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A critical evaluation of labour migrancy and practices of remittances: the case of Ghanaian workers in the informal economy in Johannesburg

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

International migration is not a new occurrence in the world (Hussein, 1993). Previously, international migration largely involved movement to wealthier regions such as the United States and Europe. Due to an increase in globalisation especially since the 1980s, there have been growing trends of migration all over the world (Bump, 2006; Mazzucato, 2005) and this has led migrants across the world to seek jobs that offer better opportunities outside their own countries. Now developing countries such as South Africa have also become favourite destination and in the case of South Africa this is due to a combination of favourable economic circumstances as well as the advent of democracy. In addition, the growing move by Europe and the United States of America (USA) to impose tighter restrictions on migration has forced work seekers to turn their attention to other potential destinations. People migrate for different reasons; some, such as refugees and asylum seekers are forced by difficult circumstances including wars, natural disasters, economic hardship and political repression whilst others choose to migrate in search of economic opportunities. Various forms of migrancy, whether coerced or out of choice, have been present across Africa for sometime. During the colonial era many Africans, especially young men, were forced into labour migrancy to serve the needs of colonial enterprises. This mainly took the form of internal migration, although the gold mining industry of South Africa recruited migrant workers from across the Southern African region. After the collapse of apartheid, South Africa quickly established itself as an integral part of the African community nation which together with its status as the continent's trading economy made it hugely attractive to job seekers.

Ghana has a long tradition of labour migrancy (Adams Jnr., 2006; Bump, 2006; Mazzucato et al., 2004b; Yeboah, 1986). For a long time internal migrancy, from rural to urban areas, was a key feature of the country's labour market. More recently, Ghana has experienced a significant growth in international migrancy (Adams Jnr., 2006; Bump, 2006). Skilled workers and professionals dominated early flows in the

1960 from Ghana, but by the 1980s, many semi-skilled and unskilled workers also chose to migrate to other parts of Africa, Europe and North America (Bump, http://www.migrationinformation.org/issue_sep04.cfm). According to (Yeboah, 1986) a major factor behind the increase in Ghanaians' migration was the economic crisis of the 1980s. At that time the country was pursuing an International Monetary Fund/World Bank-sponsored Structural Adjustment Programme, which led the government to introduce a flexible exchange rate system and removed subsidies from agriculture, health and education sectors (Yeboah, 1986; Plisnier-Billings, 2003). Basic amenities became very expensive and many people were also retrenched. One of the main consequences of these policies in 1997 was 20% increase in unemployment (Theodora, http://www.theodora.com/wfb1999/rankings/unemployment_rate_O.html) and that in turn, caused a rapid growth of the informal economy and also forced Ghanaians to seek employment opportunities outside the country (Bump, 2006). Today, Ghanaians are present throughout Africa and although exact figures are unavailable, researchers have confirmed the presence of Ghanaians workers at universities outside Ghana (Adams Jnr., 2006; Bump, 2006) and this suggests the outward migration of skilled workers and professionals.

Official estimates suggest that anything between 10-20% of Ghana's total population live abroad. Recent figures show approximately 2 million Ghanaians resident abroad, mainly in the USA and Europe (http://www.ghana.gov.gh/news/article.php?id). According to Bump (2006), in 2001, forty-one percent of Ghanaian migrants were in Nigeria and in other Non-European Communities.

The increase in global labour migration over the past couple of decades has also resulted in the massive growth in remittance that is money being repatriated by migrant workers to their home countries. Remittances are increasingly perceived as an important contributor both to global capital flows and to the income of many countries from the developing world. Globally, remittances totalled almost $276 billion in 2006 (World Bank, 2006). Across Latin America, remittances hit $62 billion and are projected to top $100 billion by 2010 (Inter-American Development Bank). Nearly $22 billion cash earned in the USA by Mexicans was transferred to relatives back home. Remittances sent by Mexicans are larger than direct foreign

investment in Mexico (World Bank, Global Economic Prospects, 2006). According to the World Bank, India is the world leader in receiving remittances, taking in $23.7 billion in 2005 and an estimated $26.9 billion in 2006. Remittances sent to Ghana have similarly increased in recent times. Migrants' remittances increased from $201.9 million in 1990 to $4.5 billion in 2005 making it the largest foreign exchange earner (Sophism, http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/artikel.php?ID=106354). According to Sophism, 30% of the above amount ($1.5 billion) is individuals' remittances whiles the remaining amount came from religious and Non-Governmental Organisations as remittances to churches for distribution to members who are in dire need of financial assistance.

In 2001, foreign remittances to Ghana amounted to $400 million but sharply increased to $2 billion in 2003 and then to $4 billion in 2004 (http://www.ghana.gov.gh/news/article.php?id). It was projected that remittances from Ghanaians resident abroad would likely reach a record of between $7 billion and $8 billion in 2007(ibid). Remittances thus play an increasingly important role in relation to the economies of those developing countries, like Ghana, which have high levels of labour migrancy. According to Adams Jnr. (2006), remittances reduce the level, depth and severity of poverty in Ghana. His study shows that international remittances reduce the severity of poverty more than internal remittances because the former provides some relief to families in the country.

Given the background, this research assesses the practices of remittance of Ghanaians involved in labour migrancy in the informal economy in Johannesburg.

Aim of the Research

Due to globalisation, there has been increase in labour migrancy across the world (Adams Jnr., 2006). Migrant labourers are in search of jobs that will offer better opportunities in their new places of residence. Consequently, there has been a growing significance of remittances sent to family members in countries of origin. However, remittances by migrants from Sub-Sahara Africa have received little

attention thus far (Sander and Maimbo, 2003). Similarly, there have been few studies on remittance practices by Ghanaian migrants in South Africa. Therefore, this study aims to explore remittance practices of Ghanaian migrants employed in the informal sector in Johannesburg.

Main Question

What remittance practices are used by Ghanaians employed in the informal economy in South Africa and what are the reasons behind their choices of particular remittance practices?

The study investigated the practices of remittances by Ghanaian labour migrants involved in the informal economy in Johannesburg. The research also explored how employment conditions, gender, family circumstances, and income levels affected the practices of remittances. The project focused on the following objectives:

1. To explore the nature of these remittances and the frequency with which they are sent.
2. To identify the channels which Ghanaian migrant workers use to send remittances?
3. To examine the different forms of remittances sent home

In addition, the study also explored:

a) The conditions and nature of Ghanaian migrants' work in the informal economy in Johannesburg

b) Why they migrate to work in South Africa.

Rationale

The remittance behaviour of Ghanaian migrants employed in the formal and informal economy in Europe, USA and some parts of Africa such as Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Cameroun, Somalia has been well documented (Adams Jnr., 2006; Mazzucato, 2005;

Oronzo, 2001; Pendleton, et al., 2006; Shady, 2003; Stark, 1991; Suro and Bendixen, 2001). But there remains a big gap in the literature on the remittance behaviour of Ghanaian migrants in the in South Africa. This study aims to contribute to filling this gap by focusing it attention particularly on those Ghanaian migrants employed in the informal sector in Johannesburg.

It is common knowledge that informal sector immigrants and migrants from Southern African Development Community (SADC) send money or goods or both through informal channels such as cross-border bus drivers and personal delivery by migrants (Maphosa, 2005). Apart from the high cost of formal transmission channels, geographical proximity has contributed to the high increase in the use of these informal channels (Genesis Analytics, 2003). Since these channels are not generally available because of the long distance between Ghana and South Africa, these migrants may be forced to use the more expensive formal channels or personal contacts to send their remittances. In investigating these alternative channels, this study will help broaden the knowledge on strategies used by migrants who have very limited ways of sending something to their families members back home.

Even though a lot has been said about the impact of remittances on the recipient thereof (Adams Jnr. 2006; Taylor and Fletcher, 2003; Stark, 1991), it remains important to know the importance migrants attach to the practice. Further, the research has been particularly, interested in explaining the centrality of the supposed 'family contract' in determining remittances.

Previously, the vast majority of labour migrants were male but in recent years women have become increasingly involved in this activity, either as lone migrants or with their partners. This new development of women migration has been termed as the feminisation of migration, which has been observed regionally and internationally (Akileswaran, 2004). The International Organisation of Migration (IOM, 2003) reported that migrant labour, women in particular, in host countries occupy the lowest and most exploited strata in the global division of labour, which is evidenced by their heavy employment in menial jobs that are lowly-skilled and lowly-paid. For this reason the study will give some attention to the position of female Ghanaian labour migrants in Johannesburg, although this will not be the main focus of the research.

According to Webster and Von Holdt (2005:27), there are about 2.2 million people involved in the informal economy in South Africa. These people are faced with many challenges mainly, lack of access to funding because most of them lack collateral. Skinner's study (2002) found that the informal economy entails a number of activities rather than one economy.

Research Methodology

This section discusses the methods used in the research. Snowball sampling and semi structured interview guide were employed to collect qualitative data to examine the remittance practices used by Ghanaian migrants in the informal economy. The background, justification, procedures, method of data analysis and limitation of the study are discussed below.

Through snowball sampling technique, 20 respondents were selected. The snowball sampling technique was used to collect a sample population of twenty (20) migrant workers who have different family circumstances for example, those who are married, single as well as those with their partners in South Africa. Of the total sample size, five (5) were female. Snowball is "a method for identifying and sampling the cases in a network" (Neuman, 1997:207). It is sometimes called network chain, referral, or reputation sampling (ibid). Snowball sampling is used in studies where it is "difficult to find a population", and thus there is no sampling frame (Bernard, 2000).

The main reason for using this sampling technique is that, it is the most realistic (technique) to use given that there is no sampling frame available and also, the migrants are scattered all over Johannesburg. Advantage of snowball sampling is that, it provides for relatively easy access to the population in different workplaces to be visited in the course of this study. Its disadvantage is that, it leads the researcher to people of the same group known to each other who may not want to disclose more of their activities.

At the time of interviewing, these individuals were between the ages of 26 and 48 and engaged in various activities such as hairdressing, barbering, internet café operating, shoe and bag repairing, tailoring, trading, clothing and designing. Their work places are in Johannesburg suburbs of Braamfontein, Berea, Parktown and Yeoville.

Qualitative research technique, also known as "the interpretative approach" was chosen as the key strategy for the study because it involves an in depth understanding of human behaviour and the reasons that govern human behaviour (Mouton and Marais, 1988). The various reasons why qualitative method was chosen are; it may be supportive to have a one-on-one conversation with a respondent where questions and responses are explained and investigated and also qualitative method attempt to make clear the reasons behind peoples' choices of particular remittance practices.

The qualitative method used for this research endeavoured to make known the association between remittance practices and reasons behind peoples' choices of a particular remittance practices. The results represent the responses of a small snowball sample of twenty Ghanaian involved in labour migrancy in the informal economy in Johannesburg and should not be used to generalize the entire population of Ghanaians in South Africa.

Information on remittance practices endures under reporting since most migrants refuse to give the actual amount sent. Especially, those who use unofficial channels for remitting do not keep records of their remittances. In order to be accepted, I approached these migrants with one common local language (Twi) spoken in Ghana so that the respondents would be comfortable. I used this language so that the migrants would not see me as a foreign but rather one of them and this in a way would enable them to open up to the researcher. Data collection techniques employed to gather raw data are discussed below:

Interviews were the main data collection instrument for this study. Interviews constitute a very effective qualitative research technique and are very common data collection techniques in social sciences. The choice of this data collection technique is influenced principally by the main aim of the study, that of, investigating the remittance practices of Ghanaian labour migrants involved in the informal economy

in Johannesburg. An advantage of interviews is that, it allows you to discover how individuals think and feel about issues and why they are reluctant to disclose their opinions on certain topics. It limitations are that, it is very costly and time consuming.

A semi-structured interview guide that comprised demographic details and a consent form were used throughout the research. It contained open-ended questions that were employed to get life experiences of these migrants in their own words. The open – ended questions provided for detailed information, making it possible for the researcher to gather specific information in considerable details and the advantage of open-ended questions is that, it does not force the participant to adapt to pre-conceived answers but to respond spontaneously. For Nachmias and Nachmias (1976), the researcher approaches a sample of individuals presumed to have undergone certain experiences. The attained responses constitute the data upon which the objectives of the study will be assessed. Consequently, face-to-face interviews were essential to obtain this information from respondents. Face to face interview (verbal questionnaire) though potentially time consuming, has a number of important advantages. It made it possible for the researcher to establish rapport with the respondents and also enable the researcher to probe in cases were answers needed elaboration or clarity. This type of interview also has the advantage of making it possible for one to observe the surroundings.

The interviews were conducted at respondents' places of work. All interviews were done in one Ghanaian local language (Twi), which is commonly spoken back home. The researcher did administering of the research instrument and this lasted for about 50 minutes. Respondents were assured that, their real names will not be used for the study as a result they were requested to read and sign the consent form that informed them of the objectives of the research, their guaranteed confidentiality and the duration of the interview. Furthermore, they were notified that there were no benefits attached to their involvement in the research and their choice of terminating their involvement anytime without being reprimanded was also guaranteed. The guiding questions were composed of a list of 43 questions and most of these questions were open-ended. The questions were divided into five broad sections: Personal Profile, Migrancy, Social Status, Economic Status and Remittance Behaviour. Though the

instrument was a guide, some of the questions were asked in addition to those appearing on the questionnaire.

Challenges

Owing to the economic deterioration and loss of livelihoods, many Ghanaians were forced to migrate to other parts of the world, including South Africa. These migrants have been termed economic migrants in South Africa because of the difficulties resulting from having to distinguish them from the 'genuine' asylum seekers. Because most of these migrants are in hidden communities, collecting information becomes very challenging job as a result of their mobility, insecurity of employment and mistrust of strangers. This is consistent with the findings of The Solidarity Peace Trust (2004) that, it is difficult to access people who spend much of their time trying to avoid detection from anyone they suspect can cause their deportation. The Trust also documented that working with a hidden community limits the nature of the investigations that are possible.

Research among Ghanaian migrants proved to be very challenging. I ended up explaining at length that I was a student and that I would not create any threat to these Ghanaian migrants. Notwithstanding the fact that I explained what the study was meant for, some of these migrants were still not satisfied. I attended one of their monthly meetings at the residence of one of the executives of GHAJOSA, hoping to interview some of these migrants after I have been introduced to the meeting. However, I did not succeed because they perceived me to be government official. So I managed to contact two executive members who they (migrants) were accustomed to, to explain to them that I would not endanger their safety. What I studied to have been the most important influence on the refusal of these migrants to be part of the study process was that, they consulted each other first before taking a decision. This means that they have a very strong social network.

The study observed different scenario at one respondent's office when the investigator was introduced to other migrants in the informal economy. These migrants did not seem to have problems with being interviewed. This supports evidence finding that

there are multiple possible influences on the interaction and the path of talk that makes interviews (Rapley, 2004). Rapley further stated that, recruitment conversation, the physical space, the introduction, status of the researcher as well as gender and many other factors needed to be considered when preparing to interview prospective respondents.

Follow up interviews with these migrants in the inner cities are very complex, as they (migrants) perceived the researcher as one of state officials. This confirms an observation by Jacobsen and Landau (2003) when they studied foreign migrants living in inner city of Johannesburg. Ghanaians in Johannesburg were no different as they were of an unknown number. Getting estimates of the accurate figure of Ghanaians had been difficult and unreliable given the over estimation or under estimation by the Ghanaian Association in Johannesburg and Surrounding Areas (GHAJOSA).

Thematic Analysis

Respondents' responses are arranged thematically into six groups, which reflect Labour migration from Ghana, Social profile of migrants, respondents' remittance practices, motivating factors for remitting, channels used and frequency of remittances. Pseudonyms have been used for all the respondents while quoting from interviews in this document to avoid treating them simply as 'research subject' and therefore giving them the human face they have.

Thematic analysis was chosen because it is more explanatory than content analysis and also it aims to understand the data rather than know the data. Information is explained through key themes that arose in the course of the study and that are related to the research questions. Thematic analysis provides a good evaluation track. For example, key points of the raw interview data are taken to stress some of the points in the themes. Marks and Yardley (2004) observed that, the criteria for good thematic analysis are its ability for introspection where the researchers think about their own experiences in relation to the research question and looking at power relations in a particular set of circumstances.

Thematic analysis has its own advantages and disadvantages. It provides a meaningful and organised structure of the research work and because of its richness, insightfulness and complexity; it can also be used for theory construction (Marks and Yardley, 2004). Its disadvantage is that, it can be time consuming, its reliability can be difficult to demonstrate and that data may be little or too superficial to allow full thematic analysis (ibid, 2004).

Procedure

The semi-structured interview guide was initially experimented on four colleagues who presented opinions on how some of the questions have been phrased and it was obvious that these questions need to be restructured in order to portray the clear meaning of those questions.

I contacted the GHAJOSA and a migrant and after that referrals made by respondents were pursued to broaden the population. Thereafter, respondents were requested to be sincere in the interest of helping the investigator and in turn, they were assured of confidentiality. Each migrant was asked to read and sign a consent form before commencement of interview.

Limitations of the study

The time and space are limited to undertake more representative study for that matter, only 20 respondents were interviewed for the study and this may not be representative of all Ghanaians migrant workers in South Africa. However, their different experiences to capture will enhance the understanding of the subject.

Some participants demonstrated signs of mistrust and accordingly it is likely that some of them would not have given truthful answers to the rather susceptible questions posed and on the other some honestly stated that they now felt “fatigue” as a result, these respondent too might not have applied their minds fully to the questions asked.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

The main purposes of this chapter are to briefly define international migration, discuss global statistics on migration and also to explore the main trends of modern international migration and remittance practices. Recent literature on global migrancy has begun to interrogate the significance and nature of migrancy. Several factors have been identified for the persistence and growth of remittances. Authors such as Gunstille, 1986; Laguerre, 1999; Van Hear, 2003 have suggested that social, economic and political factors have to be taken into account when trying to understand the global phenomenon of migration and remittances.

International Migration

Global migration entails the movement of people, goods and services across national borders. Bedford (1992) perceives global migration as one of several types of resources transferred between nations. According to Bedford, global migration is not just the movement of people across border but also include the movement of goods, services and skills. People migrate for various reasons such as economic, political and/or social. Most people engage in labour migration for the well being of families left behind as well as for the development of countries of origin (Mazzucato, 2005).

Although an accurate figure of international migrants in the world is unavailable, it has been estimated that there are 150 million people living outside their countries of origin, and thus makes up about 2.5% of the world's total population (Doyle, 2002; IOM, 2003). While this number may appears huge, immigrants form only a small proportion of the total population in their respective host countries. They subsequently often become an immigrant minority group in their countries of new residence. Similarly, Castles and Davidson (2000) argue that, millions of people moving across

national boundaries often end up as distinct ethnic communities, which may in certain circumstances become immigrant ethnic minorities.

Two of the most important studies on global migration patterns have been those by Castles and Miller (1993) and Cohen (1992). Castles and Miller (1993) have recorded the geographical direction of modern migration movement since 1973, whereas Cohen (1992) examined four major directions of migration patterns since the post-1945 period. Firstly, the periods of 1945-1975 saw the importation of third world laborers to Europe and USA. Secondly, the periods again saw migrants emigrating within third world countries then thirdly, they (migrants) moved to export oriented industries in the 'Newly Industrialized Countries' (NICs). This was followed by attraction of managerial, professional and unskilled workers to oil-rich countries. Finally and very recently, migrants relocate to the so-called 'world-cities' linked both to changes in the internal labour markets, and to illegal and contract migration. Castles and Davidson (2000) seem to agree with Cohen (1992), highlighting two distinct periods of migration flow notably; the period of postwar economic boom in Western countries which attracted labour from under developed countries, and from mid-1970s when new immigration countries emerged in Southern Europe, Latin America, the gulf oil-rich region, Asia and Africa. In the same line of thought, White (1993) delineates three waves of international migration that is, from labour migration, to family reunion and lastly to post-industrial movement. White (1993) contends that the increasing wave of global migration particularly, asylum seekers can be attributed to the more restrictive immigration policies forcing would-be immigrants to attempt to claim refugee status.

Whereas few changes have occurred in the flow direction of worldwide migration, it continues to change the demographic structure of most classical immigration and emigration countries. In classical immigration countries like the United Kingdom, the USA, Canada, Australia and Germany, their populations contain many immigrants from elsewhere (Zlotnik, 1992). For instance, during the past six year, the USA and Western Europe have been receiving 27% and 21% respectively of the world's international migrants, and the USA Census Bureau projections estimated that if the trend continues, the USA population will grow by 129 million from 2000 to 2050

(Doyle, 2002). In emigrating countries, economic, political and demographic implications are obvious (Martin, 1993). The routes of modern global population movement continue to flow towards more developed and industrialized regions, and in better off countries than immigrants' countries of origin (Bump, 2006; Mazzucato, 2005). However, this is not to ignore Ravenstein's law of migration (Bogue, 1969) that; for every flow of migration, there is a counter flow. Therefore, while the main flow of migration stream is towards developed and industrialized regions, counter flows to underdeveloped and less industrialized regions continues in the form of human and technical aid, researchers, tourist, and for business reasons.

In the last 30 years, the USA has experienced large influxes of immigrants from all over the world particularly, Latin American, Asian and African countries (Zlotnik, 1992; Castles and Miller, 1993). Virtually, all of Northern and Western European countries have experienced increase in their immigrant population especially after the years following the World War II. For example, by 1970 alone there were twelve million immigrants in Europe (Castles and Davidson, 2000), and by the 1980s there were over 15 million immigrants in the USA (Peach, 1992). In 1970s, developments in the Middle East saw most countries in the region both as 'receiving and sending' countries of population (Castles and Miller, 1993; King and Rybaczuk, 1993). For instance, by the mid-1970s some 748, 000 workers from other Muslim countries entered the oil-rich Saudi Arabia (Cohen, 1992). Also, millions of Turks migrated from their country to work as migrant labourers in Germany and other Western European countries. Subsequent to the end of labour recruitment system, family reunion, and refugees' movement maintained the flow of population towards industrialized and developed regions. At the same time, Iranians and Kurdish refugees, persecuted ethnic Turks, and Muslims in Eastern Europe, saw a safe shelter in Turkey. Jordon and Syria, play hosts to large numbers of Palestinian refugees, whereas oil-rich Kuwait and Saudi Arabia are acting as hosts to many Arabs and Asians following the oil boom of the 1970s (Castles and Miller, 1993).

Japan, Taiwan and Singapore emerging industrial powers in Asia are hosting millions of immigrants seeking employment and a better life. In Latin America, the main flow

of migration has been towards North America however, Venezuela, Brazil and Argentina are also immigrant receiving countries.

In Africa, colonialism had established a migrant labour system, which directed the stream of migration flow towards the plantations and the mines of the continent. Castles and Miller (1993: 7) have argued that "the largest internal recruitment system was set up by South Africa, and continues to function in a modified form." An historical overview of cross border migration in Southern Africa particularly to South Africa has been observed by Crush (2000). Crush examined that "Cross border migration between South Africa and its neighbors is nothing new…in its modern form, migration to South Africa from the region dates back more than 150 years" (Crush, 2000: 12). Gay (2000) explored the migratory relationships and networks within the Southern African region, and found that frequent visits to South Africa, ease of traveling in the region, employment opportunities, and pioneer workers play contributory factors to the high rates of influxes of immigrants into South Africa. Other scholars in the sub-region have been more focused on the migration of citizens from particular countries into South Africa. de Vletter (2000) for example, explores labour migration from Mozambique to South Africa, Zinyama (2000) examines cross border movement from Zimbabwe to South Africa, Dodson (2000) focuses on Lesotho, Mozambicans and Zimbabwean women into South Africa and, Frayne and Pendleton (2000) looked at Namibian immigration into South Africa. Until recently, there has been a shift from the continent's mines and plantations to the major industrial centers and cities of Africa. Particularly, the Johannesburg metropolitan centers with its industries and factories have been among the most noticeable.

Causes of Labour Migration

Migration is simply defined as the movement of people from one place to another. People migrate for different reasons, being it economic, political and/or social. Economic meltdown takes various forms. For instance, if there is high rate of unemployment and lack of services or social amenities in a particular country, people would want to start a new life elsewhere. Hussein (1993) found in his study on labour migration in West Africa that the primary reasons behind people's decision to migrate

were economic distress in their home countries and the possibility of finding better economic conditions elsewhere. Schiller and Fouron's (2001) study of Haitian immigrants in the USA indicated that most Haitians migrated to the USA to seek better opportunities.

Scholars of migration have pointed to several factors that contribute to global migration and one of the most common general explanations provided is the "push-pull model. (Castles and Miller, 1993; Bogue, 1969; Clifford, 1994; Golini, Bonifazi and Righi, 1993). In the USA, were the studies of Foner (1987a), Marshall (1987), Kraly (1987), Schiller and Fouron (2001). More focused in Africa are among researchers like: Hussein (1993), Mitchell (1989), Rogerson (1997a), Boullion (1999a), Peberdy (1999), MacGaffey and Bazenguissa-Ganga (2000) studies in Europe have been influential in international migration studies. In this section, most of the relevant push-pull factors will be critically examined and relate them to Ghanaians migration to South Africa.

Economic survival has been one of the main reasons for international migration over the past two decades. Movements in search for better economic conditions are in the increase in West Africa and the desire for economic progress seems to be one of the major motives for migration and these categories of migrants are termed '*economic refugees*[1]*'(*Hussein, 1993; Sassen, 1996). Mitchell (1989: 36) comments that the evidence from Africa tends to show that, "Africans rarely travel long distances if they can make money under satisfactory conditions at home." Mitchell's observation supports the argument that movements induced by economic motives are vital factor making for migration in Africa. In Ghana, economic retrogression, reinforced by seriously deteriorating humanitarian conditions, has created an unfriendly economic atmosphere in the country (Adams Jnr. 2006; Mazzucato, 2005; Yeboah, 1986). Similarly, Schiller and Fouron (2001) in their studies on Haitian immigrants in the USA demonstrated that high rate of Haitian immigrants in the country came about as deteriorating economic conditions in Haiti, acting as a push factor whereas improved socio-economic environment in the USA acted as a pull factor for these immigrants.

[1] Sassen, (1996) defines economic refugees as people driven by "larger geopolitical and transnational economic dynamics" (p.66) which "produces conditions under which poverty or lack of opportunities for advancement can be activated as migration push factors" (p.76).

Another cause of migration is political instability, which according to Loescher (1992), may include: civil wars, military coups, disturbances before, during and post elections, deprivation of political rights and persecution. For instance in Nigeria, military coups and take over of government and troubles that follow party politics have thrown the country into a continuous state of chaos as a result, people from such country would travel to countries that are peaceful (Hussein, 1993). Another example is in the works of Loescher (1992) who found out that the collapse of former Yugoslavia as a result of civil wars, made the people in the country to seek shelter in Germany and Hungary. In addition to the aforementioned examples, civil wars in Angola, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi and Mozambique, all in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) made millions of people to relocate in the region. Hussein (1993:14) has argued that, "In Southern Africa, civil strife has displaced thousands of people; this too underlines the central role which political factors play in the movement of the region's people." Consequently, these people who therefore become potential migrants will like to move to places where politics are relatively stable. It is well established that globally, political instability is one of the most important causes of movement and displacement of people (Hussein, 1993).

Social factor also influence people's movement. When people suffer from social discrimination, a consequential of economic and political eliminations tends to move elsewhere compared to those that are not. A good illustration is the first group of Indians who came to the Natal colony as labourers in the sugarcane plantations (Hussein, 1993). These Indians suffered from economic and political discrimination in their country and Hussein's (1993: 7) observation with these particular Indians reflected as, "Recognizing that they could not improve their lot in any significant way in their homeland, they chose to relocate to Natal and attempt to build a brighter future." South Eastern Nigerians who suffered from both socio-economic and political discriminations, travelled to other places as better choice of relocating (Hussein, 1993). Thus, a combination of economic, political and social factors highlighted above account for people to explore other places outside their countries of origin.

International Remittances

Scholarly studies on remittances have demonstrated that migrants across the world send resources to family members and loved ones in countries of origin (Adams Jnr., 2006; Addison, 2004; Bump, 2006; Oronzo, 2001; Pendleton et al., 2006; Suro and Bendixen, 2001). Oronzo (2001) found that migrants from Latin America and the Caribbean, and the Philippines in the USA actually sent more money (i.e. US$) than other migrants in other part of the world. Suro and Bendixen (2001) found that migrants in the USA send large sum of remittances to countries like Paraguay, Haiti, Mexico and to African countries like Ethiopia, Egypt and Somalia but the case of migrants from Latin America and the Caribbean is different in that they (migrants) remit a lot of money and goods and this size of remittances have doubled in 1990s. For instance, the Multilateral Investment Fund (MIF) in 2001 estimated a sum of US$13 billion transfer of money to Latin America and the Caribbean and for these senders, remittance is their main concern. This fits the findings by Suro and Bendixen (2001) that revealed that 48% of migrants from Latin America and the Caribbean see remittance as their priority. A labour migrant from Mexico expressed the widely held view regarding their commitment to support families in their home countries.

> "Before anything, I send them money because they count on it. Then afterwards I pay my bills, my rent, but the first thing I do is send it" (Suro and Bendixen, 2001:7).

Generally, there is no single definition of remittances and this reasoning ties with Taylor and Fletcher's (http://www.reap.ucdavis.edu/vol_two.html) contention that because there is no agreement on the definition of remittances it makes it very difficult to calculate approximately the entire worth of remittances sent to a particular region or country. While Van Doorn (http://www.ilo.org/public/english/dialogue/atrav/publ/129/8.pdf) views remittances as the transfer of cash or anything sent in-kind, Hsu (http://www.princeton_edu/jsu/writing/remittances_3.doc) sees remittance as "money" remitted by migrant labour to their families and communities back home. Adams Jnr (2006) cogently agreed with both definitions by defining remittances as

"money and goods" sent by migrant workers to relatives in countries of origin. The fact that at times migrants remit in kind (i.e. goods) presents further difficulty in estimating full value of the goods. Regardless of difficulty in estimation of remittance figures, research studies have estimated that in 2004, developing countries received an exceeded remittances of US$126 billion because globally, "remittances have more than doubled in value in the past decade" (Pendleton *et al*., 2006:8). They further provided estimation of remittance figures in the following various developing regions in 2005; "East Asia and the Pacific, Latin America and the Caribbean had about US$43 billion", emerging the highest receiving regions. "South Asia received approximately US$32 billion", "the Middle East and North Africa got US$21 billion", "Europe and Central Asia had US$20 billion while Sub-Saharan Africa the least receiving region, had US$8 billion showing 400% increase compared to US$2 billion in 1990" (Pendleton et al., 2006:9). According Bump (2006), official records from the Central Bank of Ghana estimated that remittances flow into the country in 2004 was about US$1.5 billion. In contrast, Mazzucato, *et al*. (2004b) studies among Ghanaian migrants overseas pointed out that unofficial remittances to the country can amount to 65% of total remittances sent because monies remitted in 2004 were approximately US$3 billion or more than 40% of the country's GDP. Report from the UNFPA (2006:12) also suggests that, remittances to Lesotho represent 26% of the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP). In comparative studies on African countries and other part of the world, Black *et al* (2003) demonstrated that in Africa, international remittances appeared to be much smaller than in any other part of the world. They revealed that total remittances only represented 10% of external finance in 2001, as against 63% in South Asia and 56% in the Middle East and North Africa. Further explanation provided by Black *et al*., (2003) for the smaller percentage of remittances to Africa was the reason that nearly two thirds of Sub-Saharan

countries do not report any data on remittances and also simply because most migrants send monies through friends and relatives.

Apart from migrants from Latin America and the Caribbean in the USA, Somali migrants in the USA also remit huge sums of money to country of origin (Shady, 2003). Shady's study shows that migrants are motivated by two factors to remit and these factors are; economic and socio-cultural inclinations. Economically, migrants send resources for the benefit of their families and also to support traditional marriages and cultural festivity. While Somali migrants dominate in remitting resources from the USA to their country of origin, migrants from Latin America and the Caribbean in the USA also are known to be leaders in sending remittance to family members back home (Shady, 2003; Suro and Bendixen, 2001).

Reasons for Remitting

A principal concern of this research has been to ascertain and discuss the persistence and growth of remittances by Ghanaian labour migrants. In other words, why do migrants remit? Recent trends have highlighted the persistently strong commitment of migrants to remittances, even among poorly paid workers who often have to make numerous sacrifices in the host countries to enable them to keep up remitting. Indeed the literature suggests a similar commitment to remittances among new and older migrants.

For Stark (1991), there are various reasons for remitting among migrants and these may be political, economic, social or cultural, or indeed a combination of all. The above reasons for remitting tie in neatly with basic elements of the concept of an "unwritten contract" as explained by Stark (1991). This "unwritten contract" is seen to be the central part of the practice of remittance among migrants in general. Migrants remit in order to maintain links with family members back home and also to fulfil commitments toward members of family. The unwritten contract could be seen as insurance for both migrants and family members. For instance, a family may invest in the education of a migrant or finance travelling cost for that reason the migrant would feel obligated to such family by sending remittances. A classic

example is Van Hear's (2003) study of Afghan, Sri Lankan and Palestinian refugees, which demonstrated that remittances were the primary form of transnational relations with family members back home. He further found the main reason for remitting by Afghans, Sri Lankan and Palestinian refugees as the need to assist households in difficult financial situations and also to fulfil commitment towards families in country of origin. This also fits the finding of Shady (2003) among Sudanese refugee in the USA.

Apart from unwritten social contract, there are various other reasons for which each individual or groups may remit, migrants are normally motivated by political, economic or social considerations. For instance, in the 1990s Haitians in the USA were known to be motivated by political inclinations to remit, and as such, remitted for the benefit of political parties and even funded the parties that they were affiliated to for national elections (Laquerre, 1999). A large number of remitters tend to be motivated by economic factors in order to make better their monetary situations through investment or raise the conditions of living of family members. Similarly, researchers have documented various reasons why migrants send money or goods or both to families back home. For instance, Glower (2003) observed Mexican immigrants in the USA remitted in order to build up their community, which they have planned to finally reside in. Also, Gunstille's (1986) studies among Asian migrants revealed that migrants sent remittances so that they could better off economic conditions faced by relatives in country of origin.

Another likely motivating factor for remitters could be social considerations and with this, remitters are motivated by the simple aspiration to keep in touch with their family members. These remitters sometimes remit in order to support cultural celebrations or developing infrastructure like road, communication, transportation and other social amenities home (Stark, 1991). In so doing they (migrants) feel a sense of belonging in assisting and developing their places of birth.

Sending money, goods or both back home is regarded as one of the most common forms of maintaining links with country of origin (Stark, 1991). They (migrants) maintain links with families in order to have a sense of belonging (Mazzucato, 2005). Migrants are usually motivated by economic factors to send financial benefit to

families back home. In such circumstances, the reason for remitting may be altruistic, or to invest in an income generating project for their own self-interest. Regarding altruism, a migrant may remit because of satisfaction he or she obtains from helping relatives. Altruistic reasons may include, sending money to family members who are in need of financial assistance. In such situations, monies sent are used for very basic necessities like clothing, medical bills, education and food. An example is the works of Suro and Bendixen (2001:5) who quoted one remitter regarding how the family used the money he remitted as follows;

> "My family members used the money I sent for food and the most basic of necessities and nothing else."

Also, love and a sense of belonging felt by migrants constitute altruistic reasons for sending money or good to relatives back home. Shady (2003) also argues along similar lines in his works on Sudanese refugees in the USA. He demonstrated that the refugees who sent money or goods or both back home perceived these resources as significant to meeting the immediate subsistence needs of relatives in country of origin. This finding supports Van Hear's (2003) study on Sri Lankan, Palestinian and Afghan refugees that revealed that remittances were major forms of transnational relations within families. Refugees remitted primarily to help relatives in dire need of financial assistance. Gunstille (1986) acknowledged that the economic push amongst Asian migrants in the Middle East who remitted did so to improve the lives of their families.

There are also those that are motivated by social and cultural reasons to remit, including the desire to promote their culture by contributing to cultural celebrations and in memory of the supposed "social contract" (Stark 1991). This social contract according to Stark is an unwritten contract or an agreement between the migrant and their families back home. By this contract, the migrants remit to family as a way of reimbursing the family for educating and taking care of them. The unwritten contract troubles the migrant with the liability of either 'paying back' the family for the payments of his\her education, or for providing him/her with insurance, should life become unbearable in due course in the host society or country of origin (Shady, 2003).

A mixture of altruism and pure self-interest is what Lucas and Stark (1991) termed as "enlightened self-interest" and the reasons for remitting are that of mutual benefit to both the migrants and their relatives. In this context, the migrants remit because of a sense of obligation to their families left behind, which in many instances raised the money to cover their (migrants) travelling expenditure in the first instance, and gave them their blessings. For that matter, these migrants do not remit base on love but because they consider it essential in meeting their own part of the bargain in the (so-called) "social contract" (Stark 1991).

According to (Adams, 2006; Shady, 2003; Stark, 1991), international remittance adds significantly to the international economy and comprises an important source of income for many households, and sometimes exceeds direct foreign investment particularly in poor countries. For example, in Latin America and the Caribbean, the level of remittances received is either equivalent to or surpasses the countries' own direct foreign investment as well as its total annual income and this demonstrates how far migrant remittance can go in terms of generating foreign exchange and savings (Suro and Bendixen, 2001).

Channels for Remitting

Research studies show that different channels are used for remitting both money and goods (Adams Jnr., 2006; Maphosa, 2005; Pendleton et al., 2006). Remittances are classified as either informal or formal depending on the type of channels used to transmit resources (Adams Jnr., 2006). Informal remittances entail resources sent through private money couriers, relatives and/or friends or sent home by migrants (McKinley, 2003; Orozco, 2000; Meyers, 1988) whereas formal remittances are channelled through bank transfers and other money transfers institutions (Adams Jnr., 2006).

***Informal Channels**:*

Studies have shown that most migrants across the world remit through unofficial channels because of high cost of commission charged for using official channels (Adams Jnr., 2006; Mazzucato et al., 2004a; Shady, 2003; Suro and Bendixen, 2001). Mostly, migrants transfer money or goods to family members through friends and relatives (Bump, 2006) and their choice of practice is simply because of cost related to sending money through banks and also lack of legal requirements.

Informal channels may be defined as transferring resources through personal delivery, cross-border transport operators or by the migrants themselves or collection of resources by beneficiary (Adams Jnr., 2006; Maphosa, 2005). These channels for remitting include the use of personal contacts. Studies on Asian migrants in the USA revealed that migrants transfer huge illegal amount through friends and relatives to family members back home (Carol, 2003).

Personal contact, another form of informal channel is the major channel used for sending money, goods or both to country of origin in both the context of internal and external remittances. Personal contact is the most popular channel among migrants in the context of external migration because some do not have the liberty to use the formal channel since they (migrants) do not meet the legal requirements in a particular host country (Mazzucato, 2005). Those who remit through this channel send resources through faithful friends, relatives or persons who are travelling back home.

Personal contact is noted to be a common channel used to remit by migrants in South Africa to other Southern African countries because most migrants within the region feel comfortable using the above named channel (Maphosa, 2005; Pendleton *et al*., 2006). Along the same line of thought, Mazzucato et al., (2004b) observed that majority of Ghanaian migrants in the Netherlands remitted through friends and relatives. Bump (2006) in his studies found similar trend among Ghanaian migrants in USA, the United Kingdom and Germany. It has therefore been documented that most migrants use unofficial channel to remit relatives back home (Bump, 2006; Maphosa, 2005).

***Formal Channels*:**

Scholars have also demonstrated that migrants globally transfer money or goods to members of family back home through official channels (Adams Jnr., 2006; Pendleton et al., 2006; Mazzucato et al., 2004b). Although it is very expensive remitting through official means, migrants do so because of reliability and convenience.

Formal channels consist of the transfer of resources through the banks, postal and other (air and/or sea) freight services. For instance, transfer of monies through the banks and post office make it possible for official evaluation of exact monies remitted. The most generally used systems of remitting and receiving money from country to country are the specialised money transfer institutions notably Swift, Money Transfer, Money Gram and Western Union, which are seen to be the reliable, fastest and convenient channels for remitting money. These last two (Money Gram and Western Union) institutions manage a very huge percentage of the remittance market in many countries. In the USA for example, they control over 41% of remittance market (Glover, 2003). This confirms Adams Jnr., (2006) findings that in Ghana, money transfer institutions (Money Gram and Western Union) control approximately 37% of remittance market. Although findings by Pendleton *et al.*, (2006) in the studies on African migrants in South Africa revealed insignificant percentage of the use of specialised money transfer organisations, some migrants remitted monies through banks and other money transfer institutions.

Suro and Bendixen (2001) found that the use of banks and other money transfer organisations as channels for sending money has increased significantly over the years with the strengthening of the international banking systems. For example, because of the strong banking relations between the United States' banks and banks in the regions, Latin America and the Caribbean in the USA had increasing number of migrants who used official channel to send money to families back home.

Freight service, another formal channel is commonly used for sending heavy goods for personal and business purposes. Air, sea or post office services are used to remit goods however, the use of these channels, which is normally a formal channel, could

also be categorized as an informal channel, when used in an unofficial method such as sending monies that are hidden in letters.

Forms of Remittance

Generally, there are two forms of remittances and these are cash and non-cash. Money is known to be a common form of remittances sent back home. Cash remittances involve sending of foreign currencies to family members and loved ones back home and the main reasons for sending cash are to assist in paying medical bills, school fees of siblings and other relatives, and also, to defray debts and funeral expenses while non-cash remittances entail building materials, electrical appliances, foodstuff like sugar, cooking oil, maize meal and other groceries (Adams Jnr., 2006; Mazzucato, 2005; Pendleton et al., 2006). Migrants across the world remit money and/or goods to family members. The findings of Pendleton et al (2006) of African migrants in South Africa indicated that these migrants remitted both cash and goods for similar purposes to families in countries of origin. Oronzo (2001) seems to agree with Pendleton *et al*., (2006) as his studies among the Latin Americans and the Caribbean in the USA found that migrants remitted relatives in order to settle bills and other expenses.

Money and goods can be remitted individually or collectively. It has been considered that the practice of remitting was an individual act and these individuals sent money, goods or both personally to their relative for different reasons notably; altruism, pure self-interest or both. These different reasons included to invest in business ventures, assist families or to meet social obligations such as payment of dowry for their fiancées. One of the most important forms of linkages between migrants and their relatives has been identified as the family remittance because it gives them (migrants) a sense of belonging. According to Orozco (2001), family remittances specifically constitute the most important factor in incorporating societies into the global context, economically and socially.

Apart from individual remittances, group remittances are made by migrants as members of associations which are called hometown associations. By definition,

hometown associations are collection of migrants from same neighbourhoods (back home) who raise resources together in order to assist in developing their communities (Maphosa, 2005). Current development in the practice of remittance has been that, more and more migrants remit to homelands as groups or do so under the banner of "hometown associations". Enthused by individual remittance, remittance by hometown associations have also been seen as part of an emergent trend in cross-border social movements that have been influenced by migration patterns and globalisation (Orozco, 2001). Ghanaian Associations play similar role as Mazzucato, *et al*. (2004a) observed among Akans (Tribe/clan in Ghana) in the Netherlands. Mazzucato, *et al* (2004a) found that these migrants pool resources together to assist to organising a migrant's close family member's funeral back home. In other developments, they (migrants) remit monies or goods for the development of their hometown or community (ibid). Similar study by Mazzucato et al., (2004b) on Ghanaian community in Amsterdam confirms the above findings of Mazzucato *et al*, (2004a). Remittances from such associations are for the advantage of the whole community of the migrants who make up the groups. Goods or money or both sent by such associations are focused in most situations, providing bursaries for the benefits of students within the community of migrants, community development projects, promoting and supporting cultural festivities in their hometowns.

Informal Economy

Data on nature and extent of informal activities engaged in by Ghanaian migrants is scarce. Various scholars (Rogerson, 1997a; Peberdy, 2000) have written on other African migrants in South Africa which provide some evidence on informal activities, cross-border trade and commodities traded but these studies are quiet on informal activities Ghanaian migrants are involved in. As a result, this study explored the conditions and nature of work by these migrants in the informal sector in Johannesburg, South Africa.

Generally speaking, there is no single definition of informal economy. Various writers have come up with different definitions of informal economy. During the 1970s and 1980s, the informal economy was widely defined as unregulated economic

enterprises or activities (Hart, 1973). In 1993, the International Conference of Labour Statistician (ICLS) adopted an international statistical definition of the informal sector so defined namely; all unregistered (or unincorporated) enterprises below a certain size, including (a) micro-enterprises owned by informal employers who hire one or more employees on a continuing basis; and (b) own-account operations owned by individuals who may employ contributing family workers and employees on an occasional basis (http://www.wiego.org).

According to Hart (1973), the term informal economy arose almost forty years ago to describe the unregulated activities of the Third World urban poor. Now it is seen as a threat to 'private sector development'. Business corporations are undermined by operators of this economy, who pay no taxes, evade costly regulations and take advantage of numerous devices, legal and illegal, to reduce their prices. Accordingly, whereas the informal economy was once seen as a positive factor in development, it is now more likely to be represented as an obstacle in an update of its former designation as the 'dangerous classes'. Today, however, the model of success is the well officious type of economy achieved by Western countries only in the second half of the twentieth century.

Informalisation is a process of income generation characterised by one central aspect; it is free by the institutions of society, in a legal and social environment in which related activities are regulated (Castells and Portes, 1996). This means that the key difference between the formal and informal economies is that the latter sells products without paying taxes which means that its functions as a gloom economy. These authors further argued that the "informal economy covers such range of conditions and activities that it correspond to a heterogeneous universe irreducible to any subset of specific rule of economic calculations" (ibid, 1996:26). Furthermore, they contended that in understanding the informal economy, there is a need to take into consideration the historical processes of the country. By so doing, it will allow the understanding of the regulations, economic and social changes that have taken place. This was stressed when these authors contended that informal economy marginalizes the socially vulnerable namely, female immigrant blacks and the uneducated.

For Hart (1973), the name informal may be accepted because it is both positive and negative. To operate informally is to be open and stretchy; but it also refers to what people are not doing – not wearing conventional dress, not being regulated by the state (Hart, 1973). The informal economy permits intellectuals and officials to include the crowded street life of exotic cities into their conceptual forms without having to know what people are really up to (ibid).

According to Amin (2002:3), the term informal economy is being used instead of informal sector because the informal economy covers the important degree of heterogeneity of the informal activities. The label informal economy "expresses the different economic potential". Mueller (2004) on one hand argues that, the term informal economy is used to indicate different industries that exist. Each industry is then comprised of the formal and informal activities and Skinner (2002) on the other stated that, the name informal economy means a number of activities rather than one. According to Philip (2005) informal economy activities are mainly for survival. He thus claims that it is premature to view these activities as one of the means of contributing to the future wealth of the formal economy and as a potential to create employment in South Africa. However, Hirschowitz (1991) sees these activities as potentials for job creation if the country provides a support base for these enterprises. Also, Rogerson (1993) argues that few people enter the informal economy out of choice but they are forced into it by the need to survive and that the growing unemployment rate is one of the main reasons that led them to the informal economy.

Over the years, many approaches have been evidence in the informal economy and the most recognised theoretical approaches among others are; the Neo-Marxists, the livelihoods strategy and the Neo-liberalist position. These theories discuss the role of the state, the socio-economic dynamics and the challenges confronted by the informal economy.

The Neo-Marxists perceive the informal economy as a subordinate part of the economy and a source of cheap labour for that matter; they have a negative perception about the informal economy. According to Webster and Von Holdt (2005:27) the informal economy is "increasingly marginalized under the impact of marketisation." These authors see the informal economy as being made up of poor workers or a

reserve army of labour and are therefore problematic to the rest of the working class. It is well established that those engaged in informal activities are at the bottom end of the market, marginalized and accept poor conditions of employment thus undermining the wages of those employed officially by accepting lower wages. Hence, the informal economy perpetuates bad working conditions, low wages and marginalization and will therefore certainly be wiped out by large firms once the market grows (Webster and Von Holdt, 2005).

The second approach, the livelihoods strategy contends that the informal economy is a "means of gaining a living, including livelihood capacities, tangible assets and intangible assets" (Grown and Sebstad, 1989:175). According to Carney (1998:4) "Livelihood comprises of capabilities, assets and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can deal with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base." This means that the livelihoods framework attempts to see individual involved in the informal economy in relation to their total social environment and analyses this environment. This therefore provides an analysis of the individual and "captures the nature of their participation in the economy and the contribution to the household, community and national income" (Friedman 1991: 175). Moreover, the livelihoods framework highlights that people make choices depending on a range of individual and household objectives. These individuals cannot afford accommodation in the city and in spite of this, wage employment or selling their labour in the informal economy becomes the alternative and an important survival strategy. This fits in with this research where for instance, migrants find themselves engaged in informal activities in order to survival and it is a goal of the study to seek to understand the extent to which conditions in the informal economy directly impact practice of remittance.

Lastly, the neo-liberal approach to the informal economy is mainly based on the World Bank and the ideas of Hernando De Soto (2000). They (World Bank and De Soto) view the informal economy as having skills that are very important for development in developing countries. They suggest that the factors that hinder development are government intervention and rigid state regulations. According to De Soto (2000), the informal economy is made up of individuals who have skills that

could be of benefit to the overall economy. Further, he argues that by giving poor secure property rights they would be able to generate further investments therefore generating a multiplier effect, producing economic growth in the developing world.

Definition of Concepts

Keywords: Remittance, migrant labour and informal economy.

Remittance: Remittances involve the sending of wealth from one town or country to the other. For Taylor and Fletcher (2003) remittances can be in the form of cash transfers or resources in kind, including skills, capital or consumer goods and technological knowledge. Remittance is not only an aspect of external migration however it can be internal act. It can also be personal or group act as well. The Merriam-Webster Dictionary of Law (1996) defines remittance as the act of transmitting money, bills, or the like, especially to a distant place, as in satisfaction of a demand, or in discharge of an obligation.

Migrant Labour: This can be viewed as a term that is concerned with the movement of people from one place to the other (i.e. from rural areas to urban areas or from one country to another country) in search for employment. The Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (7th Edition) defines migrants as the movement of people from one place to another, especially, in order to find work.

Informal Economy: According to Hart (1973), informal economy is unregulated economic enterprise or activities. Informal economy entails people with activities that are unregistered and unprotected. Therefore, there is lack of social and legal protection of workers rights. In 1993, the International Conference of Labour Statistician (ICLS) adopted an international statistical

definition of the informal sector so defined; namely, all unregistered (or unincorporated) enterprises below a certain size, including (a) micro-enterprises owned by informal employers who hire one or more employees on a continuing basis; and (b) own-account operations owned by individuals who may employ contributing family workers and employees on an occasional basis (http://www.wiego.org).

Conclusion

Literature from different academic disciplines on remittance practices has been presented. The literature highlighted migrants all over the world engage in remittances with different motivating factors for sending money or goods or both to families in countries of origin. Interviews with respondents for the study proposed related desires and reasons for remitting among migrants in other part of the world. The work presented in the literature review provides the following: Self-interest, Altruism and "Enlightened" self-interest (combination of Self-interest and Altruism) being the common reasons for migrants to remit and since the main concern of migrants is to better the living conditions of family member and also to invest in assets for personal benefits back home, this study sought to explore the motives for which Ghanaians migrant labour would like to send money or goods or both to relatives and loved one in country of origin.

Various scholars have defined informal economy and the term informal has been used to represent illegal economic activities, legal but unregulated activities and activities that are not regulated by governments and in the context of this study, all these definitions are applicable. The next chapter discusses Ghanaian migrants in South Africa.

Chapter 3

Ghanaian Migrants in South Africa

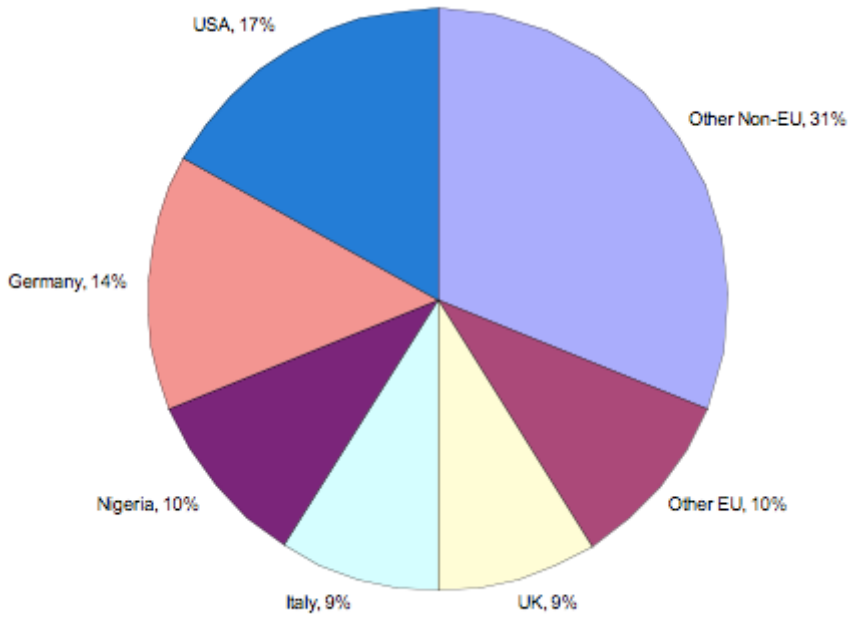
This chapter provides an overview of the patterns of migration of Ghanaians with special attention to South Africa. Using the conventional "push-pull" model as discussed in the previous chapter, the chapter also explains the profile of Ghanaian migrants, living and working conditions and their (migrants) social networks.

Ghanaian Labour Migrants

Ghana gained its independence from colonial governance in 1957. The country's economy boomed in the first six to seven years after independence as a result of its cocoa production but thereafter the economy and social conditions took a turn for the worse (Yeboah, 1986). Hindered by a balance of payments deficit, rising unemployment, and increasing levels of crime and smuggling, Ghana suddenly became an unattractive destination and a challenging place to live and work for its citizens. This turnaround ushered in a period of heightened emigration that has continued until today (Adams Jnr. 2006). During the early stages of the economic downturn, several newly independent countries in the region capitalized on the country's woes and hired Ghanaian professionals to assist in their development. Emigration of teachers, doctors, administrators, and lawyers to Uganda, Botswana, Nigeria, and Zambia characterized these initial emigrant flows (ibid). In the 1980s many skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers chose to leave to European countries and the United States for "greener pastures" (Yeboah, 1986). By mid 2001, it was

estimated that between three and five million of Ghana's approximately 20 million people were living abroad (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. Main Countries of Residence for Ghanaian Migrants, 2001



Source: Commission of the European Communities: Eurostat, Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute (NIDI). 2001. Push and Pull Factors Determining International Migration Flows, "**Why and Where: Motives and Destinations.**"

Ghanaians started migrating to the UK since the 1960s and have registered a steady increase over the past 15 years (Bump, 2006). For instance, the 2001 census of England and Wales identified an increase of 9% of Ghanaians since the 1990s. Now it is estimated that Ghanaians represent the United Kingdom's largest and longest-standing African migrant community (Bump, 2006). In 2001, the number of Ghanaians in Nigeria increased to 10% and 31% in other non European communities as depicted in the chart above. This growth can be attributed to the strong social networks among these Ghanaian migrants because social networks are important for the expansion of circular migration (Yeboah, 1986; Mazzucato et al., 2004a; Adams Jnr., 2006; Bump, 2006).

Bump (2006) also shows that there are sizable Ghanaian populations in Germany, the Netherlands, and Italy. In 2004, the 20,000 Ghanaians in Germany made them the third-largest African community after Moroccans and Tunisians. Even though Ghanaians continued to migrate to other West African countries, a larger number have left the region than in the past (Bump, 2006). In the 1990s, Ghanaians were mostly found in the following West African countries; Côte d'Ivoire, Togo, and Nigeria, for economic and social gains and geographical proximity and cultural ties have been the predominant factors dictating migration flows between Ghana and its West African neighbours (Bump, 2006). Thus, Togo and Burkina Faso, which share not only common boundaries but also common ethnic affiliations with experienced significant migration to Ghana (ibid). Common colonial ties in terms of language and government also account for historical flows of Ghanaian migrants to Nigeria (Bump, 2006; Yeboah, 1986). At present, smaller numbers of Ghanaians are present throughout Africa. Exact figures are unavailable, but various studies have confirmed the presence Ghanaians at universities and in other professions across the continent (Bump, 2006; McDonald et al., 1999).

South Africa: A New Destination

Cross-border migration within the Southern African region, mainly to South Africa is not a recent phenomenon (McDonald et al., 1999; Rogerson, 1997a). Sources of migrant labour to South Africa originate primarily from the country's traditional supply areas, the Southern African Development Community – SADC, (Rogerson, 1997a; Peberdy and Rogerson, 2002). Since the discovering of minerals in the 1870s and 1880s, contract mineworkers started working in the gold and diamond mines of South Africa (Peberdy, 1999). The South African Migration Project (SAMP) research findings show that the long history of cross-border migration in the region has resulted in most citizens of the region having at least one blood relative, parent and/or grand parents who have worked in South Africa (McDonald *et al*, 1999; Peberdy and Rogerson, 2002). The reasons for the high numbers of SADC citizens entering and/or resident in South Africa are quite clear. Geographical proximity to these African countries is one key factor explaining this fact. This reasoning ties with the arguments

that immigrant population originates primarily from the same geographical area (Adams Jnr., 2006; Gomel, 1992; Yeboah, 1986).

Migrants in South Africa found the place to be their new haven as improved technology has made things cheaper, faster and easier. For instance, respondents could easily contact their relatives back home through telecommunication. In addition, improved transport networks and better social economic facilities have facilitated their dealing with one another in times of need. Richard, a hairdresser/barber, aged 32 years and married stated that, "One day, I was really in need of money to pay for goods that will be delivered to me. I gave a Ghanaian brother a call and he asked me to come at a particular time else I will not meet him in the house but because of the improved transport network here, I was able to get to my brother before the appointed time. This would have been a different story back home Madam, because one has to own his/her car or join a public transport very early enough before one could meet an appointed time." According to another respondent, Dorman, a 46-year old clothing designer and married, South Africa is so strong that one could use small amount of money to purchase a lot of food and groceries. He described how he uses small amount to buy groceries. He reported that, "Sister, I normally spend R100 on groceries and uses them for three weeks however, this amount which is equivalent to 12.00 New Ghana cedis can not be used to purchase groceries that will last for so long in Ghana." The study found that migrants were able to contact each other in times of need due to improved communication and technological advances. Further, economic facilities in South Africa have also made these migrants not to move to elsewhere.

Labour Migration from Ghana

In migration studies, 'push-pull theory' argues that immigrants and migrants have reasons why they decide to leave their country (push factors) while at the same time, have reasons why they choose a new country to live in (pull factors) (Castles and Miller, 1993). This approach is relevant in the case of Ghanaian migrants in South Africa because it is possible to identify the reasons why these migrants left their country of origin and why they chose South Africa as their place of destination.

The collapse of the apartheid regime has to a greater extent contributed to the recent influx of Ghanaians coming to South Africa. Since the opening of South Africa's doors to the rest of the international community, Ghanaian migrants saw South Africa as their new economic haven and possibly explain why the majority of these migrants appear to settle in Johannesburg, the economic capital of the country (Bouillon, 1999a). Potential migrants would want to go to areas where conditions are economically favorable, and because they need better pay jobs, they tend to move for longer distances. The extent to which migrants are motivated by economic concerns varies widely.

All respondents in the research asserted they left Ghana because of the economic crises. According to Richard, a hairdresser/barber, "Sister, you know how 'corrupt' our system is when it comes to seeking for jobs. If you don't know someone at where you want to work, then you have to forget about the job. In some situation if you give out money you still don't get a job." Similarly, Kwasi, a 29 year old, married and an internet café owner describes how he remained unemployed in Ghana until he decided to travel to South Africa. "When I got my first degree in 1997, I was unemployed until I came to South Africa in 1999. I took time and visited almost all the schools in Accra, the capital city of Ghana just looking for a job, but each time the response is there are no vacancies so I decided to travel to the United Kingdom and the USA but the plan did not work because of the huge amount involved so I finally decided to come to South Africa for a job." Migrants come to South Africa for jobs that will offer better opportunities because they were experiencing economic downturn back home (Push reasons) and also the impression they (migrants) had on South Africa's economy (Pull reasons). Boakye who is 29 years, a shoe/bag repairer and married claimed that, "I see South Africa as America when compare pictures of both countries from friends and at times on Ghana television. So why should we worry ourselves to travel to Yankee[2] while there is one in Africa (i.e. South Africa)." This implies that migrants' movements were caused by the favourable economic conditions in South Africa thus pulled them from their country in order to earn a better living. It was therefore revealed that no particular factor instigates global migration. This is further explained by Martin (1993:4) that, "Migration occurs because of demand pull factors

[2] A common term used by the migrants for United States of America

that draw migrants into industrial countries, supply push factors that push them out of their own countries and networks of friends and relatives already in industrial societies who serve as anchor communities for newcomers." These supply push factors often include demographic growth, low living standards, lack of economic opportunities and political repression, while demand for labour, availability of land, good economic opportunities and political freedom make up the demand pull factors (Martin, 1993). Similarly, Bogue (1969) in his findings demonstrated that, there are positive and negative aspects to migration provoking situation. He explains that when migration happens as a search for an opportunity to improve a migrant's life, the place of destination exercises a pull on the migrant whereas when migration occurs as a flight from undesired social, economic and political environment, in this context it will amount to an expulsive push on the migrant. This study support the arguments by Martin, 1993; Bogue, 1969 that mixtures of both push and pull factors influencing these migrants to leave their country of origin and enter into South Africa.

According to Hussein, 1993; Rogerson, 1997a; McDonald *et al*., 1999, the early 1990s experienced an increasing movement of overseas migrants particularly from the West Africa sub-region to South Africa because of the collapse of apartheid and better economic conditions in the country. The supply of Ghanaian immigrants as well as immigrants from other part of West Africa into South Africa has been classified by McDonald *et al*, (1999); Rogerson (1997a) as the *new source countries*[3].

Economic meltdown in Ghana made migrants to enter into South Africa in order to improve their living conditions as well as that of family members back home. According to Richard, a hairdresser/barber, "To travel to European countries as well as the United States really means one has to save a lot of money. Looking at all those Africa countries, South Africa is singled out as a well developed country in terms of economic, infrastructures and the like so why do I have to worry myself. Moreover, the end of apartheid regime influenced my decision of choosing South Africa as my dream land so that is why I am here today." Apart from economic difficulties acting as push factor in Ghana, difficulties in travelling to the USA and other European

[3] (McDonald et al, 1999; Rogerson, 1997a) identified countries supplying immigrants into South Africa as *'new source countries'*.

countries have also led these migrants to reconsider their choices of new destinations. These difficulties include, demands for bank statements, hotel reservations in host nations, huge amount of money needed for return ticket and also the high level of visas refusal are some of the factors that have pushed these migrants to choose South Africa as their place of destination (Bouillon, 1999b; Rogerson, 1997a). For instance, total cost involved in travelling from Ghana to the United Kingdom is ¢2,905.00 (New Ghana Cedis which is about R20 860). A respondent (Richard) claimed the total cost he incurred in travelling to South Africa was only ¢1,600.00 (about R11 400) excluding hotel reservation because he had friends in South Africa. Thus it is substantially cheaper to travel to South Africa than to the United Kingdom that might cost him millions of Ghana cedis.

South Africa is one of the well developed countries in Africa as a result migrants have decided migrating to the country with the hope of getting jobs that offer better opportunities. The research explored that a respondent (Rita is 27 years old, single and a hairdresser) was motivated to come to South Africa when she heard that, one of her friends who also had a degree in education was teaching in South Africa so she thought that with her first degree it would be quite easier to get a job in South Africa. She said "If my friend with first degree could find job easily, then I will also get a job even quicker." Regretfully, this respondent noted how she has never been employed in the formal sector in South Africa. She claimed that, "I came here with all the confidence that I will get a teaching job, but I hardly get a reply each time I submit my Resume." For this migrant, the perceived availability of work was the main pull factor that attracted her to South Africa.

The existence of a common language is considered by some of the respondents as an important pull factor. The findings revealed that these migrants considered English language, which is a second language in country of origin to be an important factor in their decision to migrate to South Africa. Although the respondents speak one common local language (Twi) among themselves, they communicate in English language with South Africans. McDonald *et al*, 1999; Maharaj and Rajkumar, 1997 have shown that language differentiates between 'insiders' and 'outsiders', and that

those immigrants who are able to communicate in English have a much better chance of surviving of making a living in South Africa.

Having examined the factors influencing Ghanaians migration to South Africa, the study also investigated migrants' profile and how it influenced their (migrants) migration process.

Social Profile of Migrants

This section discusses the gender and the age of Ghanaian migrants in South Africa since scholarly studies among African migrants in South African (Rogerson, 1997a) and other migrants elsewhere have demonstrated that majority of migrants are males and travel at youthful age[4] (Mazzucato, 2005). Mazzucato's study of Moroccans, Turkish and Ghanaians in the Netherlands shows that the average age at which these immigrants and migrants travel was 22. His explanation is that migrants travel at younger age so that they can work very hard and longer hours in order to improve their living conditions. Rogerson (1997a) found similar trend among migrants from African countries. His study found that the average age of his sample was 20 years. Similarly, this study also found that the majority of Ghanaian migrant labourers are in their twenties. Looking at the reported years of entry by these migrants into South Africa, 50% of them (migrants) travelled at ages ranging from 18 to 23 years. According to Nana Owusu who is 26 years, married and sells ethnic food, "When you are young and you travel outside your village of birth, you are able to do whatever job you find yourself in and even work harder and longer hours to improve your living condition and also meet the needs and wants of family members back home." Selabe (1997) cogently agreed that most African migrants travel at youthful age. His study on Mozambican migrants in South Africa demonstrated that migrants travel between the ages of 15 and 35. My findings support the contention of Selabe, 1997; Rogerson, 1997a that migrants usually travel at youthful age. At the time of interviewing these respondents, 45% were aged between 26 and 29 years, 45% were within the range of 32 to 36 years of age whiles the remaining 10% were between the ages of 46 and 48 year old.

[4] According to Mazzucato (2005), youthful age is the age at which a person is young.

Research elsewhere has demonstrated that 50 Ghanaians who migrated to Nigeria in the 1970s during the country's oil wealth were between the ages of 20 and 35 (Yeboah, 1986). Adam Jnr. (2006) agreed with Yeboah after a research study on 30 Ghanaians in the United Kingdom and USA respectively. His findings were that Ghanaians interviewed in both countries considered their ages in migration process as a result, they prefer to migrate when they are young. Frayne and Pendleton (2000) argue along similar lines as their survey on Namibians revealed similar trend that migrants travel at younger age. Frayne and Pendleton found that participants were between the ages of 20 and 30. Even though my sample size (20) is quite small compare to the above sample sizes, I will argue that the current study confirms their (Yeboah, 1986; Frayne and Pendleton, 1998; Adam Jnr., 2006) findings since the study's finding emerged similar trend. A noticeable trend is that, the older a person is, the less interested they are in migration and also the less satisfied they are with their own government's system of rule.

Of the sample size, only five were females and fifteen were males. Even though the purpose of the study was not to focus on gender balance, I will argue that men tend to migrate more than women. A similar study carried out among 28 African immigrants and migrants in South Africa revealed over 80% were males (McDonald et al., 1999). Mazzucato (2005) concurs with this view as his findings demonstrate male dominance among Ghanaian, Moroccan and Turkish immigrants and migrants in the Netherlands. Dodson, 1998; McDonald et al, 1999 have argued that males tend to migrate particularly for longer distances than females. Nonetheless, over the past few years there has been a noticeable increase in the numbers of women involved in labour migration. For example, the International Organization of Migration (IOM, 2005) showed that many Zimbabwean women have migrated to South Africa. A United Nations (2006) state of the world population report indicates that half of the world's international migrants claimed to be females and that there are approximately 95 million who are migrating currently. It is known that more educated men tend to travel outside their homes for better opportunities because they are perceived as breadwinners in the families.

Educational Status

Education is a key factor influencing migration because those who are better educated tend to be more mobile. This implies that those with better education have high expectations of finding employment elsewhere in order to pay back families who supported them (migrants) during their school days.

The current study showed that most of the respondents interviewed had at least a secondary education, with a high proportion also having some tertiary education. Of the twenty Ghanaian migrants, thirteen had bachelor degrees, one with Higher National Diploma and the remaining six had basic secondary education and other professional qualifications. In the same way, Rogerson's (1997a) studies among other African countries in South Africa observed that the majority of immigrants and migrants in South Africa had some tertiary and secondary education. Rogerson found that most migrants were skilled workers than migrants from Southern Africa Development Community (SADC). Mazzucato (2005) observed similar trend among Ghanaian migrants in the Netherlands

Marital and Legal Status of Migrants

Majority of Ghanaian migrants interviewed claimed to have entered South Africa with visitor's permits. However, most of the respondents reported to have married South Africans in order to change their legal status. Though it is not the focus of the study, the research examined these categories and explored the reasons behind the choice of marrying South Africans.

Among the total population, 75% of the respondents are married while 25% are single at the time of interview. The findings revealed that 45% are married to South African, 30% spouses are Ghanaians (10% spouses live in Ghana). It took those who are married to South Africans 3 to 6 months to finalize their (migrants) marriage documents. The respondents that are married advanced the following common reason

for getting married, “I have reached marriage age and also I got married to a citizen in order to acquire permanent resident so that I can avoid police harassments because I feel secured when I am with a South African lady” (Dorman is 46 years and married). Migrants who married to South Africans often did so for self-interest and not for love. They usually inform their wives about these marriages of convenience. Even though society back home sees such actions by men as the norm, the study examined why they took such decision and the explanation provided which emerged as key was, “I took this decision in order to change my legal status so that I can obtain permanent permits. After all I know the marriage is not genuine. Again, I took this decision so that I can overcome xenophobic and discrimination hostility and also improve my security in Johannesburg and South Africa as a whole because I feel secured whenever I am with my wife in town.” According to one respondent, “To marry a South African is the only way I can visit relatives back home, avoid police harassment and also create opportunities for employment” (Prince is 29 years, a fruit, sweets and cigarette seller, and married). This implies that once a migrant gets married to a citizen, his or her legal status changes for that matter, he or she can travel back home, overcome police harassment whenever he or she is asked to produce legal document and also can create opportunities for employment in the formal economy.

Further, the study found that most of these migrants entered the country with visitors’ permits but increasingly changing their status because the majority of these respondents are involved in what (Lubkemann, 2002) called transnational polygyny[5] in order to secure permanent permits. Lubkemann has investigated transnational polygyny among migrants from Mozambique and its implications for migration, marriages, community and identity. The research also found that transnational polygyny has developed through transnationalism into a strategy for immigrants to handle broader political instability and economic insecurity (Lubkemann, 2002). My study found that Ghanaian migrants are entering into marriages of convenience with citizens so that they could acquire permanent permits and with these permits they can oppose discrimination and xenophobic hostility and improve their security in the country. Therefore, like Lubkeman’s (2002) studies among Machaze men from

[5] According to Lubkeman (2002), polygyny is when a man gets married to two or more wives in different countries.

Mozambique, the majority of the marriages observed for the current study served as tools for coping with the challenges faced by migrants in South Africa.

Respondents who are single gave common reason that because of lack of resources and fear of victimization, they prefer to be single and rather concentrate on how to expand their businesses so that they could make a living in the economy they found themselves. According to Nana Owusu, aged 26 and single, "Sister, you know our culture and background are totally different from that of South Africa's as a result, it will be very difficult to blend the two. You need to be very careful when you marry a citizen else you may fall victim when you joke with a South African lady. The little thing I do to this lady can land me anywhere so it is better I remain single." This view emerged as a major explanation why these respondents decided to be single. Accordingly, views of minority of the respondents are that, it is better to be single and rather concentrate on the expansion of their businesses while the majority perceives marrying citizens will therefore enable them integrates well in South African society.

Living and Working Conditions of Ghanaian Migrants

Hillbrow and Yeoville are known to be among the oldest and suburbs of Johannesburg. These suburbs previously housed a large number of whites with only black domestic workers as residents. However, these areas transformed themselves to become part of the new South Africa after the collapse of apartheid regime. For instance, Maurice Smithers (1999), a resident and a member of Yeoville Stakeholders Liaison Forum contended that in the late 1970s, Yeoville was characterised by black people moving illegally into the suburb as domestic workers or moved into the area under the nominee system, that is, where they used white names to disguise their origin. Through this Yeoville became an area of defiance where black activists stayed. From the 1980s and especially after 1994 both Yeoville and Hillbrow experienced an increase in immigrants from various African countries like Nigeria, Zimbabwe and Mozambique moving into these areas with whites moving out with their businesses.

The majority (50%) of Ghanaian migrants for the study live in Yeoville, 25% in Hillbrow and 25% in Braamfontein. The first two inner cities are known to be where living conditions are appalling (Morris, 1999). These areas are overcrowded by Ghanaians and other immigrants from West Africa which has been described by Morris (1999) as a neighbourhood of contrast and having highly racially mixed population. According to Morris, it appears these areas do not only represent modern societies but everything bad in modern societies. He further established that the large numbers of poor people, illegal migrants, asylum seekers, and the unemployed could be among the reasons why conditions in Yeoville and Hillbrow are known to be appalling. These areas are concentrated with all sorts of business enterprises, cars, hawkers, street kids, homeless people, legal and illegal migrants, and sex workers keep the street busy at all times. Respondents preferred these places to other areas because rents are affordable and feel secured since the inhabitants are all foreigners. According to Frank, a 28 year old, married man who operates a Ghanaian restaurant, "It is very cheap to rent a room in these areas and also it is allowed to share a room with a friend so that we can share the monthly rents." While the cost of living is an important factor in the choice of residential area, the presence of large immigrants' communities is a major factor. Boakye who is a shoe and bag repairer also claimed, "I preferred staying in Hillbrow to any other place because Hillbrow is full of foreigners for that reason I do not feel intimated and also it is common seeing three of four people sharing one room which means the monthly rent will be shared among them." Currently, Yeoville and Hillbrow can be singled out as West African strongholds, possibly because there are neighborhoods where West Africans entering South Africa for the first time repeatedly establishes a base. With an already large population of West Africans and other black foreigners living in the neighborhood, newcomers often feel a high sense of security and prospects of assistance from friends and relatives. This therefore leads to the discussion of the useful role social networks played in the lives of the migrants.

These respondents work at various places namely, Parktown, Berea, Yeoville, and Braamfontein, all in Johannesburg. Most of the respondents have other Nationals and Ghanaians working for them and further found that most of these employees got employed through social networks. This confirms the findings of Grieco (1995) who

contended that employment relations in modern societies regularly bind and depend on existing models of social networks in their enrolment dynamics.

Participants interviewed for the research are self-employed. Self-employed means migrants can make money for themselves while at the same time boost the informal economy by generating local employment which might help reduce the number of non citizens involve in criminal activities (Gold, 1992). The works of Gold (1992) demonstrated that when immigrants/migrants are self-employed, they work hard and for longer hours than they are working in government organizations. Similar observation was made in the current study.

Majority of the respondents has been in the informal sector for at least a number of years. Thirteen of the respondents have been in the informal economy for three to five years and the remaining seven participants have been in business for six to fourteen years. 40% of these migrants with tertiary education and professional qualifications tried to be recruited in the formal sector without success. It was explained that South African system is such that one needs to know or contact an influential person before you can be employed in this sector. The study observed that a migrant, Richard who lives in Yeoville left Ghana 1995 for South Africa. While he was in country of origin, he was a relatively highly paid lecturer in one of the private schools (St Theresa) in Accra, the capital city of Ghana, with a salary of about 400.00 Ghana cedis approximately $400. Even though he complained that his salary was small, in the situation of Ghana's standard, he could be classified amongst the middle paid civil servants.

In addition, the study revealed that the long stay of respondents in the informal economy is due to the fact that, South Africa is defined as dual economy meaning a market-oriented modern model that is basically a developed economy and a huge developing economy outside the current institutionalized arrangements. For Mbeki (2003), this dualism in South Africa means that the market-oriented modern model co-exists side by side with the informal underdeveloped economy. For example, during the apartheid regime, certain legal restrictions were imposed on the informal

economy through acts such as the Group Areas Act. This Act prohibited Africans from trading formally and informally in whites, urban areas like Yeoville and Hillbrow. This was also true for township councils who did not allow any informal economy activities therefore the only businesses that were established were illegal and unrecorded. In 1980s, policy reforms made it possible to some extent for individuals to commence businesses in spite of the heavy restrictions. For example in 1991, the Group Areas Act was abolished and thus gave way to black individuals to enter urban areas and engaged in informal activities. Nonetheless, because of high rate of unemployment, one witnessed an increasing number of blacks in the suburbs engaged in informal activities like selling on the street, running hair saloons and/or as hawkers in order to survive.

The survey revealed that only a few number of the respondents encountered problems in their business activities. Of the total respondents, 30% reported to be harassed by South African Police Service (SAPs). A common claim was that, "The Police will arrest you even if you show them your papers unless you give them something[6]" (Boakye, a shoe and bag repairer). Interestingly, little has been researched on harassment of immigrants and migrants in South Africa and rather much researched works on African immigrants in the country are centered on immigrants as crime perpetrators (Minaar and Hough, 1996; Leggett, 1998 and 1999), immigrants as entrepreneurs and better educated than those from SADC countries (Hussein, 1993 and 1995; Rogerson, 1997a; Peberdy and Rogerson, 2002), Discrimination and Development (Landau, 2006) and/or immigrants as drug dealers and in prostitution (Leggett, 1998; Leggett, 1999). How immigrants and migrants are harassed by the Police is very much under researched in South Africa.

The Role of Social Networks

Research studies elsewhere have documented that, migrants across the world mainly rely on social networks for their survival (Adams Jnr., 2006; Bump, 2006; Mazzucato et al., 2004b). Social networks among Ghanaian in South Africa are very influential

[6] Their own description of giving out money

in the lives of migrants because of the various forms of support they offer. The significance of this strong relationship among the migrants in foreign land is not a new trend. MacGaffey and Bazenguissa-Ganga (2000: 107) have suggested that,

> "Social networks remain powerful throughout Africa today for a variety of political, economic and environmental reasons. They help people cope with risky situations, which seem as prevalent now as they were in the past. These networks bring entitlements that buffer vulnerable people from the full force of natural as well as social calamity and they have to be renewed, modified and remade with a stream of social transactions to keep them active."

Primarily, social networks are the basis for the organization of business activities outside the law (Mazzucato, 2005). An example reflects an interview with a respondent (Kwasi is an internet café owner) concerning capital for business. He reported, "I raised my capital for this business through the network of friends who I see as the strongest men around me. They got me this capital through the contact of other Ghanaians and this has made me to be in business to date." According to Kwasi, raising capital for business needs close and trustworthy friends. Migrants are able to raise capital for business from one another and the reliability of this strategy strongly depends on the degree of personal tie with fellow nationals. This is consistent with the findings of MacGaffey and Bazenguissa-Ganga (2000) that pointed out the importance of social networks with Congolese immigrants in Paris. They found that, these immigrants easily raised monies for their businesses through social networks.

Migrants from Ghana have generated their own form of order to deal with prevailing problems through the creation of social networks which became important aspect of their survival and achievements. Social networks therefore restore self-confidence, warrant security and moreover help migrants to handle risks. For instance, migrants feel at home when they see friends and/or relatives around them in host countries and whom they can contact in times of need. Similarly, Griffiths' (2000) research on Somalis refugees in London demonstrate that maintaining family links promotes family and social ties, and contribute to the economic reconstruction of their homeland through the transfer of remittances. Ghanaian migrants in Johannesburg

socialise through an association called Ghanaian Association in Johannesburg and Surrounding Areas (GHAJOSA).

According to the Chairman of GHAJOSA the end of South Africa's apartheid in 1994 influenced Ghanaians migration to South Africa. The sudden influx of Ghanaians into South Africa prompted a prominent Ghanaian restaurant owner operating in Hillbrow to form GHAJOSA in order to provide a forum where new migrants could discuss their problems and also to find mutual support among fellow nationals hence the name; Ghanaian Association in Johannesburg and Surrounding Areas (GHAJOSA) The Association started with seven members in one of the drinking bars in Hillbrow and at one of their weekly meetings these men discussed among others, the need for the establishment of GHAJOSA. These founding members were clear that the main objective of the new association would be to look after the welfare of its members. Soon after their decision to establish GHAJOSA, they enshrined these three key aims in the association's constitution. That is, building of solidarity among migrants, providing work and financial support for migrants.

> "To protect and promote the interest of members and to secure untied action on issues affecting or likely to affect those interests. To negotiate and promote the settlement of disputes and grievances arising between members and their 'so-called' employers."
>
> "To provide financial aid and other assistance to members through contributions in diverse ways by members and to borrow and raise money and to secure the repayment of any money borrowed, raised or owing in such manner as may be determined by the Executive members of the Association" and
>
> "To assist in securing employment, to promote aid and encourage the establishment of economic enterprises for the benefit of members," (Chairman of GHAJOSA, 2007).

GHAJOSA is a charitable association and has a well structured executive body consisting of a chairman, vice chairman, secretary, treasurer and a public relations

officer (PRO). Members of the association do not pay dues but contribute in diverse ways to raise funds when the need arises to meet members' needs. For instance, when a member is in dire need of financial assistance or a member is sick and/or in trouble, each member will be requested to contribute an amount depending on the severity of the problem put forward and these contributions are recorded. When I asked the Treasurer the importance of recording those contributions he reported, "I keep records of these contributions to know the committed and most serious members among the lot so that I and the other executive members will know how to treat those committed ones when they need assistance in future." The Association has a membership of 170 Ghanaians. Members meet once a month but emergency meetings are convened when it is deemed necessary. Because of the large number of members, meetings are held at a rented space in Hillbrow.

New members are asked to introduce themselves at general meetings and say the sort of assist they needed from the association. Pappy who is 32 years old, barber and single explained the role of GHAJOSA in his life, "One of the first things I did after arriving in Johannesburg was to attend a meeting of GHAJOSA and was advised on the prevailing situation in South Africa. I was briefed on the difficulties of getting a job without proper documentation as a result; I decided to engage myself in informal activities in order to survive." Another interviews with other members of the meeting reflected, "I came to South Africa with the hope that I will get employed at the moment arrived but I got here and realized it was a different story altogether. My permit did not allow me to work for in spite of that it took me one year before getting a job at one Ghanaian restaurant in Yeoville." When asked what they were doing before they were employed, a respondent reported, "When I arrived I was introduced to a Ghanaian who owns a car washing bay so I started working there temporarily". Another respondent (Boamah, a 34-year old hairdresser and married claimed that, "I was also asked to join my other Ghanaian brothers who have been doing waiting job in one the restaurants owned by another Ghanaian. Since I do not have any job, I took up the job. I will therefore argue that social networks play an important role in the lives of these migrants because without these networks these migrants would not have survived in South Africa. This reasoning ties with McDonald et al., (1999) observation with other African migrants in South Africa which highlighted the

importance of social networks. They found that participants' migration to South Africa was because they had places to stay, friends and family members in the host country. Similarly, Timngum, 2001; Amisi and Ballard, 2005; Hunter *et al*., 2001 highlighted the important role social networks played in the lives of refugees. They found that refugees raised capital for businesses through social networks. They explained that ethnic, religious and tribal networks have replaced the financing role of financial institutions thus these networks are invariably the first and last resort of financial sustainability. They further argued that these networks can be understood as community of support which provides both monetary assistance knowledge and encouragement to overcome local difficulties (ibid).

Conclusion

Ghanaians are found all over the world and not just in South Africa. Among the reasons that account for their migration to South Africa are economic and social factors nonetheless, these reasons do not influence these migrants in isolation but rather a combination of these factors influenced Ghanaians to travel to South Africa. Apart from the aforementioned well-known reasons, social networks and the collapse of apartheid South Africa also played contributory factors in influencing these migrants to travel to South Africa. The influx of Ghanaians and other West Africans in South Africa only became noticeable in the early 1990s and the presence of these migrants has been identified as new source countries supplying immigrants into South Africa (McDonald *et al*, 1999; Rogerson, 1997a). Ghanaians have enough reasons why they left their place of birth and at the same time why they chose to migrate to South Africa. Economic downturn in Ghana increased the number of what Hussein (1993) termed 'economic refugees' to South Africa. Reinforced by difficulties in migrating to developed countries, the economic desires of Ghanaians to emigrate are made even stronger. High unemployment rates amongst marginalized Ghanaians for instance act as a push factor from their country of origin, while perceived employment possibilities and other social facilities in South Africa act as pull factor especially to immigrants who cannot make it to Europe and the USA. In a same study on Haitian immigrants in the USA, Schiller and Fouron (2001) observed that the high rates of emigration of Haitians in to the country is as a result of the deteriorating economic

conditions in Haiti, acting as a push factor; while improved socio-economic environment in the USA are acting as a pull factor.

For Ghanaians migrants, South Africa is even better as there are attractive features in the country such as English language as one of South Africa's official languages. These migrants considered English language as a key factor in their migration process and this also contributed in influencing their immigration to South Africa. In terms of age, Ghanaian migrants travel when they are young (Mazzucato, 2005). Rogerson (1997a) also argues along similar lines that African migrants travel at youthful age. He found that the average age among these migrants in South Africa was 20 years. Similarly, this study found that respondents travelled at younger age. These migrants decide to migrate when they are very young in order to work hard and acquire worth so that they can enjoy life when they old.

Lastly, in most situations, no single factor has an ultimate say in influencing Ghanaians migration to South Africa. The factors discussed above are mutually reinforcing and jointly act as push and pull factors influencing these migrants to travel to South Africa. The following chapter discusses the practices of remittance by Ghanaian migrants.

CHAPTER 4

Migrants' Remittance Behaviour

Remittances have grown significantly over the past few decades and now contribute hugely to global financial flows and to the income of many developing countries. In 2003 it was estimated that the global figure for remittances had increased to an impressive $80 billion (Ratha, 2003). Over the past few years there has been a growing body of research on the growth of remittances and their contribution to poor countries (Oronzo, 2001; Pendleton *et al*., 2006; Stark, 1991; Suro and Bendixen, 2001). The focus of this chapter differs somewhat from this main pre-occupation by discussing the motivations for and practice of remittances by Ghanaians working in South Africa.

Motivating factors for Remitting

Studies have shown that migrants worldwide are motivated by a combination of social and economic factors (Gunstille, 1986; Oronzo, 2001). Gunstilles' (1986) research on the Philippines and Asians in the USA found that immigrants were both motivated by economic and social reasons to send resources to relatives in country of origin. Oronzo (2001) also revealed similar trend among migrants from Paraguay, Haiti, Latin America and the Caribbean. These migrants remitted their family members back home in order to raise their living conditions and to establish businesses as well. This study supports international observations by Gunstille (1986) and Oronzo (2001). Of the 20 respondents, the research found that four respondents were motivated by a combination of social and economic factors while the remaining sixteen migrants were influenced by economic factors to remit.

Suro and Bendixen (2001) observed among the Latin Americans and the Caribbean in the USA that remittances are placed first before anything else. They argued that these immigrants voluntarily migrated to the USA in order to obtain better economic conditions so that they could raise the standard of living of relatives left behind. This research fits the above findings as Ghanaians migrants interviewed are no exception. They (migrants) voluntarily moved to South Africa that has favourable economic conditions so that they could better off the living conditions of family members in country of origin. According to Adu who is 48 years, married and a boutique owner, "I purposely came here to seek for job that will offer better opportunities so that I will be able to meet the high cost of living in Ghana where my family members are." Another respondent, Akwasi, 29 years, married and owns an Internet café reported that, "Sister, to tell you the truth, I came here to enable my parents and siblings enjoy the standard of living an average person should have and luckily within 6 months I have been able to acquire this shop which gives me substantial money that I sent some to my family members."

None of the respondent indicated being motivated by political factors. This is not surprising as Ghana has experienced political stability for some time now. By contrast, in the 1990s Haitian immigrant in the USA used to remit money home for political purposes (Laquerre, 1999). Anecdotally, similar trends may be observed among sections of Zimbabwean immigrants in South Africa.

Like migrants in other parts of the world, respondents for this study also provided different reasons for remitting. Broadly speaking migrants are motivated to remit by social, economic and/or political factors. Migrants send money, goods or both for social reason because of the need to always be in contact with families and loved ones (Adams Jnr., 2006). As stated in chapter two one may explain and understand this social commitment to remit by employing the concept of "unwritten social contract" which according to Stark (1991) is the main practice of remitting by migrants in various parts of the world. Nana Owusu, an ethnic food seller, provides a classic explanation of Stark's definition of the unwritten contract. According to Nana Owusu, "You know I got financial assistance from my relatives before I embarked on my journey to South Africa for that reason I am committed to them financially."

Siedu a 34-year old tailor and married who has been in South Africa for 7 years, reiterates this point. “My uncle who is the breadwinner in our family assisted me financially before migrating to this place so I am therefore committed to him and his children. For instance, when his children are in need of assistance I have to move heaven and earth to meet their needs.” Another respondent, Adjei is a welder, aged 34 and married, recalled the sacrifices his family made not only to pay for his education but importantly, also to travel to South Africa. He reported, “My parents brought me up and educated me up to secondary level and again paid half of my travelling costs to this place.” In his view these sacrifices meant that, “I have no excuse to deny them of any financial assistance.” Of the twenty respondents, five were females who also reported to have remitted for social reasons. Afia, a 28 year old lady, who is married and a hairdresser/businesswoman claimed, “If I remitted my parents and sibling I felt some relief because I have been able to satisfy them in a way.” Another respondent reported, “Sister I am always blessed whenever I meet the needs of my relatives by sending them money to settle some of their expenses.” (Eunice is 32 years, married and a hairdresser/businesswoman). These observations emerged as the key explanations for those migrants who asserted they were assisted financially by their families. There is a common trend in many of the migrants’ explanations, namely, that they have received various forms of assistance from their families before they migrated and therefore have a very strong sense of obligation.

Migrants motivated by economic reasons to remit do so to either improve the financial position of relatives and loved ones, or to set up businesses for their personal benefits. Oronzo (2001) studies on the Latinos revealed that immigrants often remitted in order to help relatives cope with high cost of living back home. Financial assistance was typically provided to pay school fees, utility bills and to purchase food. Along same observation, Pendleton *et al.*, (2006) studies among African migrants in South Africa found that migrants sent money for the upkeep of family sustenance. Cogently, Mazzucato (2005) agreed with the above findings as his studies on Ghanaian, Moroccan and Turkish migrants also revealed that these migrants sent resources to family members back home to settle bills and cater for other expenses. Similarly, Ghanaian migrants for this study sent resources to family members for the above reasons. For instance, Joseph who is 32 years, barber/mini bar operator and

single reported that, “Sister, the money I sent home is meant for school fees of siblings, food for the family and also to pay utility bills. Another respondent, Boamah, a hairdresser reflected, “Although I have no intention of going back home, I am putting up buildings for rentals so that my family members will be able to cope with the high cost of living in Ghana.” The above reasons advanced by migrants may be defined as altruism. 60% Of the respondents’ main reason for remitting fell under altruism since they (migrants) remitted out of love to help relatives and loved ones. According to some of the respondents, “We sent money to our families and loved ones when they are not expecting it and their appreciations make us feel great” (Janet, aged 29, married and a hairdresser; Akwasi, a carpenter is married and 29 years old). Majority of the respondents remitted out of love in order to assist relatives in their financial needs since most of their reasons for remitting were altruistic as their responses reflected, “We feel great when we share whatever they we with our loved ones.” The common reasons advanced by some respondents who remitted money only were that, “We sent money back home because family members are really in dire need of it. Our siblings in high schools need to pay their school fees, buy textbooks and we also assist them in other social needs” *(*Siedu, a tailor, Dorman, a clothing designer). This confirms Gunstille (1986) studies that revealed migrants in different countries remit back to their countries of origin for a reason such as to assist their families back home and the impact of international remittance tends to be massive, affecting individuals, families, local communities and, it may be argued, consequently the general economy of many receiving countries.

There are other reasons other than altruism that migrants regularly tend to remit and research has shown that, other possible reasons for remitting might centre on “pure self-interest” on the part of the migrant (Lucas and Stark, 1991). In spite of this, the motivation might be the desire to be seen to act in a way that will inspire the family in order to increase migrants’ chances of being successor to family estate. The other reason for remitting based on self-interest would be that of using the family as a representative in order to assist the migrant to set up business ventures in country of origin so that if for instance, the migrant decided to return home permanently in the future, he or she would continue to be in business (Stark, 1991). For example, Akwasi, a carpenter reported that, “I normally transfer money to my elderly sister towards a building project back home.”

Migrants who remitted because of self-interest claimed they did so for personal interest. According to Joseph, a 32-year old barber, "I sent money for business purposes because I have plans of putting up shops to sell groceries since where I live back home there are no such shops." Kwasi, 29 years and Internet café owner reported, "I will go back to my country for that reason I sent money purposely for establishing an Internet café in my area so that when I am finally at home I will still be in business." It was therefore found that economic motivation for remitting was basically for business purposes. On the one hand, remitters make sure that resources sent are used for what they were meant for, in that case, remitters make distinctions between money sent for family sustainability and that to be invested. Money sent for investment purposes is said to be subject to greater control and scrutiny by the remitters who ensure that the money has been used following their exact instructions (Suro and Bendixen, 2001). On the other hand, recipients tend to have greater freedom in terms of controlling money sent for food.

Of the population study, 20% respondents reported that they remitted for business purposes and the common reason advanced for remitting was for financial gain. These respondents are establishing businesses in their country of origin so that they will continue to be in business should they return back home in future. In this situation the main objective for remitting was for personal benefits that falls under pure self-interest. For instance, a quotation by Nana Danso who sells ethnic food reflected, "My main reason for sending goods was for business purpose." This shows that economic factor that motivated these migrants was to remit purposely for their business ventures. One of the three respondents who remitted both money and goods claimed that, "I sent goods in addition to the money remitted because I need to set up business back home so that when I return home in future I will still be in business. I am still young for that reason I need to work hard for the future" (Nana Danso).

A combination of altruism and pure self-interest is what is referred to as "enlightened self-interest" by Lucas and Stark (1991). They explained that, motives for sending money are joint benefits to both migrants and their relatives and this is when migrants remit because of a sense of obligation to relatives they left behind, which in many

situations the families assisted the migrants to cover their travelling cost. As a result, these migrants remit since they consider it very important in meeting their part of the bargain in the so-called "unwritten contract." The remaining 20% of respondents sent money, goods or both because of "enlightened" self –interest. Migrants are said to send resources back home based on "enlightened" self-interest reasons because they (migrants) are committed to their relatives who are really in need of financial assistance. As a result, money sent would either be used for food, paying school fees, medical bills and other expenses. This confirms a study by Suro and Bendixen (2001:5) as they quoted a sender who made the following report because of money he had sent. According to this remitter, "They (family members) used the money for food and the most basic of necessities and nothing else." In the same way, this research found that Ghanaian migrants sent resources for family sustenance and settling of bills. The following respondents reported that, "My parents cared for me and even paid part of my travelling cost so that I will be able to assist in caring for my siblings. So whatever money I sent home is used for family sustenance" (Siedu, a tailor). Another migrant, Adu, a boutique owner expressed similar views. He said, "My parents have passed away so my elder brother who assisted me to come here made it clear to me my responsibility towards my siblings back home. So resources sent are meant for food and other expenses." Nana Danso has been saving money in order to respond timeously to any urgent requests from his family. He reported, "As for me I save money because of unexpected request for financial assistance from family member and make sure that I remit them whenever they requested for money." The sense of responsibility to family members runs very deep among Ghanaian migrants. Thus Richard, a hairdresser/barber recalls that, "I was taught to know that as one grows up he or she has a responsibility towards the brothers and sisters and other family members for that matter, I try as much as possible to assist my families". It was explored that feelings of obligation and reaction to family's requests were the main reasons why these migrants send monies back home.

The findings of this study demonstrate that respondents remitted for different reasons and these were; desire to assist families and friends in times of needs, feelings of obligation, right thing to remit, investment purposes and because of request for help. These varieties of reasons would be categorised as follows: – altruism, pure self-interest and "enlightened" self-interest (a reason that fell between altruism and pure

self-interest). The study revealed that 60% of the respondents remitted because of altruistic reasons and the main responses are from the following respondents,

> "I feel at peace when I share the little I have with relatives and loved one. For instance, if I knew that these ones need financial support in country of origin" (Kwasi is 29 years and owns an internet cafe).
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> Dorman, a clothing designer said, "I am someone who really feels for another for that reason I like assisting family members financially in order to settle any outstanding bills."
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> According to Nana Owusu, a 26-year old food and drinks seller, "I was trained by my parents to support and care for others so I send money to relatives and loved ones whenever I have substantial amount on me" and Boakye and Prince, both 29 years, shoe repairer and fruits seller claimed,
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> "We remit our family members back home in order to be in constant communication with them and by so doing it gave us some sense of belonging."

Migrants explained that they feel satisfied whenever they share the little money they have with their families. This supports international studies among Moroccans, Turkish and Ghanaians in the Netherlands, Egyptians and Ghanaians in Amsterdam and the Latin American and the Caribbean in the USA, (Mazzucato *et al*., 2004a; Mazzucato, 2005; Oronzo, 2001). These researchers found that the reasons why these immigrants and migrants remitted their family members were to assist them financially.

20% Of the respondents remitted for reasons of pure self-interest. That is, migrants remitted for business ventures and/or for personal benefits. Respondents reflected that, "I came here to make money so that I will be able to establish my own business back home as a result I purposely send money to my elder brother to put up stationery

shops. Even though I am not certain of going back home there may be a day that I will like to retire to my country" (Adjei, a welder).

Afia who is a hairdresser also said, "Home sweet home my sister. If I need to do anything that is capital intensive, it has to be done at home for that matter I remit money so that my family build houses for rentals."

Another respondent said, "I have already started build shops before I came here so I sent money for the completion of the shops because my intention is to sell electrical appliances since there is no such shop around my area in country of origin" (Rita is a hairdresser).

Another reason for sending money back home based on pure self-interest is that migrants use their family who they trusted as agent to assist them (migrants) to establish business since they might seek to return permanently to country of origin some time in the future. A supporting study is by Suro and Bendixen (2001:6). They quoted a migrant who remitted that, "At first, I sent money for them to spend. But then I sent it for the store; it's my store, they run it. If they need something for the store; they let me know and I sent it." Similarly, Oronzo (2001) observed among the Latinos in the USA that they remitted in order to develop their community which they view as a place to retire in future. Along same thought, Gunstille (1986) contended that migrants in different countries remit back to their countries of origin for reason such as to invest for their benefit and such remittance general tends to make use of more technologically advance channels for remitting.

The study explored that respondents (i.e. both men and women) did not send resources for the same reason since their remittances depended on various circumstances. Migrants' age, marital status and income have no effect on remittance because my conversation with them (migrants) revealed that their main target is to work hard and better off economic conditions of relatives back home.

Type of Resources Sent

It is well established that migrants all over the world remit resources to families back home. However the exact amount of monies or goods remitted are unknown due to different channels used and the frequency with which these resources are sent (Adams Jnr., 2006). Regardless of such barriers to the effective estimation of remittance figures, remittances sent by migrant workers amount to some US$200 billion going to countries and regions in Latin America, Asia, Africa, and Europe (http://www.ifad.org/events/remittances/maps/asia.htm). The study therefore explores the type of remittances transferred by respondents to relatives at home.

80% Of respondents sent financial remittances while the remaining 20% migrants sent both money and goods (like computers and other electrical appliances). However, five respondents of the total sample claimed to have been sending handy goods like cell phones, bags, shoes to their loved ones but these goods were not sent often. This kind of remittances makes it very difficult to calculate approximately the entire worth of remittances sent to a particular region or country (Taylor and Fletcher, http://www.reap.ucdavis.edu/vol two.html). For instance, Hsu (http://www.princeton_edu/jsu/writing/remittances_3.doc) sees remittance as "money" remitted by migrant labour to their families and communities back home whereas Van Doorn (http://www.ilo.org/public/english/dialogue/atrav/publ/129/8.pdf) is also of the view that remittances can be in-kind. Adams Jnr (2006) agreed with both definitions by defining remittances as "money and goods" sent by migrant workers to relatives in countries of origin. Furthermore, Pendleton, *et al*., (2006) perceive remittances as transfer of both money and goods to family members back home. These different views on what exactly constitute remittance and what does not basically depends on the type of channel used in remitting as well as the reasons and frequency of remittances.

Channels used by Migrants

Studies have shows various channels used in remitting by immigrants and migrants in other parts of the world (Adams Jnr., 2006; Mazzucato, 2005; Oronzo, 2001; Pendleton et al., 2006). According to these scholars, migrants either used formal, informal or both to send resources to their families in countries of origin. Consequently, this research found that two main channels of remitting between South Africa and Ghana and these may be described as formal and informal channels. Formal channel may be defined as money sent through specialised money transfer institutions such as the banks, post office and other registered institutions. In addition, sea and air freight services are classified as formal channel where goods such as cars, computers and other electrical appliances are sent through to recipients back home (Adams Jnr, 2006). Informal channels are where money, goods or both are sent through cross border transport operators and personal contacts (Maphosa, 2005).

The majority of migrants used three institutions namely: Standard Bank, Rennies and sea freight services for sending money and large number of goods. Interviews conducted with two officials from Standard bank and Rennies revealed that both institutions provided same services and products. According to the officials the common product used by migrants is Money Gram which charges R100 per $100. This is quite expensive but migrants are assured that their remittance reaches the recipient's country within a maximum of two days. For instance, Kwasi who is an Internet café owner described the procedure of remitting as follows; "When I am ready to remit, I go to the foreign exchange department of the bank where money transfers are transacted. I filled a form and quoted the amount of money I intended to send and the recipient. Afterwards, I am given a code number to be communicated to the receiver so that he or she can go to the bank at home that also provides same product for whatever amount of money sent. Normally, I get feedback from the receiver that he has gotten the money within three days."

Of the total number of respondents interviewed, eight claimed they remitted money through Money Gram (Standard Bank) and out of the eight respondents were three females. The survey showed that five respondents also used Money Gram (Rennies) and this number composes of two females and three males. Other respondents (Kwasi and Afia, a hairdresser) claimed that,

> "We use this channel because it is reliable, fast and convenient despite it high commissions charged. For instance when there is an urgent help from home we are sure that the money will reach the receiver at the appointed time."

When asked why the choice of using Standard bank and Rennies to send money back home despite the high commission charged. The common response was that they are reliable, safe and do not mind the bank charges because recipients receive the exact monies sent to them. Only one male reported that he used Western Union in one of the banks in Mozambique and this was because his brother works with the bank that provides such service. Adu, boutique owner and a 48 year old and married man gave the following reason as,

> "My family members received any money sent to them within two days. I did not use any bank in South Africa because my elder brother who does the transfer on my behalf and pays the commission."

It was also revealed that 20% of the respondents used sea freight services to send goods like computers and other electrical appliances. This channel is used for sending goods however my conversation with migrants revealed that they used this channel for smuggling money in some situations when they have substantial foreign currency in their possessions. The respondents who reported remitting through this channel did so for business purposes and goods sent were computers, and other electrical appliances. One advantage for using this channel is that, it allows for the remittance of large quantities of unaccompanied goods and at reasonable cost as compared to air freight. A common reason advanced by some respondents was, "I am putting up shops back home and because the items sent are in large quantities that is why I use this channel. I don't face any problem when using this channel. The charges are also reasonable" (Nana Danso, Kwasi and Joseph).

30% Of the respondents remitted through informal channel. These migrants send money through relatives or friends like other remitters in other parts of the world. For instance, studies by Suro and Bendixen (2001) among the Latinos in the USA support the current findings. They found that immigrants mostly sent resources through

informal channel because of high bank charges and this therefore discourages them (immigrants) from using formal channel. For a shoe/bag repairer Boakye, the commission charged by the banks is simply too high. He explains how the commission affects his remittances. He asserted that, "If for instance I have to remit an amount of R1000 it means I have to pay additional amount to cover the commission charges else the commission will be deducted from the total amount to be sent and the recipients will only receive something less than the said amount."

The main reasons given for the use of informal channels are fear of deportation because my interview with some migrants shows that they do not possess the requisite document to be in South Africa for that matter using official channels to send money involve documentary requirement. For them (migrants) the most discouraging aspect is the bank charges on monies sent to relatives.

Compared to the findings of Suro and Bendixen (2001) that Latinos in the USA remitted mostly through informal channels to relatives back home however, this study, although with a small sample size found only a small percentage (30%) of Ghanaian migrants used unofficial channel. According to those who remitted through unofficial channel, the only problem they encounter is one need to find someone honest and willing to send money to someone back home. Prince who trades in fruits made the following observation, "The only problem with this channel is that I need to find someone who is honest and who is willing to take my parcels to my people back home. Also I cannot send whatever quantity of items I want to send because it would not be fair to ask someone to carry something bulky." As a result, unofficial channel cannot be used when any of these respondents need to remit money urgently back home.

In terms of formal channels, resources are sent through money transfer institutions such as banks, postal, air and sea freight services. However, these institutions operate differently. For instance, interviews with respondents revealed that these institutions accept any amount of money one wants to transfer provided he or she can pay commission charged. With the banks they charge R100 for every $100 sent. Siedu, who is a tailor, described a transaction he made at the bank. He said,

> "I went to the bank to transfer money to my brother. The officer in charge asked me of the amount I intend to remit and base on that he calculated the commission and asked whether I will pay it outright or it should be deducted from the amount to be transferred. I responded no because I had extra money for the bank charges so I was able to transfer the exact amount I had wanted to send."

When questioned another respondent, Kwasi why he chose MoneyGram among the other products (like Swift, Money Order, etc) provided by specialised institutions, he replied,

> "Sister, you know back home we have three banks that provide this product so that is why I chose MoneyGram. In addition, it is fast and reliable because any money I sent reaches home within two days. Also, if any unexpected should occur, the bank will refund to me."

Despite high bank charges, I found that the advantage of using this channel by migrants is that both senders and receivers know the exact money that has been remitted and also, lessens the likelihood of resources not getting to recipients.

Concerning the informal channels money and goods are sent through cross-border transport operators, friends, relatives and/or by migrants themselves. A study on Zimbabweans in South Africa revealed that migrants transmit money and goods through cross-border transport operators to relatives (Maphosa, 2005). According to Maphosa, these operators charged R20 for R100 while goods transported are determined by weight but they (migrants) see this channel as fast and convenient for sending resources (ibid). He also found that migrants could not use formal channel because they are undocumented migrants[7].

Respondents for this study also transmit money and goods through friends, relatives or remitters themselves. According to respondents, trust plays an important role when

[7] According to Lorgat (1998), undocumented migrants may be referred to as those who enter a country without valid documents, or those who legally entered a country but stay after the expiration of their permits or refugees and asylum seekers who "generally have documents or their documents are being processed" and have the legal right to be is the country.

it comes to remitting through this channel. When questioned on how couriers are chosen, Prince who is a trader described an incident as follows; "My first remittance was through a Ghanaian who was referred to me by a friend. I must confess that when I gave the money to the sender, I was not happy until I got a message from my relatives that they have received the exact amount sent. Since then, I go to that friend to give me someone to send money home whenever I want to remit and I have never encountered any problem with this friend." For Pappy, a barber, neighbourhood ties influenced his remittance through personal contact. He explained that he was introduced to someone by another Ghanaian neighbour. He reported, "Whenever I am ready to send money and sees this neighbour, he gets me someone who is ready to transfer my money to my relatives and I have never had any problem since I started dealing with this neighbour." Another migrant claimed that, "Because of my relation with members of GHAJOSA, I always have information on any member visiting home as a result I take advantage of that and send money and goods to families through that member without any problem and delay of delivery" (Dorman is a clothing designer). I found that among those migrants who remitted through informal channel depended on trust of people however the disadvantage of this channel is that the frequency of remittance is tied to the number of times at which people travel.

Frequency of Remittance

Research study has shown that remittances have become important sources of income for many poor households across the world (Adams Jnr., 2006; Maphosa, 2005; Mazzucato, 2005; Oronzo, 2001; Pendleton *et al*., 2006; Suro and Bendixen, 2001). Frequency of remittances differs from individual migrant and this could be tied to the type of job and income earned. Although, respondents are in the informal sector, some jobs engaged in by these migrants are better of than others as a result; migrants might remit families on different occasions. Further, understanding frequency of remittances would therefore expose to the investigator how respondents are linked to their families in country of origin.

This research explored the frequency with which Ghanaian migrants involved in labour migrancy remit money, goods or both to family members and loved ones in country of origin. It was revealed that migrants remit either regularly or occasionally. Regularly in the sense that migrants reported to have remitted once or twice in every 3 or 4 months while occasionally means that respondents remitted once in every 6 months or once a year to relatives in country of origin. The works of Bump (2006) demonstrate that Ghanaians in the UK and USA transfer resources back home regularly, that is; once in every 3 months. Along the same line of thought, Mazzucato's (2005) study on Moroccans, Turkish and Ghanaians migrants in the Netherlands revealed that these migrants remitted home once in every 4 months. In addition, a research work carried out on other Africans in the UK shows that majority (80%) of migrants sent money home at least every 3 months (Bump, 2006). These give the indication that people outside their countries of origin transfer resources regularly.

This study found similar trend. Of the total sample, 80% of the migrants remitted regularly. That is, while some respondents remit once or twice in 3 months, others send money or goods once or twice in every 4 months to their relatives back home. For example, Eunice, a businesswoman explained that, "I ensure that money is sent to my family members regularly in order to better their living condition. I decided to remit them twice every 3 months because cost of living is high in Ghana now." According to Kwasi, an Internet café owner, "I am here working very hard in order to send money to my people regularly because I have made up my mind to remit them once in every 3 months." Another respondent, Joseph an ethnic food seller reported, "I regularly remit my people once in every 4 months in order to pay their bills." Similarly, Pendleton *et al*., (2006) studies among other African migrants in South Africa found that migrants remitted at least once every 3 months to family members in countries of origin.

The remaining 20% claimed to have remitted occasionally implying migrants send money once every 6 months and/or once in a year to relatives. A respondent reported that, "I need to save to get substantial amount for our families back home so that is the reason why I remit home half yearly" (Dorman a clothing designer). This confirms Pendleton *et al*., (2006) studies among other African migrants in South Africa found

that migrants remitted once in every 6 months. Cogently, Mazzucato, *et al*., (2004a) observation with German and Ghanaian immigrants and migrants in Amsterdam demonstrated similar frequency with which monies are sent to relatives back home.

The frequency with which resources were remitted by migrants in fact largely depended on the regularity at which these remittances are made and this explains why majority of the respondents reported the number of times in a month they sent remittances to families in order to cope with the economic conditions back home. Migrants who remitted regularly expressed their concerns about their relatives who are facing financial difficulties in country of origin. According to Richard, a hairdresser/barber, "Sister, I decided to remit them regularly because I know how my parents and my other family members are suffering back home. You know how our economy is so you need not ask further questions on the reasons why I transfer resources regularly." Prince who trades in fruits and toffees explained why he remits occasionally. He reported that, " I know the economy back home but I also have to be careful since the job I find myself in does not give me adequate amount to enable me send money regularly hence once in every 6 months. Anyway, whenever there is an urgent need for financial assistance I do transfer the little I have to them." Another Respondent, Boakye (a shoe and bag repairer) also said, "I send money occasionally (that is, once a year) because when you send them money often, they might think all is well with me meanwhile, look at the work I am doing here. So I decided to give them money or goods once every year so I will be able to save money to enter into trading."

Besides the frequency of remittances the study also attempted to ascertain the amount of money remitted to relatives back home. Of the total sample size, it was revealed that five respondents remitted annually between R9 500 – R12 800, nine respondents remitted between R10 000 – R26 000, five respondents remitted between R15 800 – R60 00 and the remaining one respondent remitted R16 000. I found in this study that, all the respondents did not remit same amount anytime they send money back home. They reported amount remitted depends on monthly sales. All the respondents gave average amounts (as mentioned above) that they remitted, but were reluctant to give specific figures as a result it was therefore difficult to collect accurate data on resources sent home. This supports the studies on Ghanaian migrants in the UK who were not specific in the amount of money they (migrants) sent to relatives home

(Adam Jnr., 2006). He further found out that migrants with higher income do transfer substantial amount whereas those with small income reported to have remitted a little of their income to family members. Pendleton et al., (2006) revealed similar trends relating to the proportion of money remitted by African migrants in South Africa.

Respondents reported they remitted 'particular' amount to families base on the severity of the situation in which those relatives find themselves. Kwasi (owner of internet café) explains why he once sent huge amount to his family. He stated, "The last money I sent was quite huge because my Dad has to undergo a major surgery of the heart at home." According to this respondent, he sent such money in order to safe the life of his Dad, if necessary because none of his relatives could afford to pay such medical expenses. From another migrant (Richard is a Hairdresser/barber), "Basically, I remit my family members so that my younger sister would continually be in school. Amount of money remitted is quite substantial to cater for everything she needs for her education as you how education has become very competitive in Ghana." Adjei, a welder also explained that, "I have wife and a child in Ghana so the size of my remittance is quite large so that they would be able to cope with the economy downturn." Similarly, a 29 year old Akwasi who is a carpenter reported that, "I normally remitted substantial amount in order to cater for my dear wife and son's needs." These imply that the amount of money remitted would be higher if one is married and very low amount from migrants without any dependants.

The study revealed that most of the remittances were used for paying utility bills, school fees, buying food and in some situation some are invested in businesses. 80% of the respondents claimed they remitted for family sustenance while the remaining 20% remitted purposely for business purposes. These reasons confirm an empirical study among Afghans, Palestinians and Sri Lankan migrants in the Diaspora (Van Hear, 2003). The study found that while some migrants remitted for family sustenance, others sent money for business ventures.

Conclusion

It is well known that migrants across the world remit for various reasons and these reasons may be social, economic and/or political (Adams Jnr., 2006; Laquerre, 1999; Stark, 1991). Ghanaian migrants in South Africa are motivated by both social and economic factors because while some migrants remitted money and goods for family sustenance and payment of bills, other migrants also transfer money to establish business ventures.

Like other migrants elsewhere, Ghanaian migrants in South Africa also send money, good or both to families in country of origin. Similarly, Mazzucato, (2005) studies of Moroccans, Turkish and Ghanaians in the Netherlands found that immigrants and migrants remitted goods, money or both to family members left behind. In the same way, Somalis in the USA remitted same resources to relatives back home (Shady, 2003).

Scholars have demonstrated that two different channels are used for sending remittances by migrants from Mexico, Paraguay, Haiti, Somali and other part of Africa (Laguerre, 1999; Oronzo, 2001; Pendleton et al., 2006; Shady, 2003). Ghanaian migrants in South Africa used both formal and informal channels to transmit goods, money or both to family members. Majority (75%) of the respondents used specialised money transfer institutions such as the banks to send money and sea freight services to transport heavy goods such as computers and other electrical appliances. Migrants chose these channels because of they are fast, convenience and reliable. Of the total sample, 80% remitted money while 20% sent both money and goods back home. Trust plays a crucial role in the use of informal channel. Migrants who chose this channel rely on friends, association member and neighbours for introducing them to reliable people who will send they resources on their behalf.

Ghanaian respondents sent both money and goods to relatives and loved ones back home however, amount of money especially sent home may be under or over reporting since these migrants do not use same channels to remit. Also, the reasons for remitting and frequency of remittances vary from individual respondent,

depending on various circumstances. While some respondents remitted only money, others too sent goods to relatives.

Lastly, frequency with which remittances are sent varies from individual respondent.

While some migrants send money and goods once a month, once 3 months and once in every 4 months to family members, others remit once in every 6 months or in a year and this supports the findings of Pendleton et al., (2006) that the frequency with which African migrants also sent resources are similar.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The main objective of the study was to critically evaluate remittance practices used by Ghanaians workers in the informal economy in South Africa and their reasons behind their choices of particular remittance practices. The study explored and analyzed migrants' social profile in order to get a better understanding of how they experience life in South Africa. In addition, an analysis was undertaken in order to understand the factors that influenced their migration. For some of the migrants, they migrated to South Africa with the hope of making life better than they had experienced back home. Many migrants were quite disappointed by the conditions they had to endure in South Africa, mainly because many of them had expected to quickly to reap economic benefits from being in Johannesburg. The concluding part of this report will provide a summary of the main findings, before coming up with some policy recommendations for further academic research.

The research explored remittance practices and reasons behind the choices of a particular remittance practice by Ghanaians involved in labour migrancy in the informal economy in Johannesburg. When analysing the raw interview data gathered from these respondents using thematic analysis it was observed that all participants maintained link with their relatives and loved ones back home through remittances and for various motivating factors. The research revealed that, of the twenty respondents interviewed, 60% of the respondents remitted because of social factor, 20% remitted for economic factor while the remaining 20% remitted family members in country of origin for both social and economic factors. This is consistent with the findings of Gunstille (1986) and Oronzo, (2001) who also established that, migrants remitted for both social and economic reasons. None of the respondents was

motivated to remit family members by political factor. With respect to the social the "unwritten contract" emerged to play a major role in remittance practices by these Ghanaian migrants and this according to Stark (1991) forms the core to the practice of remitting by migrants in different parts of the world. These motivating factors (social, economic or both) are also found to be familiar to other immigrants and migrants who remit in other part of the world. It was explored from this current study that the reasons given by these migrants for remitting fell into three groups namely, altruism, self-interest and 'enlightened' self-interest.

Money emerged to be the sole resource sent to family members. 80% of the respondents sent money while 20% sent both money and goods for business purposes. These migrants used two channels to remit money, goods or both. These channels are formal and informal. The formal channel used included institutions like Standard Bank and Rennies with MoneyGram as product offered by these institutions. The 20% migrants who transferred goods used sea freight services while the informal channel was through personal contacts. Among those who remitted through official channel, reliability and convenience were the common reasons advanced while trust emerged to be an important factor when it comes to remitting through friends and/or relatives among migrants. With respect to the high cost involved in transferring money through official means, 75% of the respondents remitted through official channels however, due to high cost involved in remitting, it was revealed that migrants could not send huge sum of money to relatives

Suro and Bendixen (2001) showed that Latinos in the USA remitted mostly through informal channels however this study documented only a smaller number (i.e. 25% of respondents) remitted through unofficial channel (personal contacts).

Two types of remittance practices were explored in terms of frequency. These are regular and occasional. The research demonstrated that, whereas the majority (75%) of the respondents remitted once or twice a month or quarterly, the minority (25%) do send money once six months or in a year. All respondents remitted in order to better the standard of living of their relatives.

The study found that economic crises acted as push factor in influencing Ghanaian migrants to emigrate to South Africa. Economic factor as a common reason that pushes and pulls people across the world is well known. Classical examples are people from South America to North America, from Eastern Europe to Western Europe, and from Africa to Europe in search for better opportunities. Similarly in this study, Ghanaian migrants came to South Africa with the hope that they would find better economic conditions. For this reason, while economic downturn in Ghana acts as a push factor for migration, perceived better economic conditions in South Africa also acts as pull factors in influencing Ghanaian migrants to South Africa. In addition, high costs and high levels of refusals of visas by the USA and European embassies are contributory factors in influencing Ghanaians migration to South Africa. It would be argued that a combination of factors discussed above influenced the migration of these respondents to South Africa.

I found that migrant social organization played major roles in establishing immigrants' networks. Through these networks, they could secure employment, facilitate skills transfer and training, and develop migrant ethnic niches. The many Ghanaian niches in Yeoville and Hillbrow are as a result of their strong and complex networks and GHAJOSA in the neighbourhood because the main aims of this Association are to look after the well-being of their members, enforce solidarity amongst members, maintain strong backward ties with families and provide financial assistance and work for migrants.

Through engaging in small business activities outside the margins of the law, these migrants are able to achieve economic successes. The following were found to be the reasons behind migrants' economic successes. Firstly, they can easily raise initial capital through their community connections, organizations, close relatives, and from fellow migrants. These sources of income for migrant communities are not uncommon elsewhere (Gold, 1992; MacGaffey and Bazenguissa- Ganga, 2000) and secondly, the solidarity and trust amongst these migrants facilitate the flow of resources amongst friends, compatriots and clients. This economic advantage is strengthened by the fact that they are largely concentrated in particular neighbourhoods such as Hilbrow and Yeoville. The low cost of living, the presence of relatives and friends, as well as the commercial potential of Hillbrow and Yeoville

were the main reasons why these immigrants concentrated in these neighbourhoods. Gold (1992) examined similar advantages for Vietnamese businesses in the USA.

The study observed that migrants travelled at youthful age in order to work hard for their own benefit and for the benefit of relatives. Mazzucato, 2005; Rogerson, 1997a found similar trends among migrants from Morocco, Turkey and Ghana in the Netherlands and other African countries in South Africa. In addition, it was observed that respondents are highly educated. A study among African countries in South Africa demonstrated similar trend (Rogerson, 1997a). Rogerson found that majority immigrants for his study had some tertiary and secondary education. He further revealed that immigrants are skilled workers than migrants from the Southern Africa Development Community.

Of the total sample, 75% are married and out of the 75%, 45% are married to South Africans while 30% are married to Ghanaians (10% spouses live in Ghana). The remaining 25% are single. These migrants came to South Africa between 1993 and 2006 and because the majority of the migrants entered into marriages with South Africans, their legal status had changed. 25% of the respondents live in Braamfontein, 25% in Hillbrow and 50% in Yeoville.

Recommendations

This report will not be complete, if some policy suggestions based on the research findings are not made. The under-mentioned recommendations are made in accordance with the research findings.

There should be a reduction in banks commission charges on money transfer in both countries so that migrants could remit substantial amount to their families and with this policy put in place it would also encourage the use of these institutions by most migrants, which in turn guarantee revenue to both the host and sending countries.

Places like Yeoville, Berea and Hillbrow are noted to be where most migrants live and engaged in informal activities. It would be of great benefit if these places are renovated to improve their (migrants) social and living conditions.

The methods used to gather raw data could be improved. Both qualitative and quantitative methods could be used to throw more light on remittance practices because while quantitative data can be used to explore associations and their statistical generalisability for general population, qualitative data can also be used to appreciate social processes.

There is a need to research into the statistics on Ghanaians in South Africa so that there will be a figure to work with.

Lastly, a further research studies is needed on remittance practices by both remitters and non-remitters to know the reasons for those who do not remit and also, a study on the impact of remittance.

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Appendix I

CONSENT FORM

Graduate School of Humanities
University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa

Hello! My name is Gifty Naa Densuah Dodoo from the School of Humanities at the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg and currently carrying out a survey to find out more about remittance practices of Ghanaians involved in labour migrancy in the informal economy. I am neither working for the government nor any aid organization; this study is **only** for research purposes in order to know your opinions on this matter.

Your participation will help me a lot in completing this study however participation is completely voluntary. Any information and identity you will give me will be kept strictly confidential. You can refuse to answer any question you do not want at anytime in the interview and will also be happy to answer any question you may ask me. The interview will take about 50 minutes to complete.

Thank you.

……. **……..**
Name of Respondent **Signature**

Telephone Number(s):……

Email Address (if any):……..

Appendix II

Guiding questions for Migrants Labour

Time Started:

I WOULD FIRST LIKE TO ASK ABOUT YOUR PROFILE

Section 1: **Profile**

1. Sex
2. How old are you?
3. Marital status?
4. Do you live with your spouse/partner?
5. What is the nationality of your spouse/partner?
6. Do you have children/dependants? How many?
7. Where do they live?
8. What is your educational background?
9. Do you have any professional skills/qualifications?
   If yes, which one? If no, why?

THANKS A LOT FOR THE ABOVE DETAILS. NOW I WOULD LIKE TOASKE YOU SOME DETAILS ABOUT YOUR JOURNEY TO JOHANNESBURG

Section 2: Migrancy

10. How did you come to South Africa and Johannesburg in particular?
11. When did you arrive?
12. Did you come alone?
13. Why did you decide to leave your country?
14. Why did you come to South Africa and not other country?
15. How do you negotiate day-to-day living here?
16. D you communicate with your family in Ghana?
    a) How often do you communicate with them?
    b) Why are you in communication with them?
17. Do you visit home? If yes, how often? If no, why?
18. Do you intend to go back home?
20. What were you doing before you left Ghana?

Section 3: Life in Johannesburg

21. Where do you live?
22. Do you live on your own?
23. Did you rent the Place? How much?
24. How long have you been here?
25. What status do you have in South Africa?

Section 4: Employment

26. Are you employed? If yes, how did you get? If no, how do you survive?
27. Describe what you do everyday?
28. How long have you been in employment?
29. How much do you earn?
30. What conditions do you encounter in this type of economy?

Section 5: Remittance Behaviour

31. Do you remit?
32. To whom do you usually remit?
33. If you do, what factors motivate you to remit?
34. What type of resources do you remit?
35. How often do you send resources back home?
36. Do you remit the same amount every time?
37. Which place do you send remittances to?
38. When was the last time you remitted?
39. How much money/goods do you send at a time?
40. How do you remit? Why?
41. Do you encounter problems when remitting?
42. What happens to your financial status when you remit?
43. Any other comment?

Time Finished:

THANKS FOR YOUR TIME!

Appendix III

List of Respondents

No.	Name and Marital Status	Age	Activity engage in	Place of Work	Place of Abode	Duration of stay in SA
1	Atta Prince (Married)	29 years	Sells fruits/sweets and cigarette	Parktown	Hillbrow	6 years
2	Atta Boakye (Married)	29 years	Shoe and bag repairer and sells fruits	Parktown	Hillbrow	2 years
3	Haroun Siedu (Married)	34 years	Tailor	Braamfontein	Braamfortein	7 years
4	Levy Dorman (Married)	46 years	Clothing Designer	Braamfortein	Braamfortein	14 years
5	Adu Ransford (Married)	48 years	Sells clothes	Braamfontein	Braamfontein	2 years
6	Richard Addo (Married)	32 years	Hairdresser/barber	Yeoville	Braamfontein	9 years
7	Pappy (Single)	32 years	Barber	Yeoville	Braamfontein	2 years
8	Kwasi Twumasi (Married)	29 years	Internet café operator	Hillbrow	Yeoville	4 years
9	Nana Daniel Danso (Single)	29 years	Sells Ghanaian food	Hillbrow	Yeoville	3 years
10	J. Boamah (Married)	34 years	Hairdresser	Hillbrow	Yeoville	9 years
11.	Frank Afranie (Single)	28 years	Operates Ghanaian restaurant	Hillbrow	Yeoville	3 years
12	Nana Owusu (Married)	26 years	Sells food and drinks	Hllbrow	Yeoville	1 year
13	Isaac Adjei (Married)	34 years	Welder	Hillbrow	Yeoville	8 years
14	Akwasi Duah (Married)	36 years	Carpenter	Hillbrow	Yeoville	8 years
15	Joseph Ofori (Single)	32 years	Barber and operates a mini bar	Hillbrow	Yeoville	4 years
16.	Akosua Baidoo (Married)	30 years	Sells fruits and toffees	Hillbrow	Yeoville	6 year
17	Afia Mensah (Married)	28 years	Waitress/Hairdresser	Hillbrow	Yeoville	7 years
18	Eunice Abbey (Married)	32 years	Hairdresser	Berea	Hillbrow	4 years
19.	Janet Quaye (Married)	29 years	Sells fruits, vegetables and cigarettes	Berea	Hillbrow	1 year
20	Rita Manu (Single)	27 years	Hairdresser	Berea	Hillbrow	9 years