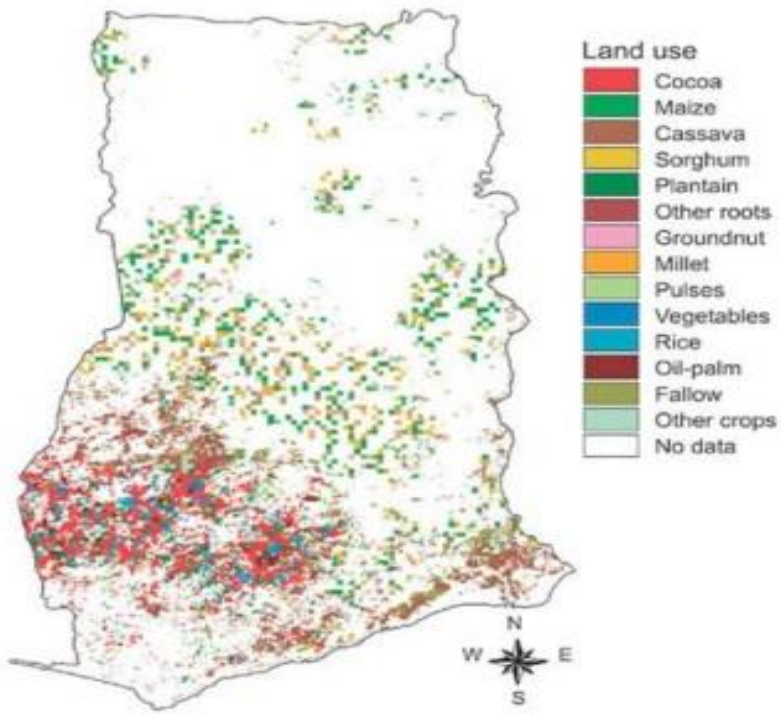
Survival became increasingly difficult for the Ghanaian people during Ghana's socio-economic and political decline. Ghana's decline led to large numbers of women, men and children eventually being forced by circumstance to emigrate to neighbouring countries, other African countries, and the rest of the world in search of improved living conditions and economic security. In a space of decades, a nation that was once regarded as Africa's shining beam of hope and a destination of migrants from other African countries and abroad, was plunged into instability and transitioned from a migrant receiving country to a migrant sending country. The subsections that follow describe Ghana's initial success and status as a net-immigration country and subsequent downfall and transition to a net-emigration country.

4.2.1 GHANA AS A NET-IMMIGRATION COUNTRY: INITIAL GROWTH AND PRIVILEGED POSITION

Following independence, Ghana was able to solidify her place as a strong political force with mass potential for growth and development consequently attracting businesses and people to her shores. Ghana's transition in the post-colonial era and between subsequent governments was relatively stable; unlike many other African countries Ghana was successful in avoiding much of the post-liberation bloodshed witnessed elsewhere and was not plunged into civil war, which effectively increased Ghana's international presence as a country with firm democratic values (Meng, 2004; Shillington, 2005). While Ghana took her seat as a leader in post-independent Africa, through the contributing effects of her core democratic values and status as a peaceful nation, Ghana also benefitted from vast reserves of natural resources and skilled personnel making Ghana the ideal location for capitalist investment and growth.

Ghana's clear advantage in natural resources gave her a competitive edge and a strong base for economic reform (Meng, 2004; see also Fig. 4.1). At the time of independence Ghana was the leading exporter of cocoa in the world, exporting an average of 370 000 tons of cocoa annually, which accounted for as much as 50 per cent of the country's GDP, it also mined $1/10^{th}$ of the world's gold and further contained rich deposits of aluminium, bauxite, diamonds, petroleum, rubber, silver and manganese (Meng, 2004, see figure 4.1). The contributions of the agriculture and mining sectors made Ghana a middle-income country whose per capita income in the mid-1960s matched that of South Korea, outperforming all sub-Saharan countries (Meng, 2004). A prosperous middle class emerged in Ghana soon after independence, aided not only by the economy but by a well-developed school and health services and road systems (Berry, 1994). Thus, Ghana had the advantage of a distinguished higher education system, administrative elites, and a prevalent respect for international institutions and polices thus theoretically providing a strong base for development (Berry, 1994; Meng, 2004). Under these conditions, Ghana was identified by states, businesses, job seekers and investors as a prime location for capitalist expansion in the African market and development consequently attracting scores of economic and other migrants. This success, however, was short lived.

Fig. 4.1: Simulated land use map of Ghana



Source: FAO (2004)

4.2.2 FROM MIGRANT RECEIVING TO MIGRANT SENDING COUNTRY

Ghana's relative affluence compared to that of her neighbours and other African states attracted many migrants from the region (Awumbila *et al*, 2008; Anarfi *et al*, 2003). A rise in employment opportunities, the development of industry and higher wages, especially in urban areas, and poverty reduction made the Ghanaian economy attractive (Awumbila *et al*, 2008; African Economic Outlook, 2015). This encouraged increased flows of rural-urban migration and sub-regional migration to Ghana's centres of commerce. By way of noting the population increase, by the 1980s, the number of urban settlements in Ghana had increased nearly nine fold from 41 in 1948, to 364 in 2000 (Songsore, 2010). The trends in urban and rural settlements are depicted in Table 4.1 which displays the population boom in Ghana (specifically noting women's increase) between 1960 and 1984. The table shows that the net total of women in Ghana increased before Ghana's significant economic decline from the 1980's, as well as the increase in the number of women living in urban settlements inversely to the number of women living in rural settlements. This population boom was largely attributed to migration as research from the 1960 Census shows that immigrants accounted for 12 per cent of the total population, and interestingly, migrants from other African countries

constituting 98 per cent of the total foreign population, a number of which were South African freedom fighters such as Arnold Selby (1918-2002) and other pan-Africanists (Ghana, 1960; Awumbila *et al*, 2008). It can thus be said that Ghana assumed the status of a net-immigration country soon after independence.

Table 4.1: Ghana Female Population by Urban /Rural Residence, 1960, 1970, 1984

				Female Proportion
Year	Total Population	Urban	Rural	Total Country
1960	6,726,815	48.5	49.7	49.5
1970	8,559,315	50.1	50.5	50.4
1984	12,296,081	51.3	50.4	50.4

Source: Ghana Population Censuses, (2005:35)

Ghana's status as a migrant-receiving state was further strengthened by former president Dr Kwame Nkrumah's foreign policy which, among other things, was geared towards the promotion of pan-Africanism and inclusiveness, encouraging migration for the purposes of combined growth for African states (Awumbila *et al.*, 2008; Anarfi *et al*, 2003). Dr Kwame Nkrumah was seen as a "hero… a die-hard who wanted to achieve his dream of a better African continent for all Africans" (int. Koko Nkrumah, 2016). Mr Koko Nkrumah, also described Dr Kwame Nkrumah as a visionary who believed in the unity and prosperity of all Africans. The promotion of this vision further encouraged many individuals to migrate to Ghana for various pursuits.

Despite her initial advantages and privileges, Ghana failed to capture long-term economic growth. Following the coup against Dr Kwame Nkrumah, the economic policies pursued in the 1970s by both the National Redemption Council and the Supreme Military Council, coupled with the frequent changes in government and a lack of continuity of policies, resulted in Ghana's economic downturn (Awumbila *et al*, 2008). These policies included expansionary fiscal deficits funded by borrowing from the banking system and fixing the exchange rate, disregarding the worsening economic circumstances, and led to an incredibly overvalued exchange rate and mass economic deficit (Gockel &Vormawor, 2004). From the mid-1970s

to the mid-1980s Ghana faced increasingly dramatic economic decline, accompanied by (see Pickett & Shaeeldin, 1990; Meng, 2004):

- high population growth,
- negative growth rates,
- hyperinflation,
- food shortages,
- massive unemployment and underemployment,
- deterioration of pre-colonial infrastructure such as roads and communication networks,
- deindustrialisation,
- weakening health and social welfare systems,
- dwindling basic service and sanitation provisions,
- high rates of unemployment and poverty and,
- environmental degradation

The socio-economic and political condition during Ghana's economic downturn was described as 'dismal.....Ghana's fabric was falling apart and most people were unable to survive the worsening conditions' (int. Kojo Nkrumah, 2016). Ghana witnessed many changes during this time; Ghana's national currency devalued and the country became increasingly dependent on foreign aid, and faced immense external debt. Many sectors faced dire challenges, for example, as seen in Table 4.2, the agriculture sector, which had been Ghana's leading contributor to the national GDP, experienced negative growth between 1970 and 1980, less than two-fold its growth in 1960 to 1970. The decline in the agriculture sector shows the drastic extent of the economic decline. Ghana's economic ills resulted in deep structural inequalities, with poverty largely concentrated in the three northern regions (Upper East, Upper West Region, and Northern Region). People across the country and particularly in the three northern regions faced immense hardship, most especially felt among food crop farmers, who were unable to subsidise the costs associated with farming, and women, who remained subjugated to men in certain areas (Abduali, 2009). There was a general lack of confidence in the Ghanaian economy and survival became increasingly difficult for many citizens. Thus, Ojong (2002) associated the out-migration of people to two factors; limited resources and widespread personal dissatisfaction. Migration became a coping strategy for many individuals and families to survive the economic decline and stagnation. This set the stage for large-scale internal

migration to large cities of commerce (mostly situated in the southern regions) and international emigration to other African and international countries (Adjei, 2006; Manuh, 2001).

Table 4.2: Selected industry Ghanaian growth rates, 1950-1980

(Average annual rates, per cent)

	1950-1960	1960-1970	1970-1980
Real GDP	4.1	2.1	0.6
Agriculture	-	3.7	1.2
Manufacturing	-	11.6	-2.3
Population	1.5	2.4	2.3
Real Exports	3.2	-0.3	-2.7
Real Imports	8.9	-1.4	-3.8
Gross Domestic Investment	8.9	-3.2	-
GDP Deflator	2.2	7.6	33.6

Source: World Bank, World Tables, 1984, and World Tables, p198

Large-scale emigration started in the 1970s and peaked in the 1980s (see Table 3 for immigrant population trends), while immigration into the country declined (when Prime Minister, Prof. Kofi Abrefa Busia enacted the Alien's Compliance Order in 1969, which required that all foreigners in the country have a residence permit in order to avoid expulsion). The effects of the Act and other policy changes are highlighted in the changes in immigration population trends in Table 3. The Act flew on the face of the Convention People's Party's liberal, pan-Africanist immigration policy. Others have associated the increased out-migration of people to the tendency of the post-colonial African state after Nkrumah to identify certain population groups as the 'toxic other' and the 'return of the local' and the 'perils of belonging', which was a complete reversal of Nkrumah's policy.

This period not only saw rapid expulsion of large numbers of foreigners from Ghana but it further perpetuated the economic decline and exacerbated the flight of Ghanaian nationals (Awumbila *et al*, 2008; Anarfi *et al*, 2003; IOM, 2009). Between 1960 and 1970 the proportion of foreigners in Ghana declined from 12.3 per cent to 6.6 per cent (Anarfi *et al*, 2003). Certain

scholars have also associated the expulsions with disinvestment. As Brydon (1985:564) noted, "aliens took with them capital, and in addition, a large part of the Ghanaian trading nexus was destroyed." As of the year 1980, about 150 000 Ghanaians had registered with the Ghana High Commission in Lagos, Nigeria and it was estimated that the number of Ghanaians in Ivory Coast was between 500 000 and 800 000 (Anarfi *et al*, 2003). This, accompanied by the already declining economy, contributed to Ghana's transition to a net-emigration country. One of my informants noted:

> Emigration from Ghana was not a common feature during the time of Dr Kwame Nkrumah. Although people faced political and economic challenges, they still chose to stay in the country. However, since the 1980s, there have been increasing floods of people leaving Ghana for greener pastures elsewhere largely due to the politics (that often favoured certain groups and tribes, neglecting services and development in other regions and amongst other groups e.g. the three Northern regions of Ghana) and the failing economic state of the country (int. Richard Adjei, 2016).

Table 4.3: Stock of immigrants as a share of Ghana population (percent)

Country	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005
Burkina Faso	1.4	1.6	1.7	1.8	2.6	3.7	4.0	4.7	5.1	5.8
Ethiopia	1.7	1.5	1.3	1.1	1.1	1.3	2.3	1.3	1.0	0.7
Ghana	7.7	5.3	3.9	3.8	3.7	3.7	4.6	5.9	7.6	7.5
Lesotho	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.7	1.1	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3
Mali	2.9	2.3	1.7	1.3	1.0	0.8	0.7	0.6	0.4	0.3
Mauritius	1.6	1.4	1.3	1.1	1.0	0.9	0.8	1.0	1.3	1.7
Nigeria	0.2	0.3	0.3	1.2	1.9	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.7
Senegal	4.8	4.4	3.8	2.9	2.0	2.5	3.7	3.5	2.9	2.8
South Africa	5.4	4.8	4.2	3.7	3.4	5.5	3.3	2.6	2.2	2.3
Uganda	11.7	11.6	10.3	7.2	5.4	4.3	3.1	2.9	2.2	1.8

Source: Shaw (2007).

The majority of emigrants from Ghana were professionals or skilled persons, such as lawyers, teachers, nurses, and hair stylists, some of whom were even invited to reside in other African countries (e.g. Botswana, Nigeria and Zambia) to assist with their internal development (Anarfi *et al*, 2003). Others, who had trained or studied in foreign countries, later returned to work in those countries or continued living in those countries after their programmes had ended (Anarfi *et al*, 2003). Ghana lost much of its trained personnel; and as my key informant noted:

> The brain drain that followed the post-Nkrumah era negatively impacted on the country's development and forced many professionals and trained personnel to flee the country in search of better living conditions and earning potential. Doctors, for example, could earn 206 USD working in Ghana and find that elsewhere they would be paid 2,060 USD. It made less sense over time for many people to remain in Ghana and so the country lost a lot of people who could have contributed to rebuilding the country over time. (Int. Kojo Nkrumah, 2016)

In recent times, emigrants from Ghana have been drawn from all socio-economic groups and ethnicities, from both urban and rural areas, and include women who migrate with their husbands or on their own (Manuh, 2001). Because women, as literature has shown (see Kawar, 2003), are considered to be a particularly vulnerable migrant group, they present a unique perspective of those factors leading to migration. While this section has looked at Ghana's transition from a migrant receiving to a migrant sending country, and highlighted the general economic factors that have led to emigration from Ghana, the section that follows further pursues this theme by focusing on the socio-economic status as well as the roles and responsibilities of women in Ghana in an attempt to deeply understand the push factors that have contributed to emigration as well as the feminisation of migration in Ghana.

4.3 WOMENS STATUS AND ACTIVITIES IN GHANAIAN SOCIETY

It is a commonly held view that women in West Africa, particularly in Ghana, enjoy a greater degree of economic and personal autonomy than women elsewhere in sub-Saharan Africa (see for example Baden *et al.,* 1994). For example, women in Ghana are known for their active participation in the labour force. Women's labour participation rates have been generally high throughout Ghana, with women accounting for about 50.02 per cent of the labour force in 2016, in comparison to other African states where women's labour force participation remains

relatively lower (Baden *et al.*, 1994; Amu, 2005; Trading Economics, 2016). According to statistics, the majority of Ghanaian women were self-employed or worked as unpaid family labour in agriculture (including farming, fishing and forestry), agro-based enterprises, industry (largely small-scale manufacturing in the informal sector), and services and commerce (especially wholesale and retail trade) (Baden *et al.*, 1994; Amu, 2005). Despite structural hindrances (such as a lack of access to technology and credit) women's involvement in commercial activities appears to have equipped Ghanaian women with a sense of ambition and shrewd business skills (see Dovi, 2006). This has been explained in terms of the culture of passing on of skills between generations, which is very strong in Ghana. To this one informant explained:

> The skills that one's parents possess are usually shared with their offspring, whether it be tiling, business skills or doing hair. And because the informal business sector is a key source of income and employment for many Ghanaians, learning business skills can be as vital to one's survival as learning how to cook and clean. Therefore many women are encouraged by parents to learn certain skills, and to familiarise themselves with trade and markets…..women tend to work hard and compete equally with men in almost all economic sectors (int. Kojo Nkrumah, 2016).

In particular, Ghanaian women have dominated the informal trading sector and have often been illustrated by the case of the 'Ghanaian Market Queens' who were known as powerful female traders (Baden *et al.*, 1994; Awumbila *et al*, 2008). For many Ghanaian women, the hair care industry in particular has been an attractive sector and continues to be a lucrative and well established, professional industry drawing women from different backgrounds and of all ages, and providing employment and positively contributing to the Ghanaian economy. From discussions with participants to this research, the hair care industry attract many young females because the skills are easily transferrable at a young age, few resources are required to enter the market, and as a result of the vast pool of clientele. However, despite their business savvy, Ghanaian women have been limited structurally, culturally and geographically.

Women's lack of access to participate and grow equally to men in the public realm has structurally limited their ability for wealth generation. The autonomy of the majority of Ghanaian women has been greatly restricted by the limited range of their economic, income-earning opportunities and a lack of upward mobility. This trend is demonstrated in the relatively

low numbers of women who have been able to break the mould and reach the highest echelons within their professions, by the reality that the majority of activities Ghanaian women engage in are largely low productivity activities yielding low incomes, and by a lack of access to credit, land and resources (Dovi, 2006; Baden *et al.*, 1994; Amu, 2005). Ghanaian women have been further limited by the double burden of unpaid household labour in the private sphere and their income earning, economic activities in the public sphere. According to GLSS 4 (Ghana, 1998/9), Ghanaian women have historically spent a total of 42.4 hours a week in non-remunerative household work (such as child bearing, cleaning and cooking) and 46.3 hours a week on income-generating activities, compared to men who spent 9.7 hours a week on non-remunerative household work and 47.9 hours on income generating activities, and on average, women earned (in selected employment industries) ¢1411 (± ZAR 5,000) compared to men who earned ¢1867 (± ZAR 6,300) on average in the same industries. These statistics demonstrate that while Ghanaian women have contributed more labour hours, they have been unable to secure remuneration that matches their productivity levels. In addition, women are unable to spend as much time engaging in productive activities that will yield monetary remuneration. Thus while many women are economically active, the culmination of these challenges that have limited many women's career progression, in the context of a national economic downturn, have forced scores of women to seek opportunities elsewhere that allow them to earn higher wages.

Gendered labour divisions have created dynamic in which women are responsible, with the assistance of their daughters, for all reproductive labour (e.g. cooking, cleaning, and looking after children) and care-giving in the household, in addition to their income-earning activities outside of the household, while men's activities are confined to the public sphere and solely relate to income generating productive work (Baden *et al.*, 1994, 1994; Amu, 2005). Typically, the scope of women's work and their responsibilities has been wide, the hours they put in are longer, and most importantly, because women's work has traditionally been situated within the household, women's time to pursue income-earning activities outside their homes has been restricted. Women have been further limited by the low status and power they hold within the household that has subjugated them to men thus rendering a lot of women dependent on their husbands or other male figures for survival (see Peterson, 2015). As a result, there are those that see migration as a strategy to increase a woman's status and power, as well as an opportunity to earn more money by distancing themselves from their domestic responsibilities and creating more freedom and time to extensively pursue their chosen careers.

Another key element of Ghanaian society that has limited women has been what may be referred to here as the 'northern problem'. The overall neglect of the northern regions and the patriarchal family structures both contributed to maintaining women's low status in the three northern regions (Baden *et al.,* 1994). According to key informant accounts, women in the northern regions of Ghana are generally disadvantaged; they are unable to access education and are constrained by their inferior status as women as a result of the cultural and religious practices in the region. Women in these regions have continued to experience underdevelopment, poverty, a lack of access to resources and public services, and have fared the worst in terms of health, education and poverty indicators. Furthermore, out-migration, mainly of younger men to work and earn money in the south and beyond, left women with increased labour burdens and damaged agricultural productivity and food security, whilst adding little to their incomes (Baden *et al.,* 1994). Traditionally women in these regions are not expected to pursue income earning activities and those few activities with which they may engage largely yielded no remuneration. Added to these is the lack of physical and social infrastructure in the northern regions that have further perpetuated women's labour burdens. Thus, women in the northern regions of Ghana have had limited income earning opportunities compared to the rest of the country, and because they are unable to access education, modern sector employment continues to be limited as well. Many women and girls from the northern regions move into cities and outside the country because they cannot see any opportunities for themselves in Ghana's rural north, and where there are opportunities, the income realised is very low (Saigal, 2016).

Another factor that has become more evident in recent times is the prominence of female headed households, which has become an increasingly widespread phenomenon in Ghana. In 2009, it was estimated that 30 per cent of all households in Ghana were female-headed (IOM, 2009). These instances are common especially in societies that practice polygamy and spousal separation of residences, in which divorce had become more common, and in situations where men had abdicated their responsibilities (Amu, 2005). This has meant that the roles of women are expanding and pointed to the fact that more women are becoming the backbone of the family in terms of being breadwinners (Amu, 2005). It can be argued that women's roles are not only expanding (yet limited) to the public sector but women are also taking on more traditionally masculinised roles that are contributing to their workload and resulting in higher levels of workers fatigue, illness and shortening their life spans. As way of summary:

> "While women's roles and participation in economic activity in the traditional sense has to a large extent been defined and restricted along biological and cultural lines, women's role in the Ghanaian economy have not been limited to the home alone but has spanned all sectors of the economy.... Women's participation in the labour force has contributed to household incomes and the education and health of their children. However, there are marked disparities in women's access to economic resources that would enable them to achieve their economic and social goals when compared to their male counterparts. Women generally lack access to credit, land and education, which make their progress in economic development relatively difficult. Women are also encumbered with their responsibility as the primary care givers in the home, thus, putting constraints on their time. Furthermore, the economic growth process in Ghana with its attendant turbulence of decay and reforms has tended to worsen the plight of vulnerable groups in the society, including women" (Amu, 2005: 9).

Migration has consequently been viewed as a strategy to empower and emancipate women from their traditional gendered roles that have in many ways restricted their economic growth potential, creating room to earn increased wages and better support and to contribute to the household (Ojong, 2002). As a result of these structural limitations and the tough socio-economic environment, women have faced more challenges in terms of economic and social survival than men and are more likely to face poverty and underdevelopment. Without neglecting the women who choose to remain in Ghana, through their active involvement in the labour force, many Ghanaian women are readily equipped to move out from the home communities to a foreign country to pursue productive work and/or enhance the career that they have already begun building (it should be noted that this statement does not neglect the need for strategies for gender equality in such communities). The next section looks at Ghanaian women in relation to South Africa as a destination country in an attempt to identify the links between Ghana as a sending country (of migrants) and South Africa as a receiving country.

4.4 GHANAIAN WOMEN MIGRANTS

The feminisation of migration in Ghana is illustrated both locally and internationally (Awumbila *et al*, 2008). Literature has shown that in the past women migrated as

accompanying spouses over short distances. Until the 1970's, the stream of female migrants was small and the focus of most studies was on male migrants travelling to Ghana's coastal regions for fishing or for farming (Hill, 1963). Any reference to women in research related to wives left behind to tend farms, care for children and maintain community cohesion (see Awumbila *et al*, 2008; Surdakasa, 1997). However, with the economic decline and with more women seeking to empower themselves, women became more prevalent in migration streams. Women chose to migrate independently, aided by networks of friends and relatives within and outside of the country, predominantly driven by economic incentives (Awumbila *et al*, 2008; Amoako & Apusigah, 2013). Thus, contrary to earlier studies that identified women as migrating mainly as joint partners with their husbands or families as dependents, women now migrate not only as dependents but as independent, voluntary migrants. Adepoju (2010) attributed the current trend of growing female migration to the expansion of the roles of women in the household and women fulfilling their own economic needs. In his 2004 work, Adepoju noted that there has been a changing trend of women travelling not only to find work, but to become self-employed in favourable markets (Adepoju, 2004).

4.4.1 CAUSES OF FEMALE MIGRATION IN GHANA

Drawing from the socio-economic experiences and limitation faced by Ghanaian women, this research has identified a series of key push factors, as described by the IOM (2009) that lead to female migration in Ghana:

Economic needs

Economic needs are at the root of female migration from Ghana. Female labour migration is a survival strategy that women employ in harsh economic conditions to increase their earning capacity (IOM, 2009). Many females have had to find ways of generating income to support themselves and their households or to become financially independent of their husbands as a way of gaining status or power in the household (IOM, 2009). The Ghanaian economy is unable to sustain its population and with poverty becoming increasingly feminised, individual females choose to leave to countries where they can earn more money.

Increase in male unemployment and female headed households

The increase in unemployment rates in Ghana has reduced the capacity for men to be the economic 'breadwinners' for their families (IOM, 2009). Additionally, decreases in the real

value of wages had made it more difficult for families to solely rely on the income of men, compelling more women to contribute greater shares of money to the household (IOM, 2009). These conditions together with increases in the number of female headed households have compelled women to take on primary financial responsibility within the household and encouraged them to migrate in search of increased earning potential.

Escape from domestic abuse and violence

It has been recorded that many females migrate in order to escape from domestic abuse and violence form their husbands, fathers or other relatives (IOM, 2009). In some instances, female migration is a divorce strategy from women seeking to opt out of unhappy marriages, because divorce is not traditionally accepted in some of the Ghanaian subcultures (IOM, 2009; Ojong, 2002). In many of these cases women are presented with an opportunity to leave their homes and earn money in another country or region, ensure their financial survival and use this opportunity to escape their domestic situations.

Improved female educational attainment

Higher educational attainment among female has enhanced their mobility and encouraged greater flows of international emigration (Adepoju, 2002). This is evident in the migration of educated skilled female professionals in various sectors, most notably the Ghanaian health sector (IOM, 2009). As more women are learning about their opportunities, value and their potential for expansion, so more women are becoming increasingly curious and willing to explore other areas and industries outside of their home countries.

There are a variety of reasons why Ghanaian women choose to leave their home communities to migrate to South Africa, the predominant reason being, as Ravenstein suggests; monetary economic gains. In many cases, the conditions faced by these women in their home communities were unsuitable for survival or the women felt the drive to achieve more career or financial success or gain and thus they are pushed to migrate to South Africa. Most of the women in this study came from poor to middle income households and sought to achieve a lifestyle that was more comfortable than the one they experienced growing up. This idea and drive to achieve more encouraged the women to make ambitious moves to ensure a greater earning potential. The influence of education and exposure was undeniable here as these women felt empowered and able to support themselves and their kin mentally, emotionally, physically and financially. These women were also better positioned to seek formal

qualifications or training that made them more able to secure employment or become entrepreneurs. Additionally, instances of domestic abuse expressed by two women to this study also affected the women's decision to migrate. While the abuse was debilitating on the women's spirits, devaluing their sense of self-worth and making them increasingly docile and subservient to their male counterpart, it was also the final push that forced the two women to leave their homes for their personal security and survival. A variety of factors pushed these women to migrate, often working in conjunction.

Understanding the reasons why women choose to migrate highlights the experiences and expectations for the host country of the migrants. This section has described some of the primary push factors causing female migration from Ghana, laying the foundation to analyse the pull factors and well-being of migrants in South Africa. The following section describes why Ghanaian women choose to immigrate to South Africa in order to better understand what the women seek to achieve from migrating to the country as well as better understand the expectations and experiences of migrants in South Africa. The section will shed light on how migrants engage with and contribute to their host environment before addressing these questions in depth in chapter four.

4.4.2 WHY GHANAIAN WOMEN MIGRATE TO SOUTH AFRICA

The South African economy is the second-largest economy in Africa, ranking as one of only four middle-income economies in Africa (OECD, 2015). Since 1994, South Africa has made great progress in reducing poverty, rolling out social grants, providing access to key public services; notably education, housing, water, sanitation, and electricity, while other services have been greatly broadened and made more accessible to more people (OECD, 2015). As a result the quality of life has increased substantially in the country. GDP in South Africa is listed at R5.416 trillion, almost tripling since 1996 which has also seen a growing and sizeable middle class (OECD, 2015). With a world-class progressive legal framework and one of the best constitutions in the world, South African legislation also conforms to international norms and standards. The country's modern infrastructure is largely well developed and supports efficient distribution of goods throughout southern Africa, easing capital investments to strengthen economic growth. South Africa is considered a country where one can live comfortably with large earning potential. The opportunity to earn higher wages, better employment and business prospects and mobility in rank primarily attract many African and Ghanaian migrants to the

country (Ojong, 2002). The country has built a largely positive image across Africa with many migrants flocking to its borders seeking to benefit from the country's spoils, as is recounted by one of the participants to this study below:

> The view held amongst many Africans is that South Africa is a country full of opportunities, one in which anyone can easily make a lot of money and live a good life; with efficient service provision and low cost living. Economic factors are the primary push factors causing Ghanaian women to migrate from Ghana, marriage and other social motives are relatively unimportant in choosing to migrate. Ghanaian women are driven by the potential to earn more money in South Africa. Although African migrants are aware of corruption, xenophobia, crime and other social ills in the country, many believe that these challenges are minuscule in comparison to the challenges experienced in their own countries. The multiplicity of economic gaps and opportunities for foreign business and employment in the country, as well as a more habitable political environment are very attractive (Int. Coline, Pretoria, 2016).

However, South Africa's positive image does not represent the experience of all migrants to the country. There is a general misconception about the standard of living for all inhabitants in the country with many migrants believing that upon immigrating to South Africa, they will experience an easy transition to life in the country and meet immediate success. Asked for her experience since coming to South Africa, one of the migrants replied:

> We were never told the truth about the situation here when we are home. We all believed that when you get to South Africa it is easy to get a job, employers are always looking for people and local people do not like to work. You leave home with hope of a better life and immediate betterment but that it not what you get. (Int. Mary, Pretoria, 2016)

Based on the interviews conducted with Ghanaian women working in South Africa, the wholly positive perception of South Africa neglects the challenges of living in the country. All of the women interviewed in this study confirmed that before moving to South Africa they had very high expectations of what life would be like in the country, often referring to South Africa as another "Europe"; a posh place where people lived affluent lives and where money could be found 'blossoming the city streets'. Unfortunately the reality that the women met was contrary

to their expectations. These perceptions can be exemplified through the stories of Veronica and Hannah.

Story of Veronica from Kumasi, Ghana

Veronica is a hairstylist working in popular salon in Pretoria. She has been living in South Africa for three years and recounts her migration story. Before leaving Ghana Victoria owned and ran a successful hair salon business in her home town of Kumasi. However the declining economic situation in Ghana started to affect the prosperity of her business and when Veronica gave birth to her child in 2011 it became increasingly difficult to manage her business as well as tend to her responsibilities at home. Eventually the challenges associated with balancing her career with her household duties, especially as Veronica is divorced from her husband, created an economic downturn in Veronica's life. When her brother, who was living in South Arica and running his own hair salon business in the country, contacted her about an employment opportunity in South Africa Veronica chose to immigrate to South Africa in the hopes of earning more money and being better able to support herself, her son, and her extended family members.

Veronica's brother told her that life in South Africa was much better than life in Ghana and that she would earn more money in the hair and beauty industry of South Africa. Her brother offered to pay for the costs of her travel and so she sold her business, applied for a visa, booked a flight and excitedly made her way to South Africa for the first time. However, upon arrival she quickly realised that she had been sold a dream; "he did not tell me the whole story... By the time I arrived I cried for more than a year because life here was so tough. But I had sold my property so I just had stay and to cope." She explained that although she came here to make more money, life has been very hard and nobody warned her about the challenges she would face in South Africa. Survival in the country requires hard work.

Story of Hannah from Greater Accra, Ghana

Hannah is a hairstylist who has been working in Pretoria since her arrival in the country in 2010. Before she decided to move to South African, Hannah was an apprentice in a hair salon in Ghana. She described her economic state as 'okay'; Hannah was neither earning enough money to support herself nor was she living in dire poverty. She explained that she had a reliable support system of her direct kin who contributed to her livelihood and helped to support her financially when she required assistance. However, she became weary of depending on others for support because she said it limited her freedom; the more her family supported her financially, the more intimately involved they became in her private life, restricting her from making her own decisions. When her cousin, who was living and working in a hair salon in Sunnyside, Pretoria, told her about the opportunity to earn more than double the amount of money she was earning in Ghana, and support herself and her then three year old son, Hannah jumped at the opportunity. Hannah explained that since her cousin had moved to South Africa two years prior, and her cousin's life looked "fabulous and great". Her cousin appeared to be living very comfortably and earning a lot of money; sending photos of herself in beautiful clothing in different locations and always talking about how much she enjoyed South Africa. Hannah was convinced that moving to South Africa would give her the opportunity to earn more money and become more independent, and that she would ultimately be happier living in the country. Hannah's family was supportive of her decision to migrate because they too believed that moving to South Africa would cause Hannah to earn more money and improve her living standards, further allowing Hannah to support them as well. But now, years later, Hannah understands that her cousin had grossly exaggerated her lifestyle and earning capacity, leading Hannah to make the mistake of migrating to South Africa, as she considers it.

4.4.3 THE INFLUENCE OF NETWORKS IN LINKING MIGRANTS TO HOST COUNTRIES

Emigrants usually move to countries where they have some information about settlement, adjustment, and employment prospects, in addition to social networks (Adepoju & Hammer, 1996). Migrant networks tend to be formed by chain migration and involve close relatives, colleagues and friends along ethnic bonds and social and professional networks (Adepoju & Hammer, 1996). As the literature on migration has shown, social, professional and kin networks assist in the dispensation of information about specific countries encouraging immigration to a particular host destination. Social networks have proven to be particularly effective linking sending and host nations, for example, social networks have spurred much of the Zimbabwean migration to South Africa as migrants already in South Africa facilitate the movement of kin, assist them to settle in the new environment, and integrate into society and work environments (see Sibanda, 2010; Thebe, 2011). Networks can affect who migrates, the

means of migration, the destination, and future prospects for both physical and occupational mobility (Ojong, 2002). Thereafter, networks are important for finding jobs and accommodation, circulating goods and services, as well as psychological support and overall assimilation to the new environment (Ojong, 2002).

Networks linking Ghanaian women to South Africa can either be strong or loose. The strength of migrants' solidarity not only as foreigners but as Ghanaians instils a mutual sense of trust and companionship between immigrants. Migrants are not only dependent on close friends and family to connect them to South Africa, but wider social networks as well (Adepoju & Hammer, 1996; King, 2012). The word 'brethren' (which means brothers and sisters) is an example of this solidarity. Throughout the interviews conducted, the women often referred to fellow Ghanaians as their brothers or sisters, irrespective of actual familial ties between them. This type of relationship is defined by Ebaugh & Curry (2000) as a fictive kin system, which ties migrants to one another in a loose network whereby they identify each other as kin based on their shared origin. This tends to facilitate the incorporation of other Ghanaians into the host society, expanding the network of individuals who provide social and economic capital to immigrants (Ojong, 2006). As a result of this, Ghanaian migrants South have access to a wide social network in South Africa.

The influence of networks in encouraging many Ghanaian women to migrate to South Africa is incredibly strong. Most of the women were influenced to migrate to South Africa by family members and friends (see the stories of Veronica and Hannah). Information about South Africa and the strength of its image is widely disseminated, not only by word of mouth and based on the testimonies of diaspora but it is shared on various media platforms. As one of the migrant girls explained:

> In my home town people advertise opportunities for investment and employment in South Africa on radio stations, even making announcements for employment prospects in the country, recruiting people to immigrate into different industries. These radio adverts describe life in South Africa as easy and lavish, and a great majority of Ghanaians believe this to be true; this belief is so deeply engrained in public perception that it is difficult to convince a Ghanaian who has not travelled to South Africa any differently (int. Veronica, 2016).

As a result, when presented with the opportunity to travel to and capitalise on the South Africa market many women feel obliged to immigrate for the benefit of themselves and their family. For the majority of women and girls, the decision to move to South Africa was most often purely economic, and based on the opportunity to earn increased salaries and make enough money to send remittances home and support family and community members in Ghana. This was the case with Priscilla from Garu, Upper East Province, who moved to South Africa after divorcing her husband to earn more money to support her two children and her mother, all of whom remained in Ghana while she chose to migrate.

Unfortunately, the expectations that these women hold are not met upon arrival, many find that they were misled about the extent to which they would prosper in the country. The challenges associated with navigating life in South Africa, the women explained, especially as a foreigner, are largely omitted form the stories, experiences and adverts that circulate in Ghana. Many Ghanaians who have travelled to or lived in South Africa and relayed their experiences to fellow Ghanaians still living in Ghana, often tell a one-sided tale and neglect the challenges (such as language barriers, cultural differences, xenophobia) that comes with migrating to a foreign country. This culture of misguidance in Ghana is largely affected by the shame many Ghanaians feel when they immigrate to South Africa and are unable to succeed financially. For example, Coline felt that she has not been able to reach the levels of success she had anticipated prior to immigrating to South Africa. Although she wants to return to Ghana she cannot do so because of her pride and because she believes that she will look like a failure to her friends and family. Coline therefore feeds her family elaborate stories about her life in South Africa while continuing to strive towards achieving a better standard of life in the country.

Not only do the migrants have high expectations about the earning potential in South Africa but, the families of these migrants hold the same expectations. As Coline further explained:

> My family believes that survival in South Africa is easy and that I am doing well and earning a lot of money, … they expect me to send a certain amount of money home every month without fail. And if I do not have enough money to remit home, people will think that I am selfish and have neglected them. I am therefore forced to work incredible hard every month to ensure that I satisfy my household obligations.

As is seen in the cases of many of these women, migrants quickly become the primary source of income for families once they have relocated to a new destination. Uncharacteristically, even husbands are said to neglect their financial duties at home once their wives migrate to South Africa because the women are expected to make enough money to satisfy the needs of the entire household, thus putting a lot of pressure on women migrants to succeed financially. Through international money transfer companies, such as MoneyGram and Paypal, and banks women are expected to contribute to the household upkeep by paying monthly bills, providing monetary donations to relatives in need, paying for the school fees for their own children and often the children of their siblings or village and community members, and responding to situational requests such as in the event that a family member seeks to migrate as well, they are expected to contribute money towards paying the travel fees. All of these duties are in addition to the women's' already established role as care givers within the household. The money transfer methods are relatively safe however, as Victoria explained, the money is often delayed in reaching its destination because in many instances the women are unable to provide the necessary documentation (such as a valid proof of residence) to send the money thus they often rely on third parties to send and/or personally deliver the money on their behalf. These women are therefore taking on more roles and responsibilities within the household and the communities. However, more and more migrants are still encouraged to travel to South Africa because the prospects for financial gain in many cases are an undeniable pull factor and this message continues to be relayed and disseminated amongst many communities in Ghana.

Despite the challenges associated with migration to a new country, many migrants continue to encourage other individuals to immigrate to South Africa and many non-migrants living in Ghana continue to push their friends, family members and colleagues to travel outside the country for employment opportunities. 80 Per cent of the women interviewed in this study were influenced by family and fictive kin to immigrate to South Africa and the encouragement that these individuals provided was said to be a large factor affecting the women's decision to emigrate from Ghana, this in addition to the already existing ideas of the 'good life' in South Africa. However, unlike the new economics of labour migration theory, this decision was not a family decision undertaken to reduce risk in most cases. Rather, the women, half of whom were first time-migrants and the other half of whom had migrated either independently or with a spouse previously, listened to the advice of others and came to the decision independently as part of their own ambitious drive. In most cases these networks also gave promises to assist the women migrants to secure jobs and most often, these employment prospects were within the

hair care industry (this due either to the fact that the relevant network was also working in the same industry or the reputation the industry has for easily absorbing foreign workers). The remaining 20 per cent of the women interviewed in this study were pulled/ recruited to South Africa through professional links, one of which was scouted by a hair salon business looking to specifically employ a Ghanaian hair stylist. This process of recruitment can either be highly formal or informal, through online websites or advert on various platforms, such as Facebook, in Ghana. When arriving in South Africa, these women already knew at least one other person (who was either a direct relative, friend or professional link or someone they had been put in contact with through their networks) residing in the country and these relationships facilitated the migration process. Networks are thus very important for providing information about the host country, influencing an individual's decision to migrate, easing the migration process and then affecting the migrant's settlement in the new country.

4.4.4 TRAVELLING TO SOUTH AFRICA AND IMMIGRATION CONTROL

A key misperception held about migration within Africa is that it is a highly disorganised and chaotic process with many migrants thought to arrive through irregular or illegal routes and without a clear means for survival once in the migrant receiving country (Ojong, 2002). The women studied in this research proved this misconception to be true. Ghanaian women migrants are rational actors who, as the neo-classical model suggests, weigh the cost-benefit of migration, plan their journey, identify new markets where there is demand for labourers, secure employment, obtain the necessary documentation to enter the country (most often a visitors permit), arrive with their own money, and are often met by their friends, family or colleagues at an airport in South Africa upon arrival (see also Ojong, 2002). Once in South Africa, the women's networks will usually provide shelter, usually inviting the women to reside in a spare bedroom in their home or to use a couch in their home to sleep on, food, and additional pocket money for transport and miscellaneous activities and purchases until the women are able to sustain themselves. Additionally, these networks will even contribute finances to cover the travel costs such as air tickets, visa applications fees, associated with migrating to South Africa (this money is then expected to be paid back over time once the migrant begins to earn wages or a salary). In the case of Veronica, for example, she lived in her brother's home in the Eastern Cape while working in his salon. Veronica would contribute to household amenities, for example, paying for groceries and electricity bills, until she had saved enough money to rent a private room in an apartment near her work place after which she later relocated to Pretoria (in

search of better working conditions and earning potential). Hannah was also accommodated by a family member, her cousin, who invited Hannah to share her rented room and bed, and also helped Hannah to secure a job in the same salon where she worked.

All of the women studied in this research arrived in South Africa legally mainly on visitor's visa (though in most cases the women intended to remain in South Africa as workers), and soon after arrival took to initiative to legally extend their stay in the country. The initial application for the necessary documentation was processed through the South African consulate in Ghana and thereafter the women used their visa's to enter the country after travelling to the country by airplane. Once in the country, the Ghanaian women mainly used two avenues to extend their stay in South Africa: they either applied for extension of their visitors' visas or lodged an application as asylum seekers through the South African Department of Home Affairs office. From discussions with the women, it became clear that obtaining a work permit in South Africa, which would allow an immigrant to work in the country, is a difficult process for the women because in many instances the women do not have the necessary documentation, such as a radiological report, or funding to lodge such applications. Thus many women opt instead to initially apply for a visitor's visa which, in many cases, requires the submission of less documentation and is cheaper to apply for, and thereafter extend their stay in the country by applying for asylum irrespective of whether or not they meet the conditions. In many cases, through the aid or their networks, these applications for asylum as granted.

Out of 12 women in the study, one held a South African residence permit which she obtained after residing in the country for several years, one had South African identification documentation which she obtained through marriage to a South African national, and ten had or alluded to having valid asylum seeker permits, which they renewed regularly, allowing them to work legally in the country. Emerging evidence from the women showed that obtaining the necessary permit to travel to South Africa was an easy process, regularised by the South African consulate in Ghana. Conversely, the process of obtaining a work permit once in the country was very difficult. Priscilla, for example, presently holds an asylum seeker permit. Priscilla's initial permit allowed her to remain in the country for only three months as a visitor. However, she had planned to remain in the country for a much longer period of time and work during her stay. She was assisted by her sister through networks to apply for asylum status at the Department of Home Affairs in Pretoria, which now allows her to legally live and work in the

country as long as she renews her permit every six months. The process of migrating to South Africa for migrants, who often choose to migrate to improve their well-being and earn more money in their industry, is facilitated and eased through the assistance of kin and familial networks

4.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY

Since the decline of the Ghanaian economy in the 20th century, emigration from the country became a survival strategy for many Ghanaian households who were unable to cope with the socio-economic struggles of the country. Women were particularly vulnerable as a result of the economic decline, especially as the feminisation of poverty became a growing social feature as well as the women's low social status. However, as more Ghanaian women have received formal education and become the primary contributors to the maintenance of the household so more women have chosen to emigrate from Ghana to pursue income earning opportunities outside of the country enabling them to earn increased wages and empower themselves. These factors in addition to the impact of domestic violence, increased divorce rates, and more have pushed Ghanaian women to migrate to new destinations. These women are largely driven by economic incentives when choosing to immigrate to a new country. South Africa continues to be an attractive destination country drawing many migrants to its borders because of its well-established image in Ghana and the largely positive perceptions of South Africa as a country with great earning potential.

Networks are very important for facilitating migration and their influence greatly impacts the number of migrants to the country. Networks are important for disseminating key information that helps potential migrants pick a host nation to immigrate to; they contribute funds and create opportunities that enable migrants to travel, secure housing and employment in their host countries, and they further provide the social support that enable migrants to adapt to their new environment and assimilate to the new culture. This occurs despite much of the misinformation that misleads many migrants to make less informed decisions to migrate. This chapter has thus answered research question two detailing the push factors that cause women to emigrate from Ghana and relocate to South Africa. This discussion has paved the way for the next chapter which discusses Ghanaian women in South Africa and how they interact with their environment as workers and members in their communities. This chapter will be important for showing how Ghanaian women contribute positively to South Africa.

CHAPTER FIVE

SETTLEMENT- GHANAIAN WOMEN IN SOUTH AFRICA AS POSITIVE ECONOMIC CONTRIBUTORS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Ghanaian women migrants have maintained a visible presence in migration streams in South Africa largely migrating as economic migrants to improve their well-being and escape the economic downturn that Ghana has been experiencing for decades. South Africa has been identified as a profitable market for many migrants seeking to secure work and better wages and the country has thus attracted scores of Ghanaian and other migrants to its borders. Upon arriving in South Africa, migrants venture into a variety of activities both economically and socially that determine their roles in the country as well as their contributions to society and the South African economy. This chapter moves to discuss the kinds of activities Ghanaian women migrants employ for their livelihood and survival in South Africa as well as understand how they navigate the harsh South African environment. Through this discussion, this chapter seeks to better understand whether migrating to South Africa led to improvements in the women's well-being, places of origin, and new environment and elaborate on the positive contributions of these women to the South African economy.

This chapter begins broadly by discussing the kinds of activities migrants to South Africa engage in and then moves to briefly discuss the opportunities for women migrants in the country and the industries into which Ghanaian women are absorbed. This research recognises the hair care industry as an important industry for many Ghanaian women in South Africa, offering Ghanaian women the opportunity to distinguish and establish themselves as entrepreneurs and innovators in the industry, and thus this chapter focuses the discussion about the migrant's well-being around their activities within the hair care industry. The chapter analyses the success of the migrant women in the hair care industry as well as their challenges, and then moves on to study their lifestyles by analysing how different Ghanaian women experience life in South Africa as it relates to their careers, finances and community engagement. The information within this chapter is predominantly drawn from primary data collected from the discussions with the Ghanaians women migrant's to this study and the key

informants to the study. This chapter is essential towards achieving the broader research objectives and answering the main research question of this paper.

5.2 INTRODUCTION TO SOUTH AFRICAN MIGRANTS

South-South migration has increased steadily over the past 20 years, representing about 80 million people in the year 2013 (UNDESA, 2013). There is a higher volume of migration within or to Africa than within or to countries in the northern hemisphere, with migration to sub-Saharan countries representing about 10 million people (MiWORC, 2015). A key characteristic of this migration is the high retention rate of migrants where about 70 per cent of migrants remain in their region of origin (UNDESA, 2013). Among the most popular destinations for migration in Africa is the Republic of South Africa, which has been a migrant-receiving country for decades.

Immigrants, in this paper, are defined as people born in foreign countries and does not include citizenship or consider the date of arrival in the foreign country. Census 2006 recorded 958 186 foreign-born people in South Africa, making up 2.4 per cent of the country's population then, and in 2001 the statistics stood at 2.3 per cent of the total population being foreign born (see Table 5.1). According to recent statistics, there are between 1.6 and 2 million immigrants in South Africa, not counting undocumented migrants (MiWORC, 2015). Historically (as table 5.1 depicts), Gauteng province has attracted the largest volume of migrants travelling most often to Gauteng's economic hubs; Johannesburg and Pretoria. On average, immigrants to South Africa are young and well educated with many drawn from neighbouring countries, Nigeria and Congo. In recent years there has been an apparent increase in female migration to South Africa (Republic of South Africa, 2007), notably in the number of Ghanaian women migrants. According to United Nations data (2016), the immigrant population of South Africa in 2015 was a total number of 3,142,511 immigrants to the country, of which 7156 were Ghanaians. Immigrants in South Africa are said to know a high rate of employment. However, the high probability of employment for these migrants is coupled with the high probability of being employed in informal or precarious jobs (MiWORC, 2015).

Table 5.1: Total people born by region outside of South Africa, by province and gender

	SADC Countries		Rest of Africa		Europe		Asia		North America		Central and South America		Australia and New Zealand		
Province	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	Total
Eastern Cape	7 359	8 066	2 242	1 284	5 996	5 952	1 392	1 119	210	246	369	377	103	125	**34 840**
Free State	25 125	18 299	1 284	187	1 676	1 447	746	491	71	54	153	137	26	29	**48 928**
Gauteng	201 017	104 442	14 522	7 117	58 092	55 359	11 569	8 870	2 076	2 079	2 259	2 967	1 025	979	**473 073**
KZN	24 324	20 368	7 117	2 089	18 293	18 928	2 837	2 406	614	705	852	781	385	397	**96 764**
Limpopo	40 194	33 390	2 089	388	1 147	991	1 700	827	135	123	124	100	33	21	**79 840**
Mpumalanga	48 502	26 933	653	389	2 503	2 291	569	300	110	92	145	135	33	38	**82 693**
Northern Cape	5 274	5 617	196	56	441	380	98	68	19	24	73	48	12	11	**12 317**
North West	58 484	21 486	793	361	2 245	1 715	1 233	705	98	100	236	179	43	29	**87 707**
Western Cape	20 153	18 645	4 305	2 296	25 211	25 651	3 418	2 541	1 141	1 252	1 545	1 610	532	610	**108 910**
Total from region	430 432	257 246	27 650	14 167	115 604	112 714	23 562	17 327	4 474	4 675	6 456	6 334	2 192	2 239	**1 025 072**
Total from region (males and females)	**687 678**		**41 817**		**228 318**		**40 889**		**9 149**		**12 790**		**4 431**		**1 025 072**

(Source: SA Census, 2001)

Compared to other Sub-Saharan countries, South Africa has a relatively small informal market, making up 3.2 per cent of the total non-agricultural employment (MiWORC, 2015). However, when studying migration to the country it is important to study the informal market as immigrants are over represented in this market, forming double the number of local representation (MiWORC, 2015). There are various reasons why migrants are over represented in the informal market, these include the low entry cost to this labour market, the dominance of the informal market in African migrant-sending countries that then encourages and attracted the importation of certain informal activities, and the existence of extensive networks in the market. It is thus important to study the informal sector in any research about economic-labour migration in South Africa.

It is important to highlight critical gender differences in labour market opportunities for migrants. The South African labour market has high gender stratifications which provide different incentives and opportunities for female and male migrants (Republic of South Africa, 2007). For example, while the South African mining industry has attracted the greatest numbers of legal migrants, almost 99 per cent of the employees are male while women tend to work in other sectors and industries (Republic of South Africa, 2007). For example, the commercial farming sector and farmers in border areas have shown a distinct preference for employing female migrants from neighbouring countries (Republic of South Africa, 2007). There is also

a predominance of migrant women working as child carers and house keepers, as well as engaging in cross-border trade, mainly from Zimbabwe. Ghanaian women are known to be spread across these industries as well as more concentrated in other industries such as textiles, manufacturing and hair care. The visible power of the hair care industry is noteworthy, where Ghanaian women migrants have established themselves as innovators and leaders in the industry, arguably becoming the face of hair care in South Africa.

5.2.1 SOUTH AFRICAN HAIR CARE INDUSTRY

South Africa boasts one of the more mature hair care markets in Africa (Modor Intelligence, 2016). The South African hair care industry is a multibillion dollar industry, accounting for USD450 million sales in the country in 2015 (Euromonitor, 2017; Modor Intelligence, 2016). Along with Nigeria, the South African hair care industry has been the hotbed for the trend of high growth in the 'black' hair market (Modor Intelligence, 2016). The Professional Hair Care Market 2010 report established that the black African segment is the single largest consumer group within the market. Black women have a preference for more variety in their hair care, often changing between braids, weaves and chemical treatments and thus salon visits, especially in the informal sector, have recorded high growth rates for the black hair care market (Modor Intelligence, 2016). The hair care industry is thus one of the leading industries in the country, contributing to the overall GDP of the nation and employing both local and foreign workers.

5.2.2 SMME'S: PROFILE OF GHANAIAN OWNED SALONS

In the Tshwane Metropolitan City, what is Greater Pretoria, hair salons owned by both locals and foreigners can be found within the CBD and the migrant dominated suburbs of Sunnyside, Acadia and Hatfield. Migrant hair salons can also be found in other suburban areas with a large population of migrants including Pretoria West and Pretoria North. The four Ghanaian owned beauty salons – the subject of this study – three are found in the Sunnyside suburb of Pretoria, along the busy Esselen Street, and one in Hatfield suburb along Hilda Street. These localities are amongst the busiest and most populated streets in both locations, situated amongst restaurants, residential buildings, and other formal and informal businesses. The profile of businesses trading in these areas ranges from electronic suppliers and traders to clothing

distributors with owners from a variety of nationalities including Pakistan, Nigeria, South Africa and Ghana. The locations are ideal for easy access to a wide pool of customers, both foreign and local. Within these areas, the hair salons tend to be densely populated within close proximity to one another, with separate businesses often sharing common rented space (often hair salons are paired with nail parlours, tailors and textile businesses, and internet cafes in a shared rented space to share the costs of renting business space). As a result of their proximity, kinship ties based on shared immigration status, and the high turnover and exchange rate of employees between businesses, owners and workers from the various salons tend to be familiar and friendly with one another, engaging in friendly competition to promote their business and maintaining good business relations.

The comradery amongst these businesses is apparent in their appearance. Each salon makes use of bright, colourful and attractive signage on the exterior of their buildings that is reflective of marketing savvy as well as the atmosphere within and amongst these businesses. Upon entering the salons clients are greeted by staff members who keenly engage with clients to meet their service needs. They salon spaces are fairly spacious and clean, with enough work stations to attend to an average ten clients at a time. Each salon is also well-staffed, with a hair stylist situated at every work station ready to attend to as many clients as possible in a working day. Each hair stylist has a single work station assigned to them from which they provide a variety of complex and labour intensive services ranging from weaving to braiding, dreadlocks, chemical treatments, haircuts, and even product sales. The majority of stylists working in each salon are foreign women predominantly from Ghana, Zimbabwe, DRC, and Cameroon. South Africans featured in the salons more rarely and in much smaller numbers. The Ghanaian-owned salons tend to prefer employing Ghanaian hair stylists because of the familiarity in culture and trust that eases communication, easy access to workers who are often recruited from Ghana from close and loose networks, and because of the reputation that Ghanaian hair stylists have gained in the hair care industry. These salons also hire South African workers who largely assist with language barriers between the foreign stylists and the local clientele to carry out basic tasks such as sweeping the salon floors or washing client's hair, while the more technical tasks are often reserved for more skilled stylists who are most often foreign (Ojong, 2005). The presence of the Ghanaian women seems to dominate the salon and this was clear in the delegation of work; Ghanaian women are the primary hair stylists and administrators in the salons. Despite an apparent hierarchy in tasks (from introductory duties to administrative and styling duties), all of the nationalities within the salons engaged with one another equally

irrespective of origin and there was a sense of amity amongst the stylists and further with the clients.

The amity shared amongst the businesses and workers extends to relationship between the workers and their clients. These salons mainly attract black African customers. On average, the division across each salon between the local clientele and foreign clientele is around 65 per cent – 35 per cent respectively, of which the majority are females aged between 18 years to 60 years. The relationships between the hair stylists and clients are very relaxed, friendly and familiar with workers and clients often establishing more personal relationships between one another. This creates for a jovial and warm environment in the salons which could be said to contribute to the success of the businesses.

Although the businesses prefer not disclose their annual turnover, from the number of clientele that enter the salons and make use of the services (most of which are charged at over R150 per head), one can assume that these businesses are fairly successful and the owners of the businesses generate a substantial income. On average, each hair stylist within each salon attended to two clients daily. All of the salons studied in this research were owned by Ghanaian entrepreneurs who rented the business space from landlords who own the office/ residential buildings within which these salons are located. However, questions around whether the businesses were registered solely by Ghanaian nationals arose. Commonly in South Africa, foreign entrepreneurs will partner with local South Africans legally to register a business and avoid the levy's attached to foreign-owned businesses operating in the country while still maintaining full control and executive privileges of the business (Tengeh & Nkem, 2017). Furthermore, in other instances managers will pose as the owners of a business to protect the real identity of the business owner for various reasons and the business owners will very rarely visit the salons. Thus, one cannot always verify the true profile of the owners of these businesses. However, this research was particularly interested to study the workers within these salons who proved to be more easily accessible.

These businesses are well-positioned to thrive because of their location, atmosphere, and availability of workers (See table 4 for a summary of the salon profiles). Furthermore, Ghanaian women are most especially well-equipped to thrive within the business because of the reputation for the service they provide. By hiring foreign and local staff, these salons contribute to countering unemployment in South Africa and providing key services that

contribute to the GDP in South Africa. The next chapter explains the success of Ghanaian women within salons in the hair care industry.

Table 5.2: Profiles of hair salons studied in this research

Salon	Location	Owner	Number of work stations	Number of South African staff	Number of Ghanaian staff	Staff of other nationalities	Gender divisions	Trading hours	Sublette space
1	Sunnyside	Ghanaian man	10	2	6 (ages 20-35)	5	80% female; 20% male	7:30am – 8pm	Yes- nails
2	Sunnyside	Ghanaian man	6	0	8 (ages 20-35)	0	90% female; 10% male	8am–7pm	Yes- nails and internet cafe
3	Sunnyside	Ghanaian woman	8	1	5 (ages 20-45)	4	80% female; 20% male	8am–7pm	Yes- nails
4	Hatfield	Ghanaian wife and husband	16	4	9 (ages 20-35)	10	70% female; 30% male	8am–7:30pm	No

5.2.3 EXPLAINING THE SUCCESS OF GHANAIAN WOMEN IN THE HAIR CARE INDUSTRY

a) GHANAIAN WOMEN AS LEADERS AND INNOVATORS IN THE HAIR CARE INDUSTRY

In an interview with key informant to the study, Mr. C Malvern, he described Ghanaian women as "leaders" and "innovators" within the hair care industry. Ojong (2006:142) elaborates by stating that; "Migrant entrepreneurs are responsible for widespread changes in patterns of development and innovation in entrepreneurial practice in cities". The working success of Ghanaian women as entrepreneurs in South Africa is a result of their active participation in their home economies, where the women were exposed to market trading and engaged in business and entrepreneurial activities thus equipping them with necessary business and professional skills (Ojong, 2002; Ojong, 2006). Additionally, most of these women hold a

tertiary qualification or degree in a relevant field and/or received specialised, professional training in hair care and therefore possess extensive knowledge and experience within their field, and these women provide a unique skill set and unique products based on first-hand knowledge acquired from Ghana which has made them very popular amongst local clientele (Ojong, 2002; Ojong, 2006). This section describes the reasons behind the success of Ghanaian women in the hair care industry.

Mary, a hairstylist from the Ghanaian northern city Tamale, explains that:

> "Us, Ghanaian women, we are very hard-working! All these things of business, we know them- our mothers, our fathers, our brothers, our sisters… they all taught us. There is no way I can go to any country and not survive because I know that I can do any work or start any business if I need to."

Forming almost half of the labour force in 2014 and being economically active in every sector, Ghanaian women have dominated the private informal sector, forming over 70 per cent of the entrepreneurs involved in micro and small businesses (Amu, 2005; Trading Economics, 2016). Most of the women interviewed in this study agreed that they considered themselves entrepreneurs and stated that they acquired their knack for entrepreneurship through personal involvement, observation, imitation, and practice from an early age in a predominantly family setting. From a young age, Ghanaian children (both male and female) are encouraged to participate in the running of the household as it relates to domestic duties and businesses endeavours pursued by older relatives. Overtime young Ghanaian develop as keen sense of business savvy thus, when Ghanaian women settle in South Africa they bring an awareness of and valuable experience of the methods, traditions, risks and opportunities associated with entrepreneurship (Ojong, 2006; Kalitanyi, 2007). Most of the women who participated in this study were already experienced in running a business or exposed to the entrepreneurial environment prior to migrating, and were therefore, after keen observation of the markets and trends, able to adapt to working in and/or running a profitable salon in South Africa. For example, Coline described that a key benefit that Ghanaian salons provide lies in their trading hours; their salons open much earlier and close much later than local-owned salons; usually operating from 07h30-19h00 (depending on the number of clients, sometimes hair stylists can work much later into the night), and operating throughout the weekend and on public holidays. This is not a common trend observed amongst many of the South African salons whereas in Ghana, most hair salons trade according to these hours. Ghanaian-owned salons are therefore

better suited to accommodate their clients and serve even more clients than local salons. Such innovative practice adapted from their experiences in Ghana and by paying attention to the market demands, are part of the reason why Ghanaians have been successful in the South African hair care industry.

A long tradition of women's participation in hairdressing in Ghana is a major contributing factor to the levels of success Ghanaian women achieve in South Africa. Essah, (2008: 128) explains that "Hairdressing was a domestic, female activity that was practiced among relatives and friends who depended on their talents to create styles that were available in popular and public cultures." As young girls mature in Ghana, hair dressing often develops from a hobby to a professional career choice. Aspirant hairdressers who seek to further pursue a professional career in the hair care industry in Ghana are usually trained in a hairdressing school (which requires approximately 1000 hours of training and the successful completion of a written exam to achieve a diploma in hairdressing) followed by an apprenticeship (during which menial chores related to running a salon business and skills about styling and caring for hair are observed, taught, practiced, and passed on to incoming apprentices for an average period of two years within a working salon) (Fluitman, 1992; Essah, 2008; Ojong, 2006). The owners of the beauty salons (called madams) train their apprentices, with the assistance of other hairstylists in the salon, allowing the apprentices to practice their skills on clients while being keenly observed and corrected (Fluitman, 1992). The apprentices seek to inspire confidence in their clients and their madams. This system is designed to complement rather than substitute for schooling and works towards perfecting the skills of prospective employees (Fluitman, 1992; Ojong, 2006). This form of mentoring is the most effective, far-reaching and quickest form of skills-training. Veronica described how she attended beauty school to learn how to style hair professionally and further trained numerous apprentices in her salon, of which most had been professionally trained at a beauty school/ institution/ college prior to their apprenticeship. Veronica agrees that the apprentice system brings structure to the salon business and helps to fuel the supply of stylists to the labour market (the apprenticeship can be used as an avenue towards employment at the training salon) and entrepreneurs within the industry (many apprentices aspire to open their own salons once their training is complete). Thus, Ghanaian women are rigorously trained in hair care and exposed to the managerial aspects of operating a salon business (see the story of Wendy; participant to this study).

Story of Wendy, from Central Ghana

Wendy is a hairstylist who works in the same salon as Veronica. She has been working in the Ghanaian-owned salon since 2013 but dreams of owning her own enterprise.

When Wendy was a teenager she dropped out of the high schooling system to attend beauty school in her home town. She completed her studies, trained as an apprentice in a local salon and was quickly employed in the salon where she had trained. She worked hard and moved up the ranks securing herself a management position within two years of working in the salon. Wendy participated in training new apprentices, some of whom had no professional training, and hiring new staff.

However, Wendy had always wanted to own her own salon. She had heard much about the prospects for economic growth in South Africa and chose to migrate to the country for the travel experience and to work and earn enough money to return home and open her own salon. Wendy explained that she is still gathering enough money to achieve her dream.

When these women arrive in South Africa they bring with them new and unique skills and products that contribute to developments and changes within the beauty industry (Kalitanyi, 2007; Ojong, 2006; Ojong, 2002). Coline, participant to this study, explained that the Ghanaian hair care industry is large and well developed; the training is intense, they learn a lot of very specific skills, and the product range is much wider than that found in South Africa. Therefore, when Coline migrated to South Africa she found that she was better equipped than local hair dressers to satisfy her client requests because she could introduce them to new and different hair styles (that were most often better suited to the clients features than the styling the client received from other hairdressers) and familiarise them with new hair maintenance products, techniques and other beauty products that were not found in the South African market. The uniqueness of her services made her very popular because, as she stated; “everybody wants to be exclusive”.

Ghanaian women are able to introduce new products, such as foreign goods and services (e.g. foreign hair and skin products, hairstyles, beauty regimens), and marketing strategies that are unknown to local entrepreneurs and clientele, gaining them popularity within and securing them a position within South African market because they are the only entrepreneurs able to supply these products and services (Ojong, 2006). These unique skills and products are based on first-hand knowledge acquired from Ghana and imported to South Africa, supported and reinforced by transnational networks and diaspora operating with similar products or services

(Ojong, 2006). Coline described how she introduced many clients who were struggling to grow and strengthen their hair as well as maintain their hairlines to the popular hair food product, developed in London and more widely distributed elsewhere in Africa; T444Z. At first she received 20 containers of the hair food product, which at the time was gaining significant popularity in the South African market, from her sister in Ghana, who is also a hairstylist working in Accra, and within less than a month she had cleared all her stock at a great profit. These migrant women thus create a demand that only they can supply making their business very profitable and competitive (Ojong, 2006). The popularity of Ghanaian hairdressers in South Africa has not only boosted Ghanaian owned and staffed salons but has compelled South African hairdressers to hire Ghanaians in their salons in order to remain competitive. The uniqueness of the products and skills that Ghanaian migrant women bring to the South African market has created a successful and reputable hair and beauty industry, further reinforced by the accommodating South African market.

Ghanaian women therefore thrive in the South African hair care industry because they have the business skills, the training and access to unique skills and products that other local competitors do not have. These women have therefore been able to secure a place in and dominate the South African market. The prevalence of specific conditions within South Africa has made it even easier for these women to dominate the market; the details of which are discussed in the next section.

b) SOUTH AFRICA AS AN ENABLING ENVIRONMENT FOR GHANAIAN SUCCESS

An increasingly urbanised and young working population in South Africa is a key contributor to the flouring hair care market. One of the major reasons why Ghanaian women succeed in the hair and beauty industry is because of specific opportunities that are available for hair care in South Africa. African hair care is a major indicator of modernity for black women (Marshall, 1994; Ojong, 2006; 2016; Ojong, 2005). In African cultures, the way one wears one's hair may reflect their "status, gender, ethnic origin, leadership role, personal taste, or place in the cycle of life" (Sieber & Herreman, 2000: 56). Essah (2008:224) explains that "During the colonial era, Africans' interest in hairdressing developed as a … visual symbol of attainment of class status for Africans in urban areas…". African women want to establish themselves as the type of women who can afford to dress fashionably and style their hair in particular ways as an expression of their modernity (Marshall, 1994; Ojong, 2006). In South Africa, these symbols

of modernisation are complemented by an increase in disposable income that are responsible for the high levels of demand within the hair care industry (Modor Intelligence, 2016). According to Mr C. Malvern, women will pay large sums of money to achieve these styles; women wear their hair as their crown, the complimentary piece to complete their image. He went on to explain the importance of hair in society:

"Hair is the beauty of every woman. Most people do not realise that hair is so fundamental to how people are perceived. And here in South Africa, and in this salon, the people who come here to do their hair, they are people with money. That's why this industry is booming, there is a lot of money to be made here because people want to look good, to feel good and for people to acknowledge them. And women will spend thousands for that. That's why you even see people as far as the Philippines donating hair. Why do you think they do this? It's because it's hair!"

Black women prefer more variety in their hair care and thus visit hair salons more frequently (Modor Intelligence, 2016). Women will pay large amounts of money, up to ZAR 1500 per visit per person, to ensure that their hair is well maintained at all times. Hair stylists can attend to as many as five clients in a single working day. The fact that many black women in post-Apartheid South Africa are employed and earning an income affords them the opportunity to align themselves with this twenty-first century modernity by keeping up with the latest styles and treatments (Ojong, 2006). Ghanaian women have understood these dynamics and have grasped the opportunity to expand their activities in South Africa by promoting specific services and capitalising on those clients who are able and willing to spend more money, and aiding those (through discounted prices) who cannot. Because of their popularity Ghanaian women further favoured because clients will specifically seek out Ghanaian stylists. These women's success enables them to generate large sums of money in a relatively short period of time thus making the business very profitable and attractive and furthermore, they contribute to the growth of businesses because they are able to draw crowds of clients and promote the growth of the industry as a whole. Despite their contributions to the informal sector, living in South Africa is challenging for Ghanaian women. In the next section the benefits of working and living in South Africa for these women outside of the beauty industry is discussed to understand the well-being and wealth of Ghanaian women migrants in South Africa.

5.3 THE BENEFITS OF MIGRATING TO SOUTH AFRICA FOR GHANAIAN WOMEN AND CONTRIBUTIONS TO PLACES OF ORIGIN

The justification for calls to promote migration by the World Bank and other development agencies as a development pathway for poor countries has been based on benefits to the migrants and their households and their countries of origin (e.g. the IOM's "A day without migrants' campaign). This section is a discussion of the benefits of migration to the Ghanaian women in South Africa and the contribution of migration to their places of origin. This section begins with an overview of the women migrants' expectations before embarking on the migration journey to South Africa, followed by a discussion of the realties that they faced in South Africa before providing an analysis of the benefits that have accrued to these women and challenges the women have experienced in South Africa.

5.3.1 EXPECTATION OF GHANAIAN WOMEN BEFORE MIGRATING TO SOUTH AFRICA

Each woman had certain expectations that she believed she would meet upon migrating to South Africa. As economic migrants, these women were primarily driven by financial incentives to increase their wealth and well-being through business ventures or employment opportunities in South Africa. By achieving these incentives, these women would then be better able to support and maintain her livelihoods, generate savings, send remittances home, and fund other business ventures within the hair care industry. To varying degrees, these women have been able to achieve this end by maximising on the opportunities presented to them in South Africa. The table below shows the personal profiles of the women as a depiction of the women's circumstances followed by a discussion surrounding the sub-themes enclosed.

Table 5.3 Personal Profile of Ghanaian Women Studied

Name	Current Business Owner	Business Employee	Previous Business Owner	Average Monthly wages (after deductions)	Assets in South Africa	Marital Status	Age	Number of Children	Average Monthly Remittances

Victoria	Priscilla	Mary	Maame	Hannah	Comfort	Coline	Ami	Adjoa
x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
✓ (Hair Stylist)	✓ (Hair Stylist)	✓ (Hair Stylist)	✓ (Hair Stylist)	✓ (Hair Stylist)	✓ (Hair Stylist)	✓ (Hair Stylist)	✓ (Apprentice)	✓ (Manager)
✓	✓	x	x	x	x	✓	x	x
≤ZAR7000	≤ZAR8000	≤ZAR6000	≤ZAR7000	≤ZAR6000	≤ZAR7000	≤ZAR8000	≤ZAR4500	≤ZAR9000
n/a Pays monthly rent, no car	n/a Pays monthly rent, no car	n/a Pays monthly rent, no car	Pays monthly rent, owns a car	n/a Pays monthly rent; no car	n/a Pays monthly rent; no car	n/a Pays monthly rent; no car	n/a Pays monthly rent; no car	n/a Pays monthly rent; no car
Single	Divorced	Single	Single	Civil Partnership	Single	Single	Married	Married
30-35	40-45	35-40	25-30	30-35	25-30	25-30	35-40	20-25
0	2 (In Ghana)	1 (In South Africa)	0	2 (In South Africa)	0	1 (In Ghana)	2 (In Ghana)	2 (In South Africa)
≤ZAR2000	≤ZAR6000	≤ZAR1000	≤ZAR3000	≤ZAR1000	≤ZAR5000	≤ZAR5000	≤ZAR3000	≤ZAR2000

Veronica	x	✓ (Hair Stylist)	✓	≤ZAR6000	n/a Pays monthly rent, no car	Married	30-35	1 (In Ghana)	≤ZAR3000
Wendy	x	✓ (Hair Stylist)	x	≤ZAR4000	n/a Pays monthly rent, no car	Single	20-25	0	≤1000

5.3.2 WELL BEING AND SURVIVAL STRATEGIES OF MIGRANT WOMEN

Migrating to South Africa was a strategy undertaken by the women studied primarily to increase their wealth and improve their well-being. Despite the potential that migration provided for these women, the women have had to navigate through a variety of challenges in order to sustain their livelihoods in South Africa. This section elaborates on the well-being and survival strategies of the women in a quest towards understanding the lives of the women and the impact that migration has had on their well-being and wealth. This section seeks to answer five key questions related to the migrant women's financial wealth and community engagement.

1. How easy/difficult was it to secure income-generating work in South Africa?
2. To what extent are the women able to financially support themselves and their kin?
3. Were the women able to adapt to the work culture in South Africa?
4. Were the women able to socially assimilate with the local communities?
5. Were the women able to improve their standard of living overall?

For the purposes of the analysis in this section, the women studied will be categorised according to six broad headings drawn from the most relevant information displayed in the above table.

- Previous business owner
- Average monthly income in South Africa:
- Age
- Marital Status
- Children

- Remittances

a) Ability to secure employment

Economic migration is defined by aim of improving one's standard of living by gaining a better paid job in a foreign country. Thus, any analysis of economic migrants needs to understand the ability of the migrants to secure employment and increase their actual wages. The hair care industry of South Africa generates millions of income annually and is a vital source of employment for many foreign and local women and men (Modor Intelligence, 2016). As a result of the size and popularity of the industry, the market provides various opportunities and challenges for women seeking employment. Factors that limit the ability of women migrants to secure employment within the industry include a lack of necessary legal documentation allowing one to work in South Africa, market saturation, and limited growth potential. Ghanaian women migrants are able to maximise on and ease access to employment opportunities through well-established personal and professional networks, their reputation within the hair care industry, and through access to niche products and training. This section briefly studies the ability of different Ghanaian women to secure income-earning employment.

36% of the women studied were previous business owners before migrating to South Africa. Before migrating, 50% of these women were out of business (all businesses were within the hair care industry), 25% were running an unrelated business while also working as a hair stylist, and 25% dissolved their hair salon business in Ghana due to low profits to fund migrating to South Africa. These women were between the ages of 25-45 years, 75% of which had 1-2 children and 25% were single, 25% were divorced, and 50% were married. From this group of women, 100% had already secured employment as hair stylists in South Africa prior to migrating to the country predominantly through personal and professional networks, and in one instance through professional recruitment.

Of the women who had never owned a business, only 14% secured employment prior to migrating to South Africa, 43% secured employment within the hair care industry within one month of migrating to South Africa, 29% secured employment within the industry within three months, and 14% secured employment within one year. The majority of these women were able to secure employment through personal networks established both in Ghana and upon arrival in South Africa. These women were typically younger, between the ages of 20-35 years and unmarried with children. These statistics reveal that women who have prior experience working in and owning a salon are likely to secure employment faster than women who do not.

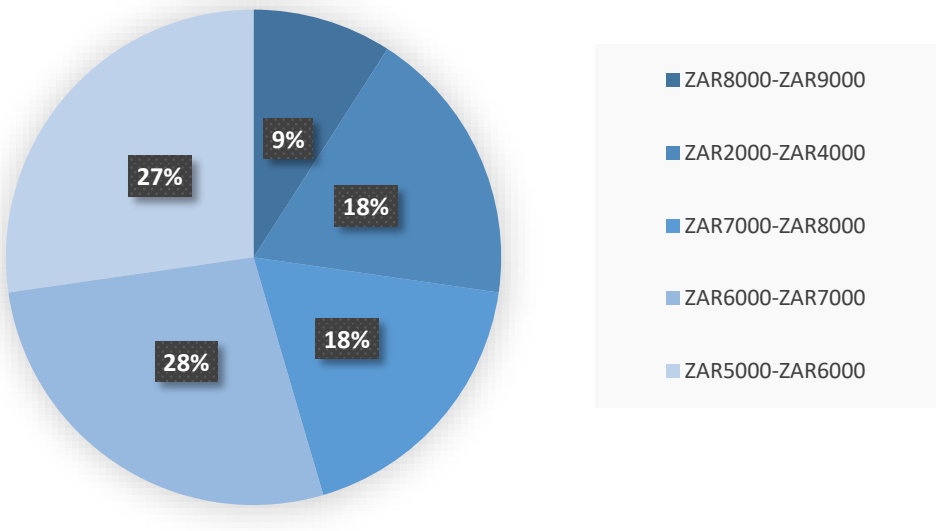
These women tend to be more mature and have well developed professional networks within the industry whilst younger women often rely on their kin networks or newly formed networks in South Africa to assist with securing employment either through hiring the women themselves or sharing employment opportunity. Overall 91% of the women secured full-time, flexible work in the hair care industry within 3 months of migrating to South Africa through networks without having to apply for jobs traditionally revealing the relative ease of securing employment in South Africa for these women.

b) Capacity to financially support oneself and kin

The South African economy is significantly stronger than the Ghanaian economy. On average, the South African Rand trades around 0.25 to the Ghanaian Cedi. Many migrants to the country are attracted by the relative strength of the Rand as well as the potential to earn increased wages. However, as Mr. Richard Adeji (int.) explained, the cost of living in South Africa is much higher than the cost of living in Ghana; Ghanaians who immigrate to South Africa are not well informed about or prepared for the lifestyle costs attached to living in South Africa and instead solely focus on their comparative earning capacity. Thus, upon migrating to South Africa, migrants may be struck by their limited ability to financially support themselves and their kin. This section analyses the extent to which Ghanaian migrant women are able to financially support themselves and their kin through studying the actual wages of the women and their remittances.

The payment structure within the salons is commission based usually fixed around 35% of total earnings from hair styling services within the salon. Hannah, for example, earns up to ZAR 6,000 a month from working in a salon, compared to the converted approximate ZAR 3,800 she was earning in Ghana. 81% of the women studied confirmed that they were earning higher wages in South Africa than they had earned in Ghana however, the cost of living and spending habits in South Africa in addition to remittances sent home (which are largely paid towards school fees, food, bills, daily living costs, health care, emergency funds, and more for the migrant's kin networks) significantly reduce the women's monthly holds. The pie graph below shows thee earning brackets for the women in the study.

Graph 5.1 Average Montly Income of Ghanaian Hair Stylists



The majority of Ghanaian women working in the hair care industry earn between ZAR 6,000 and ZAR 7,000 per month and ZAR 5,000 and ZAR 6,000 per month. 50% of the highest income earners of over ZAR 7,000 were previous business owners, some of which were married and others not. The majority of the middle-bracket earners of between ZAR 5,000 to ZAR 7,000 were single females between the ages of 25-35 years, 33% of whom were previous business owners, both with and without children. The variance in these statistics show that there is room for different women from different social backgrounds, irrespective of age, marital status and children to be amongst the highest earners in the industry however, those with previous business experience will tend to earn more money. Those migrants who are married also received financial support towards their households from their husbands/ partner, the amounts of which are not taken into consideration here.

From the interviews conducted it was deduced that the women's earnings are primarily spent towards monthly rent bills (which is interestingly an uncommon practice in Ghana as rent charges are not only much cheaper but they are paid annually or every two years in Ghana, unlike South Africa where rent payments are made monthly), groceries and household items (which the women explained are much cheaper in Ghana and more easily accessible through street vendors), and remittances. The income these women generate often does not allow them

to generate savings with most women surviving on a 'month-to-month' basis whereby they generate enough income to afford their basic living expenses and to pay remittances. For this reason, most of the women do not own any fixed assets in South Africa or Ghana and live in shared apartment flats near their work places. On Average, the women will send 50% of their earnings to Ghana to support friends, family and community members, and spend 50% of their earnings within South Africa on local goods and services. There is variance amongst those migrants who have children in South Africa who tend to send less remittances home and then those who have children living in Ghana who will send up to 80% of their monthly earnings towards supporting their kin networks and their child/children.

There are heavy expectations placed on the migrant women by their kin networks in Ghana; as Victoria recalled:

> "They think that we are just here making buckets and buckets of money; the floors are made of gold and we just drink milk and honey. So when I send little money back home, these people, they don't understand. And I can't tell them I am suffering here; I'll embarrass myself and my family and either way, it's not as if they will believe me…" (Victoria, Pretoria 2016).

In order to meet what the women view as their responsibility, these women will work even harder in order to secure enough money to send remittances (through informal banking systems and networks of friends and travellers) to Ghana and support themselves. Achieving this requires great sacrifices, as Mary explained, the women across all earning brackets often have to forgo many social activities and prioritise their work life (see Adepoju, 2003). A common sentiment was that although the women were earning less income in Ghana, survival was easier because one can often rely on the small subsistence farming, small informal markets and on kin networks for financial and social support and assistance. As a result of the strong community ties Ghanaians have, if one was lacking in any household good or finances, one could easily seek assistance from a community or family member- a safety net these women lack living in South Africa. Overall, while the women fall into the middle-income earners bracket in South Africa and they meet their household needs, they are unable to maintain or grow their wealth and have very little financial security.

c) Adaption within the South African working environment

As economic migrants, migrant women need to be able to adapt to new communities as well as the work environments within their industry. This process of adaption is often challenging for many migrants. Crush and McDonald (1999: 24) explain that while migrating to South Africa may be difficult at a personal level "many women may be prepared to endure personal difficulties in order to secure benefits for their families and the wider communities." This section discusses the challenges around navigating the work environment and how the migrant women are able to overcome these challenges.

When asked to describe the challenges and opportunities surrounding working life in South Africa, an overwhelming majority of the women described the atmosphere and working relations between staff and clients as 'very good' but noted the payment structure and working hours as the biggest challenges with working in the industry. The reputation of Ghanaian women in the hair care industry attracts scores of clients seeking to benefit from their unique skills. Working within the industry thus gains many of these women respect amongst their clients and peers giving them a sense of confidence and ease in their places of work. Many of these women work on average 60 hours a week, spending most of their waking life within the salon. The women who are single tend to work more hours than those who are married, with single women with children spending more hours working in the salon than those without. The women who have children living in South Africa tend to work between 45-50 hours a week, whereas women with children living in Ghana often exceed 60 working hours a week. The amount of time these women spend at work in the salons has created both an opportunity for the women to develop deep and meaningful relationships amongst clients and other staff, both foreign and local, but has also presented a challenge for the women.

The primary force driving these women to work up to 10 hours a day, six days a week, is the potential to increase their monthly income. The payment structure within the salons studied was based on monthly commission gained from the revenues brought in to the business by each hair stylist. The more hours the women work, the more clients they are able to prospect and attend to thus increasing the monthly earning potential for the women. These women do not earn any bonuses, there is no baseline salary and the commission rate is fixed, thus the women work extensive hours to secure their livelihood. Only Adjoa, who works as the manager of her salon and as a stylist, received a baseline salary of under ZAR 1,000 per month. While the payment method tends to be over the counter thus creating around the workers income tax, the business earnings are subject to business tax. In addition to the number of hours worked within the salon, 63% of the women, none of whom were married, also worked privately for

themselves as hair stylists from their homes. Mary explained that once she finishes work in the salon she will usually have a client waiting for her at her apartment building. Stylists often develop close relationships with clients and invite them to style their hair privately at a more affordable rate. The migrant women are able to generate more income from such endeavours. Mary attends to at least one private client per week from her home and can earn between ZAR 300 - ZAR 800 a month in addition to her work wages. Although this schedule is incredibly demanding and tiring, it allows Mary to supplement her monthly earnings from work and earn more money. Mary explained that most hair stylists in the industry follow this trend, even travelling far distances after a full shift at work to client's homes to provide the hair styling services. In addition to providing private hair styling services, the migrant women will also privately sell hair care products to their clients that they source from Ghana. This practice is carried out without disclosure to the managers of the salons because it is not encouraged by salon owners.

It was thus observed that single women tend to have more flexibility as it relates to their working hours, often working privately for themselves whereas married women tended to oblige by fixed working hours within the salon to allow them to balance their work life with their spousal duties. Single women with children worked more hours within the salons than those without and furthermore, the single women with children living in Ghana worked the most hours of the group of women to maximise on their monthly earning potential to support their kin and themselves. These single women with children living in Ghana were also the most likely to secure private clients.

d) Community engagement and social assimilation

Community engagement is an important part of developing migrants' well-being as well as a unified multicultural receiving community. Social assimilation refers to the absorption of newcomers into primary groups within a host society, into face-to-face interaction as accepted members of social groups in a range of activities (Fitzpatrick, 1996). Community engagement and social assimilation are thus closely related and are important elements of understanding the well-being of migrants. This section discusses the migrant women's social and community engagement by way of elaborating further on the activities and lives of the women. The sections first discusses the migrant women's engagement with their local South African communities,

highlighting social issues such as xenophobia in the country, and thereafter their engagement with the Ghanaian community.

When asked to what extent the women felt they were a welcomed member of South African society, 64% of the women responded by saying 'very little – not at all', 27 % said 'somewhat welcome', and 9% said 'very welcome'. The vast majority of women, most of whom were between 25-35 years old, did not feel very welcome in South Africa and this affected their community engagement and social assimilation by limiting the women's interaction with and absorption into local social groups. The issues highlighted for explaining these dynamics related to xenophobic attitudes held by the local South Africans towards the Ghanaian women.

Since the fall of Apartheid in South Africa, xenophobic attitudes towards foreigners, especially those that have led to violent attacks, have become increasingly problematic for the country. Despite a lack of directly comparable data, xenophobia in South Africa is perceived to have increased significantly since the year 1994. There have been many efforts towards better understanding xenophobia and fighting against it. This SAMP quote clearly captures and explains the some of the roots of xenophobia in the country:

"The ANC government – in its attempts to overcome the divides of the past and build new forms of social cohesion at the local, regional and national level – embarked on an aggressive and inclusive nation building project. One unanticipated by-product of this project has been a growth in intolerance towards outsiders. South Africa's redefinition of the boundaries of citizenship and belonging is based on the creation of a "new other"; the "non-citizen", the "foreigner", the "alien". Intolerance, bordering on xenophobia, has intensified dramatically since 1994. Violence against foreign citizens and African refugees has become increasingly common and communities are divided by hostility and suspicion." (Crush and Pendleton, 2004: 4)

There have been numerous cases of xenophobic violence against foreigners in South Africa since 1994. In 1998, for example, The Eastern Province Herald (September 4, 1998) reported three foreigners were killed on a train after being accused of stealing jobs from South Africans by locals. In 2008, a mob killed two people and an additional 40 were injured during an attack against foreigners in the township of Alexandra (BBC, May 12, 2008). Further, in 2016, the Daily Maverick (31 August, 2016) reported that shops and homes of Somali foreigners in Tshwane were destroyed and people were brutally attacked, leaving over 300 people seeking shelter in community centres. Though not every migrant may experience such extreme cases

of xenophobia, the women to this study noted that xenophobic attitudes affected their daily lives leaving them with a general sense of discomfort or fear of interacting with locals and living in the country.

None of the women to this study admitted to having been attacked or experienced any xenophobic violence against them. However, all of the women had experienced what they deemed to be xenophobic attitudes and/or comments towards them. In all instances, these cases of xenophobia were experienced outside of the work place leading the women to believe that they are largely unwanted in the country, outside of the services they provide. Comfort shared an experience where she was publically humiliated by a taxi driver for not understanding the local language, who, upon realising that she did not speak seSotho, shouted at her in English, saying; "you foreigners must go back to you country! We do not want you". Adjoa also explained that although she has lived in South Africa for nearly one decade and has raised her children in the country, she does not feel safe nor does she feel as if South Africa is her home. Instead, she feels alienated and discriminated against by most local South Africans.

Negative attitudes towards foreigners discourage the women from engaging with other South Africans. Coline explained that although she has not met any "bad South Africans" she prefers not to engage with locals outside of the salon to avoid becoming a victim of violence. Coline noted that within the salon the South African customers are pleasant and she does not feel threatened nor that she is treated any differently from local staff because she is a foreigner. 90% of the women agreed that they had mostly pleasant encounters with clients in the salon. The hairstylists and clients were often observed sharing intimate stories which appeared to serve as a sort of therapy for the clients. However, the women experienced limited engagement with South Africans outside the work place. The women acknowledged that their own reservations with regards to engaging with local communities was an important factor explaining their social relationships, or lack thereof, with South Africans. Those women who did engage with local communities and had established social groups were also the women who felt most welcome in the country and had assimilated better. But in most instances, for fear of persecution, most migrant women choose to socialise amongst other foreigners and other Ghanaians.

The existence of a strong community among immigrant people and its importance in the process of assimilation has long been recognised (Fitzpatrick, 1996). Fitzpatrick (1996:8) explains that migrants need "the traditional social group in which they are at home, in which

they find their psychological satisfaction and security, in order to move with confidence toward interaction with the larger society." The Ghanaian community in South Africa absorbs new migrants to the country and serves to ease each migrant's introduction into the foreign environment. However from the discussions with the women, it became clear that the extent of this introduction is limited to the pre-migration phase and arrival in the country, thereafter the women are often left to find their own way and subject to exploitation at the hands of fellow Ghanaians (see the story of Ami).

Story of Ami from Tamale

Ami was invited to South Africa in 2014 by her fictive brother who was living and working in the country. He encouraged her to immigrate to the country, promising her many opportunities in the hair care industry to earn more money than she was earning in Ghana. He told her that he would take care of Ami when she arrived; by contributing funds towards her airplane ticket, securing Ami employment at the salon near his apartment, providing Ami with accommodation in his apartment, and helping her to navigate life in South Africa.

Upon arrival in the country, Ami was unable to contact her 'brother' and waited several hours to be picked up from the airport by him. Ami quickly found employment within one month of arriving in South Africa with little assistance from her brother. Immediately after she earned her first salary, Ami started paying bills towards the household. Although Ami was earning ZAR 2,000 a month, her brother expected her to pay ZAR 1,800 towards monthly rent (including water and electricity) payments, household groceries, and repayment of her airplane ticket to South Africa. She was left with ZAR 200 for other expenses. After some time Ami decided to move from her brothers home to find alternative accommodation so she could direct her funds towards other areas such as savings and remittances.

The importance of kin networks in assisting with the pre-migration phase cannot be understated, most of these women were encouraged to migrate to South Africa by a family member, professional contact or a friend. All of the women studied received either financial or social assistance from a Ghanaian living in South Africa towards their travel itinerary, visa application, jobs search, and accommodation in South Africa, amongst others. However, once the women had arrived and settled in South Africa, these favours either had to be repaid in large sums of money that often left the women with little or no spending money, or the women were neglected upon arrival and left on their own to fend for themselves. When asked to explain

why this happened, the women explained that often migrant's living in South Africa want to portray a certain image of their lives to their relatives in Ghana through stories images, and offering exorbitant gifts, assistance and promises, that in many instances they cannot fulfil. In other cases, migrant's see new entrants to the country as an opportunity to exploit. Such practices fuel feelings of distrust amongst the Ghanaian communities, in addition to paranoia about community gossip, internal competition, and others. These experiences often discourage many migrants from seeking out their own and thus the women tend to find a different social net for support.

Outside of their traditional Ghanaian communities, migrant women are able to form meaningful relationships and establish social groups amongst themselves and other foreigners. Drawing from the extent of their community engagement, the women who were married and those who had children were more likely to establish social groups with other Ghanaian families with similar characteristics outside of the work place. This was because they were able to easily establish common ground. The single women who did not have children, expressed that the majority of their social circle developed out of their relationships with co-workers (both Ghanaian and from other African countries). Instead of the wider Ghanaian community serving as an avenue to ease assimilation to South Africa, the salons and the networks therein proved to serve the role instead. Few women had developed friendships with other individuals outside of the hair care industry. In most instances, the women specifically chose to establish friendships with colleagues and not to seek out friendships with people outside of their work. A major contributing factor to this, in addition to the mistrust within the Ghanaian community, is the amount of time these women spend at work. Asked if they would like to establish friendships with other Ghanaians outside of work, only three women responded positively. Thus, these women both have little time for social engagement and little interest in it outside of the workplace. Thus the salons have created a community of Ghanaian and other women into which the women integrate and through which most of these women develop socially in South Africa.

This reveals that for most of the Ghanaian women living in South Africa, most of their social and community engagement occurs within the salon. The women regard the salon as a safe haven where they are both welcomed and protected. However, these roots are shallow and in many cases, the women still feel closely tied to their home country and yearn to return home someday. However, the salons are effective in providing a sense of community for the migrants.

This is a key factor stimulating the women's productivity and overall contributions to the country.

e) Ability to improve well-being

Ghanaian women working in the hair care industry are observed to be very diligent, committed, professional and hardworking. These women dedicate their lives to working in these salons in order to generate higher incomes to support themselves and their kin. The salons are not only an important source of income but they appear to have created a community within themselves and created a haven for social and professional engagement, improving the quality of life of the migrant women. While the women are well established in their careers in the hair care industry of South Africa, living in the country has proved challenging for the women as they are faced with heavy work hours, loneliness, heavy financial demands and obligations, issues relating to financial security and career progression.

Each woman was asked if she felt her life had improved as a direct result of moving to South Africa to work as a hair stylist, and to what extent. There was common agreement that the women's quality of life had increased, for which improved service delivery (such as water and electricity), more moderate climate, better transport networks, were credited, however 82% of the women were not satisfied with their standard of living in South Africa. Issues related to living conditions, most of the women rent a room in shared apartments with up to 6 occupants with little prospect for ever owning any fixed assets, a general sense of home-sickness due to the lack of strong support systems outside of the work place, the strains of financially supporting family and friends in Ghana, the difficulty around securing work permits or business permits to grow further within the industry, and the limited potential to grow within the industry due to saturation within the market. These issues were named in addition to other factors that the women continued to encounter even after migrating to South Africa such as a lack of access to credit, the inability to own land, market segmentation, and limited access to health services. Due to the types of permits the women hold, while they still pay taxes, most of the women are unable to access many social services that require public funds, most do not have bank accounts, and most rely of community 'stockvels' for loans. While the women are earning more money than they were in earning while in Ghana, other factors that affect ones well-being have made it more difficult for the women to adapt to life in South Africa.

5.5 GHANAIAN WOMEN AND THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY

While this study seeks to understand the roles of Ghanaian women in the hair care industry and as community members, it also seeks to show evidence of the women's contributions to the hair care industry and the South African economy. As discussed earlier in the chapter, Ghanaian women migrants are innovators and entrepreneurs within the hair care industry, introducing new techniques and products to the South African market that are contributory to the growth and size of the market over time. These women bring this level of success with them to the South African market through various economic activities. This section is a descriptive account of the contributions of female Ghanaian hair stylists to the South African economy.

5.5.1 BUYING POWER

South Africa benefits from the activities of migrant entrepreneurs through the migrant's purchasing power. Not only do the migrant women spend up to half of their monthly income on commodities and services (e.g. rent, food items, and clothing) within the country, foreign-owned business also rely on goods and supplies from wholesale South African outlets. Although these salons and individuals' also stock Ghanaian hair and beauty products, they are largely dependent on and stocked by on South African sourced goods from local factories, supermarkets, and other retailers, for which they pay VAT (int. Adjoa, Pretoria 2016). Thus these businesses contribute to the profitability and the tax base of South African formal sector businesses as well as directly input funds to other local businesses aiding the economic cycle.

5.5.2 SKILLS AND TRAINING

The popularity of the skills and products Ghanaian hair stylists offer is said to boost the businesses popularity (int. C Malvern, Pretoria 2016). Mr C. Malvern indicates that there is a direct correlation between hiring a Ghanaian hair stylist and increasing one's customer base and profitability. These services are also offered at inconvenient times and locations for the stylists allowing consumer's niche demands to be met. The migrant womens' skills and information are also transferred to South African and other foreign staff thus contributing to training, upgrading of skills and expanding the knowledge base of the industry as well as its development. These women not only expand the knowledge base of the business but the

customer base, making significant contributions by servicing the needs to consumers, effectively making the business more profitable and increasing the tax base of that business.

5.5.3 JOB CREATION

From the salons that participated in this study alone, more than fifty full-time and part-time jobs were created in the last two years, and in 70 per cent of the salons, at least one South African was employed. These migrant entrepreneurs, in contrast to the widespread belief that they take jobs away from locals, generate employment by hiring people of various nationalities. The South Africans employed are black South Africans who have received no formal certified training in hair styling and were otherwise unemployed thus showing that these salons are able and willing to invest in nurturing new entrants to the industry, both skilled and unskilled. Ghanaian entrepreneurs are therefore contributing to employment, the growth of the industry and the South African economy.

5.6 CHAPTER SUMMARY

From this chapter it has been shown that Ghanaian women thrive in the hair care industry of South Africa and through their success in this industry they are better able to survive and navigate the harsh foreign environment and further contribute to the economy of the country. Migrating to South Africa has been a challenging experience for most of the participants to this study however through prioritising their work Ghanaian women migrants have been able to support themselves and their kin in Ghana. Though the work is demanding and consuming, these women have found support within the hair care industry, relying on their clients and colleagues to improve their well-being in the country. The hair care industry thus not only allows the women to realise increased wages upon migrating to South Africa, but it provides a haven for the women, helping them to cope with the struggles they experience living in South Africa. Ghanaian women have established themselves as main attractions within hair salons run in Pretoria, bringing with them clientele and a vibrant environment that the businesses thrive off and use to increase their customer base of the business as well as the knowledge base of the industry. It is therefore a key lesson that Ghanaian women migrants contribute to the economy of South Africa.

CHAPTER 6
DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSION

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This dissertation explores the livelihood and survival strategies of Ghanaian women migrants working in the beauty industry in South Africa and shows how these women positively contribute to the South African economy. It has traced the migration process of women migrants beginning with the pre-migration phase in Ghana to their arrival in South Africa and each chapter has drawn a set of detailed conclusions relating to their survival strategies and livelihood as economic migrants living in Pretoria, South Africa. This dissertation sought out to challenge misleading perceptions about migrants in South Africa as burdens to the state and explored the economic activities of Ghanaian women migrants with particular insight to the women's work in the hair care industry of South Africa and underlined their economic and social contributions. The research drew upon key insights that revealed dominant factors pushing women to migrate from Ghana, the links that connect migrants to South Africa, as well as the opportunities for work and employment in South Africa. The data chapters were effective in revealing Ghanaian women migrants in South Africa as innovators, entrepreneurs and positive influences in the hair care industry, contributing to this industry's development and growth in South Africa. This conclusion aims to pull these themes together to discuss the implications for understanding economic migration and its potential in South Africa as well as discuss some broader policy questions. The conclusion also reflects on the research, briefly commenting on the limitations of this research and potential areas for further study.

6.2 DISCUSSIONS

This study has shown that migrants to South Africa can be important economic, as well as social, contributors who, despite the challenges associated with migrating to the country, work very hard to secure their livelihood and improve their well-being in the country. This study began with a general discussion around migration literature that was then used to frame the analysis of the data collected during the research process. The chapters that followed applied the literature to the Ghana-South Africa context to better understand the push factors

contributing to the migration of women from Ghana to South Africa, the livelihood strategies and activities employed by migrants in South Africa, the relationships between Ghanaian women migrants and local communities as well as home communities, and the contributions of the women migrants to the hair care industry and the South African economy. These objectives were achieved with the aim of answering the main research question of this paper which sought to understand the extent to which Ghanaian women migrants have used their migration to South Africa to improve their livelihoods and how their activities contribute to the hair care industry and the South African economy.

6.2.1 WHY WOMEN ARE CHOOSING TO EMIGRATE FROM GHANA

As a result of their relative independence and economic participation, Ghanaian women have been visibly present in migration streams for many years in response to the declining economic conditions in Ghana. Upon achieving independence in 1957, Ghana was positioned to be the leading developmental state in Africa. However, political instability, financial mismanagement, and other socio-economic and political issues, quickly yielded Ghana's development and plunged many men, women and children into poverty and strife. Women (and children) bore the brunt of the challenges that became associated with survival in Ghana. However, due to their long history as dominant labourers in the country, Ghanaian women were able to identify markets for growth ensuring their survival in both public and private life. The economic downturn in Ghana, in addition to increased female education, increased male unemployment, and escape from domestic violence, were major push factors forcing many women migrants to seek better prospects in terms of fiscal revenues for the purpose of improved livelihood and independence in other countries. The decision to migrate was based on a rationalised cost-benefit analysis of both monetary and non-monetary influences that eventually, with the contributions and assistance of family members and friends, led many women to emigrate from Ghana. The relevance of networks in the decision making and pre-migration process cannot be understated; it was found that most migrants are linked to their host country through the information as well as social and financial assistance of kin, community or professional networks. As it was revealed, all of the migrants studied in this research were encouraged to move to South Africa to seek increased wages with the aid of information or employment opportunities offered to them by Ghanaian friends, family and colleagues living and working in South Africa.

6.2.2 SOUTH AFRICA AS AN IMPORTANT MIGRANT RECEIVING STATE

Since the end of Apartheid in 1994, South Africa has established itself as a key migrant receiving country, attracting flows of over one million migrants. The majority of migrants to South Africa immigrate to the country from other sub-Saharan countries seeking to benefit from South Africa's relative economic strength and stability as well as escape violence and war, poverty, and poor living standards in their home countries, amongst others. Building on the strong legacy of the mining indexes in the country, South Africa has received many migrants from Zimbabwe, Malawi, Mozambique, and more recently, from non-traditional states such as Ghana. Ghanaian migrants to South Africa have largely moved to the country as economic migrants seeking work and income earning opportunities to improve their well-being. Many migrants to South Africa choose to live in South Africa in response to supply and demand locating themselves in markets where they identify gaps where there is often a pull for cheap labour. Most often, these gaps are within the informal market, where many migrants can be found working as small business traders, informal farm labourers, taxi drivers, house maids, and alike. Ghanaian women migrants have been able to identify a niche market for themselves and they are quickly absorbed into the hair care industry. The existence of these, and other groups of migrants, has become a topical issue following the public increase in xenophobic sentiments and violence across the country in recent years. While groups of migrants who have moved to South Africa to better their lives have also managed to contribute economically to the country as well as their home country, the prevailing view amongst South Africans appears to be that migrants are taking opportunities away from local South Africans, draining state coffers, and only contributing towards increased crime rates and violence in the country. The case of Ghanaian women migrants in the hair care industry, dispels these views.

6.2.3 HOW GHANAIAN WOMEN MIGRANTS CONTRIBUTE TO SOUTH AFRICA'S HAIR CARE INDUSTRY AND ECONOMY

Ghanaian women migrants who immigrate to South Africa to work in the hair care industry are trained and skilled workers with years of experience as hair stylists, business owners and entrepreneurs. These women choose to leave Ghana and move to South Africa to work as hair stylists or open salons and through their success and innovation, they have come to dominate the hair care industry in South Africa. Ghanaian women hair stylists are particularly popular in the industry because they provide unique services and products that are inaccessible to clients

in local hair salons and amongst local stylists, and because they work tirelessly to ensure their services are more easily accessible to local and foreign clients. Of these women, single previous business owners above the age of 25 proved to be amongst the most productive and high earning workers in the salons, generating the most income for themselves and the business. In addition to their hair care services, the salons owned by Ghanaians can be viewed as places of solace, a sort of haven where women of various nationalities come together to bond and support one another, breaking barriers that exist outside in society. Thus Ghanaian owned salons and hair stylists have been able to capture the market and provide above-average services. This has been achieved in addition to the strength of the buying power of these migrants who spend most of their income on local commodities, the new skills, techniques and training they bring to the South African hair care industry that promote its development, and the jobs they create for both foreign and local labourers through their business hiring and apprenticeships programmes. Without any state assistance and criminal influences, these women have established themselves as innovators, pushing the bounds of hair care in the country and contributing to the continued growth and establishment of the industry and the South African economy, while still working towards improving their well-being and contributing to home development through their remittances.

6.3 CONCLUSION

While the importance of developing local communities and creating local jobs for South Africans remains, the value of migrants to South Africa is clear and in her quest for a progressive policy on migration and development, there is a need to shift existing ideas about the lives and contributions of migrants in the country. As highlighted in Chapter Three, some migrants choose to move to South Africa as labourers and business owners in key industries where they have potential to excel. It was shown that migrants abandon their lives in the hopes that they can achieve a higher standard of living for themselves and their family. This process of migration has been practiced for decades and migrants have distinguished themselves as productive members and contributors within society in receiving states. Through their productive activities, and in the case of Ghanaian women migrants in South Africa working in key salons in Pretoria, migrants are able to secure employment, increase their monthly wages, send remittances home, and financially support themselves while living in South Africa. Though the women experience several social challenges while living in South Africa, Ghanaian women migrants have been able to effectively use migration as a strategy to improve their well-

being and through their wages and businesses, skills and training, contribute to home as well as local development, relying predominantly on the assistance of local Ghanaian networks. While some of these communities of foreigners exist in isolation of other local communities (largely due to fear of persecution), these migrants have not shown themselves to be burdens to the state but rather innovators and economic contributors. Due to the threat of violence as a result of local perceptions many of these women experience living in South Africa that limit their community engagement and assimilation, a revision of the attitudes towards foreigners is necessary to promote cohesion and extend on the unity experienced within Ghanaian salons to larger communities. Thus, the lives of Ghanaian women migrants carry significant lessons for the South Africa and their contributions are important to the development of the country.

6.4 POLICY IMPLICATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

South Africa's migration policy is not primarily that of a lack of policy but rather a lack of awareness and exposure amongst the population. This research was able to reveal the amount of labour Ghanaian women migrants put towards increasing their well-being while still being viewed as burdens to the country. Specific policy lessons emerged within the research and this concluding section discusses these below.

Integrating migrant awareness into anti-xenophobia campaigns

Xenophobic attitudes and attacks continue to plague South Africa, especially with the threat of the nation-wide economic downgrade. While many skilled South Africans are fleeing the country in search of better opportunities in predominantly Western countries, other African migrants are looking to fill the gaps in local industries and settle in the country. While the skills and training that foreign nationals bring with them to the country increase local competition within the job market, the nature of the capitalist system is meant to encourage growth over stagnation and limitations placed on economic growth and development in the country only serve to diminish the market value in the country and adversely affect the lives of people living in South Africa. It is thus important that migrants working in the country are identified as promoters of growth as opposed to closing off the country without encouraging home development. An example can be drawn from other African countries, such as Nigeria, that have encouraged cooperation with migrant populations for the purpose of sustained, communal growth, promoting positive attitudes and views of migrants in the country. Thus, a key element

towards combatting xenophobia in South Africa is to educate populations about the value that migrants hold for development.

Social safety nets and skills development for local communities

While the relevance and value of migration cannot be understated, it is also important to recognise that local populations need to be protected against potential threats to their livelihood without stifling national growth. A key strategy towards improving the social safety nets such as adequate and more widely dispensed job seekers allowance, more accessible, affordable and efficient health care services, and more that reduce the cost of living for every day South Africans and reduce the risk carried by each individual are important moves towards raising the general living standard across the country. Research has shown that the majority y of xenophobic attacks happen in underprivileged and impoverished areas, such as Alexander, where communities tend to be more closed off. If local populations were in a better position to excel, as well as aware of the benefits of migration, the potential for greater cohesion would increase.

Migrant community assimilation projects

A key insight from this research was the limited amount of engagement between migrant groups and local populations. There exists an invisible divide between those who belong and those who do not that discourages both groups of people from interaction and encourages sentiments of fear, distrust, and despise. An important initiative could be the introduction of local government community social events held for local populations and migrant groups during which locals and migrants are encouraged to socialise and learn about and from one another to discourage groups from developing unfounded ideas about the other. This will assist local and migrant groups to live together in greater cohesion as well as improve the well-being of migrants in receiving states.

Improved administration with regards to permits and visas

While migrant populations in South Africa contribute positively to the economy, their ability to bypass systems in place to administer work permits is an issue that requires attention. From this research, it is evident that migrants to the country are able to apply and receive occupancy status in South Africa for which they may not strictly comply. For the purposes of government control and tracking, it is important that migrants are eligible for the occupancy status within which they fall. The relevant government departments require close internal monitoring

systems as well as protocols to better legitimise the applications of migrants that place them within the correct brackets without forcing migrants out of the country through overly difficult application processes.

6.5 LIMITATIONS OF THIS RESEARCH

While this research was able to answer each of the stated research questions, the text could have benefitted from the following:

- A better understanding of the revenues and profit generated of the salon businesses for the purpose of better understanding the actual monetary value and contribution of the businesses would have contributed to the richness of the text. Nonetheless, the text effectively highlighted the average incomes of each participant to the study by way of illustrating the wealth of the individuals as a direct reflection of their work and later their spending habits.
- A more detailed account of the legal status and documentation of the women migrants in South Africa would have contributed interesting and key insights about the lives of the women migrants in the country. However, considering the sensitivity of this information, the participants to this study chose not to divulge this information, as such this study focused predominantly on the economic and social aspects of the women's lives.
- A discussion surrounding present efforts undertaken in South Africa towards combatting xenophobia would have assisted in highlighting some of the key gaps that currently exist and areas that need to be more rigorously targeted. Due to limited space as well as for the purposes of keeping the women migrant's central to this study, this discussion was deemed to be beyond the scope of the research however, important literature was studied as part of the review.

These limitations mentioned above could serve as useful areas for further research.

APPENDIX

Research Discussion Guide

A.

1. Describe your life in Ghana before coming to South Africa?
2. What did you do for a living?
3. Were you happy with your standard of living?
4. Were you happy with the socio-economic and political state of the country?
5. Did you choose to migrate to South Africa?
6. Why did you choose to migrate?
7. Did you think that migrating would increase your happiness and standard of living?
8. How important were economic factors in your decision to migrate?
9. How did your family and community react to your decision to migrate? How much did it matter?
10. Do you think that it's harder for women to migrate than men?

B.

1. Why did you choose to migrate to South Africa? What factors attracted you to the country?
2. Had anyone told you about the country before you came here and described the lifestyle? What did they say?
3. Did you have any friends or family here prior to moving?
4. Was it difficult or easy to get documentation to come here?
5. How did you travel to South Africa?
6. When you arrived did you have friends or family meet you?
7. How did you find your feet upon arrival?
8. How did you start working in the beauty industry? Was it your intention to work here?
9. Was South Africa what you expected it to be?
10. If you could work in any other profession would you move from beauty?

C.

1. Do you find that there are many opportunities for employment and work in South Africa?
2. How much do you make monthly? Are you able to support yourself financially?
3. Was it easy or difficult to adapt to life in South Africa?

4. Have you experienced any challenges living here (socially, economically etc.)?

5. How did you manage and overcome these challenges?

6. Do you interact with the local South Africans? How do you perceive them?

7. Do you interact with the Ghanaians here? How do you perceive them?

8. Is the Ghanaian community here different from that back home?

9. What are the benefits of staying in South Africa?

D.

1. How do you think your job contributes to the South African economy?

2. How does your business impact the every-day lives of individuals?

3. Does the Ghanaian community work together to improve its members well-being? How?

4. What type of training is provided for the employees who start working in the salon and is this beneficial?

5. How many South Africans are employed in the salon where you work? Other nationalities?

6. Do you think that the Ghanaian community positively contributes to South Africa and its economy?

7. Do you think that South Africans are welcoming towards foreigners?

8. Do you think you made the right decision moving to South Africa?

9. Do you feel that foreigners could potentially be a burden to the state?

10. How dependent are you on the social services provided by the South Africa government?

Consent Form

I agree to participate in the Masters level research project led by Miss Salome Odhiambo from the University of Pretoria, South Africa. The purpose of this document is to specify the terms of my participation in the project through discussions and interviews.

In the context of a historical past that created male dominated migration patterns and a resultant scholarly focus on male migration, this study represents a departure from this tradition, and sets out to explore the changing trends in migration in South Africa after independence. The study focuses on Ghanaian women migrants who have settled in South Africa, have secure livelihoods, and contribute positively to the economy through small/medium business activities. The dissertation will be the first detailed account that challenges the misconception about migrants as a burden to state coffers by portraying women migrants as entrepreneurs and major economic role players who engage in SMMEs for their livelihoods survival and accumulation. It will help explain the independence of some migrants from state assistance and the potential entrepreneurial migrants have of contributing towards employment and the economy. In this respect, it carries significant lessons for South Africa in her quest for a progressive policy on migration after the recent waves of xenophobia unrest.

1. I have been given sufficient information about this research project. The purpose of my participation as an interviewee and participant in discussions in this project has been explained to me and is clear.

2. My participation as an interviewee in this project is voluntary. There is no explicit or implicit coercion whatsoever to participate.

3. Participation involves being interviewed by and engaging in discussions related to the research by the researcher, Salome Odhiambo, a masters student at the University of Pretoria. I allow the researcher(s) to take written notes during the interview. I also may allow the recording (by audio) of the interview. It is clear to me that in case I do not want the interview to be taped I am at any point of time fully entitled to withdraw from participation.

4. I have the right not to answer any of the questions. If I feel uncomfortable in any way during the interview session, I have the right to withdraw from the interview or request a private session.

5. I have been given the explicit guarantees that, if I wish so, the researcher will not identify me by name or function in any reports using information obtained from this interview, and that my confidentiality as a participant in this study will remain secure.

6. I have been given the guarantee that this research project has been reviewed and approved by Dr Vusi Thebe.

7. I have read and understood the points and statements of this form. I have had all my questions answered to my satisfaction, and I voluntarily agree to participate in this study.

8. I understand that the data collected will be safely stored by the researcher purely for the purposes of the above stated research project.

9. I have been given a copy of this consent form co-signed by the interviewer.

_____ _____

Participant's Signature Date

_____ _____

Researcher's Signature Date

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