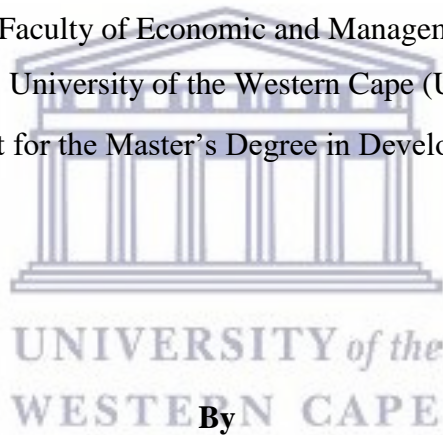# ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SURVIVAL STRATEGIES OF MIGRANTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA: A CASE STUDY OF GHANAIAN MIGRANTS IN JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA

A mini-thesis submitted to the Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences (EMS), Institute for Social Development (ISD), University of the Western Cape (UWC), in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirement for the Master's Degree in Development Studies.

By

Dorcas Okyere

Supervisor:

Prof. Yanga Zembe

November, 2018

DECLARATION

I, Dorcas Okyere hereby declare that the work presented in this thesis entitled, '*ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SURVIVAL STRATEGIES OF MIGRANTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA: A CASE STUDY OF GHANAIAN MIGRANTS IN JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA'* was done by me in supervision from the Institute of Social Development. Aside references from other works which have been duly acknowledged, this work has never been presented either in whole or in part for the award of any degree in this university or elsewhere or for publication.

Signature   **Date**

Dorcas Okyere

(**Student Number: 3601599)**   …………………   ………………..
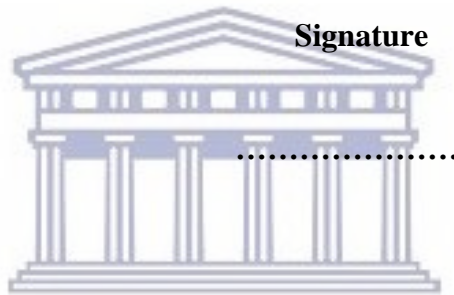
Signature   **Date**

Prof. Yanga Zembe

(**Supervisor**)   ……………….   ………………

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my dearest mum, Madam Cecelia Akyere and all my siblings.

ACKNOWLEGEMENTS

All thanks go to God Almighty for granting me the strength and the wisdom to complete this master's study. My profound gratitude goes to my supervisor Prof. Yanga Zembe for her guidance, unrelenting support and her patience.

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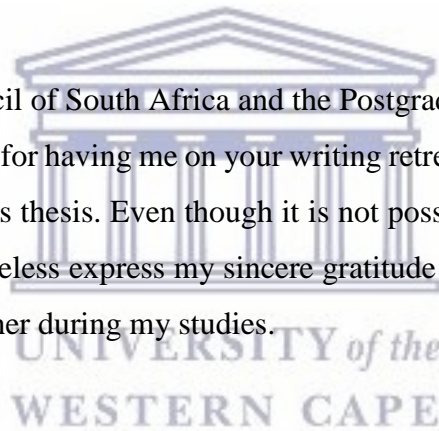
ABSTRACT

The international migrant stock has continued to grow at a fast pace increasing from 222 million in 2010 to 244 million in 2015. Reasons for migration are diverse and include conflicts, poverty and natural tragedies. South to South migration is the most prevalent on the African continent; similarly, half of migrants from developing countries, the world over, are estimated to reside in other developing countries. South Africa is amongst the continent's most popular destinations for Africa's migrants. Among the international migrants of African descent who reside in South Africa, are Ghanaians; a migrant population rarely considered by migration studies conducted in the country. Ghanaians receive less than 5% of the permits granted by South Africa to migrants every year. Among this lot of migrants, are undocumented Ghanaians who live in the country with little or no social protection. They are exposed to various health and social conditions and resort to survivalist strategies as a coping mechanism. However, very little is known about the specifics of the aforementioned challenges and the strategies they use to cope with these, in South Africa, for studies in this regard are largely non-existent. With the aim of filling this gap, this study explores the economic and social survival strategies of Ghanaian migrants in Johannesburg, South Africa. Using qualitative research methods, it draws data from 10 Key Informant Individual Interviews and three Focus Group Discussions (FGD) and analyses the experiences of documented and undocumented Ghanaian migrants in relation to access to livelihood, health, housing and their use of social networks in South Africa. The findings of this research indicated that economic reason is the main push factor for the migration of Ghanaians to South Africa. It is hoped that the relevant authorities in Ghana and South Africa that are positioned to address the challenges faced by migrants will find the results of this study useful in their efforts to mitigate the plight of documented and undocumented Ghanaian migrants in the informal sector of South Africa.

*Keywords***: Economic survival strategies; health; housing; social networks; Ghana; South Africa; Migrants; International migration.**

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

IOM	International Organisation for Migration
UNDESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
KII	Key Informant Interview
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
STATS SA	Statistics South Africa
SIHMA	Scalabrini Institute of Human Mobility in Africa
ANC	African National Congress
UNDP	United Nation Development Project
WHO	World Health Organisation
HIV	Human Immune-deficiency Virus
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
ESS	Economic and Social Survival Strategy
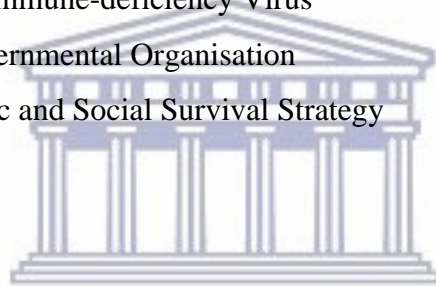
CHAPTER ONE

1   Introduction

International migration over the past years has become a global phenomenon which touches nearly all corners of the globe advancing in scope and complexity (UNDESA, 2015). According to the International Organisation for Migration (2011), international migration is the movement of individuals from their country of origin to establish themselves either permanently or temporarily in another country. In this thesis, the term migrant(s) has been used within this context. A forced migrant is also an individual who has moved from his country or place of residence because of an element of compulsion, which includes threat to life and livelihood emerging from natural or artificial causes (IOM, 2011). Forced migrants include asylum seekers and refugees t (IOM, 2011). These terms have been referred to in this study.

The international migrant stock has continued to grow at a fast pace increasing from 222 million in 2010 to 244 million in 2015, with high-income countries hosting most of the world migrants (UNDESA, 2015). Currently, there are one billion migrants in the world and one in every seven people are believed to be a migrant. (IOM &UNDESA, 2012). This figure includes people who reside outside their countries of birth and those who move within their countries of residence (IOM, 2015). Individuals migrate for many reasons, which include conflict, poverty, natural disasters and socioeconomic and political transformations (IOM & UNDESA, 2012). Migration from a developing country to another developing country is termed South to South, migration from a developing country to a developed country is termed South to North, while migration from a developed country to a developing country is North to South and migration from a developed country to another developed country is North to North migration (Bakewell, 2009).

Africa has been portrayed as a continent of people in motion, where stories of great migration are considered the root of the origin of various ethnic groups on the continent (de Bruijen et al, 2001). A form of migration that is prevalent on the continent is South to South migration. According to a World Bank estimate, nearly half of the migrants from developing countries reside in other developing countries and South to South migration is nearly as high as South to North migration (Ratha & Shaw, 2007). This means that much of the mobility of Africans is characterised by

crossborder and regional migration. This pattern of migration in the global South has been further enabled by an increase in bilateral agreements between the regions of the continent on the free movement of people, as well as the concept of globalisation (Donzelli, 2013 as cited in Seda, 2016).

Among the countries known to host significant proportions of migrants of African descent is South Africa, which is host to citizens of some hundred countries, with the total population of international migrants estimated to constitute 5.7% of the entire country's population (Adepoju, 2003; Dinbabo & Nyasulu, 2015). During the colonisation and apartheid eras in South Africa, the dominant features of the economy perpetuated the migrant labour system. In this system, migrant labourers came not only from the rural parts of the country but were also recruited by employment agencies from neighbouring states like Botswana, Zimbabwe Lesotho, Swaziland as well as Malawi and Mozambique (Adepoju, 2003). Post-apartheid, the dynamics of labour migration in South Africa changed. Specifically, the new democratic dispensation in the country broadened the sectors of employment for migrant labourers beyond mining and agriculture. Consequently, after the abolishment of apartheid in 1994, migration to the country increased and became increasingly urbanised (Crush, Williams & Perbedy, 2005). Most migrants who come to South Africa are received in the urban cities of Johannesburg, Cape Town, Pretoria and Durban (Northcote, 2015).

Importantly, South Africa is a signatory to the 1951 Geneva Convention, which stipulates who a refugee is and sets out the rights of persons who are granted asylum and the responsibilities of countries that grant asylum (Northcote, 2015; UNHCR, 2017). Because of this ratification and many other legislation and policies in South Africa that address refugees and asylum seekers, many forced migrants seek refuge in the country. The added impetus for this phenomenon arises from the often unstable political and economic conditions of the countries from which most of the forced migrants originate (Northcote, 2015).

Migration has resulted in an increase in diversity and a multicultural society, both of which are the foremost features of globalisation. Addressing the reality of this increase in diversity gives impetus to find legal, political, social and economic mechanisms which can harness the benefits of migrant and ensure mutual respect and serve as an intermediate across these differences (Taran, Mattila,

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Rodriguez, Mooney & Crush, 2001). Importantly, because of these differences and host country socio-economic dynamics, migrants face numerous difficulties in their countries of destinations. These challenges include segregation from the labour market, lack of access to health services, housing and welfare, as well as social exclusion (Datta et al, 2006). Consequently, they adopt strategies in their countries of destinations to enable them to survive the various challenges that they encounter. Such strategies include working overtime, doing more than one job at a time and moving between jobs to maximize earning capacities (Datta et al 2006). A study conducted by Hungwe (2013) on survival strategies adopted by Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg asserts that some migrants survive by engaging in self-employment, crime and church activities.

Migrants in South Africa who come from other African countries include migrants from Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana and Malawi who are noted to largely work in the farms and mines. Migrants from Senegal, Somalia, Mali and the Democratic Republic of Congo work as tradesmen. Additionally, highly skilled migrants in the country have been noted to come from Nigeria and Ghana (Adepoju, 2003).

Ghanaians constitute a minority of migrants in South Africa and although most migrants from Ghana are either students or professionals, it is important to note that there are also migrants who work in the informal sector, most of whom are not documented. Very little is known about these Ghanaian migrants who fall outside the formal sector in South Africa.

According to Statistics SA, in 2014, nearly 1200 temporary residents' permits were issued to Ghanaian migrants (Statistics South Africa, 2015). Visitors and relatives permits were a large proportion of these and made up 41.9% of all the temporary permits, whilst work and study permits accounted for 21% and 7.8% respectively. Additionally, 58 permanent residents' permits were issued to Ghanaian nationals in the same year (Statistics SA, 2015). These figures say nothing of Ghanaian migrants who eke out a living in the informal sector, some of whom are undocumented, and with little to no social protection and thus exposed to various health and social vulnerabilities.

The focus of this study was to investigate the economic and social survival strategies of documented and undocumented Ghanaian migrants in the informal sector in Johannesburg, South

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Africa. Five key research questions were investigated using Key Informants Interviews (KII) and Focus Group Discussions (FGD). The first question explored the factors that influenced documented and undocumented Ghanaians in the informal sector to migrate to South Africa and the second question investigated the experiences they go through to secure a livelihood. The third question explored their experiences in accessing healthcare, the fourth question looked at their lived experiences in terms of finding a place to stay and the last question focused on how they use their social networks to survive as migrants. The theory of social capital was used to conceptualize, analyse and interpret the study findings.

1.1   Problem statement and research questions

Most studies indicate that there is a constant increase in the international migrants stock as well as an increase in the number of migrants from other African countries to South Africa (Segatti & Landau 2010; Adepoju, 2011; Nshimbi & Moyo, 2018). The evidence also indicates that migrants encounter various challenges in their countries of destinations and they resort to various strategies to survive (UNDESA, 2016). Migrants face problems in various areas including the following: the labour market, the quest to acquire decent housing and access to healthcare and welfare (UNDESA, 2016).

In assessing the challenges and survival strategies that migrants from other African countries encounter in South Africa, little attention has been given to migrants from Ghana since they constitute a minority and are perceived to constitute skilled migrants or students at higher education institutions (Statistics SA, 2015). However, there are many Ghanaian migrants in the country who are undocumented and are not absorbed in the skilled, professional labour market or in higher education institutions (SIHMA, 2014). We know little about the struggles of this type of Ghanaian migrants, and the economic and social survival strategies they use to negotiate their life of vulnerability. It is important to fill this knowledge gap, not only for the benefit of Ghanaian migrants in the informal sector in South Africa, but also for those migrants from other countries who easily fall through the cracks because they are not perceived as vulnerable and therefore in need of social protection. Thus, this Masters dissertation sought to explore the economic and social survival strategies used by documented and undocumented Ghanaian migrants in the informal sector in South Africa and addresses the following questions:

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➤ What factors influence documented and undocumented Ghanaians to migrate to South Africa?

➤ What experiences do documented and undocumented Ghanaian migrants particularly those who are semi-skilled and unskilled go through to attain a livelihood?

➤ What challenges do they encounter in accessing healthcare and what strategies do they use in the face of these challenges?

➤ What experiences do they go through in obtaining housing and for those with housing how did they obtain their current housing facility?

➤ What social networks are they involved in and what can be learned about how these contribute to their survival?

1.2   Research objectives

The main aim of this research was to explore the economic and social survival strategies of documented and undocumented Ghanaian migrants in Johannesburg, South Africa.

The specific objectives of the study are:

➤ To investigate the various push and pull factors that underlie documented and undocumented Ghanaians' reasons for migration to South Africa

➤ To examine the experiences and strategies that documented and undocumented Ghanaian migrants in the informal sector in Johannesburg use to ensure their daily livelihood

➤ To explore their experiences and strategies in accessing health and housing

➤ To explore their social networks and how these are used as a means of survival

➤ To raise awareness of a forgotten population (Ghanaian migrants in the informal sector) by making policy recommendations that can be used by the governments of Ghana and South Africa on measures that could be taken to mitigate the challenges faced by documented and undocumented Ghanaian migrants in the informal sector in South Africa.

1.3   Study rationale

The number of migrants in South Africa has continued to surge over the years (Ntshimbi & Moyo, 2018). Migrants remain the most vulnerable despite the numerous benefits of migration (Nshimbi & Moyo, 2018). In the event of an economic decline, they are often the first to lose their jobs, work

for less pay and for longer hours than nationals in their countries of destination (UNDESA, 2016). Thus, migrants adopt various survivalist strategies to aid them to cope with challenging conditions in their countries of destination.

Ghanaian nationals do not constitute a majority of the migrants of African descent who live in South Africa; they make up less than 5% of African nationals who are granted permits every year in the country (Statistics South Africa, 2015). As a result, consideration has not been given to these migrants, especially the ones who work in the informal sector, who are often undocumented and with little or no social protection, which renders them vulnerable. These migrants are exposed to various health and social conditions and employ various survivalist strategies as a means of coping with these conditions. Given that little has been done in the way of research and policy making concerning these migrants, they constitute a forgotten population in South Africa. This research thus seeks to examine the economic and social survival strategies of documented and undocumented Ghanaian migrants in the informal sector in Johannesburg, South Africa.

1.4   Organisation of the study

The study is organised into six chapters

Chapter one comprises the introduction of the study, problem statement and research questions, research objectives and rationale of the study

Chapter 2 provides a review of the literature on migration with a specific focus on migration from Ghana to South Africa. The chapter also explores the literature on challenges that documented and undocumented migrants in the informal sector encounter in obtaining a livelihood and the strategies they employ to survive economically. The experiences migrants face in accessing health care and housing are also be explored. Additionally, a focus is   placed on social networks and how they contribute to migrants' survival.

Chapter 3 presents the theoretical framework of the study.

Chapter 4 provides an elaboration of the research design and methodology that was used in the research.

Chapter 5 outlines and discusses the findings of the research.
Chapter 6 presents a summary of the research, the conclusions drawn, the limitations of the study and offers some recommendations.

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CHAPTER TWO

2   Literature review

This section of the thesis discusses extensively the relevant literature that is related to the study. The literature review section of study details both the theoretical and evidence-based knowledge pertaining to the topic under study, whilst establishing the link between the field of study and the research. The case and history of migration to and from Ghana are discussed in section 2.1, whilst the case of migration to South Africa is discussed in section 2.2. Section 2.3 presents literature on the economic activities that migrants in the informal sector employ to survive, whilst section 2.4 highlights the social survival strategies of migrants, with specific emphasis on their survival strategies in relation to health, housing and their use of social networks in coping with their vulnerability.

2.1   The case of migration to and from Ghana

Ghana's 1992 constitution stipulates the rights of Ghanaians to migrate locally, internationally, and within the continent of Africa (Government of Ghana, 2016). Thus, every Ghanaian possesses the right to travel or migrate within or outside the borders of the country. Migration during the precolonial era in the country served as a significant adaptive strategy for pastoralists, farmers and other individuals who moved in search of cultivable land, to escape conflict or to trade (Anarfi & Kwankyi, 2003). This form of migration was internal and served the purposes of trading, discovering of cultivable land or avoiding conflict. Aside from individual migration that took place during this period, entire communities also moved into other areas in search of fertile land for farming, security and new land for settlement (Boahen, 1975). Another factor that spurred internal migration during this period in Ghana was socio-economic inequality between regions, which resulted in many farm workers and farmers moving from their regions into others that were economically better off (Government of Ghana, 2016). During the post-independence era in Ghana, these forms of migration came to be termed as rural-urban migration, rural-rural migration and urban-rural migration (Addo, 1968).

Albeit at a minimal level, there is evidence that cross-border migration into Ghana occurred during the pre-colonial era in Ghana. Peil (1974) accounts that migrant workers came into Ghana with

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the discovery of cocoa and the development of the mines and railways in the late nineteenth century. Sutton (1983) confirms Peil's findings by noting that the labour force in Ghana's mining sector in the early twentieth century was largely from neighbouring countries like Liberia, Sierra Leone and Nigeria. Post- independence, Ghana continued to receive migrants from other West African countries due to an increase in employment opportunities, the growth of industry and higher wages in the country. The first president of Ghana, Dr Kwame Nkrumah, tailored his foreign policy towards the advancement of Pan Africanism, thereby strengthening the migrant-receiving status of the country, which was described as a haven by many African freedom fighters who entered the country during this period (Brydon, 1985). By 1960, a census conducted in that year shows migrants accounted for 12% of the country's population.

International movement from Ghana during the early 1960s consisted of a relatively small number of people, most of whom were students and professionals (Anarfi & Kwankyi, 2003). Because of colonial ties, a few people, mostly students and professionals, migrated to the United Kingdom and to English-speaking countries such as Canada. For instance, immigration data reveals that there were one hundred Ghanaian migrants in Canada in the 1960's (Awumbila et al., 2008).

In the late 1960s, the country experienced a reversal in its migration trend; the number of people leaving the country surpassed the number entering it (Government of Ghana, 2016). Awumbila et al., (2008) attribute this reversal to the onset of political instability, economic decline and military dictatorship in the country, which made Ghanaians migrate to other countries to ensure their safety and survival. Additionally, Kwame Nkrumah's foreign policy that encouraged migration into Ghana was brought to an end by the promulgation of the Aliens Compliance Order, which was introduced by a new government headed by Dr Kofi Abrefa Busia (Anarfi & Kwankyi, 2003). The Aliens Compliance Order, which was passed in 1960, led to the expulsion of many foreigners who had no residence permits and most nationals from countries in the West Africa sub-region were affected (Awumbila et al., 2008). Brydon (1985) notes that the expulsion of these aliens, especially those from neighbouring countries, worsened Ghana's economic crisis because they took with them their capital and labour. Additionally, some West African governments, like Nigeria, Mali, Ivory Coast and Togo, were displeased with Ghana for evicting their nationals; this affected a large part of Ghana's trading relationship with these countries (Awumbila et al., 2008). Moreover, the

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economic policies that were pursued by the Government of the day resulted in an economic downturn. Dzorgbo (1998) states that this period set off a surge in Ghana's rates of inflation, underemployment and unemployment. All these factors worsened Ghana's economic woes and thus caused a surge in migration out of Ghana.

Due to the socio-economic changes detailed above, for some Ghanaians, migration became an exit strategy from the economic decline and instability in the country (Awumbila et al, 2008). Black et al. (2003) reinforce this argument by noting that migration from Ghana commenced during the period of economic crisis in the country from the 1960's to the 1990's and continued even with the recovery of the economy. Thus, the country became unattractive to both citizens and foreigners, with the proportion of foreigners in the country decreasing nearly by half, from 12.3% in 1960 to 6.6% in 1970. (Anarfi & Kwankyi, 2003).

To date, the search for better economic opportunities continues to be the most dominant motivating force underlying the migration of Ghanaians to other countries. In the 1970s, for instance, many unskilled Ghanaians migrated to the Ivory Coast to work in that country's agricultural sector (Anarfi & Kwankyi, 2003). To add to this, highly skilled and educated workers who were mainly from the health and education sectors migrated to other African countries in the 1970s because of economic hardships. Manuh (2001) argues that the emergence of migration out of the country is a tried and tested strategy for dealing with declining social and economic conditions. The estimated net migrant population that had left Ghana by 2008 was between a quarter of a million and 1.5 million. (Twum-Baah, 2005 as cited in Government of Ghana, 2016). The overall skill level of Ghanaian migrants is relatively high and, thus, the country at 46%, boasts the highest migration rate of highly skilled migrants to come out of West Africa, (OECD, 2008 as cited in IOM, 2009). A report by the European Union, in 2006, stipulated that 33.8% of Ghanaian migrants living in OECD countries had medium skills while 27.6% possessed high skills (as cited in IOM, 2009). The profession most affected by migration, in Ghana, is medicine; available estimates suggest that over 56% of Ghanaian doctors and 24% of professional nurses are working outside the country (Clemens & Pettersson, 2006). According to IOM (2009), most of these professionals receive their education in foreign universities. Needless to say, it is clear that the persistent migration of highly skilled workers from Ghana, which causes a brain drain, poses challenges for the economy of

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Ghana. This is especially the case if we consider that the age group that migrates out of Ghana the most are youth of productive age. Twum Baah (2005) notes that 30% of Ghanaians living in the Netherlands in the year 2000 were under 15years, 17.1% were between 15 & 29 years and 41.5% were between 30 & 34years. The remaining Ghanaian migrants were 40 years and above (as cited in Government of Ghana, 2016).

Although international migration from Ghana was previously perceived to have negative consequences on the development of the country, due to factors like the migration of skilled workers and the young, nowadays it is a phenomenon that is widely recognized, to contribute positively to development and poverty reduction (Government of Ghana, 2016). For instance, less than 10 years ago, the flow of remittances to Ghana was estimated to outweigh that of foreign direct investment (IOM, 2009). In the first quarter of 2009, the Bank of Ghana reported a 7.3% increase in remittance flow to Ghana (IOM, 2009). Additionally, most Ghanaian migrants are currently returning to Ghana either permanently or temporarily to invest their foreign earned resources and human capital. The IOM reports that from 2000 to 2007, there was a steady increase from 18.6% to 34.6% in the proportion of Ghanaians who returned either permanently or temporarily to the country (IOM, 2009).

These investment and remittance flows occur due to the gradual extra-regional migration of Ghanaians beyond the West Africa sub-region, into middle and high-income countries (IOM, 2009). The most important countries of destination for Ghanaians after West African countries are the United States of America and the United Kingdom (IOM, 2009).

Importantly, Ghana does not have a significant number of its citizens living as forced migrants in other countries. In fact, the number of forced migrants of Ghanaian descent, for instance, those who are living in other countries as asylum seekers under UNHCR protection, dropped drastically, from 15, 879 in 2003 and to 6,717 in 2007 (UNHCR, 2008). Additionally, as result of more restrictive migration policies in many destination countries, most Ghanaian migrants are not able to attain legal residential status in their preferred host countries. They are unable to access social services such as jobs, education and housing (SIHMA, 2014). The inability to attain legal migration status has led to failed migration projects, resulting in the deportation and repatriation of some

Ghanaians. The country with the highest number of Ghanaian deportees from within the African continent is South Africa (SIHMA, 2014).

In South Africa, the number of Ghanaian migrants who were offered temporary residence permits decreased by more than half, from 2,579 in 2012 to 1,149 in 2014 (Statistics South Africa, 2013; Statistics South Africa, 2015). Visitors permits were the most issued permits to Ghanaian migrants in 2012 and 2014, followed by relatives permits and work permits (Statistics South Africa, 2013; Statistics South Africa, 2015). A few permanent residence permits were granted during this period. The figure for undocumented Ghanaian migrants remains unknown.

The history of migration to and from Ghana has been extensively highlighted in this section of the study. The next section discusses the migration of Ghanaian migrants to South Africa with a special focus on the reasons behind the popularity of South Africa as a migration destination of choice for many migrants in the continent of Africa.

2.2   The case of migration to South Africa

The history of migration to South Africa is lengthy and spans several centuries (Dinbabo & Nyasulu, 2015). Its inception dates to the 17th century when Europeans settled and established colonialism. Over this period, hundreds of European migrated permanently into the country (Weiner, 1997). Large flows of migrants from India were also attracted by the opening of largescale sugar fields in Natal. Furthermore, when gold was discovered in 1886, cheap labour from Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Lesotho and sometimes Tanzania joined South African migrant workers in the diamond and gold mines in Kimberley and on the Witwatersrand (Dinbabo & Nyasulu, 2015; Northcote, 2015). This established lasting forms of legal cross-border migration in the region and changed the pattern of migration in the sub-continent. Six percent (6%) of the country's population, at the beginning of the 20th century, comprised foreign migrants from neighbouring countries (Dinbabo & Nyasulu, 2015).

The foreign migrant population in the country continued to increase in the 20th century, and thus, in 1961, the foreign migrant stock reached a total of 836,000 (Perbedy, 1997, as cited in Dinbabo

& Nyasulu, 2015). The key suppliers of labour to South Africa in the 1970's were Lesotho, Malawi and Mozambique, and these were mostly unskilled farm labourers and mine workers (Adepoju, 2003). Likewise, highly skilled professionals from Ghana, Uganda and Nigeria migrated clandestinely to the then Bantustan home state; a sizeable portion of these migrants, were mostly teachers, doctors, university professors and engineers, who left their countries illegally and remained underground (Segatti and Landau 2010). These group of migrants were a contrast to the conventional labour migrants to South Africa who were mostly unskilled. According to Ayala et al. (2013), four international immigration routes prevail in South Africa. These are informal immigrants who work in the construction and service sectors, contract labourers from the mines, refugees from Mozambique and white asylum seekers from neighbouring countries (as cited in Dinbabo & Nyasulu, 2015).

Post-apartheid migration has become increasingly urbanized in South Africa. Since the end of apartheid, foreigners of African descent along with mobile Black South Africans who migrate from rural to urban settings, are now eligible to work outside the mining and agriculture sectors (Crush & Ramachadran, 2010). These migrants have largely settled in the now disaggregated areas of the country's cities. Though the urban areas of Johannesburg, Durban, Pretoria and Cape Town attract the largest number of migrants, there is a proportion of migrant labourers who still work in farms near the borders and in mining towns.

Temporary migration to South Africa from neighbouring countries has increased since the end of apartheid and the country attracts many economic migrants from across the continent of Africa (Northcote, 2015). Massey (2006) asserts that South Africa, as a leading regional economy, is now the core of a new migratory system which attracts migrants from across the continent. Segatti & Landau (2010) also attributes this to the striking differences in the standard of living and economic development between South Africa and other African countries and the transition to post-apartheid rule. The country is the preferred destination for migrants from across the continent of Africa due to the growth in the economy. Therefore, migrants are attracted to South Africa regardless of the daunting problems of unemployment, crime, the spread of AIDS and poverty in the country. Since the end of apartheid, highly skilled professionals have been migrating from West African countries like Ghana and Nigeria to work in the universities and other professions in South Africa (Adepoju,

2011). In addition, tradesmen, including street vendors and small traders, from countries such as Senegal have been migrating to the country, and thereby expanding the informal economy by joining their counterparts from Democratic Republic of Congo and Zimbabwe (Northcote, 2015). Most migrants in this group are thought to have overstayed their legal residency, while others apparently entered the country without paper documentation (Adepoju, 2003).

South Africa's ratification of the 1951 Refugee Convention in Geneva, coupled with unfavourable political and social situations in neighbouring countries, has resulted in the rise of forced migration and asylum-seekers into the country. Refugees and asylum -seekers from a range of countries, especially those of sub-Saharan Africa, have flooded South Africa. According to the UNHCR 2013 report, South Africa received the highest recipients of applications for asylum status globally for the period 2006-2011. Moreover, in 2012, the country was ranked the third in the world in registered asylum-seeker claims, after the US and Germany (UNHCR, 2013 as cited in Smit & Rugunanan, 2014).

Despite South Africa's ratification of the Geneva Refugee Convention of 1951, in the past two decades, the South African government has done little to advance pro-migration laws, apart from giving amnesty to some political asylum seekers and refugees (Dinbabo & Nyasulu, 2015). Immediately after 1994, migration policies were initially less restrictive in the country, but with time this changed. Migration laws became more restrictive, in part due to anti-migrant sentiments towards foreign migrants of African descent among South Africa's citizenry, fuelled by labour unions' fears that migrants would put a strain on and compete with Black South Africans for scarce resources such as jobs, business opportunities, housing and welfare (Tessier, 1995). According to Mfono (1998), the black population, which united against the culprits of apartheid, was the same demographic that vented anger on migrants from other African countries; eventually escalating in nationwide xenophobic attacks. Some politicians and the local population have called for the arrest of these migrants, particularly those who have been accused of criminal activities, taking away housing and jobs of the locals, as well as exploiting local girls by marrying them for money (Adepoju, 2011). Consequently, the arrest and deportation of undocumented migrants became one of the policy measures of the ANC government immediately after the end of apartheid. A total of 91,000 undocumented migrants were deported in 1994 with Mozambicans constituting

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threequarters of the deportees and the rest being Sierra Leoneans, Nigerians, Ethiopians and Zambians (Adepoju, 2003). The figure of African deportees from South Africa continued to surge in the subsequent years and more restrictive migration policies were implemented (Adepoju, 2003).

Crush & Macdonald (2003) emphasize that the country's increasingly restrictive migration policies have made it difficult for employers of migrants to obtain work permits for their employees.

Despite these restrictions, international migration to South Africa continues to escalate because it is the only country on the continent that has witnessed enormous industrial growth (Northcote, 2015). Accounting for two-fifths of the Gross National Product of all sub-Saharan African countries, South Africa continues to attract economic migrants from sub-Saharan Africa and across the continent (Northcote, 2015). The ANC-led government despite its migration restrictions in 1994 implemented plans to grant migrant mine workers voting rights at local and national levels, and later citizenship; this was done in consultation with the National Union of Mine Workers (Adepoju, 2003; Segatti and Landau, 2010). Additionally, 90,000 Mozambican refugees were granted residence status as well as 124,000 nationals from South African Development Community (SADC) countries who had been living in South Africa since 1986 (Milazi, 1998 as cited in Adepoju, 2003). To add to this, migrants who have been in the country for more than five years have been granted the right to acquire permanent residence if they so wish (Adepoju, 2003). The migration restrictions implemented by the government do not deter migrants from coming to South Africa. Accordingly, Klotz (2000), notes that migrants come to South Africa either legally or illegally each year in search of better socio-economic conditions.

This section discussed broadly the history of migration in South Africa and why the country is a hub for most migrants across the continent of Africa. Section 2.3 will discuss the livelihood activities that migrants employ to survive in their countries of destination. The section will specifically focus on the economic survival strategies of migrants in the informal sector in South Africa.

2.3   Economic survival strategies of migrants

Hirschman (1982) found that human capital, which includes work experience that can be useful in the labour market and educational skills, is one of the important prerequisites for migrants' socioeconomic integration in their host countries. Even though migration, the world over, is mainly triggered by economic factors, one of the challenges faced by most migrants, nonetheless, is accessing a livelihood. A study among Ethiopian and Somali refugees in Toronto identified that one of the major stumbling blocks, in terms of their adaptability to their physical environment, was difficulty in entering the labour market (Danso, 2002). According to, Vallas et al. (2009), whose study is centred on the US, other disadvantages that refugees experience in the labour market include discrimination, the absence of legal documentation with which to facilitate employment, unrecognized educational qualifications and language barriers (as cited in Smit & Rugunanan, 2014). Thus, migrants face challenges in securing a good livelihood because of many struggles to integrate into the labour markets of their countries of destination.

South Africa's constitution provides protection for everyone regardless of their legal status or nationality. Notwithstanding that, migrants, especially refugees, continue to experience difficulties in their daily lives (Smit & Rugunanan, 2014). Ladau & Jacobsen (2004) note in their study of a sample of refugees in Johannesburg, South Africa, that, these refugees experience myriads of constraints in trying to access their livelihood, which includes a tiresome procedure of lodging an asylum claim, difficulty in gaining legal documentation from the Department of Home Affairs which will provide them refugee status and harassment from the police. Because of their readiness to work for a low wage and under unfavourable conditions, many refugees remain in a weak economic condition and many resorts to working in the informal sector (Polzer & Landau 2008). Moreover, Northcote (2015) found that most migrants, whether forced or legally recognised, have trouble in finding employment in the formal economy in South Africa. This is identified as one of the most anxiety-provoking challenges for refugees and asylum seekers (Smit & Rugunanan 2014). Since most migrants in South Africa are unable to access employment in the formal sector, many resorts to the informal sector for a source of livelihood (Northcote, 2015). The difficulty of finding formal employment for most migrants is linked to challenges in accessing proper documentation. Many are unable to access the country's Department of Home Affairs for a legal migrant status, have difficulty in accessing the banking systems and are marginalized by a perception among

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citizens that foreign migrants steal jobs (Northcote, 2015). Thus, migrants who are largely excluded from the formal sector, exhibit high levels of creativity and enterprise in the informal market (Maqanda, 2012, as cited in Crush et al., 2015). A study conducted by Northcote (2015), on the livelihood of forced migrants in Cape Town, identified that although some migrants are employed in the formal sector, many earn their living from informal, insecure economic activities. These include entrepreneurial activities such as trading through Spaza shops[1] and streetside enterprises like artisanship, tailoring, hair salons and hair braiding, and the sale of beadwork. Also, many migrants fuse formal and informal employment or use gains from one to gain access to the other. Consequently, for most migrants, informal sector employment becomes a survivalist trap from which they are unable to escape, and for others, it is a stepping stone to more secure and formal employment. A 2010 survey by the South African Migration Project on new Zimbabwean migrants in Cape Town and Johannesburg revealed that 20% were involved in the informal sector (Crush et al., 2015). Also, studies among Somalis revealed a higher rate of participation in the informal sector (Jinnah, 2010, as cited in Crush et al., 2015). Importantly, most migrant largely depends on their networks, which represent a form of social capital to gain access to employment and income earning opportunities (Massey et al, 1993).

The section above discussed the livelihood strategies of migrants by describing their challenges and the livelihood activities they pursue to overcome them. The next section deliberates on the social survival strategies of migrants with special emphasis on health and housing strategies as well as their use of social networks to survive in their countries of destination.

2.4   Social survival strategies of migrants

In discussing the social survivalist strategies of migrants, this research focuses on the following three parameters: access to health, access to housing, and social networks.

2.4.1   Migrants' access to health

There is an urgent need for the reorientation of health strategies and services to better protect migrants' health (Macpherson et al., 2007). The health of migrants, just like that of non-migrants,

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[1] The term Spaza Shop in South Africa denotes an informal convenience store (Northcote, 2015)

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is influenced by biological factors, socioeconomic status, behaviour and exposure to the environment. In addition, migrants' health status may be influenced by the health risk profile that characterizes their country of origin or arising in the migration process (Gushulak & Macpherson, 2006). That said, the migration process can also influence healthcare services in transit and destination countries and a high demand may be placed on the services in these countries as a result (Macpherson et al, 2007). This high demand may be due to the number of migrants or due to migrants having different diseases in comparison to the host country (Macpherson et al, 2007).

The exclusion of migrants, often from social protection policies such as pensions, unemployment benefits, and safety-net programmes like food transfers and health insurance, results in marginalisation and social insecurity (WHO, 2010). These elements impact the health of migrants and their productive integration into society negatively (WHO, 2010). Furthermore, health caregivers encounter various challenges in managing and caring for migrants. These challenges include language and culture barriers, and resource constraints of migrants and inadequate health systems (Suphachaimat et al., 2015). Undocumented migrants, because of fear of deportation, may not seek health care services whenever they need to do so. In some countries, these migrants have reported avoiding health facilities and waiting until their health conditions become serious to seek services because of their worries of being deported (Hacker et al, 2015). Veary and Nunez (2010) in their research, found that cross-border migrants in South Africa are denied access to healthcare services because of the prevailing discourse in the healthcare system, which associates health seeking as one of the main drivers of international migration. In this particular instance, healthcare service providers were found to ration services to migrants to limit migration.

The basic human right of access to health services is incorporated in the constitution of South Africa and the progressive realization of this right is being recognized despite limited resources (Veary et al., 2016). Consequently, free primary healthcare at the point of use is included in South Africa's public health system. This includes free health care for all lactating and pregnant women as well as children under six years of age and free primary and emergency healthcare at the point of use for all (Veary et al., 2016). Based on the 2008 World Health Assessment Resolution, the free health care provided in South Africa should be extended to migrants living in the country. This is because according to this resolution affiliate states have the responsibility of ensuring fair

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access to health promotion, disease prevention and care for migrants (Veary et al., 2016). Nonetheless, as many constraints affect the equitable delivery of primary healthcare services in the country, healthcare services to migrants are also affected (Veary and Nunez, 2010). Some groups of migrants encounter challenges in their health, which are often related to the living and working conditions in destination countries (Veary et al., 2016). These conditions include insecure and congested living spaces, food insecurity, limitations on livelihood opportunities and barriers to accessing social services such as health (Veary et al., 2016).

Crush & Tawodzera (2011) found that migrants seeking public healthcare in South Africa are required to provide their identity documentation, evidence of residence and proof of a home address before treatment is provided, effectively excluding all migrants who are undocumented, or without formal housing or a formal home address. Migrants in the country are also faced with communication difficulties when a common language is not used. Migrants in need of antiretroviral therapy for HIV have also been found to encounter challenges in the public health institutions. Thus, they are compelled to rely on the NGO sector for antiretroviral therapy (Crush & Tawodzera, 2011). This discrimination towards migrants in accessing public health care in South Africa is termed medical xenophobia (Crush & Tawodzera, 2011). Medical xenophobia is the negative attitude that health workers exhibit towards refugees and migrants (Crush & Tawodzera, 2011). As a survival strategy, these migrants resort to buying medicines at local pharmacies and visiting traditional healers for healthcare. Some resort to their social networks by asking acquaintances who have documentation to access non-prescription drugs over the counter or get others to visit the clinic, pretend to be ill and thus access medicines on their behalf (Crush & Tawodzera, 2011).

Besides the challenges that migrants experience in accessing healthcare, they also face difficulties in finding a place to stay. The next section will focus on migrants' challenges of access to housing and the various strategies adopted to overcome these problems.

2.4.2 Migrants' access to housing

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and the International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights state and emphasize the right to adequate housing for all (Greenberg

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and Polzer, 2008). The basic needs of migrants and refugees must be met for them to integrate successfully into society and one of the most significant, basic needs is affordable, suitable and adequate housing (Teixeira & Halliday, 2010). Neighbourhoods in which houses are found and the types of houses they inhabit influence migrants' access to social networks, and employment opportunities and their general sense of security (Teixeira & Halliday, 2010). Housing does not only provide physical shelter but strongly impacts on the type of livelihood and health options (Greenberg & Polzer, 2008).

The South African constitution also stipulates that everyone has the right of access to adequate housing, with the South African Refugee Act (130 of 1998), guaranteeing those rights provided in the constitution to migrants, particularly refugees (Greenberg & Polzer, 2008). Nevertheless, migrants experience housing crises and face significant difficulties accessing accommodation. Migrants, just like South Africans, have a variety of housing options in urban centres. There is the private sector housing which is by far the most significant sector for migrant housing, followed by informal accommodation and public housing (Greenberg & Polzer, 2008). There is little reliance on non-governmental shelters and public housing. Most international migrants encounter severe housing challenges when they come to cities in South Africa (Greenberg & Polzer, 2008). They experience overcrowding, bad service delivery and negative treatments from neighbours (Greenberg & Polzer, 2008). Importantly, migrants are excluded from public housing systems in South Africa; housing subsidies are restricted to citizens and the country's permanent residents. Categories of legal migrants with rights that are nearly the same as those enjoyed by South African citizens, such as asylum seekers and refugees, are also excluded from public housing subsidy.

Despite these exclusions, there are policymakers who have recognized legal migrants' right to housing schemes in South Africa. However, they attribute the lack of implementation of rights based access to public housing to technical and systematic problems with documentation procedures.

Non-governmental actors often provide limited shelters to the migrant population; this form of accommodation is, however, temporary and lacks funding. In addition to this, non-citizens from the inner cities are often excluded from these shelters, because of budgetary constraints, and some are also denied access because these shelters claim they have no rights to space. As a housing

survival strategy, migrants take up long and short-term accommodation in churches, which have proved to be a significant provider of housing needs for this population (Greenberg & Polzer, 2008).

The housing strategies that migrants use were discussed in the section above. The subsequent section will deliberate on how the social networks of migrants' aid them to survive in their countries of destination.

2.4.3   Migrants' social networks

The dynamics of contemporary migration are understood better with the analysis of migrants' networks, and the way they stimulate and perpetuate migration (Tilly 1990; Massey et al., 1998; Brettell & Hollifield 2008; Vertovec, 2008, as cited in Dekker & Engbersen, 2012). Linkages between sending and receiving countries are established by prior migrants and when a first-time connection has been made, other migrants follow (Dekker & Engbersen, 2012).   Thus, a relationship between prior and potential migrants is formed which influences potential migrants' decision to migrate. This relationship also provides resources for migration including accommodation, jobs and emotional support upon arrival at the country of destination (Ryan, Sales, Tilki & Siara, 2008). Drever & Hoffmeister (2008) in their analyses of the role of social capital in finding employment for migrants living in cities in Germany discovered that the young and less educated relied on their social networks to secure jobs. They also noted that, jobs found through social networks were as likely to lead to improved working conditions as jobs acquired through more formal means (as cited in Kindler, Ratcheva & Piechowska, 2015).

According to Ryan, Sales, Tilki & Siara (2008), transnational connections with people back home may continue to play a supportive role even after migration. Most migrants use social media platforms to facilitate and retain a connection with their country of origin. This fast and easy connection with family and friends provides migrants with a medium to cope with familial separations, which supports them psychologically and aids in their integration (Bacigalupe & Camara, 2012). Thus, they get to digitally carry friend and family from one place to the other. Likewise, Komito (2011) asserts, snowball migration is made easier by new technologies because

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it increases the number of friends and relations who can be found and might be willing to offer help. The next chapter discusses the theoretical framework of the study.

CHAPTER THREE

3   Theoretical Framework

3.1   The concept of migration

Migration is the movement of people within a country or across international borders (IOM, 2011). The movement of people within a country comprise of rural-rural migration, rural-urban migration, urban-urban migration and urban-rural migration (Addo, 1968). International migration on the other hand involves movement from one country by the crossing of borders (IOM, 2011). International migration has become a global phenomenon with various contemporary theoretical bases and one of such theories is the social capital theory which specifies how networks aid migration and help migrants to survive in countries of destinations. (Massey et al, 1993).

Thus, the theoretical underpinning of this study is the social capital theory which has been elaborated and explained below

3.2   The social capital theory

The concept of social capital is often summed up by the adage "*it's not what you know but who you know.*" (Ramsey, 2016). It was developed by various scholars including Bourdieu (1986), Putnam (1995) and Coleman (1988). Social capital is an inherent relationship capital that provides valuable support to members when needed, with members offering safety and status recognition for each other. The sustenance of these relationships is through material or symbolic exchanges such as gifts or greetings (Hauberer, 2011). Therefore, it is capital that is embedded in the relationship that an individual has built. The concept of social capital is not isolated; it is highly connected to various fields of study in society. According to Bourdieu (1986), economic, human and social capital are the three forms of capital in every society and each form of capital can be changed to the other with the use of transformation labour. Hence, economic capital can be transformed into education which is a human capital. Furthermore, some goods and services can be acquired with economic capital and others are gained through social relations or social capital. The concept of social capital is intangible because it is in the form of social relations, whereas economic capital is in people's bank accounts and human capital is in their head (Portes, 1998).

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An individual's volume of social capital that he or she possesses is reflected by the number of relationships he or she builds and the capital resources of his or her partners, like family and friends (Hauberer, 2011). Social capital functions as a source of social control and of resources facilitated by networks who are non-family which enable access to jobs and market loans for the individual (Bourdieu, 1986)

According to Coleman (1995), social capital is a rational choice where individuals who are interested in resources which are controlled by other actors, reach out to them, to enable them to benefit from the worth of these resources (as cited in Hauberer, 2011). This results in social interdependencies among actors, which implies that social capital flourishes based on the activities of actors in the social structure (Kriesi, 2007 as cited in Hauberer, 2011). Consequently, the concept is a diversity of entities and not a single entity having common features. These entities involve some characteristics of the social structure which facilitates the actions of some individuals. The most important feature of social capital is that it is characteristic in the structure of relations among individuals unlike other forms of capital; comprising some aspects of the social structure, it enables certain activities by actors. Thus, it is a public good in that while aspiring towards the maximisation of their utility, actors build social capital consequently (Hauberer, 2011). Relations among individuals must change for social capital to exist and this is to facilitate action. It is, therefore, necessary to fulfil incurred obligations to maintain social capital.

Closure, stability and ideology are the different factors that affect social capital. If a relationship exists between all embedded actors in a social structure, then there is closure which results in thick networks with higher social capital than sparse networks (Hauberer, 2011). Disruptions in social relations destroy social capital and thus every kind of social capital is also reliant on the stability of social relations. For individuals to benefit extensively from social relations, these relations must be void of problems. Additionally, ideology as a factor that influences social capital awakens in the individual the need to act on something or someone. For instance, a person can act in the interest of others because of a religious doctrine.

Actors derive benefits from social capital and one of these is advantaged access to information and social organisation that makes available the context for resources and its effects to become visible

(Kindler et al, 2015). Individuals through their social relations can know in advance all opportunities that are available in a social structure. The main aim of social capital is to use resources for social progression and so, Kitching et al (2009), assert that social capital is the available opportunity for agents of society occupying specific positions.

Putnam (2000) notes that social capital generates from social relations between individuals. These social networks contain a value for individuals and groups which influence their productivity. Networks of reciprocity and trust are formed through the relationships between individuals. Thus, a society with a tightly knit network of reciprocity and trust is of the highest quality and exhibit larger volumes of social capital.

The theory of social capital, which can be understood from both the level of the group or collective action and that of the individual, specifies the benefits that are derived from social relations. At the group level, social capital is developed and maintained as an asset, and the theory helps us understand how these assets enhance the chances of members of the group (Lin, 2000). Bourdieu (1986) emphasised on this when he defined social capital as the total of actual and potential resources, which are connected to the possession of a durable network of institutionalised relationships of mutual association and recognition. Consequently, social capital refers to benefit that is derived from being a member of a group and the responsibilities to perform from the benefits gained. Group members produce resources which are collectively owned and shared by them and this is based on their solidarity (Lin, 2001).

At the level of the individual, the theory postulates that through social capital, an individual can gain access to and use personal or social resources (Lin, 2001). Individuals develop a relationship that will benefit them or support their interest (Putnam, 2000). For instance, people may find jobs not because of their cultural or human capital but because of their networks or connections. The individual level social capital is a function of how individuals invest in social relations and how the embedded resources are captured to create a return (Lin, 2001). Resources owned by an individual like ownership of a material constitute personal resources, whilst social resources comprise resources that are accessed through an individual's connections. According to Flap (1999), social capital denotes the mobilised resources of individuals, which are classified into two

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categories; resources of personal network members and the strength of the relationship representing a willingness to help. Thus, individual's resources are put together for the benefit of all.

Consequently, a person's family, friends and social network constitute an important resource during hard times (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). This perspective holds the same for groups in communities with different civic associations. According to this theory, social networks are strongly positioned to fight challenges and take advantage of new and better opportunities (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000).

Bourdieu (1986) identified two elements of social capital: the social relationships that allow individuals to have access to resources owned by their associates and the quantity as well as the quality of the resources (Portes, 1998). The sources of social capital can be classified into two broad categories, viz.: consummatory and instrumental (Portes, 1998). A consummatory source of social capital specifies the obligation that one has towards others according to the norms of reciprocity. Accordingly, individuals provide access to resources with the expectation that they will be paid back. On the other hand, an instrumental source of social capital identifies how the internalised norms of a society are appropriable as a resource. For instance, people give to the poor, charity and pay their debts because those are societal norms (Portes, 1998).

According to Woolcock and Narayan (2000), there are three types of social capital: bonding, bridging and linking social capital. Bonding social capital is directed towards the inside of a group and it is the connection that individuals develop in a social relationship with people who are like them. This type of social capital results in tendencies to strengthen homogenous groups by promoting exclusive identity and basically connecting people that are similar. It comprises of the relationship between family and friends, union members and religious association. On the other hand, bridging social capital involves the creation of relationships with those who are unlike an individual. It is directed at the exterior of a group and brings together different people. It implies the relationships that one develops with a heterogeneous group which are impersonal and are built on trust and an action of volunteerism (Granovetter, 1973; Gittel & Vidal, 1998 as cited in Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). The strength of ties distinguishes bonding and bridging social

capital. Thus, strong ties are associated with bonding social capital because it is characterised by the close social circles of persons with similar characteristics, whilst weak ties are associated with bridging social capital with attributes of rare interactions and peripheral relationships (Lin, 1982 as cited in Dufhues et al, 2011). Linking social capital connects those with dissimilar levels of power and social class. It is notable by the social detachment between the respondent and the personal networker and basically refers to an individual's connection with people in positions of authority (Dufhues et al, 2011). When the link is connected by a weak tie, linking social capital can be connected to bridging social capital and when the link is connected by a strong tie, it can be associated to bonding social capital (Dufhues et al, 2011).

Migrants are groups of individuals that are inclined to build and benefit from social capital. They depend on social capital as a means of survival in their host countries. Migrants' social capital is a term which refers to resource information or helps that migrants obtain through their social ties with erstwhile migrants in their country of destination (Garip, 2008). It is basically about the social ties that migrants have with prior migrants and the benefits that are accrued from these ties.

Consequently, potential migrants make use of earlier migrants' social capital through networks of migrants. These networks are a set of interpersonal connections which are often based on friendship, kinship or shared community of origin (Massey et al, 1993). Erstwhile migrants can provide potential migrants with information on job opportunities. Also, assistance with transportation to or housing in the country of destination can be provided by prior migrants through social capital (Garip, 2008). Overall, it is believed that the social capital which migrants rally from their networks assist them to find jobs when they arrive in countries of destination. Thus, the conversion of social capital to economic capital (Kindler et al, 2015)

An individual's likelihood of migrating is influenced by his or her access to erstwhile migrants' social capital. The social capital of migrants accumulates with each new migrant's network, expanding the ties that link a potential migrant to a prior one. Network connections expand as more individuals migrate and more migrant social capital is built up (Massey, 1990). Accordingly, more persons rely on this resource which increases their likelihood of migrating. A study by Dahinden (2013) on the personal networks of migrants and non-migrants in Switzerland revealed that high

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volumes of network social capital were determined by nationality, level of education, earnings and type of mobility. Consequently, people formed networks based on certain similarities they share with actors in those networks. Bonding capital is exercised in such circumstances.

According to Shaw (2007) networks lower the costs and risks of migration by providing information on migration opportunities, support migrants while finding work and facilitate finding employment for migrants. These networks are a support system for a migrant on his or her arrival in the host country. In general, social networks serve as an integrative device for new arrivals in host countries and aid continual migration by providing reliable and acceptable information (Afolayan, 2001). For instance, 23.5% of Ghanaian migrants in a 1995 survey stated that they travelled to host countries because of the presence of their relatives and friends (Anarfi & Kwankyi, 2003). Besides, there are Ghanaian Diaspora associations termed Pentecostal churches who provide support to new Ghanaian migrant in the United States, United Kingdom and Canada (Quartey, 2006). Furthermore, there is a concentration of Malian migrants in certain parts of France which is attributable to social networks which have evolved over the years (Afolayan, 2001). There are also accounts of the concentration of migrants in a destination country from a specific area in the country of origin. For instance, most international remittances to Ghana is accounted for by the Greater Accra and Ashanti region. Sandar & Barro (2003) also note that a disproportionate share of Senegalese migrants is from the regions of Saint-Louis, Matam, Dakar and Touba and a huge share of migrants from Mali are from the Kayes region (as cited in Ratha, 2007).

 The benefits and viability of networks between countries partly encourage migration. Agreements between countries in terms of trade which establish a network can also encourage migration between these countries. Thus, Ricco (2003) in his study of Senegalese migrants in Europe identified that the success of trading networks between Senegal and Europe encouraged more migration (as cited in Ratha, 2007). Networks may also act to perpetuate migration after the original causes of migration have diminished. Migration from some countries may be initially spurred by an economic crisis but due to the establishment of migrant networks, migration from these countries may continue to increase even after the crisis has ended

The theory of social capital will be used to examine how Ghanaian migrants in the informal sector use their social networks to survive economically and socially in Johannesburg, South Africa.

CHAPTER FOUR

4   Research Methods

There are different approaches to conduct research in social science. This study examines the economic and social survival strategies of migrants and the aim of this chapter is to describe the research methodology that was used to achieve this aim. The chapter starts by describing the study area (Section 4.1), then the research methodology (Section 4.2), the sampling technique (Section 4.3), data collection (Section 4.4), reflexivity statement (Section 4.5) and ethical considerations (Section 4.6).

4.1   The study area (Johannesburg)

Situated in the Gauteng province, the city of Johannesburg was founded in 1886 with the discovery of gold on the reef and has grown into a global city that is the country's economic hub the provincial capital (Statistics South Africa, 2011; City of Johannesburg, 2017). Also known as Jozi, Joburg or Egoli, it is the smallest and the wealthiest province in South Africa (City of Johannesburg, 2017). Springs in the east, Carletonville in the west, Vanderbijlpark in the south and Soshanguve in the north are the towns that border the city (Beall, Crankshaw & Parnell, 2002). The present metropolitan area of the city, formed in the year 2000 with the merger of five independent municipal areas, covers a land area of 1,644km² (City of Johannesburg, nd). According to the 2011 census, the city has a population of 4.4 million with Black Africans constituting 76.4% and Whites making up 12.3%. Additionally, 5.6% of the population are Coloured, whilst 4.9% are Indians or Asians (Statistics South Africa, 2011). The female population make up 49.84% and males constitute 50.16% of the entire population. The youth constitutes a majority in the city; 42% of the population is under the age of 24 and 49% under the age of 34 (City of Johannesburg, 2017). Just over 3% of the population that is 20years and older have completed primary school, 32.4% have some secondary education, 34.9% have completed matric, 19.2% have some form of higher education and 2.9% have no form of schooling (Statistics South Africa, 2011). The three major languages spoken in the city are English, isiZulu and Afrikaans.

As the smallest city in South Africa, the constant growth in the population of Johannesburg is largely defined by a long history of local and international migration (City of Johannesburg, 2013).

The city has good infrastructures such as financial, road and telecommunications network which matches that of a world-class city. The road network is 7,519km of which 6614km are tarred (City of Johannesburg, 2017).

Housing in the city is grouped into three areas which are low-income earners in the south and in the inner city and high-income groups in the north. The settlements in the north are made up of middle and upper classes of individuals of all races. Additionally, Black working class individuals reside in the south whereas the inner city is a mixture of all races and classes (Tomlinson et al., 2003).

The adoption of Johannesburg 2030, a visionary strategy with the aim of boosting investment and economic growth has resulted in a massive restructuring of the city. This restructuring is defined by the adoption of practical methods of service delivery, urban economic growth, spatial reform, environmental sustainability and institutional restructuring (Beall, Crankshaw & Parnell, 2002). Consequently, economic growth is sustainable, the quality of life of the residents is enhanced and revenue for service and delivery is on the rise (City of Johannesburg, 2017). Migrants may benefit from the economic growth and opportunities that the city stands to offer through its restructuring. They may also be negatively affected by the neoliberal emphasis on economic growth, which sometimes pays little attention to social protection for the vulnerable and marginalizes those in the informal sector.

Described as a financial powerhouse and a modern and prosperous city, Johannesburg accounts for 40% of Gauteng's economic activity and produces 16% of South Africa's GDP (City of Johannesburg, 2017). The importance of mining which was the foundation of the economy of the city is gradually declining because of dwindling reserves. More significant to the city's economy now is the service and manufacturing industries (City of Johannesburg, 2017).

The residents of Johannesburg enjoy a high standard of living compared to other provinces as the city is ahead in terms of the growth of its markets and the wealth of its inhabitants (City of Johannesburg, 2017). Job creation is positive in Johannesburg which has resulted in a large number of people from other provinces and the African sub-region relocating to the city to find work. Thus,

the economically active population in the formal sector has been on the ascendency from 1.5 million people in 1996 to 1.33 million in 2004. Johannesburg has been a centre where migrants from all over the world are engaged in political and economic activities and so it represents a city of foreigners (Tomlinson et al., 2003). As at 2011, the international migrant population of Johannesburg constituted approximately 9.8% of the total population (City of Johannesburg, 2013). It is also a cosmopolitan centre that is home to a large, heterogeneous population, a huge proportion of whom are internal migrants (Beavon, 2004).

Figure 4.1: Map of the Gauteng Province showing Johannesburg and its surrounding towns and cities.

Source: (City of Johannesburg nd)

4.1.1 Research Site

The settings where the research was conducted were Johannesburg Central Business District (CBD) and Midrand. These sites were selected because a significant proportion of Ghanaian migrants are located there. Additionally, other areas in Johannesburg where Ghanaian migrants reside or work couldn't be reached because of a lack of funds and time constraints.

4.1.1.1 Johannesburg CBD

This has been the central area of Johannesburg since its inception and its one of the main business centres of South Africa. It covers an area of 109km square with a population of 14,334. The male population constitute 56.45% and the female population makes up 43.54% of the entire population (Statistics South Africa, 2011).

4.1.1.2 Midrand

In 2000, Midrand was incorporated into the city of Johannesburg metropolitan area (City of Johannesburg, nd). It covers an area of 152.87km square with a population of 87,387 and a total of 33, 219 households (Statistics South Africa, 2011). Females make up 51.2% of the entire population whilst males account for 48.78% of the population (Statistics South Africa, 2011). The main language spoken in Midrand is English followed by Zulu and Afrikaans (Statistics South Africa, 2011)

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4.2 Research Methodology

There are two main approaches in social science research. These are quantitative research and qualitative research methodologies. Quantitative research focuses on the use of numerical data, which is collected and analysed to draw inferences (Gabariano & Holland, 2009). It places importance particularly on measuring variables and linking the testing of hypothesis to general cause-effect explanations (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). It deals with generalisation and objectivity of research findings.

Qualitative research, on the other hand, involves an exhaustive study of the research problem from an insider's perspective with emphasis on describing and understanding human behaviour rather than explaining it (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). It stresses on the actor's perspectives, the context of the research phenomenon and offers the researcher an opportunity to probe with further questions (Babbie, 2007). Non-verbal communication can be easily captured with qualitative research and participants are able to build their ideas around the comments of other participants which builds a synergy among them (Gabariano & Holland, 2009; Babbie, 2007). This enables the researcher to get information which is beyond the research objectives or rationale.

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The positivist and interpretive approaches are the two major research paradigms that researchers use to conduct social science inquiries. The positivist approach is focused on objectivity and universal laws, whereas the interpretive approach is subjective and places emphasis on people's experience (Creswell, 2009). The positivist approach is a quantitative research paradigm and the interpretive approach is a qualitative research paradigm (Creswell, 2009). This study used a qualitative research methodology and particularly employed the interpretive research paradigm which places emphasis on people's experience and subjectivity. This is because the research questions for this study sought to explore and understand people's experiences, which makes the interpretive approach more appropriate.

4.3 Data collection technique

The qualitative data collection techniques that were used in the study comprised Focus Group Discussions (FGD) and Key Informant Interviews (KII), (Bloom & Crabtree, 2006).

Three FGD's comprising 6 participants each were conducted in three different centres in Midrand. One was held in the home of the participants and two at the workplace of the participants. Ten individuals were interviewed as key informants in Midrand and Johannesburg Central Business District. These techniques assisted in obtaining the desired information and gaining a detailed understanding of the research problem.

4.4 Sampling

The study made use of non-probability sampling techniques, because of their effectiveness in accessing hard to reach populations for research and enabling understanding of complicated issues linked to the subjects of the research (Marshall, 1996). Since Ghanaian migrants who are not absorbed in the formal economy are a minority and thus invisible in South Africa, due to the commonness of those who are skilled labourers in the formal employment sector, a sampling strategy that targets hard to reach populations is most appropriate for this study. The specific non-probability sampling techniques that were adopted are purposive and snowball sampling strategies. Snowball sampling is a technique where initial participants recruit new participants similar to them (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). A maximum of 5 initial persons, of Ghanaian origin, who resided in Johannesburg and were engaged in the informal economic sector were recruited through purposive sampling. Each of these 5 was asked to recruit others like them until the full sample size was

reached. 10 respondents were interviewed for the KII and 3 FGDs were held with 6 respondents in each FGD.

4.5   Data Collection

A combination of both primary and secondary sources of data was used to collect the important information needed for the study. The primary data were collected in August 2017. A semistructured interview guide comprising open-ended questions was used to conduct the face to face interviews of key informants. The interview guide was piloted among two non-study respondents before it was administered on the sample of the study, to ensure that the final instrument is void of mistakes such as wrong phrasing of sentences and unclear questions.

The key informant interview guide explored five themes: reasons of migration, livelihood strategies of migrants, housing strategies, health strategies and migrants' social networks. Participants' demographics were not captured to ensure anonymity so that respondents could open up. Each key informant interview was given a special code: KII 1…….. KII 10, from the first to the tenth respondent. The interviews lasted between 45 minutes to an hour and they were conducted in the residence and workplace of the respondents. The key informant interview guide is attached as Appendix A.

The three Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were moderated using a semi-structured discussion guide. The FGDs focused on information in relation to the reasons why participants decided to come to South Africa, their economic survival strategies, their survival strategies and how they capitalise on their social networks as a means of survival. Finally, recommendations were given by the participants on the way forward for Ghanaian migrants in the informal sector. The demographics of the participants were also taken with each participants being assigned a special code. Thus, ESS1…..ESS18, from the first to the last participant. The FGDs lasted between an hour and an hour and a half and they were coded as FGD 1, FGD 2 and FGD 3; covering the three FGD's. See Appendix B for the FGD discussion guide.

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4.6   Method of Data Analysis and Presentation

Data analysis in qualitative research is defined as seeking for thematic content in a set of data and for ideas that assist to make meaning of these themes. Their meanings are then interpreted and linked to those of other research findings (Bernard & Ryan, 2010).

4.6.1   Analysis of qualitative data

The analysis of data generated from the KII and FGDs commenced during fieldwork, wherein major themes were identified, concluding with an in-depth description and interpretation of the results. Prior to data analysis, the audio-recorded data were transcribed and coded by grouping them together into myriad themes. The various codes that emerged were compared and similar codes were then grouped and transformed into major themes. The identified themes were reinforced using quotes from participants of the research to give an evidence-based narrative. For quality and verification purposes, the audio recordings were listened to each after transcription to ensure consistency between the verbatim transcript and the original data source.

4.6.2 Analysis of demographic data

The demographics of the FGD participants were analysed using Excel. The demographics of participants were keyed into excel and tabulations were generated. These tabulations were used in generating bars and charts for the various demographic data.

4.7   Reflexivity statement

Reflexivity is focused on the researcher's engagement of an explicit evaluation of their significant influence on a research project and involvement of participants (Finlay, 2002). Qualitative researchers can reflect on their influence on a research project through five lenses, which are strategic reflexivity that places emphasis on the methodological part of the research, discursive/contextual reflexivity which highlights cross-cultural and situational elements in a research, non-verbal communication between the interviewer and participants is reflected in embodied reflexivity and relational dynamics between the researcher and participants in a research is revealed in relational reflexivity. The final reflexivity which is ethical reflexivity focuses on

ethical challenges in the context of the research (Finlay, 2002). The subsequent paragraphs will highlight my reflection on my influence on this research project using the five lenses.

4.7.1 Strategic Reflexivity

Methodological awareness came up in the course of conducting this research project. Some of the questions were too vague and had to be rephrased for better understanding and clarity. After the first two to three interviews, it was realised that most participants did not understand the question "to what extent have your expectations been met as migrants". This question was thus rephrased and participants were asked to share their expectations as migrants in South Africa.

4.7.2 Discursive/ Contextual Reflexivity

Challenges in interacting with the research participants emanated in the course of the research project. Gaining the trust and confidence of most of the participants was very difficult since most of them are undocumented migrants. They initially thought the information given during the research project would be divulged to the authorities, which would lead to their arrest or deportation. To counter this, I explained the concept of the research to participants and developed an informal relationship with them prior to the commencement of the collection of data.

Additionally, it was intimidating for some migrants to interact with me and others wanted to impress me given my status as a master's student. I had to explain to them that the outcome of the research will be in their best interest and so they should speak up and be sincere in their responses.

4.7.3 Embodied Reflexivity

Nonverbal communication was of utmost importance during the data collection process in this research project. Most participants in this research work in the informal sector (hairdressing and barbering salons). My approach in terms of communication and outlook was basically informal and this aided in the easy collection of data. Prior to introducing myself to my first key informant, she enquired if I just arrived in the country to work as a hairdresser. This sparked a conversation which made interactions with each other very easy. This participant assisted in recruiting other participants for the study.

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Additionally, an FGD pilot conducted prior to the main data collection revealed that most of the employees in these salons were afraid to open up when their bosses were part of the FGD. I thus decided to conduct key informant interviews with the bosses and engage the employees in an FGD.

4.7.4 Relational Reflexivity

A few of the participants were receptive from the onset when I made my intentions known to them. For the unreceptive ones who did not want to interact with me because of their migration status and also because they were busy with their work, I made sure I contacted them daily, and developed collegiality and familiarity with them; ultimately this ensured that they opened up and made time for the interviews.

4.7.5 Ethical Reflexivity

Given the fact that most respondents recruited for this project were undocumented migrants, ethical reflexivity was of utmost importance in conducting this study. All participants gave their consent to be part of the research verbally after I have explained the purpose of the project to them. I did not seek written consent because I realised that writing their names or signatures on paper was perceived threatening by them. Thus, there was no written consent although some of the research participants were literate.

4.8 Ethical Consideration

The University of the Western Cape senate, the Economics and Management Sciences Higher Degrees Committee and the Institute of Social Development gave the approval for the commencement of this study. The aim and objectives of the research were disclosed to all participants and all ethical considerations were duly considered. Participants in this research had the option to drop out at any given time since participation was voluntary. Confidentiality of information given by participants was assured and the research did not endanger the life of anyone.

5 Results and Discussion

This chapter of the study presents, analyses and discusses the results of data that was generated on the field. The first section discusses the demographics of the Focus Group Discussion (FGD) respondents, the second part will deliberate on findings on the economic survival strategies of Ghanaian migrants living in Johannesburg, South Africa. Discussion on the social survival strategies of migrants with specific emphasis on their health, housing and social networks will be the focus of the third section. The last part will discuss recommendations by migrants on measures that can be taken to mitigate the challenges they encounter.

5.1 Demographics of FGD Participants

The research conducted 3 Focus Group Discussions with 6 people in each group. The demographic characteristics of the participants are presented below. The first section shows the age distribution of the participants whilst the second and third part present their level of education and length of stay in South Africa. The subsequent sections present their occupation, migration status, marital status, net income per month, type of residence and the number of people they share their house or rooms with.

5.1.1 Age Distribution of Participants

The majority of the respondents (66.6%) were within the age range 20-25, and 27.7% aged 26-30, whilst 5.5% were aged36-40. The findings clearly reveal that international migration to South Africa is most common among Ghanaian youth.

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Figure 5.1: Age distribution of participants in FGD.
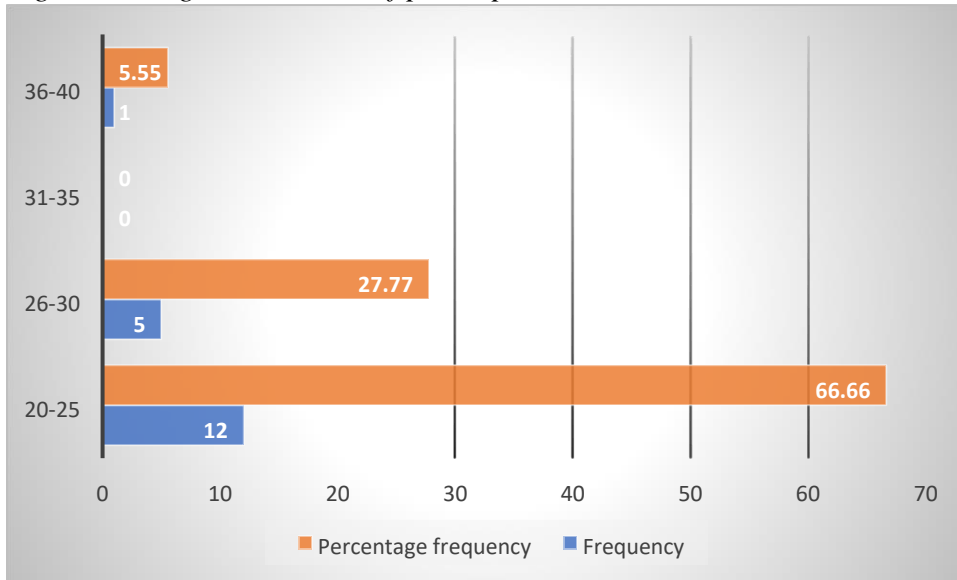
5.1.2 Level of education of participants

The level of education of respondents was categorised into no education, primary education, junior and senior high education. Approximately over 5% of the respondents did not have any formal education, and an equal proportion received primary education. The respondents who were educated up to the junior high school level and those with a high school education each accounted for 44.4% of the study respondents.
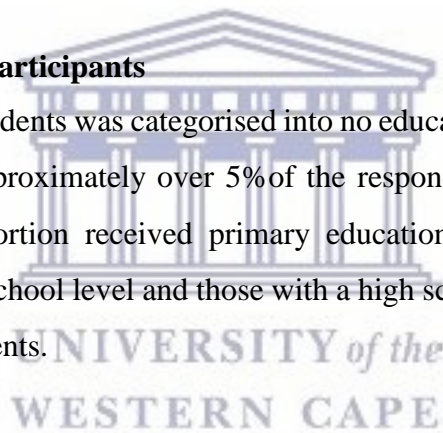
Figure 5.2: Level of education of participants.
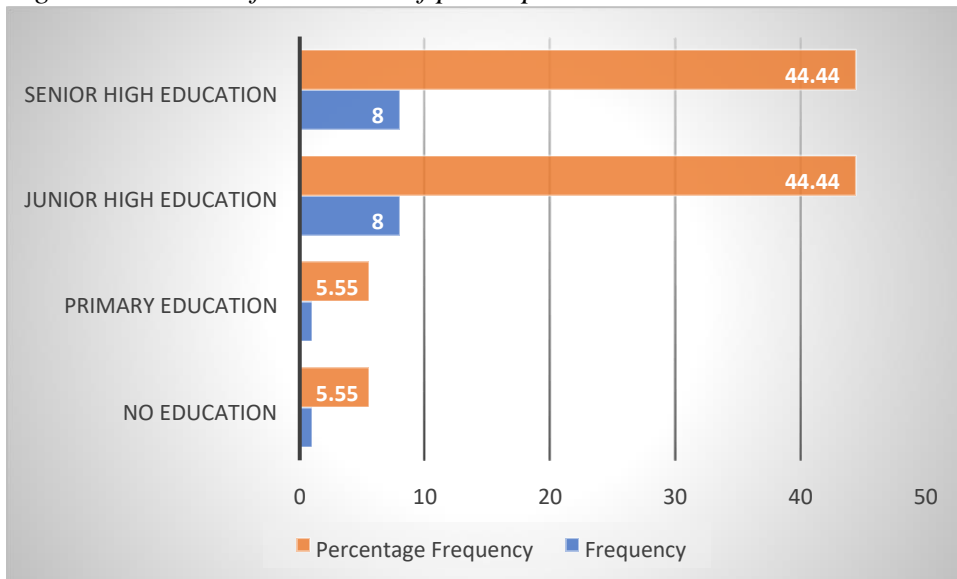
5.1.3 Length of stay in South Africa

This presents the number of years or months that participants in the Focus Group Discussion had stayed in South Africa by the time of the research. The highest number is 5years and the lowest is 2 months.

Figure 5.3: Length of stay in SA of FGD participants.
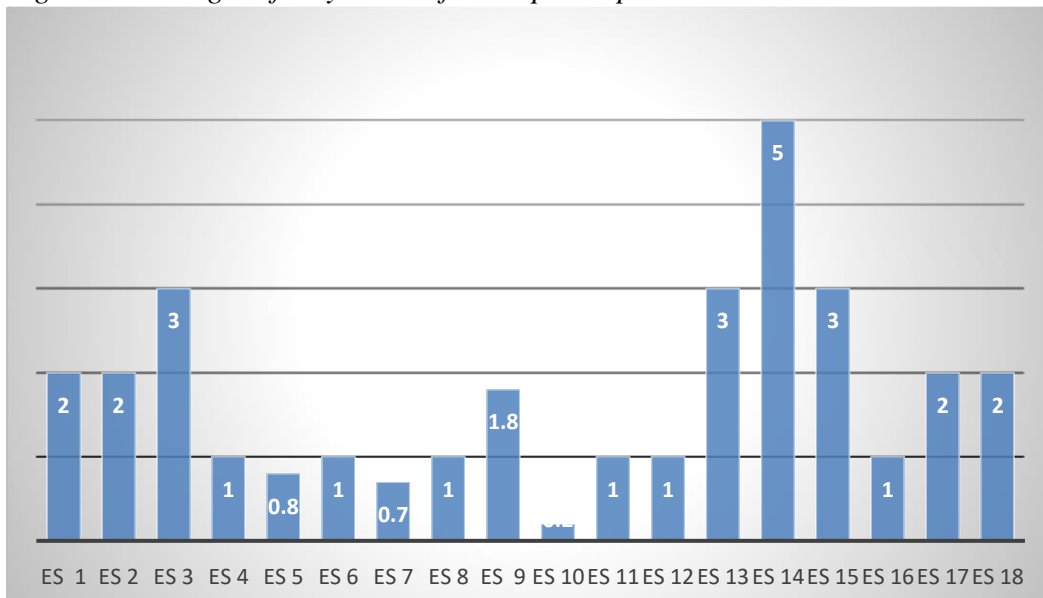
ES is a special code for participants which is an acronym for economic and social survival strategies

5.1.4 The occupation of participants

Just over 80% of the respondents were hairdressers, 11. % of them were barbers and 5.5% were cooks.

Figure 5.4: The occupation of the FGD participants.
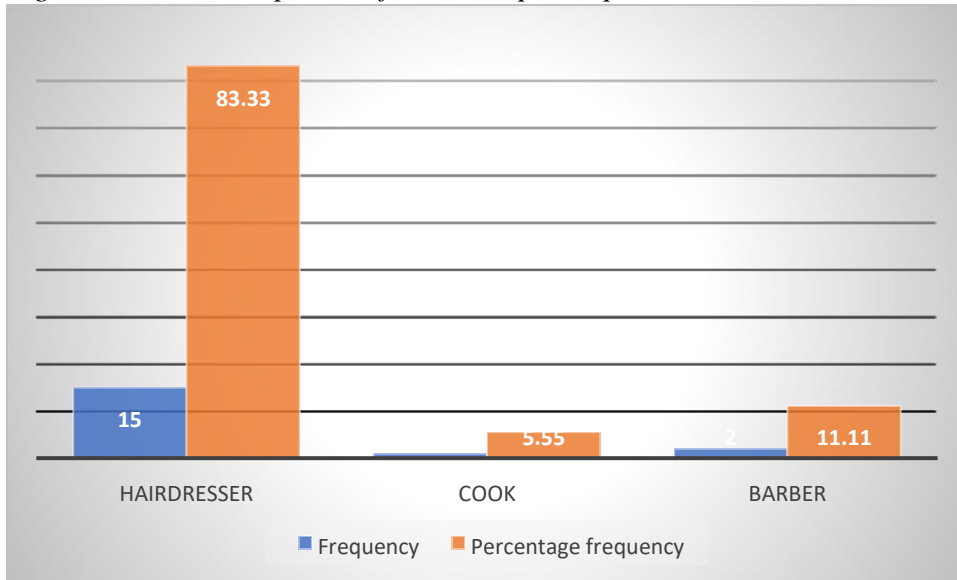
Field data, 2017

5.1.5 Migration status of participants

The migration statuses of participants were categorised into documented and undocumented migrants. All participants of the FGD were undocumented migrants.

5.1.6 Marital status of Participants

Nearly 90% (88.8%) of participants were single, whilst 11% of participants were married. The marital status of participants is shown in the figure below.

Figure 5.5: Marital status of participants.
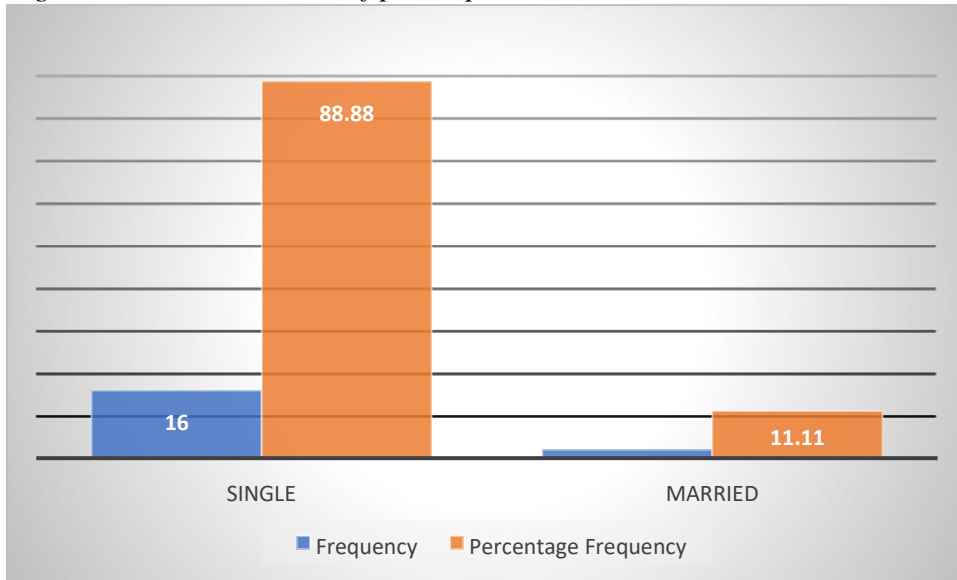
5.1.7 Net income per month

This section shows the net income per month that participants received from their various livelihood activities. The highest monthly income was R6000, whilst the lowest was R2000.

The figure below presents the net income per month of all participants in the Focus Group Discussions
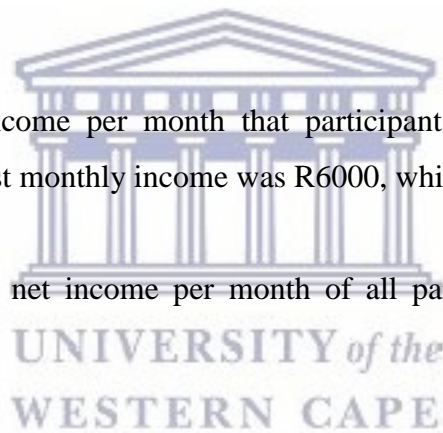
Figure 5.6: Net income per month of participants.
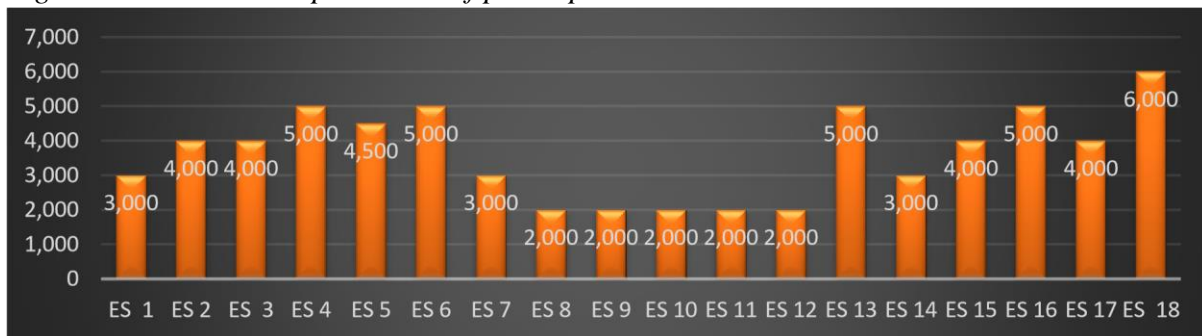
5.1.8   Type of residence of participants

Participants' type of residence was categorised into one and two bedroom apartments. Half of the participants lived in one bedroom apartments (50%) and the other 50% lived in two bedroom apartments.

Figure 5.7: Type of residence of participants.
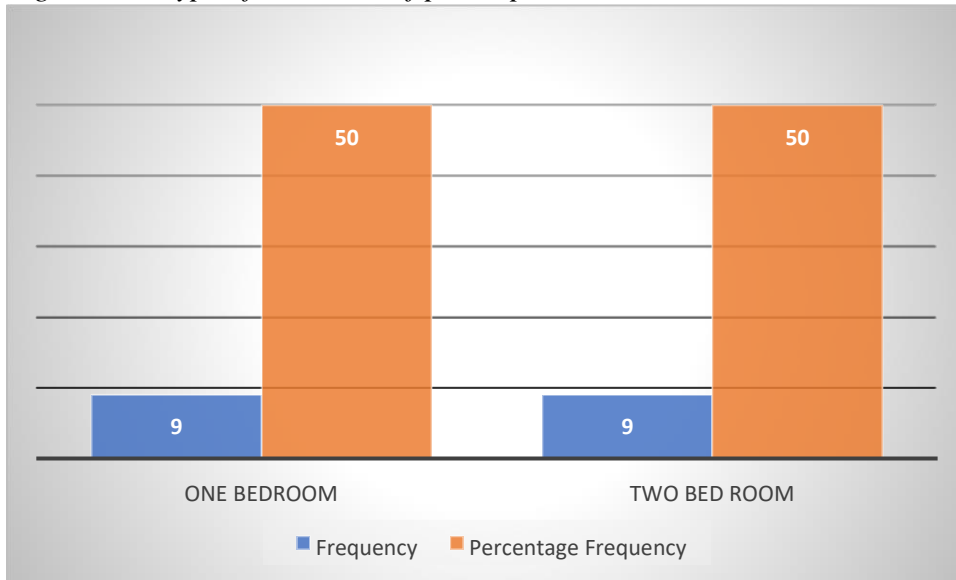
5.1.9   Number of people living in house/ room with participants

This shows the number of people who lived with participants in their rooms or houses. The majority of participants (44.4%) lived with 7 people, 22.2% lived with 2 people, 16.6% lived with 4 people, 5.5% lived with 5 people and 5.5% lived alone. This is shown in the figure below.

Figure 5.8: Number of people living in house/room participants.
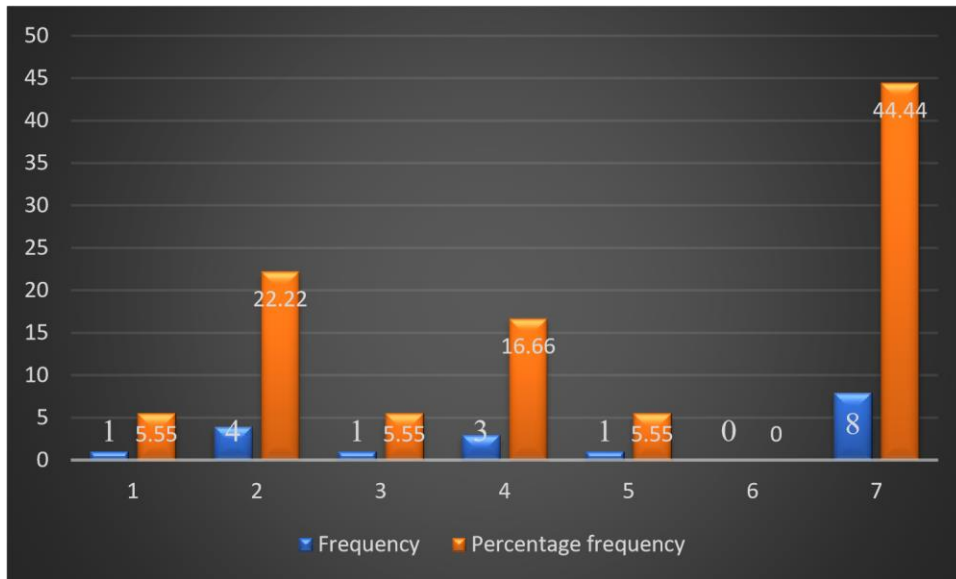
5.2 Economic and social survival strategies of documented and undocumented Ghanaian migrants in Johannesburg, South Africa

The results of the Focus Group Discussions (FGD) and the Key Informant Interviews (KII) that were conducted are presented and discussed in this section based on the objectives of the study. The presentation and discussion of the results will be done under the following broad thematic areas; reasons for migration to South Africa, economic survival strategies, social survival strategies which include health, housing and the use of social networks as a survivalist mechanism for Ghanaian migrants in Johannesburg South Africa. Recommendations on what can be done to mitigate the plight of Ghanaian migrants living in Johannesburg, South Africa will also be discussed.

5.3 Reasons for migration to South Africa

In examining the findings on the reasons why Ghanaians migrate to South Africa, the following sub-themes were generated; economic factors and migration, familial relations or social networks in countries of destinations, visitation and experience, deception, meeting of expectations, the extent to which migrants think of going home and the assistance they received from others when travelling to South Africa. The following subthemes, which were generated from the FGD and the KII interviews are discussed extensively below.

5.3.1 Economic factors and migration

The search for economic opportunities has been identified as the underlying force behind the migration of Ghanaians to other countries. Thus, from the findings of interviews and FGD's that were conducted among Ghanaian migrants in Johannesburg, economic factors were identified as the main reasons why Ghanaians migrate to South Africa.

> *"I migrated because of economic reasons and I believed I can find a good job in South Africa than in Ghana. I had been unsuccessful in seeking for a job in Ghana for a very long time. So, the only alternative I had was to travel and see if I can get a good source of livelihood". (KII 2, August 2017).*

For this key informant, the only alternative strategy of securing a livelihood was to travel.

> *P1: "We travel because of work. The economic conditions in Ghana are very poor"*
> *P2: "There a lot of reasons why Ghanaians migrate to South Africa. It is very difficult for people to secure decent employment on completion of their education".*
> *P3: "After finishing school, you find it difficult to get a job in Ghana. A lot of the youth are unemployed. There is a constant increase in the population and resources are inadequate to cater for the entire population". (FGD 3, August 2017)*

The migration of Ghanaians has been in search of better economic opportunities because of lack of jobs coupled with the declining economic and social conditions that the country is experiencing. Black et al (2003) reinforce this argument by noting that migration from Ghana commenced during the period of economic crisis in the country from the 1960's to the 1990's and continued even with the recovery of the economy. Additional literature supports this claim by stating that the emergence

of migration out of Ghana is a means of dealing with the declining social and economic conditions which established the trend for migration from Ghana to other African countries and this persist till now (Manuh, 2001). The worsening economic conditions which have resulted in underemployment and unemployment has established a route of international migration from Ghana. Additionally, according to Adepoju (2003), because of its economic growth, South Africa has been a preferred destination for migrants from across the continent of Africa. Consequently, the declining of the economy is a factor that is pushing Ghanaians out of the country and the growth of the economy in South Africa is an element that is pulling them into the country

5.3.2   Familial relations or social networks in country of destination

Some Ghanaians who were interviewed in Johannesburg remarked that familial relations is the reason why they migrated to South Africa. Thus, because a member of their family was already living in South Africa, it was easier for them to acquire a permit and travel to the country.

A key informant in Midrand who now owns a hairdresser salon and restaurant shared the following:

> *"I migrated from Ghana to South Africa because my sister owns a hairdressing salon in South Africa and she brought me from Ghana to work with her in the salon. Basically, I migrated to South Africa because of my sister who has been doing so well here and has made a lot of investment in Ghana as a result. I believed I can also do well economically when I migrate to South Africa. I did not have any country as my option aside South Africa. South Africa was the only option I had because my sister is here" (KII 1, August 2017)*

Although this key informant migrated because she had a sister in South Africa, she was also motivated by the fact that her sister was doing well economically and needed assistance to run her business. This reinforces the argument that the search for better economic opportunities is the major force underlying the migration of Ghanaians (Anarfi & Kwankyi, 2003).

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Another key informant who was brought to South Africa by her husband also mentioned:

"I came to South Africa because of my husband. He was already established here and he asked me to join him. I didn't have any intentions of travelling to any other country aside South Africa and I migrated to South Africa purposely because of my husband."(KII 10, August 2017)

In a 1995 survey, 23.5% of Ghanaians said they travelled to countries of destinations because they had a relative living there (Anarfi & Kwankyi, 2003). Available literature from Statistical South Africa indicates that in 2012 and 2014, relatives permits was the second highest category of permits that were released to Ghanaian migrants by the Department of Home Affairs in South Africa (Stats SA, 2013; Stats SA, 2015). This implies that most Ghanaians travel to South Africa because of their family and relations. However, they decide to reside permanently because of the economic opportunities as mentioned by one of the respondents. Additionally, the theory of social capital which is used in this study is reinforced here. Migrant's social capital is clearly displayed through the social network that is displayed in the migration process of the respondents. Their decision to migrate from Ghana to South Africa is because of the linkages or relations that they have with prior migrants (Dekker & Engbersen, 2012). The social networks of a potential migrant are what will aid him or her to apply for a visa to the country of destination and provide resources, jobs and accommodation on his or her arrival. Consequently, social capital is built in these relations which becomes beneficial to the potential migrant on his or her arrival.

5.3.3 Visitation and Experience

Some migrants who were interviewed emphasised that they came to South Africa for a visit and to gain new experience.

This key informant has lived in South Africa close to twenty years and he mentions that he just came to visit and decided to come back and stay permanently in the country.

He remarks:

> *"I just came for a visit with a friend and we discovered that South Africa is a good place to stay because there are a lot of opportunities. I stayed for three months and went back to Ghana. However, my friend didn't return with me to Ghana. He later told me that it is easier to make it here (economically) and so I should consider migrating from Ghana permanently to South Africa. I was a manufacturer of plastics and had to sell some of my machines I used in manufacturing plastics to raise adequate income and travel to South Africa. I have also attested to the fact that it is a good place especially if you have a permanent residence permit" (KII 3, August 2017).*

This happened a few years after apartheid when migration policies were less restrictive and there was an outstanding growth in the economy of South Africa which made the country a preferred destination for migrants across the African continent (Adepoju, 2003; Dinbabo & Nyasulu, 2015)

Another informant also mentions:
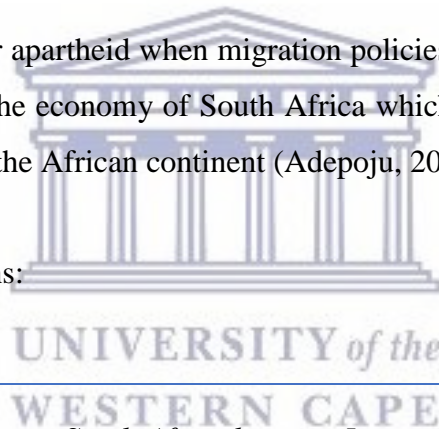
> *"I migrated from Ghana to South Africa because I wanted to see new places and have a change in my environment. I wanted to travel to South Korea at the onset but I was denied a visa and so I decided to travel to this country." (KII 5, August 2017)*

Thus, from the responses, most Ghanaian migrants come to South Africa for tourism purposes and then they decide to reside permanently in the country afterwards. These findings support literature which indicates that visitor's permit was the largest category of permit that was issued out to Ghanaian migrants in 2012 (Stats SA, 2013; Stats SA, 2015). Consequently, it can be deduced that some Ghanaians migrate to South Africa on a visitors permit and then decide to stay even after the permit has expired.

5.3.4 Deception

One interesting point that was raised by one of the migrants on the reasons why he migrated to South Africa is deception. According to this informant, he was deceived by his travelling agent on his country of destination and that is what brought him to South Africa. Thus, he reports:

"My father went in for a loan for me to travel to the UK with the intention that I will be able a secure a good job on my arrival in the UK and pay back the loan. The Agent who worked on my travel documentation said he is getting me a UK visa. However, the visa was to South Africa (East London) and I thought it was a UK visa because of the "London" I saw in the visa. I thought I was going to the UK when I boarded the flight but I was brought to East London instead. Thus, my travelling agent deceived me" (KII 2, August 2017).

5.3.5 Meeting of expectations

The question of whether the expectations of Ghanaian migrants have been met in South Africa since their arrival generated the following response:

"It was not easy when I first arrived here but with time I have been able to save enough income and I have acquired a land back home on which I am building a house. I have been able to also bring six of my siblings to SA and they are all investing in projects back home. I am happy living in South Africa and I have been to Ghana twice since I arrived". (KII 1, August 2017)

The response above indicates that most migrants make enough money; remit and invest them in businesses in Ghana. This supports an IOM finding in 2009 which revealed that the flow of remittances to Ghana outweighs foreign direct investment (IOM, 2009). The flow of remittances to Ghana has increased over time and thus, the ordinary Ghanaian who has a relation abroad is

assured of some financial support. This support can be invested into a livelihood, which may consequently reduce poverty and enhance the living standards of Ghanaians in the long run. Additionally, from the excerpt above, it can be deduced that through social networks such as family, the relatives of migrants are able to receive support from family members who are erstwhile migrants to also travel to countries of destination such as South Africa, earn a living and send remittances home (Garip, 2008). Thus, social capital is evidenced in this instance.

Participants in one of the FGDs reported that they had learnt new things and had learnt how to be responsible when they migrated to South Africa. However, they are yet to make enough income in order for them to return to Ghana for good.

> **P1**: *"Our expectations are yet to be met. I have not made enough income since I arrived. However, I have improved my hairdressing skills and learnt new things since I arrived.*
>
> **P6**: *I decided to migrate and learn new things in life. My sister was already established in South Africa. She owns a restaurant and salon in South Africa. I discussed with her about my intentions to travel and she said I can come to South Africa to help her with her business. I have learnt a lot since I arrived here. I have improved my skills, become more responsible and I have developed the culture of saving for an emergency". (FGD 2, August 2017)*

The above response indicates how potential migrants benefit from their social capital during the migration process. For this migrant social capital was his means of survival when he decided to migrate in that he gained assistance to travel and obtained a livelihood through someone in his social networks who was an erstwhile migrant in South Africa (Garip, 2018).

Although the financial expectations of these participants were yet to be met, they built their human capital through the experiences they gained in the process of eking out a living. Available literature

posits that most Ghanaians are returning to Ghana either temporarily or permanently to invest the resources or human capital secured and developed in the countries of destination (IOM, 2009). This investment will aid in meeting their expectations in the long run.

5.3.6   The extent to which migrants think about going back home

Most of the participants asserted that they wanted to go to Ghana someday. One key informant mentioned that she was deported because of lack of documentation and had to falsify her documents to return to South Africa. She thus asserted:

"I came to SA in 2008 (9years) and my sister paid for all the necessary documentation (flight ticket) for me to travel from Ghana to South Africa. I was given a one year permit in 2008 but I overstayed for 4 years. After 4 years, I went to the home affairs to seek asylum and I was deported. I had to change my name on all documents to apply for a South African permit again in Ghana which I was granted. I went home 3 months ago to visit my family with my new documentation. I am planning to go home someday to invest in a restaurant or any business that will yield profit" (KII 1, August 2017).

The response reveals the use of several strategies to ensure a stay in South Africa, including social capital, and the falsification of documents in the migration process. Literature from SIHMA (2014) notes that most Ghanaians migrants are unable to attain a legal residential status because of restrictive migration policies that have been implemented in countries of destination. Some of these migrants are deported and South Africa recorded the highest deportees of Ghanaian migrants within the African continent in the year 2010 (SIHMA, 2010).

A participant from one of the FGDs mentioned that most Ghanaian migrants return to Ghana because they are unsuccessful in securing a livelihood and some are deported.

> ***P 4:*** *we always think about going back to Ghana someday. We aim to save up money so that we can operate our own businesses when we go back to Ghana. South Africa is not our home and so we will definitely go back someday. Some are unlucky and they are deported back to Ghana. Others go back to Ghana because they are unsuccessful in securing a livelihood for themselves, some also return to Ghana because they can't afford to pay the cost of rent out of their monthly earnings. How can you afford to pay your rent if you learn as low as R2, 000? They rent either takes a chunk of your earnings or all that you earn in a month and most people go back to Ghana as a result. Most of the migrants do not travel to Ghana often because of documentation. (FGD 1, August 2017)*

The above response indicates that it is the expectation of most Ghanaian migrants to go back home after they have made enough income to invest. According to an IOM report between 2000 and 2007, there was a stable upsurge in the proportion of Ghanaians who arrived in the country from 18.6% to 34.6% (IOM, 2009). This reveals that most Ghanaians migrants are returning to the country and Ghanaian migrants in South Africa are no exception. In relation to the deportation of African migrants from South Africa, the figure for Ghanaians deportees from South Africa was the highest within the continent in 2010 (SIHMA, 2014). The evidence also indicates that though economic factors are the basic reasons for migration to South Africa, however, the foremost challenge faced by migrants is access to a livelihood. The difficulties that migrants encounter in attaining a livelihood can be attributed to challenges in obtaining a legal residential status. Most Ghanaian migrants have returned home as a result of deportation and failed livelihood projects (SIHMA, 2014)

5.3.7   Assistance from others when travelling

Most of the migrants who were interviewed asserted that they were assisted by others to travel from Ghana to South Africa and some mentioned that they funded their travelling.

A key informant mentioned:

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P 1: *"My cousin's friend is an owner of a salon in this country. She spoke to my cousin about her need for workers in her salon and the that fact that working in a salon is a good source of livelihood in South Africa. I expressed my interest and she sent me an invitation to come to this country since she is a permanent resident here. She paid for my ticket and documentation. When I arrived, I worked for a year to pay back the money she spent on my documentation and ticket and so I was not earning much at the end of the month". (FGD 1, August 2017)*

Some migrants who were assisted by prior migrants who were either relatives or friends revealed that they had to work to pay back their travelling expenses. Those who funded their travelling indicated that they got some form of assistance from relatives and friends when they decided to travel. This reveals the benefits that migrants receive from their social networks prior to travelling and in their countries of destinations.

The findings of this inquiry support the literature, which establishes that before migrating, potential migrants establish a connection with prior migrants and that these interactions influence their decision to travel. This relationship that is established with prior migrants provides resources in the form of jobs, housing and emotional support for potential migrants on their arrival in countries of destinations (Ryan, Sales, Tilki & Siara, 2008). This illustrates the benefits that migrants derive from their social relations and thus the power of social capital in this sub-population.

An informant who funded his travelling said he sold his assets to get adequate income to travel:

"I was a manufacturer of plastics and had to sell some of the machines I used in manufacturing plastics to raise adequate income and travel to South Africa. I funded myself when I decided to migrate to South Africa. My friend was already living in this country and so it was easier for me to settle" (KII 3, August 2017)

The response above indicates that though the migrant sponsored his own travel, having a social connection of prior migrants made it easier for him to settle and acclimatise in South Africa.

5.4   Economic survival strategies of migrants

Economic factors have been identified as the main reasons why individuals migrate. This part of the study will discuss findings regarding the livelihood strategies that undocumented Ghanaian migrants employ in South Africa to survive. The section will dwell on their livelihood activities and the use of their social networks in attaining a livelihood. The various experiences they go through in finding a job and the adequacy of the income they get from their livelihood activities will also be discussed.

5.4.1   Livelihood activities of Ghanaian migrants in South Africa

In discussing the livelihood activities that Ghanaian migrants in Johannesburg are engaged in, it was identified that most of these migrants work in hairdressing and barbering salons and they are engaged in one kind of job.

P 2: "Most Ghanaian migrants in Johannesburg work in the hairdressing and barbering shops. Thus, they work as hairdressers and barbers. They don't engage in any other economic activity aside their main job. It is impossible to do two or more jobs in South Africa, especially as an undocumented migrant because it is not easy to find a job in South Africa."(FGD 1, August, 2017)

A key informant asserted:

"I now work as a barber in a salon. A friend who also works as a barber aided me in securing this job. You can only do one job as a migrant and most Ghanaian migrants work in hairdressing or barbering salon. We work from Sunday to Sunday, there is no holiday for us. You start at 8 am and close at 8 pm."(KII 2, August, 2017)

The responses above confirm what has been reported by studies on migrants living in South Africa, which indicate that most migrants in the country work in the informal sector of the economy. According to Northcote (2015), most African migrants whether they are forced, documented or undocumented have trouble finding formal employment in South Africa making most of them resort to the informal sector for a livelihood. He also identified that many migrants secure their livelihood through informal insecure economic activities such as trading, tailoring, hair salons and hair braiding (Northcote, 2015). This is not unexpected given the high rates of unemployment and lack of jobs in the formal economy in the country.

5.4.2 Social networks and attaining a livelihood as a migrant

This section of the research discusses how social networks enabled undocumented Ghanaian migrants to secure a livelihood. Ghanaians in Johannesburg are basically engaged in hairdressing and barbering and most of these migrants secured this livelihood through their social networks of friends and relations.

When asked how she secured a livelihood on her arrival in South Africa, one key informant stated this:

"I have been working as a hairdresser since I arrived in South Africa. The salon is owned by my sister and, so I didn't struggle to secure that job and started working the next day on my arrival." (KII 1, August, 2017)

According to this respondent her sister secured a job for her prior to her arrival and so she did not struggle to secure a livelihood when she arrived in South Africa:

P 6: "You cannot easily get a job in South Africa. It is not even easy for nationals of this country to secure a job. The best medium for Ghanaian migrants to secure a job in South Africa is through social connections. Some are socially connected to owners of salons or restaurants before they arrive from Ghana. In that sense, their employment is secured. Others who are not connected socially prior to their arrival get employment in barbering shops, salons, restaurants and pharmacy shops because the owners of these businesses are Ghanaians. Even with that, most of them are connected by Ghanaian friends to the owners of these businesses." (FGD 1, August, 2017)

The above comments point out that attaining a livelihood as a migrant in South Africa is largely reliant on your social connections. Resources including jobs and housing are provided for the potential migrant based on the social network that is established between the potential and earlier migrant (Ryan, Sales, Tilki & Siara, 2008). Accordingly, in the analysis of the role of social capital in finding employment for migrants living in cities in Germany, Dreaver & Hoffmeister (2008) discovered that the young and less educated relied on their social networks to secure jobs. Thus, a migrant family, friends and social networks constitute an important resource and assistance. Burts (1992) also perceives social capital as a situation where actors receive opportunities to use their economic and human capital through friends, colleagues and their general contact (Portes, 1998).

These migrants' social networks aided them to secure livelihoods on their arrival. Their social ties provided assistance to them and thus the theory of social capital is exhibited in this instance.

5.4.3 Experience in finding a job

The question of the experiences that migrants go through in finding a job revealed that a migrant's experience determines the kind of job that he or she is looking for. From these findings, it is also clear that some migrant salon workers are deceived by employers regarding the conditions of service:

> *"Your experience in finding a job depends on the kind of job you are looking for. It is easier to get a job in a salon or barbering shop. However, if your boss is a cheat and does not treat you well you may have to leave that job. Some bosses pay you less when you have earned more within a month and if you have no options you stay and work as a slave. In such instances, we don't earn much to send money home." (FGD 1, August, 2017).*

Some participants also mentioned that self-employment is the best livelihood strategy. Running a salon was identified as a good source of livelihood in South Africa and so migrants learn the skill of hairdressing and barbering prior to travelling.

> *"My husband is a barber here and I do pedicure and manicure. My husband already secured a place for me to start my business and so I started working three days after my arrival. It is not very easy to secure employment in South Africa especially when you have not learnt a trade like hairdressing, barbering or tailoring. If you have these skills you can at least operate your own business or work in a salon. Most Ghanaian migrants are already trained in these trade or they learn them on their arrival in South Africa. The salon business is a lucrative livelihood for most migrants in South Africa.". (KII 10, August, 2017)*

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From the responses above, it can be deduced that it easier to find a livelihood or create your own livelihood in the informal economy of South Africa. This supports Northcote (2015) study among forced migrants in Cape Town which identified that one of the problems faced by migrants is the ability to secure employment in the formal sector of the South African economy. The only options available to these migrants especially the undocumented ones is to secure a livelihood in the informal economy. Livelihood activities that they are engaged in include, trading, artisanship, tailoring and hairdressing (Northcote, 2015). A study among Ethiopian and Somali refugees in Toronto identified difficulties in entering the labour market as a major barrier in adapting to their physical environment (Danso, 2002). Thus, migrants face discrimination and since most of them are undocumented, it is challenging to secure a formal employment. Many of these migrants remain in weak economic condition because of their preparedness to work for a low wage and under unfavourable conditions. They, therefore, resort to working in the informal sector to overcome their unemployed state although the conditions of service may not be the best. Thus, the literature supports claims by Ghanaian migrants in Johannesburg on exploitation by employers. These migrants are forced to work with their employers who are salon owners although they are being cheated of their monthly earnings. Additionally, securing a livelihood is largely dependent on your social network. Most of these migrants come to South Africa purposely to work in salons and so their employers secure a place for them in the salons prior to their arrival. The social capital theory is expressed in this regard.

5.4.4 Adequacy of income

Findings on the adequacy of income of Ghanaian migrants in Johannesburg who work in the informal sector revealed that migrants who are employed to work in hairdressing and barbering salons are paid based on commission. Findings revealed that these migrants make an adequate income.

This key informant has lived in South Africa for over ten years and owns close to eight salons in Midrand central with Ghanaian migrants working in these salons. She states;

"The workers receive adequate income at the end of every month but they always pretend that the money they get is not enough. Workers in my salons are paid on a commission basis. Thus, their total earning at the end of the month is divided equally in that I keep 50% and they take home 50% of the earnings. Some of the workers receive as high as R13, 000 at the end of the month. They always pretend and say that they don't get enough income from the work they do but it is a lie. The workers in my salon determine the prices of the services they offer. I don't get involved in the charges that are allocated to the various services." (KII 9, August, 2017).

However, participants in the FGD assert making enough income from your livelihood is dependent on how busy your salon is and the amount you pay as rent each month.

P 4*: "I will say the money we make is adequate but this is also largely dependent on the area you work and how busy the place is. Thus, if you get to braid or cut more hair in a month, you will obviously earn more. If you work at a very good place you can earn R8, 000 or R10000 in a month. The amount you earn is also reliant on the number of years you've worked. The more your years of work, the more your customers and the better your experience. You will earn less at the initial stage but your earnings will increase as you gain more customers". (FGD1, August, 2017)*

From the above responses, it can be deduced that these migrants who work in salons make adequate income although they are paid on commission basis. The salon business has been identified as a booming business by most of the respondents in this study (*see KII 10 under experience in finding a job*). This serves to support the argument that Ghanaian migrants working in the informal sector (hairdressing salons) make adequate income form their livelihood activity. However, the adequacy

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of income is largely dependent on the area you work and your experience. This implies that the more a migrant stays the more he makes from his livelihood activity

5.5   Health survival strategies

This part of the study will discuss findings on the various mediums that Ghanaian migrants resort to in seeking medical attention when they are unwell. The sections start by describing the general experience of seeking healthcare and then examines factors such as documentation and cost affects access to healthcare.

5.5.1   General experience in accessing healthcare as a migrant

This section discusses the general experience that migrants encounter in accessing healthcare. The section will focus on early medical attention, language barriers and dialectics of accessible health care.

5.5.1.1   *Medical attention*

Migrants who were interviewed as key informants and in the Focus Group Discussions disclosed that although the treatment they receive in public healthcare facilities is good, they do not receive medical attention early enough, due to long waiting hours, especially when they visit the public hospitals. A participant in one of the focus group discussion accounted her experience in the public hospital when she was knocked by a vehicle:

P1: "I was knocked down by a car and I was taken to the emergency unit. The pain in my leg was excruciating. However, I realised people who were there and had been stabbed and were going through so much pain with blood oozing from their body were yet to be attended to. We had to join a long queue before we received medical treatment. I will say the medical treatment is very good although you must join a long queue before you are treated." (FGD 3, August, 2017)

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Another key informant who was a documented migrant shared that her family resorted to seeking private health care because of the long queues in public health facilities:

> *"We don't visit the public hospital because there is always a long queue and*
> *you can spend the whole day in the hospital whereas the private hospital is not*
> *like that". (KII 9, August, 2017)*

Resource constraints in public health facilities is a challenge that most healthcare givers experience in managing and caring for migrants (Suphachaimat et al., 2015). Importantly, the experiences of long delays and waiting queues in public hospitals in South Africa is not unique to migrants; locals and everyone who make use of public healthcare facilities complain of the same (Tana, 2013).

5.5.1.2 *Dialectics of accessible healthcare*

Although healthcare at the primary level is free and accessible to all in South Africa, some migrants reported being mistreated at health centres because they are foreigners and cannot speak any South African languages. This is despite the fact that physicians and doctors worldwide take the Hippocratic Oath to treat the sick to the best of their ability, regardless of their personal characteristics or demographics. This raises important questions about how South African healthcare professionals reconcile the obligations imposed by their professional code of conduct and their own personal attitudes and socialization towards patients of different backgrounds. A key informant who is a documented migrant shared as follows:

> *"I don't have health insurance and I don't know how much it costs. I go to the*
> *clinic when I am not feeling well. I either go to the public hospital for free or I*
> *pay to attend the private hospital. I use the private hospital more than the*
> *public ones because you are not treated well by the hospital staff in the public*
> *hospital especially when you don't speak any South African language. I am*

treated better at the private hospitals than the public ones'' (KII 1, August,
2017)

The above comment indicates that when a common language is not used, some migrants experience communication difficulties, and consequently discrimination and neglect in health centres in South Africa (Crush & Tawodzera, 2011). Some scholars have termed this type of discrimination medical xenophobia (Crush & Tawodzera, 2011). Medical xenophobia needs to be studied both to understand it's extent and to develop mechanisms to root it out among healthcare professionals.

Despite the general consensus that language and ethnic factors sometimes lead to discrimination and maltreatment of migrants, some migrants in the research also reported being treated very well in the health facilities. In a focus group discussion, participants mentioned the following:

> **P1:** *"The experience at the hospital is good. We try to speak the English*
> *language and the health workers understand what we mean. Sometimes, we*
> *use sign language to carry the message across and they understand us.* **P3:**
> *The health workers are very smart in trying to understand the patient.*
> *(FGD 3, August, 2017)*

5.5.2   Documentation and healthcare

Ghanaian migrants who were interviewed in both the KIIs and the FGDs mentioned that they do not need documentation to access health care in South Africa. A participant in one of the FGD's elaborated as follows:

> *P6: There is a government clinic close by and that is where we go for medical attention when we are unwell. You don't need documentation to go to that clinic. You only need your passport and you will be given medical attention. They first ask for your permit and if you tell them you don't have any, they then ask for your passport number to fill your medical forms. (FGD 2, August, 2017)*

This comment in relation to one's migration status and seeking healthcare reveals that some migrants in South Africa can seek healthcare in any hospital or clinic regardless of whether they are documented or undocumented. According to Veary et al. (2008), South Africa as an affiliate state of the 2008 World Assessment Resolution on the issue of migrants, which advocates for fair access to healthcare for migrants by allowing them to seek health care irrespective of their migration status. Nonetheless, the findings of this research that documentation is not at all required when presenting at healthcare facilities are unsupportive of literature. For instance, Crush & Tawodzera (2001) in their research found that undocumented migrants or migrants must possess a passport and a formal home address before they can access healthcare in South Africa. Thus, whilst residence permits or other such documents that are usually required from migrants at different service points are waivered in some or most public health facilities in South Africa, there are other types of documentation that are required, and the lack of these is sufficient to lead to exclusions from public healthcare services. Moreover, the fact that even in the accounts given by the participants of my research, a passport was a requisite document when seeking healthcare, raises questions about those undocumented migrants who do not even have passports or whose passports have expired and are thus invalid.

Importantly, although migrants are aware that you can receive medical attention in the public health sector without documentation, some undocumented migrants limit their movement because of fear of being arrested and thus do not go to the clinic when they fall sick. One key informant shared as follows;

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"I don't have medical aid and I don't know how much it costs. I have not visited the clinic or hospital since I arrived. I normally buy over the counter drugs form the pharmacy when I have headache or body ache. I have not visited the clinic because I have overstayed my permit and I have also been seriously sick. I always try to hide from public places because of my documentation. I don't want to risk being sent home". (KII 4, August, 2017)

This statement supports literature which notes that undocumented migrants may not seek help from clinics or hospitals because of their migration status or fear of being arrested, preferring to buy non-prescription over the counter drugs instead (Crush & Tawodzera, 2001).

A participant in a FGD found that some hospitals require appropriate migration documentation prior to treatment and that consequently, some migrants use documents of their friends to seek treatment in such circumstances:
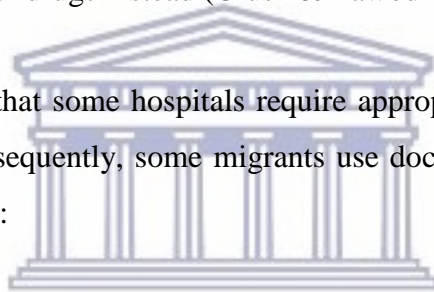
"A few of the public hospitals require you to be documented before services are provided. In such situations, you use a friend's or colleague's documentation (asylum seeker) to access healthcare. All you must do is to use the demographics of the owner of the documents. Thus, his name, age and every necessary information". (FGD 1, August, 2017)

This finding confirms the findings of Crush & Tawodzera, 2001, who noted in their study that some migrants use people in their social networks who have documentation to access over the counter drugs or they get these networks to visit the clinic on their behalf pretending to be ill in order to receive medicines. So for these undocumented migrants, it is either you use the documentation of your social networks or you make them visit the clinic on your behalf. This depicts the benefits that migrants derive from their social networks and thus their use of social capital to access healthcare.

5.5.3 Cost of healthcare

Findings on the cost of healthcare revealed that most Ghanaian migrants working in the informal sector do not possess medical insurance and resort to the public hospital for healthcare because it is free.

In accounting his experience, a participant in one of the FGD's mentioned:

"The health service delivery in the public hospitals is free even for migrants without documentation. All you need is your passport." (FGD 2, August, 2017)

Therefore, migrants do not have to pay for healthcare in public hospitals or clinics. Another migrant reiterated

"I don't access health insurance and I don't know how much it costs. It is free to access healthcare in public clinics in South Africa. All that is required of you is your passport. Thus, I go to the public hospital because I don't have to pay anything for treatment" (KII 2, August, 2017)

According to Veary et al., (2016), the incorporation of the basic human right of access to health services in the constitution of South Africa, which is in support of the World Assessment Resolution on the issue of migrants, has resulted in free healthcare at the point of use in the South Africa's public health system. Therefore migrants can access health care for free in South Africa.

That said, most of the migrants in my study professed to buy over the counter non-prescription drugs rather than visit public healthcare facilities because it is the easiest and most efficient health survival strategy when they are unwell:

> *P3:"We normally buy over the counter drugs from the pharmacy when we don't feel well. It is the easiest medium to treat yourself in that you don't spend your whole day to get medical attention in the public clinics. Additionally, you will not need to spend as much as you will when you go to the private clinic."*
> *(FGD 3, August, 2017)*

Buying over the counter drugs is the remedy to avoid spending time in public hospitals and spending too much money in private hospitals.

> *"Moreover, you can also resort to buying non-prescription drugs from pharmacy shops". (KII 4, August, 2017)*

Participants in my study explained that because they have busy livelihood activities, they cannot spend a whole day in the hospital to seek treatment because they will be losing money.
They buy drugs from the pharmacy because of the myriad of constraints that affect the delivery of quality healthcare in South Africa (Crush & Tawodzera, 2011).

5.6   Housing survival strategies

This part of the study enquired about the housing survival strategies of migrants. Findings were discussed based on the experiences that migrants go through in finding a place to stay with a specific focus on social capital and access to housing, cost of rent and sharing apartment, living alone, relocation and interaction with neighbours.

5.6.1   Social capital and housing

Some migrants who were interviewed revealed that either their relation, friend or host found a place for them to stay prior to their arrival.

> *P1:* *"My sister found a place for me to stay prior to my arrival and so I didn't*
> *experience challenges in finding a place to stay".*
>
> *P 6:* *"If you have any social connection prior to your arrival, they often find a*
> *place for you to stay. You must save up money to pay for the cost of rent.*
> *Everything must be paid for in this country. Your host will let you know the*
> *cost of rent before you arrive. My host informed me prior to my arrival that I*
> *will pay for rent at the end of every month".* *(FGD 2, August, 2017)*

Additionally, owners of the salons also find a place for their workers to stay when they first arrive. Some of these workers stay with their employers until they acquire enough income to rent their own residence. Thus, one employer accounted:

> *"Some of my workers live with me when they first arrive until they are able to*
> *find a place of residence"* *(KII 9, August, 2017)*

The responses reveal that migrant's social capital is very relevant in finding a place as a migrant. Thus, the social networks of these migrants assisted them to secure accommodation prior to their arrival or on their arrival. This supports literature which states that connections between potential and prior migrants provide resources, job and accommodation for potential migrants (Ryan, Sales, Tilki & Siara, 2008). Erstwhile migrants provide potential migrants with assistance in searching for a job, housing and other resources through the social ties that connect them (Garip, 2008). The ability for these migrants to secure accommodation is reliant on their social capital according to the findings.

5.6.2 Cost of rent

Most of the migrants who were interviewed attested to the high cost of rent in Johannesburg. As a survival strategy, they share rooms to afford the cost of rent. Though it is highly uncomfortable to

share a room with three or four other people, the only option left for these migrants to afford housing is to share a one or two bedroom.

A key informant mentioned the amount she pays as rent every month and the number of people she shares her apartment with although it is uncomfortable.

"I have been living in my current residence for three years. It is a twobedroom apartment and we pay 6,500 rands every month as rent. The apartment is shared by 7 people. That is three males and four females. The apartment is not comfortable but the fact that we divide the cost of the rent makes it a good option. It is even not allowed for five people to share a room but because we cannot afford the rent, sharing is the best alternative. Aside the rent paid every month we bear the cost of any damage in the house" (KII 1, August, 2017)

Another key informant asserted:

"I live in an apartment house. I have lived here since I arrived in Johannesburg over a year ago. I live in a two-bedroom apartment with four other people we share rooms to cut down the cost of rent because it is very expensive to rent an apartment alone. The cost of rent is R6, 000 and this amount is divided among the five of us. It is not convenient living with four other people in an apartment. However, as a result of the cost of rent, it is the best alternative" (KII 2, August, 2017)

The comments above confirm what is found in the literature, which reveals that most migrants encounter severe housing challenges in South Africa because they are restricted to the private

sector housing and informal accommodation. Public sector housing and housing subsidies are only a preserve of South Africans and migrants with permanent residence (Greenberg & Polzer, 2008). Thus, most international migrants resort to private sector housing which is very costly and informal accommodation that is unsafe. These migrants have to share accommodation and live in overcrowded spaces and congested spaces because the cost of rent is very expensive (Greenberg & Polzer, 2008).

5.6.3 Living alone

Although rent is expensive, some migrants mentioned that they live alone and some own a house. Thus, are very comfortable with their living arrangements.

"I live in Midrand Central (Boulders). I pay R2, 800 as rent every month. I have been staying there for a year now. I don't share my room with anyone, I live alone. Initially, I was sharing with someone but the person returned to Ghana. I am comfortable where I stay". (KII 6, August, 2017)

This documented migrant owns a house in Johannesburg

"I live in Midrand. I use to pay R9000 previously as rent but I now live in my own house. The value of my house is R14000. It is a four-bedroom house. I have lived in my current abode for a year. I lived in villa (a suburb of Midrand) for nine years before moving to my current place of residence. I live with my husband and kids". (KII 9, August, 2017)

Although some migrants claim it is difficult to live alone given the expensive nature of rent, others from the response above assert that they can afford to live alone. Literature by (Greenberg & Polzer, 2008) on difficulties such as overcrowding that migrants experience in accessing

accommodation does not support this claim. This is because there are a few cases of migrants who get affordable places to rent and live comfortably alone.

A documented migrant who is a permanent resident also stated that she owns a home. This supports the literature which indicates that housing subsidies and rights are the preserve of South Africans and migrants with permanent residence. Thus, legal migrants such as asylum seekers and refugees though on paper they have the same rights as South Africans, cannot access their rights to housing schemes because of technical problems with documentation procedures (Greenberg & Polzer, 2008)

5.6.4   Relocation

Most migrants who were interviewed assert that they relocate regularly because of difficulty in sharing rooms with others as a result of the cost of rent.

A key informant mentioned:
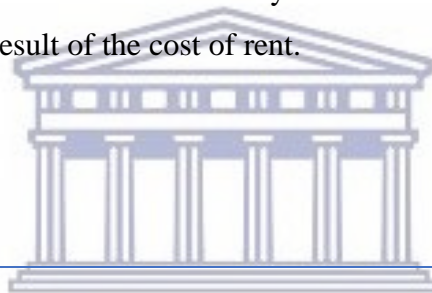
> ***P3***: *"It depends on the cost of the apartment. If there is an increase in the cost, then they move to a more affordable apartment. You sign a contract for 2 or 3 years when you decide to rent an apartment. The cost of rent goes up by R100 every year. So, it good to share the apartment. Thus, 10 people can share an apartment which cost R6000 every month to rent. This is what we normally do". (FGD 2, August, 2017)*

A participant in a focus group discussion also asserted:

> ***P 4:*** *"Some people relocate because it is very difficult for them to live with others because of their diverse backgrounds. Some people relocate because they can't afford the rent based on their earnings. You get to know a person*

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well once you've lived with him or her. Some people don't clean up and live a lot of mess in the house and most roommates relocate as a result. People who earn enough to pay for their rent always prefer to live alone". (FGD 1, August, 2017).

The comments above reveal that Ghanaian migrants basically relocate because they can't afford rent and because of the challenges in living with others. The cost of rent is the motivating force behind the relocation of Ghanaian migrants in Johannesburg. Greenberg & Polzer (2008) posits that migrants are excluded from public housing systems and housing subsidies. Thus, they have to spend so much or share rooms with others to secure accommodation. Consequently, they have to relocate when the cost of rent is unaffordable or they feel highly uncomfortable living with others.

5.6.5 Interaction with neighbours

Some migrants account that they hardly interact with neighbours due to their busy work schedule and a few remarked that they interact with their neighbours with the hope of getting assistance from them.
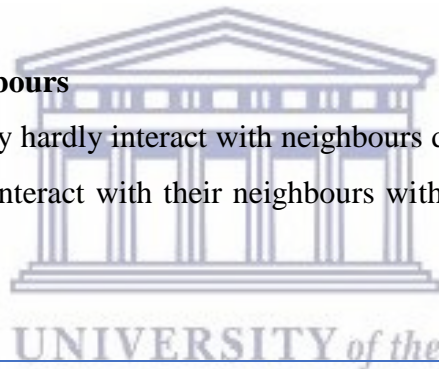
"My neighbours are Zimbabweans and Ghanaians. I hardly interact with my neighbours because I live home early and come back late because of the nature of my job". (KII 5, August, 2017)

P 4: "I don't interact on a regular basis with my neighbours because of the nature of my job (Barbering). I leave home very early in the morning and come back late". (FGD 1, August, 2017)

A migrant asserted that he interacts with his neighbours with the hope that they will be helpful in the day of trouble:

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"My neighbours are from Zimbabwe & Lesotho. I interact with them with the hope that they can offer any help regarding my situation" (KII 2, August, 2017).

In reference to building social ties with neighbours through interaction, a few migrants responded that they interact with their neighbours whilst most of them asserted that they don t interact with their neighbours because of their work schedule. It can be deduced that a few migrants build social capital with their neighbours through interaction. They interact with them often for social capital to exist. Through the existence of social capital, these migrants can gain advantaged access to information and the other opportunities (Kindler et al, 2015).

5.7   Social networks as survival strategies for migrants

This part of the study discusses findings on how migrants capitalise on their social networks to survive. Special emphasis is placed on benefits of having familial relations and friends as a social network, membership of a social network such as the church, employers and work colleagues as social networks, strong connections as a migrant and connection with people who are better off.

5.7.1   Benefits of having familial relations and friends as a social network

In discussing the findings on the benefits that migrants accrue from their family and friends in their countries of destinations, some Ghanaian migrants who were interviewed said it is unbeneficial to have family and friends as a migrant. A key informant mentioned:

"I have a sibling here who is a pastor in East London. I looked for him when I arrived in East London, but he was of little help to me because he is also struggling to secure a livelihood as an undocumented migrant. It is not so useful to have friends or family around because everyone is hustling to secure a livelihood and looking out for him or herself. Thus, they can only be of little help to you" (KII 2, August, 2017)

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Another informant also shared the following:

> *"I don't have any family and friends in South Africa. It is not important to have*
> *friends and family in South Africa. If you know how to go about your daily*
> *living as a migrant, you don't need family and friends around. I don't have*
> *anyone I can rely on in times of difficulty". (KII 6, August, 2017)*

The comments from these respondents indicate that social capital is not useful to them as migrants since their social networks were of no benefit to them. Thus, their social networks who are struggling migrants like themselves couldn't be of any help. Social capital is not expressed in this context since these migrants do not get any benefits from their social networks or relations. Evaluating the capacity of social capital that an individual owns in a social relation is largely reliant on the number of relationships built and the capital resources of his or her social networks (Hauberer, 2011). In this case, these respondents do not benefit from the capital resources of their social networks and so they have not built any social capital.

Nonetheless, some migrants expressed the benefits of having family and friends around.

> *"I have family and friends in South Africa and I believe it is important to have*
> *family and friends around you as a migrant. I have siblings in South Africa. I*
> *go to them when I experience any challenge or difficulty". (KII 7, August,*
> *2017)*

Additionally, a key informant mentioned:

"My younger brother is in the Eastern Cape. It is very useful to have your family for support as a migrant. I also have some Ghanaian friends who are like relatives now and I can count on them for any support I need" (KII 3, August, 2017).

The importance of having social networks as a migrant is expressed in the above responses. Thus, these migrants derive benefits and support from their social networks which comprise their family and friends. Woolcock & Narayan (2000) assert that a person's family, friends and social network constitute an important resource during difficult times. This assertion is conveyed from the responses above and theory of social capital is portrayed.

5.7.2 Membership of a formal social network such as the church

Migrants who were interviewed mentioned that they the only formal social network they belong to is church. This is because they are not aware of the existence of any other formal networks in their neighbourhood and their busy work schedule render them unable to join such networks.

A key informant mentioned:
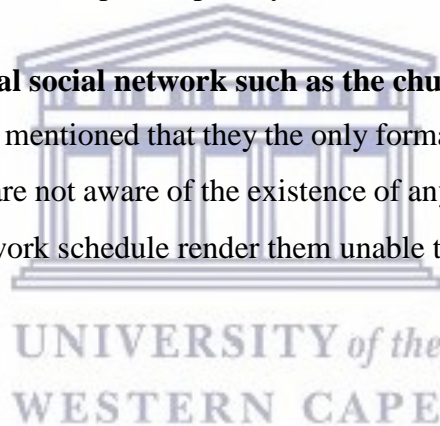
"I am not a member of any formal social network because I don't have any idea of the existence of such groups in my neighbour. The only social group that I am a member of is my church which is the church of Pentecost. In case I encounter any difficulty in South Africa, aside my husband, I can also rely on my church pastor for assistance. Thus, the church helps me to survive as a migrant." (KII 10, August, 2017)

This respondent asserted that she is unaware the existence of any formal social network in her neighbourhood:

> *P 4:"Most migrants are not members of any formal social connection. The only network that they join is the church. If you need any assistance the church is very helpful. The church can pay for your medical bills, pay for your ticket to go back home and assist you financially. Even when you are arrested because you lack appropriate documentation, your church will assist you".*
> *(FGD 1, August, 2017)*

It can be deduced from the responses above that most Ghanaian migrants living in Johannesburg South Africa are not members of any formal social network because of their work schedules and because they are unaware of the existence of any formal social network in their neighbourhood. Most of them belong to a church and so they rely on the church for social capital. The church as a social network in which social capital is derived exhibits both group and individual level social capital (Lin, 2001). Migrants as members of the church are entitled to certain benefits; financial and emotional assistance. The aggregate of actual and potential resources which an individual can benefit from if he or she is linked to a strong network is derived at the group level of social capital (Bourdieu, 1986). As members of a church (group) the chances of life of these migrants is enhanced by the collective resources owned by the group which is the church.

At the individual level, the church as a religious organisation establishes a network among its members. Therefore, these migrants develop relationships with other church members that will serve as a support or benefit for them in difficult times (Lin, 2001).

5.7.3 Employers and colleagues as social capital

Migrants who were interviewed attested to the fact that they sometimes rely on their employers and work colleagues for assistance in difficult times.

> *P6:* *"I rely on my colleagues at work for support when I need any assistance.*
> *My employer or host will also support me during difficult times" (FGD 3, August,*
> *2017).*

> *P1: "Beside the help from church, you can only rely on your employer and*
> *colleagues from work for assistance" (FGD, 2 August, 2017).*

The social networks that these migrants build with their employers and colleagues at work serve as a support in difficult times. Individual level social capital is portrayed here, in that these networks are built on the personal level and migrants capitalise on these personal relationships when they need support or assistance (Lin, 2001).

5.7.4 Strong connections as a migrant (Bonding social capital)

Most migrants recognised the benefits of having strong connections. They however reported that they do not have strong connections in South Africa that they can rely on for assistance. They blamed the lack of strong connections on trust issues. People don't trust you enough to build a strong bond with you.

> *"It is not common to have strong networks that you can rely on as a migrant.*
> *Everyone is hustling to survive and most people are not trustworthy." (KII 9,*
> *August, 2017).*

They also shared that for a strong connection to develop it is reliant on the individuals and the people involved. Some migrants have stronger connections with South Africans than with their fellow migrants:

> *"Strong social connections that people develop are dependent on the individuals themselves. Some South Africans develop strong connections with some migrants but this is very rare. They start of as customers of the migrants and later they become very close pals. It is however, not common to have strong social connections as a migrant especially with fellow Ghanaians".*
> *(KII 10, August, 2017).*

In the study I found that strong connections are not common among undocumented Ghanaian migrants because these migrants do not trust each other and they keep to themselves as a result of their busy schedules. Since all these migrants share something similar such as being Ghanaian, one would expect that they share a strong bond to help and support each other. These migrants are expected to build bonding social capital which is developed with individuals who share similarities and therefore connects people who are similar (REFERENCE). However, this is not the case with the Ghanaian undocumented migrants that were interviewed as part of this study. A few of the migrants reported that they have stronger bonds with South Africans than their fellow Ghanaians. Bridging social capital which is a connection with those who are dissimilar to an individual and therefore brings different people together is exhibited in this instance (Granovetter, 1973; Gittel & Vidal, 1998 as cited in Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). The above comments does not support the literature by Lin (1982) which states that bonding social capital is characterised by strong ties with features of close social circles of persons with the same characteristics whilst weak ties are related with bridging social capital with characteristics of infrequent interactions and peripheral relationships (as cited in Dufhues et al, 2011). Ghanaian migrants in Johannesburg South Africa exhibit strong ties or connection in bridging social capital than in bonding social capital.

5.7.5   Connections with people who are better off (Linking Social Capital)

Having connections with people who are better off than yourself is not very common among Ghanaian migrants living in Johannesburg, findings from the KIIs and the FGDs reveal. These migrants are more likely to have social connections with South Africans who are better off than Ghanaians who are better off:

> *"**P3:** It is not common to have social connections with people who are economically better off than you. Some migrants who are doing well economically tend to hide their status. This is done to prevent people from coming to them to ask for help.*
>
> ***P6:** Ghanaian migrants form connections according to social status. So, you will rarely find people of different economic status having connections" (FGD 2, August, 2017)*

The comments by these respondents imply that there is no connection between Ghanaian migrants and other Ghanaian migrants who are better off than themselves. Linking social capital, which is a connection between those with different social statuses and levels of power was not found to be common among Ghanaian migrants who participated in this study (Dufhues et al, 2011). The absence of linking social capital can be attributed to the lack of bonding social capital among undocumented Ghanaian migrants in Johannesburg South Africa..

On the other hand having connections with South Africans who are better off was said to be very common:

> ***P3**: "It is common to have connections with people who are economically better off than you. One of my South African customers is a lawyer and the other is a doctor. I serve them so well and so I have a strong connection with them. They always come to me for their hairdo. My customer who is lawyer said to me that she wants to adopt me so that I can get my documentation. She said she likes me so much and so she wants to help me. I have not said yes to her request because I need time to think about it. Most of the highly educated South Africans are very nice people." (FGD 3, August, 2017).*

According to this respondent having a connection with South Africans who are better off than your self is very common. Thus, there is a likelihood of building a linking social capital between Ghanaians and South Africans. This development can be credited to the fact that Ghanaian migrants find it easy to develop a bonding social capital with South Africans than their fellow Ghanaians

5.8   Recommendations

In this study I ended the interviews and focus group discussions by asking the undocumented Ghanaian migrants who participated in my study to make recommendations regarding the measures that should be taken by governments (South Africa & Ghana) to ease their plight. Education and flexibility in the processes of acquisition of a legal permit were believed to be the main solutions needed by undocumented migrants to assist them in their efforts to eke out a living in South Africa.

5.8.1   Education

Migrants mentioned that the South African government should educate its citizens to respect foreigners.

P3: "The South African government should educate their citizens on the need to respect foreigners. They should be educated to understand that foreigners are not thieves and they don't steal jobs as well" (FGD 2, August, 2017)

Another key informant also mentioned that the Ghanaian government should institute a policy where every Ghanaian is educated up to at least the Senior High School level. He believed that education to the Senior High School level will enable Ghanaians to adjust easily as migrants:

Every Ghanaian should be educated to the senior high school level at least.
The Government of Ghana should make it a requirement for everyone to attain

a senior high school education. Ghanaian migrants are finding it difficult to
secure a livelihood because they are not educated (high school). All they need
is to be able to read and write as well as express themselves in the English
language. (KII 3, August, 2017)

5.8.2   Documentation

Most of the migrants mentioned that the South African government should make the acquisition of documentation easy and flexible.

P3: If the documentation problem is solved, we can easily return to Ghana and
come back to South Africa to continue whatever work we are doing. We will
not be stuck in this country and we can go back to Ghana anytime. (FGD 1,
August, 2017)

"I want government of South Africa to make it easy for migrant to obtain their
documentation. So that migrants can move about and work freely. The
government of Ghana can lobby for us in relation to this". (KII 9, August, 2017)

CHAPTER SIX

6   Summary, Conclusion, Limitations and Recommendations

This part of the thesis summarises the study by giving an overview of the thesis and the results that were generated from the data collection. Also, the limitations that were encountered in the research are delineated and policy recommendations on how the life of undocumented Ghanaian migrants in the informal sector can be improved are outlined.

6.1   Summary

This thesis set out to investigate the economic and social survival strategies of documented and undocumented Ghanaian migrants living in Johannesburg, South Africa. The specific objectives that were to be carried out in achieving this broad objective included; investigating the various reasons that underlie the migration of documented and undocumented Ghanaians to South Africa, to examine the experiences of documented and undocumented Ghanaian migrants in Johannesburg when it comes to securing a livelihood, to explore their experiences in accessing health and housing. The specific objectives also included exploring the social networks of these migrants and how they capitalise on their networks as a means of survival. Additionally, policy recommendations will be made to the governments of Ghana and South Africa on how to mitigate the socio-economic challenges of Ghanaian migrants in South Africa.

To achieve these objectives, qualitative data was collected from documented and undocumented Ghanaian migrants in the informal sector, living in Johannesburg. The study interviewed 10 key informants comprising 8 undocumented and 2 documented migrants. Three Focus Group Discussions (FGD) were also held. All participants in the FGD were undocumented migrants.

Findings from the research revealed that economic factors is the main motivating force behind the migration of Ghanaians to South Africa. Ghanaians come to South Africa because of the search for better economic opportunities and jobs. Additionally, familial relations with erstwhile migrants were also identified as one of the factors perpetuating the migration of Ghanaians to South Africa. Some Ghanaian migrants decided to come to South Africa because a family member was already residing in the country. Other reasons given by Ghanaians on why they came to South Africa

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included visitation and the desire to experience another country. Some migrants stated that they came to South Africa for tourism and to learn something new. In another case, deception by travelling agents in the migration process brought some migrants to South Africa. Findings from the study additionally identified that returning to Ghana was considered an option by almost all of the migrants that were interviewed. They however, want to first save enough money that can be invested in a business on their return to Ghana. It was also revealed that family and friends aided some of these migrants financially when they decided to come to South Africa, even though the study also indicated that most of the Ghanaian migrants interviewed for this study did not have bonding social capital with family and friends of Ghanaian origin in the country.

The findings from the study likewise discovered that the main livelihood strategy employed by Ghanaian migrants in Johannesburg who work in the informal sector included hairdressing and barbering. Using the theory of social capital the study analysed how this livelihood strategy is attained through the social networks of these migrants. To add to this, self-employment was identified as the best livelihood strategy and running a salon to be a lucrative business for most Ghanaian migrants in South Africa. Further, migrants reported that if one worked at a salon or barber shop, they are paid based on commission and the adequacy of their income is reliant on their experience and how frequently they get to work. Although this may appear an unpredictable way of earning an income, participants who were interviewed indicated that they earned an adequate income from their livelihood activities.

In accessing healthcare, it was discovered from the findings of the study that migrants do not have to be documented before they can visit a clinic or hospital when they are unwell. This is because health care at public clinic or hospital facilities is free for everyone regardless of their migration status in South Africa. However, there is some proof of identity, such as passports and proof of residence that are required by some health facilities and which result in exclusion from receiving services if a migrant does not possess them. Additionally, some undocumented migrants prefer not to go to the clinic for fear of being arrested. It was also revealed that a few hospitals require to see the documentation of migrants before giving them treatment and in such instances migrants use the particulars of their documented relation or friend to seek healthcare. Despite the lack of feerelated constraints to accessing healthcare, migrants still found that there are other barriers to

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accessing the free public health care in the country. Among these is the long wait that is associated with attending public health facilities in South Africa. To avoid spending the whole day in public hospitals or paying too much money in the more efficient private hospitals, some migrants were said to buy over-the-counter non-prescription drugs. Additionally, whilst a few complained about discrimination at the hospital, others reported that health delivery in the public hospitals is very good.

The findings of the study also indicate that Ghanaian migrants living in Johannesburg, access housing through their social capital. Specifically, relations, friends or hosts in the countries of destination were said to secure accommodation for new migrants prior to or upon arrival in South Africa. Rent is very expensive and so accommodation is shared to cut down costs, although sharing of accommodation was said to be uncomfortable . According to results from this study, difficulty in sharing rooms with others leads to relocation by most of these migrants. Ghanaian migrants run a busy work schedule which makes it impossible for most of them to interact with their neighbours, although a few do.

Social networks were identified as beneficial to some migrants and unbeneficial to others. Some migrants benefits from their social networks of family and friends whilst others do not, with the claim that these networks are also hustling to survive. In relation to membership of any formal social network, for most migrants the church was said to provide social connections and thus social capital for them. This is because most migrants in the informal sector do not have the time that is required to participate in formal social networks and they are also unaware of the existence of any in their neighbourhood. They also rely on their employers and colleagues for social capital. Strong connections with other migrants were said to be uncommon, including connections with fellow migrants who are better off. In my study, migrants were shown to be more likely to form strong connections with South Africans who are better off than their fellow Ghanaian migrants who are doing better than themselves.

In relation to suggestions on the way forward, it was suggested that South Africans need to be educated on the need to respect and live in harmony with migrants. For Ghanaians it was recommended that the Ghanaian government ensure through policy that Ghanaians receive at least

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a Senior High School level education to be able to adjust well and survive as migrants in South Africa. Finally, Ghanaian migrants living in Johannesburg South Africa recommended that processes and systems be set up to ensure that the process of applying for and acquiring a legal migration status is efficient and flexible.

6.2   Conclusion

The results of the study suggest that Ghanaian migrants in Johannesburg, encounter a lot of challenges in their negotiation of meaningful life since most of them are undocumented. Whilst the findings demonstrate the reliance of Ghanaian migrants on social networks in their journey to South Africa and upon arrival, they also suggest that once in the country, these migrants are not able to cultivate nor sustain strong bonds with other migrants who are better off than themselves. In other words, they have weak linking and bonding social capital; these forms of social capital need to be strengthened because for vulnerable populations this type of capital may be their only hope of optimizing their survival strategies.

The study also demonstrates that documented and undocumented Ghanaian migrants use a wide variety of social and economic strategies to ensure their survival in Johannesburg. Whilst many migrants suggested that the income earned from the dominant economic strategies that they use, namely working at a salon, is generally adequate, it was clear that if the money earned is not sufficient to help them access decent, comfortable accommodation, or private medical insurance. Sometimes the adequacy of their income is short-changed by exploitative and scrupulous employers. This finding highlights the need to ensure that there are institutional mechanisms to protect migrants, especially those who are undocumented, from exploitation.

6.3   Limitations of the study
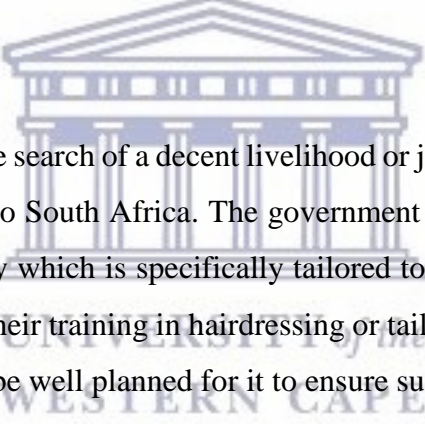
The study as with other social science research studies is not without limitations. Difficulty in getting participants and the busy schedule of participants who agreed to be part of the research was a major challenge that this study encountered. This affected the timeliness of the study and led to undue delay in the data collection process. Some Key Informant Interviews and focus group discussions were held at midnight because that was when participants were free from their busy

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schedule. Additionally, getting participants together for the FGD in a suitable place without noise or disturbances was quite challenging since these participants work on different schedules. Some FGD's had to be organised in the work places of participants which was not optimal.

Time and resource constraints did not allow for the research to cover other cities in Johannesburg. Midrand and the Johannesburg central business district were the only places that could be covered by the researcher. Studies in the future should include Pretoria and Kempton Park which have been identified to have a large proportion of Ghanaians.

6.4 Recommendations

Based on the findings of the study, the following are some policy recommendations for the Governments of South Africa and Ghana to consider to ease the plight of Ghanaian migrants in South Africa.

➢ Economic reasons and the search of a decent livelihood or job is the major push factor from Ghana and a pull factor to South Africa. The government of Ghana should put in place a youth employment policy which is specifically tailored to giving start-up capital to these youth on completion of their training in hairdressing or tailoring. The policy should not be politicised and it should be well planned for it to ensure sustainability.

➢ The South African High Commission in Ghana should put strict measures in place to limit the number of visitors and relatives permits that are given to Ghanaians. The findings revealed that most of these migrants travel on visitors and relative permits and they decide to stay permanently even when their permit has expired.

➢ The government of South Africa should grant permanent residence to migrants who have stayed over five years (Adepoju, 2003). The hairdressing business was identified as a lucrative venture for migrants who were interviewed and any venture that is lucrative contributes either directly or indirectly to the economy of a country. In this regard, migrants who have stayed for over five years should be granted a permanent residence permit since they are making a contribution to the informal economy in South Africa.

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- The South African government has a good health policy for migrants in relation to the fact that access to health care is free in any public hospital to migrants regardless of their documentation. Although it is not of grave concern, I will still state that there should be a progressive revision of laws in the health system. Health care staff who are likely to encounter migrants in their facilities, should be given diversity training and specifically trained on how to cater to this sub-population, and how to ensure that they do not experience discrimination when accessing care.

- Bridging, linking and bonding social capital which has enormous benefits for vulnerable populations was lacking among the migrants in my study. The Ghana High Commission in South Africa should consider the welfare of its migrants by sensitising or coordinating the formation of migrants' associations and self-help groups, so as to ensure that there are social systems in place to look after the welfare of these migrants. These migrants should be encouraged to come together and harness resources, which can aid their survival. Issues relating to housing and other conditions can be solved with the existence of these associations.
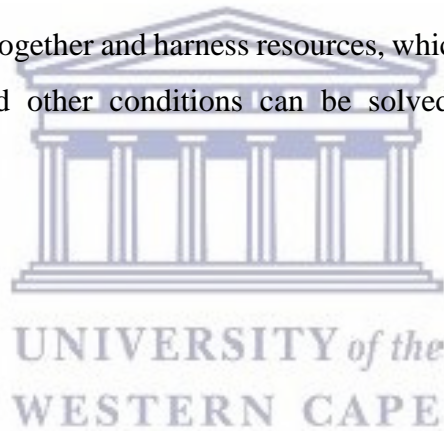
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Appendices

Appendix A

Key Informant Interview (KII) Migration from Ghana

 Why did you migrate from Ghana?

How did economic factors influence your reasons for migrating to South Africa?

What other factors influenced your migration to South Africa?

 Why is South Africa chosen?

What other options did you have besides migrating to South Africa?

Why did you choose South Africa over the others?

What expectations did you have when you first came to South Africa?

To what extent have these expectations been met?

How happy are you living in South Africa?

How unhappy are you living in South Africa?

 To what extent do you think about going back to Ghana?

How often do you go back to Ghana since you arrived in South Africa?

To what extent were you assisted by family and friends when coming to South Africa?

How did your family and friends assist you to migrate to South Africa?

Livelihood Strategies Tell me about how earn a living

How do you put food on the table?

How long did it take you to secure your livelihood?

 Tell me about your experience in finding a job

What makes it easy to find a job in South Africa?

What difference does one's migrant status make to job prospects?

In your experience, how many and what kinds of jobs is a migrant likely to secure?

Why do you select one over the other?

How many livelihood strategies are you likely to have?

Why do you select one over the other?

Tell me about your earnings

How adequate is the amount you earn from your job?

What do you do to ensure that you survive?

What other activities do you engage in to meeting your needs?

Housing Strategies

Tell me about your experience of putting a roof over your head Where

do you live?

How much do you pay as rent?

How long have you been staying in your current place?

How long did you stay in your previous place?

Tell me about your living arrangements

How many people do you share your house or room with?

How comfortable do you find your living arrangements?

What would you like to change about them?

Tell me about your experience of living in close proximity with others Who

are your neighbours?

To what extent do you interact with your neighbours?

Health Strategies

How do you access health insurance?

How much does it cost?

How do you meet the costs of healthcare for yourself and your family?

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What options are available for you if you or your family is not well?

Which health system do you access most? Public or private? Formal or informal? African traditional or Western biomedical health systems?

Why do you access this health system?

What is your experience of accessing healthcare?

What difference does you migrant status make when you are accessing healthcare?
Tell me about other mediums you resort to when you are not well

Social Networks Tell me about your social connections

How many friends or family members do you have?

How important is it to have friends and family in South Africa?

Who do you have in your life in South Africa that you are able to count on for help and support when times are difficult?

How common is it to have strong and useful social connections in South Africa that you are able to tap into for help and support during difficult times?

How strong are your social connections?

How likely is it to have connections with people who are better off than yourself?

Why? What role do these play in your life as a migrant?

Tell me about your membership in any formal social networks in South Africa?

How important are these social networks for survival?

How do you think your migrant status affects your access to and strength of your social networks?

Tell me about your friends and family in Ghana How

do you connect with them?

How do they help you to survive?

Recommendations

What would make your life easier as a Ghanaian migrant in South Africa?

Who do you think should take the most active role in helping Ghanaian migrants in South Africa?

What recommendations would you give South African and Ghanaian governments regarding the situation of Ghanaian migrants?

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Appendix B

FGD Registration form

Code	Age	Educational curriculum level	Length of stay in SA	Occupation- formal/ informal	Migration status	Marital status	Net income per month	Type of residence	No. of people in the house/room	Extra activities
ES 1										
ES 2										
ES 3										
ES 4										
ES 5										
ES 6										
ES 7										
ES 8										

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FGD QUESTIONS Migration from Ghana

Why do people migrate from Ghana?

How does economic factors account for the reasons why Ghanaians migrate to South Africa?

What other reasons will you say make Ghanaians migrate to South Africa?

Why is South Africa chosen?

What other options do Ghanaian migrants have beside South Africa?

Why did they choose South Africa over the others?

To what extent are the expectations that Ghanaians have when coming to South Africa for the first time?

To what extent are those expectations met once they are settled in South Africa? Why?

How happy are they living in South Africa?

How unhappy are they living in South Africa?

To what extent do people think about going back to Ghana?

How often do Ghanaians travel back to Ghana?

To what extent are Ghanaian migrants assisted by others when coming to South Africa?

How did family and friends in Ghana or South Africa assist you in migrating to South Africa?

Livelihood Strategies

How common is it for a Ghanaian migrant to be employed?

How easy or difficult is it for a Ghanaian migrant to find employment?

What jobs are they most likely to find? Why?

What are the experiences of Ghanaians in searching for work in relation to their documentation status?

From your experience what kind of jobs do Ghanaian migrants do?

How do Ghanaian migrants in South Africa secure their livelihood?

How do they put food on the table?

Besides looking for employment, what other economic survival strategies do Ghanaian migrants have?

How many livelihood strategies are they likely to have?

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Why will they select one over the other?

What are the experiences of Ghanaian migrants in finding a job in South Africa? What have been the experiences of Ghanaian migrants in their job seeking endeavor?

How long does it take for them to find a job in South Africa?

Why is it easy for them to find a employment?

Why is it difficult for them to find a employment?

What do Ghanaian migrants typically earn from their livelihood strategies?

How adequate is the amount that migrants from Ghana earn from their livelihood?

How do people supplement their income?

What other activities do Ghanaian migrants engage in to survive?

Housing Strategies

Where do Ghanaian migrants live?

Where do Ghanaians first live when they arrive in South Africa?

What do Ghanaian migrants experience in putting a roof over their head?

How often do they relocate?

What are their living arrangements?

What are their living arrangements

How do Ghanaian migrants interact with their neighbors?

What are their experiences living in close proximity with others?

Health Strategies Accessing health care

Which health system (s) do Ghanaian migrants find easiest to access? Public/private? Formal/informal? African traditional healing systems or Western biomedical health care? Why?

What are the experiences of Ghanaian migrants in accessing healthcare?

What options are available to you or your family if you are sick?

What difference does one's migrant status make in accessing healthcare?

Cost of healthcare

How much do Ghanaians spend on health care?

How common is it for Ghanaians to have health insurance?

For those that do have it, how do they access health insurance?

Why do people access health insurance?

How much does it cost?

For those that do not have access to health insurance, how do they meet their healthcare costs?

Social Networks About Social connections

What kinds of social connections do Ghanaian migrants have in South Africa? With whom? (Local or foreign nationals?)

What formal social networks do Ghanaian migrants belong to?

What role do these social connections play in the Ghanaian's making of life in South Africa?

How do your friendships and social networks help you?

How important is it for Ghanaian migrants to have strong social networks with friends and family in South Africa?

How likely is it for Ghanaian migrants to have connections with people who are economically better off than themselves?

How important are these social networks for survival?
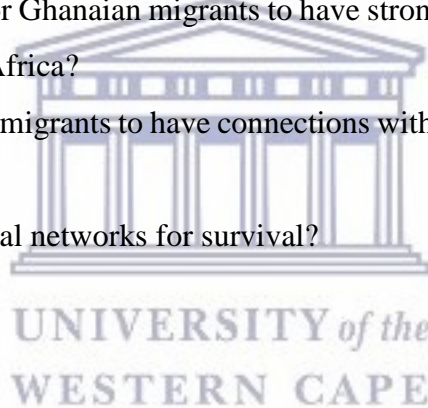
Recommendations

What will make the life of undocumented Ghanaian migrants who work in the informal sector easier?

Who do you think should take the most active role in helping Ghanaian migrants in South Africa?What recommendations do you have for governments (South Africa & Ghana)?

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Appendix C

Letter of consent for Focus Group Discussion (FGD) Economic and social survival strategies of migrants in Southern Africa; a case study of Ghanaian migrants in Johannesburg, South Africa

I…………………………………………………., have had the opportunity to ask any questions related to this study, and received satisfactory answers to my questions, and any additional details I wanted. I agree to take part in this research.

I understand that my participation in this study is voluntary. I am free not to participate and have the right to withdraw from the study at any time, without having to explain myself. I am aware that the information I provide on the questionnaire might result in research which may be published, but my name may be/ not be used (circle appropriate).

I understand that my signature on this form indicates that I understand the information on the information sheet regarding the structure of the questions.
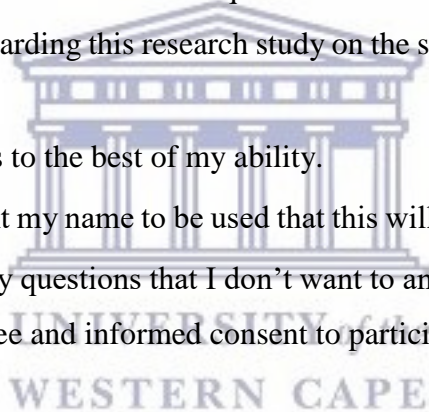
I have read the information regarding this research study on the survival strategies of Ghanaian migrants.

I agree to answer the questions to the best of my ability.

I understand that if I don't want my name to be used that this will be ensured by the researcher.

I may also refuse to answer any questions that I don't want to answer.

By signing this letter, I give free and informed consent to participate in this research study.

Date:……………………………………………………………………………………
………………………
Participant
Name:…………………………………………………………………………………
…….
Participant
Signature:……………………………………………………………………………
….

Interviewer
name:………………………………………………………………………………….
..
Interviewer

Signature:……………………………………………………………………………………….

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Appendix D

Letter of consent for Key Informant Interview (KII) Economic and social survival strategies of migrants in Southern Africa; a case study of Ghanaian migrants in Johannesburg, South Africa

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I……………………………………………………., have had the opportunity to ask any questions related to this study, and received satisfactory answers to my questions, and any additional details I wanted. I agree to take part in this research.

I understand that my participation in this study is voluntary. I am free not to participate and have the right to withdraw from the study at any time, without having to explain myself. I am aware that the information I provide on the questionnaire might result in research which may be published, but my name may be/ not be used (circle appropriate).

I understand that my signature on this form indicates that I understand the information on the information sheet regarding the structure of the questions.

I have read the information regarding this research study on the survival strategies of Ghanaian migrants.

I agree to answer the questions to the best of my ability.

I understand that if I don't want my name to be used that this will be ensured by the researcher.

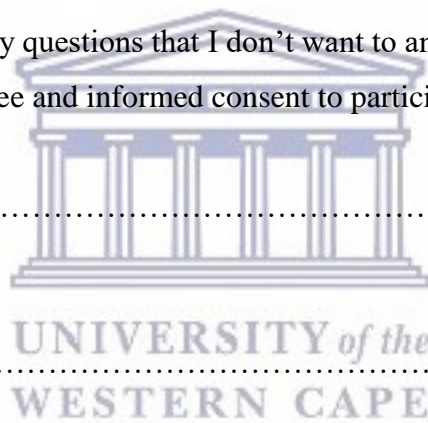I may also refuse to answer any questions that I don't want to answer.

By signing this letter, I give free and informed consent to participate in this research study.

Date:……………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………
Participant
Name:……………………………………………………………………………………………
…….

Participant
Signature:…………………………………………………………………………………………
….

Interviewer
name:……………………………………………………………………………………………
..
Interviewer
Signature:……………………………………………………………………………………….

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Appendix E

<u>**INFORMATION SHEET**</u>

<u>**For**</u>

<u>**Focus Group Discussion (FGD)**</u>

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Project Title: Economic and social survival strategies of migrants in Southern Africa; a case study of Ghanaian migrants in Johannesburg, South Africa
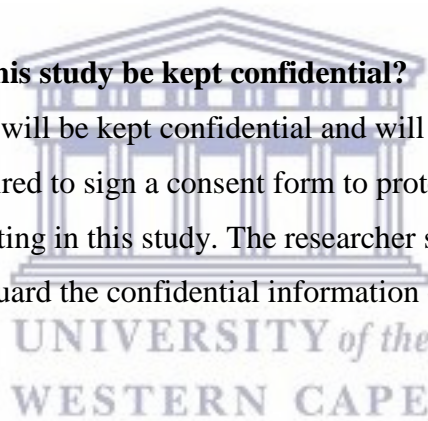
What is this study about?

This research project is being conducted by Dorcas Okyere, a student at the University of the Western Cape. You are invited to participate in this project as a Ghanaian migrant residing in Johannesburg, South Africa. The purpose of this research is to explore the economic and social survival strategies of Ghanaian migrants in Johannesburg, South Africa

What will I be asked to do if I agree to participate?

You will be asked to share information on the survival strategies that you employ as a Ghanaian migrant in South Africa The interview will take about 20 - 30 minutes and it will take place within your community.

Would my participation in this study be kept confidential?

All your personal information will be kept confidential and will remain anonymous if that is your choice. You will be required to sign a consent form to protect your privacy and confidentiality while participating in this study. The researcher shall not reveal the identity of the participants and will safeguard the confidential information obtained in the course of the study.

What are the risks of this research?

There are no risks involved in participating in this research project. From the beginning, aims and objectives will be clear.

What are the benefits of this research?

There are no material benefits for the interviewee but it will create an awareness and understanding of the interviewee's survival strategies as a migrant.

Do I have to be in this research and may I stop participating at any time?   Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. You may choose not to participate and to stop participating at anytime you want. If you stop or decide not to participate, you will not lose anything.

Is any assistance available if I am negatively affected by participating in this study?

There are no negative effects that could happen from participating in this study.

Do I need to bring anything to the interview?

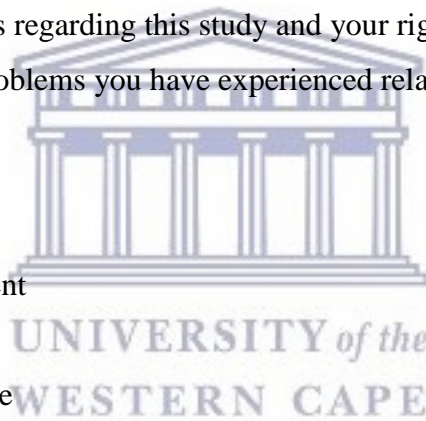You don't need to bring anything to the interview

What if I have questions?

This research is being conducted by **Dorcas Okyere** a student at the University of the Western Cape. Her contact number is 0720722476.

If you have any questions about the research study itself, please contact Prof. Yanga Zembe at The Institute for Social Development (ISD), University of the Western Cape.

Should you have any questions regarding this study and your rights as a research participant or if you wish to report any problems you have experienced related to the study, please contact:

Prof. Yanga Zembe
Institute for Social Development
School of Government
University of the Western Cape
Private Bag X17
Bellville 7535

This research has been approved by the University of the Western Cape's Senate Research Committee and Ethics Committee.

Private Bag X17, Bellville 7535, Cape Town, South Africa

Telephone :(021) 959 3858/6 Fax: (021) 959 3865

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Appendix F

<u>**INFORMATION SHEET**</u>

<u>**For**</u>

<u>**Key Informant Interviewees (KII)**</u>

Project Title: Economic and social survival strategies of migrants in Southern Africa; a case study of Ghanaian migrants in Johannesburg, South Africa

What is this study about?

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This research project is being conducted by Dorcas Okyere, a student at the University of the Western Cape. You are invited to participate in this project as a Ghanaian migrant residing in Johannesburg, South Africa. The purpose of this research is to explore the economic and social survival strategies of Ghanaian migrants in Johannesburg, South Africa

What will I be asked to do if I agree to participate?

You will be asked to share information on the survival strategies that you employ as a Ghanaian migrant in South Africa The interview will take about 20 - 30 minutes and it will take place within your community.

Would my participation in this study be kept confidential?

All your personal information will be kept confidential and will remain anonymous if that is your choice. You will be required to sign a consent form to protect your privacy and confidentiality while participating in this study. The researcher shall not reveal the identity of the participants and will safeguard the confidential information obtained in the course of the study.

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What are the benefits of this research?

There are no material benefits for the interviewee but it will create an awareness and understanding of the interviewee's survival strategies as a migrant.

Do I have to be in this research and may I stop participating at any time? Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. You may choose not to participate and to stop participating at anytime you want. If you stop or decide not to participate, you will not lose anything.

Is any assistance available if I am negatively affected by participating in this study?

There are no negative effects that could happen from participating in this study.

Do I need to bring anything to the interview?

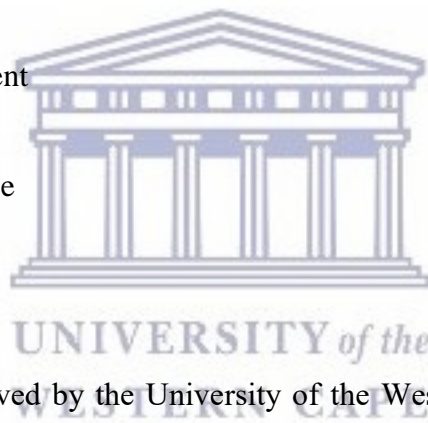You don't need to bring anything to the interview

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