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Language, immigration and employment: the case of the Ghanaian community in Johannesburg

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Chapter 1
RESEARCH AIM, RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND RATIONALE

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1.1. INTRODUCTION

This study focuses on the relationship between language and employment in a Ghanaian immigrant community in South Africa. The researcher surveyed the language and employment profiles of 100 Ghanaian immigrants. In addition, 15 in-depth interviews with 15 other Ghanaian immigrants residing in Johannesburg in South Africa were conducted. The study focused on immigrants who were working legally in the formal or informal sectors as well as those who were underemployed[1] or unemployed.

Studies regarding the South African labour market have emphasised the importance of language and literacy for the growth of the market. Mary-Anne Sinovich (1994: 17) argues that

> Developing a person's literacy and language skills has many benefits for companies and individuals. It improves understanding, self-confidence,general knowledge, communication skills, job outlook and approach and, through a knock on effect, productivity and morale. The result is a better work climate and an understanding of business culture.

Literate workers, with language proficiency, are thus considered to be making significant contributions towards manpower development in the South African labour market. These workers often display high levels of motivation and productivity. International studies regarding language and literacy corroborate Sinovich's (1994) view and assert that competence in destination languages tends to create both employment opportunities and higher wages among immigrants (See Chiswick, 1998; Chiswick &

[1] Underemployment refers to " ... condition of workers whose education or training make them overqualified for their jobs" (Encyclopedia Britannica, 1987: 128).

Miller, 1999; Hull, 2001; Freire, 2001; *Migration News*, March 2002). This study's focus on the relationship between language and employment is intended to make contribution in this regard among the minority group of immigrants within the local South African context.

1. 2. Research Questions:

There is one main question and three sub-questions.

Main question:

What are the factors that promote or prevent the learning of destination languages among Ghanaian immigrants living in Johannesburg?

Sub-questions:

1. **What is the relationship between language and employment among Ghanaian immigrants residing in Johannesburg?**
2. **How do Ghanaian immigrants living in Johannesburg learn the languages of their host countries?**
3. **How do Ghanaian immigrants adapt linguistically in social and cultural domains?**

1. 3. Research Aim

The study aims to assess the relationship between language and employment on the one hand, and immigrants' access to the South African economy in relation to their language profiles, on the other. The study explores the job skills that immigrants have acquired before arrival in South Africa, their present jobs, the languages they required in order to gain access to employment in the South African labour market, and how language has helped immigrants to retain their jobs.

1. 4. Rationale

The skills shortage and the efforts of both the South African government and the business community to resolve this shortage constitute the rationale. This is set against the background of Mary-Anne Sinovich's (1994: 17) assertion that a literate labour force with requisite skills, knowledge and competence is well positioned to contribute significantly to the South African economy.

In particular I will discuss the following:

- The concerns of the South African government and the country's business community regarding the national skills shortage (1. 4. 1).
- The Skills Development Act of 1998 (1. 4. 2).
- Use of expatriate African skilled workers to address the skills shortage (1. 4. 3).
- The enactment of a new immigration law in 2002 (1. 4. 4).
- Language and the labour market (1. 4. 5).

The skills shortage, the Skills Development Act of 1998, the use of expatriates and the immigration law of 2002 are contextual factors. I have therefore used them as part of the rationale of the study. This is because they form part of my motivation for the study.

1. 4.1. Skills shortage in South Africa

Availability of skilled professionals at all levels in the South African economy and development of the required manpower are important issues for the South African government (Kraak, 2005). A Standard Bank research team investigated the skills shortage in the country and estimated a shortfall of between 200, 000 to 500, 000 skilled labour. Further, it identified 33 government sectors, including project management, accountancy, computer programming, financial services, management and engineering which required skilled labour. Public sector salaries increased in order to attract highly competent workers. Foreign direct investors, who could have helped to generate jobs, were also reluctant to invest in the South African labour market due to the skills shortage (*Financial Mail,* 17 May, 2002).

South Africa's former president, Thabo Mbeki, acknowledged the impact of the lack of a skilled labour force on the South African economy as articulated in his State-of–the–Nation's address in February, 2001 (*SAPA,* 30 May 2002) and reiterated later in a press statement that,

> There are obviously some very clear weaknesses in the economy, one of them is of course the skills problem. We have to focus on that particular matter of addressing the skills problem, which lies at the base of the levels of unemployment in the country (Cape Town, *SAPA, 3*0 May 2002).

The Integrated Manufacturing Strategy (IMS)[2] also admitted the unavailability of the required skills to boost the economy and the nation's lack of capacity to produce these skills in a short time. Goolam Ballim, a Standard Bank economist, also suggested that "investment in skills across the board is critical". In addition, the Ministry of Labour promulgated the Skills Development Act in 1998 as one of the measures to address the skills shortages. Thus, the notion of a 'brain drain' is being considered as an important national issue that requires South Africa to revamp the economy.

1. 4. 2. Skills Development Act of 1998

The Act envisages that South African workers would have more job opportunities, be mobile in the labour market and consequently enjoy a better standard of living (Preamble to the Skills Development Act, 1998). The Act also makes provision for the establishment of Skills Development Planning Unit within the Department of Labour with the mandate "to research and analyse the labour market in order to determine skills development needs" (Skills Development Act 1998, chapter 6, section 2 (a)).

However, the Ministry's skills development strategy appeared to have been ineffective at the time. Iraj Abedian, a Standard Bank economist, condemned the scheme for its failure to create requisite skills supply and suggested employment of expatriate workers. "An expatriate is someone who has chosen to live in a country other than the one in which he or she legally resides. Most expatriates do not plan on residing in their new country permanently, and if they do, they plan on retaining their native citizenship for practical purposes" (www. wisegeek. com). Iraj Abedian explained that these workers would not only use their expertise, but they would also generate jobs. He claimed that, "for every skilled person who moved to South Africa, as many as five jobs would be created and the multiplier effect would be felt immediately" (*Business Report*, 21 May, 2002). Ghanaian immigrants residing in Johannesburg are African expatriates. They can, therefore, contribute to alleviation of the skills shortage. However, their successful contribution depends on their language skills and their ability to adapt to the multilingual South African context. This research could inform current and future policy formulation.

[2] The IMS is a policy document prepared by the Department of Trade and Industry. It is aimed at developing and attracting skills.

Abedian's position was supported by others who were in favour of the importation of skills to South Africa and considered this as the only means to solve the country's skills shortage (Mahabane, 2002). Alistair Ruiters, Director-general of the Department of Trade and Industry, also lamented on the inadequate supply of skilled personnel in important sectors of the national economy and suggested immediate employment of foreign skilled workers to correct the anomaly (Loxton, 2002). Don Ross of the School of Economics at the University of Cape Town also believed that "a significant and steady inflow of skilled immigrants would…alleviate the anxiety fuelling the brain drain". Similarly, Kevin Wakeford, Chief Executive Officer of SA Chamber of Business remarked that "SA would experience net immigration if authorities were sensitive to investors' needs to import personnel" (Berkowitz, 2001: 2).The next section (1. 4.3) will focus on expatriate African skilled workers.

1. 4. 3. Expatriate African Skilled Workers

Leaders of the Southern African region also recognise the importance of using skilled foreign labour. Justin Malewazi, vice-President of Malawi, appealed to the thirteen governments in the Southern African Development Community (SADC)[3] to liberalise their immigration policies in order to encourage even distribution of skilled migrant labour in the sub region (*Migration News*, September, 2001).

In the same vein, at an African Union meeting in July 2002 in Durban, South Africa, Sam Nujoma, former President of Namibia, emphasized employment of skilled Africans. He stated that

> They (African skilled workers) must come back home and contribute to Africa's socio-economic development and the upliftment of the standard of living of our people. They must be persuaded to make a contribution to the ending of Africa's humiliating marginalisation.

Educated Africans have useful roles to play in their respective countries and on the continent as well. Former President Nujoma emphasized migrant skills and knowledge.

> Requisite knowledge and skills will enable our continent to realise the optimal exploitation and use of its resources and thereby to be able to effectively fight

[3] SADC member-states are Angola, Botswana, Democratic Republic of Congo, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe (*Migration News*, September, 2001).

> poverty and diseases that haunt millions of Africans today (Nujoma.*The Namibian*, 10 July 2002).

Anthony van Graan, Jobsender's International Director and Recruitment Specialist also called on African countries and companies to recruit African expatriates so that the continent could gain African skills for the betterment of Africans (*The Sowetan*, 07 July, 2002)**.** If the role of skilled African workers was considered crucial in the South African economy, then my view is that there is the need to examine the current as well as the future contributions of African immigrants in the South African labour market. Research is necessary to examine the skills that would enable them to make these contributions.

In order to attract skilled African workers, the South African government reviewed South Africa's Aliens Control Act of 1991 and enacted a new immigration act in 2002. I will consider the impact of the new immigration law in section 1. 4. 4.

1. 4. 4. South African Immigration Law of 2002

The Immigration Act of 2002 states in its preamble that one of the objectives of the Act is to create an environment whereby:

> The South African economy may have access at all times to the full measure of needed contributions by foreigners.

In section 2 (1), the Act states that *"*…businesses in the Republic may employ foreigners who are needed*"* in order to enable *"*exceptionally skilled or qualified people to sojourn in the Republic". These measures are expected to result in an increase in *"*skilled human resources in the republic*"*.

The above legal provisions indicate the government's intention to avail the South African labour market of foreign expertise to fill existing vacancies and also prevent acute skills shortage in future.

However, there were mixed attitudes towards the Immigration Act. Whilst Alec Erwin, Minister of Trade and Industry, believes that it would motivate employers to recruit foreign skilled workers, the business community condemned it as being cumbersome, full of administrative red tape and time-consuming in its requirements. The business community argued that the quota system in the Act would make it difficult for employers

to determine the key areas where skills were needed. In the quota system the .government would decide on yearly requirements of skills and provide the appropriate quotas to both public and private sectors. Thus, the business community asserted that the quota system would hinder importation of skills (*The Star*, 21 May 2002).

Coetzee (2002) suggested two categories of workers who could competently fill the vacancies for the skilled labour. These two groups were South African 'white' male skilled workers who were unemployed as a result of the Employment Equity Act and secondly, skilled immigrants who are already residing in the country. If the South African government were to consider the latter suggestion, policy makers would require detailed and reliable data such as the one that this study anticipates to produce with regard to Ghanaian immigrants.

This situation has created opportunities for migrant labour. Ghanaian immigrants have capitalised on these conditions and are able to contribute to the South African labour market. However, the contribution of Ghanaian immigrants is contingent on the language resources of such immigrants as well as the prospects and difficulties prevailing in the South African labour market. Ghana's population in 2008 was 23, 351,000 of which 49% are female and 51% are male. The combined literacy rate is 65.8% with projected literacy growth rate of 72.3% for males and 59.3% for females (World Bank indicators, 2009). Literacy is, therefore, one of the strengths of Ghanaians in the South African context. Thus, Ghana tends favourably towards being a potential labour sending country. I will briefly discuss the relationship between language and the labour market in the following section (1.4.5).

1. 4. 5. Language and the labour market

The field of language studies has also brought to the fore the relationship between language and labour. Proficiency in the languages of the labour receiving countries is presumed to provide immigrants with greater employment opportunities and higher wages (Badets, 1999; Chiswick & Miller, 1999; Chiswick, 1998; Shields and Wheatley Price, 2001). Chiswick & Miller (1999) confirm that immigrants with English proficiency in the United States tend to earn higher wages as compared with those with less competence in English.

Further, a white paper released in the United Kingdom in February 2002 seeks to make competence in English a requirement for obtaining British citizenship. According to David Blunkett, the British Home Secretary, "If you wish to gain British nationality, and literally hundreds of thousands of people are applying....having the [English] language will…be mandatory." (www. migration.ucdavis.edu, March 2002,). Studies in Israel also link competence in both Hebrew and English to immigrants' higher wages (Chiswick, 1998). Similarly, literate labour in the dominant language, as opposed to illiterate labour, is considered to be more productive and beneficial to the individual as well as to the society (Graff, 1987).

These assumptions of benefits of proficiency in English and in a dominant destination language are, however, problematic. For example, when one considers the context of the local history of linguistic competence in South Africa, where English dominates both the public and private sectors, one must ask, "In which language is literacy most valued, English or an indigenous language?." Furthermore, xenophobia appears to have become more pronounced where immigrants' inability to communicate in the destination languages tends to generate xenophobic attitudes leading to gross disregard for and abuse of immigrants' basic human rights (United Nations Department of Public Information, 2001; Adler, 2000; Suarez-Orozco, 2001; Borjas, 1995; Foster et al., 1991; Heisler, 1992; Zegers de Beijl, 1990; Reynolds, Falger & Vine et al., 1987).

This research is interested in interrogating the validity of such assumptions with respect to Ghanaian immigrants in the South African context. An investigation of the relationship between language and employment and its implications on the employment opportunities of these immigrants could corroborate or reject the assumptions.

1. 5. Thesis Overview

Chapter one presented a background to the issues in the thesis. The chapter included the research aim, the research questions and the rationale of the research.

Chapter two will consider the context of this study. It describes the global economy; social, political and economic conditions in South Africa and Ghana as important areas that provide an understanding of the presence of Ghanaians in Johannesburg and the challenges they experience in relation to the use of language.

Chapter three discusses the literature review, theoretical and the conceptual framework that informed the study. The discussion on the literature review highlights issues regarding globalisation, xenophobia and the relationship between language, immigration and the labour market. The conceptual framework includes contexts of language use, 'push' and 'pull' factors of language learning, 'germination' factors of language learning, bridging 'outsider' and 'insider' identities using language and finally investment and identities.

Chapter four discusses the research methodology. It describes both quantitative and qualitative methods and highlights the use of in-depth interviews and questionnaires as the means of data collection.

Chapters five presents the analysis of the quantitative data from the survey questionnaire. It highlights my main argument and serves as an introduction to the analysis and discussion of the three case studies in chapters six, seven and eight.

Chapters six, seven and eight present the analysis and discussion of stories of respondents. Each chapter considers three stories. Chapter six is about an architect, a dentist and a businessman. Chapter seven involves a technician, a mechanic and a 'burger'. Chapter eight focuses on an accountant, a salesgirl and a student.

Chapter nine which is the concluding chapter summarises the key findings in relation to the research questions and the concepts adopted for the study. The chapter also makes suggestions for further research.

Chapter 2
CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

2.0. Introduction
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2. 0. INTRODUCTION

In this section, I will give an overview of the present state of global employment and discuss the past and present social, political and economic conditions in both South Africa and Ghana with particular reference to geography, population, political and economic history, education, migration and unemployment. I have used a mixture of dated and recent statistics for the discussion in this chapter for two reasons. Firstly, this chapter discusses the past and the present conditions of different sectors in both Ghana and South Africa so some statistics are likely to be dated whilst others are recent. Secondly, as a result of my personal circumstances, this work took ten years to complete. Thus, the information collected covers the period 2002 to 2011. The chapter begins with the global economy.

2. 1. Global economy

The global economy is defined as:

> The expansion of economies beyond national borders, in particular, the expansion of production by transnational corporations to many countries around the world. The global economy includes the globalization of production, markets, finance, communications, and the labour force”. (www.colours.mahost.org).

One may conclude that as national economies get involved in international participation, more jobs would be created.

However, the global economy still grapples with underemployment and unemployment. The 2001 Annual World Employment Report of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) estimates that one billion of the world's available labour force of three billion are either unemployed or underemployed, and 14% (160 million) of them have no jobs. The remaining 86% (840 million) either work part time or work for less than a living wage. The report states further that the world's economy needs to stabilise at its present rate in order to create half a billion more jobs for prospective workers within the next ten years. At the same rate and period, a decline in unemployment is also likely to occur (*World of Work,* 2001: 5). In the opinion of Michel Hansenne, Director General of the ILO:

> The global employment situation is grim, and getting grimmer…The critical role of a high-quality, educated and skilled workforce must gain more prominence.
> (Hansenne, 1998: highlight).

Of further importance is the fact that international and national economies tend to depend on globalisation. Its problems notwithstanding, globalisation increasingly determines collective international development, where individual nations hope to progress and prosper. Former President of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki, articulates this view in the following words:

> We believe that the central challenge we face today is to ensure that globalisation becomes a positive force for all the world's people. Through both our global and regional programmes we can and must ensure that globalisation indeed becomes a valuable process, which will bring about sustainable development and prosperity for all (Mbeki, AllAfrica.com, 12 September, 2002).

This study considered migration issues, which form an integral part of the globalisation process. Immigration is an important component of globalisation whilst through language immigrant workers acquire the skills "needed in the rapidly growing knowledge-intensive sector of the global economy" (Murnane, 1996 in Suarez-Orozco, 2001: 345). President Mbeki's challenge for all nations coupled with South Africa's need for skilled manpower require the attention of all South Africans. I, therefore, intend to focus on South Africa in the next section 2. 2.

2. 2. South Africa

In this subsection, I will consider factors in the country's economic history (2. 2.1) which have resulted in economic inequalities for South Africans (2. 2. 2). I will then discuss the relationship between migration and unemployment in the country (2. 2. 3).

2. 2. 1. Economic history of South Africa

South Africa has one of the most vibrant and stable economies in Africa. The country has, however, experienced important stages of transformation from an agrarian to industrialized and middle-income economy. During the nineteenth century, South Africa depended mainly on wool for export and subsistence farming. At that time food production was hardly adequate for domestic consumption. Further, deplorable infrastructure and lack of comprehensive economic policies required, undermined foreign investment and resulted in very little economic growth.

However, the latter part of the nineteenth century marked a turning point in the country's economy. Within this period the basis of the economy shifted from agriculture to mining. Diamonds were discovered around the Orange River and the Vaal River in 1867. Similarly, in 1886 the world's largest deposit of gold was found in the Witwatersrand. These discoveries attracted foreign investment, which in turn boosted economic expansion and diversification after 1945. Whilst transportation and communication were modernized, production of manufactured goods also developed and improved significantly. One of the results of this economic growth was a rise in the gross domestic product (GDP).

For about ten years (1960-1970) the GDP remained stable at the rate of 70%, while this country's population grew at the rate of 34%, resulting in an increase in the per capita income. Policies caused economic disparities between Black and White South Africans. These policies consequently created imbalances in the distribution of wealth, which adversely affected the standard of living of the majority of South Africans.

2. 2. 2. Economic inequalities in South Africa

South Africa's economic growth resulted in rural-urban migration of Black South Africans and migrants from the SADC countries. Black South Africans abandoned subsistence farming and placed their hope in being absorbed into the manufacturing and mining

sectors of the economy. Unlike the other races (Whites and Asians) most Black South Africans experienced poor and unequal conditions of employment and wages. In contrast White South Africans occupied "professional, managerial, technical and supervisory" positions (Ngcobo, 1976: 68) as a result of their educational qualifications, "custom, trade union sanctions, and law" (Encyclopedia Americana, 2001: 271).

However, during the greater part of the 1960s, an inadequate supply of white skilled labour coupled with the need for semi-skilled personnel, compelled white labour unions and corporate organizations to employ coloured, Asian and black workers. The unions and the organizations concluded various agreements, which "made it possible for coloureds and Asians to become more generally employed as panel beaters, spray painters and trimmers, and for Africans to be entrusted with jobs like cleaning and greasing motor cars, and assisting the white artisans with repair work and tool handling" in the manufacturing sector (Ngcobo, 1976: 69). This need for labour and the subsequent liberalization of the South African labour market attracted migrant workers to South Africa for political, economic and social reasons. The following section (2. 2. 3) focuses on migration and unemployment.

2. 2. 3. Migration and unemployment in South Africa

Studies regarding migration in South Africa are central to this research. These studies seek to argue that whether this labour is skilled or unemployed, such labour needs to be seen as an interim measure in dealing with the current skills problems facing the country. This research focuses on the use of immigrant labour already available in the country, thus making discussion of these studies necessary. There are five categories of immigrants in South Africa. These are visitors who enter the country for business and holiday purposes, temporary workers, students, permanent settlers and refugees. Immigrants of each category need to obtain visa or permits before their arrival in the country. In this subsection, I will focus on refugees (2. 2. 3.1) and permanent settlers (2. 2. 3. 2) because they are immigrants in South Africa that are mostly documented. I will also discuss emigration (2. 2. 3. 3) and unemployment (2. 3) in South Africa.

2. 2. 3. 1. Refugees in South Africa

South Africa's recognition of refugees started in 1993. This was in accordance with the 1951 Geneva Convention passed on 28 July 1951 to protect 60 million refugees of the

Second World War. The Convention was reviewed in 1967 to deal with general refugee issues.

> The term refugee shall apply to one person who, owing to well-founded fears of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it (UNCHR, 1992: 3).

Thus, a refugee flees his/her own country for social and political reasons and seeks protection in another country. In 1993 there were 118 countries, including South Africa, as signatories to the Convention. The number of signatories, however, rose to 194 in 2000 (www.e-joussour.net).

2,000 people applied daily for asylum in South Africa in summer 2010 (www. migration.ucdavis.edu; *Migration News*, October, 2010). South Africa reviewed its Refugee Act of 1998 in order to provide better services to asylum seekers. However, asylum applications have overwhelmed the government. At the end of 2008, the South African government registered 207,200 asylum applications with 227,000 outstanding applications. South Africa, thus, became the major asylum destination in the world. In 2010 the government accepted 43,500 legal refugees who were from Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo and Somalia. A greater number of the asylum seekers were also from Zimbabwe, Malawi, Ethiopia, Bangladesh, China, India, Pakistan and other African countries (UNHCR, 2010).

An important issue to consider here is that this group of refugees is economically active[4]. They are, therefore, likely to either compete with South Africans for jobs or increase the existing number of the unemployed in the country. The labour market would also lose the much needed contributions that the skilled refugees could make. Employed or unemployed, some refugees have indicated their determination to play a

[4] Economically active population (EAP) "comprises all persons of either sex who furnish the supply of labour for the production of goods and services during a specified time-reference period" (www. laborsta.ilo.org).

role in the socio-economic activities of South Africa by becoming permanent residents, which will be discussed in the following section of 2. 2. 3. 2.

2. 2. 3. 2. Permanent residents

A permanent resident is a foreign born person who is accorded “all the rights, privileges, duties and obligations of a citizen (South African Immigration Law 2002, section 25 (1)). Currently, the South African immigration laws permit the following groups of people to apply for permanent residence: those who are employed and have lived in South Africa for not less than five years as well as those whose spouses are South Africans.

Another category of people who qualify for permanent residence includes a child of a citizen or a permanent resident who is less than 21 years old and a well resourced businessman with investments in or ready to invest in the country. Some refugees also qualify for permanent residence. South Africa has been granting citizenship to a number of foreigners. From 1996, about 100, 000 nationals from the Southern African Development Community (SADC) have become South African citizens. However, the Aliens Control Act 96 sections 26(2) and 26(3)(b) 1991 prevented foreign spouses from taking up employment in South Africa.

These sections of the Act were challenged and reviewed. In a legal case involving Annette Booysen and others as complainants and the Minister and the director general of Home Affairs as defendants, a Cape High Court judge ruled against the validity of sections 26 (2) and 26 (3) (b) of the 1991 Act (*SAPA,* 22-05-2001; www. Saflii.org). Thus, foreign spouses may seek jobs. Immigrants might have taken advantage of the court’s ruling and entered into marriages of convenience with South Africans.

The High Court ruling had further implications for the South African labour market. On the one hand such marriages could result in a gain of skilled personnel for the country, more especially as migration is skill selective. On the other hand, there may be unskilled spouses, who are likely to look for jobs and exacerbate the unemployment conditions. Alternatively, spouses who are potential investors could create jobs. Considering these possible positive contributions and the present high rate of emigration of South Africans to other countries, I believe a discussion of emigration in South Africa would be useful.

2. 2. 3. 3. Emigration in South Africa

Emigration appears to be one of the current national problems in South Africa. An International Monetary Fund (IMF) survey conducted by Carrington and Detragaiche estimated more than 8% as the emigration rate of skilled South Africans. Migration rate is calculated as that fraction of the population of highly educated individuals over the age of 25 that reside overseas (Wocke, 2000: 33).

South Africans have been emigrating to Australia, North America, European Union, New Zealand and the United Kingdom. Between 1989 and 1992, 70 158 South Africans emigrated. 99,076 emigrated between 1994 and 1997 and 166, 177 between 1998 and 2001 (Organisation of Economic Co-operation and Development, 2004). A survey of 725 skilled South Africans revealed that 70% of the respondents had planned to emigrate. 6% of them had already applied for a work permit (Mattes and Richmond, 2002 in Organisation of Economic Co-operation and Development, 2004). This rate of emigration creates a shortfall in the national skilled labour force that immigrants could occupy.

Emigration in the health sector appears to be more disturbing. Manto Tshabalala-Msimang, former Minister of Health decried the rate of emigration of nurses. She estimated that from 1995 to 1999, 2,543 nurses were ready to leave South Africa for greener pastures (*SAPA*, 28 March, 2001). The South African Nursing and Midwifery Council reported that as at the end of March, 2002, 2,114 South African nurses and midwives were practising in the United Kingdom alone (www.ghanaweb.com, ghananews: 16 May, 2002). Dr. Steve of the Centre for Health and Social Studies at the University of Natal, also found that about 30% of doctors would want to emigrate (*SAPA*, 24-04-2001). The emigration situation appears so alarming that

> There is an urgent need to attract skilled immigrants to SA if the economy is to grow rapidly enough to prevent the already serious level of unemployment rising to even more dangerous heights (*Financial Mail*, 09-03-2001).

The South African government has initiated a number of measures to address the shortage of skilled labour force in the country. Both Former President Thabo Mbeki and Charles Nqakula, former Deputy Minister of Home Affairs, stated that the country's

immigration laws would be repealed to attract skilled foreign workers into South Africa (*Business Day,* 14 March, 2001).

Some companies, however, believe that the Department of Home Affairs needs to speed up work permit processing and facilitate the employment of expatriate workers (*Financial Mail,* 09 March, 2001). This research anticipates that in the short term South African authorities may need to consider utilizing the foreign labour pool currently living in the country, whilst the government works to establish a foundation that could further attract expatriate workers. This research could provide information with regard to some of the skilled immigrants whose employment could also help to ease unemployment in South Africa. The next section (2. 3) explores unemployment in the country.

2. 2. 3. 4. Unemployment in South Africa

Since South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994, unemployment has been one of the most serious socio-economic problems in the country. Statistics SA-a government statistics agency-conducted a nation-wide household survey from September 1996 to 1998 and reported stable employment at 9, 3 million people. Within the same period, the South African labour force grew by 1.1 million (from 11.5m to 12, 6m). There was an increased figure of 1 million in the number of the unemployed from 2, 2m to 3,2m (Msomi, *Sunday Times,* 28 May, 2000).

The period between 2001, 2002 and 2003 registered unemployment rates of 29, 4%, 30, 4% and 28, 0% respectively. The Labour Force Survey in September 2007 also recorded a fall in the unemployment rate from 25.5% in September 2006 to 23.0% in September 2007. 13 234 000 South Africans joined the labour force in September 2007. 610 000 jobs were then registered in the formal sector whilst 387 000 people lost their jobs in the informal sector (www. sastats.co.za). These unstable employment conditions and the importance of the use of language in the South African labour market make this project's objective of investigating the role of language skills in the employment opportunities of Ghanaian immigrants significant, given the possible keen competition for jobs.

The continuous decline in the number of jobs could mean that more South Africans would engage in hawking and petty jobs that the immigrants, including Ghanaians, are doing. Tensions and conflicts are likely to occur. This study, which focuses on the

Ghanaian community in Johannesburg, could lead to concrete information with regard to this situation. For better understanding of conditions in Johannesburg, a brief discussion of Johannesburg city in general (2. 3), the spatial segregation in the city (2. 3. 1) and the inner city in particular (2. 3 .2) will be done in the following sections.

2. 3. CITY OF JOHANNESBURG

The City of Johannesburg is located in the Gauteng Province (Gauteng means the place of gold). This province has the following towns as its borders: Springs in the east, Caltonville in the west, Soshanguve in the north and Vanderbijlpark in the south (Beall, Crankshaw & Parnell, 2002). Johannesburg has been a centre where Africans, Asians, Europeans and North Americans are engaged in political and economic activities (Parnell & Pirie, 1991 in Beall et al., 2002). The city serves as a giant economic centre for South Africa and tends to be powerful in relation to its economically poor neighbouring countries of Mozambique, Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Namibia and Swaziland (Beall et al., 2002).

During the apartheid years, Johannesburg was one entity with three important groups: a group of whites, who claimed the city as their own; a 'liberal' white group, who condemned the government's discriminatory policies and the third group of black South Africans, who desired to live in the city, but were legally barred from doing so. In spite of the apartheid policies, some black South Africans managed to settle in the white sections of the city whilst the white liberal group persistently resisted the government segregationist policies and sometimes openly showed their contempt for them. However, fierce opposition notwithstanding, none of these three groups was able to meaningfully change the *status quo* (Tomlinson, Beauregard & Bremner, 2003) until a series of internal events starting from 1976 generated both internal and international pressure leading to the demise of the apartheid government in the early 1990s (Bonner & Segal, 1998).

The general elections in 1994 marked the end of the apartheid regime and ushered in a majority rule with equal participation of all races. Thus, Johannesburg began to witness a configuration of multiracial, ethnic as well as tribal groupings all living together with different aspirations and visions (Tomlinson et al, 2003). Johannesburg has always been a city of migrants or foreigners. Afrikaners considered the English as intruders

to the city and later blacks also became aliens in the city, where they came daily to work. They served and returned to their own reserved places just outside the city. In accordance with this policy of alienation, Africans, Indians and coloureds were removed from Johannesburg and settled in townships along the outskirts of the city. Indeed, the whites believed that the area was destined for only whites and their offspring.

2. 3. 1. Spatial Segregation in Johannesburg

A number of low-income houses were built around the fringes of the townships. Since the townships are away from the inner city, people living in such areas are thus removed from job opportunities resulting in disintegration (Bremner, 2000 in Tomlinson et al. 2003). Residential settlements in Johannesburg are divided into three areas of low-income earners in the south, the inner city and the rich, who live in the northern parts of the city. Residents in the north comprise middle and upper-middle classes of all races; the south with mainly black working class people whereas the inner city population tends to be mixed in terms of race and class. There is therefore a spatial polarisation between the north and the south (Tomlinson et al. 2003).

This spatial polarisation tends to reflect the economic inequality in Johannesburg. Within the last quarter of a century, there has been a decline in the demand for employment in the mining and manufacturing sectors. There is, however, a rise in demand for labour in the finance and services industries requiring skilled and professional workers as against unskilled and semi-skilled labour previously needed in the mining and the manufacturing sectors (Tomlinson et al. 2003). This high demand for skilled labour on one hand and the relative decrease in the need for unskilled labour on the other hand leads to polarisation in the labour market where “upward occupational mobility” is virtually non–existent for those in the lower income category. Indeed, the new service economy allows for a very small number of unskilled jobs. The implication is that migrants to the city, who have poor educational backgrounds and therefore without the requisite skills to match demands in the labour market would lack job security and be found in employment with poor remuneration (Beall et al., 2002: 6).

These shifts in the economic structure mark the city’s re-entry into the global economy (Tomlinson et al. 2003) which had been undergoing such changes since the end of World War II (Sassen, 1991). Changes in the economy meant that Africans and

Coloureds who mainly gained employment in the mining and manufacturing sectors would be adversely affected and consequently lose their jobs and possibly remain unemployed. Indeed, within the 25–year period of 1970 and 1995 there was 13.8% rise in the national employment rate. Asians and whites recorded 45% increase in job opportunities with blacks having a fall of 3.8% (Bhorat & Hodge, 1999: 371–2 in Tomlinson et al. 2003: 15). On the whole,

> Between 1991 and 1996, employment for people living in the inner city and the south declined by 4.9% per annum…over the same period, employment among people in the northern suburbs declined by 1.6% per annum…" (Tomlinson et al. 2003:15-16).

Economic hardships and the poor standard of living are likely to persist in both the South and the inner city.

Shifts in the city's economy resulted in loss of jobs in the formal sector with subsequent growth in the informal sector. Another reason for such growth is that companies evading employment laws in the formal sector, tended to give subcontracts to establishments in the informal sector, thus swelling the number of jobs in this sector. Blacks who constitute the greatest percentage of the city's labour force tend to dominate the informal sector but earn little income. The change of location of the formal sector from the inner city to the northern suburbs with consequent spatial polarization and split between low and high incomes suggests that the social and economic gap between the settlements in the South and those in the North would continue to widen (Tomlinson et al. 2003: 16).

2. 3. 2. Inner City of Johannesburg

This part of the city has gone through phases of structural and other developments–from the apartheid era to the new national democratic dispensation–in the past few years. The segregationist policy meant that blacks were barred from living in the inner city. The change of policy effected in the late 1980s and 1990s in addition to the poor economic conditions within the same period led to the flight of white residents from the inner city to the suburbs. This movement left offices and residential places in Hillbrow, Bertrams, Joubert Park, Berea and Yeoville empty. Such vacant places were quickly occupied by blacks (Tomlinson et al. 1995 in Gotz & Simone, 2003). Immigrants from other African countries also took advantage of this shift of demography and flocked to the inner city.

Of greater importance is that these foreign immigrants have changed the life and economic activities in the inner city and provided it with an international dimension as well (Bouillon, 1999 in Gotz & Simone, 2003).

The inner city presently comprises people from a number of national and ethnic backgrounds with various beliefs and practices. There are petty traders selling on the streets as well as immigrants who are often compelled to pay high rentals for overfilled apartment blocks and organizations that are torn between staying in the inner city and moving their businesses to safer and more accommodating areas outside of the city. In the midst of these conditions are found minibus taxis that serve as the main means of transport for the majority of these inner city dwellers (Gotz & Simone, 2003: 128). The inner city is therefore a place, where nobody can claim to belong. Both South Africans and foreign immigrants, who seem to have settled, tend to move on after a little while with new people always arriving to replace them. Thus, there is virtually no sustainable social community. Attempts at formation of such communities are dissipated by the arrival of the new immigrants.

The Ghanaian immigrants also constitute a community of their own in Johannesburg. A study of their social and economic lives, most especially, their use of language in interaction with South Africans and other nationals in the city could provide important information concerning their contributions to international migration in general and the South African economy in particular. I will now discuss issues concerning Ghana in section 2. 4.

2. 4. GHANA

Taking advantage of South Africa's political, social and economic conditions, which include better job opportunities, a well-advanced democracy, political stability, social and economic development, Ghanaians are migrating to South Africa. Of significance is that the conditions in South Africa are contrary to the conditions in Ghana. Ghana's economic failures coupled with poor education policies and political instability have created both unemployment and underemployment that have led to the emigration of Ghanaians.

2. 4. 1. Geography and population



Figure 2.1: Map of Ghana showing the ten regions in the country.

Ghana, which covers about 227,540 square kilometers, is located in the West African sub region. Its immediate neighbouring countries are Cote d'Ivoire in the west, Togo in the east and Burkina Faso in the north (World Bank Indicators, 2009). Though all of its neighbours are Francophone countries (i.e. French is the official language), Ghana's official language is English with nine government-sponsored African languages. Ghana's estimated population in 2008 was 23, 351,000 with annual population growth rate of 2.2% from 2003 to 2008 (UNICEF, 2010). 49% and 51% of the Ghanaian

population in 2008 were females and males respectively. It also has a population density of 103 persons per square kilometer (World Bank indicators, 2009).

The total adult literacy rate in 2008 was 65.8% with adult male literacy rate at 72.3% and adult female literacy rate at 59.3% (World Bank indicators, 2009)[5]. Between 2003 and 2007 the literacy growth rates for the youth (from 15 to 24 years) were 80% for males and 76% for females (UNICEF, 2010). On the other hand, in 2008, the total primary school completion rate was 79.2% with male primary school completion rate at 81.1% and 77.2% female primary school completion rate (World Bank indicators, 2009). It is also estimated that since 1993, 1 out of every 1000 Ghanaians emigrates from the country. Ghana's political history has been an important contributory 'push' factor for emigration of its skilled and unskilled labour to South Africa and other countries.

2. 4. 2. Political history of Ghana

Ghana was a former British colony from 1874 until it attained its independence on 6th March, 1957. Before that day, the European settlers had named the country Gold Coast because of the large deposits of gold they discovered there. At independence, Ghana had a two-party system with the Convention People's Party (CPP) and United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) that contested the first general elections in 1951. Whilst the CPP survived and stood for the second general elections in 1956, National Liberation Movement (NLM) replaced the UGCC. Later, Ghana adopted a one-party system of governance in 1960 with CPP as the sole party under the leadership of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. Nkrumah was accused of dictatorship and his CPP government was toppled in a military *coup d'etat* in 1966.

This overthrow resulted in subsequent political instability in the country. From 1960 to 2011, there have been four different republics. The first republic lasted for six years (1960-1966), the second republic for three years (1966-1969) and the third one spent only two years in office (1979-1981). The fourth one is currently in its nineteenth year (1992-2011). Each of the first three republics was overthrown by different groups of military officers. Thus, as at its 50th independence anniversary on 6th March 2007, Ghana had experienced six years of one-party rule, 23 years of multiparty governance

[5] http://www.tradingeconomics.com/ghana/literacy-rate-adult-total-percent-of-people-ages-15-and-above-wb-data.html

and 21 years of military rule. These turbulent political situations had adverse effects on the socio-economic conditions of the people.

Some Ghanaians emigrated as a result of the frequent military *coups d'etat*. The military rulers mostly arrested and prosecuted public and civil servants, whom they considered to have fraudulently used the country's resources. Most of these people were compelled to live in exile in other countries. Soldiers loyal to the military governments also frequently harassed and intimidated personnel of the armed forces and civilians, whom they suspected of being enemies of and a threat to the military governments. Consequently, these 'enemies of the state' also fled the country. These exiles and other forms of emigration impacted negatively on the Ghanaian economy.

2. 4. 3. Economic history of Ghana

As a result of its political history, Ghana has experienced unstable economic conditions. These conditions range from: "the highest average GDP per head in the Sub– Saharan Africa in 1950… to the point of negative growth by the mid-1970s" (Yeboah, 1987: 7; Anarfi, Kwankye, Ofuso-Mensah & Tiemoko, 2003 in Vasta & Kandilige, 2007). Ghana's economy depends mainly on agriculture and mining, with cocoa, timber, gold and bauxite constituting the major commodities for export. Cocoa, however, is the leading export crop in the country. In 1984, 60% of Ghana's overall exports was cocoa (Ray, 1986). For about a decade (1950s to 1960s), a favourable international market for cocoa led to immense improvement in the industry, service and retail sectors. Indeed, this improvement was inevitably followed by general prosperity and a good standard of living. Another outcome of this prosperity was an influx of immigrant workers from neighbouring countries like Cote d'Ivoire, Burkina Faso, Benin, Togo and Nigeria (Yeboah, 1987).

A change in the economic situation occurred in the mid-1960s. The international price of cocoa fell with a concomitant decline in the nation's revenue. The situation was worsened by the "large-scale public investment in industrialization and mechanized agriculture" (Yeboah, 1987: 8) as well as Nkrumah's political agenda. Nkrumah's conviction was that Ghana's independence would be meaningless unless it was linked to the complete freedom of Africa. One of his means of achieving this objective was to render material, financial and social support to a number of freedom movements and fighters in other African countries. Ghanaians might have perceived the difference in

their standard of living as a failure of the Ghanaian economy. Consequently, Nkrumah and his government were blamed for the nation's hardships and he was later overthrown in 1966.

Subsequent attempts to salvage the economy were futile. The second republic of Dr. Kofi Abrefa Busia, the Prime Minister and his National Liberation Movement adopted a free market economy. Busia placed emphasis on Ghanaian entrepreneurial skills and ownership of the country's economy. Immigrants were considered as impediments to realization of these objectives. Against this backdrop, the Aliens Compliance Order was enacted in 1969 and massive expulsion of immigrants followed. The Busia government's efforts at making Ghanaians take greater control of the Ghanaian economy yielded insignificant improvement in the economy and the lifestyle of Ghanaians. Some citizens considered emigration as the only means for a better standard of living.

Disgruntled elements in the armed forces led by Colonel Ignatius Kutu Acheampong again staged a successful military coup in 1972. The military government named the National Redemption Council and later reorganised to Supreme Military Councils I and II embarked on "self-reliance" policy with regard to the economy. After declaring openly its intention not to honour the payment of Ghana's external debts to international donor agencies, the government urged Ghanaians to produce local goods and services for their needs. This policy was also not successful (Yeboah, 1987). The military officers were later accused of misusing national economic resources (Oquaye, 1980 in Ray, 1986). Their policies could have exacerbated the deteriorating economic conditions.

For about 12 years (From 1970 to 1982) the Ghanaian economy registered a negative GDP growth, which was contrary to the growth rates in other Sub-Saharan countries (Ray, 1986). Whilst Gabon, Botswana, Congo, Nigeria, Kenya and Cote d'Ivoire obtained 6% GDP growth (Mbeki, 2005), Ghana's average annual fall was 0.5%. The negative economic growth was coupled with a population growth of 2.6%, a decline in government revenue from 15% to 4% between 1972 and 1981. Similarly, from 1980 to 1982, the country's terms of trade fell by 39% as compared to 13% recorded by other developing countries. The loss in government revenue resulted in government's failure to create and sustain incentives to cocoa farmers to induce higher production of cocoa

to supplement revenue. This resulted in further loss of revenue. Cocoa is the leading foreign exchange earner and this major source of government revenue was adversely affected (Ray, 1986).

Inflation was also a contributing factor to the economic crisis. From 1975 to 1980, “the wholesale price index rose nearly 800%. In seven years (1975-81) the consumer price index increased by nearly 3,000%. In the four years (1978-81) the money supply more than doubled” (Ray,1986:3). Interest rates were increased to match inflation. Indeed, bank loans became very untenable for local businessmen and individuals. As a result, both public and informal sectors failed to grow and employment rates declined. Consequently, the cost of living became very high.

Against this background, emigration of Ghanaians to countries with better economic conditions was a predictable aftermath. According to Yeboah (1987: 9),

> Many Ghanaians left, from all sectors of the economy, in search of better opportunities abroad, in a never ending stream of professionals, skilled and unskilled workers, thus draining Ghana of badly needed manpower.

Kraus (1991: 124) also records that

> Almost a million Ghanaians of some 11 million left Ghana in the late 1970s, including many teachers and professionals, to escape impoverishment.

Economic failures in the country affected Ghanaians of all classes and levels of educational status. These categories of Ghanaians also formed the core of the manpower that the country needed for economic improvement. Indeed, whilst emigration was perceived as the best option to solve personal financial difficulties, it adversely affected the country’s economy and the labour force.

However, Ghana experienced economic stability and progress from the mid-1980s. The Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC), another military government, toppled the People’s National Party, a civilian government of the third republic in 1981. Considering the enormous economic problems of the country, the PNDC embarked on two phases of an Economic Recovery Programme (ERP). The ERP was adopted upon the advice of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. The first phase, which was from 1983 to 1987 was aimed at stabilizing the economy and initiating programmes for

subsequent growth. Significant improvements were recorded and inflation fell to 20% (Boafo-Arthur, 1999b; Tonah, 2007).

The GDP grew more than 6% and there were high rates of both exports and imports (Kraus, 1991). The second phase was intended to achieve "privatization of state-owned assets, currency devaluation, and increased savings and investment" (www.gfmag.com, 2002). Some side effects of the ERP were that general standard of living declined and employment creation suffered immensely (Boafo-Arthur, 1999a).

The employment situation in the country did not reflect the economic gains. Clearly, policies had not been put in place to address unemployment (www.gfmag.com). In addition, the ERP failed to give adequate capital assistance to the country's agricultural sector in general and cocoa production in particular. Government could not generate adequate revenues needed to further revamp the economy and create jobs (Kraus, 1991). In my view, since a good number of Ghanaians depended on and still depend on agriculture, the standard of living would be badly affected. People would, therefore, be compelled to leave the country for other prosperous nations.

2. 4. 4. Education in Ghana

The current Ghana education system consists of six-year primary education, three-year junior high school and three-year senior high school. Universities, training colleges, technical and diploma-awarding institutions constitute the tertiary level of education. In 2002 there were about 12,225 primary schools, 6,418 junior secondary schools, 474 public senior secondary schools, 23 public technical institutions with other private technical and vocational Institutions, 38 training colleges, two diploma-awarding institutions, nine (9) tutorial professional colleges which prepare students for local and international examinations of accredited professional bodies. There were also two distance education-learning centres working for accredited international universities, ten polytechnics, six public universities, ten private universities and university colleges in the country (Ghana Government Official Portal, 2002, www. ghana. gov. gh).

Education has been one of the national priorities of the various governments. With 200 million Pounds sterling in the national coffers at independence from the Great Britain, the CPP government embarked on infrastructure development. Industries, hospitals and

schools were built. The Party established free universal primary education in accordance with Act 87 of the Ghana Education Act of 1961. The Act directed, inter alia, that

> Every child who has attained the school-going age as determined by the Minister (of Education) shall attend a course of instruction as laid down by the Minister in a school recognized for the purpose by the Minister (The Education Act 1961section 2 (1)).

The Act states further that

> No fee, other than the payment for the provision of essential books or stationery or materials required by pupils for use in practical work, shall be charged in respect of tuition at public primary, middle or special school (The Education Act 1961 section 2 (2)).

The education system appeared to encourage Ghanaians from different socio-economic backgrounds to at least acquire basic education. The result is that a good number of Ghanaians received formal education (See section 2.4.1.).

The National Liberation Council (the military government which overthrew the CPP regime in 1966) was also committed to quality education that would serve the developmental needs of Ghana. The Council appointed an Education Review Committee (ERC) with the responsibility "to examine the problems arising from the Programme of National Research and make recommendations" (Great Pola Africa Foundation, n.d. www.politicalpola.wetpaint.com). The ERC proposed a system of education that would provide learners with vocational and technical skills.

Similarly, from 1972 to 1978 the military government pursued education reform programmes. It instituted 3-year junior and 3-year senior high schools as pilot projects. Upon successful experimentation, this system of education was to be adopted in the whole county. The pilot schools introduced vocational and technical subjects such as technical drawing, tailoring, dressmaking, metalwork, automobile practice, woodwork, masonry and catering. The objective was to produce middle income workers, who could be self-employed (Great Pola Africa Foundation, n.d. www.politicalpola.wetpaint.com).

There was, however, a change in government's commitment to education. The military government that seized political power on 31st December, 1981 failed to continue with

the sustainable education programmes laid down by its predecessors. As a result, by 1983 the standard of education in Ghana was perceived to be on a terminal decline (G).

> Among the many problems of the system was lack of educational materials, deterioration of school structures, low enrolment levels, high drop-out rates, poor educational administration and management, drastic reductions in government's educational financing and the lack of data and statistics on which to base any planning.
> (Obirih-Opareh, Salu, Attua, Ocansey & Newman, 2010: 20).

The government might have underestimated the importance of education for nation building and national development. This attitude could probably create frustration among the educated Ghanaians and job insecurity among teachers and other workers in educational institutions. Students could not foresee future prospects in educational qualifications. These three groups of people were more likely to emigrate to countries where they could find more job satisfaction and fulfilling lives.

Indeed, the International Labour Organisation advised that a country's failure to invest effectively in its educational sector could lead to stagnation and possible decline in its economy (*World of Work*, 2001: 6). Such an economy is not likely to expand to create jobs and wealth for its citizens. It may, therefore, not be surprising that about a decade (1983 to 1993) after the 1981 military takeover, one out of a thousand Ghanaians has been emigrating.

The 1992 Constitution, however, restored national confidence in the importance of education for equity and national development. It acknowledges that

> All persons shall have the right to equal educational opportunities and facilities and with a view to achieving the full realisation of that right,
>
> A. Basic education shall be free, compulsory and available to all;
> B. Secondary education in its different forms, including technical and vocational education, shall be made generally available and accessible to all by every appropriate means, and in particular, by the progressive introduction of free education;
> C. Higher (tertiary) education shall be made equally accessible to all, on the basis of capacity, by every appropriate means, and in particular, by progressive introduction of free education;
> D. Functional literacy shall be encouraged or intensified as far as possible.
> E. The development of a system of schools with adequate facilities at all levels shall
> F. be actively pursued (The Ghana Constitution, 1992; 25 (1)).

Subsequent governments appear to be purposeful and determined to provide both financial and material support in order to make education attractive for all Ghanaians. The following record underpins some of the achievements: Enrolment growth rate increased by 2001 as follows:

LEVEL OF EDUCATION	RATE OF GROWTH
Primary School	2.3% to 4.2%
Junior Secondary School	2.5% to 4.0%
Senior Secondary School	-6.5% to 2.4%
Technical Institutes	0.83% to 4.5%
Polytechnic Institutions	5% per annum
Universities	2% per annum

Table 2.1. Enrolment Growth in Ghana. Source : Ghana Education Service, 2002.

Table 2. 2: GROSS ENROLMENT FOR PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN GHANA (2003-2007)

REGION	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
ASHANTI	66.65	70.72	--------	53.71	82.28
BRONG AHAFO	60.69	64.88	----------	50.96	76.46
CENTRAL	76.38	82.60	---------	51.04	74.48
EASTERN	69.40	70.71	----------	62.25	89.26
GREATER ACCRA	71.20	76.04	----------	50.08	76.54
NORTHERN	40.38	46.39	----------	53.92	84.15
UPPER EAST	48.02	52.50	----------	28.58	53.40
UPPER WEST	50.32	59.68	----------	36.14	61.18
VOLTA	68.19	70.00	----------	34.94	66.26
WESTERN	62.06	67.99	----------	38.81	66.71
Total	62.44	66.84	----------	48.41	75.81

Source: Ghana Education Service, 2008 in Osei, Owusu, Asem & Afutu-Kotey, 2009: 10.

Table 2. 3: GROSS ENROLMENT FOR JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOLS IN GHANA (2003-2007)

REGION	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
ASHANTI	79.68	84.41	--------	81.83	95.29
BRONG AHAFO	80.36	85.31		80.19	95.09
CENTRAL	89.63	94.22	---------	83.73	98.99
EASTERN	87.50	88.53	----------	92.27	106.64
GREATER ACCRA	80.36	85.56	----------	78.72	95.46
NORTHERN	64.64	69.81	----------	84.66	100.51
UPPER EAST	81.05	85.17	----------	61.82	88.18
UPPER WEST	73.12	79.04	----------	65.94	92.06
VOLTA	82.56	84.66	----------	70.4	93.9
WESTERN	78.58	85.45	----------	69.96	96.35
Total	80.15	84.40	----------	79.21	97.26

Source: Ghana Education Service, 2008 in Osei, Owusu, Asem & Afutu-Kotey, 2009: 10.

Thus, the beginning of the 21st century significantly marked a new era for growth in Ghana's education sector considering the increase in enrolment at all levels of education. However, without a corresponding economic growth and job creation, these achievements could produce skilled labour force who would not find jobs at home.

While the rate of unemployment rises, emigration would be a possible option open to Ghanaians. Difficulties and red tape involved in visa applications to enable emigration to Europe and the United States (Ungar, 1995 in Konadu-Agyeman & Takyi, 2006: 2) have led a number of Ghanaians to consider South Africa as viable more alternative thus going some way in explaining some of the reasons for the presence of West Africans in general and a Ghanaian community in Johannesburg (Petkou, 2005).

2. 4. 4. 1. Use of English in Ghana

English is an official language in Ghana and all participants in this study have attained various degrees of English proficiency. English is also the official language and the *lingua franca* among the various ethnic groups in Ghana. It is the main language for governance, business, education and the media with nine national languages namely Akan, Dagaare, Dangbe, Dagbane, Ewe, Ga, Gonja, Kasem and Nzema (www.ghanaweb.com). Asante Twi, Akwapim Twi and Fante constitute the dialects of Akan language.

English has dominated the education sector as a language for teaching and learning in Ghana. For 396 years (from 1529 to 1925) a Ghanaian language was used mostly for the transfer of traditional values from generation to generation. For 26 years (from 1925 to 1951) a Ghanaian language became the language of instruction during the first three years of education. However, the use of a Ghanaian language was limited to only the first year from 1951 to 1957.

Between 1957 and 1966, English was the sole language for teaching and learning. Between 1967 and 1969 saw the return of the use of a Ghanaian language for the first year of schooling, followed in 1970 to 1974 with its use for the first three years with possible extension to six years of schooling. Thereafter, from 1974 to 2002 it was strictly the use of a Ghanaian language from Primary 1 to Primary 3. Until quite recently an English–only policy was passed in Parliament making English the sole language for instruction throughout the education system (Owu-Ewie, 2006).

2. 5. CONCLUSION

Chapter two of this study has taken into account issues in the global economy as well as social, political and economic conditions in both South Africa and Ghana. Particular attention was given to economic history, economic inequalities and migration and unemployment in South Africa and Ghana. Since Johannesburg is the research site a discussion of the city was also included in the chapter. The chapter also specifically considered the geography, population, education, political and economic history of Ghana.

Chapter 3
LITERATURE REVIEW, THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

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3. 0. INTRODUCTION

This chapter reviews literature relating to three broad themes namely globalisation, language, immigration and the labour market and finally concludes with a conceptual framework for the data analysis and interpretation. Regarding globalisation, the focus will be on international migration, migrants' contributions to the economies of both receiving and sending countries as well as xenophobia associated with migration. The literature on language, immigration and the labour market will include studies in the United Kingdom, the United States, Israel, Canada, Australia, Bolivia and a combined study of census data from Australia, Canada and the United States.

I have drawn largely on Barry R. Chiswick's journal articles for this literature review as he has written extensively and comprehensively on language, immigration and employment issues. The findings of some of his empirical studies as well as his ideas on immigrants' use of language in the labour market have provided me a framework within

which I describe and reflect on my data. My data agrees in many ways with his findings and ideas but it goes beyond and challenges some of them.

3. 1. GLOBALISATION

The School of Geography and Economic Activity of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) defines globalisation as "the process by which the world is becoming increasingly interconnected as a result of massively increased trade and cultural exchange" (www.bbc.co.uk). Globalisation theory predicts the end of national economy and nation state and argues for the emergence of a borderless world and international cultural hybridisation (Green, 1997: 130). Globalisation involves three important issues: "new information and communication technologies, the emergence of global markets and post-national knowledge-intensive economies and unprecedented levels of immigration and displacement" (Suarez-Orozco, 2001: 345). Rama (2001) concludes that globalisation results in socio-economic disparities which encourage emigration in poor countries. Immigration, which has increased since 1980, is caused, among other things, by national debt and austere economic conditions in developing countries (Meyer, 1991 in Nhlapo, 2001). Limited job opportunities, political instability and famine also cause immigration (Cunnigham et al., 1998). However, there is a demand for migrant labour because it contributes to economic growth in a number of countries.

3. 1. 1. Demand for migrant labour

Migrant labour is an important factor for the growth of the international economy. About 77 million people live in foreign countries (Stalker, 1997). Both the United Kingdom and the United States of America require about 20,000 and 1.2 million nurses respectively in the next 10 years. Australia, New Zealand and Japan are in a similar situation. A number of countries have also adopted liberal migration policies to attract legal migrant workers. As at 1 June 2001, there were 221,870 legal migrant workers in Japan and about 1,2 million in Malaysia (*Migration News*, March, 2002). The United Kingdom has also proposed one year work and residence permits to international graduates of British universities to enable them to work there after their studies (*Migration News*, 3 March, 2002). David Blunkett, British Secretary of the Home Office, has suggested programmes to attract migrant workers (*Migration News*, April 2002). Bertel Haader, Danish Minister of Integration, advocated the integration of immigrants into Danish labour force in order to reduce unemployment among immigrants. The chair of Fujitsu Australia encourages

the importation of immigrants with information technology skills (*Migration News*, April 2002).

The former German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder supported the use of legal migrant labour in Germany. Consequently, there was a SPD-Green immigration law to attract highly skilled migrant workers and international graduates of German universities. Ireland, Italy and Uganda have shown a similar approach towards migrant workers. Each year 3,000 migrant public workers and investors in Uganda receive work permits (*Migration News*, April 2002). In 2001, 36 000 migrant workers received work permits in Ireland. Irish employers also applied for 6 900 work permits for migrants (*Migration News*, March 2002). There were 300,000 illegal migrant workers in Italy in January 2002 (*Migration News*, February, 2002).

3. 1. 2. Immigrants' contribution

This section will consider immigrants' financial and material contributions. The United Nations World Summit on Sustainable Development describes migrant labour in the following words:

> We recognize the positive economic, social and cultural contributions
> made by migrants to both countries of origin and destination" (UN report 46).

Migration has positive effects on origin (Vidal, 1998) and destination countries. Migrants refurbish and rejuvenate host communities. About 25 000 Cuban small businesses have created new economic activities in Miami. Similarly, Mexican "handymen and gardeners" have improved their own houses and other houses in the community. Chinese immigrants (111 000) from Hong Kong have transformed Vancouver. These Chinese make an annual contribution of about US$4 billion to the social and economic activities of the city (Stalker (1997: 93). Migrants pay taxes in destination countries. Between 1999 and 2000 foreign-born residents made a net contribution of 2, 5 billion pounds to the United Kingdom economy (*Migration News*, March 2002). Similarly "the immigrants' net contributions gave positive income effects for the native Swedes" (Ekberg, 1999: 411). Labour-sending countries also benefit from migrants especially through remittances which is the focus of the discussion in the next section.

3. 1. 4. Remittances

Migrants' contributions to origin countries are mostly in the form of remittances to their families back home. Remittances are mainly "transactions of small individual size", and constitute a certain portion of migrant workers' incomes from the destination countries to the origin ones (Alburo & Abella, 1992). The World Bank reported that global remittances totalled about $420 billion in 2009, with $316 billion sent to developing countries. 60% of these remittances were from 24 principal remittance-sending countries to 85 key remittance-receiving countries. India, China and Mexico received more than a quarter ($119,1billion) of the total global remittances, making them the three highest remittance-receiving countries:

- India-$49, 3 billion;
- China-$47, 6 billion;
- Mexico-$22, 2 billion

  (*Migration News*, October 2010).

Ghana recently recorded $2, 6 billion remittances (up from $340 million in 2000) (www. Ghanaweb.com, 15 September, 2005). "Remittances to Ghana in 2005 amounted to over $4, 5 billion, making it the largest source of foreign exchange. One-third of this amount, almost $1,5 billion, came from individuals" (Owusu-Ankomah, 2006:1). Ghanaian immigrants' ability to work in destination countries guarantees continuous remittances. However, this ability depends largely on their competence in a destination language. Remittances form an important percentage of the gross domestic product (GDP). In 1993 they constituted nearly 44% of the national revenue in Bangladesh, nearly 22% in the Philippines, and around 24% in Pakistan. Similarly, India recorded 13% of the national revenue in 1990 from its migrant workforce (Puri & Ritzema, 1999).

These countries use the remittances for domestic consumption, investment and trading. A very small portion is kept in savings or used for investments (Russell, 1997 in Puri & Ritzema, 1999). However, remittances improve general standard of living and provides better housing and education for migrants' households (Puri & Ritzema, 1999). In spite of these laudable contributions, migrants experience xenophobia, amongst other issues in their host countries.

3. 2. XENOPHOBIA

Etymologically 'xenophobia' is derived from the Greek word, "xenos" meaning 'stranger' (Wilson, 1998 in Nhlapo, 2001). *The Oxford English Dictionary* (1989: 674) defines xenophobia as 'a deep antipathy to foreigners" and *Collins Cobuild English Dictionary* (1987:1944) calls it "a strong and unreasonable dislike or fear of people from other countries". McKnight (1994) sees it as "irrational fear of foreigners" and *Mewnes Family Dictionary* considers it as "the fear of foreigners or things foreign". Xenophobia is a form of prejudice with racist, ethnocentric and sexist undertones (Wilson, 1998 in Nhlapo, 2001). Underlining these definitions are 'emotions of fear and dislike set off by the presence of foreigners because of their foreignness" (Adegoke, 1999: 49).

The fear and dislike derive from assumptions and mostly false perceptions about the outsiders (Wilson, 1998). According to Wilson (1998: 279 - 280):

> People who act and think xenophobically do so because they tend to believe that there is something to gain from this. Usually xenophobia leads to increased self-esteem in members of the in-group as they feel that they are superior to members of the out-group. Again members of the in-group might feel that they would suffer economically if they do not feel as they do; furthermore xenophobic persons might feel more uncomfortable in a world that is complicated and unstable for them and this (i.e. xenophobia) would make it more understandable for them.

Thus, 'xenophobic' indicates the contempt of or negative attitudes of people towards foreigners. Language, cultural differences and limited resources can cause intolerance and mistrust and lead to more xenophobic conditions (Van der Dennen, 1987 in Nhlapo, 2001). Thus, this study which explores Ghanaian immigrants' choice whether to learn or not to learn South African indigenous languages could provide insights into how Ghanaian immigrants tend to deal with xenophobia both in the workplace and in the community in South Africa.

3. 2. 1. Xenophobia in South Africa

Xenophobia is used in the South African popular press to indicate resistance "to immigration and migration". (Mattes, Taylor, McDonald, Poore & Richmond, 1999: 20). Mattes et al. (1999: 8) assert further that

> South Africans are more hostile to immigration than citizens of any other country for which comparable data is available, including traditional immigrant-receiving countries.

Francis Beukman, spokesperson of the New National Party, believes that conflicts and misconceptions regarding job opportunities and shelter are possible causes of xenophobia (*SAPA*, Cape Town, 6 January, 2002). South Africans blame foreigners for unemployment and crime. They argue that foreigners, who are poor and destitute, are competing with South Africans for jobs and are also more eager to accept low-paid jobs. They therefore urge the South African government to protect them from immigrants (*The Sowetan*, 11 April, 2001).

In a survey conducted by Mattes et al., (1999: 1), 70% of the respondents showed negative attitudes towards immigrants as illustrated in the following:

> Twenty-five percent of South Africans want a total ban on immigration and 45% support strict limits on the number of immigrants allowed in. Only 17% would support a more flexible policy tied to the availability of jobs, and only 6% support a totally open policy of immigration.

Mattes et al. (1999: 1) explain that "this is the highest level of opposition to immigration recorded by any country in the world where comparable questions have been asked". In addition, all groups of South Africans-poor and rich, black and white, young and old-tend to have negative attitudes towards immigrants. Some of the respondents in Mattes et al.'s (1999) study stated that immigrants undermine the South African cultural norms and cause strain on social amenities. Perhaps South Africans' past experiences of colonisation, apartheid and ethnic tension make them increasingly cautious of foreign nationals. South Africans are also being exposed to the languages, behaviours, social and cultural values of other people. These new experiences could make them uncertain about the motives of foreign nationals.

However, Mattes et al. (1999) state that immigrants to South Africa mostly have good educational backgrounds with virtually no criminal records from their countries of origin. Above all, their activities impact positively on the socio-economic conditions of South Africa. Mattes et al. (1999) further suggest intensive 'public education programmes' to correct the negative impressions South Africans have concerning foreign nationals. Studies, such as this one on Ghanaian immigrants living in Johannesburg, may help to correct erroneous impressions.

3. 2. 2. Recent xenophobic attacks in South Africa

Recently there were xenophobic attacks in the poorest socio–economic suburbs of South Africa (Evans, 2008). The violence began on 11 May 2008 at Extensions 6 and 10 in Alexandra[6] and spread to Diepsloot, Atteridgeville, Mamelodi, Sebokeng, North-West and Khayelitsha (www.apf.com; *Cape Argus/SAPA,* 12 May 2008) and lasted for about two weeks according to a statement issued by the South African Presidency on 25 May 2008. Mobs broke into immigrants' houses and demanded that they relocate back to their home countries.

Armed and drunken gangs went on the rampage, erecting roadblocks, shooting immigrants, burning their properties (shops and homes), raping some, beating others and driving them from their homes. 24 people were killed and about 10, 000 people living in Johannesburg and surrounding areas vacated their homes. The gangs accused immigrants of committing crimes, stealing their jobs and receiving preference in the allocation of houses. Frans Cronje, Chief Executive of the Institute for Race Relations, a respected think-tank in South Africa, considered "corruption, failing law and order, economic mismanagement and lack of proper border controls" as causes of the violence (Evans, 2008).

The attacks spread to the Western Cape Province on May 22 2008. Immigrants were attacked on trains. Shops belonging to Somalis were ransacked. Almost 150 foreign nationals sought refuge at the Central Police station whilst many more travelled to Johannesburg for safety. By the middle of the week about 20, 000 people were seeking shelter at 70 different sites provided by Non-Governmental Organisations, churches and individuals. Of greater concern, in Geffen's opinion, was the failure of the South African government to respond appropriately and promptly to the violence. He asserts that the national government did absolutely nothing and their lack of co-operation prevented the Cape Town mayor and provincial premier from dealing effectively with the crisis (Geffen, 2008).

[6] "Alexandra, or "Alex" as it is generally referred to, is Gauteng's oldest township and one of the poorest areas of the region, where lack of infrastructure, overcrowding and rampant crime make living conditions extremely difficult" (PPT Pilots Project in Southern Africa, 2004).

However, a statement by the South African presidency suggested a change in government's approach to the crisis. Security agencies in Gauteng arrested more than 1300 people. Government was determined to effect immediate prosecution of these people. The government also facilitated voluntary repatriation of some immigrants as well as the re-integration of others into their communities. The government then provided small tents for the displaced immigrants. The Department of Home Affairs was directed to issue temporary identity documents for these immigrants (Presidential Address, 25 May 2008, www. queensu.ca).

This study, which aims to assess the relationship between language and employment and immigrants' access to the South African economy in relation to their language profiles, could provide insights into the role of destination languages in immigrants' stay in South Africa. An immigrant's ability to speak a South African indigenous language may be advantageous in so far as the immigrant's identity is not immediately noticed. On the other hand, the immigrant becomes vulnerable to physical, verbal and emotional abuses as a result of failure to communicate in an indigenous language. However, South Africa may not be so different from other countries in terms of attitudes towards immigrants. Indeed, xenophobia is a general phenomenon as seen in the following section of 3. 2. 3.

3. 2. 3. Xenophobia outside South Africa

The United Nations' World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance condemned xenophobia in the following words:

> We recognize that xenophobia against non-nationals, particularly migrants, refugees and asylum-seekers, constitutes one of the main sources of contemporary racism and that human rights violations against members of such groups occur widely in the context of discriminatory, xenophobic and racist practices (UN Declarations, 2001: 7).

Xenophobia has therefore assumed global proportions leading to gross disregard for and abuse of immigrants' basic human rights. French government statistics indicated 165 cases of verbal and physical abuse against immigrants in France. A national opinion poll suggested more restrictive immigration policy and total ban on migration. In 1997 Finland recorded 194 incidents of "racially motivated crimes". 591 similar cases occurred in Sweden between 1996 and 1997. 1997 and 1998 surveys conducted in Belgium and Luxemborg respectively found that 55% of Belgians and 46% of

Luxemborg nationals believed that they were racist (Adler, 2000 www.wsws.org). Though racism concerns race and the colour of people's skin and xenophobia involves prejudice against immigrants from other countries, they are closely interrelated (Adegoke, 1999). These issues tend to make this study of the interface between immigration, language and employment imperative and challenging (Suarez-Orozco, 2001: 345).

Suarez-Orozco (2001) argues that immigrants' hopes of attaining better social and economic conditions outside their own countries can be achieved through quality education that prepares them to better compete with people elsewhere for jobs. Unlike in the past where most immigrants were less educated and unskilled (Borjas, 1995 in Suarez-Orozco, 2001) today immigrants are frequently educated and more skilled than the local citizens. For instance, Asians are among the educated elite in the United States of America. Immigrants also constitute about one third of all the scientists and engineers in Silicon Valley in California (Saxenian, 1999 in Suarez-Orozco, 2001). Suarez-Orozco (2001: 359) believes that

> Immigration will continue to be a powerful vector of change. We need a better understanding of immigration and education qua globalisation. We need a major research agenda to examine the long-term causes and consequences of global immigration dynamics.

This study, which seeks to investigate the relationship between language and employment in the Ghanaian immigrant community in Johannesburg, is such a study.

3. 3. LANGUAGE, IMMIGRATION AND THE LABOUR MARKET

There is a link between English language proficiency and earnings (Chiswick & Miller, 2002; Shields & Price, 2002). Chiswick & Miller (1999) confirm that immigrants with English proficiency tend to earn more than their counterparts. Knowledge of English is also a prerequisite for immigrants' access to British citizenship (*Migration News*, March 2002). This study will provide information regarding the role of language relating to the residence and employment status of Ghanaians living in Johannesburg.

Chiswick, Lee and Miller (2005) report that immigrants typically move from their country of origin with low income earnings to a destination country with much higher earnings. In most cases, immigrants' skills prior to migration do not suitably match the skills required

in the host country. “These skills are to be defined broadly to include labor market information, destination language proficiency, and occupational licenses, certifications, or credentials, as well as more narrowly defined task-specific skills” (Chiswick, Lee and Miller, 2005: 335). As immigrants settle in the destination country, they make informed decisions to improve their skills. They upgrade their language skills or acquire competence in the language that is most valued language in that particular labour market. They also further their education and obtain work permits. Studies in individual countries such as the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, Australia and Israel tend to corroborate or reject some of these assertions which will be discussed next.

3. 3. 1. Studies in the United Kingdom and the United States of America

I have chosen to review studies in the United Kingdom and the United States because of the long-standing migration trends between Ghana and these two countries. In the decade between 1950s and 1960s the Ghanaian government sponsored a few Ghanaian students to the UK and the USA for further studies (Tonah, 2007). Since then “Ghanaians have been migrating to the UK over the past decades for a number of reasons, including economic downturn and poor governance in Ghana, and the long historical links and common language with Britain” (Vasta and Kandilige, 2007: 3). Ghanaians also perceive the USA as a major English-speaking destination country (Tonah, 2007).

Black immigrants with English language competence tend to have greater access to jobs in the United Kingdom labour market (Dustmann & Fabbri, 2003). Similarly, limited proficiency in English where English is most valued adversely affects the wages and salaries of Spanish immigrants in the United States. According to McManus (1985), this inadequacy tends to compel the immigrants to maintain their minority language which results in social and economic marginalisation. However, most Spanish men do not prioritise English learning because

> “…their costs of acquiring English fluency are greater than the benefits. Another reason could be the existence of a borrowing constraint making it difficult for Hispanic men to finance English language training” (McManus, 1985: 826).

English is an official language in South Africa in addition to 10 other official languages. This study will provide insights into how English proficiency and knowledge of other languages affect the social and economic integration of Ghanaian immigrants in South Africa.

Grenier (1984) analysed 1976 US census data involving 2428 males who were of " … Hispanic origin, who spoke either Spanish or English as a child, and who migrated to the U. S. mainland before 1975" between the ages of 25 and 64 (Grenier, 1984: 39). Grenier found that "language attributes play an important role in wage determination, explaining up to one–third of the relative wage difference between non-Hispanic white and Hispanic male workers (Grenier, 1984: 50). He advocates formulation of national policies to improve the use of minority languages and creation of enabling environments where minority language speakers learn the dominant language in the labour market. Studies, such as this research project, regarding immigrants' use of languages are required to determine enabling and constraining factors of destination language learning in the multilingual South African context.

Chiswick and Miller (1998) also investigated factors influencing English proficiency among older overseas born men and women in the United States, using the country's 1990 Census. They established that:

> Fluency rates are higher for those with more schooling, who migrated at a younger age, who lived in the U.S. a longer period of time, who live in areas with fewer origin language speakers, and among women, who have fewer and younger children. Fluency rates are also higher for those with less access to origin language media, with lower probability of returning to the origin, whose country of origin is geographically further from the U.S. and whose origin language is linguistically closer to English (Chiswick & Miller, 1998: 2).

Higher levels of education, younger age, longer periods of sojourn, a strong desire to have permanent residence in the destination country as well as prior knowledge or understanding of language in the destination country have positive consequences regarding learning a destination language. Similarly, mothers of young children are also more likely to learn a destination language. On the contrary, immigrants who often communicate in their mother tongues and those who intend to return to the origin country may choose not to learn a destination language.

Chiswick and Miller (1999)[7] assert that language skills are more pronounced among married males than single ones. However, as they continue to reside in the country the latter improve their proficiency in English. Naturalisation also impacts on immigrants' earnings. In the United States, for example, competence in English is a requirement for citizenship. Thus, immigrants with intention of becoming US citizens better their English skills. Consequently they get better employment and earn more income (Chiswick & Miller, 2002). Chiswick and Miller (2002) studied the earnings of overseas-born adult men in the United States using 5% of the U.S. 1990 Census.

Ghanaian immigrants residing in Johannesburg are young and old, and some are highly educated and others have only basic education. Their marital status, residence status, language proficiency and intended length of stay in South Africa also vary widely. A study is therefore necessary to investigate the impact of these diverse backgrounds on their desire and ability to learn a South African indigenous language.

Bauer, Epstein & Gang (2002) critically considered data from the Mexican Migration Project on Mexicans living in the United States and conclude that

> Immigrants with good English proficiency will choose to migrate to locations with relatively low concentrations of immigrants of similar ethnicity and language. As the size of the enclave is relatively small, it will enable them to improve their English proficiency over time, which in turn affects their earnings and assimilation into the local population. On the other hand, immigrants with poor English proficiency will choose to migrate to locations with relatively large networks of migrants of similar ethnicity and language. This in turn decreases their ability to increase their English proficiency, which negatively affects their earnings and assimilation into the local population (Bauer et al. 2002: 6).

Both first–time and repeat immigrants, competent in a destination language, prefer to live away from their ethnic groups whilst limited language competence necessitates communal settlement with ethnic group. This attitude underlines the notion that the bigger the origin speech community, the less important the destination language becomes. Thus, tribal communities tend to have most impact on immigrants with poor language skills. Ghanaian immigrants live in different suburbs in Johannesburg. This

[7] The authors analysed data concerning 6193 illegal aliens on *Legalized Population Survey* (LPS) Public Use in the United States. The data included language skills of the aliens. The respondents were 18 years and above, from non–English speaking countries, "younger, less-well educated and have lived in the United States for a shorter period of time than the typical immigrant" (Chiswick and Miller, 1999: 67).

study will therefore consider this assumption that place of residence in the destination country affects language learning.

Gonzalez (2000) also used the 1992 National Adult Literacy Survey in United States to investigate conditions affecting immigrants' ability to understand, speak, read and write English and reported that immigrants with inadequate proficiency in English gain employment in factories, the agriculture sector and other menial jobs whereas more skilled jobs demand greater and higher English competence. Gonzalez concludes that "immigrants who can read or write, therefore, would be expected to enjoy greater economic opportunities than immigrants who can only understand and speak small amounts of English" (Gonzalez, 2000: 260). Gonzalez (2000) reports further that the younger the age, the faster the acquisition of all four skills in English. Also immigrants prefer speaking and understanding English to reading and writing because learning oral abilities is less costly in terms of money and time. Oral competence also provides more financial benefits. However, each year of formal education yields greater proficiency in writing and reading. Overall, a form of formal training in the language of the destination country has a positive correlation on the competence in the language.

> In total, those who take and complete an ESL course have higher rates of English proficiency than persons who do not take a course: the probability of proficiency is higher by 7 to 11 percentage points for literacy, and greater by 13 and 19 points for oral ability (Gonzalez, 2000: 265).

Immigrants who are interested in higher wages, employment opportunities and both economic and social interaction would undertake a course in a destination language. "Economic theory states that immigrants learn English as long as incentives exist to do so. Aside from non-pecuniary social benefits, one incentive is greater labor income" (Gonzalez, 2000: 259). In other words immigrants learn destination languages for both economic and social reasons. The quantitative statistics of this study indicate that Ghanaians living in Johannesburg are mostly economic migrants. The study also examines how Ghanaians adapt linguistically in social and cultural domains in destination languages. It will, therefore, provide insights into incentives and costs involved in learning destination languages in the South African context.

Carol J. De Vita, who was a discussant of Jorge Chapa's paper entitled "Population Estimates of School Age Language Minorities and Limited English Proficiency Children of the United States 1979– 1988", aptly expresses the view that

> English language skills are an absolute necessity given the social, economic, and political context of American life. But we must also value the broader opportunities that bilingual education can afford. In our emerging global economy, fluency in other languages and knowledge of cultures can indeed be an economic asset, not a liability…
>
> (De Vita's discussant comments in Chapa, 1990).

Where English is the most valued language in the labour market, as is the case in South Africa, English competence is very important. However, it is important to stress that other languages and cultures are equally important for social, political and most especially economic activities among immigrants.

3. 3. 2. Studies in Israel

I have selected studies in Israel for a review because I consider its migration programmes to be well co-ordinated. Israelis in the diaspora are encouraged to return to Israel for historical, political, religious and emotional reasons.

> Israel is a multiethnic society. Approximately 81 percent of the population is Jewish, and the remainder is Arab. Jewish immigrants have come to Israel in a sequence of waves. As a result, the Jewish population consists of various groups from different backgrounds and is divided equally between Jews of Asia and African origin and Jews of European and American descent (Mesch, 2003: 47).

Mesch (2003) asserts further that economic, social and political integration of new immigrants depends on their proficiency in Hebrew.

Studies in Israel also link competence in both Hebrew and English to higher wages for immigrants (Chiswick, 1998). Cohen and Eckstein (2002) also conducted research regarding immigrants from the former Soviet Union to Israel and found that immense benefits accrue from the immigrants' knowledge of the local language. Cohen and Eckstein (2002) state that

> The transition pattern of immigrants to a new labor market is characterized by high wage growth, fast decrease in unemployment as immigrants first find blue– collar jobs, followed by a gradual movement to white-collar occupations. A central aspect of this process is the acquisition of local human capital in the

> form of the local language, local experience and participation in vocational training programs provided by the government (Cohen and Eckstein, 2002: 3).

Immigrants tend to secure manual jobs with their attendant low incomes during what I call the survival stage in the destination country. But as they remain in the country, gain employment experience, acquire education, and more importantly learn the valued languages in the labour market, their income would improve accordingly.

Cohen and Eckstein (2002) studied data on both English and Hebrew proficiency which was collected every four months from men who migrated from the Soviet Union to Israel between 1990 and 1992. They concluded that these immigrant men benefited from the use of Hebrew (a local language) in both menial and non-menial jobs whilst competence in English was most useful for the non–menial jobs. Borjas (1994) explains that "presumably, proficiency in the host country's language increases immigrant earnings because bilingualism opens up many employment opportunities" (Borjas, 1994: 1684). Contrary to the Israeli context, English, Afrikaans and the nine African languages are official languages in South Africa. One may wonder which one is most valued. This study, which assesses the relationship between language and employment and immigrants' access to the South African economy in relation to their language profiles, will provide useful information concerning the use of language in the South African context.

The skilled immigrants are also more likely to further their education or attend more training in the destination country. Cohen and Eckstein (2002: 13) state that "skilled immigrants invest both in the accumulation of human capital and in job search". The human capital includes proficiency in the destination languages. Cohen and Eckstein assert further that immigrant's language proficiency, job skills and employment experience in the local labour market and training in the destination country affect remuneration and employment opportunities. But in Borjas' (1994) opinion, "high–age migrants, however, are more likely to have prior job connections and are better informed about job opportunities …" (Borjas, 1994: 1685). This study will consider these findings with regard to Ghanaian immigrants living in Johannesburg.

The Canadian government emphasizes language training for immigrants and immediate recognition of their qualifications, which will be the focus of the discussion in this next section (3.3.3.).

3. 3. 3. Studies in Canada

In a news release on 7 May 2004, Judy Sgro, the Minister for Citizenship and Immigration in Canada raised concerns about a shortfall between immigrants' language skills and the required language proficiency in the Canadian labour market. Dr. Hedy Fry, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration Canada, with special emphasis on Foreign Credentials also stated the following policy as the Canadian government's approach towards the language problem:

> Improving the language training available for immigrants, along with speedier recognition of foreign credentials and prior work experience, is an important part of the Government's strategy to ensure the successful integration of new immigrants into the economy and communities (Fry, 2004).

The Canadian government, thus, recognised the significance of language in immigrants' social and economic assimilation. The government spends approximately $160 million every year on 50,000 adult immigrants outside Quebec to improve their language abilities in order to ensure that "…adult immigrants are able to enter and remain in the labour market at levels that will make full use of their skills and credentials".

Chiswick and Miller (1994) used information from 1981 Canadian Census of 24 to 64 year–old immigrant men to determine the immigrants' ability to communicate fluently in either English or French. The authors reported that

> An older age at migration is associated with less fluency in the dominant languages… On the other hand, a longer duration in Canada is associated with increasing fluency in the dominant languages. While English language skills are widespread among immigrants in English Canada, they do increase with duration... Education also plays an important role. In English Canada higher levels of schooling are primarily associated with a rise in bilingualism, with a decline in the English only and neither language group.
>
> (Chiswick & Miller 1994: 127–128).

Once more, age at migration, length of residence and education are emphasised as important determinants for learning languages in multilingual environments. A further finding from the study was as follows:

> Immigrants tend to gravitate, both by region of residence and the dominant language selected, to the language closer to their mother tongue (lower cost of obtaining language fluency), to the language that predominates in their region of residence (due to exposure and economic benefits), and to the language with the broader labor market or economy (English) (Chiswick & Miller, 1994: 129).

Thus, the place of residence in the destination country, the cost of investment in the language, the level of exposure and economic implications are also underlying factors influencing immigrants' decisions to learn languages in multilingual countries. South Africa, where this study is conducted, is a multilingual country. This study is therefore likely to reveal the factors that influence Ghanaian immigrants' desire and ability to learn a South African indigenous language.

Use of official or dominant languages at home also leads to greater proficiency. Chiswick and Miller (1999b) analysed 3% of the data of the 1991 Canadian Population Census and reported that

> Immigrants who do not usually speak an official language at home experience a 'double negative' effect on their economic status compared with immigrants who do speak an official language at home. They have lower earnings because of their apparently lower mastery of the official languages. But, in addition, the evident complementarity between language capital and other forms of human capital means that immigrants not completely shifted to the official languages receive lower returns to schooling and pre-immigration labour market experience. Both sources of economic disadvantage are important.
>
> (Chiswick & Miller, 1999b: 50).

The immigrants who speak a dominant language at home tend to gain more proficiency in the language. They are easily employed in the formal sector and they can also interact well with clients in the informal sector. They therefore attract more customers and grow their businesses and increase their earnings. They are also able to transfer their skills through the language onto the destination labour market. I will discuss similar studies undertaken in Australia in the following section 3. 3. 4.

3. 3. 4. Studies in Australia

I have chosen to review studies in Australia because Australia is the sixth largest but the most sparsely populated country in the world. It is also a multilingual country.

> In Australia over 200 different languages and dialects are spoken, including 45 indigenous languages. The most commonly spoken languages (other than English) are Italian, Greek, Cantonese, Arabic, Vietnamese and Mandarin".
>
> (www.immi.gov.au).

Australia's Department of Immigration and Citizenship recognizes the linguistic diversity in the country and provides translators and interpreters to assist both citizens and immigrants to have equal access to information and services. In addition, foreign residents, who invite their relatives with little or no proficiency in English to Australia, sign agreements to sponsor these relatives to attend English classes. The Department has instituted the Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP) which provides English language lessons to immigrants. This is a well organized programme where volunteer tutors go from house to house to teach immigrants who cannot attend classes because of family and work commitments (www.immi.gov.au). Thus, national policies emphasise competence in English.

Chiswick, Lee and Miller (2002) conducted a Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants in Australia to analyse English speaking, reading and writing skills of the principal applicant immigrants from the period of 1993 to 1995. These were the immigrants who had travelled to Australia with valid visas and whose visas enabled their other relations to also migrate to Australia (Chiswick et al. 2002: 27). Approximately 50% of the respondents experienced an improvement in speaking and writing skills after six months stay in Australia with 75% of them being able to read. Their study reiterates views in the literature that oral proficiency is high amongst immigrants, whose language of origin is linguistically similar to the destination language because regular use of a second language yields competence. In addition, immigrants who had visited Australia before migration and intended to settle there permanently have greater English competence. Most of the immigrants have a strong economic motivation to migrate and they learn the language to facilitate their economic integration.

Chiswick and Miller (2004) argue that language competence is crucial for immigrants' economic performance. Thus, variations in the immigrants' language proficiency in the course of their sojourn in the destination country greatly determine the extent of the immigrants' economic and cultural integration into the destination country. The authors conducted longitudinal studies of immigrants in Australia. English language skills are important in selecting successful applicants for visas to Australia. A policy review by the Australian authority in 1999 further emphasised English language skills as a visa requirement. Chiswick and Miller (1994) contend that knowledge of a common language facilitates social relationships among immigrants themselves and with other groups. In

destination countries, where there is a dominant language, immigrants tend to concentrate on achieving the highest level of proficiency in this language.

However, in multilingual countries such as South Africa with English as apparently a hegemonic language among other languages, common sense may assume that the immigrants will need to acquire competence in English. My research will examine the validity of this assumption. In the next section (3.3.5) I will consider a similar study to that of Australia in Bolivia done by Chiswick et al. (2000).

3. 3. 5. Studies in Bolivia

As in the case of Ghana, Bolivia has experienced a steady growth of emigration with consequent drain on its scarce human resources.

> Since the 1950s, migration to neighboring countries has increased: 30,000 left Bolivia in 1950–55; 40,000 left in 1980–85. About 675,000 Bolivians were estimated to reside outside the country in the late 1980s, in search of employment and better economic opportunities. Since the emigrants tend to have basic training technical skills, a drain of important human resources is occurring (www.nationsencyclopedia.com).

Bolivia is also a multilingual and developing country. Spanish is the official language with Quechua, Aymara and Guarani as indigenous languages. Similar to Ghana, the majority of its population, who live in poverty, work in the agricultural sector (www.state.gov/r). Therefore Bolivians emigrate in search of a better life.

Chiswick et al. (2000) analysed data from a 1993 household survey compiled by the National Institute of Statistics in Bolivia. The survey involved La Paz, the national capital city and other capital cities in eight states, with the respondents between ages of 15 and above. They found that Spanish is more likely to be the only language used by those who are more active in the labour market and exposed to Spanish as distinct from Bolivian indigenous languages. In other words active participants in the local labour market seek to have access to the dominant language, Spanish in the case of Bolivia.

Chiswick et al. (2000) conclude that the use of language affects the rate of participation in the labour market. Those who speak indigenous languages participate more than bilingual speakers. Once more studies, such as this research, are necessary to investigate and understand immigrants' use of language in the South African labour market where English is official with other 9 indigenous languages.

Similar findings are made from a combined study of census data in Australia, Canada and the United States. These findings will be discussed in the following section (3. 3. 6).

3. 3. 6. A Study of data in Australia, Canada and the United States

Antecol, Cobb–Clark and Trejo (2003) analysed the 1990 United States census and the 1991 census data for Australia and Canada. The data, which was based only on men, consisted of 11 500 Australians, 38 600 Canadians and 297 000 Americans. Antecol et al. (2003) reported that "In all three destination countries, immigrant fluency rates rise monotonically with the length of time since arrival. The pattern is due largely to the fact that immigrants, who do not speak the destination country language when they arrive, tend to acquire fluency over time as they adapt to their new home" (Antecol et al., 2003: 200–201).

'New Perspectives for Learning', an organisation involved in European Union-sponsored educational research, undertook a European Commission project titled Research into Social Integration and Social Exclusion in Europe. The project, which was started in 1998 and lasted for three years, analysed many case studies in eleven countries including United Kingdom, Denmark, France, Germany, Ireland, Sweden, Israel, Switzerland, Italy, Portugal and Spain. The findings noted that although immigrants face unfavourable conditions on arrival, they later do better and integrate into the new society. Language competence and exposure to the local labour market with its resultant experience were major contributing factors for this integration.

Studies in the United States, Canada and Australia that focused on immigrants' reasons for attaining competence in dominant languages in multilingual societies have identified demographic, environmental and economic factors of language acquisition. But where there are two or more important languages, immigrants acquire competence in the language or languages relevant to their stay. One of the languages could be the dominant language in the local labour market with another language being more suitable for international communication and economic transactions and also useful in the local market. Exposure to any of the languages before migration, differences or similarities between the immigrant's mother tongue and the destination languages as well as economic motives are important contributors to language learning.

Education is an important factor relating to the learning of the dominant languages. Immigrants with low levels of education tend to work in the local labour market and are also more likely to be self-employed. They, therefore, achieve competence in the languages most valued in the local labour market. On the contrary, well-educated immigrants, who usually work in the wider and open labour market and also engage in international economic activities, are more interested to improve on their proficiency in the dominant language used for international communications. Chiswick and Miller (1994: 121) postulate that:

> Those with higher levels of schooling may be more efficient in acquiring second – and third–languages fluency because of greater innate ability that resulted in the higher level of schooling, because of greater knowledge of the structure of language from their more advanced schooling in their mother tongue, or because of exposure to foreign languages in higher levels of schooling. Thus, it is anticipated that fluency in the international dominant language would rise with the level of schooling.

Experiences in language learning and higher educational achievement facilitate learning in destination languages. However, the immigrant's sector–formal or informal-of employment is equally important for destination language learning. Ghanaian immigrants residing in South Africa have different levels of education and work in the formal and informal sectors. This study will evaluate and compare these findings in relation to the previous research. The next section 3.3.7 will focus on immigrants' use of language in the informal sector.

3. 3. 7. Use of language in the informal sector

I chose to review the literature on the use of language in the informal sector because a greater number of Ghanaian immigrants living in Johannesburg work in the informal sector.

Language proficiency tends to determine immigrants' employment opportunities. Toussaint–Comeau (2005: 1) states that

> Self–employment has traditionally represented and continues to be an important route for immigrants to enter the American economic mainstream and improve their socioeconomic standing. In many metropolitan areas, immigrant–owned small businesses have fuelled the growth in the minority small business sector, and have become an integral aspect of urban revitalization and community development.

Immigrants create jobs for themselves in the informal sector and contribute to the socio–economic developments of the destination country. Of further importance is Toussaint–Comeau's emphasis on immigrants' language competence among other skills.

> Human capital and personal characteristics including education, knowledge of the host country's language, and the length of time in the country influence the decision by immigrants to become self–employed (Toussaint–Comeau 2005: 1).

Proficient use of a dominant language in the destination country is therefore an important factor for immigrants' decision to be self-employed. However, well-educated immigrants usually choose to work in the formal sector because of better employment opportunities there. Perhaps, this group of immigrants is already proficient in the destination language or they learn a destination language before they find employment.

Toussaint-Comeau further asserts that English proficiency is significant in destination countries where English is an official language.

> English language proficiency allows the immigrant to organize and operate his/her business, communicate with customers and suppliers who may not belong to the same ethnic group, and adhere to legally mandated practices. A lack of proficiency in English may limit immigrants' access to formal financial markets and to information important in setting up a business, such as small business lending programs (Toussaint– Comeau, 2005: 1).

Likewise, in the South African labour market, competence in English can be useful in dealing with suppliers, financial institutions and other authorities but proficiency in South African indigenous languages is important in communicating with customers who are speakers of African languages.

Use of immigrants' language of origin is also significant in self employment. Borjas (1986 in Toussaint –Comeau, 2005) reports of immigrants setting up private businesses closer to or in their ethnic communities where shared language and culture are crucial for business promotion, business opportunities and training. Ghanaian immigrants in Johannesburg have set up businesses in Ghanaian communities. However, use of the language of origin can have negative effects on the desire to learn a destination language (Bauer et al. 2002). This study will provide information regarding the impact of the use of Ghanaian languages on immigrants' ability to learn South African indigenous languages.

3. 4. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

I have proposed a conceptual framework of five concepts that will be used to discuss and analyse the data of this study. I have drawn on the work of the following theorists, who have deepened my understanding of how immigrants adapt linguistically to destination language learning, in order to construct the framework: Kramsch (2000), Van Lier (2004), Leather and van Dam (2003), Larsen-Freeman (1997), Garner (2005), Brown (1993), Canagarajah (2007), Haugen (1972), Martin (1993), Gershenson (2005) and Norton Pierce (1995). The work of these writers will be reviewed in this section. I will also review Schumman's (1978a). I will use some of the concepts in Schumann's work in my concluding chapter and at some key moments along the way.

The following are the features of the conceptual framework.

1. Contexts of use of language and 'germination' factors of language learning.
2. Macro–and micro–contexts of language learning.
3. 'Push' and 'pull' factors of language learning.
4. Bridging the outsider and the insider identities using language.
5. Investment and identity.

The concepts are based on second language learning and research theories. Kramsch (2000: 315) explains second language acquisition in the following:

> The term 'second language' (L2) is generally used to characterize languages acquired, in natural or instructional settings, by immigrants or professionals in the country of which that language is the national language; 'foreign languages' (FLs), by contrast, are traditionally learned in schools that are removed from any natural context of use. Second language acquisition (SLA) was first studied in natural nonschooled settings, as in the case of immigrants learning the language of their host country on the street or in the workplace. It was fueled by the social and political concerns raised by the integration of immigrants and by the need for intercultural communication in an increasingly global economy.

Kramsch (2000: 315) continues to expound second language acquisition research also in the following:

> Second language acquisition research is concerned with the process by which children and adults acquire (learn) second (third or fourth) languages in addition to their native language and learn to speak and read these languages in transactions of everyday life-whether they acquire these abilities in natural settings (by living in the country in which the language is spoken) or in instructional settings (classrooms or individual tutoring of various kinds, including virtual environments).

These two explanations link to my research because the project is about Ghanaian immigrants' acquisition of second or more destination languages in natural settings (on the streets or in their workplaces) or classroom settings. The focus of the study is on these immigrants' use of destination languages in social and economic transactions.

During the data collection process, I observed that the respondents who claimed to have learned destination languages in South Africa, other African countries and Europe had mostly done so in the speech communities through interactions with established members. My preliminary reading of the data confirmed this observation. Thus, I resolved to consider a second language theory which focuses on contextual and interactional factors of language learning. My search for theory led me to the "ecological" perspective of second language acquisition.

3. 4. 1. An Ecological Perspective of Second Language Acquisition

Van Lier (2004) suggests that the German biologist Ernst Haeckel instituted an academic discipline in the middle of the 19th century (1866) and named it *ecology*.

> Ecology, thus used, refers to the totality of relationships of an organism with all other organisms with which it comes into contact. Originally, ecology was the study of and management of the environment (ecosphere, or biosphere) or specific ecosystems … Since ecology studies organisms in their relations with the environment, ecology is a contextualized or situated form of research" (van Lier, 2004: 3).

Jonathan Leather and Jet van Dam, editors of *Ecology of Language Acquisition*, contend that

> An ecological approach to the study of language acquisition sees the individual's cognitive processes as inextricably interwoven with their experiences in the physical and social world. The context of language activity is socially constructed and often dynamically negotiated on a moment-by-moment basis.
>
> (Leather & van Dam, 2003: 13).

In other words, language learning occurs through regular interactions in the physical and social contexts.

In addition to Jonathan Leather and Jet van Dam, Leo van Lier, Diane Larsen-Freeman, Claire Kramsch, Mark Fettes and Michael Toolan are some of the proponents of the "ecological" perspective of second language acquisition. All these proponents, except

Diane Larsen-Freeman are authors of the chapters in *Ecology of Language Acquisition* (2003) edited by Jonathan Leather and Jet van Dam.

3. 4. 2. Language Ecology

A similar second language acquisition theory based on ecology has also been proposed and used. This theory is language "ecology". Einar Haugen, the Norwegian-American linguist, adopted the concept of ecology to the linguistic field in 1972 and advocated it as an appropriate approach to the study of language in multilingual contexts (Garner, 2005). The following are the main aspects of the theory.

> Language ecology may be defined as the study of interactions between any given language and its environment … The true environment of a language is the society that uses it as one of its codes. Language exists only in the minds of its users, and it functions in relating these users to one another and to nature, i.e. their social and natural environment. Part of its ecology is therefore psychological: its interaction with other languages in the minds of bi- and multi-lingual speakers. Another part of its ecology is sociological: its interaction with the society in which it functions as a medium of communication. The ecology of a language is determined primarily by the people who learn it , use it, and transmit (Haugen, 1972: 325).

Thus, meaningful language learning occurs in the speech community through social, cultural and other activities that involve the use of the language between the learner and the established members of the community. Language ecology emphasizes that knowledge of other languages is equally important in the second language learning process since the learner draws on strategies in these languages to learn the new language. The respondents in my study are also multilingual speakers with knowledge of one or more of the Ghanaian languages and English.

Garner (2005: 94), who used the theory in his 1988 doctoral thesis, has explained that under Haugen's psychological component in the above quote, the speaker uses "the language to make sense of the self and the world. This component also reflects "the speaker's attitudes towards the language". The sociological component "includes the where, when, and why a language is used and not used, and how these are related to the patterns of the speakers' behaviour. In other words there is an actual (and not a metaphorical) relationship between community and language".

The discussion and analysis of the data for this study will focus on the attitudes of established members of the speech communities where Ghanaian immigrants reside and work. The attitudes of Ghanaian immigrants themselves to the communities and the destination languages will also be considered. My understanding of these attitudes will depend on the place, time and motive of destination language learning as Garner (2005) has suggested.

Garner (2005: 94) states further that language ecology has four main characteristics namely holistic, dynamic, interactive and situated. He explains 'holistic' as "totality of relations …", 'dynamic' as "the transformation produced by their struggle for existence", 'interactive' as "the mutual relations of all the organisms" and 'situated' as "relations with the external world, and organisms … in a single location".

These ideas create a link to my research in that the data in my study demonstrates holistic, dynamic, interactive and situated contexts between the respondents and the speech community. Garner (2005: 91) laments, however, that very few linguists have used and built on Haugen's (1972) theory. These linguists are Mackay (1980), Haarmann (1988), Nelde (1989) and Muhlhausler (1996).

3. 4. 2. 1. Use of Botanical Terms to illustrate the Theory of Language Ecology

Brown (1993) explains the features of ecology and language by explicitly using botanical terms to illustrate the theory. He discusses "the 'seeds of predisposition' and 'roots of competence', which through 'germination strategies' in the 'climate of context' lead eventually to the 'fruit of performance' (Brown, 1993 in Leather and van Dam, 2003: 13). The 'seeds of predispositions' refer to "innate, genetically transmitted processes". This means that every human being, whom Brown (1993) also refers to as "organism", has the potential to learn a language. However, the "seeds of predisposition" require "rain clouds of input" to germinate and grow. The effectiveness of the input is contingent on the germination "styles and strategies" used by the learner. Brown (1993) emphasizes that "not all 'seeds of predisposition' are effectively activated". The well activated ones develop into "roots" or "networks of competence" that are not easily noticed. The competence gets strengthened and noticeable as "the organism" or the learner "engages in comprehension and production of language". "Through the use of further

strategies and affective abilities" together with the feedback, learners "ultimately develop full flowering communicative abilities" which are "the fruit of performance". Language learning takes place in the "climate" of different contexts (Brown, 1993: 517).

I have drawn from Brown's (1993) ideas for one of my concepts that I call the "germination" factors. I consider a host speech community as a "fertile" environment where an immigrant may choose to learn or not to learn a destination language. This decision underlines a willingness to sow a "seed" of acquisition or learning that "germinates" into language competence. However, Brown (1993) sees "seed" as an innate ability. I see it as a manifestation of a decision and the consequent action. He refers to "germination styles and strategies" as the abilities the learner possesses to enable language learning. However, I have modified them as "germination" factors that enable language learning to take place. These factors could be the learner's characteristics, training, personal, economic, social, cultural and emotional conditions. They could also be economic, social, cultural, political and linguistic conditions from the learner's country of origin and in the destination speech community as well. I also argue that since there are factors that aid language learning, there are other conditions that also impede language learning. I refer to these conditions as "germination" inhibitors.

3. 4. 3. Chaos/complexity theory

Larsen-Freeman (1997) also proposes chaos/complexity theory of second language acquisition. She argues that second language learning takes place through complex, nonlinear and dynamic processes within the physical contexts. The use of 'processes' and 'dynamic' suggests that language learning is not static but constantly changing. Larsen-Freeman (1997: 142) lists the following as the main features of the theory: dynamic, nonlinear, chaotic, unpredictable, sensitive to initial conditions, open, self-organizing, feedback sensitive and adaptive. "Language is complex and composed of many different subsystems which are all interdependent" (Tamjid, 2007: 4). Language learning is also non-linear and emergent because it does not progress steadily. It develops "as a series of transformative experiences and increasingly diversified practices" (van Lier, 2004: 1). The focal point of this theory is that contexts of second language learning, as in the case of the respondents of my study, are complex, dynamic and emergent.

The features of both the “ecological” perspective of second language learning and the chaos/complexity theories are important concepts upon which this research is based. Firstly, respondents of my research reside in the multilingual context of Johannesburg where all of South Africa’s eleven official languages and some immigrant languages are spoken. Johannesburg is also a cosmopolitan city with diverse economic, political and social activities. This makes the city complex and dynamic context to learn a destination language. Secondly, respondents in this study would need to adapt to the context in order to learn a destination language successfully. Of further importance is that these theories constitute a shift from “the notion of a ‘normal’ acquisition path” (Leather and van Dam, 2003: 24).

3. 4. 4. Practiced-based Model of Second Language Acquisition

Canagarajah (2007) writes on language use and acquisition in multilingual communities and other communities where English is a lingua franca. He discusses the imbalance in the second language acquisition debate and language use and acquisition in both multilingual and lingua franca English communities. Then he shows the similarities between language competence and acquisition in these communities. Finally, he proposes a practiced-base model of second language learning. The following quote is a highlight of the article.

> Although Firth and Wagner (1997) argued for rectifying the imbalance between the dichotomies that characterize SLA, we are now moving toward more radical options of reframing the constructs. The previously ignored or suppressed constructs are now becoming the basis for a new integration or synthesis. Language acquisition is based on performance strategies, purposive uses of the language, and interpersonal negotiations in fluid communicative contexts. The previously dominant constructs such as form, cognition, and the individual are not eradicated; they are redefined to adopt hybrid, variable, situational, and processual characteristics they did not have before. They are treated in a more socially embedded, interactionally open, and ecologically situated manner (Canagarajah, 2007: 936).

The views Canagarajah expresses in this article are different from conventional notions of second language learning. He also discusses language use and acquisition in lingua franca English and multilingual contexts. His views link to my data. English is a lingua franca in Ghana and South Africa. Both countries are also multilingual. Thus, the views in this article will deepen my understanding of language use and learning in both Ghana and South Africa.

3. 4. 4. 1. Dichotomies in Second Language Learning

Canagarajah (2007: 921) asserts that second language acquisition debate has been based on the following dichotomy:

Nonnative	Native
Learner	User
Interlanguage	Target language
Grammar	Pragmatics
Determinism	Agency
Individual	Community
Purity	Hybridity
Fixity	Fluidity
Cognition	Context
Monolingual	Multilingual

Table 3.1. Dichotomies in Second Language Learning

He states that Firth and Wagner (1997) in particular have argued for correction of this imbalance. However, Canagarajah (2007: 922) suggests that in order to formulate a new theory it is important to have more SLA data, especially from multilingual contexts in non-Western countries. He argues that the current trends of globalization, transnational relationships, diaspora speech communities, advanced use of internet, fluid social interactions and the minimal differences between time and space have resulted in more studies being conducted regarding contacts among people. The focus of my research is the use of language among Ghanaian immigrants at the workplace in a diaspora community in Johannesburg. This study will therefore contribute to the SLA research as being suggested by Canagarajah (2007).

Studies regarding contacts among people have created more information that challenges existent dichotomies. However, he advocates “more insider studies from multilingual (especially non-Western) communities and data from outside the classroom”. This study, which I conducted outside the classroom in the non-Western and multilingual context of South Africa will contribute to the required SLA database. I am also an ‘insider’ because I am a Ghanaian immigrant student. I have been living in Johannesburg since 1999.

3. 4. 4. 2. Language use and acquisition in Lingua Franca English (LFE) Communities

Canagarajah draws on research data on lingua franca English (LFE) to discuss language use and acquisition. The data is "from contact situations in professional and everyday contexts outside the classroom" (Canagarajah, 2007: 922). He asserts that LFE speakers live in different localities with different cultures and speak other languages. They are, however, able to use English to interact and communicate because they depend on "a mutually recognized set of attitudes, forms and conventions". Thus irrespective of their native speech communities, LFE speakers are conscious of common and acceptable means of communicating. They successfully draw on their knowledge of local languages and their experiences with the use of these languages to continue to communicate in English even though they may not be proficient in LFE. Their proficiency improves as they use English in the same way as they learned their native languages. Canagarajah (2007: 923) asserts that "multilingualism is at the heart of LFE's hybrid community identity and speaker proficiency". In other words, LFE speakers are multilingual with variety of identity positions and linguistic competencies.

Canagarajah (2007: 923) states that "all LFE users have native competence of LFE just as they have competence in certain other languages and cultures". Thus, LFE is a language of its own with its own set of rules and behaviour as in the case of any other language. Similarly, LFE speakers need basic competence in the language in order to communicate with others. They acquire this competence in any LFE variety they speak. Their proficiency in this variety continuously grows with time as they use the language in different contexts. However, each context of communication requires individual speaker's responses. Once again Canagarajah (2007) asserts further that "this competence for cross-language contact and hybrid codes derives from their multilingual life". Thus, a learner's multilingual background has a positive influence on the acquisition of another language. The Ghanaian respondents in my study are mainly multilingual in Ghanaian and other languages. Thus, my study will provide insights on how Ghanaian immigrants' knowledge of local Ghanaian languages and other languages has an impact on their desire and ability to learn South African indigenous languages.

3. 4. 4. 3. Language Use and Acquisition in Multilingual Communities

There are diverse linguistic contexts in multilingual communities. As a result, different interactions occur among various language groups.

> Language identity is relative to the communities and languages one considers salient in different contexts. Therefore, the label is applied in a shifting and inconsistent manner (Canagarajah, 2007: 929).

Thus, multilingual speakers identify with numerous groups as the contexts of language use change.

Canagarajah (2007: 929) argues that so much diversity of language, literacies and discourse are displayed in a certain context of language use that it is hard to assign an interaction to a specific language. Thus, local languages are in constant contact with one another and they eventually lose their distinctive features and adapt to hybrid grammar and form. In other words, "mixing of languages and literacies in each situation is the norm, not the exception". In my opinion, it will be more challenging for Ghanaian immigrants who are multilingual speakers of different Ghanaian languages to interact with other multilingual speakers of South African indigenous languages. The reason is that a careful choice of literacies and strategies will be needed to achieve a meaningful communication. Studies, such as my research, are necessary to establish the enabling and constraining factors of these social and economic interactions.

In multilingual communities, each linguistic situation becomes meaningful and intelligible according to the participants involved. Meaning making depends on the interests, intentions and focus of the interactions. Thus, "meaning is socially constructed, not pre-existing. Meaning does not reside in the language; it is produced in practice" (Canagarajah, 2007: 929). Therefore, participants need to be especially conscious of the communicative strategies of each other and adapt appropriately. They need to adjust to the diverse ways speakers use to create meaning. Modalities and symbols in a specific context also contribute to meaning-making. Language is, therefore, not the sole repository of meaning in multilingual communities. In this way multilingual exchanges emphasize competence in the ability to make meaning out of the contexts of use. Forms and conventions are not central to communication because each context may demand different forms and conventions.

> Multilingual competence is thus a mode of practice, not resident solely in cognition and learning is nonlinear. “Multilingual competence is treated as always evolving and creative. In other words, one's competence is based on the repertoire that grows as the contexts of interaction increase (Canagarajah, 2007: 930-931).

Multilingual communicative competence varies in relation to shifting contexts. As a result, acquisition is emergent. Learning continuously takes place in response to “the diversity, hybridity, and variability that can characterize a language” (Canagarajah, 2007: 931). This diverse and variable nature of language makes it difficult to predict proficiency and also to measure a learner’s acceptable level of communicative competence. Competence therefore emerges from the use of variety of languages that overlap one another.

> It is for these reasons that multilingual competence cannot rely solely on schools for its development. Because participants have to adopt communicative strategies relevant to each situation and one cannot predict the mix of languages and participants in each context, learning is more meaningful in actual contexts of language use and practice. It is not surprising that, in multilingual communities, language acquisition takes place most effectively in everyday contexts (Canagarajah, 2007: 931).

Although formal language learning in the classroom contributes to competence, it is the informal learning in real social situations that is more effective. The majority of the respondents in my study learned destination languages informally in other countries and then later in the multilingual context of South Africa.

3. 4. 4. 4. Similarities between Multilingual Competence and LFE Competence and Acquisition

In both lingua franca English and multilingual communities the contexts of language use determine the speaker’s competence. This competence is not static but evolves in relation to the contexts and the communicative strategies of the participants. On the other hand, “acquisition is adaptive, practiced-based and emergent” (Canagarajah, 2007: 931). In other words acquisition emerges through the use of language and learners align themselves to the demands of the language situations. Canagarajah (2007: 931-932) asserts that the distinctive features of multilingual acquisition in non-Western countries are that “multilingual acquisition is nonlinear (multilateral), noncumulative, multimodal, multisensory and multidimensional”. He then proposes that ‘the insights from non-Western communities should inform the current efforts for alternate theory building in the field of second language learning’. The insights I will

derive from my study will be non-Western since the study is set in South Africa. The study will therefore contribute to theory building as Canagarajah advocates.

3. 4. 4. 5. Practiced-based Model of Second Language Acquisition

In this section I highlight key features of Canagarajah's (2007) theory. This theory draws partly on Pratt (1991), Rampton (1990) and Hopper (1987). Canagarajah (2007) has proposed a **practiced-based model** that would accommodate the realizations of LFE and multilingual competence. The model goes beyond the 'cognition–society' or 'form-pragmatics' dichotomy and integrates other model building activities. This orientation is informed by the practices of everyday language use and acquisition in non-Western communities.

The following are the beliefs and assumptions underlining features of the practiced-based model:

1. People come together in communities in order to realize their various interests. The drive to achieve the objectives in relation to these interests cause people to live in different communities whether they share common characteristics with the members of the communities or not. Communities are therefore "contact zones where people from diverse backgrounds meet" (Pratt, 1991 in Canagarajah, 2007: 933).
2. What keeps people to co-operate in dealing with their interests is the skills of negotiation they adopt in various situations and "not common language, discourse, or values" (Canagarajah, 2007: 933).
3. "What enables them to develop expertise in the workings of each community is also practiced–that is, engaging actively in purposive activities of that community (not accumulating knowledge and information theoretically without involvement), and acquiring a repertoire of strategies (not information, rules, or cognitive schemata)" (Canagarajah, 2007: 933).
4. Identities therefore result from association with the established members of the community and proficient engagement in their activities. Identities are not necessarily those that are acquired "by birth, family, race or blood" (Rampton, 1990 in Canagarajah, 2007: 933).
5. The practices of different participants involved in variety of situations shape the language and discourse of their communication. Thus, form is continuously

'constructed' in accordance with the 'interests of the participants in the manner of emergent grammar" (Hopper, 1987 Canagarajah, 2007: 934).

3. 4. 5. Factors of Second Language Acquisition

This section considers the theory of second language acquisition as expounded by Schumann (1978a). Migrants' entry into a host speech community creates two broad language groups. The first group includes the members of the immigrant community who may choose to learn or not to learn a destination language. The second group is the established members of the host community whose language (s) the immigrants are introduced to (Schumman, 1978a). Schumann refers to the former as second language group (2LL group) and the latter as the target language group (TL group). Schumann (1978a) argues further that the immigrants' desire to learn a destination language depends on the extent of social interaction between the two groups.

3. 4. 5. 1. Social Factors of Second Language Acquisition

The social factors include the following:

- Dominance patterns,
- Three integration strategies,
- Enclosure,
- Cohesiveness and size,
- Congruence or similarity of culture,
- Attitude and
- Length of residence.

The immigrant group may consider itself dominant or non-dominant to the established members. This situation results into two extremes which adversely affect the immigrants' desire to learn the destination language. Immigrants with dominant attitudes look down on the established members, they distance themselves from the host community and consequently they avoid the use of the destination languages. Immigrants with non-dominant attitudes see themselves unworthy to interact with the established members. They therefore choose not to learn the destination language as well. These conditions suggest that a successful destination language learning requires a certain degree of integration between the 2LL group and the TL group.

Schumann's second social factor focuses on three integration strategies which consist of assimilation, preservation and acculturation. Park & Burgess (1969:735 in Alba & Nee, 1997: 828) define assimilation as "a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons and groups and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life". When immigrants assimilate, they fit into the social, economic, political, linguistic and cultural institutions of the host community to the point of giving up their own ways of life, ethics and morals. Social distance is thus narrowed between the two groups and immigrants can easily learn the destination languages. In my view assimilation occurs where the members of the immigrant community admire the lifestyle and values of the host community.

The second integration strategy is preservation. Sardinha (2009: 203) considers preservation as "retaining one's socio-cultural identification and the core elements and competencies of that culture". Schumann points out that immigrants may decide to prevent their lifestyles and values from being adulterated by the values of the host community. They therefore create a social distance that divides them and the host community members. Destination language learning then becomes very difficult. Immigrants with either dominant or non-dominant attitudes would adopt preservation as a strategy.

The third strategy is acculturation. Acculturation is "the process by which persons who are members of minority groups embedded in a larger culture come to participate in the traditions and practices of the dominant culture" (Snowden & Hines, 1999 in Phillips, 2005: 232). In some situations acculturation may "include the degree to which members of the minority group endorse the dominant culture's assumptions, values, and beliefs (Berry 1980; Ladrine and Klonoff 1994 in Phillips, 2005: 232). Thus, the minority group adapts to the social, cultural, political and economic norms of the host community. This adaptation is for the purpose of effective interaction and communication. There is therefore a varying degree of social distance between the two groups which leads to varying degree of destination language learning. Ghanaian immigrants in my study are from different social and economic backgrounds with various aspirations. They also work and live in different suburbs in Johannesburg. The strategy they adopt in their

relationships with South Africans will therefore vary and will in turn promote or prevent South African indigenous language learning.

The next social factor that enables or constrains destination language learning is enclosure. Enclosure refers to the use of physical facilities such as churches, schools, clubs, hospitals, clubs and recreational areas between the immigrant and the host communities. It also involves sharing crafts, professions and trade. Where both communities commonly use these facilities and work together, the immigrants are more likely to learn destination languages than where they do not. This links to my study because Ghanaian immigrants are doctors, accountants, nurses, teachers, businessmen and women. Others are shoe-repairers, fruit sellers, tailors, mechanics, panel-beaters and hairdressers. They share these professions and trade with the established members. Thus, it will be useful to determine if and how their working together with the members of the host community and the common use of facilities either promote or inhibit the destination language learning.

Schumann (1978a) suggests further that cohesiveness and size of the immigrant community also influence destination language learning. Immigrants tend to be unified and keep to themselves where their community is small. Consequently, there is a large social distance between them and the established members, social interaction is minimised and destination language learning thus becomes difficult. A large immigrant community could also encourage more internal communication among the members themselves than with the host community. Similarly, the desire to learn a destination language is adversely affected.

This factor links to my study because the working class Ghanaian immigrants tend to live in the suburbs of the host community where house rents and other social services are not expensive. Consequently they form a small cohesive community. However, the professional and middle class Ghanaians live in relatively rich suburbs and tend to be sparsely distributed. Their choice of place of residence and their intra-group and inter-group interactions are likely to influence their decision to learn South African indigenous languages.

Immigrants' intended length of residence in the destination country, attitudes and similarity between the culture of the immigrants and the established members reflect on

destination language learning. Positive and negative attitudes between the immigrant community and the host community promote or prevent destination language learning respectively. Where the immigrants share cultural values with the established members, there is high frequency of social interactions leading to immigrants' desire to learn destination languages. The reverse occurs where the two cultures are incongruent. My view is that similarity in cultural values often suggests a possibility of cognate languages between the immigrant and the host communities. Immigrants who share a cognate language with the host community would find it easier to learn the destination language. The longer the immigrants intend to live in the destination country, the more likely they are to learn the destination language.

Ghanaian immigrants living in Johannesburg have various motives of migration which include professional improvement, better standard of living, joining a family member, seeking asylum, for a visit and on a transit to another country. These motives will tend to determine the intended length of stay of the respondents in my study. Thus, the more motives they have the more variations there are in their intended length of stay. The variations will also influence their decisions to learn South African indigenous languages.

3. 4. 5. 2. Psychological Factors of Second Language Acquisition

Schumman (1978a) discusses psychological factors that focus more on individual immigrants' aptitudes to learn destination languages. The following are the psychological factors:

- Affective factors,
- Personality factors,
- Cognitive style factors and
- Personal factors.

Affective factors

The affective factors include language shock, culture shock, motivation and ego permeability. Schumann (1978a) makes a distinction between an adult and a child regarding language shock. Schumann argues that unlike an adult, a child perceives a destination language learning as fun and therefore does not mind making mistakes in learning and speaking the language. Similarly, people's positive or negative affirmation for proficiency in the destination language does not affect the child's enthusiasm to

learn. However, an adult may get discouraged and choose not to continue learning the destination language. Most of the Ghanaians I know living in Johannesburg are from teenage to about seventy years of age. Their responses to language shock will therefore differ from person to person. This study which focuses on the Ghanaian community in Johannesburg will either corroborate or reject Schumman's assertion.

An immigrant may be confronted with immense difficulty in the process of getting settled in the destination country. Unfamiliar approach to dealing with difficulties and solving problems causes "disorientation, stress, anxiety and fear" (Schumann, 1978a,167) which lead to anger and dislike towards the host community. The immigrant gets alienated from the established members and distances himself/herself from learning any destination language. Schumann categorises immigrants' reasons of learning destination languages into integrative motivation and instrumental motivation. Immigrants who identify themselves with the established members and feel attracted to them tend to feel integratively motivated to learn the destination language for effective association and social interactions.

Immigrants who are concerned about overcoming language barriers in order to do their work efficiently are instrumentally motivated to learn a destination language. Similarly, an instrumentally motivated immigrant may learn a destination language to gain respect from the immigrant community. Schumann points out that integrative motivation may yield higher level of proficiency than instrumental motivation. The level of proficiency also depends on the contexts of use of the destination language. In my opinion, integratively motivated immigrants would have high oral proficiency whilst the immigrants who learn for work purposes would aim at improving their writing skills. This concept is important for my study because any number among the 114 respondents who have learned destination languages would have done so for either integrative or instrumental purposes.

Ego permeability "pertains to the degree of openness and flexibility that you exhibit for the integration of new input from yourself, others, the media, books etc. into your ego space…This input includes information, beliefs, values, attitudes, prejudices, delusions and interpretations" (Martin, 2010: 103). Thus, language ego permeability refers to the extent to which a destination language learner allows or prevents himself or herself from

learning a destination language. Thus, the higher the ego permeability the greater the learner is accessible to language learning. Conversely, the lower the ego permeability the lesser the learner is accessible to the destination language learning. The concept is useful for this study because whilst some of the respondents learned destination languages, others did not. Their personal aptitudes towards learning a new language would play a critical role in their choice to learn or not to learn a destination language.

Personality and cognitive style factors

With regard to personality and cognitive style factors, Schumann (1978a) considers the following to be relevant to destination language learning:

- Tolerance for ambiguity,
- Self-esteem,
- Field independence and
- Monitoring.

He argues that the contexts of destination language learning are challenging, demanding and confusing. The object of discussion and the required feedback could be uncertain to a learner. Thus, the learner's ability to withstand ambiguity is important for successful destination language learning. Low tolerance for ambiguity adversely affects learning whilst high tolerance promotes learning. Schumman (1978a) contends that high and low self-esteem results respectively in successful and poor destination language learning. Tolerance to ambiguity and self-esteem are individual characteristics that vary from person to person. Ghanaian immigrants in this study have different degrees of tolerance and self-esteem. Thus, my understanding of these two factors will enable me to pay attention to how they influence the respondents' destination language learning.

Schumman distinguishes between a field independent learner and a field dependent learner. "A field independent learner is one who can perceive a visual and auditory field and detect sub-patterns within that field. A learner who is field dependent gets lost in the totality of the visual or auditory stimulus and fails to detect relevant sub-patterns and subsystems" (Schumann, 1978a: 171). These definitions imply that languages have patterns and systems with visual and auditory signals that need to be recognised and applied for meaningful communication. Learners who become aware of the signals and

use them well are field independent. They are able to learn destination languages more quickly and often more successfully than field dependent learners.

Drawing on Krashen (1976, 1977a, 1977b), Schumann (1978a) considers monitoring as a cognitive style. Monitoring is process where a destination language learner consciously or unconsciously draws on his/her knowledge of the rules and strategies of the language to improve on his/her speaking or writing abilities. Unconscious monitoring occurs in language acquisition in natural settings whilst conscious monitoring is associated with classroom-based language learning. Monitoring is also restricted to certain learners, rules and contexts. Some learners monitor their linguistic output using specific rules within particular contexts but others do not. Taking cognisance of time that may be involved in monitoring, Schumann believes that "monitoring is most likely to occur on grammar tests and is least likely to occur in free conversation" (Schumann, 1978a: 173). This concept is equally useful for my study because some of the respondents learned destination languages in a classroom and others used audiotapes and written materials to learn on their own.

Personal factors

The next set of factors is personal factors which are the following:

- Transition anxiety,
- Nesting patterns and
- Reaction to pedagogical techniques.

I consider the process of transition to be in three stages: the first stage is the closure of one's activities in the home country, the second stage is about arranging details of the migration journey and the third stage deals with issues regarding the journey itself. Renting out, selling or arranging a suitable caretaker for one's house, writing a letter of resignation or leave of absence or simply vacating one's position, making banking arrangements for oneself or one's family constitute the first stage. Applying for a new passport if the migrant does not have one already, applying for a visa if required, arranging for accommodation in the destination country and getting money to buy the air ticket form the second stage. The third stage involves transportation to the airport, dealing with immigration and custom officials at departure and arrival points.

Schumann (1978a) points out that these transition issues could cause so much concern for some immigrants that they choose to distance themselves from institutions including learning a language in the destination country. As in the case of all immigrants, Ghanaian immigrants in my study have already passed through the transition process. Their negative or positive reactions to this process will affect their desire to learn destination languages.

Immigrants' concern about the way they settle in the destination country also influences their desire to learn a destination language. Schumman (1978a) describes this attitude as nesting patterns. Some immigrants expect to have very good living conditions before they consider learning a language. Others choose to learn a language irrespective of their living conditions. Preference for place of residence and the financial situations of the respondents in this study will determine their satisfaction with their nesting patterns. The levels of their satisfaction will precipitate or stifle their desire for destination language learning. He also argues that an immigrant's negative or positive response to language teaching methods impacts on their learning. Learners who are dissatisfied with a teaching method will be discouraged and they may choose not to put in enough efforts to learn the language successfully. On the other hand others overlook the poor teaching approach, work hard on their own and may seek assistance elsewhere to enable them to successfully learn the language.

Destination language learning is dependent on pre-migration issues, early migration issues and in-migration issues. Both personal and group characteristics also contribute to immigrants' ability to learn destination languages.

3. 4. 6. THE PUSH-PULL THEORY

Martin (1993) provides the following explanation for the "push and pull" theory:

> Migration occurs because of demand pull factors 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 an anchor communities for newcomers (Martin, 1993: 4 in Petkou, 2005: 62).

Underlining this theory is the assumption that most immigrants have carefully considered reasons informing their decisions to emigrate from their country of birth. These reasons constitute the push factors. Similarly immigrants take cognisance of

favourable conditions–the pull factors-that mostly lure them to a destination country. A resident friend or a family member could be a strong motivation for the choice of a destination country. Some of the general "push and pull" factors are listed below:

3. 4. 6. 1. "Push" factors

- Limited opportunities at the country of origin.
- Poor standard of living.
- The potential migrant's desire to have a better standard of living for himself/ herself and for his/her family.
- Unemployment in the home country.
- The view that migration is the best alternative.
- Social perception of migration as an important "rite of passage" to social and economic maturity.
- Anticipation of social mobility resulting from migration.
- Poor management of home national economies.
- Political instability and harassment of political opponents in the home country.

(Schoorl, Heering, Esveldt, Groenewold, van der Erf, Bosch, de Valk & de Bruijn, 2000).

3.4. 6. 2. "Pull" factors

- Employment opportunities in the host country.
- Economic prosperity and higher standard of living.
- Colonial ties between the source country and the host country.
- The potential migrant's use of a common language with the destination country.
- Existing well-developed social and ethnic networks.
- Visa policies and admissions at entry points.
- Possibility of obtaining work and residence permits.
- Proximity of the destination country to the source country.
- Financial cost of the migration journey.

(Schoorl et al. 2000).

3. 4. 6. 3. Migration of Ghanaians to Nigeria

From the late 1960s to the early part of the 1980s, the "push" factors of poor economic management coupled with four military *coups d'etat* (1966, 1972, 1979 and 1981) contributed to the economic decline in Ghana (Yeboah, 1987; Oquaye, 1980 in Ray, 1986; Ray, 1986). Among other things, the rates of unemployment and inflation escalated resulting in high cost of living. Emigration in search of better standards of living became an attractive option. A number of Ghanaian professions left the country in the latter part of the 1970s (Kraus, 1991).

On the other hand, economic prosperity, availability of employment and a possibility of a better standard of living pulled Ghanaians to Nigeria. With its oil boom in the 1970s, Nigeria was considered an ideal destination for many Ghanaian teachers, lecturers and medical personnel who were perceived as important migrants because of their contributions to the economy in Nigeria (Tonah, 2007). Nigeria experienced its greatest oil boom between 1978 and 1980. The country's oil revenue rose from N5,4 billion in 1978 to N10,3 billion in 1979 and reached the highest recorded revenue of N13,5 billion in 1980 (Afolayan, 1988: 17). Not surprisingly, the number of immigrants to Nigeria between 1978 and 1980 also grew immensely with Ghana as "the major contributing alien group". From 1979 to 1980 alone, Ghanaians arriving in Nigeria through official channels of entry increased by more than 50% (from 38, 229 to 80,583) (Afolayan, 1988: 13).

Almost 300 Ghanaians migrated to Nigeria on a daily basis during the early part of 1980s (Peil, 1995). Perhaps, the British colonial ties, the common use of English in Nigeria and Ghana, the proximity between the two countries and the fact that Ghana is noted for producing educated professionals and semi-professionals accounted for the greater number of its citizens migrating to Nigeria. Nigeria is about a day or two journey by road from Ghana. Financially, it is also not expensive to travel from Ghana to Nigeria thus making it more viable for Ghanaians to migrate to Nigeria. It is, however, worth noting that migration of Ghanaians to Nigeria was not a strange phenomenon. Peil (1995: 347) argues that "the interchange between Ghana and Nigeria is well-developed, depending on which economy is in better shape". Indeed, Nigerians also migrated to Ghana in the 1960s when Ghana had a stable and flourishing economy.

There was, however, a change in the trend of migration in the early 1980s. The Nigerian economy registered a downward trend in 1983–1984. One result of the change was the expulsion of migrants from Nigeria who were blamed for the negative change in the economy. More than one million Ghanaians were affected by this policy (Peil, 1995). According to Anarfi, Kwankye et al., 2003: 7), "it is estimated that of the two million people deported from Nigeria in 1983, between 900, 000 and 1.2 million were Ghanaians". This deportation and other similar minor deportations do not seem to have discouraged potential Ghanaian immigrants. Ghanaians continue to seek favourable

destination countries and appear to consider South Africa as one of these sites. The following section discusses the migration of Ghanaians to South Africa.

3. 4. 6. 4. Migration of Ghanaians to South Africa

South Africa, Japan, Taiwan, Israel, Australia and New Zealand are very recent destinations for Ghanaian immigrants (Vasta & Kandilige, 2007). Until the release of Nelson Mandela from prison in 1990, Ghanaian passports were valid for all countries except South Africa and the Bantustans or homelands within South Africa. Consequently, only a very limited number of Ghanaians migrated to South Africa. This trend, however, changed after South Africa's elections in 1994. 13% of a 100 respondents in my own survey arrived in South Africa between 1985 and 1993 with 87% migrating to South Africa in 1994 and in the years after.

Economic motives tend to be the predominant factor influencing Ghanaian emigration (cf NIDI/EUROSTAT, 2000; Anarfi, Kwakye et al*.,* 2003; Tonah, 2007; Peil, 1995). The arrival of immigrants to South Africa in the post-apartheid era, which was after 1994, is not peculiar to Ghanaians. Rogerson (1997) reports that 79% of non-SADC (Southern African Development Community) migrants in his survey conducted in inner Johannesburg arrived in this period. Perhaps, immigrants considered the collapse of apartheid as a much–awaited dream come true. Indeed, one of the respondents in Rogerson's (1997: 8) study remarked that "South Africa has always been my dream country".

The potential migrant's use of a common language with the destination country is one of the "pull" factors for migration (Schoorl et al. 2000). This factor tends to influence Ghanaian immigrants' choice of Nigeria and South Africa as destination countries. English is a national language in both Ghana and Nigeria and an official language in South Africa.

3. 5. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

In this section I will discuss the five features of the conceptual framework which include contexts of use of language and 'germination' factors of language learning, macro-and micro-contexts of language learning, 'push' and 'pull' factors of language learning, bridging the 'outsider' and 'insider' identities using language and finally investment and identity.

3. 5. 1. Context of use of language and 'germination' factors of language learning

The first concept is based on the ecology of second language acquisition. "The ecology of language is the study of interactions between language and its environment. This approach suggests that there are two different but overlapping components: the psychological and the sociological. The psychological is concerned with language as it exists in the mind of the speaker who is making sense of the world and interacting with other languages. The sociological component is concerned with the language within the collectivity – when and where the language is or is not used and why" (Haugen, 1972 in Mesch, 2003: 44).

My focus will be on the complex, emergent and dynamic contexts of immigrants' language use and the 'germination' factors that influence immigrants' desire to acquire a destination language. I argue that any speech community is a 'fertile' environment for immigrants to learn a new language. However, an immigrant may choose to learn or not to learn a language depending on the enabling and constraining factors. I use 'germination' factors and 'germination' inhibitors to refer to the enabling and the constraining conditions respectively. The choice to learn a language is a sign of willingness to sow a 'seed' of acquisition which could 'germinate' and grow into language proficiency or competence. On the other hand the immigrant's decision not to learn a new language suggests a choice not to make use of the 'seed', thus allowing it to die. 'Germination' inhibitors contribute to the death of the 'seed'.

3. 5. 2. 'Macro'–and 'micro'–contexts of Language Learning

I will discuss the 'macro' and 'micro' contexts of the speech community and their effects on immigrants' language learning. "In ecolinguistics, the 'context' refers to both personal-situational and socio-cultural phenomena. Thus, an ecolinguistic analysis relates linguistic data to the complex totality of the speakers' situational positioning and the socio-cultural and socio-economic characteristics of the speech communities" (Kramsch and Steffensen, 2008: 18). The Concise Oxford Dictionary defines 'macro' and 'micro' as large and small respectively. I therefore use the term a 'macro–context' to refer to a speech community in general, for example, a Sotho–speaking area, Igbo speaking area and Fante–speaking area. Any establishment or gathering within the

speech community is considered as a ‘micro’-context. A school, a home, a workplace, a sporting event are all ‘micro’–contexts. The diagram below illustrates this concept.

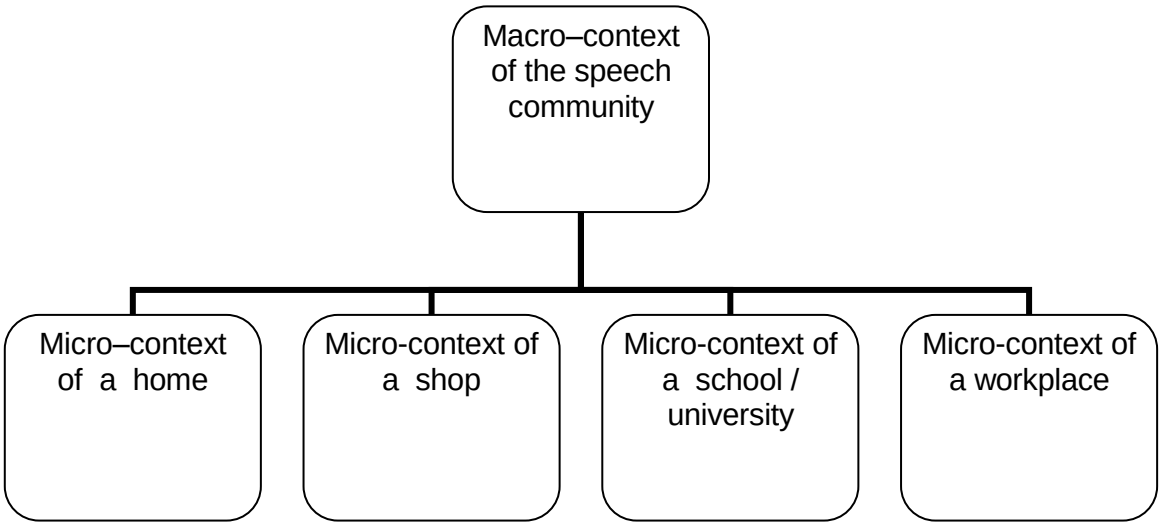


Figure 3.1. ‘Macro’ and ‘micro’-contexts of destination language learning

I argue that there are levels as well as a variety of contexts with specific factors that influence immigrants’ destination language learning. However, the literature on economic migrants and language learning tends to focus mainly on economic factors. I argue that other factors such as social, cultural and personal are equally important and need to be carefully considered. I have therefore used ‘macro’ and ‘micro’ to modify this term, “context”, in order to enable me to make a distinction between the contexts and also capture the appropriate factors (economic, social, cultural, personal) and their effects on immigrants’ language learning.

3. 5. 3. ‘Push’ and ‘Pull’ Factors of Language Learning

I will consider the ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors influencing my respondents’ acquisition of destination languages. I stated earlier in section 3. 4. 6. the motives for international migration are described as both ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors. The “Push-Pull” theory suggests that immigrants take informed decisions to emigrate from their country of birth. The conditions leading to their decisions are the ‘push’ factors. Similarly, immigrants perceive better conditions– the ‘pull’ factors-that mostly encourage them to migrate to a destination country.

I argue that social, cultural, economic and personal factors tend to affect immigrants' choices to learn a new language in a 'push' and 'pull' manner. I refer to conditions in the origin country, the immigrants' own lives and their backgrounds that compel them to learn a destination language as 'push' factors whilst 'pull' factors are conditions in the host speech community and the attitudes of the established members that cause immigrants to learn the language. I will draw on this notion of 'push' and 'pull' factors to reflect on my respondents' reasons for learning or not learning a destination language.

3. 5. 4. Bridging the 'outsider' and the 'insider' identities using language

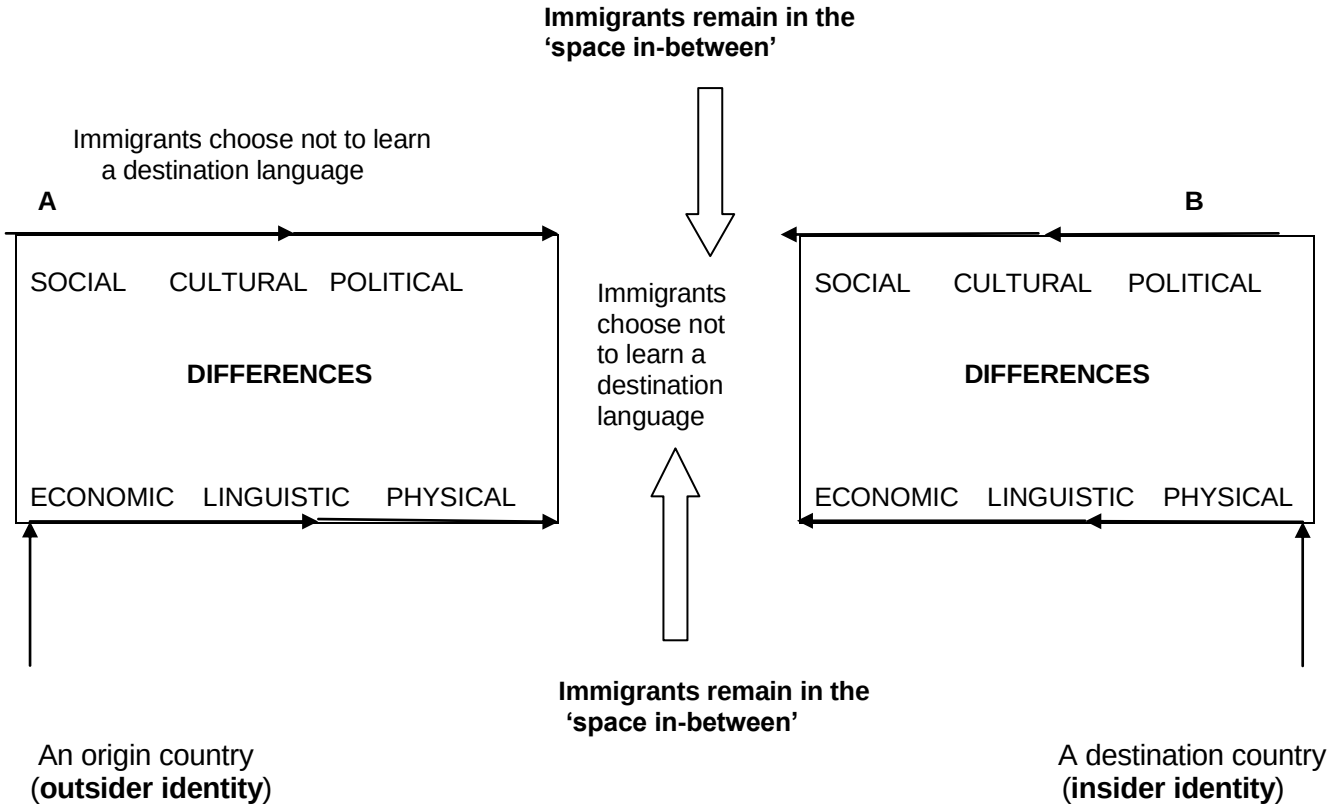
Bridging the 'outsider' and the 'insider' identities using language is the fourth concept I will use in the analysis. I use the terms–"outsider" and "insider"-to refer to immigrants and members of a destination speech community respectively. An "insider" is "someone who is an accepted member of a group and who therefore has a special or secret knowledge or influence" (Cambridge International Dictionary of English, 1995: 735). By contrast, an "outsider" is "also a person who is not liked or accepted as a member of a particular group, organization or society and who feels different from those people who are accepted as members" (Cambridge International Dictionary of English, 1995: 1004).

In her book, *Gesher: Russian Theater in Israel-A Study of Cultural Colonization*, Olga Gershenson states that "A bridge is not a road…a bridge merely connects, right and left, one side and another… thus, a bridge becomes a metaphor for connection, for difference, and for the space in-between" (Gershenson, 2005: 1).

Following Gershenson's (2005) view and the "outsider" and "insider" definitions given above, I argue that an immigrant enters any speech community as an outsider and a member of a minority group with different social, economic, cultural, linguistic and physical background. These differences are 'gaps' between the immigrant and established members of a speech community. However, the immigrant may choose to 'connect' with the speech community by learning a destination language. The bridge thus serves as "something that allows (the immigrant) gradually to make a change" linguistically and socially to become an accepted member of the speech community (Cambridge International Dictionary of English, 1995: 164). On the other hand, immigrants, who decide not to learn a destination language, remain in "the space in-

between" and thus do not get integrated into the speech community in the destination country. The diagram below illustrates the idea of the 'space in-between'.

Figure 3. 2. An illustration of the concept of the 'space in-between'



Rectangles A and B are divided into two equal halves with social, cultural, political, economic, linguistic and physical differences marked in each rectangle. Rectangle A shows the immigrant's background derived from his or her country of origin. Rectangle B represents the conditions in the destination country. "*Immigrants choose not to learn a destination language*" written on top of Rectangle A indicates the immigrant's decision. The space which separates Rectangle A from B is a sign of the immigrant's inability to get integrated into the new speech community and thus chooses to remain in the space. The immigrant remains in the space in-between because I believe that one can be affected consciously or unconsciously by verbal or non-verbal communication.

I have developed this spatial metaphor in order to capture and reflect mainly on the experiences of immigrants who choose not to learn a destination language.

3. 5. 5. Investment and Identity

The final concept is on investment and identity. Investment is defined in economic terms as

> The use of money through various vehicles, or an individual's time and effort to make more income or increase capital, or both. The term "investment" infers that the safety of principal is important. On the other hand, speculation connotes that risking principal is acceptable (www.tiaa-crefbrokerage.com).

Following Norton Pierce (1995), I will use the term 'investment' metaphorically in relation to immigrants' acquisition of destination languages. One of the numerous definitions of identity is the following:

> The individual sense of importance in a social context; identity is proportional to what you have to give other people *(*www.geocities.com).

I synthesise the meanings of these two definitions in the context of immigrants and language learning to imply that an immigrant spends "time and effort" to invest a particular part of his sense of social and personal importance (identity) in learning a destination language with the belief that such investment would earn him/her corresponding sense of social importance (identity) or higher value. I have mentioned "a particular part" because people have multiple identities (Norton Pierce, 1995). In other words I argue that any resolution made by an immigrant to learn a target language is an indication of a willingness to compromise a part of himself/herself (an identity or identities) in order to tap into the possibility of gaining another part (an identity or identities) to increase the already acquired identities.

Norton Pierce (1995: 17) takes the position that "if learners invest in a second language, they do so with the understanding that they will acquire a wider range of symbolic resources (language, education and friendship) and material resources (capital goods, real estate and money), which will in turn increase the value of their cultural capital. Learners will expect or hope to have a good return on that investment–a return that will give them access to hitherto unattainable resources". I will explore how immigrants tend to invest types of their identity into learning new languages in order to realise new types of identity.

I will use all of the above concepts as a conceptual framework for analysing and reflecting on the narratives in chapters six, seven and eight.

3. 6. CONCLUSION

Chapter 3 has considered literature regarding globalisation which has increased the demand for migrant labour in the past few years. Immigrants' contributions in terms of taxes to the destination countries and remittances to their origin countries were also discussed. However, immigrants experience xenophobia in different forms wherever they are located in the world and particularly in South Africa. The chapter reviewed these experiences as well. The chapter then focused on issues concerning language, immigration and the labour market. The effects of proficiency of destination languages on immigrants' socio-economic integration into the new communities were discussed with particular reference to studies in the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, Israel, Australia and Bolivia. Immigrants' use of language in the informal sector was considered. Finally the chapter reviewed the theories I used for the conceptual framework for analysis and discussion of the data of this study.

Chapter 4
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.0. Introduction
4.1. Research design
4.2. Research techniques
4.2.1. Qualitative data
4.2.1.1. Interview
4.2.1.2. Life history accounts
4.2.1.3. Interview questions
4.2.1.4. Data collection process of the in-depth interview
4.2.1.5. Research participants of the in-depth interview
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4. 4. Limitations of the study
4. 5. Conclusion

4. 0. INTRODUCTION

In this section I will describe and discuss the methodology I used to collect data for this research. This chapter will focus on the research design, the research techniques, the research participants and the limitations of the study. In the research design subsection, I will briefly consider the qualitative and quantitative methods used. I will then discuss the key research techniques and describe the process of selecting the research participants. Finally I will discuss the limitations of the study.

4. 1. Research Design

The research design includes both qualitative and quantitative methods. Drawing on Bowen (1996), Petkou (2005: 32) states that

> When qualitative and quantitative methodologies are merged in social research, the internal validity of the research design is strengthened. In effect, a combination of the two methodologies brings out and utilizes the inherent differences between the two to the advantage of the social researcher.

Thus, a comprehensive research design is achieved through the use of different perspectives. Quantitative methods of enquiry reflect deductive logic which uses general responses to draw particular conclusions, whereas qualitative approaches use inductive logic whereby general opinions are formed depending on specific conditions and statements (Gibbs, 2002). Another difference is that the quantitative method creates "*reliability* of the interview schedule…", whilst the qualitative one leads to "an *authentic* understanding of people's experiences" (Silverman, 1993: 10), greater validity and more in-depth information (Galtung, 1967: 23 in Dey, 1993: 14).

Bell (1993: 6) asserts that every method has its own weakness, I therefore used both quantitative and qualitative methods so that where qualitative data failed to elicit the required information, the quantitative means would do it. I also used the two approaches in order to ensure *reliability, authenticity, validity and objectivity* of the research. In addition, the use of the quantitative method for this study was intended to generate statistical data to complement and re-enforce the results from the qualitative data. Thus, out of nine respondents I have selected for discussion and analysis three are from the survey which generated quantitative data. The remaining six are from the in-depth interviews (see detailed discussion in section 4. 3. on pages 94-97).

4. 2. Research Techniques

I used three key techniques which include:

1. In-depth interviews
2. A survey involving questionnaires and
3. Observations.

4. 2. 1. Qualitative Data

In this section I will focus briefly on the use of interview. I will then discuss the use of life history account as a means of eliciting data for the in-depth interviews. I will also describe the data collection process of these interviews.

4. 2. 1. 1. Interview

An interview is perceived as a type of conversation "initiated by the interviewer for the specific purpose of obtaining research-relevant information and focused by him on content specified by research objectives of systematic description, prediction and

explanation" (Cohen & Manion, 1989: 307). Thus, an interview is a verbal exchange between an interviewer and an individual or a group of people with the intention of soliciting information to realize the aims of an enquiry. The interviewer directs the interaction towards the objects of the enquiry.

Interviews can be categorized into structured, unstructured or semi-structured. This study used semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews are aimed at responses that are neither too spontaneous nor too controlled (Wallace, 1998). This type of interview is based mainly on "the subjective theory" (Scheele & Groeben, 1988 in Flick, 1998: 82). This theory suggests that participants often have important views with regard to the issues in the research. Thus, in order to motivate the participants of this study to present their opinions freely, questions in the semi-structured interviews were open and non–restrictive. I believed that this approach of encouraging participants to express their opinions would yield the required data for the research because participants could provide useful information when they were at ease and I was at liberty to probe their responses.

Robson (1993: 238) asserts that the structured component of semi-structured interviews becomes more useful where "factual biographical" data is needed. This research required facts concerning the participants' language skills and employment backgrounds. Therefore, the structured component of a semi-structured interview enabled further elaboration of information generated by way of the questionnaires in the survey. I conducted fifteen interviews. This number allowed for more focused and in-depth interviews with regard to the role of language practices in the participants' employment. All the fifteen cases were drawn from formal, informal or unemployed sectors. This was to ensure variations in practices and experiences. The factual biographical data as referred to in this paragraph was elicited through the use of participants' life history accounts in the in-depth interviews.

4. 2. 1. 2. Life History Accounts

The in-depth interviews specifically centred around participants' immigration and employment history. The biographical method focuses on the individual and the social dynamics and how the individual has been coping with these dynamics (Miller, 2000: 75). However, respondents' narration of their life history could be influenced by their

perception, hopes and aspirations about the future. For this reason, the biographical approach is most useful where the investigation is aimed at soliciting opinions concerning social changes over a period of time (Miller, 2000: 76) and the researcher can concentrate more on the changes associated with the respondents' lives (Plummer, 1983: 70 in Miller 2000: 22).

This study is indeed about the relationship between the respondents' language and employment history, thus making the use of the biographical approach appropriate. I was at liberty to probe the respondents' social interaction with others and the participants had the opportunity to freely narrate their histories, which made the data "something true, something real, something interesting" (Bertaux, 1981: 39). I could also solicit historical information with regard to the respondents' social activities (Kohli, 1981: 63).

Other advantages are that the life history accounts are considered to be highly authentic because the respondent who narrates his / her own stories knows them better than any other person (Kohli, 1981). This method, which takes cognizance of historical events when analyzing social encounters, tends to be reliable and consistent with the findings of the research (de Camargo, 1981). However, like all the other qualitative means of research, the life history is criticized for its shortcoming in substantiating or refuting theories. Objectivity in this method is, therefore, questioned (Bertaux, 1981).

Another defect of this method is that it is not easy to synthesize the documents gathered through life histories. This method is also not explicit on how to deal with the large amount of data solicited. The question of what to include or leave out in the final analysis can be very daunting and frustrating. I was able only to use six out of the 15 in-depth interviews I conducted for this study. It was indeed difficult for me to choose about one third of the whole data to analyse (cf detailed discussion in section 4. 3. on pages 113-116).

Ethical issues regarding life and narrative accounts are also problematic because there are no rules or principles to guide the researcher (Muchmore, 2002). During the interviews for this study two respondents were not comfortable with some personal questions I asked them. They specifically told me that they were not prepared to

respond to the questions. This error was due to the fact that I did not have explicit laid down principles to direct the interview. These shortcomings of the life history accounts have been explained during the data collection and the subsequent analysis. The following are the main questions I used in the in-depth interviews.

4. 2.1. 3. Interview Questions

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. For the records, would you like to tell me your name?
2. Could you just tell me a little bit about your life history?
3. Which part in Ghana do you come from?
4. Which Ghanaian language/s do you speak?
5. And about how many people live in that town?
6. What language/languages do the people in your town speak?
7. Do you speak this language yourself?
8. Is this then the language you learnt at home? Is it your mother tongue?
9. Did you grow up with your mother and father?
10. Did both parents speak this language?
11. Do you have brothers and sisters? Did they speak this language?
12. Did you go to school in your hometown?
13. At what age did you go to school?
14. In which year did you go to primary school?
15. Which language were they using to teach you in the primary school?
16. What about the other subjects? Were you still using English for the other subjects or the local language?
17. Was there any opportunity to use English after school?.
18. Did you have television and radio at home?
19. At the secondary level, did you learn any other language apart from English and a Ghanaian language?
20. Did you learn French at school?
21. And what languages did you learn when you went to primary school?
22. How did you learn English?
23. Did they mix English and your local language at school or how did it work?
24. When you were at home with your family, did you speak your local language or English or did you mix them?
25. Can you read and write in your local language?
26. And who taught you there? Were they Ghanaians or English people or what?
27. Did you want to emigrate from Ghana? Why?
28. Did your parents want you to leave Ghana?
29. Was there a good future for you in Ghana?
30. How did you feel about leaving Ghana?
31. Before coming to South Africa, did you travel to any other country?
32. Can you tell me a bit about your experience in that country? What happened there?
33. How about your language experience there?
34. How was the response of the people there to you when you could not speak their language?
35. When did you arrive in South Africa?
36. How did you come to South Africa?
37. Do South Africans speak a different type of English?
38. Do you like the South African type of English or not?

39. How have you been interacting in terms of African languages in South Africa?
40. Are you, as an immigrant, using a South African language? How do people respond to you? I mean what do they say?
41. How do Black South Africans respond to you when you speak Zulu? How do they feel?
42. What work have you been doing?
43. How were you interacting with your customers?
44. Were you doing this job also in Ghana?
45. Now tell me what actually happened. Why did you go into it?
46. When you came here, did you make any attempt to get other jobs in South Africa?
47. Apart from your job relations, did you enter into any other relationships with South Africans? Do you have any other relationship?
48. What are the attitudes of the people you work with?
49. Which language do you normally speak with the people you are working with?
50. How did you get to Johannesburg?
51. Did you form friendships in the country where you migrated?
52. Was language a barrier in friendships?
53. Did you learn the language of the destination country?
54. Do you ever speak your local language in South Africa?
55. Do you have quite a few friends to whom you speak Ghanaian languages?
56. Do you write in your local language?
57. Would you say that the languages you know have helped you as an immigrant?

4. 2. 1. 4. Data Collection Process of the In-depth Interviews

4. 2. 1. 5. Research Participants of the in-depth interviews

The study involved 15 in–depth interviews. The following were the only conditions for selection of the participants: 1. They must be Ghanaian immigrants. 2. They must be unemployed or working in the formal or the informal sector within any of the five research areas which include Braamfontein, Berea, Hillbrow, Yeoville and the Central Business District (CBD) of Johannesburg. The six participants that were finally selected for inclusion as case studies also met the criterion of being members of the Ghanaian organizations which were identified as an initial criterion for participation in the survey (see page 101).

11 men and four women were interviewed. Two of the men were from the formal sector and nine from the informal sector. Five of the men were working in Braamfontein and four in the Central Business District (CBD) of Johannesburg. One man resides in Braamfontein but works within the Johannesburg metropolitan area. The last male respondent was not working at that time. Similarly three of the women were from the

informal sector with the other one working in the formal sector. Two of the women from the informal sector have their businesses located in Yeoville, a suburb of Johannesburg. The business of the third woman was in Braamfontein. The only woman from the formal sector was also working in Braamfontein. I considered the differences in sectors of employment, place of employment and in age group when selecting these participants in order to have variations in experiences and views.

4. 2. 1. 6. The Collection Process

Each participant was contacted and informed of my intention to conduct an interview for my research. We then agreed on a date and time for the interviews. I invited the first male respondent to the Department of Applied English Languages Studies, where my supervisor interviewed him as an example for the subsequent interviews. One female respondent chose her church premises in Braamfontein for the interview. I conducted 12 interviews at the participants' workplaces. The interview with the unemployed male respondent was at his friend's workplace in the Johannesburg CBD. I transcribed these interviews and analysed the data for themes and patterns in order to identify issues captured in the data from the in-depth interviews but not included in the questionnaire.

Indeed, I intended to ensure that the issues raised in the in-depth interviews corresponded with those in the questionnaires. The analysis yielded the following issues that were not in the questionnaire:

1. Use of French.
2. Immigrants' use of language in destination countries.
3. How immigrants communicate in a country, where they have neither a friend nor a relative.

I then constructed questions around the immigrants' use of French, their use of other languages and their means of communication in destination countries. The following are the additional questions.

1. *Have you ever lived in any country/ countries other than South Africa and Ghana?*

Yes		No	

If yes, please indicate the country/ countries with dates.

Name of the country	Years (From -- to --)	Which language/s did you use?

2. *Please be specific and give details of how in your experience of immigration, a knowledge of language/s has been of help or a problem for you?* ……

3. *Have you ever travelled to any country where you did not know anyone (a friend or a relative)?.*

Yes		No	

If yes, please explain how you managed to communicate with the people in the country?

……

4. *I was interested in French at school.*

Strongly agree		Agree		Strongly disagree		Disagree		Not sure	

Reason/s……

5. *Knowledge of French has been necessary and useful during my travel outside Ghana.*

Strongly agree		Agree		Strongly disagree		Disagree		Not sure	

Reason/s……

6. *(Please tick)I am learning French now / I would like to learn French when I get the opportunity.*

Strongly agree		Agree		Strongly disagree		Disagree		Not sure	

Reason/s……

4. 2. 2. Quantitative Data

The discussion in this section focuses on a description of questionnaire used in this study, a pilot study of the questionnaire and the means I adopted to administer the questionnaire in a survey. The section highlights the data collection process of the questionnaire and continues with the discussion regarding the administration of the questionnaire to four Ghanaian organizations in Johannesburg and a number of non-members of these organizations. The section ends with coding of respondents, their responses and limitations of the study. A sample of the questionnaire has been inserted in this section for clarity and understanding.

4. 2. 2. 1. Questionnaire

I used a questionnaire in a survey to collect quantitative data. A questionnaire not only allows one to survey a large population, as in the case of this research with 100 respondents, but it also gives participants ample time to answer the questions. However, the quality of responses also requires participants to feel secure to respond

openly and honestly. Thus, it is important to assure participants of confidentiality (Selltiz, Jahoda, Deutsch & Cook, 1965: 240-242). Respondents of this study were given this assurance.

Both an open-ended and close-ended questionnaire was used at first because open-ended questions allow respondents to express their views freely, and could bring out details which the other techniques could not. Secondly, open-ended questions permit an unlimited number of possible answers. Thirdly, respondents can provide detailed responses that can also be clarified where necessary. Finally, "open-ended questions also permit creativity, self-expression and richness of details which can show a respondent's logic, thinking process, and a frame of reference" (Petkou, 2005: 35).

The close-ended questions used in the study were binary with 'yes or no' type of responses and multiple-choice questions, based on a Likert-type scale, which include a statement and a set of five categories namely 'strongly agree', 'agree', 'undecided', 'disagree' and 'strongly disagree' (Phillips, 1971: 222). These five categories are intended to measure the degree of participants' agreement or disagreement. Binary and Likert-type scale questions are also "simple to administer, quick and relatively inexpensive to analyse" (Selltiz et al, 1965: 257). Close-ended questions restrict participants to a number of choices (Marshall, 1997: 39). Consequently, a selection of close-ended questions is seen as advantageous to this study both for administering the questionnaire and its subsequent analysis. The survey questionnaire is shown on pages 91 to 97.

4. 2. 2. 2. A Sample of the questionnaire

PARTICIPANTS' LANGUAGE AND EMPLOYMENT HISTORY

SURVEY QUESTIONS

In order to provide the necessary information, kindly read the following **instructions:**
1. Please tick the appropriate block. 2. Write in the spaces provided.

SECTION A: PERSONAL INFORMATION

1. If you are a member of one of the following associations, please indicate which one:
   i. Association of Ghanaians Living around Johannesburg and its environs.
   ii Ghanaian Professional Bodies Association
   iii New Look Ghanaian Association

iv. Association of Ghana

2. Please indicate your age group:

18-25		26-35		36-45		46-55		56-65		66-75	

3. Please indicate your level of education:

Primary		Middle		Junior Secondary		Senior Secondary		Technical	
Commercial		University		Training College		Polytechnic		Other	

4. If you are married and have a child / children, please indicate where they live.
   - Spouse …… Child 1……
   - Child 2 …… Child 3 ……
   - Child 4 …… Child 5……

   Other (please specify) ……
5. Where do your relatives live?
   - Father ……..……..…Mother……..……..
   - Brothers ……..Sisters ……
   - Other specify ……..

6. Have you ever lived in any country / countries other than South Africa and Ghana?

Yes		No	

If yes, please indicate the country / countries with dates and language / languages.

Name of the country	**Years (from … to ….)**	**Which language/s did you use**

7. Please be specific and give details of how, in your experience of immigration, a knowledge of language/s has been of help or a problem for you?

……

8. Have you ever travelled to any country where you did not know any one (friend or relative)?.

Yes		No	

9. If yes, did you have knowledge of any language /s spoken in this country?

Yes		No	

If no, please explain how you managed to communicate with the people. ……

10. When did you come to South Africa? ……
11. Why did you come to South Africa? ……
12. In which area of Johannesburg do you live? ……

13. Are you employed?

Yes		No	

If yes,
Where do you work? ……
What kind of job do you do? ……
For how long have you been doing this work? ……

SECTION B: LANGUAGE PRACTICES

I. ENGLISH

1. When you came to South Africa, which languages did you think would help you the most?

Afrikaans	
English	
Ghanaian languages	
South African African languages (e.g. Sotho; Zulu; Xhosa)	

2. Why did you think these languages would help you the most and for what purposes? ……
3. If you can read and speak English, where and how did you learn English?.....
4. For how long have you been using English? ……
5. If you can read and speak English, how confident are you when you communicate in English?

Very confident		Confident		Not so confident		Not confident at all	

6. How many hours in a day do you speak English? Approximately ……
7. In what situation /s do you use English in your daily life in South Africa?

At home with family members		At home with neighbours/friends		At work with colleagues		At work with customers	
Other (please specify):							

8. In what situation /s did you use English in your daily life in Ghana?

At home with family members		At home with neighbours/friends		At work with colleagues		At work with customers	

9. If you are a regular user of English, how has your competence in English helped you? Could you provide some examples? ……

10. Have you ever been in situation/ s where using English has created negative responses? Please provide some examples:

…… ….

11. How do the following people respond to you when you speak English?
    - Black South Africans: ……..……
    - White South Africans: ……..……
    - Ghanaians: ……..
    - South African Indians : ……
    - Other (please specify): ……..……
12. Do you think people in South Africa speak different kinds of English?

Yes		No	

13. What kinds? Who speaks what kinds? Could you give some examples? ……
14. Who speaks the kind of English you would like to speak? ……..……
15. If you have children, what kind of English do you want them to speak?……

II FRENCH

1. I was interested in French at school.

Strongly agree		Agree		Strongly disagree		Disagree		Not sure	

Reason/ s……..……

2. Knowledge of French has been necessary and useful during my travel outside Ghana.

Strongly agree		Agree		Strongly disagree		Disagree		Not sure	

Reason/ s……..……..

3. (Please tick) I am learning French now / I would like to learn French when I get the opportunity.

Strongly agree		Agree		Strongly disagree		Disagree		Not sure	

Reason/ s……..……..

III SOUTH AFRICAN AFRICAN LANGUAGES

1. Have you learnt any South African African language/s?.....
2. Where did you learn it /them and how? (Please specify each one if they are more than one)……..
3. Why did you learn to speak these languages? (Please specify each one if they are more than one)

…….

4. If you were at school in South Africa, were subjects taught in a South African African language during your schooling?.

Yes		No	

If yes, how often?

Most of the time		Some of the time		Seldom	

5. How confident are you when you communicate in South African African languages? (Please specify each one if they are more than one).

Language 1 ……..…

Very confident		Confident		Not so onfident		Not confident at all	

Language 2 ……

Very confident		Confident		Not so confident		Not confident at all	

Language 3 ……..……

Very confident		Confident		Not so confident		Not confident at all	

Language 4 ……..……

Very confident		Confident		Not so confident		Not confident at all	

6. In what situation /s do you use this /these South African African language / s?

At home with family members		At home with neighbours/friends		At work with colleagues		At work with customers	

Other (please specify):							

7. How long have you been using this South African African language?

0-3 years		4-6 years		7-10 years		More than 10 years	

8. How do the following people respond to you when you speak a South African African language?
   - Black South Africans: ……..
   - White South Africans: ……..……
   - Ghanaians: ……..……
   - South African Indians : ……..……
9. Has a South African African language helped you to get a job in South Africa?

Yes		No	

If yes, how? Please explain how ……

IV. GHANAIAN LANGUAGES

1. Which Ghanaian language / s do you speak ?

Akan		Dangbe		Ga		Kasem		Dagbane	
Dagaare		Ewe		Gonja		Nzema		Other	

2. How well do you speak this / these language / s?

Very well		Average		Not so well	

3. How well do you write or read this / these language /s?

Very well		Average		Not so well	

4. How did you learn this /these Ghanaian language /s? ……
5. If you attended school in Ghana, was a Ghanaian language used to teach subjects during your schooling?

Yes		No	

If yes, how often?

Most of the time		Some of the time		Seldom	

6. How confident are you when you communicate in a Ghanaian language?

Very confident		Confident		Not so confident		Not confident at all	

7. How long have you been using this / these Ghanaian language / s?

0-3 years		4-6 years		7-10 years		More than 10 years	

8. In what situations do you use this / these language /s?

At home with family members		At home with neighbours/friends		At work with colleagues		At work with customers	
Other (please specify):							

9. How do the following people respond to you when you speak a Ghanaian language?
   - Black South Africans: ……
   - White South Africans: ……..……..
   - Ghanaians: ……
   - Other (please specify): ……
10. Has a Ghanaian language helped you to get a job in South Africa?

Yes		No	

If yes, why? If no, why? ……..……

V. PERSONAL LANGUAGE HISTORY

1. What language /s do people at your birthplace speak? ……..……
2. What language/s does / did your father speak? ……
3. What language /s does / did your mother speak? ……..……
4. Which languages did your parents speak to you in your home?……..…
5. Was your education primarily in Ghana or South Africa? Please specify……..
6. If in Ghana, was English the language in which subjects were taught during your schooling?

Yes		No	

If yes, how often?

Most of the time		Some of the time		Seldom	

If no, what languages were you taught in when you were at school?

……..

7. How easily do you learn languages? ……..……

8. Where you were living in Ghana, did people mix languages when they communicated?

Yes		No	

If yes, please state the languages which people mixed: ……

9. In which language / s were the books you read in school written? ……

10. In which language(s) were the books you read at home written? ……

11. Do you have friends in South Africa you communicate with that cannot speak either English or any Ghanaian language (s)?

Yes		No	

12. What language (s) do you speak to them?……

13. Do you have quite a few friends whom you speak Ghanaian language to?

Yes		No	

14. Has language ever been a barrier in friendships for you? ……..……..

How? Please provide examples: ……..……

15. When you are or were in Ghana, what language /s do / did you speak in the following social situations?:

- Playing sport: ……..……..……..
- Shopping: ……..
- Casual conversations at home: ……
- Casual conversations in the community: ……..
- Other: ……..……

16. When you are in South Africa, what language /s do / did you speak in the following social situations?:

- Playing sport: ……..……..……..
- Shopping: ……..
- Casual conversations at home: ……..……
- Casual conversations in the community: ……..……
- Other: ……

17. Has any language been a source of difficulties for you in South Africa?

Yes		No	

If yes, give examples: ……..……..

SECTION C: EMPLOYMENT HISTORY

I. EMPLOYMENT HISTORY IN SOUTH AFRICA

1. My stay in South Africa has been pleasant.

Strongly agree		Agree		Strongly disagree		Disagree		Not sure	

Reason / s ……..……

2. For how long do you plan to stay here?……

3. How long were you in South Africa before you found a job? ……..……..

4. What do you think helped you to get your job?……

5. Where did you acquire the skills you are using now? Ghana or South Africa?……...

6. Have you learnt new skills in South Africa?

Yes		No	

What skills? ……..……

If yes, why? ……..……

If no, why not? ……

7. I enjoy my job

Strongly agree		Agree		Strongly disagree		Disagree		Not sure	

Reason / s……..……

8. If you are unemployed, how do you think you could improve your possibilities of getting a job?

.....

9. How would you describe your working life in South Africa? ……..……

10. What are the attitudes of your fellow workers and customers towards you at the work place?
……
Reason / s ……
11. Do you think your use of language affects the attitudes of people towards you in the workplace?

Yes		No	

If yes, how?
……

II. EMPLOYMENT HISTORY IN GHANA

1. When did you leave Ghana? ……
2. I did not experience any difficulties when leaving Ghana.

Strongly agree		Agree		Strongly disagree		Disagree		Not sure	

Reason / s
……
3. For how long did you want to stay in Ghana? ……
4. Were you employed?

Yes		No	

5. When you started looking for a job, how long did it take you to find one? ……
6. What do you think helped you to get your job?……
   Where were you working?……
   For how long? ……
   Doing what? ……
7. What skills did you need to do the job? ……
8. Was the job you were doing using the skills you had acquired in Ghana?

Yes		No	

   If no, please indicate the country where you learned the skills ……
9. Apart from the skills you brought to Ghana, did you learn any other skills before leaving Ghana?

Yes		No	

   If yes, what skills?
   Why did you learn these skills?……
   If no, why didn't you learn any skills? ……
10. How would you describe your working life in Ghana? ……
11. What were the attitudes of your fellow workers and customers towards you at the work place?
……
Reason / s ……
12. If you were not employed, why not? ……
13. If you were unemployed in Ghana, how did you think you could improve your possibilities of getting a job? ……

SECTION D: LANGUAGE AND EMPLOYMENT

1. Now in South Africa, do you think improving your knowledge of any of the languages you know would improve your work prospects?

Yes		No	

2. Which language is it or which languages are these and why would it / they improve your prospects?
.....
3. Do you use English at work?

Yes		No	

Why?……
When?.....
For what purposes do you use English? ……
What kinds of writing in English do you do at work?.....

Yes		No	

4. Do you use South African African languages at work?
   Which ones?.....
   Why?.....
   When? ……
   To whom?.....
   For what purposes? ……
5. Do you use any Ghanaian language (s) at work?

Yes		No	

   Which ones?.....
   Why?.....

When? ……
To whom?.....
For what purpose? ……
6. Which languages in South Africa do you consider important to know at the workplace?.....
Reason/s ……
7. Would you say that a knowledge of languages is important at workplace? …….
Why? ……

Before using the questionnaire in the survey, I conducted a pilot study in January 2005. The next section (4.2.2.3) will focus on the piloting process.

4. 2. 2. 3. Piloting the questionnaire

I administered the questionnaires to three Ghanaian immigrants living in Johannesburg. This was to enable me to identify difficulties relating to the instructions, clarity of the questions and the time used to complete a questionnaire. Two of the respondents had completed senior high school in Ghana and were not proficient English speakers. The third, who had also attained basic primary education, was much less proficient in English. My view was that if people with average and poor proficiency in English could answer the questions in a reasonable time then people with higher proficiency would be able to fill in the questionnaire with relative ease. The first respondent did not ask any clarification whereas the second one needed explanation for the following questions:

Have you ever travelled to any country where you did not know any one (friend or relative)?

Yes		No	

If yes, did you have knowledge of any language/s spoken in this country? ……

If no, please explain how you managed to communicate with the people…….. ……

The third respondent spent about one hour 30 minutes on the exercise. He frequently consulted me regarding some of the questions and was particularly confused about questions 6 and 9 under Section C (I) and Section C (II) respectively. The original questions were as follows:

6. *Have you learnt new skills in South Africa?*

Yes		No	

What skills? .....……

Why? ……

Why not? ...……

9. *Apart from the skills you brought to Ghana, did you learn any other skills before leaving Ghana?*

Yes		No	

If yes,

What skills? ……..……

Why? ……

Why not? ……..

He did not understand the need for "why" and "why not" in both questions.

After the pilot study, I identified the following problems: respondents criticized the length of the questionnaire. The pilot took, on average, an hour and thirty minutes to complete. Some questions were repetitive and some instructions were confusing. The questionnaire was consequently restructured (see the restructured sample on pages 91 to 97). The instructions were made easy to understand, ambiguous questions eliminated and repetitive questions restructured making the questionnaire more explicit (Petkou, 2005).

4. 2. 2. 4. Administering the questionnaire in a survey

I chose a survey method to administer the questionnaires which took place from 6 February 2005 to 10 June 2005. The survey method involved the collection, organisation and analysis of data. The data can be elicited through questionnaires, observation, semi-structured and unstructured interviews. I used questionnaires to gather data which I later organized and analysed. The closed-ended questions in the form of binary 'yes' and 'no' and Likert-type scale questions of 'strongly agree', 'agree', 'undecided', 'disagree' and 'strongly disagree' in the questionnaire produced quantitative data. I have represented this data in statistics and graphs. Responses to the open-ended questions were mainly qualitative which I also organized and analysed according to the themes and patterns that emerged.

I mostly administered the questionnaires face-to-face to Ghanaian immigrants living in Johannesburg. "Face-to-face interviews have the highest response rates and permit the longest questionnaires" (Neuman, 2000: 272 in Petkou 2005: 39). The close contact in this type of interview builds confidence between the interviewer and the respondents. Thus, respondents are able to state their views on sensitive issues without restraint. Face-to-face contact also eases initial tensions in the respondent, making it feasible for the interviewer to probe difficult and personal issues (Neuman, 2000 in Petkou, 2005).
The respondents mostly filled in the questionnaires but I had to fill in some of them for the following reasons. Firstly, to address the issues of clarifying questions or

instructions, especially where the respondent could speak English but could not read and write in English and also where the respondent could express himself / herself better in a Ghanaian language. Secondly, to minimise "the number of 'don't know', 'not sure' and 'refused to answer' situations by probing where necessary " (Morris, 1996 in Petkou, 2005: 39). The Ghanaian immigrants living in Johannesburg who participated in this study were interviewed mainly in their church, at their meeting places and in their workplaces for the survey. However, in the case of the non-members of associations I was compelled to interview some of them on the spot. Hence, the whole process of administering the questionnaires for this study took place along the streets, Ghanaians' work places, in public places as well as at Ghanaian association meetings. This method was also helpful because I was able to make insightful observations alongside the interviewing (Petkou, 2005).

While the survey was conducted, I was aware of its limitations. Surveys do not show a clear relationship between the causes and effects of different cases. Survey research considers only external influences as the major determinant of people's behaviours. Consequently, surveys focus on specific perspectives of people's convictions and behaviours, and ignore the contexts of both the convictions and behaviours. In contrast, survey proponents assert that although determining the level and type of information required to understand the context could be difficult, a carefully conducted survey should consider the context and clearly understand it (De Vaus, 1985). The inclusion of open-ended questions in the questionnaires for this study was intended to allow the respondents to express their views and explain their choices, convictions and behaviours. The respondents were also able to clearly state the context of their behaviours and actions.

In terms of techniques, survey research impedes initiative and creativity. It does not accurately capture information due to the structured questions used. The statistical aspects of surveys mostly turn good research questions into difficult numerical representation. Counter arguments are that research results need not be over-represented in statistics. Also the logic in the statistics facilitates data analysis and interpretation (De Vaus, 1985). The survey results of this study were represented in percentage and graphs in order to avoid difficult numerical representation. The use of percentage, tables and graphs made it easier for me to analyse and interpret the results.

Proponents of survey research assert further that appropriate theories could also be used to provide insightful interpretations for data from a survey (De Vaus, 1985). Theories on second language learning and immigrants' use of language in the workplaces in destination countries are some of the theories I have used to discuss, analyse and reflect on the survey data of this study.

The survey stage of this study was not without problems. It was difficult to talk to some Ghanaians who had been suggested. When I could not trace a would-be participant or the suggested respondent was unwilling to participate in the study, I looked for an available substitute or I asked for the name of any Ghanaian in the vicinity to question. However, this particular type of problem was not the norm but the exception because I was able to locate most of them and they were also eager to be interviewed. (Petkou, 2005).

4. 2. 2. 5. Data Collection Process of the Survey

4. 2. 2. 6. Research Participants of the Survey

100 Ghanaian immigrants participated in the survey. The initial conditions for the selection of participants were

1. They must be Ghanaian immigrants.
2. They can be unemployed or working in the formal or the informal sector.
3. They had to be living in Johannesburg.
4. They had to be members of the following Ghanaian associations: the Association of Ghanaians Living Around Johannesburg and its Surrounding Areas (GHAJOSA), Association of Ghanaians Living around Johannesburg and its Environs, the Braamfontein Society and the Church of Pentecost. When these criteria failed to produce sufficient participants for the survey, snowball sampling was used.

38 participants, who lived in Johannesburg, were selected from four identifiable associations as well as non-members of organized groups. The groups included members of Ghanaians may be educated, skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled. Some are self employed as shoe-repairers, fruit sellers, tailors, mechanics, panel-beaters, hairdressers and businessmen. The term, 'businessmen' is used here for to refer to an individual or a group of individuals, who have established trading activities and may also employ one or more people.

Constant interaction between these Ghanaian immigrant workers and South Africans was an important reason for their selection. Such interactions require the use of language/s suitable for the circumstances. I anticipated that the data collected from these participants could, therefore, highlight the correlation between the immigrants' use of language and the consequent possibilities and constraints with regard to employment opportunities. This data could also yield elements of xenophobia associated with lack of proficiency in indigenous languages in South Africa. Lack of proficiency in a South African indigenous language makes immigrants easily identified and thus vulnerable to xenophobic attacks. Unemployed Ghanaian immigrants seeking jobs were also included in the survey. They were likely to reveal the role of language in the opportunities of gaining employment. I selected the survey respondents through the process of sampling.

4. 2. 2. 7. Use of Sampling to Select the Survey Participants

Sampling is a "process of selecting a portion of the population that generally includes equivalent representations of the characteristics found in the population" (Knobel & Lankshear, 1999: 79). Cohen and Manion (1980: 98) also define sampling as a means of collecting "information from a smaller group or subset of the population in such a way that the knowledge gained is representative of the total population under study". Thus in sampling, the researcher needs to ensure that the data elicited aptly reflects the features of the target group for the study. In this particular survey, I selected 100 Ghanaians working in the formal and informal sectors as well as unemployed Ghanaians looking for jobs. This number, which formed a sample of the Ghanaian community in the labour market, was also intended to provide "as wide a field as possible and of doing analyses which are as deep as possible" (Flick, 1998).

Sampling in a survey is also useful to ensure efficiency and accuracy in collecting data for a large population (100 participants in this particular study). However, the size of the study and the methods used are important to achieve reliable and valid information (De Vaus, 1985). I therefore used observation and in-depth interviews in addition to the use of the questionnaire to collect data for this study in order to create reliability and validity.

The study was stratified because the technique of selecting Ghanaians from the formal, informal and the unemployment sectors and from four identifiable organisations was consistent with Cohen's and Manion's (1980: 99) view that "stratified sampling involves dividing the population into homogeneous groups, each group containing subjects with similar characteristics". Knobel and Lankshear (1999: 80) advise that "the sample population is stratified according to the characteristics in which the researcher is most interested". I was interested in the employment opportunities of Ghanaian immigrants in the South African labour market, thus I stratified the research sample in relation to the sectors in the labour market.

Stratification of the sample was also intended to ensure accuracy of the sample. By spreading the sample across the formal, informal and unemployment sectors, I hoped to avoid possible bias in the data collection. With the intention of mitigating instances of bias, interviews were conducted with an equal number of respondents in the sectors (Cohen & Manion, 1980). However, since at any point in time a few immigrants would be unemployed and be seeking jobs, out of the envisaged number of 100 in the survey, 19 were selected from the unemployment sector with the remaining 81 apportioned into the formal and informal sectors.

Another means of achieving accurate sample data, prototypical of the research population, was to identify the research population before the commencement of the study (Cohen & Manion, 1980). I had already selected Ghanaian immigrants living in Johannesburg as the focus of the study**.** Every Ghanaian who belonged to the four organized groups or who was not a member of any of the groups was afforded the opportunity to be a respondent.

Cohen and Manion (1980), however, argue that logistics, time and financial constraints tend to render the process of going through a list and selecting respondents impossible. For this reason I limited the choice of the respondents to members of the four identifiable Ghanaian organizations and I later included the non-members of associations.

4. 2. 2. 8. The Collection Process of the Survey Data

The survey was conducted in two phases. The first part, which involved self-administered questionnaires, included 38 respondents from four Ghanaian organisations and 28 non-members of organised groups. This first part was from 6 February, 2005 to 13 March, 2005. The second part was from 12 May, 2005 to 10 June, 2005 and involved 34 non-members of organised groups using face-to-face administered questionnaires. I had to suspend the survey at the end of the first phase because of personal difficulties. I also wanted to capture all the data in the 66 questionnaires in the first phase before proceeding to the second phase.

I believe I need to explain why I later decided to use non members of Ghanaian associations for the questionnaires. The original plan for the survey, as evident in section A of the questionnaire (see pages 92–97), was to interview members of the Association of Ghanaians Living in Johannesburg and its environs (AGIJE); Ghanaian Professional Bodies Association (GHAPROBA); New Look Ghanaian Association and Association of Ghanaians Living in Johannesburg and its surrounding area (GHAJOSA). However, at the beginning of the survey, the Association of Ghanaians Living in Johannesburg and its environs was the only active organisation. Both Ghanaian Professional Bodies Association and New Look Ghanaian Association had collapsed whilst the number of members in GHAJOSA had also dwindled. I was, therefore, compelled to use the Braamfontein Society and the Church of Pentecost, which is located in Braamfontein, as alternatives. The Braamfontein Society is also a Ghanaian association whilst members of the Church of Pentecost are mainly Ghanaians. I used these two organisations in addition to AGIJE and GHAJOSA for the exercise. At the end of the first phase the respondents were as follows:

- 14 from AGIJE
- 4 from Braamfontein Society
- 18 from the Church of Pentecost and
- 2 from GHAJOSA
- 28 non-members

A total of 66

The questionnaires were self-administered and 'face-to-face'-administered. The self-administered questionnaires were either in my presence or absence. 9 respondents

from AGIJE and 3 respondents from Braamfontein Society filled in the questionnaires in my presence. Questionnaires from 5 respondents from AGIJE, 1 from Braamfontein Society, 16 from the Church of Pentecost and 1 from GHAJOSA were self-administered in my absence and I administered two questionnaires face-to-face to two respondents from the Church of Pentecost and 1 from GHAJOSA. What follows is a discussion of the use of the questionnaire beginning with the members of the Braamfontein Society.

4. 2. 2. 9 Administering the Questionnaire to Members of the Braamfontein Society

I met with the secretary of the Braamfontein Society on 27 January, 2005 to discuss my intention of administering questionnaires to the organisation. The secretary agreed. Their next meeting was on Sunday, 6 February. On the 2nd of February, I gave the secretary a copy of the questionnaire to read. I specifically asked him to raise any reservation concerning the questions. I assured him that I would not administer the questionnaires if he did not like the questions. He later informed me that he was satisfied. At the meeting I explained to the members that they were under no compulsion to complete the questionnaires and that they were still free not to answer questions they did not like.

Out of the nine members present, five declined to participate, three filled in the questionnaires in my presence. One offered to answer the questionnaire and return it about a week later. My view is that those who did not participate were either suspicious of my intentions or they could not read and write and did not want people who were at the meeting to know it. Their attitude could be considered as “embarrassment at ignorance, dislike of the interview content, fear of the consequences and suspicion about the interviewer…” (Moser & Kalton, 1972: 271- 272). Moser and Kalton believe that these factors adversely affect the interest of potential respondents to participate in a survey.

Though I got some members of the Braamfontein Society to fill in the questionnaires, their responses may have been compromised as a result of “the desire to get on with other activities” (Moser & Kalton, 1972: 271). The reason is that this particular meeting did not last long because the secretary, who appeared to be in charge of the association’s activities, left the meeting earlier to attend to personal issues. Members

might have felt free to leave but "politeness, a feeling of duty, a keenness to help the sponsor of the enquiry and a liking for the interviewer" (Moser & Kalton, 1972: 272) could have compelled them to stay. They might, therefore, have been in a hurry to complete the questionnaires. In fact, one of the respondents whose questionnaire I coded BS 1, filled in the questionnaires within a very short time of about 30 minutes. His answers were short and straight to the point and he left some questions unanswered. On the contrary, BS 3 who was also at this meeting, provided very detailed responses and spent about the longest time - almost two hours. A similar process of informing an authority before administering the questionnaires to the members occurred with the Church of Pentecost in Braamfontein as discussed in the next section 4. 2. 2. 10.

4. 2. 2. 10. Administering the Questionnaire to Members of the Church of Pentecost

On Thursday 27 January, 2005 and Sunday 30 January, 2005 I discussed with two of the church elders my intention of using the Church for a survey. Both elders agreed but directed me to their presiding elder whom I met on Sunday, 6 February, 2005. The presiding elder, who said he was travelling abroad, also asked another elder to read the questions and formally inform members of the survey the following Sunday, 13 February. We agreed that the church members would fill in the questionnaires at some point during their church service. However, the service ended without any announcement about the survey. The church elder apparently forgot about it. We, however, agreed again for the following Sunday, 20 February.

At the end of the service, on Sunday, 20 February, 2005, the presiding elder informed members of the survey. I could not, however, get the members seated since the service was already over. But I distributed 50 questionnaires and explicitly asked members to fill them in and return them the following Sunday. In this instance, the questionnaires became self–administered (Moser & Kalton, 1972; Sanders & Pinhey, 1983; Ary, Jacobs & Razavieh, 1990, Richter and Johnson, 2001; www.cas.sc.edu) in my absence. On Sunday 27 February, 2005, I arrived at the church premises at about 9: 30am to collect the filled-in questionnaires before the service. Out of the 50 copies, only nine were returned. Most of the members claimed that I did not give them any copies. This was inaccurate because there were not more than 70 church members when I

distributed the questionnaires. Therefore, most of them would have received copies. However, this error was partly my mistake for failing to keep a record of the distribution. Other members also said that they had indeed filled in the questionnaires and promised to return them the following Sunday or leave them with one of their elders.

There was more disappointment the following Sunday, 6 March, 2005 when only five members returned their copies and I received two more questionnaires later. Only fourteen out of 50 copies were returned. There was therefore poor response rate with a number of 'non–returns' where some questions were not answered (Kahn & Cannell, 1957: 217-218 in Moser & Kalton, 1972: 276. See also Sanders & Pinhey, 1983; Ary et al., 1990). For instance, respondent COP 2 answered questions on only five out of 17 pages. COP 1 left about 50% of the questions unanswered and mostly ignored the open–ended questions. COP 16 also answered the questions on only three pages. Clearly, the church members were generally not committed to answering the questionnaires. The fact that they took the questionnaires home seemed to be the major contributory factor. The time required to fill in the questionnaires was also a possible constraint. It took approximately one hour to answer 98 questions over the 17 pages. Respondents were likely to feel tired and bored. Indeed, during the self-administered questionnaires in my presence, some respondents constantly leafed through the pages with boredom. Some questions were consequently left unanswered. The lack of detailed answers to the questions may have compromised the richness of the data.

Another weakness of the self–administered questionnaire is that respondents could choose to answer the questions in any order, which was likely to have negative impact on their responses (Ary et al., 1990). I was also not certain whether the respondents received any form of assistance when filling in the questionnaires. Moreover, respondents had no means of asking me for explanations on the questions (Sanders and Pinhey, 1983). After the poor response from the Church of Pentecost, I realised that having 100 questionnaires completed would be delayed if I were to depend solely on organised groups. I had already experienced similar disappointment on 19 February, 2005 at the meeting of Association of Ghanaians Living in Johannesburg and Its

Environs (AGIJE). Administering the questionnaire to members of AGIJE will be considered in the following section 4. 2. 2. 11.

4. 2. 2. 11. Administering the Questionnaire to Members of AGIJE

On the 19th day of February, 2005 I went to a meeting of the Association of Ghanaians Living in Johannesburg and its environs (AGIJE) at Meresdale in the South Rand. As in the case of both Braamfontein Society and the Church of Pentecost, I had discussed the survey with the chairperson of the association, gave him a copy of the questionnaire to read and I got his consent. There were 15 members at that meeting–fewer than I had anticipated. The last time I attended the association's meeting in 2002, there were about 50 to 60 members. I had, therefore, expected more members. In spite of the low attendance, the chairperson allowed me to explain the survey to the members and distributed 15 questionnaires. They all started filling in the questionnaires. I also gave five copies to members who arrived later. Similarly, they also proceeded to fill them in. Some members temporarily interrupted this process when the chairperson formally opened the meeting. However, others continued to answer the questions whilst the meeting was in session.

Though this attitude showed respondents' interest, their attention and concentration could have been adversely affected. Responses might not, therefore, be adequate whilst some questions might not be answered at all. Similarly, respondents who also needed clarification might have been prevented from doing so because of the meeting. Respondents might have also been under pressure to complete the questionnaires in order to focus their attention on the meeting. Consequently, they might not have taken time to answer the questions properly. I finally left the meeting with nine fully completed questionnaires. Four members promised to leave theirs with the chairperson for subsequent collection. One member returned his to me the following Monday, 21 February, 2005 and two others sent theirs through the post, which I received on 15 April, 2005. On 18 February, I also gave two questionnaires to two members-a husband and wife, who were not at the meeting. They filled them in and returned them on the 5th of March making a total of 14 completed questionnaires from AGIJE.

My disappointment at the interviews with members of organised groups continued with members of GHAJOSA.

4. 2. 2. 12. Administering the Questionnaire to Members of GHAJOSA

I could find only the chairperson and another member to participate in the survey. The chairperson filled in the questionnaire and returned it to me later. However, I administered the questionnaire face-to-face to the other member bringing the number of completed questionnaires to two.

After the poor return rate at the Church of Pentecost on 27 February, 2005, I decided to contact any Ghanaian within the research areas whether the person was affiliated to an organisation or not. The interview with the non-members of associations is discussed in the next section of 4. 2. 2. 13.

4. 2. 2. 13. Administering the Questionnaire to Non-Members of Associations

I chose a 'snowball sampling' technique to select these non-members. Whilst Stark and Roberts (1998: 88 in Petkou, 2005: 36) define the snowball technique as: "Assembled by referral, as persons having the characteristic(s) of interest identify others", Neuman (2000: also in Petkou, 2005: 36) calls it "a method for identifying and sampling (or selecting) the cases in a network". One person may initiate the snowball process by naming potential respondents who in turn suggest other respondents as well. Snowball sampling is most relevant to research concerning urban migrants as in the case of Ghanaians living in Johannesburg, a small group of people, a population that is not easily identifiable (Russell, 1994 in Petkou, 2005).

The snowballing process in this study started with one Ghanaian tailor who was working in Hillbrow. On 27 February, 2005, I went to Hillbrow, one of the research areas, where a Church of Pentecost member, who was busy sewing a dress, agreed to answer the questions orally, if I could read them to him and write down his responses. We successfully followed this process. I carefully wrote down exactly what he had said and I read it aloud to him for his consent. After administering the questionnaire to this Ghanaian, I asked him to name other Ghanaians and how I could reach them. I then requested the respondents to suggest other Ghanaians. This snowballing resulted in the participation of 62 non-affiliated Ghanaians out of the 100 who participated in the survey. 62 questionnaires were administered face-to-face to these participants. A total

of a 100 participants is considered adequate to yield the required data to achieve the aims and objectives of this study (Petkou, 2005).

This approach was quite useful. Between 28 February 2005 and 13 March 2005, I used this procedure to administer the questionnaire to 28 respondents-10 in the Central Business District, 12 in Braamfontein, 3 in Berea, 2 in Hillbrow and 1 in Yeoville. I identified these respondents through the snowball sampling method. The second phase was from 12 May, 2005 to 10 June, 2005 with 'face-to-face'-administered questionnaires to non-members of organised groups. There were also 34 completed questionnaires from the Central Business District (10), Hillbrow (8), Berea (7) and Yeoville (9). Coding of the questionnaires followed the data gathering process (see section 4.3).

Thus, administering the questionnaire face-to-face became the major tool in getting the questionnaires for this study. It was faster and appeared interesting to the participants. And since I worked "directly with the respondent" (Department of Computer Sciences, 2001), the respondent was more willing to answer the questions. I also noticed that some questions needed more explanation, especially for a respondent with limited English proficiency. I was then able to repeat questions and I sometimes used a Ghanaian language for clarification (Ary et al., 1990). Sanders and Pinhey (1983: 154) observe that "the presence of the interviewer also cuts down on the confusion that is likely to arise when respondents are asked to read the questions themselves, and write the answers too" (See also www.cas.sc.edu). It turned out that about a quarter (24%) of the respondents had only obtained primary, middle and junior secondary education. They were likely to have difficulties in effectively reading the questions in English and answering them. For them, reading the questions to them "provides the only possible information gathering technique" (Ary et al., 1990: 418).

My presence also gave me the opportunity to "note several important points" about the respondents (Sanders & Pinhey, 1983: 154). I got to know their workplaces and observed their use of language. In Yeoville, which was a research area, Ghanaian shoe repairers and hair dressers competed for customers because in this area traders of similar products are arranged together. All of the salon operators had their stalls in the same row with shoe repairers doing the same. The traders had to attract customers and maintain good relations with them. Thus, traders who speak South African indigenous

languages could successfully win customers over. I could also determine "the order with which questions are considered" (Ary et al., 1990: 418). Ary et al. (1990) point out that respondents' knowledge of the ensuing questions could affect answers to the preceding questions. During the survey, I had to control respondents' tendency to provide responses to subsequent questions. In addition, as Ary et al. (1990: 418) suggest I was able "to press for additional information when a response seems incomplete or not entirely relevant" or not forthcoming. Indeed, when respondents appeared not to remember an event, I did ask them to tell me the whole story. Eventually, they managed to provide the information.

However, there were negative aspects in administering the questionnaire face-to-face. Some of the respondents were not willing to give accurate information of their history whilst others were tempted to leave out unpleasant facts. This observation is in accordance with the view that "…under most circumstances, respondents wish to present themselves in a socially desirable way and, therefore, might alter their true responses to appear more 'normal' or acceptable to the researcher" (See Victorin, Haag–Gronlund & Skerfvind, 1998 in Richter & Johnson, 2001). Respondents' difficulty in answering some questions could also be a reaction to the fact that they did not have enough time to decide to participate in the survey (Moser & Karlton, 1972). Some respondents could also provide negative or positive responses depending on their experiences in Ghana or a destination country.

4. 2. 2. 14. Coding

I used the following letters and numbers to identify the questionnaires:

AG for members of the Association of Ghanaians Living in Johannesburg and its environs (AGIJE)

BS for Braamfontein Society

CBD for Ghanaians who were not members of any organised Ghanaian group and were either working or residing in the Central Business District.

COP for members of the Church of Pentecost

GHA for members of Association of Ghanaians Living in Johannesburg and its Surrounding Area (GHAJOSA)

NMB for non-members working or residing in Braamfontein.

NMH for non-members working or residing in Hillbrow

NMR for non-members working or residing in Berea and

YEO for non-members working or residing in Yeoville.

The 100 completed questionnaires were in the following order: AG (1–14), BS (1- 4), CBD (1-20), COP (1-18), GHA (1 and 2), NMB (1-12), NMH (1-10), NMR (1-10) and finally YEO (1-10). The following is a table of the 100 respondent with the age group and levels of education.

TABLE OF PARTICIPANTS

RESPONDENT	AGE GROUP	LEVEL OF EDUCATION
AG 1	46 - 55	University
AG 2	36 - 45	University
AG 3	46 – 55	University
AG 4	46 - 55	University
AG 5	26 - 35	University
AG 6	36 - 45	University
AG 7	36 - 45	Technical
AG 8	36 - 45	University
AG 9	46 - 55	Senior Secondary
AG 10	46 - 55	University
AG 11	46 - 55	Other
AG 12	56 - 65	University
AG 13	36 – 45	University
AG 14	26 - 35	University
BS 1	36 - 45	Training College
BS 2	46 - 55	Middle
BS 3	No response	No response
BS 4	26 - 35	Technical
CBD 1	36 – 45	Middle
CBD 2	26 – 35	Polytechnic
CBD 3	36 – 45	Primary
CBD 4	36 – 45	Training College
CBD 5	36 – 45	University
CBD 6	36 – 45	University
CBD 7	36 – 45	Middle
CBD 8	46 – 55	Middle
CBD 9	18 – 25	Junior Secondary
CBD 10	26 – 35	Training College
CBD 11	26 – 35	Junior Secondary
CBD 12	26 –35	Junior Secondary
CBD 13	26 – 35	Senior Secondary
CBD 14	26 - 35	Senior Secondary
CBD 15	26 – 35	Commercial
CBD 16	36 - 45	Commercial
CBD 17	26 -35	Senior Secondary
CBD 18	26 - 35	Senior Secondary
CBD 19	26 - 35	Junior Secondary
CBD 20	26 - 35	Junior Secondary
COP 1	36 – 45	Technical
COP 2	18 – 25	Senior Secondary

COP 3	26 – 35	Polytechnic
COP 4	18 – 25	University
COP 5	18 – 25	Polytechnic
COP 6	14 – 17	Senior Secondary
COP 7	18 – 25	University
COP 8	18 – 25	No response
COP 9	18 – 25	Senior Secondary
COP 10	18 – 25	Junior Secondary
COP 11	26 – 35	Training College
COP 12	26 – 35	Middle
COP 13	26 – 35	Senior Secondary
COP 14	26 – 35	Technical
COP 15	36 – 45	Technical
COP 16	36 – 45	Middle
COP 17	26 – 35	University
COP 18	26 – 35	University
GHA 1	46 – 55	University
GHA 2	36 – 45	University
NMB 1	26 – 35	Junior Secondary
NMB 2	26 – 35	Technical
NMB 3	18 –25	Junior Secondary
NMB 4	26 – 35	Technical
NMB 5	26 – 35	Middle
NMB 6	26 – 35	University
NMB 7	26 – 35	Senior Secondary
NMB 8	36 – 45	Training College
NMB 9	36 – 45	University
NMB 10	36 – 45	Technical
NMB 11	26 – 35	Senior Secondary
NMB 12	18 – 25	Training College
NMH 1	26 – 35	Polytechnic
NMH 2	26 – 35	Senior Secondary
NMH 3	36 – 45	Technical
NMH 4	26 – 35	Technical
NMH 5	26 – 35	Training College
NMH 6	26 – 35	Middle
NMH 7	26 – 35	Junior Secondary
NMH 8	36 – 45	Middle
NMH 9	36 – 45	University
NMH 10	26 – 35	Middle
NMR 1	26 – 35	Senior Secondary
NMR 2	36 – 45	Middle
NMR 3	26 – 35	Polytechnic
NMR 4	26 – 35	Senior Secondary (Advanced level)
NMR 5	26 – 35	Middle
NMR 6	26 - 35	Middle
NMR 7	26 – 35	Polytechnic
NMR 8	46 – 55	Polytechnic
NMR 9	26 - 35	Middle
NMR 10	36 - 45	Polytechnic
YEO 1	36 - 45	Technical
YEO 2	26 - 35	Secondary school
YEO 3	26 – 35	Polytechnic
YEO 4	26 – 35	Senior Secondary
YEO 5	18 – 25	Senior Secondary
YEO 6	46 – 55	Senior Secondary (Advanced level)
YEO 7	36 – 45	Polytechnic

YEO 8	36 – 45	Primary
YEO 9	26 – 35	Senior Secondary
YEO 10	26 – 35	Technical

Table 4.1. Research participants

4. 2. 3. Observation

This study examines the relationship between language and employment, and immigrants' access to the South African economy based on their language profiles. The study was carried out in Johannesburg which appears to accommodate many Ghanaian immigrants. Observations occurred simultaneously with the in-depth interviews and the survey. The use of observation for the purpose of this study involved spending time with Ghanaians in their meetings, at their workplaces and in Ghanaian restaurants either for the in-depth interviews or administering the questionnaire.

During this process, I had discussions with them around issues relating to the aims and objectives of this study. I also watched how Ghanaian immigrants in this study conducted their businesses and interacted with their clients (Hunt, 1985 in Petkou, 2005). The language spoken by these Ghanaian immigrants, their interaction with South Africans, the places they worked and how they used their language skills in the job market were some of the issues I observed in this study. The hours I spent with them provided me with more insights into their use of language in the labour market.

It is important for me to emphasise that my observations deepened my understanding of the immigrants' use of language. The insights I gathered were not recorded but collectively helped me to make sense of my data.

4. 3. DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

Initial analysis of themes and patterns in the data from both the in-depth interviews and the survey with regard to destination language learning showed two main categories. Some respondents learned destination languages including South African indigenous languages. There were other respondents who had learned a destination language in their previous destination countries but they chose not to learn any South African indigenous language. The initial analysis also revealed that the choice to learn or not to learn a destination language was across the age groups. In addition, there were also differences in educational qualifications among the respondents.

These findings influenced my choice of data for subsequent analysis and discussion in chapters six, seven and eight. I decided to focus on the respondents who chose to learn South African indigenous languages in chapter six. Chapter seven would consider those who did not learn any South African indigenous language but they had learned language in other destination countries. I used chapter eight to analyse and discuss the language experiences of selected young respondents who either learned or did not learn a destination language.

Taking cognisance of the amount of data generated from both the in-depth interviews and the survey, I selected nine respondents in all for analysis in the chapters six, seven and eight. Six were from the in-depth interviews and three from the survey. Since I used both quantitative and qualitative methods, I thought it would be appropriate to combine data from both methods for analysis and discussion. I proceeded to combine one in-depth interview respondent with two survey respondents in chapter six, and one survey respondent with two in-depth interview respondents in chapter eight. The three respondents in chapter seven were all from the in-depth interviews. However, I later considered it more appropriate and useful to analyse the survey data separately in chapter five.

Analysis of the 11 males and four females respondents in the in-depth interviews further indicated that eight of them were first time migrants. This means South Africa is their first destination country. Six were repeat migrants who had lived in one or more destination countries apart from South Africa. One was an occasional repeat migrant. He travelled from Ghana to Cote d'Ivoire and Nigeria on short visits of not more than two weeks. Out of the eight first time migrants only Respondent 11 had attempted to learn a South African indigenous language (Zulu). Similarly, apart from Respondent 7 who had not learned any destination language, the five other repeat migrants had learned one or more destination languages where they had lived before migrating to South Africa. Two (Respondent 4 and Respondent 6) among the repeat migrants had learned a South African indigenous language.

Respondent 4 and Respondent 6 are male and female respectively. I chose to use Respondent 4 for analysis and discussion because he was more proficient in the South African indigenous language than Respondent 6. In addition, he is a university graduate.

I then selected two other survey respondents who are also university graduates and had learned a South African indigenous language for chapter six.

I selected all the three repeat migrants who learned a destination language but they did not learn any South African indigenous language for analysis and discussion in chapter seven. In chapter eight I analysed and discussed the language experiences of the young respondents. Considering that I had not used any female for analysis and discussion, I believed it was important to select young female respondents in this chapter. I eventually chose two young females (Respondent 7 and Respondent 9) from the in-depth interviews and one male from the survey (See further details on pages 227, 230 and 235).

Thus, analysis of the data is in chapters five, six, seven and eight. Chapter five focuses mainly on the quantitative aspect of the survey data. The chapter highlighted my argument that English is an official language of Ghana. Most Ghanaians learn English at school and tend to be proficient in English. Consequently, Ghanaian immigrants usually choose to migrate to English-speaking destination countries. However, they tend to face language difficulties in both English-speaking and non-English destination countries. I therefore used tables to describe and analyse the following: levels of respondents' education, their age group, their marital status, their use of English and their migration experiences in South Africa and other countries.

In South Africa I analysed the language or languages the respondents expected to use in South Africa, their experience with the use of English, their employment status, the reasons for respondents' choice to learn or not to learn a South African indigenous language. The means they used to learn the indigenous language and finally whether improving their knowledge of any of the languages they know would improve their work prospects.

I constructed the stories of the respondents based on their responses to the questions in both the interview and the survey. However, for the purpose of the analysis I chose to focus on the key aspects in the stories. Some of the key aspects were linguistic profile, education, migration experiences in South Africa and other countries and the use of

language in destination countries. I placed the stories one after another in order to enable the reader to have an idea of the similarities and differences in the stories.

Therefore, each chapter has three stories following one another. Each story begins with an introduction followed with a summary of the key aspects of the story and narration of the story. I then discussed and analysed the stories. Themes are selected one after another and the trends in each story are discussed and analysed. This strategy allowed me to have a clear understanding of the similarities and differences in all the three stories and also enabled me to provide the relevant interpretations. The interpretations are thus based on the description, discussion and analysis of the data as well as the similarities and differences that emerged from the analysis.

The patterns and the themes that emerged from the initial analysis of the data required me to develop a conceptual framework to help me to analyse the data in depth (see section 3.4.). The stories are analysed together and organized according to the main themes which include economic motives for migration, family circumstances and migration, contexts of language use, destination language learning and investment and identity. I drew on Leather and van Dam (2003) and Larsen Freeman (1997) to analyse the contexts of language use; Canagarajah (2007), Brown (1993), Mesch (2003) and others to analyse the destination language learning and Norton-Pierce (1995) and others to analyse investment and identity. Summary and discussion of the findings are in chapter nine. The next section of 4. 4. considers the limitations of the study.

4. 4. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The following were some of the limitations I noticed during the in-depth interviews and the survey. The issues in the questionnaires, which relate to immigrants' personal information, language history and their employment in South Africa and Ghana constituted a limitation for the study. Immigrants tend to be sensitive about their identity as well as social and economic activities. Thus, they view any documentation in this regard with suspicion. Some of the respondents, especially those, who were not well educated and had little or no knowledge of educational research, needed lengthy explanation before they agreed to participate in the survey. Respondents in this category might not have been willing to give detailed information resulting in a loss of rich data.

I had to alter question 9 under section B subsection iii and question 10 also under section B subsection iv. The original questions were:

Has a South African African language helped you to get a job in South Africa?

If yes, how? Please explain…. ……..……..…

Has a Ghanaian language helped you to get a job in South Africa?

Yes		*No*	

If yes, why? If no, why?.....

And I changed them to read:

Has a South African African language been helping you in your job in South Africa?

Yes		*No*	

If yes, how? Please explain how……. ……..……

Has a Ghanaian language been helping you in your job in South Africa?

If yes, why? If no, why? ……..……

During the face to face interviews I noticed that most respondents understood the phrase, 'to get a job' as having formal employment. Thus, the responses rendered the purpose of the questions ineffective. So in my opinion, relating the questions to the respondents' current jobs would yield appropriate responses and make the questions more useful. Another limitation was the repetition of questions. Some respondents continuously commented that some questions were being repeated. This could lead to irritation, suspicion and a lack of interest, which could hinder honest and free flow of information.

The conditions under which the interviews were conducted was also a limitation. Sometimes I found respondents working hard on something and in order not to displease them, I had to wait patiently for them to finish the work. In such cases I mostly had to pose questions during intermittent breaks and at a point where it would not disrupt the flow of their work. Concentration and thoughtful responses were likely to be compromised, thus robbing the study of otherwise rich data.

I did not ask for the names of the respondents whose names I did not already know. And I emphasised this position to them as a means of assuring them of the anonymity of the study.

4. 5. CONCLUSION

This chapter examined the research methodology used for the study. It emphasized the research instruments which included 15 in-depth interviews and a survey of a 100 Ghanaian immigrants using questionnaires. The survey questions were open- and closed-ended and the 100 participants were selected from five groups of AGIJE, GHAJOSA, Braamfontein Society, the Church of Pentecost and non-members of associations. The questions in both the survey and the in-depth interviews focused on life history accounts with emphasis on migration histories of Ghanaian immigrants. Samples of the survey questionnaire (pages 91–97) and the interview questions (pages 87–88) are included in this chapter. The chapter ended with a discussion of the limitations of the study (4.4).

Chapter 5
ANALYSIS OF THE SURVEY DATA

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5. 2. Age group
5. 3. Marital status
5. 4. Use of English
5. 4. 1. Country where respondents learned English
5. 4. 2. Places where respondents learned English
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5. 5. Migration experiences in other countries
5. 5. 1. Living in destination countries
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5. 6. Migration to South Africa
5. 6. 1. Date of migration to South Africa among groups of respondents
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5. 7. 1. Learning a South African indigenous language
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5. 8. Use of language in employment
5. 8. 1. Whether improving knowledge of any of the languages respondents know would improve their work prospects
5. 9. Conclusion

5. 0. INTRODUCTION

This chapter introduces my arguments in the three analysis chapters that follow. I argue that In Ghana English is the official language. It is the language of teaching and learning and it is also learned as a subject. As a result, Ghanaians leave all levels of education with varying degrees of proficiency in English. Their knowledge of English tends to influence their choice of destination countries. In this particular study most of the respondents – both professional and non- professional - migrated to South Africa because English is an official language in South Africa. However, both groups of respondents began to experience difficulties with the use of English in the workplace and in the community because some speakers of South African indigenous languages preferred the use of the indigenous languages to English. Thus, some of the respondents chose to learn South African indigenous languages whilst others did not.

The analysis chapters explore the factors underlining the respondents' choice whether to learn or not to learn a language of the host country.

In this chapter, I will focus on the quantitative data that was generated from the survey (see the questionnaire on pages 92 -97). The questionnaire consisted of four sections:

- Section A - personal information
- Section B - language practices
- Section C - employment history
- Section D - language and employment

Questions under section A were based on age, education, marital status and migration history. Section B considered the use of English, French, South African indigenous languages and Ghanaian languages. Section C included employment history in both Ghana and South Africa whilst section D elicited information concerning the use of language in the workplace.

In this chapter I will highlight the responses to the questions in the following areas of the questionnaire:

- Level of education (Section A, question 3).
- Age group (Section A, question 2)
- Marital status (Section A, question 4).
- Use of English (Section B, questions 3, 4, 5, 6, 10).
- Migration experiences in other destination countries (Section A, questions 6, 8).
- Migration to South Africa (Section A, questions 10, 11. Section B, questions 1, 2. Section B; iii, questions 1, 2, 3, 5 and Section A, question 13).
- Use of language in employment (Section D, question 1).

I selected these questions because they reflect my main argument as discussed in the introduction of this chapter.

5. 1. LEVEL OF EDUCATION

- Please indicate your level of education:

Primary		Middle		Junior Secondary		Senior Secondary		Technical	
Commercial		University		Training College		Polytechnic		Other	

RESPONDENTS' LEVEL OF EDUCATION	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	PERCENTAGE
University	22	22%
Polytechnic and teacher training colleges	17	17%
Commercial, Technical and Secondary schools	33	33%
Middle school and Junior Secondary	23	23%
Primary school	2	2%
Level not indicated	3	3%
Total number of respondents	**100**	**100%**

Table 5:1 Level of education

As it can be seen from the table above, the highest educational qualification of about 58% of the respondents in my study was senior high school. Generally, Ghanaians who are unable to continue their education after senior high school either learn a trade and become skilled or set up their own small scale businesses in the informal sector or get jobs in the formal sector as junior staff. However, considering the rate of unemployment in South Africa, keen competition for jobs, and the stringent measures in obtaining work permits, this group would be likely to find themselves working in the informal sector. Just above one third (39%) of the respondents had graduated from a tertiary institution. As opposed to the first group, the level of educational qualifications could ensure their employment in the formal sector and make them socially and economically stable and settled in South Africa.

5. 2. AGE GROUP

- Please indicate your age group:

18 -25		26 - 35		36 - 45		46 - 55		56 - 65		66 - 75	

RESPONDENTS' LEVEL OF EDUCATION	TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	14-17	18-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	55-56	'NO RESPONSE
University	22	0	2	5	9	5	1	0
Polytechnic and teacher training colleges	17	0	2	9	5	1	0	0
Commercial, Technical and Secondary schools	33	1	3	20	7	2	0	0
Middle school and Junior Secondary	23	0	3	13	5	2	0	0
Primary school	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
Level not indicated	3	0	1	0	0	1	0	1
Total number of respondents	**100**	**1**	**11**	**47**	**28**	**11**	**1**	**1**

Table 5:2. Age group

This table indicates that 75% of the respondents were between the age of 26 and 45. This is the period when people are more productive. Indeed, most of the respondents in my study emigrated during their youth and were thus physically strong and able to get jobs. Socially, it is also the period when most people consider getting married, having a home and children. The motivation to satisfy this social need of a better standard of living was the driver of nearly half (49%) of the respondents to migrate to South Africa (see 5. 6. 2.)

5. 3. MARITAL STATUS

- If you are married and have a child / children, please indicate where they live.
- Spouse ……Child 1……..……
- Child 2 ……..Child 3……. ……..
- Child 4 ……..Child 5 ……..…….
- Other (please specify) ……

RESPONDENTS' MARITAL STATUS ACCORDING TO THEIR LEVEL OF EDUCATION

RESPONDENTS' LEVEL OF EDUCATION	TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	NUMBER OF MARRIED RESPONDENTS	NUMBER OF UNMARRIED RESPONDENTS	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS LIVING WITH SPOUSES IN SOUTH AFRICA	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHOSE SPOUSES WERE IN GHANA	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHOSE SPOUSES WERE IN ZIMBABWE
University	22	13	9	11	2	0
Polytechnic and teacher training colleges	17	7	10	7	0	0
Commercial, Technical and Secondary schools	33	13	20	8	4	1
Middle school and Junior Secondary	23	11	12	5	6	0
Primary school	2	2	0	2	0	0
Level not indicated	3	1	2	0	1	0
Total number of respondents	**100**	**47**	**53**	**33**	**13**	**1**

Table 5.3. Marital status

This table shows that 47% of the respondents were married and 53% were not. Considering that 58% of the respondents were between the age of 18 and 35 (see 5. 2.), some of them may have considered themselves too young to get married. 33 out of the 47 married respondents were living with their spouses in South Africa. 13 spouses were residing in Ghana and one was living in Zimbabwe.

It is significant to observe that 11 out of the 13 married graduate respondents were living with their spouses in South Africa. Similarly all the seven married respondents who

completed polytechnic and training colleges were also living with their spouses in South Africa. 8 out of the 13 married respondents who completed secondary, commercial and technical schools and all the two who completed primary schools were living with their spouses in South Africa.

The higher educational background of the respondents who attended tertiary institutions makes it possible for them to get employed in the formal sector. They could obtain both work and residence permits. With good jobs and permits this group of respondents were more settled and could therefore invite their families to South Africa and live with them.

5. 4. USE OF ENGLISH

5. 4. 1. Country where respondents learned English

- If you can read and speak English, in which country did you learn English?.....

RESPONDENTS' LEVEL OF EDUCATION	TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO LEARNED ENGLISH IN GHANA	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO LEARNED ENGLISH IN SOUTH AFRICA	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO DID NOT ANSWER THE QUESTION
University	22	14	1	7
Polytechnic and teacher training colleges	17	15	0	2
Commercial, Technical and Secondary schools	33	28	0	5
Middle school and Junior Secondary	23	20	1	2
Primary school and those who did not indicate their level of education	5	4	0	1
Total number of respondents	**100**	**81**	**2**	**17**

Table 5.4. Country where English was learned

Most of the respondents learned English in Ghana. This analysis suggests that the respondents in my study could communicate in a form of English before they arrived in South Africa.

5. 4. 2. Places where respondents learned English

- If you can read and speak English, where did you learn English?……

RESPONDENTS' LEVEL OF EDUCATION	TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO LEARNED ENGLISH AT SCHOOL	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO LEARNED ENGLISH AT SCHOOL AND HOME	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO DID NOT ANSWER THE QUESTION
University	22	15	4	3
Polytechnic and teacher training colleges	17	14	1	2
Commercial, Technical and Secondary schools	33	29	3	1
Middle school and Junior Secondary	23	20	1	2
Primary school and those who did not indicate their level of education	5	2	1	2
Total number of respondents	**100**	**80**	**10**	**10**

Table 5.5. Places where respondents learned English

The Ghanaians in my study usually learned English at school. English is the main language of communication at homes of some middle class Ghanaians. This practice, however, negatively affected the desire of the respondents to learn African languages (see 8. 2. 4).

5. 4. 3. Number of years respondents had been using English

- How long have you been using English? …….

RESPONDENTS' LEVEL OF EDUCATION	TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO HAD BEEN USING ENGLISH FOR 1-10 YEARS	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO HAD BEEN USING ENGLISH FOR 11- 20 YEARS	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO HAD BEEN USING ENGLISH FOR 21-30 YEARS	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO HAD BEEN USING ENGLISH FOR 31-40 YEARS OR MORE	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO DID NOT ANSWER THE QUESTION
University	22	0	9	3	9	1
Polytechnic and teacher training colleges	17	0	2	5	10	0
Commercial, Technical and Secondary schools	33	2	8	9	14	0
Middle school and Junior Secondary	23	6	5	7	4	1
Primary school and those who did not indicate their level of education	5	0	1	2	1	1
Total number of respondents	**100**	**8**	**25**	**26**	**38**	**3**

Table 5.6. Years of using English

A quarter (25%) of the respondents had been using English for communication for 11 to 20 years. Similarly, about a quarter (26%) had also been using English for 20 to 30 years. More than one third (38%) had also been using English for 30 years or more. This analysis demonstrates that the respondents in my study migrated to South Africa with different levels of proficiency in English. 89% could therefore competently communicate in English. However, the result that 43% of the 100 respondents later learned South African indigenous languages (5.7.1) suggests that some respondents acknowledged the limitation of the use of English and the importance of the use of South African indigenous languages at their workplaces and in the communities.

5. 4. 4. Respondents' degree of confidence with the use of English

- If you can read and speak English, how confident are you when you communicate in English?

Very confident		Confident		Not so confident		Not confident at all	

RESPONDENTS' LEVEL OF EDUCATION	**TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS**	**VERY, VERY CONFIDENT**	**VERY CONFIDENT**	**CONFIDENT**	**NOT SO CONFIDENT**	**NOT CONFIDENT AT ALL**	**'NO RESPONSE'**
University	22	1	19	2	0	0	0
Polytechnic and teacher training colleges	17	0	12	5	0	0	0
Commercial, Technical and Secondary schools	33	0	0	16	17	0	0
Middle school and Junior Secondary	23	0	6	12	4	0	1
Primary school and those who did not indicate their level of education	5	0	3	0	1	0	1
Total number of respondents	**100**	**1**	**40**	**35**	**22**	**0**	**2**

Table 5.7. Confidence with the use of English

A large proportion of the respondents (76%) could confidently speak English. Thus, the respondents' choice of English–speaking destination countries including South Africa is dependent on their ability to communicate in English according to the result in this study. The proficient use of English in an English destination country has economic, social and academic benefits. This proficiency facilitates social interaction and integration. It speeds up formal and self-employment. Admission to academic institutions and participation in academic related activities are also easier to realise than in non-English speaking destination countries.

5. 5. MIGRATION EXPERIENCES IN OTHER COUNTRIES

5. 5. 1. Living in destination countries

- Have you ever lived in any country/countries other than South Africa and Ghana?

Yes		No	

- If yes, please indicate the country/countries with dates and language/languages.

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	100	**NUMBER OF DESTINATION COUNTRIES**	38
NUMBER OF REPEAT MIGRANTS	56	**NUMBER OF ENGLISH SPEAKING DESTINATIONS**	18
NUMBER OF FIRST TIME MIGRANTS TO SOUTH AFRICA	44	**NUMBER OF FRENCH SPEAKING DESTINATIONS**	12
		NUMBER OF OTHER DESTINATION COUNTRIES	8

Table 5.8. Living in Destination Countries

Out of the 100 respondents, 56 had lived in thirty eight different countries altogether. Eighteen of these thirty eight countries are English speaking, twelve are French speaking. The other eight countries included Germany, Holland, Libya, Saudi Arabia, Mexico, Angola, Denmark and Bulgaria. Eight out of the twelve French speaking countries are in the West African sub region. West Africans can travel to West African countries without visas and may remain there for three months without residence permits. Proximity of the countries also makes migration within the sub-region affordable.

5. 5. 2. Number of countries where respondents lived

- Have you ever lived in any country/countries other than South Africa and Ghana?

Yes		No	

- If yes, please indicate the country/countries with dates

RESPONDENTS' LEVEL OF EDUCATION	TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO LIVED IN ONE DESTINATION COUNTRY	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO LIVED IN TWO DESTINATION COUNTRIES	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO LIVED IN THREE DESTINATION COUNTRIES	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO LIVED IN FOUR DESTINATION COUNTRIES	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO LIVED IN FIVE DESTINATION COUNTRIES
University	22	8	7	3	1	0
Polytechnic and teacher training colleges	17	3	2	0	0	1
Commercial, Technical and Secondary schools	33	8	1	5	1	0
Middle school and Junior Secondary	23	7	3	1	1	1
Primary school and those who did not indicate their level of education	5	1	0	1	0	0
Total number of respondents	**100**	**27**	**13**	**10**	**3**	**2**
RESPONDENTS' LEVEL OF EDUCATION RESPONDENTS' LEVEL OF EDUCATION	**TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS**	**NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO LIVED IN SIX DESTINATION COUNTRIES**				
Commercial, Technical and Secondary schools	33	1				
Total number of respondents		**1**				

Table 5.9. Number of countries where respondents lived

More than half (56%) of the respondents had lived in one to six countries. This result indicates that most of the respondents in my study had migration experiences. However, South Africa is the first destination country for almost half (44%) of the respondents. The analysis of the age group (5.2.) indicated that 58% out of the one hundred respondents were between the ages of 18 and 35. Respondents in this group were likely to be first time immigrants. Thus, these 44% of respondents would be experiencing challenges of using destination languages for the first time.

5. 5. 3. Having travelled to a destination country where respondents did not know a friend or a relative

- Have you ever travelled to any country where you did not know any one (friend or relative)? YES OR NO

RESPONDENTS' LEVEL OF EDUCATION	TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO MIGRATED TO COUNTRIES NOT KNOWING A FRIEND OR A RELATIVE	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO KNEW A DESTINATION LANGUAGE	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO DID NOT KNOW A DESTINATION LANGUAGE
University	22	14	9	5
Polytechnic and teacher training colleges	17	8	2	6
Commercial, Technical and Secondary schools	33	18	6	12
Middle school and Junior Secondary	23	13	4	9
Primary school and those who did not indicate their level of education	5	2	0	2
Total number of respondents	**100**	**55**	**21**	**34**

Table 5.10. Knowing a friend or a relative in a destination country

More than half (55%) of the 100 respondents in the survey had migrated to a destination country where they did know a friend or a relative. A greater number (34) of these 55 respondents migrated to countries where they did not know a destination language. Generally, lack of knowledge of a destination language and not having an acquaintance in a destination language did not seem to deter most of the respondents in this study from migrating to a country. They might have considered migration as a risk-taking venture where the unknown is a challenge to overcome.

However, unlike the respondents with lower levels of education, the university graduate respondents tended to be more conscious of having knowledge of a destination language before migration. As many as 64% (which is 9 out of the 14) of these graduates migrated to countries where they knew a destination language as against 25% of the respondents who completed polytechnic and training colleges, 33% of the respondents with secondary education and 31% of those with middle and junior

secondary education. Respondents with lower level of education tended to take more risk at migrating to countries where they neither knew any one nor the destination language.

5. 6. MIGRATION TO SOUTH AFRICA

5. 6. 1. Date of migration to South Africa among groups of respondents

- When did you come to South Africa?

RESPONDENTS' LEVEL OF EDUCATION	TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO ARRIVED IN SOUTH AFRICA BETWEEN 1980 AND 1989	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO ARRIVED IN SOUTH AFRICA BETWEEN 1990 AND 1999	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO ARRIVED IN SOUTH AFRICA BETWEEN 2000 AND 2005	MULTIPLE VISITS TO SOUTH AFRICA	NUMBER OF 'NO RESPONSES'
University	22	2	12	7	1	0
Polytechnic and teacher training colleges	17	0	7	10	0	0
Commercial, Technical and Secondary schools	33	0	12	20	0	0
Middle school and Junior Secondary	23	0	11	12	0	0
Primary school and those who did not indicate their level of education	5	0	2	3	0	0
Total number of respondents	**100**	**2**	**44**	**52**	**1**	**1**

Table 5.11. Date of migration to South Africa

More than half (52%) of the respondents migrated to South Africa between 2000 and 2005. 44% also migrated to South Africa between 1990 and 1999. Thus, most of the respondents (96%) in my study became interested in migrating to South Africa in the 1990s. This interest appears to be ongoing since Ghanaians continue to migrate to South Africa. The release of Nelson Mandela from prison in February and the subsequent democratic elections in South Africa in April 1994 were factors that encouraged Ghanaian migration to South Africa.

5.6.2. Reasons of migration to South Africa among groups of respondents

- Why did you come to South Africa?

RESPONDENTS' LEVEL OF EDUCATION	TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA FOR POLITICAL REASONS	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA FOR BETTER ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA FOR A VISIT AND ON TRANSIT	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA FOR MIGRATION EXPERIENCE	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA FOR ACADEMIC PURPOSES OR JOINING RELATIVES
University	22	1	10	0	2	9
Polytechnic and teacher training colleges	17	3	7	3	1	3
Commercial, Technical and Secondary schools	33	0	14	12	3	4
Middle school and Junior Secondary	23	2	13	5	2	1
Primary school and those who did not indicate their level of education	5	0	4	0	0	1
Total number of respondents	**100**	**6**	**48**	**20**	**8**	**18**
RESPONDENTS' LEVEL OF EDUCATION	**TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS**	**NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA FOR POLITICAL REASONS**	**NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA FOR BETTER ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY**	**NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA FOR A VISIT AND ON TRANSIT**	**NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA FOR MIGRATION EXPERIENCE**	**NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA FOR ACADEMIC PURPOSES OR JOINING RELATIVES**
University	22	1	10	0	2	9
Polytechnic and teacher training colleges	17	3	7	3	1	3
Commercial, Technical and Secondary schools	33	0	14	12	3	4
Middle school and Junior Secondary	23	2	13	5	2	1
Primary school and those who did not indicate their level of education	5	0	4	0	0	1
Total number of respondents	**100**	**6**	**48**	**20**	**8**	**18**

Table 5.12. Reasons of Migration to South Africa

About half (48%) of the respondents migrated to South Africa for economic opportunities and better standard of living. This suggests that the respondents in my were mainly economic migrants. The South African economy is considered to be the most advanced in Africa. It therefore serves as a 'pull' factor for immigrants from less

prosperous African countries including Ghana. The table indicates also that the less educated respondents who completed senior and junior secondary schools recorded the highest rates (36%, which is 12 out of 33, and 22%, which is also 6 out of 23) of respondents who migrated to South Africa on visit or on transit to other countries. This result suggests that this group of respondents tend to be unstable and move from one country to another. The uncertainty is likely to affect their desire to learn a destination language (see 7. 4. 7).

5. 6. 3. Respondents' Anticipation of Languages to Use in South Africa

- When you came to South Africa, which languages did you think would help you the most? Afrikaans; English; Ghanaian languages; South African African languages (e.g. Sotho; Zulu; Xhosa).
- Why did you think this language would help you the most and for what purposes?.....

RESPONDENTS' LEVEL OF EDUCATION	SOLE USE OF AFRIKAANS OR AFRIKAANS AND ENGLISH	SOLE USE OF ENGLISH	ENGLISH AND SOUTH AFRICAN LANGUAGES	SOLE USE OF SOUTH AFRICAN LANGUAGES	ENGLISH AND GHANAIAN LANGUAGES	ENGLISH, AFRIKAANS AND SOUTH AFRICAN LANGUAGES	ENGLISH, SOUTH AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND GHANAIAN LANGUAGES
University	0	14	3	2	1	1	1
Polytechnic and teacher training colleges	2	11	0	3	0	1	0
Commercial, Technical and Secondary schools	2	28	0	2	0	1	0
Middle school and Junior Secondary	0	21	1	1	0	0	0
Primary school and those who did not indicate their level of education	0	3	1	0	0	0	1
Total number of respondents (100)	**4**	**77**	**5**	**8**	**1**	**3**	**2**

Table 5.13. Anticipation of languages to use in South Africa

77%, which is a greater number of the respondents, anticipated the use of English as the main medium of communication in South Africa. Thus, English as a destination language served as an important 'pull' factor for the Ghanaian respondents in my study to migrate to South Africa.

5. 6. 4. Employment Status Among Respondents in South Africa

- Are you employed?

Yes		No	

- If yes,
- Where do you work? ……
- What kind of job do you do? ……
- For how long have you been doing this work? ……

RESPONDENTS' LEVEL OF EDUCATION	TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO WERE EMPLOYED	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO WERE UNEMPLOYED	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS IN HUMAN-CENTRED JOBS	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS IN OFFICE-CENTRED JOBS	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS IN EQUIPMENT-CENTRED JOBS
University	22	17	5	13	2	2
Polytechnic and teacher training colleges	17	14	3	8	2	4
Commercial, Technical and Secondary schools	33	26	7	22	3	1
Middle school and Junior Secondary	23	20	3	18	2	0
Primary school and those who did not indicate their level of education	5	4	1	4	0	0
Total number of respondents	**100**	**81**	**19**	**65**	**9**	**7**

Table 5.14. Employment status in South Africa

81% of the 100 respondents were employed with only 19% unemployed. Thus, whether they were professionals or skilled or unskilled, the Ghanaians in my study tended to get themselves jobs to do. It is significant to note that most of the respondents were in human-centred jobs where they mostly interacted with people most of whom were speakers of South African indigenous languages. They were therefore well positioned to learn South African indigenous languages. On the other hand, they were also susceptible to xenophobic attacks due to the constant need to communicate with people, which may reveal their foreign identity.

5. 6. 5. Respondents' negative experience with the use of English

- Have you ever been in situation/s where using English has created negative responses? Please provide some examples:……

RESPONDENTS' LEVEL OF EDUCATION	TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO EXPERIENCED NEGATIVE RESPONSE	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO HAD NOT EXPERIENCED NEGATIVE RESPONSE	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO DID NOT ANSWER THE QUESTION
University	22	9	8	5
Polytechnic and teacher training colleges	17	6	7	4
Commercial, Technical and Secondary schools	33	15	16	2
Middle school and Junior Secondary	23	16	3	4
Primary school and those who did not indicate their level of education	5	1	3	1
Total number of respondents	**100**	**47**	**37**	**16**

Table 5.15. Negative experience with the use of English

As it can be seen from the table about half (47%) among the 100 respondents had experienced negative response to their use of English. Some respondents chose to learn South African indigenous languages because of this negative response (see 6. 4. 5). Most of the respondents who completed middle school and junior secondary school had experienced negative responses. Their tendency of working in the informal sector required constant use of English for communication. Considering their low level of education and limited proficiency in English, this group of respondents would have been exposed to different attitudes to their use of language.

It is also worthy to note that about half (43%) of all the respondents learned South African indigenous languages (5.7.1). A dislike for the negative response to the use of English would have been one of the factors of learning these languages.

5. 7. SOUTH AFRICAN INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES

5. 7. 1. Learning a South African indigenous language

- Have you learnt any South African African language/s?

RESPONDENTS' LEVEL OF EDUCATION	TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO LEARNED A SOUTH AFRICAN LANGUAGE	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO DID NOT LEARN A SOUTH AFRICAN LANGUAGE
University	22	8	14
Polytechnic and teacher training colleges	17	7	10
Commercial, Technical and Secondary schools	33	14	19
Middle school and Junior Secondary	23	11	12
Primary school and those who did not indicate their level of education	5	3	2
Total number of respondents	**100**	**43**	**57**

Table 5.16. Learning a South African indigenous language

About half (43%) of the respondents learned South African indigenous languages after migrating to South Africa. It is interesting to note that most (11 out of 23 which is 47%) of the respondents who had completed middle and junior secondary schools learned South African indigenous languages. Most of these respondents (90%) were employed in human-centred jobs in the informal sector. Knowledge of a South African indigenous language would be very useful in their jobs because of the need to communicate with mostly South African clients.

5. 7.2. Means through which respondents learned South African indigenous languages

- Where did you learn it /them and how? (Please specify each one if they are more than one).

RESPONDENTS' LEVEL OF EDUCATION	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO LEARNED A SOUTH AFRICAN LANGUAGE	PRIVATE STUDIES, IN THE COMMUNITY AND AT THE WORKPLACE	AT THE WORKPLACE	IN THE COMMUNITY	AT THE WORKPLACE AND IN THE COMMUNITY	FROM A SPOUSE	FROM A SPOUSE AND AT THE WORKPLACE / IN THE COMMUNITY
University	8	2	1	3	2	0	0
Polytechnic and teacher training colleges	7	0	2	2	0	2	1
Commercial, Technical and Secondary schools	14	0	3	9	0	0	1
Middle school and Junior Secondary	11	0	6	1	2	1	0
Primary school and those who did not indicate their level of education	3	2	1	1	1	0	0
Total number of respondents	**43**	**4**	**13**	**16**	**5**	**3**	**2**

Table 5.17. Means through which South African indigenous languages were learned

Most of the respondents (29 out of 43) in my study learned the South African indigenous languages through interaction with people in the workplace and in the community. Once more, out of a total of 13 respondents who learned the indigenous languages at their workplaces, most of them (6) had obtained middle and junior secondary level of education. Similarly, most of the respondents (9) with commercial, technical and secondary education were in the highest number of respondents (16) who learned South African indigenous languages in the community. Unlike the respondents in professional employment, these two groups of respondents work and live in the Central Business District of Johannesburg, Braamfontein, Hillbrow, Berea and Yeoville where mostly speakers of South African indigenous languages also work and live. Thus, the places of work and residence promoted or hindered the desire of the respondents in my study to learn South African indigenous languages.

5.7.3. Reasons of Learning South African Indigenous Languages

- Why did you learn to speak these languages? (Please specify each one if they are more than one)

RESPONDENTS' LEVEL OF EDUCATION	**NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO LEARNED A SOUTH AFRICAN LANGUAGE**	**TO COMMUNICATE IN THE COMMUNITY AND AT THE WORKPLACE**	**TO COMMUNICATE IN THE COMMUNITY**	**TO COMMUNICATE AT THE WORKPLACE**	**TO HAVE A SENSE OF BELONGING AND ACCEPTANCE**
University	8	3	2	0	1
Polytechnic and teacher training colleges	7	0	1	4	1
Commercial, Technical and Secondary schools	14	1	3	3	4
Middle school and Junior Secondary	11	0	3	3	3
Primary school and those who did not indicate their level of education	3	1	1	0	1
Total number of respondents	**43**	**5**	**10**	**10**	**10**
RESPONDENTS' LEVEL OF EDUCATION	**NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO LEARNED A SOUTH AFRICAN LANGUAGE**	**THE COMMON LANGUAGE USED IN THE COMMUNITY**	**INTEREST IN KNOWING AND SPEAKING THE LANGUAGE**		
University	8	1	1		
Polytechnic and teacher training colleges	7	1	0		
Commercial, Technical and Secondary schools	14	2	0		

Middle school and Junior Secondary	11	1	1		
Primary school and those who did not indicate their level of education	3	0	0		
Total number of respondents	**43**	**5**	**2**		

Table 5.18. Reasons of Learning South African Indigenous Languages

One of the respondents who completed commercial, technical and secondary schools did not answer the question. 30 out of the 43 respondents learned South African indigenous languages either to communicate in the community or at the workplace or to have sense of belonging and acceptance. It is significant to note that there was an equal number of 10 respondents in each category.

None of the 17 respondents who completed polytechnic and training colleges, none of the 33 respondents who completed commercial, secondary and technical and the 23 respondents who completed middle and junior secondary schools was taught in a South African indigenous language. Only one out of the 22 university graduates and one of the five in the last group were taught in a South African indigenous language most of the time.

5. 7. 4. Degree of Confidence with the Use of South African Indigenous Languages

- How confident are you when you communicate in South African African languages? (Please specify each one if they are more than one)

Language 1 ……..

Very confident		Confident		Not so confident		Not confident at all	

Language 2 ……

RESPONDENTS' LEVEL OF EDUCATION	TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO LEARNED A SOUTH AFRICAN LANGUAGE	VERY CONFIDENT	CONFIDENT	NOT SO CONFIDENT	NOT CONFIDENT AT ALL
University	22	8	0	1	5	2
Polytechnic and teacher training colleges	17	7	0	2	5	0
Commercial, Technical and Secondary schools	33	14	2	2	10	0

Middle school and Junior Secondary	23	11	5	4	2	0
Primary school and those who did not indicate their level of education	5	3	0	2	1	0
Total number of respondents	**100**	**43**	**7**	**11**	**23**	**2**

Table 5.19. Confidence with the Use of South African Indigenous Languages

25[8] out of the 43 respondents stated that they were not so confident in speaking the South African indigenous languages they had learned. Yet they continued speaking the languages. Of greater importance is that 18 (which is about 42%) of the total of 43 respondents could speak the languages confidently.

5. 8. USE OF LANGUAGE IN EMPLOYMENT

5. 8. 1. Whether Improving Knowledge of Any of the Languages the Respondents Know Would Improve their Work Prospects

- Now in South Africa, do you think improving your knowledge of any of the languages you know would improve your work prospects? YES OR NO

RESPONDENTS' LEVEL OF EDUCATION	TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO BELIEVED KNOWLEDGE OF A SOUTH AFRICAN LANGUAGE IS IMPORTANT	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO BELIEVED THAT KNOWLEDGE OF SOUTH AFRICAN INDIGENOUS LANGUAGE WAS NOT IMPORTANT	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO LEARNED A SOUTH AFRICAN INDIGENOUS LANGUAGE
University	22	11	11	8
Polytechnic and teacher training colleges	17	11	6	7
Commercial, Technical and Secondary schools	33	28	5	14
Middle school and Junior Secondary	23	19	4	11
Primary school and those who did not indicate their level of education	5	3	2	3
Total number of respondents	**100**	**72**	**28**	**43**

Table 5.20. Knowledge of Languages and Work Prospects

[8] 23 were not so confident and 2 were not confident at all.

Most of the respondents (72) recognised the importance of knowing a South African indigenous language. However, 43 out of the 72 respondents had not learned any South African indigenous language. This analysis therefore suggests that as respondents continued to interact with people at their workplaces and in the community they realised the usefulness of a knowledge of South African indigenous languages.

5. 9. CONCLUSION

The analysis in this chapter demonstrates that the longer the respondents in my study stayed in South Africa the greater the desire and the necessity to know a South African indigenous language. The analysis has also indicated that this desire and the necessity are dependent on the level of the respondents' level of education. Most of the respondents with higher educational qualification were mostly formally employed and consequently were well settled in South Africa. Knowledge of a South African indigenous language was a necessary condition for their professional and social lives in the country.

On the other hand the respondents with lower level of educational qualification were less inclined to settle in the country. Some of them had the intention to travel to other countries they perceived to provide better economic opportunities. This group of respondents did not consider the knowledge of South African indigenous languages as a priority of their stay in South Africa. However, the respondents with lower level of education who remained in South Africa were mostly self-employed in the informal sector where they often interacted with speakers of different South African indigenous languages. These interations created the desire and the need for them to learn South African indigenous languages.

In conclusion, this analysis suggests that the respondents in my study were more likely to choose an English speaking destination country. English is an official language in Ghana. It is the main language of teaching and learning at school and it is also taught as a subject at all levels of education. Indeed, English is the main language of communication in some middle class homes in Ghana. Most Ghanaian migrants have already acquired a level of proficiency in English. Thus, they tend to choose English speaking destination countries where they would be able to communicate in English with the established members of the host communities.

Chapter Six

The Architect, the Dentist and the Businessman: Ghanaian Immigrants who choose to learn a South African indigenous language

6.0. Introduction
6.1. The Architect's Story
6.2. The Dentist's Story
6.3. The Businessman's Story
6.4. Discussion and analysis of the stories of the Architect, the Dentist and the Businessman
6.5. Conclusion

6.0. INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the migration narratives of three professional Ghanaians and discusses their perceptions with regard to the relationship between language and employment in their immigration experiences. Each of the three immigrants described in this chapter is a university graduate. Two work in the formal sector of the South African economy whilst the third one is in the informal sector. The term "formal sector" as used in this research, encompasses Ghanaian immigrants who are employed and work within a specific period in a day and receive remuneration for their work. These workers are also under a direct taxation system where taxes are deducted directly from their monthly salaries.

This analysis chapter is structured into three sections with each section devoted to each of the three participants in the following order:

- The Architect.
- The Dentist and
- The Businessman

The Dentist and the Businessman were survey respondents whilst the Architect was the only one among all 114 respondents who participated in both the survey and the in-depth interviews. The choice of participants for analysis in this chapter as in the case of the other two analysis chapters (chapters 7 and 8) is informed by variations in the participants' careers and their levels of education. The aim was to generate results that are representative of all spheres of life. This creates depth and richness across the stories.

6. 1. The Architect's Story

The data for this story is from the in-depth interview. Amoako[9] was born on the 5th of April, 1946. He was 58 years old when I interviewed him in 2004. He comes from Ajumako in the Central Region of Ghana where he grew up and acquired competence in Fante, his mother tongue. He used only Fante both at home and in the community. English was never spoken in his home because as he said, "*All my family members were illiterate. I mean they never went to school so the question of English was not there in the house at all"*.

6. 1. 1. Key aspects in the Architect's story

1. Education–primary school to the university in Ajumako, Winneba and Kumasi (1952 - 1979)
2. Migration to Nigeria and learning Igbo (1980–1986)
3. Back in Ghana (1986–1996)
4. Visits to South Africa (October 1994 and June 1996)
5. Migration to the Eastern Cape and learning Xhosa (1996–1998)
6. Relocation to Johannesburg and failing to maintain proficiency in Xhosa (1998–2005)
7. Use of English at his workplace and in the community (1998–2005)

6. 1. 2. Education–primary school to the university in Ajumako, Winneba and Kumasi (1952- 1979)

At the age of six in January, 1952 he started a six–year primary education at Ajumako. Then he attended middle school for four years and successfully passed with a Standard 10 certificate. English was the language of teaching and learning. He did not attend a secondary school due to financial difficulties. He was then employed to teach general subjects in a primary school in 1962 at the age of 16. English was used for all subjects except for the Fante language classes.

His desire for social mobility made him quit teaching in 1963 after one year: *"I decided to try and uplift my education so I studied privately on my own and passed the entrance examination to the teacher training college".* He obtained a Teacher's Certificate A after completing a four–year programme (from 1963 to 1967) in general subjects at St. Mary's Training College. Ghanaian, British, Irish and American teachers used only English to teach the general subjects, which included English language, English Literature, Mathematics, History and Geography.

[9] Amoako is a pseudonym for the Architect

In addition to the Teacher Certificate, Amoako was awarded a G. C. E[10]. 'Ordinary' level certificate from London University in 1967 after three years of distance learning with the Rapid Results College (RRC). RRC was a British institution in London that offered distance education through correspondence. The subjects he learned included English language, Fante, Physics, Chemistry, Applied Mathematics, General Mathematics and Additional Mathematics. He explains his achievement in the following comments during my interview with him:

> *Those days also, teacher training colleges were part of the first Kwame Nkrumah's educational system so that teachers could be trained. And there were incentives for people to go into teacher training colleges and we were getting allowances-we were paid… So actually, I used less than 3 years for the G.C. E. O Level and before we completed the Cert. A, I had got the O Levels. So I finished the Cert. A, as I said and just before that, six months before, I had got the O Levels.*

He *"was not exposed to"* French at school, and is not interested in learning it even in the present.

Between 1967 and 1969 he taught in a middle school near Ajumako. In 1970, he enrolled at the Advanced Teacher Training College in Winneba *"to do the Maths specialisation education"* with both Ghanaian and expatriate lecturers and completed it in 1971. He also sat for and passed the G.C.E. 'Advanced' level examinations in Economics, Mathematics and Geography in 1972 through correspondence again with the Rapid Results College. English was the sole language for all activities as he indicated in the following:

> *Usually in the primary schools, even in the teacher training colleges and Iam sure in the secondary schools, it was forbidden really to use your local language. I mean to converse with your friends and so on on campus. So you have to use English language for everything.*

He gained admission in 1973 to Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology in Kumasi for a four–year bachelor's degree in Architecture and followed it with a two-year Master in Architecture and graduated in 1979. English was the sole language of teaching and learning in both programmes.

[10] General Certificate of Education

6. 1. 3. Migration to Nigeria and learning Igbo (1980–1986)

From 1979 to 1980 he did one year of national service[11] at the Planning Division of the Ghana Education Service in Accra. The Planning Division monitors all construction works in the educational institutions in the whole country. Amoako applied to schools and companies in Nigeria for employment during his national service, and a technical school offered him a job.

He left for Nigeria in 1980 apparently for economic reasons, having already been formally employed before his arrival in the country. He states: "*the main reason was that maybe it was also more lucrative in Nigeria in those days than Ghana"*. The fact that the Ghana Education Service refused to grant him study leave with pay for his four-year bachelor's degree, was another reason for this migration. The Ghana Education Service did not consider Architecture to be a teaching subject.

On his arrival in Nigeria, he spent one night in Lagos and proceeded the following day to the technical school located in Imo State in Eastern Nigeria. He taught technical subjects for three months. English was the language of instruction but he needed to understand the Igbo language for social interaction.

> Interviewer: *And then which language basically were they using particularly in that area. I mean the environment. I know Nigeria has a lot of local languages.*
>
> Amoako: *They use Igbo. You know the situation was such that in order for me to communicate with the people I had to learn the language very fast and within the three months that I spent there I was able to communicate very well with the people.*
>
> Interviewer: *What do you mean by "the situation was such that"? What was the situation?*
>
> Amoako: *Except in the classroom where we used English, you could not communicate in any other language with them other than Igbo.*

His competence in the Igbo language created good relationships between himself and the community.

> *It was good. They now accepted me as one of them and some could even invite me to their homes and converse with me and so on. Some could come to me with their problems and all sorts of things.*

[11] A national policy requests all Ghanaian graduates who receive government bursaries for their university education to offer services to the nation. The National Service personnel receive allowances below the normal workers' salaries but they are free to seek employment with full salaries after the years of service.

He eventually resigned his post following the school management's inability to assist him in obtaining a work permit and a residence permit in Nigeria. He then successfully applied for another teaching post at the University of Science and Technology at Port Harcourt and worked there from 1980 to 1986, after which he returned to Ghana.

6. 1. 4. A Return to Ghana (1986–1996)

In October 1988, he was employed as the head of the Monuments division of the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board to monitor *"all those monuments-forts, castles–usually at the coast and then some shrines in the Ashanti Region and Brong Ahafo and some mosques in the Northern part of Ghana"*. English was the main language of communication with occasional use of Twi language as he indicates in the following:

> *Basically the mode of formal communication is English. But everybody speaks a little bit of Twi so at least Twi was the normal second language apart from English.*

6. 1. 5. Visits to South Africa (October 1994 and June 1996)

In December 1993 Amoako's wife, who is a medical doctor working at the Korle Bu Teaching Hospital in Ghana, resigned her post due to a misunderstanding at her workplace and accepted a job offer in the Eastern Cape in South Africa through the help of her medical school classmates. His wife's father was a Fante and her mother a Sefwi thus making her competent in both languages.

Amoako visited his wife in October 1994 with two of their children who remained with their mother and were later joined by their two other children. He returned to Ghana in March 1995 after unsuccessful attempts at getting a job in South Africa. In June 1996, Amoako was on seven months leave and again visited his family. His family insisted on his staying with them and he decided to make a move to South Africa.

6. 1. 6. Migration to the Eastern Cape and learning to speak Xhosa (1996–1998)

In the Eastern Cape he was employed in a private architectural firm to head the company's branch office in Umtata. The firm received contracts to build government schools, clinics and community centres. Similar to the language situation in the Imo State in Nigeria, Amoako was faced with communicative imperatives in the Eastern Cape. He had expected to use English, Ghanaian languages and a South African indigenous language for the purpose of *"work and interaction with family and friends"*.

English was the official language at his workplace but he needed Xhosa to effectively work with artisans in particular.

> *Again my work meant that I had to go out to construction sites-so many places–and our meetings and so on were all in English, of course, but to talk to the artisans, for instance, they couldn't speak English so I had to really learn their language–the Xhosa.*

He used interpreters at the beginning but later learned Xhosa using the following means:

> *I had,in fact,to buy a pack of Xhosa language, tapes and other materials.I had to so that I could understand the workers. So it was very important point for me to do it.*

He eventually gained competence: *"And I managed.In two years I was able to learn the basics so I could converse"*. The following interview describes his emotions and the reactions of the community regarding his acquisition.

> *Yeah.I mean it's initially it was hard. I had to find some interpreter to be able to try and understand the artisans,for instance. But later when I was getting the words one by one and finally I was able to converse–a good conversation–it gave me my…probably my…I don't know what word to use but I felt at home and it became easier for me to work and enjoy the job.*
>
> Interviewer: *And the attitudes of the people?*
>
> Amoako: *Very, very good. Again, the way, I mean the way I was able to probably get the language so fast really amazed me again and they…, just like what I experienced in Nigeria, yes, they feel that you are one of them. Then they can then approach you and talk to you and chat with you and all sorts of things. So it's probably to be able to speak and understand the people and also for them to also understand what they want is a good experience, really.*

He lived and worked in the Eastern Cape for two years (1996 to 1998) and then relocated to Johannesburg.

6. 1. 7. Relocation to Johannesburg and failing to maintain proficiency in Xhosa (1998–2005)

Believing that he was overqualified for the job in the architectural firm, he was also looking for a better job whilst working there. He was finally employed in the Department of Architecture at the University of the Witwatersrand, started work on the 1st May 1998 and lived in the suburb of Blairgowrie in Randburg. His wife also got employment in Johannesburg, resigned her post in the Eastern Cape and joined him with their children in 2000. They relocated to Edenvale also in Johannesburg.

6. 1. 8. Use of English at his workplace and in the community (1998–2005)

English was his main language of communication at the University of the Witwatersrand and for social interactions together with occasional use of Xhosa in Johannesburg. He describes his use of language in the following excerpts:

> Amoako: *Xhosa…Unfortunately when I left for Johannesburg, I don't have the people to talk to me and so on and so I have forgotten some of my Xhosa. But I still talk to some of them here. For instance, the cleaners and so on, just to at least greet them in the language in a few words.*
>
> Interviewer: *Okay, now how are you settling in? I mean,how have you settled in? Let me ask it that way.*
>
> Amoako: *Yeah. No, it's fine. Everything… it's fine. When I came in 1998, there was another Black person in the department, the present Dean -the Dean of Engineering and Built Environment, Professor Nkando. When I came in 1998, he was here but the other staff were all white, of course, English and so on. And even with Professor Nkando, we don't share any other common language apart from English. He is from Igbo, Nigeria so the little Igbo that I got from there is what I use to relate to him but generally it's English, of course, yes. I think as at now the Black percentage in the staff is a little higher. I think we have about 5…4 others. Again,I think from Nigeria, from Tanzania, I think from Kenya, from Botswana and then from Ghana. Again, it's also different set of group so it's again, we use English.*
>
> Interviewer: *And then, when you move outside campus?…I mean in terms of shopping or Having other social activities outside campus, which communication do you…*
>
> Amoako: *English.*

As a regular user of English for 50 years, he believed that all South Africans and Ghanaians responded well to his use of English, which made his *"work easier*. *I am able to get information across to my students and vice–versa; able to communicate with superiors, colleagues, subordinates and friends"*. He used English "*all the time at work for instruction and conversation"* since English *"is the official language for work at my workplace"*.

His stay in South Africa had been pleasant. *"I am happy with my job"* because *"it is suitable for my qualification and experience.* As of 2006 he hoped to live in South Africa for the *"next 6 years"*.

6. 2. The Dentist's Story

The data for this story is from the survey questionnaire. Ofori[12] was between the age of 46 and 55 when he participated in the survey in 2005. He was born in an Nzema speaking area in the Western Region of Ghana but his parents are both Fantes and

[12] Ofori is a pseudonym for the Dentist

brought him up speaking Fante to him. However, since the people of his birthplace mix Nzema and Fante, he grew up speaking both languages, which he could also read and write.

6. 2. 1. Key aspects in the Dentist's story

1. Education–primary to university in Ghana.
2. Migration to Nigeria and return to Ghana (1980–1984).
3. Migration to South Africa (1993–2005).
4. Learning Sotho and use of Ghanaian languages.
5. Living in South Africa.

6. 2. 2. Education-primary to university in Ghana

He attended primary school and continued with his education to the university level in Ghana and graduated with a degree in dentistry. English was mostly used for teaching and learning. His formal education made him proficient in English which he had been using for about 40 years. Ofori also studied French to the G.C.E. 'ordinary' level but he has since "*made no attempt to further his level of literacy in the French language"*.

6. 2. 3. Migration to Nigeria and return to Ghana (1980–1984)

Ofori migrated in 1980 to Nigeria where he mostly communicated in English. He then returned to Ghana in 1984 after a 4–year sojourn and got employed at the Korle–Bu Teaching Hospital in Accra. He worked at the hospital as a dentist for 10 years which he described as "*pleasant but financially not rewarding"*.

6. 2. 4. Migration to South Africa (1993–2005)

After his 10 years of service in Ghana, he migrated to South Africa in 1993 "*to seek fortune"*. He stayed in South Africa for one year without a job. He eventually entered into a private dental practice in Vereeniging, where he also lived with his spouse and three children.

Before his arrival in South Africa, he understood that English and South African indigenous languages would be most useful to him. He stated that

> *Most people (in South Africa) understand English but also local S A. languages are dominant amongst the black people I consulted.*

In this regard, English was particularly important for him as he explains in the following:

> *Being able to speak English helped a lot in securing employment because the host country*

has English as official language even though our accent is considered undesirable.

His "*competence in English* (also) *helped me with further studies in S.A.since most universities are bilingual"*.

However, Ofori's use of English created some negative responses. Some South Africans "*frown upon"* him whenever he spoke English. "*Also the accent I use in English is considered inferior"*. More importantly, "*some patients prefer to be spoken to in local S.A. language".* He therefore used an interpreter to communicate with most of his patients*.*

6. 2. 5. Learning Sotho in South Africa

Ofori's desire to have direct communication with his patients compelled him to learn Sotho through "*private study from lessons recorded on tapes".* One of his reasons for learning Sotho was that "*I live in a Sotho speaking area and would communicate well with my patients"*. For about 10 years he used Sotho to interact with the staff and to record his patients' history. He thus learned new vocabulary and improved on his knowledge of the language. His language experiences made him believe that the use of language affected the attitudes of people towards him at the workplace as "*some people expect a black man to speak local language"*.

6. 2. 6. Living in South Africa

"*Less bureaucracy in the public service"* made Ofori happy to stay in South Africa. Though his dentist duties were "*very stressful",* he still enjoyed his job due to the "*recognition"* he received at work and the availability of *"equipment to work with"*. Above all, Ofori related well to his colleagues and clients who were mostly "*happy"* with him and "*showed gratitude with Christmas and festival cards".*

To him, a knowledge of languages is important in the workplace "*for effective communication without being misinterpreted by interpreters".* And having realised that "*most people"* in South Africa "*and generally the black people understand Zulu"*, he considered it useful to know Zulu and may want to learn it as well.

6. 3. The Businessman's Story

The data for this story is from the survey questionnaire. Jojo[13] was between 36–45 years when I conducted the survey in 2005 in Johannesburg. His father and mother could speak Ewe, Ga, Ada, Hausa and English (five languages) but his parents used only Ewe and English to communicate with him. As in the case of many Ghanaian middle class homes, Jojo's parents chose to use English for interaction with him. Ewe speaking parents also mostly communicate in the Ewe language as a way of socialising their children into their culture.

6. 3. 1. Key aspects in the Businessman's story

1. Linguistic profile
2. Education from primary to university in Ghana
3. Migration to Nigeria, Togo and Cote d'Ivoire (1991-1996)
4. Migration to South Africa (2002–2005)
5. Use of languages in South Africa (2002–2005)
6. Work experience in South Africa (2002–2005)

6. 3. 2. Linguistic profile of the Businessman

Jojo learned three Ghanaian languages namely Twi, Ewe and Ga and could read and write Ewe and Twi very well. He explained how he learned these three languages in the following way:

> *Ewe is my mother tongue and Akan* (Twi) *is the commonest language so I learned it in the community and I also learned Ga through friends.*

Ga is the dominant language spoken in Accra where Jojo lived and worked so he was able to learn it. The use of English at home made him proficient in the language.

6. 3. 3. Education from primary to university in Ghana

He completed his primary, secondary and university education in Ghana and obtained a bachelor's degree in Accounting. English was the main language of teaching and learning at all levels of his education. He also learned French at school and found French useful as an international language. The following were his views:

> (French) *İt's also one of the normal languages commonly used in European countries*. *I did use French during my travels because French and English they go hand in hand.*[14]

[13] Pseudonym for the businessman

[14] These comments are Jojo's response to question 1 on page 5 and questions 2 and 3 on page 6. All the questions are under the French section.

Between 1991 and 1996 Jojo lived in Nigeria, Togo and Cote d'Ivoire.

6. 3. 4. Migration to Nigeria, Togo and Cote d'Ivoire (1991-1996)

He migrated to Nigeria from 1991 to 1992, Togo from 1992 to 1994 and then to Cote d'Ivoire from 1995 to 1996. Jojo did not assign any particular reasons of migrating to these countries. French was his main language of communication in both Togo and Cote d'Ivoire and English in Nigeria. His knowledge of French and English made him comfortable in these countries even though he did not have friends or relatives in these countries. He declared that "*I did not encounter any problems due to my own experiences* (with the use of language)"[15]. In 1996 he returned to Ghana, spent about three years looking for a job and was finally employed in 1999 as an accountant in Accra. He worked there for three years and then migrated to South Africa in 2002.

6. 3. 5. Migration to South Africa (2002–2005)

Jojo arrived in South Africa on the Ist of May 2002 with the purpose of doing international business. He was inclined to emigrate for economic reasons, which suggests that the poor standard of living in Ghana and relatively better economic conditions in South Africa made him decide that it was an opportune time to migrate to South Africa. He settled at Ridgeway in the South Rand with his wife and child and became a supplier of hair products.

6. 3. 6. Use of languages in South Africa (2002–2005)

His competence in English became very important to him in South Africa. He commented that

> *Because it is the official language 90% of normal daily activities I have been using English. Receipts, signing receiving goods and selling goods* (are the kinds of writing in English I do) *during business hour*.

English was his medium of communication for 16 hours a day with his customers at work and for casual conversations in the community. With regard to South African indigenous languages, Jojo thought that Zulu would help him the most since it is the most common African language spoken.

[15] My emphasis

Other languages were equally important to Jojo. He communicated in three Ghanaian languages (Ewe[16], Twi and Ga) with his colleagues and some customers at work as well as his Ghanaian friends. On the other hand Venda, Xhosa and Afrikaans were difficult for him to learn despite his having lived in the country for more than three years. Indeed, he stated that

> *Language had been a barrier in friendships for me due to* a *mix of different kinds of people*.

Thus, different kinds of people with different languages made it difficult for him to have South African friends. Eventually however he commented that

> *I have learned Zulu in Johannesburg through friends and within the community*.

Even though he was "*not so confident"* in communicating in Zulu, he used Zulu at work with his fellow workers and customers for business and communication. He recognised the dominance and importance of Zulu in Johannesburg as he mentioned in the following:

> *It is the common language and one is expected to speak Zulu.*

People, however, "*could see that this guy is not a South African"* whenever he used Zulu to communicate.

6. 3. 7. Work experience in South Africa (2002–2005)

His stay in South Africa was pleasant to him. He commented that

> *I came to* (South Africa) *with my own job. I have learned international business skills because of international regulations for business and I plan to stay here as long as business permits*[17]

He enjoyed his job as a supplier of hair products as the attitudes of his workers and customers were friendly. The attitudes of people towards him in the workplace were not adversely affected as a result of his limited knowledge of South African indigenous languages. He, however, believed that knowledge of languages is important at workplace for the following reason:

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[16] Ewe is a Niger-Congo language with about 3 million speakers in Ghana, Togo and Benin. The language is also known as Ebwe, Efe, Ehwe, Eibe, Eue, Eve, Gbe, Krepe, Krepi, Popo and Vhe (http://www.omniglot.com/writing/ewe.htm).

[17] I put this statement together using Jojo's responses to questions 2, 3 and 6 on page 12 of the survey questionnaire

> *It's a normal routine* (to have a knowledge of languages)[18] *because language, it helps customers in different channels*.

Thus, multilingual workers can communicate with a variety of customers. This can positively contribute to the growth of the business or organisation. What follows (6. 4.) is the discussion and analysis of stories of Amoako, Ofori and Jojo.

6. 4. Discussion and analysis of the stories of the Architect, the Dentist and the Businessman

In this section I will discuss and reflect on all the three stories in the following order: economic motive for migration (6.4.1), family circumstances and migration (6.4.2), contexts of use of language (6.4.3), the 'macro' and 'micro'–contexts of learning Igbo in Nigeria and Xhosa in Eastern Cape (6.4.4), 'push' and 'pull' factors of destination language learning (6.4.5.), 'germination' factors of destination language learning (6.4.6), bridging the 'insider' and 'outsider' identities (6.4.7) and investment and identity (6.4.8).

6. 4. 1. Family circumstances and migration

6. 4. 1. 1. Amoako's family circumstances and migration

The situation of Amoako's wife migrating before him was out of the norm. It is quite unusual for a wife to migrate before she is joined by her husband. Studies conducted with regard to demographic constitution of Ghanaian immigrants indicate that men dominate the number of Ghanaians who emigrate (Anarfi, 1982, 1989; Twum–Baah, Nabila et al. 1995; Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographics Institute (NIDI), 2000 in Anarfi, Kwankye et al. 2003). Thus, Ghanaian men are more likely to migrate first followed with the re-union of their family members. Anarfi, Kwankye et al. (2003: 19) explain that

> Societal norms and traditions of most tribes (if not all) in Ghana are such that there is a bias in favour of men and discrimination against women.

However, as a qualified medical doctor, Amoako's wife stood a better chance of getting employed in South Africa than her husband who is an architect. In the early 1990s, there was a greater demand for medical doctors especially in the black communities in South Africa than architects and black lecturers. A 1997 Human Rights Watch sums up the doctor-to-patient ratio in South Africa in 1996.

[18] My addition

> There is a national average of 4.2 doctors per 10,000 people, against an international recommended average of 4.9; but within South Africa, Gauteng Province has a ratio of 9.1 to 10,000, while Northern Province, at the other extreme, has a ratio of 0.9 per 10,000. When only doctors in the public sector are taken into account, the national ratio decreases to 1.8 per 10,000. (Human Rights Watch, 1997, www.hrw.org).

The then Deputy President Thabo Mbeki attributed this shortfall partly to the emigration of South African doctors and "the aggressive recruiting campaigns by organisations in relatively wealthy countries, who find it much cheaper to buy individual doctors from South Africa than to train a sufficient number of their own citizens as medical graduates" (Mbeki, 1996, www.dfa.gov.za).

6. 4. 1. 2. Ofori's family circumstances and migration

Ofori was between the age of 46 and 55 years. Similar to Amoako, he was married and his spouse and children were living in Vereeniging in South Africa. He is unlike other married Ghanaians, who usually do not migrate for long and mostly leave their spouses and children in Ghana. After settling in the host country, migrants may bring their spouses and children to live with them (Peil, 1995). This suggests an intended extended stay in South Africa, which might have influenced his need to learn a South African indigenous language.

6. 4. 1. 3. Jojo's family circumstances and migration

Jojo was between 36–45 years of age when I interviewed him in 2005. As in the case of Amoako and Ofori, Jojo also lived with his family. Ghanaians in particular and immigrants in general seem to prefer living with their spouses in the host countries. 48% of the respondents in my survey were married, 25% were not yet married and 27% did not answer the question. 34% of the married ones were living with their spouses in South Africa with only 14% having left their wives in Ghana. Similarly, 49% of 501 respondents in McDonald's (1999) survey, also in South Africa, were either married or living with a partner. The following sections consider the motives for migration.

6. 4. 2. Economic motives for migration

6. 4. 2. 1. Amoako's economic motives for migration

As I stated earlier after one year of national service in Ghana Amoako sojourned in Nigeria for about six years–1980 to 1986- with his main reason being economic: "*it was also more…more lucrative maybe in Nigeria in those days than Ghana"*.

6. 4. 2. 2. Ofori's Economic motives for migration

Ofori lived in Nigeria from 1980 to 1984. He did not state his motives for migrating to Nigeria. However, this was the period when poor economic conditions in Ghana compelled many young professionals to migrate to Nigeria for a better standard of living. It is therefore not far–fetched to infer that economic incentives prompted Ofori to leave Ghana for Nigeria.

6. 4. 2. 3. Jojo's Economic motives for migration

Jojo arrived in South Africa in 2002 for the following reason:

> *I came to South Africa purposely for business; just to expand international trade*.

Business in the form of trading, hawking and vending appears to be the most attractive occupation for African immigrants. 30% of 501 respondents in McDonald's (1999) study were involved in this kind of business. This is the highest number followed by 23% in the armed forces or the security sector. Similarly, a number of African immigrants in the United States are engaged in businesses in many cities in the country (Okome, 1999). Rogerson (1997) also reports that 65% of his respondents engaged in business in Johannesburg were operating businesses in one form or the other in their home countries.

The above discussion suggests that African immigrants find it more viable to create jobs for themselves in the informal sector instead of competing for jobs in the formal sector. This makes them more enterprising than most people in the communities they settle in. This is contrary to the general perception that immigrants 'steal' jobs from nationals (Maharaj, 2004). Jojo was importing hair products and distributing them to wholesalers who sold them to retailers.

McDonald (1999: 10) observes that "…some are creating jobs for South Africans, and bringing goods and skills to the country that might not otherwise be available". Jojo was such a person. The fact that Jojo is a university graduate engaged in business in Johannesburg is consistent with findings of Rogerson's (1997: 11) study which reported that "almost half of the non-SADC businesses were operated by individuals with university-equivalent or post-graduate qualifications".

6. 4. 3. Other motives for migration

Jojo migrated to Nigeria from 1991 to 1992, Togo from 1992 to 1994 and Cote d'Ivoire from 1995 to 1996. All these countries are located in the West African sub-region. Adepoju (2000: 2) contends that

> Migration is historically a way of life in West Africa. Over the generations, people have migrated in response to demographic, economic, political and related factors: population pressure, environmental disasters, poor economic conditions, conflicts and the effects of macro-economic adjustment programmes.

As a result, Article 27 of the Economic Community of West African States makes provision for the free movement of nationals from these countries within the sub–region. Nationals cross borders without visas and can stay for 90 days (Adepoju, 2000). They may also apply for residence and seek employment in member states (Anarfi, Kwankye et al, 2003). Adepoju (2000: 3) states further that highly skilled workers from Ghana and Nigeria had been migrating to almost all African countries 'pushed' by poor remuneration at home and 'pulled' by "relatively higher salaries and better conditions" in the destination countries.

Against this backdrop, I infer that these political and economic factors motivated Jojo to emigrate from Ghana to Nigeria, Togo and Cote d'Ivoire. One cannot also ignore the geographical proximity of these countries to Ghana as an important "pull" factor for Jojo. Mitchell (1989: 36 in Petkou, 2005: 105) also observes that "Africans rarely travel long distances if they can make money under satisfactory conditions at home". This emphasizes proximity as a significant consideration for African immigrants.

Jojo's proficiency in English and French, which he had already acquired before his travels, may well have been an important "push" factor enabling his free movement in these countries. French was his main language of communication in both Togo and Cote d'Ivoire and English in Nigeria. For example, he believed that French and English are common international languages. Togo and Cote d'Ivoire are Francophone countries with French as the official language whilst Nigeria is Anglophone with English as the official language.

6. 4. 4. Contexts of use of language

6. 4. 4. 1. Contexts of Amoako's use of Igbo in Nigeria and Xhosa in the Eastern Cape

Amoako's use of Igbo was complex. He was eager to acquire competence in Igbo, when he realized the need to know the language. This sense of urgency is demonstrated in the space of time that he used to learn the language as in the following phrases: "*within the three months that I spent there I was able to communicate very well with the people"*. He managed to acquire competence in a relatively short time contrary to Chiswick's and Miller's (1998: 2) assertion that proficiency in destination languages correlates to a "longer period of time" spent in the destination country.

Possible similarities between the Fante language, which is Amoako's mother tongue and Igbo could be one of the reasons for his rapid acquisition. Both Igbo and Akan (the language of which Fante is a dialect) are languages of the Kwa branch of the Niger–Congo family (*The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1987) making them cognate languages. Similar lexical items in Fante and Igbo as well as the strategies in Fante and English could have aided Amoako's acquisition of Igbo. Immigrants' communicative skills in the form of non-verbal performance and strategies in the languages they already know "can be used from the onset while they progressively acquire the target language's lexical items and rules" (Allwood et al., 1983: 3).

Amoako's successful use of Igbo created a dynamic social context of good relationships between him and the community.

> *It was good. They now accepted me as one of them and some could even invite me to their homes and converse with me and so on. Some could come to me with their problems and all sorts of things.*

This comment underlines the sense of feeling of social integration into the new society. This integration is exemplified in the invitations to people's homes and sharing of mutual problems, making Amoako a partaker in people's social activities.

Amoako's acquisition of Xhosa was also complex. He had to go through a painful and gradual process in order to learn Xhosa at the age of fifty years as is evident in the following: "*But later when I was getting the words one by one and finally I was able to converse"*. His success with learning the Xhosa language is also consistent with the

attitudes of immigrants in general. The selection argument with regard to migration states that "immigrants are more able and more highly motivated…" (Chiswick, 1978: 900). In my opinion, Amoako's own determination to do his job together with the positive attitudes of the Xhosa speakers might have contributed to his proficiency in the language.

Of further significance is Amoako's personal motivation with regard to academic learning and his linguistic background. He studied privately to pass an entrance examination to a teacher training college at the age of 17 years. He also passed both ordinary and advanced levels of the General Certificate Examinations through correspondence with the Rapid Results College of London University. He sat for both examinations alongside his full time studies at a teacher training college and an advanced teacher training respectively. The same motivation and attitudes could have influenced his acquisition of Xhosa.

Genesee, Lindholm-Leary, Saunders and Christian (2005 in Gitomer, Andal and Davison, 2005: 4) argue that migrant students in the United States learn English much better when they "have more developed language skills in their native language". Amoako is very proficient in Fante, his native language. He taught himself in Fante and passed it at the General Certificate Examination Ordinary level. He was, therefore, likely to acquire a destination language more easily because of competence in his native language and perhaps other languages as well.

Amoako's acquisition of Xhosa emerged from interactional routines. Adult second language learners tend to acquire interactional routines which contribute to attainment of proficiency in the target language as illustrated in the following statement by Amoako.

> *Yeah. I mean initially it was hard. I had to find some interpreter to be able to try and understand the artisans, for instance. But later when I was getting the words one by one and finally I was able to converse–a good conversation–it gave me my…probably my… I don't know what word to use but I felt at home and it became easier for me to work and enjoy the job.*

Out of the daily social interaction between adult immigrants and the native speech community emerges proficiency in the target language. Canagarajah (2007: 931) points out that "one's competence is based on the repertoire that grows as the contexts of interaction increase". Amoako had to learn Xhosa gradually. Perhaps, as the members

of the community noticed his interest in acquiring the language, their interactions with him also increased. The immediate rewards for Amoako's efforts and investment were a sense of belonging and job satisfaction.

His knowledge in Xhosa thus restored the desired connection which led to better job satisfaction and a feeling of joy in his work place. The use of the word "*easier"* in contrast with the initial language difficulties underscores the complexity of Amoako's situation and the subsequent change and relief.

Unlike the view in the literature of immigration and language acquisition that immigrants who live with their spouses and share the same language of the source country tend not to learn a destination language, the fact that Amoako lived with his spouse had little negative effect on his learning Xhosa (Chiswick & Miller, 2004; Djajic, 2003). His success at learning Xhosa language within two years was a surprise to himself. This surprise undermines the assumption in the literature that older age and cohabitation with a spouse who speaks the same language as an immigrant husband impedes second language learning.

Of more importance is that his competence created a dynamic context of better understanding, trust and mutual respect between him and the workers. In his opinion, immigrants' ability to "*speak and understand"* the wants and needs of people in the host speech community and for the people to understand the same about immigrants, tends to be a living experience that the immigrants forfeit when they lack competence in the destination language.

Amoako's evaluation of the result of his efforts at learning Xhosa is quite illuminating and suggests another dynamic context of language learning. Having overcome the language barrier, he sees the new situation as propelling him into an environment or conditions that he has been yearning for.

> *Again, the way, I mean the way I was able to probably get the language so fast really amazed me again and they…, just like what I experienced in Nigeria, yes, they feel that you are one of them. Then they can then approach you and talk to you and chat with you and all sorts of things.*

This new relationship was ongoing and maintained through the use of Xhosa.

6. 4. 4. 2. Contexts of Ofori's use of Sotho

Ofori's use of Sotho was complex. As an immigrant dentist, he experienced both linguistic and cultural barriers. His language experiences made him acknowledge the importance of knowing languages at his workplace "*for effective communication without being misinterpreted by interpreters"*. Communication difficulties are likely to occur in the relationship between a doctor and a patient. These difficulties tend to be pronounced and complex "where there is a diversity of language and cultures" between the two parties (Penn, 2007: 71). Ofori and his South African patients have different cultures and languages which initially made the doctor and patient relations difficult.

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His use of Sotho was also dynamic. Ofori had to adapt to the dynamic contexts of the use of Sotho both at his workplace and the community. Dwight Atkinson, Churchill, Nishino & Okada (2007: 172) define language learning as

> Trajectories of ecological experience and repertoires of participation, gained in the process of adaptive dynamic…in the activities of human beings acting–thinking–being–aligning in and to the world. Alignment in this case includes the learner coming into coordinated interaction with the language being learned, in tandem with the full array of socio-cognitive affordances.

Ofori adapted to the communicative context by using interpreters. As a dentist, he might have thought that inaccurate interpretation of information could lead to medical complications for his patients. He, therefore, took another adaptive decision to learn a South African indigenous language so that he himself could write down his patients' histories and not work through interpreters.

His choice of Sotho as the South African indigenous language to learn is also an example of adaptive and dynamic decision making. He lived in Vereeniging, which is a Sotho speaking area, thus the context is affordance rich. He thought then that improving his knowledge of Sotho would improve his work prospects. He eventually perceived this context and his patients as affordances for acquiring Sotho language.

Ofori also used Sotho to realise his personal interests and serve the interests of the community. His comments that "*some patients prefer to be spoken to in local S.A language"*, *"some expect a Black man to speak local language"* and "*I would communicate well with my patients"* suggest Ofori's realisation of the interests of the

community and his preparedness to satisfy these interests. Canagarajah (2007: 933) believes that

> What brings people together in communities is not what they share–language, discourse, or values–but interests to be accomplished. These mutual interests would permit individuals to move in and out of multiple communities to accomplish their goals, without considering prior traits that are innate or that are exclusively shared with others.

'Interests' here refers to goals or objectives to be derived in a relationship. Thus, as a foreign born health professional who did not share a common local language with the community it would be in his interest to provide efficient services to the community. The community would also benefit from his service as a dentist.

In this way, the micro-context of the socio-cultural ecology of the community necessitated the acquisition of a South African indigenous language. In the view of van Lier (2004) "learning language crucially relies on how the learner, as an active participant in meaningful activity, learns to perceive language". Through the interactions with patients, staff and other people at his workplace, Ofori's perception of language was that his use of English was not appreciated and it hampered his efficient service delivery. With regard to his personal aspirations, his acquisition of a local language was also likely to make him a better professional and a good member of the community. Schieffelin and Ochs (1986: 168) state that

> The process of acquiring language is deeply affected by the process of becoming a competent member of society. The process of becoming a competent member of society is realised to a large extent through language, by acquiring knowledge of its functions, social distribution, and interpretations in and across socially defined situations.

Ofori appears to have recognised the interdependence of a knowledge of Sotho and his desire of becoming a member of this community.

6. 4. 4. 3. Contexts of Jojo's use of Zulu

Jojo ultimately learned Zulu and I argue in this section that both the process he adopted to learn the language as well as the use of the language were complex, dynamic and emergent. Learning a language in a multilingual context could be complex. Jojo mentioned that he learned Zulu "*because that is the commonest language in South Africa"*. In Johannesburg where 73% of the population speak nine South African languages, Jojo was exposed to other languages. Thus, the ability to focus on one

language out of many could be challenging and complex. There are constant interferences from the other languages. These conditions required particular attentiveness to ensure successful learning.

Jojo's use of Zulu in the workplace was complex because of the power relations between him and his customers and fellow workers. He mostly communicated in Zulu with his customers and fellow workers who were mainly South Africans. My view is that there were unequal social relations between Jojo, who was the manager and his workers on one hand and his position as a supplier and the customers on the other hand. Jojo commanded greater authority in both cases. Expounding on the notion of social class distinctions, Wolfram and Shilling-Estes (1998: 152) explain that

> Ultimately, social class distinctions seem to be based upon status and power, where, roughly speaking, status refers to the amount of respect and deference accorded to a person and power refers to the social and material resources a person can command as well as the ability to make decisions and influence events.

Thus in his status as a manager and a supplier, Jojo was likely to be more casual and free in speaking Zulu to the customers and workers and consequently improve on his knowledge of Zulu in the process. On the other hand, the workers and customers would not always be encouraged to interfere in Jojo's use of Zulu even when they noticed apparent errors and possible deviations. Indeed, he mentioned that his use of language did not affect the attitudes of people towards him at the workplace. He also enjoyed good relationships with his customers. Therefore, I inferred that there was an interplay of power relations between him and his customers and workers making the context of language use more complex.

Jojo's means of learning Zulu was also dynamic. He learned Zulu through friends and established members of the speech community in Johannesburg. On reflection it would appear to me that constant interaction with people would involve a variety of situations and diverse approaches to issues which would demand creative and innovative use of language. On the other hand, the friends and established members of the community had different backgrounds and characteristics with multiple attitudes making the context of language use dynamic.

He stated that he was not so confident in speaking Zulu but he used the language all the same. De Bot, Lowie and Verspoor (2005: 14) state that "It has been shown that when people learn an L2, the development is not straightforward, with lots of variation especially just before a certain construction becomes more stable". In the light of Jojo's admission of lack of confidence in speaking Zulu and the observation made by De Bot, Lowie, and Verspoor (2005), I infer that there were errors in Jojo's use of Zulu, which required self corrections or corrections by his interlocutors. These errors and the corresponding corrections, which were constantly changing, created another dynamic context for Jojo's use of Zulu.

His own attitude towards the use of Zulu was also dynamic. He stated that some people could notice that he was not a South African when he sometimes communicated in Zulu. However, people's negative comments and criticism marginally impacted on him. He was prepared not to feel discouraged in order to deepen his knowledge of the language. Against this backdrop, each situated context of the use of Zulu continuously required a change of attitude and determination to learn and use the language. Since he greatly enjoyed his job as a businessman, he was equally passionate about the importance of a knowledge of languages at the workplace. His view was that

> *It's a normal routine* (to have a knowledge of languages at the workplace)[19] *because language, it helps customers in different channels*.

This perception underscores Jojo's choice to learn Zulu particularly for the progress of his business.

His proficiency in Zulu emerged from the consistent use of the language with friends, other established members of the community as well as his customers and workers.

6. 4. 5. 'Macro' and 'micro'-contexts of destination language learning

6. 4. 5. 1. 'Macro' and 'micro'-contexts of learning Igbo and Xhosa

Amoako acquired Igbo when he migrated to Nigeria in 1980. The micro-context of his school environment in Nigeria required the use of English for teaching and learning as well as communication with his colleagues and students. However, the "macro"–context

[19] My addition

of the Igbo community demanded a knowledge of Igbo language. He was therefore compelled by the social circumstances to learn Igbo and mostly used it for social purposes in the community.

Between 1996 and 1998, he also learned Xhosa in the Eastern Cape of South Africa. However, his language experience appeared to be different from that of acquiring Igbo. The language for interaction in the "micro"-context of his workplace was English but the language he needed to perform his duties in the "micro"-context of the construction sites was Xhosa considering that the artisans he worked with spoke Xhosa, which was also the language of that "macro"-context of the community. He used interpreters as a short term measure and eventually and voluntarily learned Xhosa mainly to enable him function effectively in the work place. However, he used Xhosa at the construction sites and in the community as well.

6. 4. 5. 2. 'Macro' and 'micro'-contexts of learning Sotho

Similar to Amoako's situation in the Eastern Cape, Ofori learned Sotho whilst working in predominantly Sotho–speaking community of Vereeniging. English was the required language of the micro–context of the hospital where he worked. But again, as in Amoako's case with the artisans (6. 4. 4.1.), Ofori's patients also preferred the use of Sotho, which is the language of the macro–context of the community. Ofori initially opted for interpreters and finally chose to learn Sotho for good service delivery. This is another similarity between Ofori and Amoako.

6. 4. 5. 3. 'Macro' and 'micro'–contexts of learning Zulu

English was the main language of interaction in the 'micro'-context of Jojo's workplace. He used English to write receipts, to sign for goods and sell goods. He also used three Ghanaian languages of Ewe, Twi and Ga as well. The linguistic landscape of the 'macro'-context of Johannesburg is complex. All eleven official languages of South Africa and other languages are spoken in the 'macro'-context of the Gauteng Province where Johannesburg is located with the following as the dominant languages: Zulu (21,5%), Afrikaans, (14,4%), Sesotho (13,1%), English (12,5%) and Sepedi (10,7%) (SA 2001 Census).

Even though Jojo was proficient in English and conducted 90% of his daily activities in English, he recognised the importance of learning Zulu which is one of the languages in the 'macro'-context of the speech community of Johannesburg. Thus, as a self-employed hair products supplier with his business located in the inner city, Jojo was economically motivated to learn Zulu for the purpose of running his business.

6. 4. 6. 'Push' and 'pull' factors of destination language learning

I argue in this section that there were 'push' and 'pull' factors that propelled the Architect, the Dentist and the Businessman to learn Igbo, Xhosa, Sotho and Zulu. I refer to the social, economic, cultural and physical conditions in their backgrounds as well as any internal conditions that moved them to learn these languages as the 'push' factors. The internal conditions include personal desire, frustration, struggle and interest. I emphasise here that the respondents may have experienced these internal conditions in the destination countries. However, so long as they are personal I consider them to be 'push' factors because the respondents are 'pushed' by what is in them.

The 'pull' factors include similar conditions in the Igbo, Xhosa, Sotho and Zulu speech communities in the Imo State in Nigeria, in the Eastern Cape, Vereeniging and Johannesburg in South Africa that attracted them to learn the languages. The 'pull' factors are thus physical and outward or attitudes and behaviour of the established members of the destination speech communities.

Examples of "push"and "pull" factors of learning Igbo, Xhosa, Sotho and Zulu

Examples of 'push' factors of language learning	Examples of 'pull' factors of language learning
1. Multilingual background	1. Status of Zulu
2. Educational background	2. Location of business
3. Interest in learning a South African indigenous language	3. Clients' preference for Sotho
4. Importance of language in performing duties	4. Expectation of the speech community
5. Perception of negative use of English	5. Positive attitudes of the speech community
6. Experience with the use of English and an African language	6. Lukewarm attitudes of established members of speech community
7. Determination to overcome communication barriers	7. Affordance rich environments
8.Success with past language difficulties	8. Intended length of stay

Table 6.1. Examples of "push"and "pull" factors of learning Igbo, Xhosa, Sotho and Zulu

6. 4. 6. 1. 'Push' and 'pull' factors of learning Igbo

Amoako taught at a technical school for three months in the Imo State, where he used English in the classroom but his social interaction with the speech community outside the classroom required the use of Igbo, making it a 'pull' factor for him to learn the Igbo language. Thus, he needed Igbo, which he eventually learned, in the macro-context of the community whilst English dominated the micro-context of his work environment. This situation is a part of my interpretation of the 'push'–'pull' factors for immigrants' language learning.

The attitude of the Igbo speaking people towards people outside their community was also a 'pull' factor. He states that "*except in the classroom where we used English, you could not communicate in any other language with them other than Igbo*". This was an invitation from the speech community for integration through learning and using the Igbo language.

Igbo is the language of the Igbo ethnic group located in South-Eastern Nigeria. The Igbo language, with more that 5 million speakers (*Encyclopedia Americana*, 2001), together with Hausa and Yoruba are the three main national languages of Nigeria. Imo State is therefore affordance rich for acquisition of the Igbo language, making it a 'pull' factor since it emanates from the speech community. In addition, "the Igbos place great emphasis on individual achievements and initiative…" (www.kwenu.com). Perhaps, in line with their sense of communal unity, Igbo speakers prefer to use their language to communicate and 'pull' immigrants or visitors to learn and speak Igbo under pressure. Amoako explains his experience in the following interview:

> Amoako: *They use Igbo. You know the situation was such that in order for me to communicate with the people I had to learn the language very fast and within the three months that I spent there I was able to communicate very well with the people*.
>
> Interviewer: *What do you mean by "the situation was such that"? How was the situation?*
>
> Amoako: *Except in the classroom where we used English, you could not communicate in any other language with them other than Igbo*.

Amoako became aware of the importance of learning Igbo in order for him to live in the community. This personal awareness acted as a 'push' factor from him to learn.

In spite of this awareness, Amoako had options with regard to his decision to learn Igbo. He could have ignored the social pressure from the community and continued to use

only English in both the micro–context of the school and the macro–context of the society. He could have also decided to leave Imo State for another state also in Nigeria. However, taking cognisance of the fact that his social survival depended on his ability to communicate in the Igbo language, Amoako made a choice of practical consideration to learn the language. His own desire to maintain his work at the school was a 'push' factor for learning. He learned Igbo as quickly as possible. Thus, Amoako's own intention to live in the new community and be accepted there also serves as a 'push' factor to learn a destination language. This is a 'push' factor because the intention and the need for acceptance are from him.

Amoako appeared to have been compelled to change his perception of the use of language. His attitude is consistent with Canagarajah's (2007: 929) view that "…communication in multilingual communities involves a different mindset and practices in monolingual communities". There is the need to be able to adapt to the linguistic demands of a multilingual speech community. The immigrant's appropriate frame of mind and the right attitudes towards the members of the speech community as well as the language itself are necessary 'push' factors to learn the language of the new community.

His ability to learn Igbo language within three months also indicates Amoako's understanding of the linguistic implications of his stay among the Igbo people and the complexity of his situation. He is a university graduate from a poor family located in a village. There were likely to be significant social expectations for him to assist his extended family financially. This family background could have acted as an internal motivation and a substantial 'push' factor for Amoako to learn the Igbo language.

The Ghanaian economy in the late 1970s and the early 1980s was in a bad state making it difficult for civil servants and particularly young graduates to live well (www.modernghana.com). Migration was considered as a viable option. Young graduates like Amoako who chose to leave the country after national service when they were not formally employed in Ghana would be determined to succeed in the destination countries. His personal desire to overcome language difficulties to ensure his continuous stay in Nigeria was crucial for Amoako making it another 'push' factor for his learning.

6. 4. 6. 2. "Push" and "pull" factors of learning Xhosa

Amoako, who was in a leadership role with a number of artisans to work with, was frustrated with his inability to transfer his architectural expertise to do his work because of the language barriers between him and the Xhosa–speaking artisans. His own frustration and the language barriers in the speech community acted as 'push' and 'pull' factors respectively to learn Xhosa.

Amoako realised a gap between his desire to perform at work and his real performance coupled with his belief that his competence in Xhosa language would improve his working relations with the artisans. Amoako considered his lack of competence in Xhosa as the missing link. This realisation from him is a 'push' factor.

He appeared to experience an internal struggle between his desire to perform his duties creditably well and the limitations from his inability to speak Xhosa. His internal struggle eventually 'pushed' him to learn Xhosa. Amoako's views are in accordance with the arguments that immigrants have the responsibility to find means of integrating into their new communities. Amoako could have opted to hire a Xhosa–speaking construction site supervisor. He could have also continued to use an interpreter throughout his stay with the company. He, however, chose to learn Xhosa and was determined to overcome the language difficulties in order to reach out to his subordinates and re-assert his authority. His personal determination to learn the language used at his workplace is another 'push' factor.

Amoako's educational background was also a 'push' factor helping him to achieve competence in Xhosa. He has a master's degree in architecture. This finding is consistent with Chiswick and Miller's (1998) view that a greater number of years of education have a positive impact on immigrants' acquisition of a destination language. The authors studied the conditions that affect English proficiency among overseas born men and women in the United States. They used the United States' 1990 Census of Population and concluded that

> Fluency rates are higher for those with more schooling, who migrated at a younger age, who lived in the U.S. a longer period of time, who live in areas with fewer origin language speakers, and among women, also higher for those with less access to origin language media, with lower probability of returning to the origin, whose country of origin

> is geographically further from the U.S. and whose origin language is linguistically closer to English (Chiswick & Miller, 1998: 2).

However, Amoako's situation contrasts with some of the findings of Chiswick and Miller's (1998) studies. He was 50 years old when he migrated to the Eastern Cape in 1996, thus he was not a young man when language acquisition should be relatively easier. I argue that the need for him to keep his work and what I call the 'survival instinct' in him "pushed" him to go beyond himself to defy the assumption in the literature relating to age and language acquisition.

6. 4. 6. 3. 'Push' and 'pull' factors of learning Sotho

At the beginning of his duties at the hospital, Ofori often used English to communicate and to do his work. However, his use of English sometimes created negative responses for some of his clients who preferred the use of South African indigenous languages. His patients' preference to be consulted in Sotho acted as a 'pull' factor of learning Sotho whilst his own sensitivity towards people's negative responses to his use of English was a 'push' factor.

He appeared to be particularly sensitive to people's reactions to his accent and repeated the negative impact of the accent of Ghanaian immigrants. This attitude is consistent with a general feeling among Ghanaians residing in Johannesburg. 31% of the 100 participants in the survey of this study had experienced positive attitudes towards their use of English. 42% reported either poor attitudes or negative expressions of surprise with 16% mentioning mixed reactions of positive and negative attitudes. Ghanaians also do not have favourable attitudes towards South Africans' use of English. 74% of the respondents in the survey thought that South Africans have different accent and pronunciation of English. Thus, their different varieties of English appear to be problematic for both Ghanaians and South Africans in their interactions.

Of greater significance is that these negative attitudes to English make learning a South African indigenous language a viable option for Ghanaian immigrants who have the interest and motivation to do so as the Dentist did. Suresh Canagarajah argues that "to accept deviations as the norm, one must display positive attitudes to variation and be open to unexpectedness. Participants have to be radically other-centred" (Canagarajah, 2007: 929). Both Ghanaians and South Africans appear not to be conscious of the fact

that variations in accent and pronunciation in speaking English do occur even within countries with different ethnic groups. It is, therefore, not surprising to notice variations among people of different nationalities.

Ofori understood the importance of English and a South African indigenous language for interaction. This view confirms Canagarajah's (2007: 923) observation that

> English is used most often as a contact language by speakers of other languages in the new context of transnational communication. Speakers of English as an additional language are in greater number than the traditionally understood native speakers, who use English as their sole or primary language of communication.

Thus, Ofori's perception of the use of language was also a 'push' factor. Language, to him, was a communicative imperative for professional, social and personal reasons. He was especially concerned about effective interaction with his clients. This suggests an economic motivation for learning Sotho as in Amoako's case of learning Xhosa (6.4.6.2).

Of further importance is the fact that he had social reasons for learning the Sotho language similar to Amoako's situation in the Igbo community (6.4.6.1). Apart from his patients, Ofori also desired to have good relationships with his colleagues at work. He thought that his sole use of English at work created negative attitudes among his colleagues towards him. Some of his colleagues expected him (a Black African) to speak a South African indigenous language. He was therefore 'pulled' by this expectation to learn Sotho.

His inability to communicate in the Sotho language was a hindrance to friendship for him in the community. Some people were reluctant to speak English with him. These lukewarm attitudes from established members of the community served as a 'pull' factor leading him to learn the Sotho language.

The duration of Ofori's stay in South Africa was a 'pull' factor to learn Sotho. At the time of my interview with him in 2006, he was between the age of 46 and 55 and had worked for 12 years in South Africa. He, however, intended to continue working in the country until he retires at the age of 65. He was likely to work for about 10 years more before his retirement. Knowledge of Sotho language was therefore imperative for him

because “acquisition of social competence is directly tied to acquiring competence in language use and that socialization is accomplished largely through the medium of language…” (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986: 169). Establishing himself as an expert dentist and good neighbour through a proficient use of the language at his workplace and his neighbourhood were crucial for the realisation of his long stay in the country.

6. 4. 6. 4. ‘Push’ and ‘pull’ factors of learning Zulu

In this section, I argue that two sets of factors influenced Jojo’s decision to learn Zulu. I refer to the conditions in Ghana, Jojo’s own life and his background that made him choose to learn Zulu as ‘push’ factors whilst the situations in the speech community in Johannesburg where he lived and worked, which precipitated his choice of learning Zulu constitute ‘pull’ factors.

Jojo’s interest in communicating in Zulu, coupled with his multilingual background were ‘push’ factors for learning Zulu. He had competence in four languages namely Ewe, Akan, English and French. Ewe and Akan are Ghanaian languages whilst English and French are European ones. This background suggests his interest in languages and ability to learn languages. He also intended to live in South Africa for a long time giving room for possible socio-cultural integration.

His condition corroborates Moyer’s (2004) view. Commenting on Clahsen (1984), Moyer (2004: 44) states that “Learners with a greater interest in linguistic (and presumably socio-cultural) integration may develop different kinds of cognitive strategies to further accuracy and communicative skill”. In the light of this, it would appear to me that Jojo was motivated to use multiple strategies to improve on his use of Zulu. His ability to make inferences and language awareness in these four languages were useful in learning Zulu. Canagarajah (2007) explains that

> More important are a range of other skills, abilities, and awareness that enable multilingual speakers to negotiate grammar. In addition to grammatical competence, we have to give equal importance to: language awareness that enables speakers to make instantaneous inferences about the norms and conventions of their multilingual interlocutors; strategic competence to negotiate interpersonal relationships effectively; and pragmatic competence to adopt communicative conventions that are appropriate for the interlocutor, purpose and situation (Canagarajah, 2007: 926).

Commenting on the effects of the use of language in his immigration, Jojo said that he did not experience difficulties. His experiences with the use of inferences, strategic and pragmatic competences in the other languages were 'push' factors of learning Zulu since they would have made him feel confident of successfully learning Zulu.

Jojo's own intended length of stay in South Africa was another 'push' factor to learn Zulu. Chiswick and Miller (2008: 17) states that "the longer the expected duration of stay, the greater is the investment in destination language proficiency". Jojo intended to have a long stay in South Africa and had gone further to learn international business regulations. His desire to get his family and business established in South Africa suggests that he would feel pressurised to learn a South African indigenous language. Indeed he mentioned that a knowledge of languages is important in the workplace because this allows greater interaction with many people. Chiswick and Miller (2008: 4-5) argues that

> A person's proficiency in the language of the area in which he or she lives is productive in the labor market…Those proficient in the local language will be more efficient in finding higher quality goods and services and at lower prices.

Jojo noticed the necessity of learning a South African indigenous language in achieving his objective of migrating to South Africa. He came to South Africa for business purposes and thought that knowledge of Zulu would be helpful. Jojo thus clearly understood the benefits of knowing Zulu. This understanding on his part thus served as a 'push' factor to learn the language.

The status of Zulu as the most widely spoken South African indigenous language in Johannesburg and in the whole destination country (SA Census, 2001) 'pulled' Jojo to learn it. He rated Zulu as the most important language to know at the workplace. 23, 8% of the South African population and 21, 5% of the people in Gauteng speak Zulu as their mother tongue (SA Census, 2001). My study also confirms the popular use of Zulu.

The highest number of 23% thought Zulu is the dominant language in Johannesburg. Of greater significance is that in all, 51% considered only Zulu or Zulu with other languages as important languages for the workplace. 63% said they selected Zulu because it is widely spoken. Indeed, as the native language of the country's tribal group with highest

number of people, it may not be surprising that Zulu is widely spoken in the country (South Africa.info Reporter, 2008) and therefore preferable in the workplace. This finding is in contrast with the general view that English is the main language for governance, business and trade and education even though it might still be South Africa's lingua franca (South Africa.info Reporter, 2008).

The location of Jojo's business in the destination country was another 'pull' factor. His office and warehouse were in the Central Business District (CBD) or the inner city of Johannesburg. In 2001 Johannesburg's population was 3,225,812. 73% were blacks, 16% were white, 6% and 4% were coloureds and Asians respectively. 32% of the people used Nguni languages at home, 24% used Sotho languages, 18% English, 7% Afrikaans and 6% Tshivenda (SA Census, 2001). Most black people have their businesses in the CBD with mainly black people as their customers.

6. 4. 7. 'Germination' factors of destination language learning

In this section I will consider the factors of 'germination' that created opportunities for the Architect, the Dentist and the Businessman to speak and deepen their knowledge of Igbo, Xhosa, Sotho and Zulu. The Igbo speech community in the Imo State in Nigeria, the Xhosa speech community in the Eastern Cape, the Sotho speech community in Vereeniging and the Zulu speech community in Johannesburg were 'fertile' for the respondents to sow the 'seed' of learning that 'germinated' into proficiency.

I argue that factors 'pushed' and 'pulled' the respondents to recognize the need and the importance of knowing Igbo, Xhosa, Sotho and Zulu and any other destination language for that matter. However, knowledge and proficiency of these languages depended on the existing conditions in the speech communities that enabled them to speak the languages and improved their proficiency. These conditions include, among others, the positive attitudes of established members towards the use of their language, the willingness of the immigrants to use the languages and how often the languages are used. I refer to these conditions that led to the use and subsequent proficiency of the languages as the 'germination' factors.

6. 4. 7. 1. 'Germination' factors of learning Igbo

Igbo speakers' insistence on the use of only Igbo is a form of socialising outsiders into using the language. Ochs and Shieffelin (1986: 164) believe that "language socialisation begins at the moment of social contact in the life of a human being". This insistence may serve as a motivation as well as a 'germination' factor enabling Amoako to learn the language.

The interactions that followed Amoako's ability to converse in Igbo language also acted as 'germination' factors to deepen his competence. Indeed, Mesch (2003: 42) points out that "acquisition of the language is part of a broader process of social integration into the new society".

6. 4. 7. 2. 'Germination' factors of learning Xhosa

Amoako's identity as a middle class educated person with proficiency in English was challenged by his inability to speak Xhosa and the fact that he had to learn the language of the artisans, who were his subordinates, in order to communicate with them. He used an interpreter as a temporary means of communication. The use of interpreters created further linguistic awareness for him and subsequently 'germinated' and yielded a certain degree of Xhosa knowledge.

He bought a pack of Xhosa language, tapes and other materials. These materials improved his knowledge and proficiency in Xhosa and within two years that he worked with the firm he was able to communicate fluently in Xhosa.

6. 4. 7. 3. 'Germination' factors of learning Sotho

As in the case of Amoako in the Igbo community in Nigeria (6.4.7.1) and the Xhosa community in the Eastern Cape (6.4.7.2), the Sotho speech .community was a 'fertile' ground for Ofori to sow a 'seed' of acquisition that 'germinated' into proficiency in the Sotho language. The focus in this section will be on the 'germination' factors that resulted in Ofori's successful learning of Sotho.

Ofori's initial use of interpreters to communicate with his patients was a 'germination' factor. This is similar to Amoako's situation in the Eastern Cape (6.4.7.2). Indeed, there are professional health care interpreters with requisite training in professional conduct and knowledge of medical terms to mediate between doctors and patients. Family

members, bilingual patients and bilingual 'ad hoc' staff also play the role of interpreters. However, the lack of training of the latter group could result in "distortions in information obtained in the clinical interview and errors that are more likely to have clinical consequences than errors made by dedicated staff interpreters" (Dower, 2003: 1). Consolate-Felicity (2005) also reports that "the use of interpreters does not encourage confidentiality as interpreters currently used are not trained professionals".

Ofori's use of the phrase, "*without being misinterpreted by interpreters"* suggests his unease regarding the use of interpreters. I infer that whilst he was using interpreters, he acquired basic knowledge of Sotho which eventually 'germinated' into fruition. His conviction pre-empted a possible next course of action of learning Sotho. In addition, in an attempt to learn more Sotho vocabulary and improve on his knowledge of the language, Ofori mostly used Sotho at work to record the medical history of his patients and staff. His frequent use of Sotho within this affordance rich environment of his workplace was likely to enable his knowledge of Sotho language in general as well as the discourse of the medical profession in particular to 'germinate' and grow into competence. His approach is in conformity with views in the linguistic literature that language immersion is more effective within the context of use and practice as exemplified in Canagarajah (2007).

> Learning is more meaningful in actual contexts of language use and practice. It is not surprising that, in multilingual communities, language acquisition takes place in everyday contexts (Canagarajah, 2007: 931).

Another 'germination' factor was "through private study from lessons recorded on tapes" as Amoako also did to learn Xhosa (6.4.7.2).

Through these 'germination' factors, he was able to increase his vocabulary, improve his language repertoire and raise his level of competence in Sotho. It would appear from this data that his persistence and determination to remain an active learner–participant was a major strategy**.**

6. 4. 7. 4. 'Germination' factors of learning Zulu

Similar to Amoako in the Igbo and Xhosa communities (6. 4. 7. 1 and 6. 4. 7. 2.) and Ofori in the Sotho community (6. 4. 7. 3.), the Zulu speech community in Johannesburg was 'fertile' for Jojo to sow the 'seed' of learning that 'germinated' into proficiency. In

this section I will consider the factors of 'germination' that created opportunities for him to speak and deepen his knowledge of Zulu.

Even though he was not confident in communicating in Zulu, similar to Ofori's condition in the Sotho community (6.4. 7.3), Jojo used Zulu at work with customers. His use of the language in this regard was a 'germination' factor. Indeed, Canagarajah (2007) suggests that more learning takes place when acquisition and use occur at the same time. Interlocutors tend to monitor each other's behaviour in the situated contexts and they modify their knowledge to enable appropriate negotiations for communication. "The lessons learnt in one encounter will help to constantly reconstruct the schema to monitor future communication of similar or different participants and contexts" (Canagarajah, 2007: 925). Thus, every encounter with fellow workers and customers was an affordance for Jojo to practise and improve on his knowledge of Zulu.

In reference to fluidity that comes from the use of English as a global lingua franca, Canagarajah (2007: 924) observes further that "it is obvious that LFE (Lingua Franca English) speakers cannot depend on a pre-constituted form for meaning. They activate complex pragmatic strategies that help them negotiate their variable form". In the light of this observation, I infer that Jojo adopted pragmatic performance strategies which exposed his lack of proficiency in Zulu to native speakers of the language. Nevertheless he was able to communicate all the same.

Canagarajah (2007: 925) asserts further that "this communication is possible because the other also brings his or her own strategies to negotiate these culture-specific conventions…Not uniformity, but alignment is more important for such communication". Thus, Jojo's knowledge of Twi, Ga, Ewe, English and French would provide him with varied strategies for negotiation and helped to 'germinate' his knowledge of Zulu.

Jojo's intended indefinite length of stay in South Africa was another 'germination' factor. Schumann (1978) asserts that

> The filial social factor to be considered is the 2LL[20] group's intended length *of residence* in the target language area. If the 2LL group intends to remain for a long time in the target language area, it is likely to develop more extensive contacts with the TL[21] group.

[20] Second language learners

> Therefore, an intended lengthy residence in the target language area would tend to promote second-language learning (Schumann, 1978: 31).

Since Jojo was not sure of when he was going to leave the country, he therefore got himself established, made friends and had business associates. These contacts facilitated his learning of Zulu.

The location of his business in the Central Business District of the city was also a 'germination' factor. As I have stated earlier, more people (32%) living in Johannesburg speak Nguni languages of which Zulu is dominant. Again, the CBD is mainly frequented by black people. This situation provided Jojo with more opportunities to communicate in Zulu which helped to 'germinate' and grow his knowledge of the language.

The similarities between Ewe (Jojo's primary language) and Zulu may have also contributed to the 'germination' and growth of Jojo's repertoire of Zulu. Both Ewe and Zulu together with Yoruba, Igbo and Swahili are cognate languages in the Niger-Congo language family. First and second language acquisition researchers have noted that cognate awareness facilitates language learning. "Cognate awareness is the ability to use cognates in a primary language as a tool for understanding a second language" (Colorado, 2007)[22]. An Ewe-speaking respondent in the in-depth interviews I conducted made the following observations

> *You can see that in my language Ewe, some of the words that we have in Ewe are the same thing in Zulu. It's quite interesting. From West Africa to South Africa there is a big distance but you can see that there is similarity because Zulu and Ewe that I speak in Ghana fall in the same category called the Bantu language in Africa. Like 'Ayako' means 'It's yours'. In Ewe 'Ayakoo' means 'Only him' and they say 'Gedee' something like 'Enter' but in my language is 'Gedeme'.It's the same thing.'Enee'- 'For' in Zulu it's 'Enei'. So you can see that Zulu is a language that I am finding very easy to speak. I would have been able to speak Zulu fluently if Zulu were the only language spoken in South Africa maybe apart from English.*
>
> (In-depth Interview Respondent 11: 22).

Thus, Jojo could draw on his proficiency in Ewe to learn Zulu easily.

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[21] Target language

[22] http://www.colorincolorado.org/educators/background/cognates

6. 4. 8. Bridging the "insider" and "outsider" identities using language

In this section I argue that Amoako's knowledge of Xhosa enabled him to 'bridge' the 'insider' and 'outsider' identities between him and the Xhosa community.

Mary Robinson, seventh President of Ireland and later United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, asserts that "Language can be important in defining actions and in shaping reactions" (Robinson, 2006). The use of common language appears to transcend the "insider" and "outsider" identities that tend to divide immigrants and nationals. Amoako points out further that when he gained proficiency in Xhosa, he then assumed a new identity as a friend, a relative and a confidant to the people. The community may have had lukewarm attitudes towards him because of his inability to communicate in Xhosa.

The established relationship that followed Amoako's competence in Xhosa was not only about simple communication but also about sharing intimate feelings and personal problems as indicated in the use of "*all sorts of things*". He might have aligned his learning to the values of the community, making him 'connect' with the speech community and become an acceptable member. However, the fact that people in the community could approach, talk and chat with him also suggests an individual distinctiveness, which made the community comfortable to have close relationships with him.

Canagarajah (2007: 928) argues further that "One needs creative strategies to make the appropriate alignment between one's language resources and the requirements of the context". The community's acceptance of Amoako underscores his successful link between his language resources and the societal values. This is against the background that some members of a speech community tend to 'judge' immigrants in relation to their desire to appropriate the community's values.

6. 4. 9. Investment and identity

There was also a transformation in Amoako's identity. He started out as a non–speaker of Igbo, who felt marginalized at his work place and probably in the community as well. Against this backdrop, his identity as a teacher changed to that of a learner whose survival depended on his allowing himself to be taught. His decision to learn Xhosa underscores his readiness to 'lose' a part of himself in order to tap into the identity of

the Xhosa community. Later he became a competent speaker of Igbo and Xhosa. This competence earned him greater identity as an accepted and respectable member of the community. People were confident to discuss their problems and other personal issues with him. Perhaps, few people then continued to take note of his 'foreignness'.

Contrary to the view in the literature that immigrants' acquisition of host country language is mostly influenced by economic incentives (Chiswick and Miller, 1998; 1994), immigrants could derive social and personal satisfaction from the use of the language of the destination country as well. Immigrants might feel the need for acceptance in both the community and the workplace and the use of the local language tends to be an important means to satisfy this need. Amoako then "*felt at home*". The phrase "*felt at home*" suggests Amoako's rediscovery of himself as the supervisor in his department.

6. 5. CONCLUSION

In this section I explored the key findings in the stories of the Architect, the Dentist and the Businessman. I grouped them together because all three respondents are university graduates, married and living with their Ghanaian families in South Africa. The Architect has a Master's degree in Architecture whilst the Dentist and the Businessman have bachelor's degrees in Dentistry and Accounting respectively. They all acquired a South African language. The Architect, the Dentist and the Businessman learned Xhosa, Sotho and Zulu respectively.

The location where they learned these languages also informed my decision to select them. The Architect acquired Xhosa in the Eastern Cape, which is about 605.76 kilometres from Johannesburg. Vereeniging, where the Dentist learned Sotho, is situated in the East Rand of South Africa and it is also about 53.26 kilometres from Johannesburg. On the other hand the Businessman learned Zulu in Johannesburg. These three respondents were also all professionals. The Architect was a university lecturer in Engineering and the Built Environment. The Dentist was a medical practitioner working in a hospital. The Businessman was an accountant who imported hair products into South Africa and sold them to both wholesalers and retailers.

Similar to the analysis this conclusion considers the similaries and differences in the following aspects of the respondents' stories:

- Motives for migration and family circumstances
- Use of English
- Learning Xhosa, Sotho and Zulu
- 'Push' factors of learning Igbo, Xhosa, Sotho and Zulu
- 'Pull' factors of learning Igbo, Xhosa, Sotho and Zulu
- Germination factors
- Bridging "insider" and "outsider" identities using language
- Investment and identity

6. 5. 1. Motives for migration and family circumstances

The analysis indicates that all three respondents who are also university graduates were economic migrants and were also conscious of family cohesion even in the diaspora. The Architect migrated to Nigeria for better standard of living (5.1.2) but his migration to South Africa was to join his family in the Eastern Cape and to look for employment. The Dentist and the Businessman both migrated to South Africa for better conditions of life as compared to Ghana. All the three of them were married and were living with their spouses in South Africa.

6. 5. 2. Use of English

All three respondents preferred English speaking destination countries where English was used in both the micro-context of the workplace and the macro-context of the community. The Architect learned Igbo in Nigeria and Xhosa in South Africa. English is an official language in both countries. The Dentist and the Businessman learned Sotho and Zulu respectively in South Africa where English is also an official language. The Architect used English in the workplace of the Technical school he taught in Imo State in Nigeria as well as the construction sites in the Eastern Cape in South Africa. The Dentist also communicated in English at the hospital in Vereeniging whilst the Businessman also used English in the Central Business District (CBD) of Johannesburg.

6. 5. 3. Means of learning Xhosa, Sotho and Zulu

As economic migrants, all three respondents were also economically motivated to learn a destination language. It is clear that whilst all three willingly opted to learn Xhosa, Sotho and Zulu for economic reasons, the Architect was pressurized by circumstances to learn Igbo in the Imo State in Nigeria for social interaction in the community. This

analysis demonstrates that the Architect learned Xhosa in the Eastern Cape, the Dentist learned Sotho in Vereeniging and the Businessman learned Zulu Johannesburg. They learned these languages in both the micro-contexts of their workplaces and the macro-contexts of the speech communities through colleagues, clients, subordinates, friends and established members of the community.

6. 5. 4. 'Push' factors of learning Igbo, Xhosa, Sotho and Zulu

Once more as economic migrants, all three respondents agreed that the objective of rendering quality services in their workplaces impelled them to learn Xhosa, Sotho and Zulu. Thus, it is clear that economic migrants are aware that their successful stay in a destination country depends on their ability to perform well in their professions. Knowing a destination language is a necessary condition in this regard. All three respondents were determined to overcome communication hindrances by learning a destination language. Of equal importance is the fact that all three respondents' higher educational backgrounds facilitated their ability to learn a destination language.

6. 5. 5. 'Pull' factors of learning Igbo, Xhosa, Sotho and Zulu

The Businessman considered the status of Zulu in Johannesburg as a 'pull' factor. He commented that the popular use of Zulu in Johannesburg and also in South Africa attracted him to learn Zulu. Out of the three respondents, the Businessman also perceived the CBD of Johannesburg where his business was situated as a 'pull' factor to learn Zulu. Zulu is the dominant South African language spoken in Johannesburg. His customers were mainly speakers of South African languages. The analysis of the factors that attracted the Architect, the Dentist and Businessman to learn Igbo, Xhosa, Sotho and Zulu clearly emphasizes that the dominant use of Igbo in the Imo State in Nigeria, Xhosa in the Eastern Cape, Sotho in Vereeniging and Zulu in Johannesburg was a major 'pull' factor.

6. 5. 6. 'Germination' factors

The analysis of the 'germination' factors that grew the 'seed' of acquisition among the Architect, the Dentist and the Businessman demonstrates that the use of the destination language in the micro-context of the workplace and in the macro-context of the community were the main 'germination' factors. Location of the respondents' workplaces as well as their intended length of stay in the Imo State in Nigeria, in the Eastern Cape, Vereeniging and Johannesburg CBD were also important 'germination' factors.

6. 5. 7. Bridging the 'insider' and 'outsider' identities using language

The analysis concerning bridging "insider" and "outsider" identities using language demonstrates that lack of proficiency in Igbo in the Imo State, Nigeria and Xhosa in the Eastern Cape, South Africa created linguistic barriers between the Architect and established members of the Igbo and Xhosa speech communities. However, proficiency in both languages did not only alleviate this linguistic barrier but it also enabled him to interact socially with the members of the host communities.

6. 5. 8. Investment and identity

This analysis on investment and identity clearly indicates what I call a 'reversal' of status. Both the Architect and the Dentist considered their professional duties and social acceptance so important that they temporarily conceded their professional and social status to learn Igbo in the Imo State in Nigeria, Xhosa in the Eastern Cape in South Africa and Sotho in Vereeniging also in South Africa. The ultimate objective was to achieve efficient professional performance. Of further significance is the fact the social recognition created self-fulfillment. This observation emphasizes that beyond the economic achievements, these respondents, who were economic migrants craved for social acknowledgement and appreciated it.

All three respondents were not interested in recognition from other Ghanaian immigrants. They, however, needed Xhosa, Sotho and Zulu in their professional lives, which made them strive to improve their proficiency in the languages. Socially, all three recognized the importance of integrating into the speech communities in order to learn the languages. On the contrary they demonstrated that a target language learner may be instrumentally-motivated but still have interest in the established members of the speech community.

Chapter 7

THE TECHNICIAN, THE MECHANIC AND THE 'BURGER' PRESENT THEIR LANGUAGE EXPERIENCES

7.0. Introduction
7.1. The Technician's story
7.2. The Mechanic's story
7.3. The Burger's story
7.4. Discussion and analysis of the stories of the Technician, the Mechanic and the Burger
7.5. Conclusion

7. 0. INTRODUCTION

This chapter considers the language experiences of a technician, a mechanic and a 'burger'[23]. I have grouped these respondents together because of their choice not to learn a South African indigenous language even though they were able to acquire destination languages in their previous migrations. The Technician learned Hausa in Nigeria and French in Belgium. The Mechanic learned German in Germany whilst the 'burger' learned Arabic in Libya. All three respondents are selected from the 15 in-depth interviews. I will present the narrative of each respondent and follow it with discussion and analysis of the narratives.

7. 1. The Technician's Story

The data for this story is from the in-depth interview. Kobina[24] was born on 30th May 1955 at Labadi in Accra, Ghana making him 51 years old in 2004 when I interviewed him. Ga is his primary language, which he used at home with his parents and siblings. "Ga is a member of the Kwa branch of Niger-Congo languages. It is spoken in Ghana by about 600,000 people, particularly in the southeast of the country around the capital, Accra"[25]. Kobina later learned English and Twi at school, completed a technical school but he failed to complete a course at Kumasi Polytechnic. He subsequently migrated to Nigeria, Belgium and South Africa after working briefly in Ghana.

[23] "A German term that was used for all migrants irrespective of the country to which they had migrated. This was probably because of the conspicuous and ostentatious dressing and lifestyle of Ghanaian migrants who had returned home or were just visiting from Germany" (Tonah, 2007: 4).

[24] A pseudonym for the technician

[25] http://www.omniglot.com/writing/ga.htm

7. 1. 1. Key aspects in the Technician's Story

1. Primary and elementary school education in Accra, Ghana (1960–1970)
2. Technical and tertiary education in Kumasi, Ghana (1970–1975)
3. Migration to Nigeria and use of language (1976-1978)
4. Migration to Belgium and use of language (1980-1983)
5. Migration to South Africa and use of language (1998–2005)
6. Migration to Mozambique and a return to South Africa (2003)
7. Future plans

7. 1. 2. Primary and elementary school education in Accra, Ghana (1960–1970)

Kobina started Primary One at the age of five in 1960. English was the main language for teaching and learning but Ga was taught as a subject. He could hardly speak English in primary school even though he could read and write in both English and Ga. After six years of primary education, he continued at elementary school for four years. The language situation at that stage was as follows:

> *We were writing both English and the vernacular at the primary school but from the middle school is where we started using English thoroughly so we are not using the local languages.*

7.1. 3. Technical and tertiary education in Kumasi, Ghana (1970–1975)

He followed his elementary schooling with technical education at Radio Servicing and Training College (RADISCO) in Kumasi from 1970 to 1973. He graduated as an instrumentation technician[26] and radio and television repairer. English was the main language for teaching and learning with occasional use of Twi[27] for explanation. He became fluent in Twi through interaction at the college and in the community .

Kobina proceeded to Kumasi Polytechnic from 1973 to 1975. Again English was the main language for teaching and learning: "*We were using English but we also used the Twi".* However, he had to discontinue his studies due to financial difficulties after his father's death. He then worked for one year (1975 to 1976) at Ghana Civil Aviation in Accra as a junior technician. He resigned and moved to the Volta Aluminium Smelting

[26] Instrumentation technicians use meters, thermometers and other instruments to ensure that the temperature of the filaments in the smelting machine remains constant in order to melt the aluminium "and then whenever there is a fault range because sometimes they (filaments) used to break you have to repair it*"*. It may also happen that machine that is cutting the aluminium can get faulty or a switch may not be working properly so the instrumentation technician should use instruments to check and identify the fault and "put it right*"*.

[27] "Twi is the most important language of Ghana. Together with closely related Fanti it is spoken by about 6 million people in the forest area west of the Volta River. Twi belongs to the Kwa subgroup of the Niger-Congo family" (http://www.worldlanguage.com/Languages/Twi.htm)

Company (VALCO) in Tema also in Ghana as instrumentation technician for six months for better conditions of service. English and Twi were the languages for communication at work.

7. 1. 4. Migration to Nigeria and use of Hausa language (1976-1978)

After working for six months at VALCO, Kobina left Ghana for Nigeria in 1976 for the following reason:

> *Just to better my life, to find some better job to do. I just decided to move to Nigeria and see if I can find some better work there and make my life better.*

He first arrived in Lagos, spent two days there and proceeded to the Moslem state of Kano[28] where he worked and lived. Hausa is the main language for communication in the Kano State and the indigenes refused to interact with people in English. Kobina was thus faced with the choice of learning Hausa or experiencing limited interaction in the community.

> *We are in the Kano State so they were using Hausa, the Hausa language and then I tried to speak the Hausa language a little bit because in Kano they have one ideology.They only want to speak the Hausa and they don't want to speak English so you have to learn the Hausa by force because if you don't hear the Hausa, it's very difficult to interact with them. You can never interact with them because they will not listen to you when you are speaking the English. They say Hausa 'kwai[29] so you speak Hausa.*

He realised that his survival depended on his readiness to learn Hausa, which he explains:

> *And then just imagine you are in a place where if you speak English they don't accept but it's the Hausa language that you have to speak and they are all speaking it so you will pick up very fast other than that you can't survive because even to buy food or anything without the language you can't survive.*

He also recognised the similarity between the Hausa language in Kano and the dialect spoken in Nima[30] (in Ghana).

> *Languages are very similar because even when we were in Accra, I could remember that sometimes I used to hear those people from Nima speaking the Hausa language but I couldn't.I mean because they are not my friends, I was not speaking with them but*

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[28] "Kano State is a state located in North-Western Nigeria. Created on May 27, 1967 from part of the Northern Region, Kano state borders Katsina State to the north-west, Jigawa State to the north-east, and Bauchi and Kaduna states to the south. The capital of Kano State is Kano" (http://www.ngex.com/nigeria/places/states/kano.htm).

[29] Meaning 'imitate' Kraft & Kirk-Greene, 1985: 382).

[30] Nima is "one of the most impoverished neighborhoods in Ghana's capital city, Accra and the Muslim section of the city (http://www.ghanayouthphoto.org/).

then when I was in Kano, I realised most of the things that they are saying is very similar so it's very easy for me to interact.

The compelling linguistic conditions impelled him to learn the Hausa language unwillingly as he explained in the following:

You have to learn by force, I mean, you have to learn by force because like going to buy food, like…you have to learn, you see. And they too they are very helpful. When they see that you don't hear and you want to speak English, they start by teaching you. They start because when he meets you in the morning,when you greet him in the English, he will not answer but he will greet you in the Hausa. When you greet him, he will say, "Ohh, sannu, sannu[31]". You will learn, you will know. Yeah, so I picked up very fast.

Though the knowledge of Hausa became useful to Kobina later for interaction with members of the community he initially did not consider it important. He only became aware of the need when he felt pressurized by the community to learn the language. Eventually he believed that the people in Kano were "*very nice"* because of their positive attitudes towards their language and the encouragement they gave others to learn Hausa. But there was a limitation in terms of culture.

There was still a big difference. The difference is you hear the language all right but their culture is different from your culture…whenever they see you wearing trousers and shirt, they know that you are not a Moslem, you see, so you can only speak the language but you are not a Moslem. That means you are not one of them.

Differences in culture implied that Kobina did not feel integrated in the community. Established members of the community strictly adhered to the Islamic beliefs and did not interact freely with non-believers. He lived and worked in the Kano State for two years–from 1976 to 1978-left to go back to Ghana and stayed there for two years (from 1978 to 1980). He then returned to the Kano State in 1980 and was employed at Binato, a domestic electronic parts and equipment manufacturer. He worked there for eight months and migrated to Belgium.

7. 1. 5. Migration to Belgium and use of language (1980-1983)

He arrived in Belgium on 27th of November 1980 and successfully sought asylum because *"that's the only way to get your paper"* in order to reside legally in the country. He was granted asylum based on his story that he was fleeing political persecution in

[31] Meaning 'hello' in English (Kraft & Kirk-Greene, 1985: 382).

Ghana[32]. He was given documents to allow him to go to a language school to learn either French or Flemish-the two official languages of Belgium so that he could be formally employed. However, he refused to attend the school and got away with it because of poor official monitoring of asylum seekers' activities. He chose rather to live and work in Louvain-a few kilometres from Brussels, the capital of Belgium as an independent second-hand car salesperson.

His job required knowledge of French, the language of Louvain and the vicinity around it. Kobina eventually became proficient in French as he explained:

> *Yeah, I was able to pick up the French. You know like now I can tell you like am very fluent in French.*

However, English was also common in the community especially among the French–speaking Belgians. Thus, before he could speak French, English was his language of communication.

> *Most of them too hear English. It's only once in a time when you meet the Flemish speaking people. It's they who doesn't hear the English well, so maybe then you have to interact in French but they hear the French. So there I can say that the language issue too is not a big problem with the Belgians. It's not a big problem.*

The neighbourhood where he lived also provided him with the opportunity to communicate in a Ghanaian language but his Ghanaian and Congolese neighbours tended to be so busy working and making a living that they had very little time to socialise with others. They would occasionally meet during their monthly shopping and public holidays. Kobina lived in Belgium for three years (from 1980 to 1983) and again returned to Ghana in 1983.

He lived in Ghana for three years (1983 to 1986) and later returned to the job of selling second hand cars in Belgium. After a four–year stay (1986 to 1990), he departed for Ghana again where he was engaged in international and local businesses. A travel agency was part of his business. Kobina mostly accompanied clients who travelled from Ghana to Cote d'Ivoire, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Senegal, Tunisia and Egypt. His knowledge of English was useful in Liberia, Egypt, Tunisia and Sierra Leone, French in

[32] There was military coup in Ghana on 31 December 1981 that brought Provisional National Defence Council to power. This military government ruled Ghana from 1982 to the end of 1991. Some Ghanaian immigrants used the military rule as a reason to seek asylum in destination countries.

Cote d'Ivoire and Senegal and Hausa in Egypt and Tunisia. He highlighted his business activities in the following interview.

> Interviewer*: So how useful was your control… now I could see that you were very competent in English, competent in French. How useful was your knowledge of language in terms of your traveling within the* (West African) *sub-region.*
>
> Kobina: *Yeah, it helps a lot because let's say like if I go to Burkina Faso, they are speaking French. It's a French speaking country so I have to interact with them in French. If I go to, let's say,Tunis, it's an Arab speaking country but because I hear the Hausa, you know, Hausa get a lot of Arab in their language so because of those Hausa that I hear, I mean I used to speak with them too.Then the other countries, the English speaking side like Sierra Leone and Liberia like this, yeah, it's also okay. I speak the English with them.*

Thus, his knowledge of languages became very important for his business transactions. After eight years (from 1990 to 1998) in this business, he migrated to South Africa in 1998.

7. 1. 6. Migration to South Africa (1998–2005)

Kobina arrived in Johannesburg in 1998. Similar to the situation in Nigeria (7.1. 4), he was employed at an electronics repair shop in Johannesburg but he lived in Tembisa which is 17 kilometres from O. R. Tambo International Airport and 38 kilometres from Pretoria, the administrative capital of South Africa. Kobina worked there for only three months and resigned because of irregular payment of his salary by his employer.

> *He too his problem is because he is giving me accommodation, he is paying the transport and he is buying the food and everything he doesn't want to pay* (my salary regularly).

He then worked at another electronics shop at Bachu near Kempton Park for one year. Again he felt underpaid, resigned and started his own electronics repairs shop in Tembisa. Unfortunately robbers broke into his shop and stole everything forcing him to seek employment at Midrand Music Bar as an electronics repairer. His employers' failure to honour their part of his salary agreement also compelled him to leave the job. English was the only language for interaction with his colleagues and South African customers in all the places he worked as he could not speak any other South African indigenous language.

The unstable employment situation compelled him to migrate to Mozambique with the hope for better economic opportunities.

7. 1. 7. Migration to Mozambique and a return to South Africa (2003)

He left Tembisa towards the end of the year 2003 for Mozambique in an unsuccessful search for a job. He returned to Tembisa after three weeks and was later employed at an electronics shop in Braamfontein, where he had a Ghanaian apprentice with whom he mostly communicated in Twi and used English with his employer, his colleagues[33] and mainly South African customers.

Kobina had been living in Tembisa since 1998. Thus, in 2004 when I interviewed him, he had lived there for about six years and was married to a South African woman. Although he did not mention which South African indigenous language his wife speaks, Sotho is the common language spoken in Tembisa. English was, however, his only language for interaction.

> *In fact this was the first time I find it very difficult in learning the languages. It's*[34] *a very difficult language, to be honest so I find it very difficult to learn it. I could hear some. I mean I could because, don't let us forget I have also married. Yeah,I have also married a South African and I am staying with her. It's very difficult for me to speak the language, though I can hear it but I couldn't speak it. I can speak a little bit of it.*

His wife used to question this inability but it did not seem to bother him. He commented that "*Yeah, she used to question so much but I mean it doesn't make any difference because I couldn't speak it".* It seems that there were no compelling imperatives to make him learn a South African indigenous language.

7. 1. 8. Future plans

About his future, he had this to say:

> Interviewer*: So let's see the way forward. What is the future and what do you have in mind?*
>
> Kobina*: Anyway, I haven't retired yet (laughing). What I mean is I'm thinking of going farther… am thinking of going farther… as far as I can go.*
>
> Interviewer*: I see.*
>
> Kobina*: I don't know but I am thinking of going farther.*

[33] His employer was a Cameroonian and the colleagues were Zimbabweans.

[34] He did not explain why he used singular pronoun to refer to 'languages'. I, however, think that he either made a grammatical error or he meant Sotho which is the dominant language in Tembisa.

Kobina's attitude underscores the perception that migration is not an unusual way of life in West Africa. Analysis of Kobina's narrative will follow after the other two narratives in this section.

7. 2. The Mechanic's Story

The data for this story is from the in-depth interview. Abeeku's mother hails from Elmina and his father was from Jukwa both in the Central Region of Ghana. He has only one brother with whom he grew up. Both spoke Fante, the language his mother used at home. Fante is the main local language spoken in Elmina. His brother, who migrated to Germany in the 1970s, is married to a German woman and presently works and resides in Germany.

7. 2. 1. Key aspects in the Mechanic's story

1. Primary, technical and polytechnic education in Elmina and Takoradi in Ghana
2. Internship with Ghana National Trading Corporation Motors (1970 – 1978)
3. Migration to Nigeria (1978 – 1981)
4. Migration to Germany
5. Migration to Libya
6. Migration to Southern Africa
7. Employment in South Africa
8. Use of South African indigenous languages

7. 2. 2. Primary, technical and polytechnic education in Elmina and Takoradi in Ghana

At the age of five, Abeeku started Primary One (Grade one). He learned and used English interchangeably with Fante for teaching and learning. He was thus able to read, write and speak both English and Fante from Primary Three (Grade 3). He completed the middle school (Form Four) at the age of fifteen and attended a technical school where he learned Motor Engineering. Then he proceeded to Takoradi Polytechnic for further studies in Motor Engineering. Altogether he spent eight years in both the technical school and the polytechnic where English was the sole language of teaching and learning.

7. 2. 3. Working at the Ghana National Trading Corporation (GNTC) Motors

Abeeku worked at the Ghana National Trading Corporation (GNTC) Motors for nine years. His education and employment with the GNTC made him "*competent*" in car repairs: "*I could work on my own, overhaul engines myself*" making him desire more

challenges and better remuneration. He went on to comment that "*so now I was going for good bucks* (better salary) *because a company offered me a contract in Nigeria, the Scania Trucks*".

7. 2. 4. Migration to Nigeria

This economic incentive and his mother's support encouraged Abeeku to leave Ghana for Nigeria as shown in the following interview.

> Interviewer: *Did you want to go out of the country? Why?*
>
> Abeeku: *Yeah, I wanted to go because those people's offer was better than what I was given.*
>
> Interviewer: *Did you want to leave Ghana? Did your mother want you to leave the country?*
>
> Abeeku: *Oh, I was already big.*
>
> Interviewer: *I know but did you want to stay in Ghana or did you want to leave Ghana?*
>
> Abeeku: *In fact I discussed with her and she told me, 'Ah, if you feel that's going to give you a good future, go ahead'.*
>
> Interviewer: *Was there a good future for you in Ghana?*
>
> Abeeku: *The good future in Ghana! A bright future for everybody as everybody expects in life, you see now. To be free in life. When you are well paid, you can do things for yourself.*

He worked with the Scania company in Nigeria for three years. English was his main language for communication until he "*picked up some of their local dialects"*. He then used English and the local dialects in the following way: *"When I am speaking to somebody who doesn't understand English, I used to mix it up*".

7. 2. 5. Migration to Germany

Abeeku "*earned good bucks*" in Nigeria, which made him "*safe to go to do some practicals in Germany*". He went to Germany "*to upgrade myself on Mercedes-Benz trucks*" and spent 18 months there with the support of his brother and his brother's wife who live in Germany. His brother enrolled him at a German language school "*so that I can pick the technical terms*" of a motor mechanic. He eventually "*picked up the German there*". German was also the language of interaction among his colleagues at the Mercedes-Benz factory where he worked. His opinion of the Germans in terms of language is summed up as follows:

> *And the Germans, you know, the Germans are very proud. They understand the English but they wouldn't speak English with you. They would make you speak. They would force you*

to speak the German and that would make you to learn the German quickly.

At the end of his one–and–half year stay in Germany Abeeku was employed as a mechanic by another German company which had a contract to lay pipes in Libya. He therefore relocated to Libya.

7. 2. 6. Migration to Libya

There were other Namibian and Mozambican nationals who were also electronic technicians working in the same company as Abeeku in Libya. As a result, he communicated in German with the German contractors and English with his Namibian and Mozambican colleagues. Abeeku mainly used English in communicating with Libyans because some Libyans can speak English even though the lingua franca in Libya is Arabic. However, he managed *"to pick up how to greet"* in Arabic, which he used when he went shopping and felt encouraged to learn more of the language. He recounted his experience in the .following:

> *But they would see that you don't know their language so when you go to the shops they show their customer service. You get one English girl who come to you, "Can I help you?". Then you greet. She laughs because you are trying to speak their language…"Very good. You're trying. Keep it on, keep it on. You will learn the Arabic".*

7. 2. 7. Migration to Southern Africa

He finally left Benghazi in Libya for Cairo, Egypt. International sanctions against Libya with regard to the Lockerbie bombings[35] adversely affected the operations of the company he worked with. He therefore migrated to Southern Africa. Abeeku was in Zimbabwe and later went to Zambia where he failed to get a job. He then returned to Zimbabwe, obtained a South African visa and finally arrived in Johannesburg. He lived in Soweto for five years with a male Ghanaian called Kwesi[36] English was his only language of communication in Soweto.

> *In Soweto. Some of them couldn't understand English, but some of them could understand. So they will speak English with you. So if you meet someone who doesn't speak English then you have to forget. You have to go away from that person because he won't understand you. But there were quite a number of people who could speak English. Even the house we were staying, they could all speak English so we were speaking English. English was the only medium, yeah.*

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[35] In 1992 the United Nations Organisation (UNO) imposed sanctions on Libya for its failure to release two men suspected of bombing Pan-Am flight 103, flying over Lockerbie in Scotland. The attack, which occurred on 21 December 1988, killed 270 people on board and 11 others on the ground (Darwish**,** 2001). One of the effects of the sanctions was the closure of some foreign companies in Libya.

[36] A pseudonym for the friend

7. 2. 8. Employment in South Africa

He was first employed in a motor car maintenance workshop near Ellis Park in Johannesburg. English was the language of communication at the workshop. He worked there for two years and left because of the low wages. He then got a job with the Automobile Association (AA) of South Africa. He believed that his knowledge of German helped him to obtain this job as he explains in the following:

> *Now when they were speaking Afrikaans, I could know, because there were some German words I could pick there so I also started speaking German. When I started speaking German, there were some of them there who told me that, "Are you speaking German?" I said, "Yes". They said, "Can a bobbejaan speak German?". I said, "Well, I am speaking it". They said, "Okay, this is 96%* (for your test)*".*

He mainly worked as a road patrol mechanic repairing AA clients' cars on the road and at peoples' homes. Mostly English and sometimes Afrikaans and other South African indigenous languages are used at AA offices. However, Abeeku speaks only English and he is able to understand Afrikaans words because of his knowledge of German. He ignored the racism in the use of 'bobbejaan' for the sake of securing employment.

7. 2. 9. Use of South African indigenous languages

He was also not fluent in South African indigenous languages. He had, however, "*picked up some local dialects, some bits and bits of their local languages*" which became most useful when he was on patrol duties. He speaks mostly English on duty *"because most of the people owning cars can speak English"*. But sometimes he goes to a client's home and finds only a domestic or somebody who does not speak English. In such situations he is only able to greet in Zulu and *"ask for the member".*

However, English creates difficulties for Abeeku when he commutes in taxis. Black South Africans easily identify him as an immigrant and insult him.

> *Yeah, (* there is) *too much discrimination. These blacks?* (There is) *Black against black so now…me when I go to the police station or I go to the hospital, I wouldn't like to talk to a black nurse or a black policeman. I will like to talk to a white policeman or a white nurse because once they see you are black and you are speaking English, ah, they know this guy is not from here.* (They ask), *"Why are you all over here? Go back to your country".You see, they swear at us always.It's a daily affair.*

He believes that he has the ability to "*pick up languages…"* which "*helped me especially with AA*". He would also want to learn either Holland Dutch or Arabic or French.

7. 3. The Burger's[37] Story

The data for this story is from the in-depth interview. Akwesi[38] hails from the Ashanti Region in Ghana and lived there with his parents, three brothers and two sisters. They used Twi at home. He attended primary and secondary schools respectively in Kumasi and Nsawam Adonten in the Eastern Region of Ghana. He, however, dropped out of school, traded briefly in Kumasi and emigrated to Nigeria.

7. 3. 1. Key aspects in the 'Burger's Story

1. Primary education in North Idrieso and secondary education in Nsawam in Ghana
2. Migration to Nigeria (1987– 1989)
3. Migration to Libya (1989–1991)
4. Migration to South Africa (1998–2000)
5. Migration to Ireland (2000-2003)
6. Migration to Britain (2003– 2005)
7. Re-migration to South Africa (2005)

7. 3. 2. Primary and secondary education in Ghana

Akwesi started schooling at Akosa Primary School at South Suntreso also in Kumasi[39], Ghana at the age of five. English and Twi were the languages of instruction. Then he attended St. Martin's Secondary School in Nsawam, Ghana and learned English which was both a subject and the main language of teaching and learning. Akwesi got involved in a school riot at the secondary school when he was in Form Four. Consequently he was expelled and he lost interest in education.

> *Yeah, yeah, when I was going to Form Five. At secondary school I was very radical, yeah, so I was sacked from school .So, yeah, when I was sacked, from there I was not interest into further* (education). *I can't do my school any more. After that I start hustling. I start to go out to hustling* (he was prepared to work and make a living for himself).

He began petty trading in 1985 and was selling "Charlie Wote"[40] at French Line[41] in Kumasi Central Market where he mostly used Twi and sometimes English with his customers. He emigrated to Nigeria in 1987 after two years of doing this business.

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[37] "A German term that was used for all migrants irrespective of the country to which they migrated. This was probably because of the conspicuous and ostentatious dressing and lifestyle of Ghanaian migrants who had returned home or were just visiting from Germany" (Tonah, 2007: 4).

[38] Pseudonym for the 'Burger'

[39] Kumasi is the capital city of the Ashanti region, a very important and historical centre of Ghana. Though it is over 250km north-west of the capital (Accra), Kumasi is Ghana's second largest city (Http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/geography/kumasi.php).

[40] These are rubber sandals or flip flops ideally used in a hot weather.

[41] French Line is an area in the Kumasi Central Market where traders sell their goods. It is also referred to as Eighteen (http://www.modernghana.com/news/224854/1/kma-mayor-warns-kumasi-traders.html)

7. 3. 3. Migration to Nigeria (1987-1989)

He was about nineteen or twenty years old[42] when he first emigrated. It was a common practice at that time for the youth of Akwesi's age to stop school and leave for Nigeria. He arrived in Nigeria in 1987 and was later employed as a messenger for German engineers in a company called Johesburger. English was the language of communication at his workplace because the German employers were fluent in English. He also learned Pidgin English, which is commonly spoken in Nigeria and used it outside the workplace. Twi was the language of interaction with his friends at home.

> *They (German engineers) are speaking English. They are engineers. They are speaking English. My guys, yeah, when I come to home, I speak my language (Twi). If I go out I speak English because no one can understand my language.*

Eventually, Akwesi acquired a limited knowledge of Yoruba, a Nigerian indigenous language. He commented that, "*I can hear but not much. I hear. When you speak I hear but I can't speak well".* He lived there for one and a half years and left for Libya in 1989 in search of better economic opportunities.

7. 3. 4. Migration to Libya (1989-1991)

Akwesi migrated from Nigeria to Benghazi City in Libya for the following reason:

> *I am prepared to survive because I dropped out from secondary school so I don't have good qualification to search for job in my country so I have to be hard. I have to work hard and, you know, get something.*

He was eventually employed as a salesperson by an Italian businessman who was also living in Libya. English was the medium of interaction between Akwesi and the Italian because the Italian "*has travelled a lot. He was in America before, so he understands English, so I didn't find it difficult to communicate with him".* Similarly, he also used English to communicate with customers because Benghazi is a cosmopolitan city with people of different nationalities, especially Americans.

> *Where I was in Benghazi city, there were a lot of other people from other places because those days there was a place Americans are building so majority of them were speaking English, yeah.*

In addition to the mainly English speaking customers, there were Libyan and Sudanese customers as well, although Libyans were in the majority, who spoke Arabic to him. As a result, he also learned Arabic and could communicate in it.

[42] Primary school at the age of five. 10 years of primary and middle school education making it 15 years of age at the end of middle school. He spent four years at secondary school and two years as a petty trader in Kumasi

> *I am the one who keep the shop like am the Store Boy. Am the one taking every care of the shop, you know. So if customer comes to the store, am the one who have to speak to. If the customers are coming to buy something, yeah, they greet me, "Shukura, yeah, yeah. Tamam; Kibale" . Yeah, from there am learning, yeah. Or if they need something, they ask me, yeah, with Arab so from there, you know, am picking up a little bit.*

His acquisition of Arabic was motivated by his opinion that as an immigrant it was imperative for him to know the destination language. He stated that

> *I used to, at times, speak English. From there am speaking Arab because when they come, They will speak Arab. If you are in the country, you must* (know the language)*, you know, so I used my little knowledge.*

At the end of two and a half years of living in Libya, Akwesi returned to Ghana in 1992, stayed there for one and a half years and finally emigrated to South Africa.

7. 3. 5. Migration to South Africa (1998–2000)

Akwesi arrived in South Africa in 1998 and did 'car watch' which he explained.

> *We have a place, let's say a place like shopping mall or wherever, you know, when they are parking and you are watching the cars so that if he is going ,he can give even R1, R2, R3, yeah, yeah.*

He used English to do this job and chose not to learn any South African indigenous language. He commented that: "*I hear like "Kunjani", "Eskorna", "Kunjani". "Weyapila" or whatever because I was having South African friends but I was not interested".* He was not interested because he was not "*coping"* with South Africans "*because their lives are not okay to me so I can't mingle with them"*. He explained that "*if you want to learn the language, you have to cope with the residents– the people around here. Without that it becomes very difficult to hear".* However, Akwesi considered South Africa as a 'transit' country to a better destination. He ultimately left in 2000 for the Republic of Ireland.

7. 3. 6. Migration to Ireland (2000-2003)

He believed that his knowledge of English as well as the friendly attitudes of the Irish made things easy for him to survive.

> *I survive because I speak English. It's English country so I wouldn't find* (problems). *It's a matter of… I make my few days hotel reservation so about five days I was in hotel going out. Yeah, as a guy you will meet a friend so I didn't find anything bad. And they are very, very friendly, yeah, so I didn't find things difficult*.

He got employed at Dell Computers in Dublin. In addition to the Irish employees, the company had French, Spanish, Dutch and African migrant workers. English was the language of communication. He lived and worked in Ireland for four years and moved to London in 2003 for the purpose of seeing what Britain was like.

7. 3. 7. Migration to Britain and re-migration to South Africa (2003–2005)

Akwesi arrived in London in 2003 and spent two years there. He was employed in an American restaurant as a kitchen porter washing plates. Two Koreans and three Scottish were his immediate colleagues and they used English to communicate. His love for Ghana and his realisation that he could be an acceptable and respected citizen only in Ghana made him return to Ghana in 2005. Thereafter Akwesi lived in Ghana for one year and left for South Africa for the second time. Once more he mentioned that he was preparing to migrate from South Africa to another country, of which he was not sure. He arrived in South Africa on the 2nd of December 2005. At the time of my interview with him in 2006, he was living with Ghanaian friends, since he had no plans to work. He however remarked that given the chance, he would want to learn the Zulu and Afrikaans languages because he "*just liked the two (*Languages)*".*

7. 3. 8. Future plans

His vision in life was to become "*a big- time transport owner"* to enable him to care for his family members because they expected him to succeed in life in order to help them. He lamented this seemingly general situation for a number of Ghanaian immigrants in the following way: "*Life is very, very difficult. Yeah, very, very difficult".* This perception illustrates the fact that a number of Ghanaians are economically motivated to emigrate in the hope of getting a better life for themselves and their family members.

7. 4. Discussion and analysis of the stories of the Technician, the Mechanic and the 'Burger'

In this section I will discuss and reflect on the stories of Kobina, Abeeku and Akwesi in the following order: family circumstances and migration (7.4.1), economic motives for migration (7.4.2.), 'macro' and 'micro'–contexts of learning Hausa, French, German and Arabic (7.4.3), contexts of use of Hausa, French, German and Arabic (7.4.4), 'push' and 'pull' factors of learning Hausa, French, German and Arabic (7.4.5), 'germination' factors

of learning Hausa, French, German and Arabic (7.4.6.) and bridging the 'insider' and 'outsider' identities (7.4. 7).

7. 4. 1. Family circumstances and migration

7. 4. 1. 1. Kobina's family circumstances and migration

Kobina did not mention any involvement of his family in his decision to emigrate but his family's poor financial conditions could have prompted his migration to Nigeria in 1976 and 1980 and later to Belgium also in 1980. He dropped out of Kumasi Polytechnic in 1975 because of financial difficulties after his father's death. He was not married at the time so there was no influence from a wife. However, there might have been a direct family influence on his decision to migrate to Belgium again in 1986, to South Africa in 1998 and Mozambique in 2003 because he had then married. Tiemoko (2004: 158) states that

> There is growing evidence and realization that social factors, including factors relating to household and family structures, play a critical role in determining patterns of migration and development, and in influencing outcomes … migrants might be seen as generating capital for investment through remittances.

The responsibility of catering for his family and being a source for financial transformation would be important motivations for Kobina to emigrate.

7. 4. 1. 2. Abeeku's family circumstances and migration

Abeeku's mother encouraged him to migrate to Nigeria. A decision to migrate may not necessarily be personal. The economic benefits to be derived by extended and nuclear family members resulting from an individual's migration tend to make family members take direct or indirect interest in their relative's desire to migrate (Fleischer, 2007).

7. 4. 1. 3. Akwesi's family circumstances and migration

The poor financial conditions of Akwesi's family influenced his intentions to emigrate.

> *Some of us there is no money in the family. My family doesn't have the money. I am the one struggling to survive. All my family the people eye on me. Yeah, am the one to help them so everything is God and I hope things will be better.*

Adepoju (2002: 7) argues again that "the dramatic changes in the region's economic fortunes adversely undermined the ability of families to supply the basic needs of its members". Thus, financial benefits in terms of remittances from an immigrant to family members in the origin country has become an important feature of African migration

(Adepoju, 1995 in Petkou, 2005). Petkou (2005) also suggests that family pride is an important motivation factor for migration in West Africa. He states further that a family's socio-economic importance in the community is determined by the number of emigrants from that family. "In the popular imagination in Ghanaian society, 'abroad' is the source of innovation, opportunity and material success" (Burrell & Anderson, 2008: 205). Some immigrants, as in the case of Akwesi, do all types of jobs to satisfy the basic needs of their family members.

7. 4. 2. Economic motives for migration

7. 4. 2. 1. Kobina's economic motives for migration

In 1976 Kobina migrated to Nigeria for a better job, earn more money and consequently enjoy a better standard of living than in Ghana. He settled in the Kano State for two years–from 1976 to 1978. In 1978 he went back to Ghana and returned to Nigeria in 1980. He worked for eight months and travelled to Belgium from Nigeria. Thus as in the case of Amoako (6.1.3), Ofori (6.3.3) and Jojo (6.5.4), 'push' and 'pull' factors made Kobina also leave Ghana for Nigeria. Ghana's dwindling economy in the 1970s 'pushed' him out whilst Nigeria's economic prosperity 'pulled' him in to Nigeria. Nigeria experienced its greatest oil boom between 1978 and 1980.

The country's oil revenue rose from N5,4 billion in 1978 to N10,3 billion in 1979 and reached the highest recorded revenue of N13,5 billion in 1980 (Afolayan, 1988:17). Not surprisingly, the number of immigrants to Nigeria between 1978 and 1980 also grew with Ghana as "the major contributing alien group". From 1979 to 1980 alone, Ghanaians arriving in Nigeria through official channels of entry increased by more than 50% (from 38, 229 to 80,583) (Afolayan, 1988: 13). However, the Nigerian economy took a downward turn towards 1981, when the oil revenue decreased to N10. 7 billion and moved down even further.

7. 4. 2. 2. Abeeku's economic motive for migration

Abeeku became competent at his job in Ghana and was able to overhaul engines. But economic considerations made him leave Ghana for Nigeria. He received a contract from the Scania Trucks in Nigeria. The remuneration and the benefits were much better

than his earnings in Ghana. He explained that one's ability to do things for oneself as a result of good earnings means having a secure future.

Thus, as in the case of Amoako (6.1.3) and Ofori (6.3.3), Jojo (6.5.4) and Kobina (7.1.4), Nigeria's economic prosperity in the late 1970s and the early 1980s continued to serve as a "pull" factor for a number of young and professional Ghanaians with Ghana's economic failures coupled with individual desire for better standard of living being "push" factors for migration to Nigeria.

7. 4. 2. 3. Akwesi's economic motive for migration

Akwesi first migrated from Ghana to Nigeria in 1987 because he desired to have migration experience. During the late 1970s and the early 1980s it was not uncommon to hear of high school students abandoning their studies to leave Ghana for Nigeria sometimes without the knowledge of their parents. However, Akwesi's real motive for migration appeared to be economic as can be inferred from the following comment:

> *No, I am prepared to survive because I dropped out from secondary school so I don't have good qualification to search for job in my country so I have to be hard. I have to work hard and, you know, get something.*

Once more, poor economic management and political uncertainties in Ghana in addition to perceived prospects in other countries acted respectively as 'push' and 'pull' factors for Akwesi to emigrate. Indeed, Ghana experienced difficult economic conditions between 1980 and 1990 (Kraus, 1991; Country Report, 2002). Writing on the unstable political and economic conditions in Africa and their effects on the youth of the continent, Adepoju (2000 in Adepoju, 2002: 7-8) comments that

> One of the consequences is the weakening and disintegration of family control on the youth that roam the street, seeking for even a lowly paid job for months without success. For most youths, migration either in pursuit of higher education or for wage employment is destined towards the towns and thence to other countries. For a few, such migration is of mobility type, but for the majority, it is strictly for survival.

Since Akwesi did not have a good qualification to compete for jobs in Ghana, his alternative was to emigrate to countries where he could earn money by doing menial jobs.

7. 4. 3. Contexts of use of language

7. 4. 3. 1. Contexts of Kobina's use of Hausa and French

In this section I argue that Kobina's successful acquisition and use of Hausa and French are emergent, complex and dynamic. What follows is an exploration of each of these three concepts as they applied to his stay both in Kano, Nigeria and in Belgium.

Kobina's acquisition of Hausa in Nigeria was a process and emergent, as suggested in Otha (2001). Otha (2001) observes that second language acquisition is an interactive process. It is a process that involves consistent and creative interactions of the learner with the social and physical dimensions of the host community. This process is not a once-off event. It is a series of situated activities between the language learner and competent users of the target language. Kobina's acquisition of Hausa began with the Hausa speech community's choice not to speak English to him. He commented that the established members of the community were bent on speaking Hausa and avoided the use of English.

They pressurised him to speak Hausa. Kobina again stated that: "*They say Hausa 'kwai' so you speak Hausa".* They proceeded to repeat in Hausa what he had said in English:

> *When you greet him in the English, he will not answer but … he will greet you in the Hausa. He will say, "Ohh, sannu, sannu". You see the thing and I mean you will learn.*

Kobina's proficiency in Hausa ultimately emerged from these interactions as he finally said: "*Yeah, so I picked up very fast".*

Kobina's use of Hausa was also 'complex'. There was a difference in Ghanaian culture and the Hausa culture where married couples and single people lived in separate areas in Kano. He explained that even among the single people religion separated Moslems from non-Moslems. Paden (1973: 378 in Anthony, 2000: 426) states that "In practice, Hausa ethnicity as an overarching identity has been based on language and religion, and to some extent, on cultural style". Thus, religion and culture are likely to influence the use of Hausa.

Kobina therefore encountered people with diverse backgrounds and social languages in his use of the Hausa language making this context of use 'complex'.

Against the backdrop of the diverse backgrounds of the Hausa speakers and their social languages, Kobina's use of Hausa was also dynamic. His use of the Hausa language was continuously changing because individuals' choice of words, style and use of language are different in various contexts. He was thus required to vary his use of language to suit the different contexts.

Kobina's competence in both French and Hausa became useful later in his travels. He returned to Ghana from Belgium in 1990 and established a travel agency. His work required him to travel with passengers to Cote d'Ivoire, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Senegal, Tunisia and Burkina Faso. In all these countries, his knowledge of Hausa and French languages were very useful making the context of use dynamic. His use of language was consistently changing to match the context.

> *It helps a lot because let's say like if I go to Burkina Faso, they are speaking French. It's a French speaking country so I have to interact with them in French.If I go to, let's say, Tunis, it's an Arab speaking country but because I hear the Hausa, you know, Hausa get a lot of Arab in their language so because of those Hausa that I hear, I mean I used to speak with them too. Then the other countries, the English speaking side like Sierra Leone and Liberia like this, yeah, it's also okay. I speak the English with them.*

Kobina's above opinion confirms the arguments of Djajic (2003) that immigrants who share similar languages with the residents of the host country tend to enjoy a warm reception and are seen as credible employees and business partners. This mutual understanding "provides both sides with an incentive, sometimes quite strong, to honor their explicit as well as implicit commitments…" (Djajic, 2003: 2). Since the use of language is one of the outward points for human interaction, immigrants' competence in a language of the destination country becomes an important marker of trust.

Once more Kobina's acquisition of both Hausa and French was not linear and static. Social and physical conditions of the Hausa and French speech communities as well as the characteristics of the individual speakers of these languages tended to render the context of their use emergent, complex and dynamic.

7. 4. 3. 2. Contexts of Abeeku's use of German

Abeeku's use of German was complex, dynamic and emergent. It was complex because he learned German in both the formal context of the school and the informal context of the community. His personal desire to overcome the social and academic challenges

could be complex. The following statement suggests his compulsion to know German: "*They would force you to speak the German".* His status as an immigrant and his lack of knowledge of language learning made him interpret the Germans' attitude of encouraging him to speak the language as an attack on him. His perception would render the use of German daunting and complex.

Abeeku's use of German was emergent. He stated that

> *They would make you speak. They would force you to speak the German and that would make you to learn the German quickly.*

He recognized that the gradual process of learning and the Germans' attitudes of encouraging him constituted an important factor for language emergence. Abeeku stood to benefit from the Germans' attitudes because the use of German leads to greater social integration and employment opportunities. Constant and Massey (2003: 646) report that "speaking the German language fluently is also rewarded in the labor market and increases the earnings of the guestworkers by about 7%".

Abeeku's use of German was dynamic. His knowledge and proficiency in German were constantly changing in relation to the demands of the contexts of use. He used the language at the Mercedes-Benz factory where he worked in Germany. He continued to use German with his German employers in Libya and even in the South African context years after he left Germany. He believed that his proficiency in German helped him to get employed with the Automobile Association of South Africa. At the interview for this job he heard his interviewers speaking Afrikaans. Similarities between German and Afrikaans enabled him to understand the conversation. He then spoke German, which surprised his interviewers. The following interview captures the conversation between Abeeku and his prospective AA employers.

> Employers: *Are you speaking German?*
>
> Abeeku: *Yes*.
>
> Employers: *Can a 'bobbeyaan' speak German?*.
>
> Abeeku: *Well, I am speaking it*.
>
> Employers: *Okay, this is 96% there* (for your test).

His statement, "*They said, "Okay, this is 96% there* for your test" immediately after the discussion suggests his belief that his ability to speak the language contributed to his success at the interview.

7. 4. 3. 3. Contexts of Akwesi's use of Arabic

Akwesi's acquisition of Arabic was gradual and emergent as a result of his various interactions. It started with greetings: "*If the customers are coming to buy something, yeah, they* ***greet*** *me".* It moved to speaking: "*So if customer comes to the store, I am the one who they have to* ***speak*** *to".* This continues with further interactions in the form of questions and answers: "*Or if they need something, they* ***ask*** *me, yeah, with Arabic".* He was able to "*pick up"* the language: "*So from there, you know, am* ***picking up*** *a little bit".* He eventually became proficient in the language by improving on the already acquired knowledge: "*So I used my little knowledge".* Canagarajah (2007: 921) contends that

> Language learning and use succeed through performance strategies, situational resources, and social negotiations in fluid communicative contexts. Proficiency is therefore practice-based, adaptive and emergent.

Akwesi started out as a recognised beginner of Arabic through the use of greetings and slowly turned into more experienced user of the language as his knowledge improved.

Akwesi's use of Arabic was also a complex experience. He used Arabic with Libyans, Sudanese and other people who were from different nationalities, with different economic, political, cultural and social backgrounds. Watson-Gegeo (2004: 340) states that "language forms correspond with the values, beliefs, and practices of a particular group" and language learners are required to appropriate these forms. Fettes (2003: 43) also asserts that

> Language learners are confronted by a language system that extends far beyond their own realm of experience, and that is co-ordered in profound ways with the distribution of wealth and influence, economic and cultural capital, in the society concerned.

Thus there were different language forms of Arabic that Akwesi had to learn because of all the various groups of customers who patronised his shop.

The diversity of these groups of customers in turn created a dynamic context of use of Arabic. Language forms were likely to be 'heterogeneous, variable, changing, and

therefore interactively established in each context (Canagarajah, 2007: 934). In other words Akwesi communicated with a number of people in various situations. Each context was an opportunity to learn and use another item in Arabic.

7. 4. 4. 'Macro' and 'micro'–contexts of destination language learning

7. 4. 4.1. 'Macro' and 'micro'–contexts of learning Hausa in Nigeria and French in Belgium

Kobina was employed at Iloka Electronics, a privately owned workshop, in the Kano State, Nigeria to repair radio and television sets. English (or Pidgin English) was the language of the 'micro'-context of his workplace with Hausa as the language of the 'macro'-context of the community. His proficiency in English enabled successful communication in this 'micro'-context but it was imperative for him to learn Hausa in order to interact with members of the speech community as a whole.

> *They only want to speak the Hausa and they don't want to speak English so you have to learn the Hausa by force because if you don't hear the Hausa, it's very difficult to interact with them.*

However, the language situation was different in Belgium. French, Flemish and German are the official languages of Belgium. About one third (33%) of the population speak French, 1% speak German with more than 60% speaking Flemish. French and Flemish are the official languages taught at schools and are also the two official languages of Brussels, which is the capital of Belgium (www.bbc.co.uk). Flemish is a variant of the Dutch language spoken in Belgium (Flood, 1996). Kobina resided and worked in the French–speaking area of Louvain as a car salesman. He therefore required the knowledge of French in both the 'micro'-context of his workplace and the 'macro'-context of the community.

Of .greater importance is that similar to Amoako's situation in the Igbo State of Nigeria (6.1.3.), Kobina's decision to learn French was influenced by his economic motive of migration. He was initially unwilling to learn Hausa until he was pressurised to do so because Hausa is the language of the 'macro'-context of the community and did not directly affect his work. He was satisfied that he could proficiently speak English which was the language of the 'micro'-context of his workplace. On the contrary, Kobina eagerly learned French in Belgium since French was necessary for his job as a salesperson.

7. 4. 4. 2. 'Macro' and 'micro' contexts of learning German

I argue in this section that Abeeku was reluctant to learn a destination language where he could use English in both the micro-context of his workplace and the macro-context of the speech community. Abeeku worked as a mechanic with the Scania company in Nigeria. English was the language of communication in the 'micro-context' of his workplace whilst Yoruba was the language of the 'macro-context' of the community. He chose not to learn any Nigerian indigenous language. He migrated to Libya where English and German were used interchangeably in the 'micro'-context of his workplace with Arabic and English as the languages of the 'macro– context' of the community. As in the case of Nigeria, he chose not to learn Arabic.

Abeeku's language situation in South Africa was similar to those of Nigeria and Libya. English is the language mostly used in the 'micro'-context of his workplace with Zulu, Afrikaans, Sotho, English, Setswana and Xhosa as the main languages in the macro-context of the community (South African census, 2001). Abeeku once more chose not to learn any of the South African indigenous languages.

Abeeku, however, experienced a different language situation in Germany. He mainly used German both in the 'micro-context' of his workplace and in the 'macro'–context of the community. He was then able to learn German. Thus where English was the language of the micro-context of the workplace, he chose not to learn any other destination language. On the other hand, where another language, apart from English, was the language of the micro-context, as in the case of German, he learned the destination language.

7. 4. 4. 3. 'Micro' and 'macro'-contexts of learning Arabic

The 'macro'–context refers to the speech community where Akwesi lived in Libya whilst the 'micro'– context was his workplace. Akwesi was employed in Libya as a shop assistant in a shop, which was owned by an Italian man. English was the language of the 'micro'-context of his workplace. But Akwesi needed knowledge of Arabic, which is one of the languages used in the 'macro'-context of the community in order to do his work effectively. Arabic, English and Italian are important languages spoken in Libya. As an economic migrant[43] Akwesi considered it very necessary to learn Arabic which was

[43] "Immigrants who move primarily for improved labor market opportunities for themselves are known as

the most valued language required in the 'micro'-context of his workplace even though English was also acceptable.

7. 4. 5. 'Push' and 'pull' factors of destination language learning

I argue that Kobina's own personal conditions and internal demands of the Hausa speech community in the Kano State in Nigeria and the French speech community in Louvain in Belgium prompted him to opt to learn the Hausa and French languages. Similarly, social, economic, cultural and emotional conditions from Abeeku's training and background, on one hand, pressurized him to learn German. On the other hand social, economic, cultural and political situations prevalent in the German speech community drew him to learn the language. Again, the factors from Akwesi's background and in his life as well as other factors in the speech community in Libya encouraged him to learn Arabic.

I have used the concept of 'push' factors to describe the personal conditions of Kobina, Abeeku and Akwesi and 'pull' factors to describe the internal demands of the Hausa, French, German and Arabic speech communities. The section that follows will focus on these factors.

Examples of 'push' and 'pull' factors of learning Hausa, French, German and Arabic

'Push' factors of learning a destination language	**'Pull' factors of learning a destination language**
1. Response to social demands to learn Hausa	1. Positive attitudes of the established members towards 'outsiders'
2. Link between knowledge of destination language and continued stay in the community	2. Established members' use of destination language to socialize 'outsiders' into the community
3. Determination to overcome communication barriers	
4. Importance of knowing a destination language to perform duties	

Table 7.1. Examples of 'push' and 'pull' factors of learning Hausa, French, German and Arabic

7. 4. 5. 1. 'Push' and 'pull' factors of learning Hausa

Kobina settled in the Kano State during his sojourn in Nigeria. Of greater significance is that Kobina also needed Hausa for social interaction as was the case for Amoako in the Igbo community (6.1.3.).

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economic immigrants" (Mesch, 2003: 43).

Kano State was officially proclaimed on 1 April 1968 (Kanooline. Com, 2001) and it remained the most highly populated state in Nigeria until 27 August 1991 when Jigawa State was created from it (Onlinenigeria.com, 2003). The major ethnic groups in Kano are Hausa and Fulani with Hausa as the most widely spoken language and English as the official language. Arabic, the language of Islamic religion, is also spoken in Kano State. Islam became the established religion of Kano State between 1463 and 1499 and has since been the main religion of the state (kanoonline.com, 2001). "Kano is a cosmopolitan melting pot of people. Urban drift from rural areas within Kano, other states in Nigeria and Northern West Africa, has provided a steady stream of migrants adding to Kano's growing population" (Family Health International, 2000: 9).

When Kobina migrated to the Kano State, the members of the community encouraged immigrants to learn Hausa as a means of integrating them into the society. The following comments reflect the situation:

> *They were… we are in the Kano State so they were using Hausa. They were using the Hausa language and then I tried to speak the Hausa language a little bit so … because in Kano, they have one … they have one ideology .They only want to speak the Hausa and they don't want to speak English so you have to learn the Hausa by force because if you don't hear the Hausa, it's very difficult to interact with them. You can never interact with them because they will not listen to you when you are speaking the English. They say Hausa 'kwai' so you speak Hausa.*

Hausa is a language used for trade and commercial activities within the West African sub-region. Around 40 million people speak it as either their home language or an additional language (Janks, 2005)[44] making Hausa a lingua franca. "Hausa as a lingua franca, particularly in the north of Nigeria, brings together people from many different language backgrounds" (Furniss, 1996: 6). People in Kano State are therefore likely to have interactions with many different peoples with possible result of having their language and culture under threat of adulteration. Strict adherence to the use of Hausa language helps in maintaining the language and also serves as a unifying force. Hiskett (1984 in Anthony, 2000) describes the situation in the following way:

[44] Janks, K. (2005) Geographical Regions: Sub-Saharan Africa: The Hausa and the Fulani Peoples. *MYTHING LINKS: An Annotated & Illustrated Collection of Worldwide Links to Mythologies, Fairy Tales & Folklore, Sacred Arts & Sacred Traditions.* http://www.mythinglinks.org/afr~subsahara~HausaFulani.html. Accessed 6 February 2008.

> The Hausa nation has been built up, over many generations, of different peoples of many different bloodlines who have migrated to Hausaland and joined the original stock. What unites them is a common language and, to an ever increasing extent over the course of their history, common adherence to Islam (Hiskett, 1984: 68 in Anthony, 2000: 425).

Douglas Anthony (2000) refers to "Hausa society's assimilative tendency" (Anthony, 2000: 425) and Adamu (1978 in Anthony 2000: 422) has referred to it as 'Hausanisation'. Assimilation is considered as the process through which immigrants and their children change as they live in the destination country (Pew Hispanic Center and Kaizer Family Foundation, 2004). This assimilative tendency of the Hausa speech community was a 'pull' factor for Kobina to learn Hausa language. Moyer (2004: 47) hypothesizes that:

> The essential point is that motivation toward the language and opportunities for linguistic practice suffer when immigrants perceive that the host community is hostile or simply disinterested in developing personal ties.

Leather and van Dam (2003) point out that the societal beliefs and behaviour of the host country towards foreign residents from certain regions tend to influence the level of social interaction and subsequently language learning. Kobina's comment that established members of the Hausa community press immigrants to learn the language was a 'pull' factor. This is a 'pull' factor because it is the attitude of speech community towards him. Kobina was eventually 'pulled' to learn the language.

> Interviewer: *So it means eventually you got some competence, I mean, you became competent in using the language.*
>
> Kobina: *Yeah. You have to learn by force, I mean, you have to learn by force because like going to buy food, like… you have to learn, you see.*

Leather and van Dam (2003: 17) posit that "functional survival criteria provide a basic motivation for acquiring the new language, for in society at large any migrant needs to find shelter and buy food". Satisfying his needs appeared to have been an important 'push' factor for Kobina to learn Hausa.

Of further interest is the inference he makes that those who are not established members of Kano State seem to experience an internal compulsion which 'pushes' them to learn Hausa. Kobina emphasises that he did not have any other choice than to

learn the language. Such a situation may require psychological and emotional strategies to enable language learning. His is different from the literature of 'ecological' perspective of language acquisition where socio-cultural environments supersede psychological and emotional strategies in second language learning.

Indeed, at the latter part of the following quote, Kobina once more highlights the importance of the relationship between language and his survival in the community: "*you can't survive because even to buy food or anything without the language you can't survive".*

> *Just imagine you are in a place where if you speak English they don't accept but it's the Hausa language that you have to speak and they are all speaking it so you will pick up very fast other than that you can't survive because even to buy food or anything without the language you can't survive.*

He is thus suggesting that lack of competence in Hausa would have made his stay in the community difficult. He was aware that there was no social survival without knowledge of Hausa. This was a significant 'push' factor.

The community's reluctance to "*accept English"* and the attitude of mostly communicating in Hausa were also 'pull' factors that attracted Kobina to learn the language. The use of "*very fast"* underlines Kobina's urgency for learning and his subsequent success and relief as in the case of Amoako in the Igbo community (6.1.3.).

7. 4. 5. 2. 'Push' and 'pull' factors of learning French

Kobina faced another difficulty involving language when he migrated to Belgium in 1980 to work. Professionally, he is an electronic technician but he could not get a job suitable for his profession so he became a sales agent selling second hand cars and electrical appliances on commission. His job was to look for customers to buy the goods and he received a cash percentage on the sale.

> *Though they give us[45] papers to go and look for job but we couldn't get the job so what we actually do is we are working on connection basis. We are just selling cars. I mean we go to the garages, they give us the prices of the cars, we go to town, we find customers and then they give you a commission.*

Chiswick, Lee and Miller (2005: 334-335) argue that

[45] Kobina was referring to what he and other asylum seekers used to do.

> Migrants flow from the low–wage origin to the high–wage destination countries. Yet "skills" may not be perfectly transferable across countries. These skills are…labor market information, destination language proficiency, and occupational licenses, certifications or credentials, as well as more narrowly defined task-specific skills.

Kobina's academic certificates and practical knowledge of electronics could not guarantee him automatic access to an appropriate job. However, proficiency in French, the language of the area where he worked, was essential requirement for this job. Therefore he learned French and used it interchangeably with English.

When he worked in Belgium for 4 years, he found the Belgians to be more accommodating with regard to the use of language. Gannon (2004: 306) states that "Belgians tend to appreciate the use of their language and will generally warm up to outsiders more quickly if an attempt is made to learn at least one of them". They are also used to living with immigrants who form 5% of the population at all times (Gannon, 2004). This attitude of the established members of the speech community 'pulled' Kobina to learn French in order to interact with the people and to facilitate his work activities as well. His choice is consistent with Chiswick's and Miller's (1994) opinion that

> The development of language skills among immigrants is important for their economic adjustment. Language is an important dimension of the skill levels of immigrants relevant for the labor market (Chiswick and Miller, 1994: 119).

Kobina seems to have been aware of the link between proficiency in French and the success of economic activities in the country. This awareness was a 'push' factor for him.

It is also of significance that a French speaking Black salesperson in Louvain where Kobina was working would have more credibility than an English speaking one. Language thus becomes an important tool in business interactions between immigrants and the local community. Djajic (2004: 5) argues that

> Social customs, attitudes and values of immigrants may differ drastically from those of the native population. More importantly, they are not likely to change very quickly. In many cases this can give rise to a lack of trust and confidence between the natives and newcomers, contributing to high expected transactions costs and low expected gains from commercial and social interactions between members of the two groups.

Established members of the destination speech community may not be particularly concerned about the differences between their own customs and values and those of immigrants when immigrants are able to learn their language. Thus, the use of a common language is seen as a sign of trust which minimizes perceived mistrust and creates more confidence between immigrants and the established community. This situation, which immigrants mostly experience, 'pulled' Kobina to realise the need to learn French.

7. 4. 5. 3. 'Push' and 'pull' factors of learning German

Having earned money for three years in Nigeria, Abeeku migrated to Germany for practical training as a mechanic. His brother who had been living in Germany sponsored him to attend a German language school to learn the technical terms related to his profession.

Abeeku's own reason for migrating to Germany "*to upgrade myself on Mercedes-Benz trucks"* was a 'push' factor. He could successfully upgrade himself if he had acquired knowledge of German. His brother's decision to encourage him to attend a German language school was a 'pull' factor for Abeeku to learn German. Since his brother lives in Germany, this decision may have been influenced by his own experience with the importance of immigrants' knowledge of German in immigrants' employment opportunities.

Germans' attitudes regarding immigrants' learning the German language was a 'pull' factor. He states that:

> *And the Germans, you know, the Germans are very proud. They understand the English but they wouldn't speak English with you.They would make you speak.They would force you to speak the German and that would make you to learn the German quickly.*

7. 4. 5. 4. 'Push' and 'pull' factors of learning Arabic

Akwesi lived in Nigeria for a year and a half before he migrated to Libya. However, he preferred Libya to Nigeria. To him, "*Libya is a very nice place. It's better than Nigeria".* Berry (1997 in Mesch, 2003: 47) argues that "the more the society is perceived as open and receiving, the less likely the immigrant is to separate himself or herself from the culture of the local society and to learn the local language". Akwesi's personal

preference for Libya influenced his decision to live longer in the country. This, in turn, 'pushed' him to learn Arabic.

Akwesi's position as the only worker in the store was also a 'push' factor for learning.

> *But the shop **I am the one** who keep the shop like am the Store Boy. **Am the one** taking every care of the shop, you know. So if customer comes to the store, **am the one** who have to speak to. Then… or if they need something, they ask **me**, yeah, with Arab so from there, you know, am picking up a little bit.*

He was well placed to communicate with both Arabic speaking and English speaking customers at all times. Considering his own preference for living in Libya, this environment was conducive to learn Arabic through interaction with the customers.

Akwesi asserted that immigrants ought to learn the language of the country where they reside. He stated that "*So if you are in the country, you must* (know the language)*, you know, so I used my little knowledge".* Thus, he was compelled and 'pushed' to decide to use the little knowledge he had acquired in order to learn more Arabic.

7. 4. 6. 'Germination' factors of learning Hausa, French, German and Arabic

I argue in this section that the Hausa speech community in the Kano State in Nigeria and the French community in Louvain in Belgium were sufficiently "fertile" for Kobina to plant a 'seed' of acquisition. Abeeku and Akwesi lived and worked in Germany and Libya respectively where the speech communities were also "fertile" for them to plant 'seeds' of 'acquisition'. These 'seeds' germinated, grew and produced proficiency in Hausa, French, German and Arabic. I will focus on the 'germination' factors that encouraged them to acquire the proficiency in these languages.

7. 4. 6. 1. 'Germination' factors of learning Hausa

Kobina's previous association with the Hausa speaking community in Ghana made him realize that the two varieties of Hausa language spoken in Accra (Ghana) and Kano were mutually intelligible. The opportunity of hearing people speaking Hausa in Ghana was a 'germination' factor which later contributed to his competence in Hausa.

> *I was saying that the languages are very similar because even when we were in Accra, I could remember that sometimes I used to hear those people from Nima this thing speaking the Hausa language but I couldn't, I mean because they are not my friends, I was not speaking with them but then when I was in Kano, I realised most of the things that they are saying, you see the thing, is very similar so it's very easy for me to interact.*

Thus, his own linguistic background was a significant factor that enabled him to overcome the language difficulties he encountered. Commenting on the speakers of Lingua Franca English, Canagarajah (2007: 928) observes that

> If multilingual speakers display such stupendous competence in acquiring and using a hybrid language like LFE, there is evidence that it comes from language socialization and awareness developed in their local communities.

Kobina comments that his awareness of the use of Hausa in Nima made it easier and convenient for him to interact with people in Kano. Thus the ability to draw on the knowledge of languages that are already learned may be a useful strategy for second language learning. Nima is a Hausa speaking community in Accra, Ghana.

Kobina explains further in the following comment that apart from Kano residents speaking Hausa all the time, they also make a conscious effort to help people to learn the language by repeating in Hausa what learners say in English.

> *And they too they are very helpful. I mean when they see that… when they see that you don't hear and you want to speak English, they start by teaching you.*

Again the end result is that he was able to learn Hausa very quickly. This statement depicts that the processes that occurred between Kobina and the Hausa community were 'germination' factors to his knowledge of the language as he suggested in the following: "*You see the thing and I mean you will learn, you will know".* The statement also suggests Kobina's satisfaction of using this approach to teaching novices a new language.

Of further interest is that Hausa speakers' way of socializing people into the use of their language and Kobina's understanding of the situation also reflect Canagarajah's (2007: 930) view that

> Participants must engage with the social context, and responsively orchestrate the contextual cues for alignment…Rather than form, multilingual competence features an array of interactional strategies that can create meaning out of shifting contexts.

The success of this alignment and the strategies could be summed up in Kobina's statement that "*Yeah, so I picked up very fast".* These words underline Kobina's assessment of the speed with which he learned the language. This underscores the

importance of interactional processes in second language learning but it is contrary to the notion in the literature of language and immigration that links successful destination language to only longer time of stay (Djajic, 2004; Chiswick, 1998; Chiswick & Miller, 2004).

7. 4. 6. 2. 'Germination' factors of learning French

A number of Belgians tend to be proficient in French, which created favourable situations for Kobina to interact in the language and eventually learn it. Belgian language in education policy states that

> Children are first required to study the native language of the region in which they live for at least 8 years. They are also required to study a second language, which could be Dutch (Fleming), French, English or German for at least 4 years. It is not uncommon to meet a Belgian, usually a Fleming, who is proficient in each of the four languages and more (Gannon, 2004: 306).

These conditions were 'germination' factors. Indeed Kobina believed that there were virtually no problems for him to learn the language: "S*o there I can say that the language issue too is not a big problem with the Belgians. It's not a big problem".* Thus, appropriate national language policies play significant role in immigrants' destination language learning in particular and second language learning in general.

Kobina's occupation as salesperson was also a 'germination' factor. He was going from one workplace to another and house to house selling cars and earning commission. Salespersons usually need to convince customers and help them to buy the goods they want or may not want. Describing and demonstrating the use of cars to customer would require Kobina to use French consistently. Continuous contact with the French speaking customers and exposure to the use of the language would also enable him to improve his proficiency in French and learn more from them (Djajic, 2004).

Kobina's ability to learn languages was another "germination" factor. Drawing on House (2003), Canagarajah (2007: 924 - 925) states that

> Students of English from different countries bring pragmatic strategies valued in their own communities to facilitate communication with outsiders…Each participant brings his or her own languages resources to find strategic fit with the participants and purpose of a context.

The greater the number of languages one knows, the more language resources and 'strategic fits' the person has to facilitate communication in different contexts. Kobina could speak four languages-Ga, English, Twi and Hausa-when he migrated to Belgium. I infer that he was able to draw on these resources to learn French.

7. 4. 6. 3. 'Germination' factors of learning German

Abeeku formally learned the discourse of his profession as a mechanic to enable him to do his work effectively. The workplace context, therefore, served as a 'germination' factor for his proficiency in German. "Studies have shown that language proficiency enhances absorption into the labor market, in terms of both ability to find work and ability to match occupation with skills" (Mesch, 2003: 41). Constant and Massey (2003: 639) also state that "German language proficiency is important in determining job prospects, occupational advancement, and earnings, and reflects the ease with which guest workers are assimilated". Abeeku's use of German to enable him to apply his knowledge as motor mechanic increased his knowledge of the language and improved his proficiency.

Of further importance is the fact that both the micro-context of the German language school and the macro-context of the community combined to 'germinate' Abeeku's proficiency in German.

> *Yeah. And the Germans, you know, ... they would make you speak. They would force you to speak the German and that would make you to learn the German quickly.*

Commenting on the impact of formal schooling on adult immigrants' ability to learn German, Moyer (2004: 42) notes that "…formal schooling does make a difference linguistically, but…social and psychological factors may be even more significant predictors of ultimate attainment, particularly for late learners". Thus, Abeeku's social interaction in the affordance rich environment, contributed to his understanding of and proficiency in German.

7. 4. 6. 4. 'Germination' factors of learning Arabic

This section considers the 'germination' factors which eventually contributed to Akwesi's proficiency in Arabic.

The fact that customers chose to use Arabic over English when communicating with Akwesi was a 'germination' factor since it encouraged him to learn the language.

> Interviewer: *So before you got to know Arabic and the customers were coming there speaking Arabic which language were you using to speak to them?*
>
> Akwesi: *I used to, at times, speak English. From there am speaking Arab because when they come, they will speak Arab.*

Established members of the speech community tended to use the destination language as a way of socialising immigrants into the community. This socialisation enabled him to learn Arabic as well.

He was ready to communicate in Arabic irrespective of his level of proficiency. This supports Canagarajah's (2007: 930) suggestion that "…acquisition aims towards versatility and agility, not mastery and control". He was also excited about his knowledge of Arabic when I interviewed him, as suggested in the following: "*Yeah, yeah, of course, yeah, I can speak Arabic, yeah"*. He even spoke a few Arabic words to me in the interview: *"Shukura, yeah, yeah. Tamam; Kibale".* Libyans' friendly attitude regarding speaking Arabic to Akwesi and his corresponding response helped to increase his knowledge in the language.

Each encounter with customers was an opportunity for his knowledge of Arabic to 'germinate' and grow. Language learning, therefore, becomes a continuous process as indicated in Canagarajah (2007: 931) "Considerable personal appropriation of forms and conventions takes place as the speaker develops skills and awareness that contribute to his or her repertoire–a learning that is ongoing".

Indeed, he believed that this attitude compels immigrants to learn Arabic: "*So if you are in the country, you **must**, you know…so I used my little knowledge".* Akwesi had to apply the basic knowledge learned to communicate until he became competent in the language. Moyers (2004) suggests that

> Overcoming social and psychological ups and downs may be a function of one's access to a supportive community, as well as the strength of one's goals for language attainment. Furthermore, the desire to affiliate with the language and/or its community of speakers may push the learner towards specific actions which can further linguistic contact (Moyers, 2004: 51).

Akwesi's own perception towards the importance of learning Arabic, his willingness and interest to learn Arabic as well as his positive reactions to the use of the language increased his proficiency in Arabic.

7. 4. 7. 'Germination' inhibitors of destination language learning

7. 4. 7. 1. 'Germination' inhibitors for Kobina in South Africa

I argue that Kobina's technical skills in electronics, lack of necessities for communication in South African indigenous languages and his wife's ability to speak in English were 'germination' inhibitors. Kobina repaired faulty tape recorders, radio, television sets and other electronic gadgets. His work mostly required limited interactions with people who speak South African indigenous languages. At home, even though his wife is a South African and speaks South African indigenous languages, she also speaks English. She opted to communicate in English with Kobina. Therefore, there was virtually no need for him to have knowledge of a South African indigenous language.

7. 4. 7. 2. 'Germination' inhibitors for Abeeku in South Africa

I argue in this section that Abeeku's ability to speak English and the acceptance of English for communication in Soweto where he lived for five years and at his two workplaces served as 'germination' inhibitors of learning a South African indigenous language. English, Afrikaans and a number of African languages are widely spoken in Soweto (Ntshangase, 2002) but he chose only English.

> *But there were quite a number of people who could speak English. Even the house we were staying, they could all speak English so we were speaking English. English was the only media, yeah.*

The acceptance of English was therefore a 'germination' inhibitor that discouraged him from learning a South African indigenous language.

Abeeku was also employed as a mechanic at an auto repairs shop at Ellis Park in inner Johannesburg. English was again the medium of .communication.

> *Beginning, beginning when I came here I was working with these Greeks. The other black guys I was working with they could speak something like a broken* (Pidgin) *English. You see that they are not very good at English so whether past tense or present tense, they just put it there for you to understand them. And we get working, even to the boss because the boss is a Greek. He doesn't speak Zulu. He doesn't speak Sotho or something.*

He was eventually employed by the AA as a road patrol mechanic. He stated that he had acquired a basic knowledge of Zulu, which he speaks when on patrol duties: "*In fact I picked up some local dialects, some bits and bits of their local language, You go you greet and ask for the member. That I know to speak in Zulu"*. Any form of Zulu beyond the basics becomes problematic for him. He explained that "*But she will answer you and from there on when she pours on the language, I get stuck in the middle of the ocean there*". Therefore he used English most of the time as his use of English became a 'germination' inhibitor.

7. 4. 7. 3. 'Germination' inhibitors for Akwesi in South Africa

Akwesi's migration experiences in both Nigeria and Libya adversely affected his desire to learn a South African indigenous language. He lived in Nigeria for one and half years. He could understand Yoruba but was unable to communicate fluently in it.

> Interviewer: *Could you live better with the Nigerians if you knew Yoruba at that time?*
>
> Akwesi: *Yeah, yeah, of course. They are good. Yeah, they are very friendly.*

To him, the Nigerians were good and very friendly. He was, therefore, eager to learn Yoruba.

Similarly he lived in Libya for two and half years, learned Arabic and described the country as "*a very nice place. It's better than Nigeria".* The positive attitudes of the people in Nigeria and Libya created corresponding response towards Yoruba and Arabic for him. He later summed up his views in the following: "*if you want to learn the language, you have to cope with the residents – the people around here. Without that, it becomes very difficult to hear".*

The favourable experiences in Nigeria and Libya were contrary to the South African situation as seen in the following comments:

- *I am not coping with South Africans.*
- *Their lives are not okay to me.*
- *I can't mingle with them.*

He therefore chose not to learn any South African indigenous language. Fettes (2003: 42) argues that

> Language learners learn to participate in particular interaction frames in which language devices of interest are being used. The intentions, or private schematic networks, required to use these devices are thereby integrated with the learner's embodied knowledge of the world, and the learner is simultaneously initiated into a particular cultural community whose genres and discourses may leave a lasting mark on their linguistic competence, their view of the world and their self-perception.

Akwesi's dislike of South Africans' behaviour and attitudes and his personal stand that he could "*not cope and mingle with them*" made him distance himself from learning a South African indigenous language. His decision not to identify with South Africans made him not to invest in learning their languages. He chose not to participate in the interaction frames he was exposed to and limited himself to the use of greetings in Zulu. He thus found "spaces for expressing resistant identities" as he deviated from the seemingly expected role of participation (Canagarajah, 2007: 927).

Akwesi did not have a personal motivation to learn a South African indigenous language. He stated categorically that he was not interested in learning a South African indigenous language.

> Interviewer: *Now when you were here, was there any occasion when somebody thought you should speak a South African language and you could not use any South African language? Did you have that experience?*
>
> Akwesi: *I was having South African friends but I was not interested, yeah.*

Akwesi's South African friends were 'capable social members' but for the two years that he lived in the country he preferred to remain a passive recipient to South African indigenous languages. Akwesi chose not to be identified with South Africans through the use of a South African indigenous language. Indeed, he clearly suggested that he desired to maintain his 'outsider' identity. Perhaps Akwesi was influenced by his more positive experiences in Ghana, Nigeria and Libya.

Successful use of a destination language for communication yielded positive attitudes in Akwesi signifying a certain degree of integration into the new community. The contrary was the case where he was unable to use an indigenous language in South Africa.

7. 4. 8. Bridging the 'insider' and 'outsider' identities using language

7. 4. 8. 1. Bridging the 'insider' and 'outsider' identities using language in Nigeria

I indicated earlier (3.5.4) that I adopted the concept of bridging the 'insider' and 'outsider' identities to reflect on the experiences of my respondents who chose not to learn any destination language. I am, however, relating this concept to Kobina because of the peculiar situation he faced in the Hausa community in Kano. Therefore, instead of analyzing investment and identity in this particular chapter, I decided that these two sections (7.4.8.1 and 7.4.8.2.) on bridging the 'insider' and 'outsider' identities would be more useful.

Even though Kobina learned Hausa in the Kano community, he admitted that his competence in Hausa did not lead to complete acceptance in the community.

> *No there was still a big difference. The difference is you hear the language all right but their culture is different from your culture, you see the thing, because whenever they see you, I mean, wearing trousers and shirt, they know that you are not this thing, you are not a Moslem, you see, so you can only speak the language but you are not a Moslem. That means you are not one of them.*

Religious beliefs can create a barrier. There is a more pronounced "we-they" divide based on religion and culture than language. Language, thus, becomes only a symbol of communication whilst the style of dressing and religious practices of Islam distinguish Moslems from the others. Kobina, therefore, believes that since he did not become a Moslem, he did not experience complete integration. He asserted that "*There was still a big difference"* in the community.

However, the cultural difference did not deter Kobina from learning Hausa. This corroborates Moyer's (2004) view that

> Even where cultural differences predict difficulty, some learners recast negative impressions and experiences in positive ways in order to preserve their affiliation with the target language itself. Such psychological strategising is a reminder of the individual's active, conscious engagement in the acculturation process.
>
> (Moyer, 2004: 51).

Kobina's economic motive for migration and his determination to live and work in the Kano State in order to achieve this objective made him continue to stay in the

community and learn the Hausa language in spite of the social and cultural difficulties. Of further significance is that immigrants may work harder to learn a destination language when there are social imperatives so long as they are certain of realising their economic motives for migration.

7. 4. 8. 2. Bridging the 'outsider'–'insider' identities using language in South Africa

Abeeku realized the importance of knowing a South African indigenous language. He explained that his lack of proficiency created difficulties for him in taxis[46] and other social institutions as indicated in the following interview:

> Interviewer: *What language do you speak outside of work?*
>
> Abeeku: *You see, it's because of the languages, the next difficult thing is on the taxi back home. If once they see you speaking English, they drop on you. "You are not from here, what do you want here? Go back to your country". So it makes things little difficult for us especially the immigrants. Now I just go over it, but now paying your money and taking your balance becomes* (a problem) *because if they forget to give you your balance and you ask for your balance, they tell you you should go back home.*

The statement, "*once they see you speaking English, they drop on you"* emphasises the immigrant's vulnerable and weak position as a result of the choice not to learn a South African indigenous language. Language and complexion are the main stereotypical markers South Africans use to identify African immigrants as stated in the following:

> The police arrest anyone who they suspect of being an immigrant, using the stereotyped markers of a darker-than-South African complexion, language proficiency or simply self-referential 'identification' (www.anarkismo.net).

Being conscious of this situation, immigrants sometimes avoid speaking English to black South Africans: "*Like me when I go to the police station or I go to the hospital, I wouldn't like to talk to a black nurse or a black policeman I will like to talk to a white policeman or a white nurse"*.

[46] "Kombis" taxis and metre taxis are the two types of taxis in South Africa. Metre taxis operate on hire basis with higher fares. Though metre taxis can carry between 1 and 5 passengers, they usually carry 1 passenger on short distances with communication being mainly between the driver and the passenger. On the other hand, communication in kombis is wider because kombis carry 15 or 16 passengers and travel short and long distances. They can stop at convenient places for passengers to alight at any time and their fares are also reasonable. They are, therefore, patronised by many people who do not have their own transport. However, kombis do not have conductors so passengers collect their fares among themselves and give the money to the passengers in the front seat who make the necessary change and finally give the total amount of money to the driver. A passenger who needs to alight on the way has to inform the driver of the stop point early.

In some cases the police have been found to be harassing and intimidating immigrants in order to extort money from them. They refer to "immigrants as ATMs" (www.anarkismo.net) where they can ask for money whenever they want. Mattes et al. (1999: 7) contend that South Africans' "opposition to immigration and foreign citizens is widespread …Importantly, these attitudes cut across income groups, age groups and groups with very different levels of education". Against this backdrop, immigrants who commute on taxis are most likely to experience unpleasant confrontations at any time mostly as a result of lack of language proficiency.

7. 5. CONCLUSION

In this section I discuss key findings from the narratives of the Technician (7.1), the Mechanic (7.2.) and the 'Burger'(7.3.). I grouped these together because all of them chose not to learn any of the South African indigenous languages[47] even though they had learned destination languages before migrating to South Africa. The Technician had learned Hausa in the Kano State in Nigeria and French in Louvain in Belgium. The Mechanic and the Burger had learned German and Arabic in Libya respectively in previous attempts at emigration to those countries.

7. 5. 1. Motives for migration and family circumstances

The analysis shows that the Technician, the Mechanic and the Burger migrated for economic motives only as was the case of the Dentist and the Businessman (6. 4. 2). The Architect, however, migrated to South Africa to join his wife and children and look for a job as well. The belief amongst Ghanaians that there are better jobs with better remuneration in another country motivated the Technician to emigrate. Firstly he migrated to the Kano State in Nigeria in 1976 and re-migrated to Nigeria in 1980. He also migrated to Belgium twice, lived and worked there for seven years (1980 to 1983 and later from 1986 to 1990) and eventually migrated to South Africa in 1998. The Mechanic migrated further to Libya, Zimbabwe, Zambia and South Africa. As in the case of the Technician, the Mechanic wanted jobs with better salaries than in Ghana. The Mechanic was also married to a South African. Similar to the Technician and the Mechanic, the Burger was motivated by the desire for a better standard of living. He migrated to Nigeria in 1987 and left for Libya. He emigrated to South Africa in 1998,

[47] Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho, Pedi, Tswana, Ndebele, Swati, Venda and Tsonga.

then to Ireland in 2000, London in Great Britain in 2003 and back to South Africa in 2005.

Unlike the Architect, the Dentist and the Businessman who were living with Ghanaian spouses in South Africa, the Technician and the Mechanic were living in South Africa with their South African spouses. This was not the case with the Burger whose wife remained in Ghana. Whilst the Architect, the Dentist and the Businessman were conscious of family cohesion, the marriage of the Technician and the Mechanic was for convenience in order to enable them to have residence in South Africa. However, the choice of the Technician and the Mechanic not to learn a South African indigenous language may have been a deliberate decision as well as lack of interest and need.

7. 5. 2. Use of language in the 'macro' and 'micro'-contexts

Similar to the Architect, the Dentist and the Businessman, the analysis emphasizes that the Technician, the Mechanic and the Burger mostly selected destination countries where English is an official language. The Technician was in Nigeria (7.1.4) and South Africa (7.1.6), the Mechanic in Nigeria (7.2.4), Zimbabwe, Zambia and South Africa (7.2. 7) and the Burger in Nigeria (7.3.3), South Africa (7.3.5), Ireland (7.3.6), Britain (7.3.7) and back to South Africa (7.3.7). Except in the case of the Technician in the Kano State of Nigeria where he used English for economic purposes in the micro-context of his workplace and Hausa for social interaction in the macro-contexts (7.4.4), all three respondents conveniently used English for economic and social activities respectively in the micro-contexts and the macro-contexts.

As economic migrants, all of the six respondents (the Architect, the Dentist and the Businessman, the Technician, the Mechanic and the Burger) prioritized destination countries where the destination languages would not hinder their economic pursuits. However, where English is not an official language of the destination countries–Belgium (for the Technician), Germany (for the Mechanic) and Libya (for the Burger)- all three respondents chose to learn French, German and Arabic and used them in the micro-contexts and the macro-contexts.

7. 5. 3. Learning Igbo, Xhosa, Sotho, Zulu, Hausa, French, German and Arabic

In contrast to the Architect, the Dentist and the Businessman who learned Igbo, Xhosa, Sotho and Zulu, the analysis clearly indicates further that the Technician, the Mechanic and the Burger mainly chose **not** to learn Nigerian and South African indigenous languages where English is an official language and English is used alongside African languages. The Technician was pressurized to learn Hausa in Kano State in Nigeria for social reasons only. On the contrary, all three respondents willingly opted to learn French, German and Arabic in Belgium, Germany and Libya where English is not an official language. This choice of learning a destination language, as was the case of the Architect, the Dentist and the Businessman, was for both economic and social reasons.

7. 5. 4. Means of learning the destination languages

Corresponding to the analysis of the means through which the Architect, the Dentist and the Businessman (6.5.3) learned a destination language, this analysis also emphasizes that the Technician, the Mechanic and the Burger mainly learned Hausa, French (the Technician), German (the Mechanic) and Arabic (the Burger) through informal interactions. The interactions occurred between them and their colleagues and clients in the micro-contexts of their workplaces as well as established members in the macro-context of the speech community.

7. 5. 5. 'Push' factors of learning Igbo, Xhosa, Sotho, Zulu, Hausa, French, German and Arabic

The analysis emphasizes that as economic migrants, the Technician, the Mechanic and the Burger aspired to effectively execute their respective economic responsibilities through the use of French (for the Technician), German (for the Mechanic) and Arabic (for the Burger). This aspiration was thus a principal 'push' factor of learning French, German and Arabic. This finding is similar to the experiences of the Architect in the Eastern Cape (6.4.6.2), the Dentist in Vereeniging (6.4.6.3) and the Businessman in Johannesburg CBD (6.4.6.4) who learned Xhosa, Sotho and Zulu respectively in order to do their work well.

7. 5. 6. 'Pull' factors of learning Igbo, Xhosa, Sotho, Zulu, Hausa, French, German and Arabic

The analysis of the factors that attracted the Architect, the Dentist and Businessman to learn Igbo, Xhosa, Sotho and Zulu clearly emphasized that the dominant use of these

languages was a major ‘pull’ factor. Similarly, the analysis of the ‘pull’ factors demonstrates that the Technician, the Mechanic and the Burger were encouraged to learn Hausa, French, German and Arabic where the established members of the speech community accepted them and used the destination language to communicate with them and integrate them into the host society. The positive attitudes, in general, of the Hausa, French and German speech communities in Kano State in Nigeria, Louvain in Belgium and Germany also attracted the Technician and the Mechanic to learn. Also of importance is the fact that each respondent was enticed by other different conditions in the destination community to learn the destination language. Thus, the prevailing conditions in destination countries that pull immigrants to learn destination languages vary from country to country.

7. 5. 7. ‘Germination’ factors of learning Igbo, Xhosa, Sotho, Zulu, Hausa, French, German and Arabic

Similar to the analysis of the ‘germination’ factors regarding the Architect, the Dentist and the Businessman, the analysis of germination factors of the Technician, the Mechanic and the Burger clearly demonstrates that the use of Hausa, French, German and Arabic at the workplace and in the community enabled all three of the respondents to increase their knowledge of the languages and improve their proficiency. The Technician, however, experienced other conditions that nurtured his knowledge of Hausa in Nigeria. These conditions are the similarities between Hausa dialects spoken in Nima in Accra, Ghana and that of Kano State in Nigeria.

In the same vein, similarities between the home languages of the Architect and the Businessman and the destination languages were also ‘germination’ factors for the Architect and the Businessman. Fante and Ewe are the home languages of the Architect and the Businessman respectively. Both Igbo and Akan (the language of which Fante is a dialect) are languages of the Kwa branch of the Niger–Congo family. They are therefore cognate languages. Ewe and Zulu are also cognate languages. Similar vocabularies and strategies in these cognate languages contributed to the Architect’s acquisition of Igbo in the Imo State in Nigeria and the Businessman’s acquisition of Zulu in Johannesburg CBD in South Africa.

7. 5. 8. ‘Germination’ inhibitors of learning South African indigenous languages

Once more it is important to note that the Architect, the Dentist and the Businessman who are university graduates learned Xhosa, Sotho and Zulu in South Africa whilst the Technician who could not complete polytechnic, the Mechanic who completed polytechnic and the Burger who also dropped out of secondary school did not learn any South African indigenous language. The analysis regarding ‘germination’ inhibitors clearly demonstrates that the Mechanic focused on his proficiency in English to evade learning a South African indigenous language whilst the Burger concentrated on the shortcomings of South Africans to deny himself the opportunity of learning.

7. 5. 9. ‘Bridging the ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’ identities using language in Nigeria and South Africa

The analysis concerning ‘bridging the “insider” and “outsider” identities using language clearly indicated that the Architect experienced linguistic difficulties when he was unable to communicate in Igbo and Xhosa in Nigeria and South Africa. He successfully overcame these difficulties when he acquired proficiency in both languages and went further to enjoy good socio-cultural relations with the established members of the speech communities. On the other hand, the Technician’s knowledge of Hausa made him feel accepted in the Hausa speech community in Kano State. However, the established members of the community used religion to deny him full integration. The Mechanic, on the other hand, sometimes felt unaccepted when he could speak only English in public places.

Chapter 8
REFLECTING ON THE LANGUAGE EXPERIENCE OF THE YOUNGER GENERATION-THE CASE OF THE ACCOUNTANT, THE SALESGIRL AND THE STUDENT

8.0. Introduction
8.1. The Accountant's story
8.2. The Salesgirl's story
8.3. The Student's story
8.4. Discussion and analysis of the stories of the Accountant, the Salesgirl and the Student
8.5. Conclusion

8.0. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I present the narratives of an accountant, a salesgirl and a student. The Accountant and the Salesgirl are respondents of the in-depth interviews whilst the student is a survey respondent. I have selected them for analysis and discussion for the following reasons. They migrated at different ages, had different occupations and different motives for migration with different attitudes towards destination languages. Above all, the fact that both the Accountant and the Salesgirl could not learn a destination language despite their youth when language acquisition is deemed to be relatively easier, intrigued me as a researcher.

I selected them in order to learn more from their experiences. I juxtaposed the Student with them in order to highlight the differences. The language learning failure of the Accountant and the Salesgirl in contrast with the Student's success supports my argument that youthful age at migration may not necessarily lead to destination language learning. The Accountant was still in primary school when she joined her parents in Swaziland. The Salesgirl was 19 years old and had only just completed a high school in Ghana when she migrated to South Africa to work and continue her education. The Student was between the ages of 18 and 25 years old and migrated to South Africa specifically in order to attend a university.

8. 1. The Accountant's Story

The data for this story is from the in-depth interview. Abena[48] was born in Kumasi in Ghana. At the age of four her parents left Ghana for the United States. She then lived

[48] Abena is a pseudonym for the accountant

with her aunt and grandmother who used English and Twi to communicate with her at home. Twi, which is a dialect of Akan, is the dominant Ghanaian language in the community.

8. 1. 1. Key aspects in the Accountant's Story:

1. Primary education in Ghana and Swaziland (1978 -1984)
2. Primary and secondary education in South Africa (1984-1989)
3. Tertiary education in South Africa (1990–1994)
4. Part time employment in Pretoria (1994 – 1997)
4. Full time employment (1997–2005)
5. International visits and use of French
6. Future plans

8. 1. 2. Primary education in Ghana and Swaziland (1978-1984)

She attended Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology Primary School in Kumasi in 1978. Kumasi is the capital of the Ashanti Region in Ghana. English was the sole language for teaching and learning and all other activities. No Ghanaian language was taught at this school. She seemed to be happy to adhere to the sole use of English at the school: "*Some people were speaking their language but I am sure it was still English"*. In 1982 Abena joined her parents in Swaziland and she was enrolled at St. Mark's Primary School in Mbabane, Swaziland. English was once more the language of instruction but learners could communicate in Siswati, the indigenous language in Swaziland.

8. 1. 3. Primary and secondary education in South Africa (1984-1989)

After two years of schooling in Swaziland, Abena relocated to Umtata in the Eastern Cape in South Africa to be with her family. Her father was appointed a lecturer at the University of Transkei in 1984. University of Transkei was situated in Umtata[49]. She continued her primary education from Grade 5 at Umtata High School. English was again the sole language for teaching and learning. Abena's friends were Whites, Indians and Coloureds. English was the only common language among them with "*a bit but not much"* of Xhosa, the predominant South African indigenous language in the Eastern Cape. The nationalities of her friends were diverse and thus contributed to wider social networks for her.

[49] Transkei was a homeland with Umtata as the capital city.

My friends were all foreigners and there were about 40 nationalities in the school so you can imagine. From all walks of life so like when I go to these areas like I have friends that I went to school with whether they are in Canada, whether they are in America, we still communicate, whether in Paris.

8. 1. 4. Tertiary education in South Africa (1990–1994)

She completed high school in 1989 and was admitted to the University of Transkei in 1990 to pursue a four–year Bachelor of Commerce degree and qualified as an accountant. English was the main language of teaching and learning. She used English also to interact with her friends, some of whom, were Xhosa speakers as she did not know Xhosa. She could only understand "*a bit of words"*. She graduated in 1994.

8. 1. 5. Part time employment in Pretoria (1994-1997)

Abena's uncle invited her to Pretoria to look for a job and also study through a distance education programme of the University of South Africa (UNISA). However, she did not get a permanent job for the following reasons:

They were saying I didn't have experience; just fresh from school so excuses upon excuses. It was just like, you know, they look at us as foreigners although I have been here for a long time. I mean I know South Africa more than my home Ghana…And then later on they said I didn't have permanent residence. I have work permit but not permanent residence...Then I had to reapply. Then when I got permanent residence it was still back to experience again.

She eventually got three part-time jobs. She firstly worked in a bookkeeping firm where she used English to communicate with her Ghanaian and South African colleagues.

Interviewer: *So with the Ghanaians, what type of language were you guys using?*

Abena: *English.*

Interviewer: *And the locals also?*

Abena: *English.*

Then she worked at an interior design company as an assistant decorator. Her job was to paint and varnish iron furniture, which she really enjoyed. The language of interaction was *"also English because they are Whites ... only Whites"*. She finally worked with Ethan and Associates, another bookkeeping firm. All the three part time jobs lasted three years, during which time she converted her Bachelor of Commerce degree into Bachelor for Accounting Science (BACC) at UNISA.

8. 1. 6. Full time employment in Johannesburg (1997–2005)

In 1997 Abena was employed at South African Marine Corporation (Safmarine) in Johannesburg. Safmarine is a shipping company with its head office in Cape Town and branches in South Africa, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Swaziland and Lesotho. Abena was working at the financial section dealing with import accounts and was later transferred to another department. She said that she "*loves this kind of job"* and was determined "*to work hard and gain a lot of experience"*. The following explains the use of language at her workplace:

> *We speak English. English is the first language. We have to speak English, even though we may even don't like. Some of the South Africans they like speaking their language that kind of stuff and they don't like that for instance because most them are Whites.*

8. 1. 7. International visits and the use of French

Abena had travelled to the United States, France, the United Kingdom, Cote d'Ivoire and Kenya. She accompanied her family to Kenya. She went to USA on a family holiday "*just for a while"*. She usually visits her uncle in London for two or three weeks whenever she is on leave. She visited some of her schoolmates in Paris "*just for a short time"*. She also visited Ghana on three occasions–in 1989, 1999 and 2002-for *"mostly two weeks, ten days".*

Abena does not like languages in general but prefers to learn and use a language that will contribute to her social mobility.

> Interviewer: *But how is your attitude towards language? Do you like languages in general or maybe you get a language that is going to help you to move forward.*
>
> Abena: *Yeah, the language that will help me to move more forward, yeah. I think I would like that because I would like to work for the United Nations and one of the conditions is that you need to speak another language-French or German or maybe Spanish or whatever . If I even have basic knowledge of it, I think it will help.*

She knew "*a bit of French*" during her first visit to Paris but she resolved to improve on her knowledge of French.

> Interviewer*: So by now you have polished it.*
>
> Abena*: Not so well. I am still learning now. I have lectures twice a week…Just to be serious about it this year especially… I think of the fact that the next time I was to go to Paris my French would be much better than before…And I like the language. I think it's quite good.*

She was even prepared to migrate to Paris to work, if she got the opportunity.

8. 1. 8. Future plans

She summarized her future plans in the following extract:

> *I want to go and study for my Masters eventually. Perhaps next year. So I will take it from there. I will see whether I will go to Ghana and experience the whole thing. I want to experience like staying there, voting there, you know, that kind of life. To go back home.I have never experienced that. That's one of the things that I may crave but I actually want to do my Masters but outside South Africa. MBA on my own. So I will have to resign and go. I will have to leave because I wanna do it fulltime. That's what I wanna do unless I get a job somewhere else like the United Nations.*

She had actually been applying to United Nations Organisation without any success but was still hopeful that she would receive a positive response in the near future.

8. 2. The Salesgirl's Story

The data for this story is from the in-depth interview. Araba was 19 years old when she migrated to South Africa. She comes from Accra, the capital of Ghana, where she grew up with her mother and her three brothers. She is competent in Ga and Fante. Ga is the dominant language in Accra and her mother is a Fante so both languages were used interchangeably at home.

8. 2. 1. Key aspects in the Salesgirl's story

1. Primary and secondary education in Accra, Ghana (1987–1996)
2. Employment as a sales assistant in Accra, Ghana (1999– 2000)
3. Migration to South Africa (2000–2005)
   3.1. Computer studies at Alliance Francaise (2001)
   3.2. Part time matric studies (2003)
   3.3. Employment as a salesgirl in Braamfontein (2004 - 2005)
4. Future plans

8. 2. 2. Primary and secondary education in Accra, Ghana (1987–1996)

Araba attended crèche at Teacher Nana Day Care Centre in Accra and went on to Seashell International School also in Accra where English was the language of teaching and learning. Ga was taught as a subject. She proceeded to Lawala Junior High School (JHS) where even though English was the language of teaching and learning, both teachers and learners code-switched to Ga for clarification and explanation of difficult concepts. She completed JHS in 1996 at the age of 16 and stayed at home for about three years (1996-1999) because of financial constraints. She later became a sales assistant at her uncle's motor spare parts shop in Accra in Ghana.

8. 2. 3. Employment as a sales assistant in Accra, Ghana (1999–2000)

Araba's employment started as her uncle's request and later became a fulltime employment. She served both Ghanaian and foreign-born customers using Ga, Fante and English.

> *If you are a person, who speaks Ga, when I meet you, I will speak Ga with you and when you speak Fante, I will speak Fante with you. And I understand Ashante too. I can speak Ashante as well. In all these when I meet you and I see, "Oh this one is a Ga", I will speak Ga with you. When you are a Fante, I will speak Fante. When you are a Ashante, I will speak Ashante with you.*

She worked at this shop for one year and then migrated to South Africa.

8. 2. 4. Migration to South Africa (2000–2005)

A South African flight attendant, who was a friend of Araba's uncle in Ghana, offered Araba a job to look after her twelve-year old daughter in South Africa. Araba was to receive free accommodation, food and sponsorship to further her education. Araba arrived in South Africa in April, 2000 and lived with the flight attendant, her daughter and a house help at Diepkloof Phase 3 in Soweto. Araba communicated in English with the flight attendant and her daughter but experienced a linguistic barrier with the house help.

> *With that woman, it was a bit difficult to communicate with her because I don't understand the language. And it's also difficult for her to speak English so what we do, her daughter understands, you know, their language. She can speak the language so if I want to ask that lady something,I will say it to the daughter and she will transfer it in English for the woman.*

8. 2. 5. Computer studies at Alliance Francaise in South Africa (2001)

Araba was ultimately enrolled at Alliance Francaise Computer Training Centre in 2001 to study basic and advanced computer literacy for four months. There were French-speaking teachers who used English to teach but used both English and .French outside the classroom to communicate. Araba chose friends who were willing to speak English with her in order to avoid language difficulties at the Centre. She left the flight attendant's house in 2003 when they both failed to resolve some domestic issues. She then moved to stay with an Ivorian couple in Emmarentia in Johannesburg. The couple used English and French respectively to communicate with Araba and between themselves.

> *Yeah, they would speak French sometimes when they have calls. Sometimes when they're having conversations, the two of them, they speak French.*

Araba stayed with them for two years without learning French.

8. 2. 6. Part-time matric studies in Johannesburg, South Africa (2003)

The couple enrolled her at an adult school in Victory Park in Johannesburg to do part time matric studies for two years in Accounting, Business Economics, Mercantile English and Mathematics. However, she experienced a complex linguistic situation at the school.

> *Okay. I had a problem. I had a major problem in class most of the time especially in Accounting class. When we attend classes, the teacher would use Zulu or maybe Sotho sometimes to teach. Most of the time they don't use English in class. They would be using Zulu, their local languages and I would raise up my hand and I would say, "Oh, Mum, please I don't understand what you're explaining".She says, "Oh wait I will explain to you. When I finish with these ones, I will come to you". And when she comes to me, she will not explain exactly what she explained to them. She would just, you know, say, "Okay, we said this, we said that". So I have to catch up with them. I have to catch up and doing most of the work on my own, doing most of it on my own. They don't normally speak English in class. They use Zulu.*

Her desire for English to be used for teaching made her classmates and the Accounting teacher call her names: *"Oh, look at the Kwerekwere[50], she wants them to explain in English".* Araba could not have any honest friendships at the school because of the language barrier.

> *Outside the classroom it was very difficult as well. I could not make honest friends because when they're having conversation and they want to say something about you, they will turn it to their language and then they will mock you.*

She recounted a situation where she was the princess[51] of the school and she was mocked at by a teacher and another student.

> *We were both discussing how excited it was, you know, to do it and…and they said something. They turned into their language. They said something about me. They were laughing. I was just standing there. I didn't know what they were talking about. So a very close friend of mine whom I was staying with in the same flat at home was coming and she heard what they said and she called me aside and said, "Araba, this is what they said and they are laughing at you"*

Her response was to distance herself and avoid the use of South African indigenous languages.

> *And I said, "Oh". So after that really I was not happy, you know, talking to them, you know. I decided not to be too close or take somebody as a very best friend whom I can go to and say,*

[50] A derogatory name used in South Africa to identify Black African immigrants

[51] The first runner up in a beauty contest or pageant.

"Oh, this is my problem today. This is this". I could not make friends like that. Just, "Hello", "Hi". We talk about class work and then everybody is gone, yeah.

Her schoolmates also used language as a means of avoiding communication with Araba.

Of course. Sometimes when you're asking them something, they would also repeat it in their language and say, "Okay, you have to. If you can't speak my language, then you can't talk to me". They will not talk to you. Some would not even want to see my face just because I would speak English with them. They won't.

8. 2. 7. Employment as a salesgirl in Braamfontein, South Africa (2004 - 2005)

A few months before the end of her course, the Ivorian woman she was living with, opened a clothing business in Braamfontein, where Araba became the salesperson. She worked there in the mornings and left for school in the evenings. Because of this commuting, she moved from Emmarentia to live in Braamfontein and later in Bertrams. She recounted an unpleasant encounter with the caretaker of the flat she moved into in Bertrams.

Okay, to Bertrams, I just moved to Bertrams and I have a problem with the caretaker as well. The next day when I have resettled in and everything, I said hello to her in the morning, yes, I greeted her and she respond.In the afternoon she was standing with some friends and she was saying something. I did not mind. I just left. In the evening too when I was coming, she was standing at the gate with some friends. And there were some guys also sitting and I was coming in with a friend. So we were talking whilst I was locking the gate and I did not lock it very well. My mind was not on the gate so we were going. And the way she was shouting, calling me. I should just come, you know, in an anger. And I came back and I said, "Look, please I have not done anything to you. What have I done to you? Because ever since I have been here I have been trying to, you know, be nice. You know, co-operate with you but I don't know the problem". And she just turned her face, start talking to her friends in Zulu and they were all laughing and all that. Anyway I did not mind her. I went in the flat so it's also a problem, you know, when you're moving in a place where you find South Africans.

Taxis (Kombis) were her means of transport. She recalled her experience with language in these taxis as well.

It's one of a hell. In a taxi … when you are in a taxi and you a foreigner, let's say they take your money and there is change they have to give you, especially maybe when you sit in front and you have to collect the money and give it to the driver and then maybe you have to give somebody a change and you said, "Okay, …". Maybe the person is saying something to you whilst getting the change and you say, "Oh, look,I don't understand. Can you please speak in English?" Everybody in the taxi will just insult you for, you know, being a foreigner. You know, they will be upset with you, "Why you don't speak Zulu? Why you only speak English? You are supposed to speak Zulu". You know. They will really make you feel bad till maybe you get down from the taxi. I will have hell of a problem with taxis as well.

This comment suggests that South Africans consider African immigrants' use of South African indigenous languages as a unifying tool whilst the use of English is a form of a 'betrayal'. Araba completed her matric in 2004 and became a fulltime salesperson in the clothing shop. She received three main groups of customers.

***French customers*:**

> *The type of customers I get… some are French speakers as well and they are studying French at Language Lab. They are my main customers. And with them when they come, okay, we both, it's difficult for me to speak French and it's difficult for them to speak English as well. So what we do…I have to be patient with them. When they ask me for the price like in French just little bit I will understand. So when they ask me the price, maybe they don't know the rates so I take a pen and I will write the money down, which is, maybe if it's R30.00, I will tell her it's R30/00. She will say she is coming. Maybe she would go and then ask another friend to explain the money in French for her. Then before she comes back to, you know, buy the thing*.

Wits students (Category A)

> *And for the South African customers that I have most are young people who come in to buy. But some of the young people, although they are attending Wits, but they still don't want to speak English. When they enter and they ask you… they will star…anyway they will greet in their language and I will respond. The greetings I understand. So when they greet me in their language, I will respond. Then they will speak, they will speak and I will say, "Oh sorry, please I don't understand what you're saying". She says, "Okay". Then she is gone. She won't even enter the shop.*

Wits students (Category B)

> *Some of them, they would wait when I said, "Okay, sorry I don't understand". She says, "Oh, so you don't understand. You're Kwerekere, hein? Okay, I'm asking how much is this?". Then I will say, "Okay". I don't have to be angry for her calling me Kwerekwere. I have to, you know, just…and I will explain, "Okay, this is this. This is the price". "Oh, okay". Then they will come in. When they see something, which is nice, they will buy.*

Customers from other provinces

> *And some…most of the people also coming from Free States. With them when they come and they greet you and you respond and the rest you don't understand, she will tell you… "okay me too…". Some of them, they're ignorant. Maybe they can speak the language but just for me being a foreigner and not speaking Zulu, she will tell me in English that okay if I don't want to speak their language, then she is not going to buy my thing. I should just learn how to speak it then next time she would come. She would just go. She won't buy.*

Araba's lack of knowledge of South African indigenous languages cost her good business. However, her French speaking customers demonstrated that there could be creative means of communication instead of avoidance as some of the South African customers did. Of further significance is the fact that the above comments underline the importance of language for business activities. In the beginning the shop owner employed a South African who could interpret for Araba. The interpreter was later

dismissed because of financial constraints. Araba concluded that *"so the language is normally a big problem". I think it will help me in my business. Even when I am at home or maybe in the taxi. It will help me. Yeah, so I think I really have to focus and then try to start speaking a bit".* Zulu was her preferred language. "*They say Zulu is the easiest language to speak. You don't have to be using the tongue a lot. The Xhosa, I really have a problem with it".*

8. 2. 8. Future plans

In the future Araba intends to establish her own business in South Africa and return to school to continue her studies. She would want to learn Zulu formally as well.

8. 3. The Student's Story

The data for this story is from the survey questionnaire. Kweku[52], who was between the ages of 18–25, was studying at a university in South Africa. He was a full time student doing no work, not even a casual job at the time of the survey in 2005. His primary and secondary education was in Ghana with English as the sole language of instruction at all levels.

8. 3. 1. Key aspects in the Student's story

1. Linguistic profile
2. Living in Ghana
3. Migration to South Africa
4. Use of English in South Africa
5. Learning Zulu and Xhosa

8. 3. 2. Linguistic profile of the Student

The dominant language at Kweku's birthplace in Ghana is Ewe but people tended to mix either Twi (Akan) and English or Ewe and English or Ga and English. His father was competent in Ewe and English whilst his mother could speak Ga in addition to Ewe and English. Both parents, who are middle class, mainly used Ewe and English to communicate with him. As in the case of the Businessman (6.3.) and the Accountant (8.1.) who are also from middle class homes, the use of English in Kweku's home was consistent with the attitudes of middle class Ghanaians . As with the businessman, Ewe speaking parents mostly use the language to socialize their children into their culture.

[52] Kweku is a pseudonym for the student

Kweku eventually acquired three Ghanaian languages namely Akan, Ga and Ewe from his home and through interactions with friends and neighbours. He could confidently speak them but not as well with reading and writing. Kweku had a limited knowledge of French as well. He learned French at school in Ghana and considered French "*an interesting language to learn"* but "*did not learn into details the type I will use in creating a conversation"*.

8. 3. 3. Living in Ghana

His desire was to live in Ghana until there was an opportunity for him to leave for another country. He learned to manage a family poultry farm in Ghana. He did this work whenever he was not at school. Thus, he did not spend "*even a day"* looking for a job.

8. 3. 4. Migration to South Africa (2003)

South Africa was his first country of migration. He arrived in the country in 2003 "*to study".* In South Africa he was single and was thus residing alone in a private accommodation in Braamfontein His parents and siblings were living in Ghana.

8. 3. 5. Use of English in South Africa

He learned English at school and from communication with his parents at home. Thus, he had been speaking English "*since I started speaking as a child".* English is also his main medium of communication when he is out of Ghana. He was therefore confident that English would help him the most in South Africa: "*I knew it was the medium of communication amongst the governmental institutional body".*

His friends–South African and Ghanaian–could speak either English or a Ghanaian language or both, so language was not a barrier to his friendships with others: "*Almost every one I create conversation with speaks either English or Ghanaian language in response".* However, his dependence on English as the sole language of communication with South Africans appeared to be problematic. He commented that

> *Since my medium of communication is English only when out of my country, communicating with certain group of people in this country, who hardly speak any English becomes difficult.*

This difficulty could be part of his motivation to learn a South African indigenous language so that he could communicate "*through speaking English and a bit of their acquired language"*.

8. 3. 6. Learning Zulu and Xhosa

He learned Zulu and Xhosa from his friends, who "*always try and create conversations with them* (Zulu and Xhosa) *any time we are together"*. He assigned the following reasons for learning the languages:

> 1. *I would also like to communicate when my black friends are speaking in their language without they interpreting in English for me to understand*.
>
> 2. *To enable me have a sense of belonging and feel part of the group since I am amongst the group. I also think it's just adventurous to know them.*

He was "*not so confident* when communicating in both languages so he "*mixed them up when speaking with people in* his *flat and* at *school".* His stay in South Africa had been pleasant. He stated that

> *It had been a great opportunity for me to grow up in life and experience things in a different way*.

He intended to stay in South Africa for five years.

8. 4. Discussion and analysis of the stories of the Accountant, the Salesgirl and the Student

This section considers the discussion and analysis of the stories of Abena, Araba and Kweku in the following order: family circumstances and migration (8.4.1), educational and economic motives for migration (8.4.2), contexts of use of English (8.4.3), 'macro' and 'micro'–contexts of use of English (8.4.4.),"push" factors for the use of English and away from learning a destination language (8.4.5.), 'germination' factors and 'germination' inhibitors of learning a South African indigenous language (8.4.6.) and Bridging the 'insider' and 'outsider' identities using language in South Africa (8. 4. 7.) and finally investment and identity (8.4.8).

8. 4. 1. Family circumstances and migration

8. 4. 1. 1. Abena's family circumstances and migration

Abena's migration experiences are largely determined by her parents. She joined her parents in Swaziland, where her father was employed in 1982 as a lecturer at the Swaziland Institute of Management and Public Administration (SIMPA). She accompanied them to Umtata in the Eastern Cape when her father got another job at the University of Transkei. Tiemoko (2004) argues that family members in the upper

middle and middle classes tend to influence the migration of other members. This is because they prioritise their education. The desire to let Abena have quality education would have been the main motive of making her join them.

8. 4. 1. 2. Araba's family circumstances and migration

The financial conditions of Araba's mother might have motivated Araba to migrate. Hashim (2007) conducted research with 70 children on child rural–urban migration in Ghana and noted that poverty was the prime reason for migration followed by education. On the other hand Araba's own quest for a better standard of living could have been an underlying factor. A remark by the executives of Naylor S. D. A. was illuminating.

> Many Ghanaian children after the completion of basic or second cycle education feel strongly that they have attained youthful age and do not want to live or work in the rural and small communities but rather prefer to move to the cities and urban areas. Their movement is influenced by the notion of obtaining white-collar jobs or work and accompanying comfortable lifestyle which are in fact non–existent.
>
> (Executives of Naylor S.D.A., 2009).

I suggest that it is the idea of being independent and living in a better economic environment that lured her to South Africa.

8. 4. 1. 3. Kweku's family circumstances and migration

Kweku is from a middle class family with a family poultry farm business. He mentioned further that he was living alone in South Africa to pursue his studies. The fact that his parents sent him to South Africa for his undergraduate studies in Humanities suggests that his parents value quality education. Their preparedness to spend money to invest in his education abroad is also a common attitude among some Ghanaian middle class families. Tiemoko (2003) conducted a survey of 600 'elite' and less skilled return migrants to Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana including migrants in London and Paris. They found that the decision of an individual to study abroad is mostly a collective one among family members. This is because the family members tend to support the migrant financially and materially. rare attitude with regard to migration in West Africa.

8. 4. 2. Educational, social and economic motives for migration

8. 4. 2. 1. Abena's social motive for migration

Abena was forced to migrate to Mbabane in Swaziland as a young primary school girl to join her parents.

8. 4. 2. 2. Araba's educational and economic motives for migration

Araba had dual motives for migration. She claimed that *"I came here at the age of 19 to further my education"*. Her situation corroborates McDonald's (1999) finding that "one of the most enduring stereotypes of African migrants in South Africa is that they are young with little (if any) education" (McDonald et al. 1999: 19). However, the flight attendant who had invited Araba to South Africa had different motive for Araba. The flight attendant requested that

> *Her mother left South Africa for UK to work as a nurse so she needed somebody to be staying in the house with the daughter after school. Somebody to be in the house so she asked me if I could, you know,come to South Africa and then do my studies in South Africa by being in the house every afternoon for the daughter. She would be paying for my fees for me and, you know, doing other things for me so that was agreed.*

This suggestion reflects the view that "some children may move in order to fill a labour deficit in a household, receiving their school costs or access to better education as 'compensation' (Hashim, 2007: 919). Perhaps, the perception that "basic services like education, water and health care, and economic opportunities, are clearly deemed better in South Africa than in the home country" (McDonald *et al*., 1999: 21) influenced Araba's and her family's decision to accept the flight attendant's proposal.

8. 4. 2. 3. Kweku's educational motive for migration

Kweku came to South Africa in 2003 to study at the University of the Witwatersrand. He was not married and was living in Braamfontein. Since the demise of apartheid in 1994, international students have been flocking into South African institutions. Ramphele (1999: 5) estimates that "in 1996 a total of 13 606 international students were studying at South African universities and technikons, up from 4 489 in 1992". 50% of these students were from countries that constitute the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) and 25% of them from Europe. Students from other countries in Africa are part of the other 25%. Whilst there was a rise in the number of students from Europe and Asia, the percentage of students from other parts of Africa dropped significantly (Ramphele, 1999).

However, Ghanaians seem to find South Africa an ideal place for education. 15% of the 100 respondents in my survey provided education as a reason for migration. It is the third highest motivation, following economic reason (49%) and visits (22%).

8. 4. 3. Contexts of use of language

8. 4. 3. 1. Contexts of Abena's use of English

I argue in this section that Abena's use of English was complex and dynamic. Abena got a permanent job with Safmarine. Her interest in pursuing international jobs and affiliation is illustrated in the following.

> *And it's a good. It's an international company so I have to like* (it) *I wanted to work hard and gain a lot of experience in that. I love this kind of job.*

These words display her enthusiasm for being employed in a reputable international company. She appeared to see this exposure as a prelude to the realisation of her international agenda.

The context of this workplace was complex when considering the use of English. Abena worked with seven other people – three women and four men in her unit with English as the official language of interaction.

> *The mode of communication is English. We speak English. English is the first language. We have to speak English, even though we may even don't like. Those people… some of the South Africans* (Black South African employees) *they like speaking their language, that kind of stuff. And they (*the employers) *don't like that, for instance, because most of them are Whites.*

Once more her attraction to English and her regard for it as the ultimate means of communication is well illustrated in the above quote. She repeated the word English four times in the above quote which underlines her view of English as a global language. This view echoes the symbolic power of English in Abena's upbringing, where the status of English is raised above all local languages.

One can also observe a "we-they" in her comments. The use of the 'we' inclusive as in *"**We** speak English…**We** have to speak English…even though **we** may even don't like"* whereas *"Some of the South Africans **they** like speaking their language that kind of stuff"*. Her perception of the external conflict with the use of English and South African

indigenous languages reflects her own internal conflict of identity – a Black African with inner desire to take on European culture or language.

Abena's use of English is dynamic but also consistent with her international aspirations to be a cosmopolitan. A cosmopolitan is someone whose opinion and behaviour show that she has experience of many different parts of the world (Procter et al., 1995: 309). Her future plans, her attitudes towards international languages and her choice of friends have international orientation, which tends to influence her perception of African languages. The following is her response when I asked of her future plans.

> *I want to go and study for my masters eventually. Perhaps next year. So from there … I will take it from there. I will see whether I will go to Ghana and experience the whole thing. I want to experience like staying there, voting there, you know, that kind of life. To go back home. I have never experienced that. That's one of the things that I may crave but I actually want to do my masters but outside South Africa…MBA. So I will have to resign and go. I will have to leave because I wanna do it fulltime…That's what I wanna do unless I get a job somewhere else like the United Nations.*

She has three objectives. Firstly, she wants to live in Ghana and learn to be a Ghanaian citizen. However, the statements: "*I will see whether I will go to Ghana and experience the whole thing"* and *"That's one of the things that I may crave"* suggest uncertainty. This uncertainty is contrasted with certainty in *"I actually want to do my masters but outside South Africa… MBA".* Here is a suggestion of a conflict of identity because though she acknowledges to be a Ghanaian, she still desires to identify with other cultures and identities.

Of further importance is her final objective of gaining employment with the United Nations Organisation. This type of job, which is likely to involve international travels or living abroad, is paramount. If this objective materializes, the first and second plans will not be considered.

> *I actually want to do my masters but outside South Africa. MBA. So I will have to resign and go. I will have to leave because I wanna do it fulltime. That's what I wanna do unless I get a job somewhere else like the United Nations".*

Again, cosmopolitanism is implied in her desire to work with the global organization and this desire seems to motivate her to learn an international language:

> Interviewer: *But what is your attitude towards language? Do you like languages in general or maybe you want to learn a language that is going to help you to move forward.*

Abena: *Yeah, the language that will help to move more forward, yeah, I think I would like that…Because like I would like to work for the United Nations and one of the requirements is that you need to speak another language…Because French or German or maybe Spanish or whatever.*

Interviewer: *A more international language.*

Abena: *Language, yeah. If I even have basic knowledge of it, I think it will help.*

Thus, she is prepared to acquire basic knowledge of an international language so long as it leads to the realisation of her international plans. Indeed, she was attending French classes twice in a week: *"I am still learning now. I have lectures twice a week. Yeah, and also I think of the fact that the next time I was to go to Paris my French would be much better than before*".

Her international travels also provided dynamic contexts for Abena's use of English and adversely affected her interest in acquiring an African language. I wanted to find out whether she had ever travelled outside South Africa. The first country she mentioned was the United States.

Interviewer: *Was there any time that you travelled outside?*

Abena: *To the States?… To the States. To Paris. To London. Cote d'Ivoire. Kenya was for a short time because my dad went on sabbatical and we went with him.*

The reasons she provided for her travels suggests her middle class status. Kenya was for a short time *"because my dad went on sabbatical and we went with him"*. They stayed in States *"just for a while".* She visited her uncle in London and she goes there regularly. Paris was about friends: *"Some of my colleagues are there working".* It seems that there were few 'push' factors encouraging her to learn a South African indigenous language. Her focus seemed to be on Europe.

8. 4. 3. 2. Contexts of Araba's use of English

Araba's contexts of use of English are emergent and dynamic. Unlike Abena, Araba is from a working class. English was not the language spoken at home. She learned English at schools where the use of English was a choice and was also used alongside local languages.

Normally we are disciplined to speak English but as students sometimes we just want to speak our own mother tongue.

I argue that her proficiency in English improved as she used English in different contexts in Ghana and South Africa. She communicated in English at the crèche and the junior school in Ghana and later in her uncle's shop in Accra.

English became her main language of communication in South Africa. The flight attendant used English at home and outside the home to speak to her own daughter and to Araba as well. English was also the language of learning and teaching at the Alliance Francaise where Araba learned computer literacy. She emphasized that she "*made friends with people who would not have a problem with me speaking English*". Similarly, English was the sole language of communication at the home of the Ivorian couple and with her Ugandan flatmates in Bertrams: "*The co-tenants that I am living in the house with, they're from Uganda so we speak English at home*".

She mostly communicated in English with her schoolmates at the adult school at Victory and at the clothing shop in Braamfontein. Each context involved different people with varying degrees of English proficiency. Araba was constantly learning to have better proficiency in English.

8. 4. 3. 3. Contexts of Kweku's use of Zulu and Xhosa

> New or partly known registers, styles, language-related tasks, lexical items, terminologies and structures, routinely confront language users, calling for the contingent adaptation and transformation of existing knowledge and competence, and the acquisition of new knowledge (Firth and Wagner, 1998: 91).

The above quotation from Firth and Wagner (1998) aptly describes the contexts of Kweku's use of Zulu and Xhosa. Every encounter Kweku had with his friends, either in Zulu or Xhosa, Kweku was confronted with new registers, lexical items and styles from both languages making the context of use complex. De Bot et al. (2005: 6) also suggest that

> Any language is a complex system in its own right with variation at any moment and continuous change. At any particular moment in time, there is a great deal of variation among dialects in a particular language, registers, and also in individual speakers, who will never use the exact same utterances two days in a row in conversation (de Bot et al. 2005: 16).

The context becomes more complex where Kweku tended to mix both Zulu and Xhosa to communicate with his friends: "*I learnt Zulu, Xhosa but mix them up when speaking".* His view of language learning being "*adventurous"* encouraged him to take risks and speak even when he was not certain of the correctness of what he was saying. As he put it:

> *I would also like to communicate when my black friends are speaking in their language without they interpreting in English for me to understand.*

His friends' response was to "*laugh*" at his attempts and efforts. Since Kweku tried to communicate in both Zulu and Xhosa, his interlocutors were apparently compelled to switch between Zulu and Xhosa with possible variations in their choice of words.
His interest and determination to know the South African indigenous languages coupled with his desire to be identified with his friends "*and feel part of the group"* rendered the context of use of the languages dynamic. De Bot et al. (2005) argue that dynamic system of a language is as a result of several factors which cause changes to the particular system. An individual has a language system which "may change at any time an individual reads, interacts with another speaker, writes, and so on (de Bot et al. 2005: 16). Kweku's history showed that he was prepared to adapt to the linguistic demands of the contexts of use and transform his existing knowledge and competence (Firth and Wagner, 1998: 91) as he consistently interacted with his friends and any other South Africans.

Atkinson (2002: 533) also states that "any organism's progressive adaptation to its environment is a hallmark of developmental growth. The gradual approximation by developing humans of…what is 'in the head' to what 'is in the world' is such an adaptive dynamic". As Kweku adapted to the socio-cultural community of Johannesburg through the use of Zulu and Xhosa, his competence in both languages emerged and improved. He stated that he learned Zulu and Xhosa basically from his friends "*because they always try and create conversations with them any time we are together*". Eventually Kweku participated in these conversations using both Zulu and Xhosa, avoiding total dependence on English and refusing interpretation as well: "*I would also like to communicate when my black friends are speaking in their language without they interpreting in English for me to understand".*

His attitude reflects Atkinson's (2002: 53) comment that "one acquires a language in order to act and, by acting in the world where language is performative". In these situations where learners are novices as in the case of Kweku "they distance themselves from their own norms and activate flexible practices that facilitate communication" (Canagarajah, 2007: 924). The practices, which occur in meaningful social activities through interactions with expert members of the speech community, culminate in the emergence of competence "that can help handle diverse communicative situations" (Canagarajah, 2007: 926).

8. 4. 4. 'Macro' and 'micro'- contexts of use of English and destination language learning

8. 4. 4. 1. 'Macro' and 'micro'- contexts of Abena's use of English

Abena was brought up in a manner that made her not want to acquire proficiency in any African language including her own mother tongue–Twi. She was born in Kumasi, where the language of the macro-context is Twi, but her family preferred English as the language of the micro–context of their home. They also enrolled her at Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology Primary School in Ghana, St Mark's Primary School in Swaziland and later at Umtata High School in the Eastern Cape where English was the language for instruction and communication. Twi, Swati and Xhosa were the languages of the macro–contexts of Ghana, Swaziland and Eastern Cape respectively.

Abena's language situation became more complex at the University of Transkei. English was the official language for teaching and learning but Xhosa was the language of the majority of the students. This made English and Xhosa the languages of the micro-context of the university. Xhosa was also the language of the macro–context of the community.

Again English was the language of the micro–contexts of her four different workplaces: the two accounting firms and the interior designing company in Pretoria and finally her permanent job at Safmarine in Johannesburg. Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho dominate the macro-contexts of both Pretoria and Johannesburg. The use of English in the micro-contexts

deepened her proficiency in English and therefore encouraged her to continue to have little regard for African languages.

8. 4. 4. 2. 'Macro' and 'micro'- contexts of Araba's use of English

Araba also mainly used English for communication. English was the language in the 'micro'-contexts of the flight attendant's home in Soweto, the Ivorians' home in Emmarentia, the adult school at Victory Park and her shop in Braamfontein. However, Araba was also exposed to French in the Ivorians' home and Sotho and Zulu at the adult school. English, Afrikaans, Zulu, Sesotho, Sepedi, Setswana and Xhosa are spoken in the 'macro'-contexts of Soweto (Ntshangase, 2002) and in the suburbs of Johannesburg where Victory Park and Braamfontein are located. Araba chose not to learn any South African indigenous language because of her negative experiences with speakers of South African languages.

8. 4. 4. 3. 'Macro' and 'micro'-contexts of learning Zulu and Xhosa

Kweku was a student of the University of the Witwatersrand which makes the university the micro-context of his language use. All eleven official languages of South Africa and 65 other languages are spoken as primary languages at the University (Wits Students' Language Profile, 2002). English is the official language of teaching and learning at the university with Sesotho and Zulu as the main African languages spoken and understood within the university's immediate surroundings (Wits' Adopted Language Policy, 2003). However, the following are the most widely spoken home languages in the 'macro'-context of Johannesburg where Wits University is located: Zulu (21,5%), Afrikaans (14,4%), Sesotho (13,1%), English (12,5%), Sepedi (10,7%), Setswana (8,4%) and Xhosa (7,6%).

As a Ghanaian international student, Kweku mostly used English for communication but later learned Zulu and Xhosa for the following reasons:

> 1. *I would also like to communicate when my black friends are speaking in their language without they interpreting in English for me to understand*.
>
> 2. *To enable me have a sense of belonging and feel part of the group since I am amongst the group. I also think it's just adventurous to know them.*

8. 4. 5. ‘Push’ and ‘pull’ factors for the use of English and of destination language learning

8. 4. 5. 1. ‘Push’ factors for the use of English and away from learning a destination language

The middle class aspirations of Abena’s father was a significant ‘push’ factor for learning English and perhaps ‘pushed’ her away from learning African languages. He adopted a middle class lifestyle by choosing English to be used at home and for social orientation of his children. “…in Ghana to be middle-class is to be sophisticated, and to be sophisticated is to subscribe to the trappings of Western culture” (Lamptey, 2006). Use of English for communication is a common practice among Ghanaian middle class families. Some families occasionally use a local language. The Ghanaian middle class believes that “… speaking only English made kids comfortable in the language … For them it is a subtle point of family pride that their kids are exclusively English-speaking” (Lamptey, 2006).

Against this backdrop, some parents “assume that competence in English contributes to learning and good education, and good education enhances status” (Andoh–Kumi, 1999: 6). Hence, in addition to the use of English in homes, some parents enrol their children at private schools where English is the sole language of communication. This is to guarantee success at school and beyond.

Drawing on Heath (1983 and Michaels, 1981), Hawkins (2004) aptly remarks that

> Schools have their own languages–academic discourses–that are specific to schools and schooling, and students must acquire them and be able to communicate in them fairly fluently in order for their performances to “count” as successful. This is, of course, easier for those students whose home language (and literacy) practices resonate more closely with those of school than for those who come with different understandings of ways of engaging with language and texts (Hawkins, 2004: 18).

Children’s competence in multiple languages has both academic and cultural benefits. According to this view, children achieve higher academic rewards and receive valuable social and cultural knowledge from members of the linguistic communities. They are also able to adapt to different cultural and linguistic societies. Abena is therefore likely to be negatively affected by her lack of proficiency in a Ghanaian language because she may not be able to adjust to speech communities of African languages.

The schools Abena attended 'pushed' her away from learning an African language and 'pushed' her further into the use of English. With regard to the use of English at school compound, Abena also comments that *"I mean some people were speaking their language but I'm sure it was still English"*. Some other people could choose to disobey the rule of speaking English at all times but she infers that she did adhere to the "rule". School for Abena, thus, becomes an extension of the home where the focus is on English. A similar situation obtained in the primary school Abena attended in Swaziland. English and Siswati are two main languages in Swaziland. Whilst English is used for all official transactions, Siswati has equally wide patronage, making a number of Swazis proficient bilingual speakers of both English and Siswati (www.magma.ca). The macro-context is therefore affordance rich for acquisition of Siswati but Abena chose not to learn Siswati.

After a two-year stay in Swaziland, her parents moved to the Transkei in the Eastern Cape Province, where her father was employed as a lecturer at the University of Transkei. The main language for communication in the Eastern Cape is IsiXhosa but the language is also mostly spoken in four other provinces namely the Western Cape, the Free State, Gauteng and the North West (Bekker, 2005). On the whole 17, 6% of South Africans use IsiXhosa as a home language (S. A. Census, 2001) with the following as a breakdown in all the provinces:

Table 8.1. Percentage of Xhosa Speakers in South Africa

PROVINCE	PERCENTAGE OF XHOSA SPEAKERS
EASTERN CAPE	67, 9%
WESTERN CAPE	13, 6%
GAUTENG	8, 5%
FREE STATE	3, 1%
KWAZULU NATAL	2, 8%
NORTH WEST	2, 7%
MPUMALANGA	0, 6%
NORTHERN CAPE	0, 6%
LIMPOPO	0, 2%

(Source: South African Population Census, 2001).

Thus, as Bekker (2005: 233) puts it, "The Eastern Cape is what one might call the 'heartland' of the IsiXhosa-speaking people", making the province affordance–rich for the acquisition of Xhosa.

Abena attended Umtata High School which admitted only whites or privileged blacks. She was one of the only two black learners in her class.

> *We were two Blacks who were in the class, but those Blacks were foreigners because our parents are in the university or diplomats or whatever. That is why we were allowed to go to those schools.*

Once more she was conscious of her privileged position. Worthman, DeCaro and Brown (2002: 17) highlight that middle class

> Parents cannot directly transfer social status and security to their children, the primary route to social reproduction is through production of the conditions to maximize the child's development, access to social goods and resources for life course progression, and realization of potential as an adult who has attained more than the parents had done.

Abena's parents seemed not to consider a knowledge of indigenous African languages as an important factor that could contribute to higher social attainment. She was, therefore, unlikely to learn Xhosa in these circumstances.

Her personal aspirations were a 'push' factor for her continuous use of English and a 'push' factor away from learning an African language. Her family had employed a Xhosa-speaking helper who could have assisted her to learn Xhosa but Abena chose to ignore this opportunity. She commented that: *"okay our helper was speaking it but I mean I never really. I spent most of my time at school anyway so"*. She was raised to shun the use of her own primary language. In this way, her interest in any other indigenous African language would still be difficult to kindle. The statement suggests a lack of interest.

Abena's foreign friends also acted as a 'push' factor away from learning South African indigenous language. She explained that she did not have South African friends at school: *"My friends were all foreigners".* Her choice of friends is consistent with Worthman et al.'s (2002) findings. In their study of middle class families in America, Worthman et al. (2002: 12) observe that middle class "children mandate a set of non-negotiables and arrange further priorities that reshape the moral economy of the family". They desire to be members of particular social groups. The urge to be seen belonging to these groups is paramount and the use of language, mode of dressing and codes of behaviour tend to be important markers of their associated communities

(Worthman et al., 2002). Abena's lack of interest in acquiring an African indigenous language could be for the purpose of maintaining her peer relationships.

8. 4. 5. 2. 'Push' factors away from learning a South African indigenous language

Araba had lived in South Africa since 2000 but she could still not speak a South African indigenous language. She argued that South Africans' attitudes towards immigrants 'pushed' her away from learning.

> *Okay, the way they behave you can't learn because even when you talk to the person, the reaction the person would give you, you wouldn't even have the interest of saying, "Oh, okay, I want to learn your language, just teach me". It will be like you're disturbing the person so really I never had the interest of, you know,learning South African language.*

The above comments suggest that South Africans did not encourage social interaction with immigrants because they considered such interaction as annoyance. Thus, Araba was experiencing a psychological need-threat where her sense of belonging and self-esteem were adversely affected (Hitlan, Zarate & Schneider, 2003).

Self-exclusion also 'pushed' Araba away from learning a South African indigenous language. She stated that

> *Even when you talk to the person, the reaction the person would give you, you wouldn't even have the interest of saying, "Oh, okay,I want to learn your language, just teach me.*

Hitlan et al. (2003) assert that exclusion makes people less committed and dissatisfied with a greater desire for retaliation. People who feel excluded tend to be angry, hostile and withdrawn. Araba was not committed to interact with South Africans and consequently she did not learn a South African indigenous language.

South Africans' attitudes towards the use of English and their indigenous languages 'pushed' Araba away from learning a South African language. She suggested in the following interview that there were two groups of South Africans – those who chose to speak only South African indigenous languages and those who spoke English and a South African indigenous language.

> Araba*: I made friends with people, you know, who would not have a problem with me speaking English*
>
> Interviewer: *So were there some people who could not speak English?*
>
> Araba: *Yeah, there were some people who could not speak English and those ones if you try to,*

you know, be friends with them, they will just call you names, "Kwerekwere", yeah.

Her attitude is consistent with Djajic's (2004: 5) argument that

> Social customs, attitudes and values of immigrants may differ drastically from those of the native population…Immigrants may be shunned by the natives and even be discriminated against in various forms. They are likely to respond by avoiding contacts with the natives.

Some South Africans avoided her because she did not speak a South African indigenous language. Araba's comments below emphasize this opinion.

> *Of course. Sometimes when you're asking them something, they would say…they would also repeat it in their language and say, "Okay, you have to. If you can't speak my language, then you can't talk to me". They will not talk to you. Some would not even want to see my face just because I would speak English with them.They won't.*

These responses discouraged Araba. "Both the behaviour of immigrants and of natives in such situations slow down the pace of assimilation in many dimensions" (Djajic, 2004: 6). Araba chose not to learn a language and thus decided not to get integrated into the South African society.

8. 4. 5. 3. 'Push' and 'pull' factors of learning Zulu and Xhosa

Examples of "push" and "pull" factors of learning Zulu and Xhosa

'Push' factors	'Pull' factors
1. Youthful age	1. Positive attitudes of friends
2. The need for acceptance and recognition	2. Friends' use of destination languages with respondent

Table 8.2. Examples of 'push' and 'pull' factors of learning Zulu and Xhosa

Kweku's young age of 18 to 25 years was a 'push' factor. One of his reasons for learning Zulu and Xhosa was that "*I also think it's just adventurous to know them".* Kramsch (2006: 101) suggests that

> Many adolescents find in a foreign language a new mode of expression that enables them to escape from the confines of their own grammar and culture. At an age when they are conscious of their bodies, they rebel against the limitations imposed on it by the constraints of their social environments.

Kweku did say that he disliked the limitations and linguistic restrictions placed on him by his inability to speak a South African indigenous language and chose to learn the languages in order to feel part of the new speech community.

The need for acceptance among his peers 'pushed' him to learn a South African indigenous language. "*To enable me have a sense of belonging and feel part of the group since I am amongst the group"* was another reason for his learning the languages. This comment suggests that Kweku was so comfortable among his friends that he desired to attain an 'insider' status through the use of the same language as the other members of the group. His feelings are consistent with one of McDonald et al's (1999: 17) findings that

> It is indeed heartening to learn that a large majority of the respondents feel that they are reasonably treated by South African citizens

Similarly Kweku's expression of a sense of belonging corroborates the view that

> A major use of language is to negotiate and maintain relationships between people. This includes its central role in presenting and performing identities, or socially expressive version of the self (Atkinson, 2002: 527).

Kweku considered language as a crucial tool to present and perform his identities in the group. However, his social motive of language learning is contrary to the views in the literature of language and immigration which mostly focus on economic motivation to learn a destination language (Saurez-Orozco, 2001; Chiswick & Miller, 2002; Chiswick et al. 2005). My own study indicates that 49% of the respondents migrated to South Africa for economic gains but the other 51% stated reasons such as political, visits, joining family members, studies and career development.

The reasonable treatment was in itself a 'pull' factor for Kweku. It was affordance rich for him to learn Zulu and Xhosa. As Atkinson (2002: 538) puts it: "If one learns by participating in specific and meaningful social activity, then co-participants are often one's teachers". Indeed, Kweku mentioned specifically that

> *I learnt Zulu, Xhosa but mix them up when speaking. I learnt it from friends, because they always try and create conversations with them any time we are together".*

His friends' attitude of speaking their languages in Kweku's presence also 'pulled' him to learn the languages. He felt so challenged to know the languages that he did not want the English version of what was said in either Zulu or Xhosa:

> *I would also like to communicate when my black friends are speaking in their language without they interpreting in English for me to understand.*

Kweku's experience clearly demonstrates that positive attitudes from both the immigrants and the established members of the speech community create congenial environments for destination language learning.

8. 4. 6. 'Germination' factors and 'germination' inhibitors of destination language learning

8. 4. 6. 1. 'Germination' inhibitors that prevented Abena from learning a South African indigenous language

In this section I argue that Abena's social networks, her deliberate efforts to prefer English to South African indigenous languages and the use of language in her workplaces were 'germination' inhibitors. Abena's social networks also acted as a 'germination' inhibitor. Her school friends included Whites, Indians and Coloureds, whose language of communication was English. She believed that this type of social networks was the result of her attending an international school.

> Interviewer*: Okay, now outside compound, I mean outside home and school where you speak English and home maybe you speak Twi; outside maybe you are going to social function or something did you have access to the local language?*
>
> Abena*: A bit but not much because I went to international school and most of my friends were Whites and Indians and Coloured; something like that.*

This social network required the use of English all the time. Perhaps, her ability and conformity to speaking English are some of the markers that would guarantee her membership of her social group.

Another 'germination' inhibitor was Abena's conscious effort to avoid using a South African indigenous language. She attended the University of Transkei from 1990 to 1994. Considering that English is the main language of teaching and learning at tertiary institutions in South Africa, English and Xhosa would be the languages for social interactions at the University of Transkei. Thus, the environment would be affordance

rich in Xhosa. Abena had friends, who were Xhosa speaking but she chose to speak English with them.

> *I have a few, yeah.I did have a few. I met a few people, yeah. No, I didn't speak Afrikaans. I was speaking English to them because I didn't understand the language very well. They were Xhosas,I mean, so they wouldn't speak Afrikaans. Yeah, I know a bit of words (Xhosa words) but I mean we were speaking English, yes.*

Again, Abena ignored the opportunity to learn Xhosa. The sentence: *"I didn't understand the language very well and I know a bit of words (Xhosa words)"* suggests her basic knowledge of the language, which she could have improved. Her desire was to deepen her proficiency in English. She was either not concerned about her friends speaking Xhosa or she had friends who also delighted in communicating in only English.

Abena's attitudes towards the use of language at her various workplaces also constitute 'germination' inhibitors. The reader may recall that Abena did three different types of part time jobs with two accounting firms and an interior designing firm in Pretoria. The workers in accounting firms were both Ghanaians and South Africans. Yet she preferred to speak only English even with the Ghanaians.

> Interviewer: *So with the Ghanaians, what type of language were you guys using?*
>
> Abena: *English.*
>
> Interviewer: *And the locals also?*
>
> Abena: *English.*
>
> Interviewer: *Okay. And then I mean when you came to the interior decoration also what language…?*
>
> Abena: *Also English because they are Whites*.

She was able to justify her use of English at the interior designing firm but provides no explanation for her choice of English with Ghanaians and Black South Africans. I infer that she did not perceive the importance of the environment to know and improve her proficiency in a Ghanaian or a South African indigenous language (van Lier, 2004). Probably she was again deliberately refusing to know any other language.

8. 4. 6. 2. 'Germination' inhibitors that prevented Araba from learning a South African indigenous language

I argue in this section that Araba's two places of residence, her attendance at the Alliance France and issues regarding her residence permit were 'germination' inhibitors.

Araba's first two places of residence were 'germination' inhibitors. She stayed with the flight attendant in Diepkloof Phase 3 in Soweto. All eleven official languages in South Africa are spoken in Soweto (Ntshangase, 2002). Thus Araba could have learned a South African indigenous language. However, she hardly interacted with other people outside the house: "*The house, it was in a place like an estate where you don't really meet people*". She was also not allowed to go out on her own.

> *Yeah. Normally, if I will go out or I need something she would wait…she would say I should wait when she is off, she will take us out and if there is shopping we will do. We do all together, yeah.*

English was the only language used in the house: "*She speaks English with me together with the daughter*". Even though the house helper could speak only South African indigenous languages, Araba was not given the opportunity to learn through her. She was rather made to use the daughter of the flight attendant as an interpreter: "*if I want to ask that lady something, I will say it to the daughter and she will transfer it in English for the woman"*. Unlike Amoako (the Architect) (6. 6. 7. 2.) and Ofori (the Dentist) (6. 6. 7. 2.) who recognized the importance of knowing Xhosa and Sotho respectively and started learning them through interpreters, Araba did not. Perhaps she did not realize the importance of learning an indigenous language.

Djajic (2004: 13) argues that

> Geographic concentration of immigrants in specific locations of the host country… may give rise to slower assimilation of immigrants in terms of host country language proficiency, consumption, social attitudes, customs, family values and other dimensions.

Djajic's observation is contrary to Araba's situation where the linguistically vibrant community of Soweto had virtually no impact on her desire to learn a South African indigenous language. It, however, corroborates the view that destination language learning is dependent, among other things, on "…the degree to which the dominant language is used within the immigrant household…" (Djajic, 2004: 14). Araba did not

foresee the possibility of her living on her own and the need for a South African indigenous language in this regard.

The flight attendant's inconsistent approach to Araba's residence permit also became a 'germination' inhibitor.

> *She said I should wait but for me to start schooling full time, I would need to attend school… by having papers so that was the thing, you know, she was always blocking me with. Sometimes I will talk to her she will understand. She says okay, I should wait when she go for her trip and she comes back, she has met some people who could help to, you know, help her to get my papers for me. We would go and see those people. You know, always promises but never fulfil them. So that's why I delayed also with my studies.*

Chiswick and Miller (1999: 64) suggest that immigrants with "a lower probability of emigrating back to the origin" tend to master a destination language. Araba was uncertain about her stay in the country and was therefore not encouraged to learn a South African indigenous language when living in Soweto.

Araba attended a four–month computer course at Alliance Francaise, which also turned out to be a 'germination' inhibitor.

> Interviewer: *So before you started school, did you know any form of a South African language?*
>
> Araba: *No, I did not. And luckily for me where I attended school it was only foreign teachers as well with Alliance Francaise so most of their teachers are foreign teachers coming from Ivory Coast, Benin, Burkina Faso. The secretary was the only person who is a South African.*
>
> Interviewer: *Okay, so at Alliance Francaise which language were they using to teach you?*
>
> Araba:*English*.
>
> Interviewer: *And how about your colleagues- the other people who were also attending courses?*
>
> Araba: *I made friends with people, you know, who would not have a problem with me speaking English so… yeah*

Araba's attitude of making "*friends with people who would not have a problem with me speaking English"* made her miss the affordances in the environment to learn a South African indigenous language. Drawing on Auyang (2000), Ziglari (2008: 377) states that "In the case of language learning, affordance comes out of participation and use that causes learning opportunities". Araba's decision indicates her choice not to participate in interactions involving South African indigenous languages. Her response was, thus, a

'germination' inhibitor and suggests a limited cross-cultural adjustment to South Africans.

8. 4. 6. 3. 'Germination' factors of learning Zulu and Xhosa

The multilingual context of Wits University with 76 different languages was a 'germination' factor for Kweku's language learning. An international student, who feels intimidated, is likely to perceive the context as an affordance constrained environment and fail to initiate interactions that could result in language learning. On the contrary, a more open and friendly student may confront the possible multiple attitudes from the different language groups and have more interactions with South African students, as in the case of Kweku.

Thus, Kweku seized the opportunity as an affordance for language learning. Indeed, his learning a South African indigenous language echoes the findings of Ward's (2001) study regarding international students in New Zealand. The author reports that the presence of international students creates opportunities for New Zealand local students to acquire Asian languages (Ward, 2001:16 in Smith & Rae, 2006: 33).

Kweku's independence as a student was a 'germination' factor. Since he was not living with his parents, he could have freedom to go out more with friends and possibly interact with more people (Rockler-Gladen, 2007). There were, therefore, more affordances for him to interact in Zulu and Xhosa leading to learning.

Kweku's place of residence was another 'germination' factor. He was living in a flat. A block of flats in Johannesburg can house between 500 and 1000 people. As Rockler-Gladen (2007) puts it, "There's always someone hanging out in the hallway looking for a friendly conversation". Anyone with interest in learning a South African indigenous language would find the environment affordance rich to 'germinate' and grow a seed of language learning. Kweku capitalised on this environment and used both Zulu and Xhosa "*when speaking with people in my flat and at school"*.

Kweku's age of between 18 to 25 years was also a 'germination' factor. A number of studies agree that young immigrants are most likely to learn a destination language with high level of proficiency (Chiswick & Miller, 1994; 1998; Evans, 1986; Gonzalez,

2000). Apart from his studies Kweku might not have many social or financial responsibilities that could adversely affect his interest in learning a second language.

8. 4. 7. Bridging the 'insider' and 'outsider' identities using language in South Africa

I argue in this section that Araba's choice not to learn a South African indigenous language made her remain in the 'space in-between'. I will use her language experiences at the adult school at Victory Park, at her flat in Bertrams and in taxis to reflect on the challenges she faced as a result of her inability to communicate in a South African indigenous language.

Araba attended an adult school at Victory Park to write matric examinations and encountered a problem in her Accounting class.

> *Okay. I had a problem. I had a major problem in class most of the time especially in Accounting class. When we attend classes, the teacher would use Zulu or maybe Sotho sometimes to teach. Most of the time they don't use English in class. They would be using Zulu, their local languages and I would raise up my hand and I would say, "Oh, Mum, please I don't understand what you're explaining". She says, "Oh wait I will explain to you. When I finish with these ones, I will come to you". And when she comes to me, she will not explain exactly what she explained to them. She would just, you know, say, "Okay, we said this, we said that". So I have to catch up with them. I have to catch up and doing most of the work on my own, doing most of it on my own. They don't normally speak English in class. They use Zulu.*

Djajic (2004: 16) suggests that "Language proficiency is even more important for the children of immigrants as there is a strong positive relationship linking it to scholarly performance". Her act of raising her hand and asking for explanations suggests a cry for help.

The teacher could have adapted her use of language to cater for both Araba and her classmates, thus providing dignity for Araba and equal relationships in the class (Utakis and Pita, 2005). Drawing on Hornberger (2003b), Utakis and Pita (2005: 159) assert that "Teachers serve students better by accommodating a range of pedagogical strategies and language and literacy input". Perhaps, Araba's Accounting teacher was yet to understand the current trends of transnationalism and globalised societies where learners come from different linguistic backgrounds and therefore need different kinds of support. Araba had to work harder than her classmates because of the fact that she did not know and understand either Zulu or Sotho. Her attitude contrasts with

an observation by Utakis and Pita (2005: 156) that where a destination language is made imperative for learning, "some students shut down; finding it difficult to follow the class, they resist in the only way they can, by not learning". Thus, Araba's approach to her Accounting studies suggests her recognition of the importance of education for upward social mobility.

Of equal importance is that Araba did not only have to worry about her difficulty in the Accounting class, but she also had to experience the emotional stress of exclusion. She believed the teacher did not like to see her: "*And even the teacher, sometimes when I'm in class, she doesn't like it and I see it"* and her classmates also intimidated her by calling her names. She commented that: "*Sometimes in class when I raised up my hand, they would say, 'Oh, look at the Kwerekwere, she wants them to explain in English'.* Mesch (2003: 42) argues that

> The acquisition of the local language by immigrants is also important in terms of the social reaction to them. Studies have shown that an important factor that sparks anti-immigration sentiment is the perception that new immigrants are unwilling or unable to learn the local language.

Araba's classmates showed negative social reactions towards her regarding the perception that Araba was unwilling to learn a South African indigenous language. This whole classroom scenario is reflected in Atkinson's (2002: 526) view that

> To the degree that we are cognitively predisposed to learn and use language, it is because as a social tool it allowed those who originally took advantage of it (in however rudimentary a form) an edge in survival over those who did not.

Araba's classmates had an advantage over her because of their ability to share a common language with the teacher. Conversely, Araba had to face up to the negative consequences of her choice of not learning their languages.

She concluded that "*They don't normally speak English in class. They use Zulu".* Thus, Araba realized that her access to English as hegemonic language in South Africa was of limited use in certain contexts whereas access to South African indigenous languages provides certain advantages and opportunities.

Araba's situation outside the classroom was equally unpleasant. She could not establish true friendship and was suspicious of her schoolmates. She gave an example to support her view.

> *There was a time we had a beauty contest at school and…it happened that I became the second. And both teachers and students could not understand why a "Kwerekwere" should become a princess for their school. The male teachers were happy. They were calling me princess this, princess that and the females–the teachers–they had a problem. And I was standing with one teacher and a lady. We were both discussing how excited it was to do. They turned into their language.They said something about me.They were laughing. I was just standing there. I didn't know what they were talking about. So a very close friend of mine was coming and she heard what they said and she called me aside and said, "Araba, this is what they said and they are laughing at you".*

After this incident Araba was not happy to interact with both local teachers and students:

> *I decided not to be too close or take somebody as a very best friend whom I can go to and say, "Oh, this is my problem today. This is this". I could not make friends like that. Just, "Hello", "Hi". We talk about class work and then everybody is gone, yeah".*

Araba's reaction reflects Mesch's (2003: 43) statement that "Immigrants who perceive the country of destination as positively oriented toward the incorporation of newcomers will be more inclined to adapt to the local culture, including the language". Moreover, "in making a decision about whether to learn the local language, an immigrant weighs expected benefits against the anticipated costs" (Mesch, 2003: 42). Araba may have felt that the cost of being mocked at and jeered was far greater than attempting to know an indigenous language.

Her change of residence from Emmarentia to Bertrams presented another linguistic challenge.

> *Okay, to Bertrams, I just moved to Bertrams and,I have a problem with the caretaker as well... In the evening when I was coming, she was standing at the gate with some friends. I was coming in with a friend. Whilst I was locking the gate and I did not lock it very well …And the way she was shouting, calling me. I should just come in an anger. And I came back and I said, 'Look, please I have not done anything to you. What have I done to you? Because ever since I have been here I have been trying to, you know, be nice, you know, co-operate with you but I don't know the problem". "And* (she) *just turned her face, start talking to her friends in Zulu and they were all laughing and all that". Anyway I did not mind her. I went in the flat. So it's also a problem when you're moving in a place where you find South Africans.*

Araba's identity as an immigrant without a knowledge of a South African indigenous language made it difficult for her to effectively confront the caretaker. Thus, the caretaker succeeded in using a South African indigenous language as a powerful tool to

silence Araba. Once more any desire that Araba had to learn a South African indigenous language was adversely affected. According to Mesch (2003: 56), "Immigrants are more likely to learn the local language and use it to gather information when they find a positive attitude toward migration in the local society". Instead of seeing the occupants of the residence as affordance rich opportunity to learn, I infer that she would avoid interaction with them and not learn a South African indigenous language.

Araba encountered unpleasant experiences with the use of language in taxis as well: "*I have hell of a problem with taxis as well".* She explained in the following comment:

> *It's one of a hell. When you are in a taxi and you a foreigner, like let's say they take your money and there is change they have to give you, especially maybe when you sit in front and you have to collect the money and give it to the driver and then maybe you have to give somebody a change and you said, "Okay,…". Maybe the person is saying something to you whilst getting the change and you say, "Oh, look, I don't understand. Can you please speak in English?" Everybody in the taxi will just insult you for being a foreigner. They will be upset with you, "Why you don't speak Zulu? Why you only speak English? You are supposed to speak Zulu". They will really make you feel bad till maybe you get down from the taxi.*

The use of English in taxis continues to be a difficulty regarding the interaction between South Africans and immigrants. Similar to Abeeku's experience (6.4.8) it is when paying the taxi fare or asking for a change that Araba's lack of knowledge of a South African indigenous language was exposed. Abeeku is the Mechanic. The difference is that whilst Abeeku was asked why there are so many immigrants are in South Africa and that they should go back home, Araba was to explain why she could not speak a South African indigenous language. Reflecting on the principles of language acquisition, Atkinson (2002: 528) asserts that

> The richness of the context, that is, "the deep, multiplex embedding of language activities in the lush social world that surrounds children, and which, in the words of Bourdieu (1991), "instead of telling the what he [sic] must do, tells him what he is, and thus leads him to become durably what he has to be".

South Africans' attitudes towards Araba in taxis suggest that African immigrants, residing in Johannesburg in particular where five major South African indigenous languages are spoken, should learn to be who they are: Africans speaking South African indigenous languages. Exposure to the use of languages in other African countries may help to correct this erroneous impression. However, Araba's experience

indicates that the attitudes of the established members and contexts of the use of destination languages have positive or negative impacts on immigrants' language learning.

8. 4. 8. Investment and identity

Of greater significance is that, as in the case of those who realized the need for learning South African indigenous languages, most Ghanaians later recognized the importance of South African indigenous languages in their lives in South Africa. About half of my survey respondents (43%) said they had learned a South African indigenous language. 28% provided business and social communication as well as employment opportunities as the reasons for learning these languages. Chiswick & Miller (2008) states that

> Language skills are produced using scarce resources in terms of time and out-of-pocket expenses. These investments are made in anticipation of future benefits from doing so. These benefits may be in the form of higher earnings, lower costs of consumption, greater political involvement, and larger social/communication networks, to name a few (Chiswick & Miller, 2008: 4).

It is noteworthy that apart from Amoako (the Architect) and Ofori (the Dentist) who used written and electronic materials to learn, all other respondents acquired South African indigenous languages through various interactions in the community. Their shift and subsequent means of acquisition are consistent with the literature of ecological second language acquisition that second language learning is emergent from social interactions as the potential learner perceives the affordances provided and adapts to the need to acquire the language (See Leather & van Dam, 2003; Larsen-Freeman, 1997; Brown, 1993). Fettes (2003) asserts that

> Language learners (whether L1 or L2) learn to participate in particular interaction frames in which language devices of interest are being used. The intensions, or private schematic networks, required to use these devices are thereby integrated with the learner's embodied knowledge of the world, and the learner is simultaneously initiated into a particular cultural community whose genres and discourses may leave a lasting mark on their linguistic competence, their view of the world, and their self-perception (Fettes, 2003: 42).

One of Kweku's reasons of learning Zulu and Xhosa was:

> *To enable me have a sense of belonging and feel part of the group since I am amongst the group. I also think it's just adventurous to know them.*

He desired to invest his identity as a Ghanaian into learning Zulu and Xhosa with the view of getting 'initiated' into the practices and 'discourse' of his group. This investment yielded a different perspective of life for him. Indeed he stated that

It had been a great opportunity for me to grow up in life and experience things in a different way.

This statement reflects Norton Peirce's view that "An investment in the target language is also an investment in a learner's own social identity", and this identity is fluid, constantly changing across time and space" (Norton Peirce, 1995: 7f in Moyer, 2004: 51). For Kweku, each context of the use of Zulu and Xhosa is an opportunity to improve his proficiency and also to shape his identities as young, a Ghanaian and a student. This is an ongoing and constantly changing process.

8. 5. CONCLUSION

In this section I discuss the key findings from the analysis of the data from the Accountant, the Salesgirl and the Students. I combined these three respondents because of their age and approach towards learning a destination language. The Accountant was about four years old when she first migrated to Swaziland to join her parents. She later relocated to the Eastern Cape in South Africa where she attended Umtata High and the University of Transkei. In spite of her very young age, she did not learn a destination language. Similarly, the Salesgirl, who had completed a high school in Ghana, was also 19 years old when she migrated to South Africa in 2000. Her purpose of migration was to live and work with a South African family who would assist her to further her education. After six years of living in South Africa, she had not been able to learn a South African indigenous language. Unlike the Accountant and the Salesgirl, the Student learned Zulu and Xhosa. He was between the age of 18 and 25 when he arrived in South Africa to study.

8. 5. 1. Motives for migration and family circumstances among all nine respondents

Unlike the Architect, the Dentist, the Businessman, the Technician, the Mechanic and the Burger who migrated mainly for better standard of living, this analysis of the stories of the Accountant, the Salesgirl and the Student shows that the Accountant and the Student migrated for social reasons. The Accountant joined her parents. She was therefore living with them. The Student emigrated for further studies and lived on his

own in South Africa. The Salesgirl, however, was the only one who migrated for economic and social reasons as was the case of the Architect who also joined his wife and children in the Eastern Cape in South Africa and sought employment. The Salesgirl needed economic and financial assistance to enable her continue with her education. Thus, she firstly lived with her employer who also acted as a parent and later lived with foster parents.

8. 5. 2. Use of language in the 'macro' and 'micro'-contexts

In the same way as the Architect, the Dentist, the Businessman, the Technician, the Mechanic and the Burger, the data clearly indicated that the Accountant, the Salesgirl and the Student also migrated to English-speaking destination countries. The Accountant was in Swaziland (8.1.2.) and the Eastern Cape in South Africa. Both the Salesgirl and the Student migrated to Johannesburg, South Africa. The Accountant, the Salesgirl and the Student used English in the micro-context of the school and the macro-contexts of the Xhosa speech community in Eastern Cape and Zulu speech community in Johannesburg. This use of English was similar to that of the Architect, the Dentist, the Businessman, the Technician, the Mechanic and the Burger who mostly used English for economic and social activities in the micro-contexts and the macro-contexts. The Technician, however, had to alternate his use of English for economic purposes in the micro-context of his workplace and Hausa for social interaction in the macro-context of the Hausa speech community in the Kano State in Nigeria.

8. 5. 3. Learning a destination language

Similar to the Technician, the Mechanic and the Burger, the Accountant and the Salesgirl were comfortable with the use of English in all contexts of interaction. Thus, there was very little need for them to learn a South African indigenous language. This choice not to learn a South African indigenous language was contrary to the choice of the Architect, the Dentist, the Businessman and the Student who respectively learned Xhosa, Sotho, Zulu and finally Zulu and Xhosa together. All four respondents mainly learned these South African indigenous languages informally from friends, colleagues and established community members in the micro-contexts and macro-contexts. In the beginning the Architect and the Dentist, however, used learning materials and tapes to privately learn Xhosa and Sotho.

With the exception of the Architect and the Technician who felt pressurized to learn Igbo and Hausa in the Imo and the Kano States respectively and later chose to learn Xhosa and French, the Dentist, the Businessman, the Mechanic, the Burger and Student all willingly decided to learn Sotho, Zulu, German, Arabic and Xhosa. The acquisition of French, German and Arabic by the Technician, the Mechanic and the Burger respectively was also informal through interaction in both micro-context and macro-context.

8. 5. 4. Means through which the respondents learned the destination languages

The Architect, the Dentist and the Businessman, the Technician, the Mechanic, the Burger and the Student learned Igbo, Xhosa, Sotho, Zulu, Hausa, French and Arabic mostly through the means of informal interactions at their workplaces and in the wider speech communities.

8. 5. 5. 'Push' and 'pull' factors of learning or not learning a destination language

The analysis of the 'push' and 'pull' factors clearly demonstrates that the Student's youth at migration, his sense of acceptance and belonging, the positive attitudes of established members toward the Student and their own languages were important 'push' and 'pull' factors of the Student's learning Zulu and Xhosa. In contrast, as economic migrants, the determination to do their work considerably well mainly 'pushed' the Architect in the Eastern Cape (6.2.6), the Dentist in Vereeniging (6.4.5) and the Businessman in Johannesburg CBD (6.6.6), the Technician in Louvain in Belgium, the Mechanic in Germany and the Burger in Benghazi in Libya to learn Xhosa, Sotho, Zulu, French, German and Arabic respectively. On the other hand the dominant use of Igbo, Xhosa, Sotho, Zulu, Hausa, French, German and Arabic among the established members of the speech communities and the positive attitudes of these members were the major 'pull' factors for the Architect, the Dentist, Businessman, the Technician, the Mechanic and the Burger to learn the languages.

The analysis of the stories further emphasizes divergent 'push' factors of not learning a destination language. The use of English for communication at home made the Accountant avoid the use of African languages. The Mechanic also depended on his ability to speak English and managed not to learn a South African indigenous language.

The Salesgirl's perception of South Africans and the use of South African indigenous languages negatively affected her interest in learning a South African indigenous language whereas the Burger paid attention to the poor attitudes of South Africans towards him and chose not to learn a South African indigenous language.

8. 5. 6. 'Germination' factors of learning destination languages

The analysis regarding germination factors clearly shows three main domains that encouraged the Student to learn Zulu and Xhosa. These are the physical contexts of the Wits University and his place of residence, his youth at migration and his style of living. On the other hand, the consistent use of Igbo, Xhosa, Sotho, Zulu, Hausa, French, German and Arabic by the Architect, the Dentist, the Businessman, the Technician, the Mechanic and the Burger at the workplace and the community was the major 'germination' factor that enabled them to learn these languages.

8. 5. 7. 'Germination' inhibitors of learning destination languages

On the contrary, the analysis of the non-germination factors indicates that the people both the Accountant and the Salesgirl associated themselves with greatly influenced their choice not to learn a South African indigenous language. The use of language at the places of residence and schools where the Salesgirl spent most of her time adversely affected her interest in South African indigenous languages. The Salesgirl's doubts regarding her stay also dissuaded her from learning. However, it is clear that as the Accountant grew she decided to avoid learning and using African languages.

8. 5. 8. Bridging the 'outsider' and 'insider' identities using language in Nigeria and South Africa

The analysis on bridging the 'outsider' and 'insider' identities using language clearly demonstrates that the Salesgirl's inability to speak a South African indigenous language caused language difficulties in her education and her interaction with South Africans in taxis and at her place of residence. It also emerged that she felt unwanted and excluded in these situations. Similarly, the Mechanic did not feel fully integrated into the South African society because of his inability to speak a South African indigenous language. Both the Architect and the Technician faced initial difficulties in communicating in Igbo, Xhosa and Hausa in the Eastern Cape in South Africa, the Imo and the Kano States in Nigeria which made them feel unaccepted. However, they learned the languages and

the Architect felt fully integrated whilst the Technician believed that he was sidelined because he was not a Moslem.

8. 5. 9. Investment and identity

The Architect invested his identities as a teacher and supervisor in Imo State in Nigeria and the Eastern Cape in South Africa to learn Igbo and Xhosa. In both cases his investment created more fulfilled identities of respected member of the communities and a more efficient supervisor. Similarly, the Student compromised his identity as a friend and a colleague and he became a learner to his colleagues in order to learn Zulu and Xhosa. His success at learning Zulu and Xhosa made him happy and accepted member of his group. The Architect was in a position of authority when he had to learn the languages but the Student was not. The Architect learned Igbo for social integration and Xhosa for economic integration. The Student learned for social integration.

Chapter 9
SUMMARY OF THE MAIN FINDINGS OF THE STUDY AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

9.0. Introduction
9.1. Findings in relation to the research questions
9.2. Findings in relation to the conceptual framework
9.3. Salient findings and contribution to literature
  9.3.1. Social imperatives for destination language learning
  9.3.2. Age at migration and destination language learning
9.4. Conclusion

9. 0. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study was to assess the relationship between language and employment on the one hand, and Ghanaian immigrants' access to the South African economy in relation to their language profiles, on the other. The study aimed to answer the following research questions:

- What factors promote or prevent destination language learning among Ghanaian immigrants living in Johannesburg?
- What is the relationship between language and employment among Ghanaian immigrants residing in Johannesburg?
- How do Ghanaian immigrants living in Johannesburg learn the languages of their host countries?
- How do Ghanaian immigrants adapt linguistically in social and economic domains?

At the end of the analysis and the discussion of the nine respondents, the study seeks to answer a further question:

- What does the research add to other studies regarding immigrants' language acquisition and use of language in the workplace?

The study involved 114 Ghanaian respondents. There were 15 respondents in the in-depth interviews and 100 survey respondents. In addition to the analysis of the survey data in chapter five, I selected data from six interview respondents and three survey respondents for analysis and discussion in chapters six, seven and eight.

This chapter is in five sections. The first section (9.1.) will discuss the key findings in relation to the research questions. The second section (9.2.) will consider key findings in relation to the conceptual framework adopted for the study (3.4.). In the third section (9.3.) I will describe what I consider to be the salient contribution from this study to the literature on destination language learning among immigrants. In the fourth section (9.4.) I will suggest directions for further research. The final section (9.5.) provides concluding comments.

Reflecting on the main findings of this study, I found the social distance theory useful and relevant. I, however, believed that it was important for me to use the source of the theory. I have, therefore, used Schumann (1975, 1976 and 1978) even though these articles are old.

9. 1. RESEARCH FINDINGS IN RELATION TO THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In this section I present a summary of the major findings in relation to the research questions.

9. 1. 1. What factors promote or prevent destination language acquisition among Ghanaian immigrants living in Johannesburg?

The data analysis revealed that the nine respondents[53] together learned three South African indigenous languages (Zulu, Sotho and Xhosa) in South Africa, two Nigerian indigenous languages (Igbo and Hausa) and three other languages (French, German and Arabic) during their stays in Nigerian, Libya, Germany and Belgium before migrating to South Africa. The following emerged as the enabling and constraining factors for learning these destination languages:

- Attitudes of the established members of the host speech community either promoted or prevented language learning.
- Social distance as a result of Ghanaian immigrants' professional practices also promoted or prevented destination language learning.
- Necessities facilitated or hindered learning.

I will discuss the above factors in the following section.

[53] The Architect, the Dentist, the Businessman, the Technician, the Mechanic, the Burger, the Accountant, the Salesgirl and the Student.

Attitudes of the established members of the host speech community. The negative attitudes of established members of the community towards Ghanaian immigrants or unpleasant experiences with the established members deterred the Ghanaian respondents in this study from learning a destination language. The Burger and the Salesgirl in the multilingual speech community of Johannesburg represented this group. The Burger specifically stated that he could not learn a South African indigenous language under these conditions (Chapter 7, section 7.4.7.2). "Such a mental set may block the commitment to the host country which is necessary for successful second language acquisition" (Schumann, 1975: 213). The Salesgirl also felt sidelined in the Accounting class where the teacher mostly used Zulu and Sotho to teach. Some students also avoided her because of her inability to speak a South African indigenous language. This inability similarly attracted rebuke, disdain and sometimes insults in taxis. The caretaker of her flat in Bertrams also used a South African indigenous language to ridicule her and made her feel humiliated (Chapter 8, section 8.4. 7).

I argue that Ghanaians encounter negative attitudes and unwelcome conditions even in their home communities in Ghana. An Ewe-speaking Ghanaian who migrates to an Akan speech community mostly faces negative attitudes because of lack of knowledge of the Akan language or differences in culture. An Akan who lives in an Ewe speech community is also likely to experience negative attitudes from the established members. Ghanaian participants in this study, therefore, had the option either to ignore the negative interaction with established members or rather feel encouraged to learn the destination language (Moyer, 2004). The tendency to dwell on the negative as a reason for their choice not to learn a destination language is a "selective de-motivation". 'Selective' because it is a conscious decision out of other possible choices. The Burger had South African friends during his two-year stay in Johannesburg from whom he could have learned but he chose not to: *"I was having South African friends but I was not interested, yeah"* (Chapter 7, section 7.4.7.2). The Salesgirl was also more concerned about people's attitude instead of making a decision to learn a South African indigenous language (Chapter 8, section 8.4.4).

These negative attitudes affirm Schumann's (1975: 213) view that "The learner perceives the (attitudes of) speakers of the target language as the source of his disorientation and therefore has difficulty forming the identifications necessary to learn

their language". Focus on the disorientation and failure to identify with the established members of the community leads to lack of motivation to learn a destination language.

However, the positive attitudes of the established members of the Igbo and Hausa speech communities respectively compelled the Architect and the Technician to learn Igbo and Hausa that are mostly used in the macro-contexts of the communities even when they comfortably did their work using English. I use positive attitudes to refer to situations where established members of the speech community pressurized or indirectly encouraged immigrants to learn a destination language. The Architect learned Igbo in the Igbo speech community in Imo State in Nigeria because the established members of the community refused to communicate in English with him and expected him to know Igbo: "*Except in the classroom where we used English, you could not communicate in any other language with them other than Igbo*" (Chapter 6, section 6.6.6.1).

Similarly, the Technician had to learn Hausa in the Hausa speech community in Nigeria since it was the preferred language of interaction: "*They only want to speak the Hausa and they don't want to speak English so you have to learn the Hausa by force because if you don't hear the Hausa, it's very difficult to interact with them"* (Chapter 7, section 7.4.5.1).

Of further significance is that even though the Architect and the Technician were economically motivated to seek better living conditions in Nigeria, they appreciated their ability to use Igbo and Hausa to interact with the established members of the communities (chapter 6, sections 6.1.3. and 6.1.6) and (chapter 7, section 7.4.6.1).

***Social distance as a result of Ghanaian immigrants' professional practices also promoted or prevented destination language learning*.** For the purpose of this study, I have categorized their professions into three namely 'human–centered', 'building–centered' and 'equipment–centered'. Examples of 'human-centred' professions are: teachers or lecturers, medical practitioners (such as the gynaecologist, the dentist and the nurse), hair dressers, shoe repairers, businessmen, tailors or fashion designers, shop keepers, barbers, waiters, consultants, public phones operators and travel agents. The Ghanaians I interviewed in the 'human–centered' professions had constant and

daily interaction with people, most of whom were established members of the host speech community who spoke the destination languages. These situations created less social distance between the second language learning group (2LL) and the target language group (TL).

The interactions most often required the use of a destination language other than English. The Dentist who was working in a hospital made the following comment: "*Most people understand English but also local S A. languages are dominant amongst the black people I consult"* (Chapter 6, section 6.3.6). The Businessman also believed that Zulu is an important language in South Africa to know at the workplace because one is expected to speak Zulu (Chapter 6, section 6.5.6). Survey respondent AG 8 who is a medical doctor learned Xhosa "*at work mostly to help me at work and socially".* These Ghanaian immigrants realized the need to learn an indigenous language for effective communication with the people. Even where knowledge of a language of the macro-context was not essential for work purposes, the less social distance tended to be conducive for interested Ghanaian immigrants in these professions to acquire a South African indigenous language. Survey respondent BS 2 who is a shoe repairer learned Sotho "*because my wife is a Sotho so it will help me communicate with her and my in-laws".*

'Building-centred' professions include accountants or book-keepers, pathologists, administrators, house security and property managers. The Accountant in the 'building-centred' profession that I interviewed was mostly confined to an office where she worked with papers and figures. The Accountant worked part time at three different places – two bookkeeping firms and interior decoration company- in Pretoria and was later permanently employed at Safmarine in Johannesburg. She did not learn any indigenous language (Chapter 8 , sections 8.1.5. and 8.1.6).

Examples of 'equipment-centred' professions are computer programmers, construction technician, masons, mechanics, mechanical engineers, carpenters, electronic and cellular phone technicians. The Technician and the Mechanic who are 'equipment-centred' professionals worked with cars and electronic equipment in secluded places. The Technician worked as an electronics repairer in five different places namely Johannesburg, Bachu near Kempton Park, Tembisa, at Midrand Music Bar and

Braamfontein (Chapter 7, sections 7.1.6 and 7.1.7). The Mechanic repaired cars at Ellis Park and also at AA (Chapter 7, section 7.2.8). Thus, there was greater social distance. These respondents mostly had very limited interaction with established members of the speech community. Consequently the immigrants were not challenged to learn and speak South African indigenous languages. Since the lack of knowledge of South African indigenous languages did not necessarily affect their jobs, they did not realize any need to learn.

Out of the 100 respondents in the survey for this study 43 learned a South African indigenous language. Three of the 43 were unemployed, 34 were 'human-centred' professionals, 4 and 2 were from the 'building-centred' and 'equipment-centred' professions respectively. Thus, the Ghanaian immigrants in this study who were in the 'human-centred' professions mostly learned destination languages. Those in 'building-centred' professions and the unemployed were more likely to learn a destination language than those in 'equipment-centred' professions.

***Necessities to learn a destination language*.** The research showed that Ghanaian immigrants' location of workplaces or businesses in the city of Johannesburg also created necessities that facilitated South African language learning. Out of the 43 Ghanaians who learned South African languages 15 were working in the CBD, 5 in Yeoville, 4 in Braamfontein, 4 in Hillbrow, 2 in Berea. Thus, Ghanaians working or residing in the CBD were mostly likely to learn a South African indigenous language. Businesses in the CBD and the surrounding areas such as Yeoville, Hillbrow and Berea are mainly patronized by Black South Africans. Five South African languages namely Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho, Setswana and Pedi are spoken widely in these areas thus making the areas 'affordance' rich. Interested Ghanaians were able to learn any of these languages.

However, the knowledge and the constant use of English made learning a destination language unnecessary. The Ghanaians I interviewed, who were competent in English when they arrived in South Africa, were reluctant to learn a South African indigenous language. English is an official language in South Africa and is used in the micro-contexts of many workplaces and the macro–contexts of the speech community. Toussaint-Comeau (2005:1) observes that "English language proficiency allows the

immigrant to organize and operate his/her business, communicate with customers and suppliers who may not belong to the same ethnic group, and adhere to legally mandated practices". This is what I call a 'comfort zone' language where English is accepted in the speech community and the immigrants do not experience enough difficulties to force them to learn a destination language.

Bauer et al. (2002) also argue that the use of a language of the home country weakens immigrants' need to learn a destination language. The Mechanic (chapter 6, section 6.4.7), the Burger (chapter 6, section 6.5.5), the Accountant (chapter 7, sections 7.2.4 and 7.2.5) and the Salesgirl (chapter 7 sections 7.4.4. and 7.4.5) failed to learn any South African indigenous language because they could comfortably use English. Some of them adopted a superficial approach to learning a South African indigenous language and were satisfied with the knowledge of greetings and other simple interactional routines. Beyond this knowledge, they confessed their lack of proficiency and reverted to English. For example, the Mechanic clearly admitted to this situation during his patrol duties at the AA (Chapter 6, section 6.4.7).

It is significant to note that those factors that promoted or prevented destination language learning among Ghanaians were largely economic and social. The attitudes of the established members of the host speech community are experienced both in the economic and social domains. Social distance as a result of Ghanaian immigrants' professional practices is mainly at the workplace whilst the necessities to learn a destination language is both social and economic factors.

9. 1. 2. What is the relationship between language and employment among Ghanaian immigrants residing in Johannesburg?

The analysis of the data revealed the following relationships which will be the focus of this section.

- Use of English created communication difficulties for Ghanaians in the workplace.
- Knowledge of South African indigenous languages was important to satisfy certain South African customers.
- Use of South African indigenous languages was central to the growth of Ghanaian businesses.

- Knowledge of South African languages became crucial for Ghanaians engaged in competitive jobs.

I demonstrate in this section that proficiency in English was useful for the Ghanaians I interviewed in Johannesburg. However, knowledge of a South African indigenous language had more advantages for them in the workplace especially in the informal sector.

Use of English created social and communication difficulties. However, it emerged from the data analysis that the Ghanaians I interviewed encountered language and social difficulties when using English in their workplaces. They therefore recognized the importance of knowing South African indigenous languages in order to do their work well. Some of them initially used interpreters as in the case of the Architect in the Eastern Cape (Chapter 6, section 6.1.6), the Dentist (Chapter 6, section 6.6.4.2) in the Sotho speech community in Vereeniging and the Salesgirl in Braamfontein. The Salesgirl's shop owner employed a South African to help the Salesgirl to communicate with customers (Chapter 8, section 8.2.7). The determination to do their jobs creditably well using a South African indigenous language made some Ghanaians in my study learn South African languages. For example, the Architect eventually learned Xhosa in order to communicate effectively with his subordinates in the Eastern Cape (Chapter 6, section 6.1.6).

This finding demonstrates that the Ghanaians who participated in this study recognized that their economic success in the South African labour market depended on their ability to adapt to the language imperatives in the country. NMR 8 and CBD 9 specifically considered effective interaction with their customers as a key factor influencing their decision to learn Zulu.

Knowledge of South African indigenous languages as well as English were important for Ghanaians to satisfy certain South African customers or clients. Some South Africans preferred others to use their languages. My Ghanaian respondents were therefore compelled to learn South African indigenous languages in order to provide quality service. The Dentist was pressurized by his patients in Vereeniging to learn Sotho (Chapter 6, section 6.3.5).

***Use of South African indigenous languages was central to the growth of Ghanaian businesses*.** Some of the respondents in this study were able to improve their work and expand their clientele base when they communicated in these languages. The Businessman whose business was located in Johannesburg CBD realized the need to learn Zulu in order to maintain and increase the number of his customers (Chapter 6, section 6.6.5.3). The Salesgirl noticed also that she was losing those customers who preferred the use of South African indigenous languages at her clothing shop in Braamfontein: *"so the language is normally a big problem". I think it will help me in my business".* She, however, chose not to learn a South African indigenous language (Chapter 8, section 8.4.5.2).

Knowledge of South African indigenous languages became crucial for the Ghanaians engaged in competitive jobs where South African languages are used to attract customers. This situation became apparent through my observation in Yeoville where Ghanaian hair dressers and barbers compete with other hair dressers and barbers to get South African customers.

This finding has shown that South African customers are more comfortable with Ghanaian immigrants who shared their languages. Johannesburg is located in the Gauteng Province where about 70% of the population speak South African indigenous languages (SA Census, 2001). Thus, an immigrant's knowledge of any of these indigenous languages is likely to provide him/her with more advantages over competitors. Djajic (2003: 2) explains that the use of a common language "provides both sides with an incentive, sometimes quite strong, to honor their explicit as well as implicit commitments…".

9. 1. 3. How do Ghanaian immigrants living in Johannesburg learn the languages of their host countries?

In this section I argue that the Ghanaian immigrants in this study learned Igbo, Hausa, French, German, Arabic, Xhosa, Sotho and Zulu in the 'micro-context' of the workplace; 'macro-context' of the community; informally through interaction with colleagues, clients and subordinates in the workplace and through interaction with friends and the established members in the wider speech community.

The analysis shows that the Architect, the Businessman, the Dentist, the Technician, the Mechanic, the Burger and the Student mainly learned Igbo, Zulu, Sotho, Hausa, French, German and Arabic in both the micro-contexts of their workplaces and the macro-contexts of the wider speech communities. They learned these languages through their interaction with colleagues, clients, subordinates, friends and established members of the community (see chapter 6, sections 6.1.3; 6.1.6; 6.3.5; 6.5.6; chapter 7, sections 7.2.5; 7.2.7; 7.4.3 and 7.6.6 and chapter 8, section 8.4.5.3). Out of the 43% of the survey respondents in this study who learned South African indigenous languages, 37% learned from colleagues, clients and subordinates in the workplace and friends and the established members in the wider speech community.

Very few learned formally at school or using written materials. For example, the Architect "*had to buy a pack of Xhosa –tapes and other materials*" (Chapter 6: section 6.1.6). Similarly, the Dentist studied privately "*from lessons recorded on tapes"* (Chapter 6, section 6.3.5). As I indicated above both the Architect and the Dentist complemented their formal learning with informal learning through interaction with their subordinates, colleagues and clients in the micro-context of the workplace and the macro-context as well (Chapter 6, sections 6.1.6 and 6.3.5). One survey respondent (AG 5) also learned Afrikaans at school and explained that he did so because *"Afrikaans was a prerequisite at school"*. However, he learned Zulu, Xhosa and Sotho through interactions in the community in order "*to communicate with our peers".*

These findings emphasize Canagarajah's (2007) view that destination language acquisition is more effective within the everyday contexts of the use of the language than in the classroom.

> It is for these reasons that multilingual competence cannot rely solely on schools for Its development. Because participants have to adopt communicative strategies relevant to each situation and one cannot predict the mix of languages and participants in each context, learning is more meaningful in actual contexts of language use and practice. It is not surprising that, in multilingual communities, language acquisition takes place most effectively in everyday contexts (Canagarajah, 2007: 931).

I argue that language is mostly used in the social domain and essentially a social phenomenon. Thus language learning occurs mainly in social environments as well. Using the concept of social distance and social proximity, Schumann (1978) explains

that the closer the second language learner is to the established members of the speech community the more likely he/she will learn the target language.

9. 1. 4. How do Ghanaian immigrants adapt linguistically in social and economic domains?

I argue in this section that the motives for migration and the destination countries of the Ghanaians I interviewed influenced and were linked to their linguistic adaptation. Economic migrants and social migrants respectively were 'pushed' by economic and social motivation to learn destination languages. I use the terms 'economic migrants' to refer to Ghanaians who migrated for economic reasons and 'social migrants' to those who migrated for social reasons. Economic reasons include the desire to have a better standard of living, better salary or wages, to look for a job, to do business, to work and get money to help parents, brothers and sisters in Ghana. Examples of social reasons are to visit, to join parents or spouse, to have travel experience and "*to study and also to know more about the people*".

The data analysis revealed the following relationships:

- Ghanaian economic migrants living in an English-speaking country learn destination languages for the following purposes:
  1. Economic (For example, the Architect and the Businessman in South Africa).
  2. Economic and social (The Dentist in South Africa).
  3. Social (The Architect and the Technician in Nigeria).
- Economic migrants living in non-English speaking countries mostly learn a destination language for both economic and social purposes (For example, the Technician, the Mechanic and the Burger).
- Social migrants living in an English speaking country learn a destination language for social purposes (For example, the Student).
- Social migrants living in English speaking country may not to learn a destination language at all (For example, the Accountant).
- Ghanaians who migrated without clear motive may not learn any destination language (For example, the Salesgirl).

Ghanaian economic migrants living in an English-speaking country learn destination languages for either economic or social purposes or both for economic and social purposes. The analysis of the data demonstrated clearly that the Architect and the Businessman who were in the Eastern Cape and Johannesburg in South Africa to work and do business respectively learned Xhosa and Zulu. The Architect did so in order to relate well with artisans at construction sites (chapter 6, section 6.1.6) whilst the Businessman needed to communicate well with his South African workers and customers (chapter 6, section 6.5.6).

The Architect and the Technician respectively learned Igbo and Hausa in Nigeria in order to comply with the social demands of the established members of the communities. The communities preferred the use of Igbo and Hausa for social interaction (chapter 6, section 6.1.3 and chapter 7, section 7.1.4). The Architect migrated to the Igbo speech community in Imo State in Nigera because "*it was also more lucrative in Nigeria in those days than Ghana"* (chapter 6, section 6.1.3). The Technician also migrated to the Hausa speech community in the Kano State "*just to better my life, to find some better job to do"* (chapter 7, section 7.1.4).

The Dentist who migrated to South Africa "*to seek fortune*" learned Sotho in Vereeniging for the following reasons: "*Some patients prefer to be spoken to in local S.A*." (economic reason) and "*some expect a Blackman to speak local language*" (social reason) (chapter 6, section 6.3.5).

***Ghanaians economic migrants living in non-English speaking countries learn a destination language for both economic and social reasons*.** The Technician, the Mechanic and the Burger who emigrated in order to have better wages and a better standard of living in Belgium, Germany and Libya respectively learned French (chapter 7, section 7.1.5), German (7.2.5) and Arabic (7.3.4) to enable them to work and socially interact with the established members as well.

My Ghanaian respondents who were social migrants living in an English speaking country learned a destination language for social purposes. The analysis clearly demonstrated further that respondents in this study who had social motives to migrate to English speaking countries, as in the case of the Student in South Africa, also focused

on social reasons to learn a destination language. The Student migrated to South Africa to study at Wits University but he learned Zulu and Xhosa in Johannesburg in order "*to enable me have a sense of belonging and feel part of the group since I am amongst the group. I also think it's just adventurous to know them"* (chapter 8, section 8.3.6).

Some of my Ghanaian respondents who were social migrants living in an English speaking country did not learn a destination language at all. The Accountant, who joined her parents in Swaziland and later relocated to the Eastern Cape in South Africa, did not feel encouraged to learn Swati or any South African indigenous language. English is an official language of both Swaziland and South Africa (Chapter 8, section 8.4.5.1).

My Ghanaian respondents who migrated without clear motive did not learn any destination language. The analysis of the data also indicated that the Salesgirl was not very certain whether her main motive of migration was to baby-sit the flight attendant's daughter or to continue her education (chapter 8, section 8.2.4). This uncertainty and the corresponding circumstances of the flight attendant failing to get her a residence permit, adversely affected her interest in learning a South African indigenous language (chapter 8, section 8.4.6.2).

These last two findings demonstrate that the economic and social dependence of both the Accountant and the Salesgirl on their parents and 'foster parents' respectively negatively influenced their desire to learn South Afrca indigenous languages. Unlike some of the respondents who were under pressure to learn in order to earn money to live, the financial needs of the Accountant and the Salesgirl were provided by their parents. The parents also controlled the extent of their social interactions with South Africans. Thus, economically and socially, the Accountant and the Salesgirl did not have urgent needs to learn the languages.

9. 2. Findings in relation to the conceptual framework

In this section I discuss the key findings in relation to the conceptual framework I adopted for the study. I used the following main concepts to analyse and discuss the data: contexts of use of language, 'push' and 'pull' factors of language learning,

'germination' factors and 'germination' inhibitors of language learning, bridging the "outsider" and "insider" identities using language and investment and identity.

9. 2. 1. Contexts of language use

The analysis revealed that the contexts of language use of the Ghanaians who participated in this study were complex, emergent and dynamic. The Architect had to use a short period of three months to learn Igbo in the Imo State in Nigeria. His process of learning Xhosa was laborious and slow. His knowledge of Xhosa emerged from interactional routines. His ability to communicate in both Igbo and Xhosa created dynamic context of good relationships between him and the community (chapter 6, section 6.2.3). The cultural differences between the Dentist and the clients rendered his use of Sotho complex. His decision to adapt to the demands of his clients and to learn Sotho was dynamic (chapter 6, section 6.6.4.2).

The Businessman focused on Zulu among Xhosa, Setswana, Sesotho and Sepedi that are also spoken in Johannesburg CBD. Canagarajah (2007: 928-929) argues that

> There is constant interaction between language groups, and they overlap, interpenetrate, and mesh in fascinating ways…Such communities are so multilingual that in a specific speech situation one might see the mixing of diverse languages, literacies, and discourses.

The Businessman's ability to concentrate on Zulu and learn it made the context of use complex. The power relation between the Businessman and his workers and customers caused the context of use to be complex. His proficiency in Zulu emerged from the consistent use of the language with friends, workers, customers and established members of the community. His use of Zulu with different groups of people in a variety of situations coupled with a personal resolution to persevere in speaking Zulu in spite of the negative responses he sometimes received made the contexts of use dynamic (chapter 6, section 6.6.4.3).

The Technician's interaction with people from diverse backgrounds with different beliefs and religion using Hausa created complex contexts of use. The need for him to vary his knowledge, choice of words and style of speaking Hausa in relation to the demands of each context made the contexts of use also dynamic. His proficiency emerged from encouragement and interactional routines from the established members (chapter 7 ,

section 7.4.3.1). Challenges both in the German school and in the wider community where the Mechanic learned German rendered the use of German complex. His proficiency also emerged through encouragement and interactional routines from the German speech community. These different contexts of the Mercedes-Benz factory in Germany, with German employers in Libya made the use of German dynamic (chapter 7, section 7.4.3.2). Differences in the nationalities as well as the various backgrounds of the 'Burger's interlocutors in Benghazi in Libya created complex contexts of use. The diversity in the social, economic, cultural and political backgrounds demanded the use of different linguistic strategies and styles in different contexts making the contexts of use dynamic. His proficiency in Arabic was also emergent. It started with greetings, questions and answers, speaking, knowledge and proficiency in the end (chapter 7, section 7.4.3.3).

The Student's ability to discern between the appropriate Zulu and Xhosa words, forms, strategies and styles for effective communication with various friends and established members of the wider speech communities caused the contexts of the use of Zulu and Xhosa to be complex for him. However, his knowledge and proficiency in both languages emerged from his participation in conversation with his friends, colleagues and the established members. The variations in the use of Zulu and Xhosa in different contexts and his own preparedness to overcome the language challenges and difficulties made the contexts of use dynamic (chapter 8, section 8.4.3.2).

The view that a context of language learning is always complex, dynamic and emergent has been clearly observed (Leather and van Dam, 2003; Canagarajah, 2007; Larsen-Freeman, 1997). The findings in this study confirm this observation and suggest that the complex, dynamic and emergent contexts of use of the destination languages among the Ghanaians I interviewed stemmed mainly from their daily and constant social interaction with people. These findings also affirm the assertion that "the context of language activity is socially constructed and often dynamically negotiated on a moment-by-moment basis" and that language use and growth mostly occur in the social domain. (Leather and van Dam, 2003: 13).

9. 2. 2. 'Push' factors of learning Sotho, Xhosa, Zulu, French, German and Arabic

The table below illustrates the findings from the data concerning 'push' factors of learning destination languages. I argue that more social than economic factors 'pushed' the Architect, the Businessman, the Dentist, the Technician, the Mechanic, the Burger and the Students to learn Xhosa, Sotho, Zulu, French, German and Arabic.

Respondent	**Language learned**	**Main 'push' factor of learning this language**	**Economic or social factor**
The Architect	Xhosa	Determination to achieve economic success	Economic
The Businessman	Zulu	Determination to achieve economic success	Economic
The Dentist	Sotho	Determination to achieve economic success	Economic
The Technician	French	Determination to achieve economic success	Economic
The Mechanic	German	Determination to achieve economic success	Economic
The Burger	Arabic	Determination to achieve economic success	Economic
The Architect	Xhosa	Higher educational background	Social
The Dentist	Sotho	Higher educational background	Social
The Businessman	Zulu	Higher educational background	Social
The Student	Zulu	Young age at migration	Social
The Student	Zulu	Desire for social acceptance and group association	Social

Table 9.1. 'Push' factors of learning Sotho, Xhosa, Zulu, French, German and Arabic

The analysis clearly indicated that the Architect, the Businessman, the Dentist, the Technician, the Mechanic and the Burger who were economic migrants were determined to succeed in their economic endeavours. They considered the knowledge of Xhosa, Sotho, Zulu, French, German and Arabic respectively as a necessary means to achieve their objectives. The aim was, therefore, a major 'push' factor for learning these destination languages. The higher educational attainment of the Architect, the Dentist and the Businessman was also a 'push' factor because it contributed to their ability to learn the destination languages. The effect of superior education on immigrants' destination language acquisition has been observed (Chiswick & Miller,

1994; 1998). The Architect, the Dentist and the Businessman are all university graduates. Schumann (1975: 218) also asserts that "Individuals with a high need for achievement will be successful in learning a second language". Thus, the discipline and determination that made them academically successful might have been applied to the language learning (chapter 6, sections 6.1.2; 6.3.2 and 6.5.3).

Younger age at migration as a factor influencing destination language acquisition is clealy noted (Gonzalez, 2000; Chiswick & Miller, 1994; 1998). This research suggested that migration at a young age, the desire for acceptance and the need to belong to his South African peers were key 'push' factors for the Student to learn Zulu and Xhosa. The Student was between the age of 18 and 25 when he migrated to South Africa to study at Wits University (chapter 8, section 8.4.5.3).

9. 2. 3. 'Push' factors away from learning Swati and South African indigenous languages

The table below illustrates the findings from the data regarding 'push' factors of **not** learning Swati and a South African indigenous language. I explain in this section that social factors mainly 'pushed' the Accountant and the Salesgirl away from learning.

Respondent	Destination language not learned	'Push' factors aways from learning a destination language	Economic or social factor
The Accountant	Swati and South African indigenous languages	Middle class background	Social
The Accountant	Swati and South African indigenous languages	Family orientation regarding English and African languages	Social
The Salesgirl	South African indigenous languages	Negative attitudes towards established members of the host speech community	Social

Table 9.2. 'Push' factors away from learning Swati and South African indigenous languages

The analysis demonstrated that social class and family orientation towards English and African languages 'pushed' the Accountant away from learning Swati in Swaziland or South African indigenous language. Her family background and training made her prefer the use of English to African languages for communication (chapter 8, section 8.4.5.1). Schumann (1975: 210) explains that "How the learner's parents view the speakers of the target language and how they feel about their child's acquisition of that language

can influence achievement". On the other hand the Salesgirl's own belief that South Africans are not approachable and that they did like the fact that she could communicate in only English made her develop negative attitudes towards South Africans and their indigenous languages. Her own attitudes 'pushed' her away from learning their languages (chapter 8, section 8.4.5.2).

9. 2. 4. 'Pull' factors of learning Igbo, Xhosa, Sotho, Zulu, French, German and Arabic

The table below illustrates the findings of 'pull' factors of learning destination languages. In this section I emphasize that more social than economic factors in the destination countries 'pulled' the respondents to learn.

Respondent	Language learned	Main 'push' factor of learning this language	Economic or social factor
The Architect	Igbo	Wide use of Igbo	Social
The Architect	Xhosa	Wide use of Xhosa	Social
The Dentist	Sotho	Wide use of Sotho	Social
The Businessman	Zulu	Wide use of Zulu	Social
The Businessman	Zulu	Location of business	Economic
The Technician	French	Positive attitudes of the established members of the community towards immigrants	Social
The Mechanic	German	Positive attitudes of the established members of the community towards immigrants	Social
The Burger	Arabic	Positive attitudes of the established members of the community towards immigrants	Social
The Student	Zulu	Positive attitudes of the established members of the community towards immigrants	Social
The Mechanic	German	A brother's perception of the importance of knowledge of German	Social

Table 9.3: 'Pull' factors of learning Igbo, Xhosa, Sotho, Zulu, French, German and Arabic

It emerged from the analysis that the conditions that 'pulled' the respondents to learn destination languages differed from context to context. The wide use of Igbo, Xhosa, Sotho and Zulu among other destination languages was the key 'pull' factor for the Architect, the Dentist and the Businessman to learn Igbo, Xhosa, Sotho and Zulu. The Technician, the Mechanic, the Burger and the Student perceived the established members' positive attitudes of welcoming and accepting them and integrating them into their communities as important 'pull' factors for learning Hausa, French, German, Arabic, Zulu and Xhosa respectively.

The location of the businesses of the Ghanaians I interviewed also encouraged them to learn South African indigenous languages. The Businessman considered the location of his business in the CBD of Johannesburg as a 'pull' factor to learn Zulu (chapter 6, section 6.6.6.4). The Mechanic learned German through the encouragement of his brother who is a German citizen. His brother believed that the Mechanic's knowledge of German would enable him to live in the country, find and maintain employment. He therefore contributed financially towards his attendance at the German language school (chapter 7, sections 7.2.5 and 7.4.5.3).

9. 2. 5. 'Germination' factors of learning destination languages

The table below illustrates the findings concerning 'germination' factors. The findings demonstrate further that both social and economic factors helped the respondents to increase and improve their knowledge of destination languages.

Respondent	**Language learned**	**Germination factors of destination language learning**	**Economic or social factor**
The Architect	Xhosa	Use of Xhosa at the construction sites	Economic
The Dentist	Sotho	Use of Sotho at the hospital	Economic
The Businessman	Zulu	Use of Zulu at Johannesburg CBD	Economic
The Technician	French	Use of French for the sale of second-hand cars	Economic
The Mechanic	German	Use of German at the workplace	Economic
The Burger	Arabic	Use of Arabic at the shop	Economic
The Architect	Xhosa	Location of the workplace	Economic
The Dentist	Sotho	Location of the hospital	Economic
The Businessman	Zulu	Location of business at Johannesburg CBD	Economic
The Architect	Igbo	Intended length of stay in Imo State in Nigeria	Economic
The Architect	Xhosa	Intended length of stay in the Eastern Cape	Economic
The Dentist	Sotho	Intended length of stay in Vereening	Economic
The Businessman	Zulu	Intended length of stay in Johannesburg	Economic
The Architect	Igbo	Use of Igbo in the wider community	Social
The Dentist	Sotho	Use of Sotho in the wider community	Social
The Businessman	Zulu	Use of Zulu in the wider community	Social

The Technician	Hausa	Use of Hausa in the wider community	Social
The Mechanic	German	Use of German in the wider community	Social
The Burger	Arabic	Use of Arabic in the wider community	Social
The Student	Zulu and Xhosa	Use of Zulu and Xhosa in the wider community	Social
The Student	Zulu and Xhosa	Physical contexts of school and place of residence	Social
The Student	Zulu and Xhosa	Youthful age at migration	Social
The Student	Zulu and Xhosa	Living independently of parents	Social

Table 9.4. 'Germination' factors of destination language learning

The analysis of the 'germination' factors that grew the 'seed' of learning Igbo, Xhosa, Sotho, Zulu, Hausa, French, German and Arabic among the Architect, the Dentist, the Businessman, the Technician, the Mechanic, the Burger and the Student indicates that these Ghanaian immigrants' use of the destination language in the micro-context of the workplace and in the macro-context of the wider community are major 'germination' factors that increased their knowledge and improved their language proficiency. The location of immigrants' workplaces in the destination countries and their intended length of stay as in the case of the Architect in the Imo State in Nigeria and in the Eastern Cape, the Dentist in Vereeniging and the Businessman in Johannesburg CBD, South Africa are also important 'germination' factors. Schumann (1978: 29) asserts that "Any learner can be placed on a continuum that ranges from social and psychological distance to social and psychological proximity with speakers of the TL (target language), and the learner will acquire the second language only to the degree that he acculturates". Thus, the use of the destination language in both the micro-contexts and the macro-contexts broke the social and psychological barriers and made the respondents feel well disposed towards the established members and their languages. Improving proficiency in the destination language therefore became easier.

The analysis of the Student's data revealed three main contexts that enabled him to learn Zulu and Xhosa. These were the physical contexts of the Wits University and his place of residence, his youth at migration and his style of living. The use of common academic and social facilities at both the university and the place of residences accounts for these two being 'germination' factors. Schumann (1978) describes this

condition as enclosure. “Enclosure refers to the degree to which the 2LL and the TL group share the same churches, schools, clubs, recreational facilities, crafts, professions and trades. If the two groups share these social constructs then enclosure is said to be low, contact between the two groups is enhanced and acquisition of the target language by the 2LL group is facilitated” (Schumann 1978: 30-31).

9. 2. 6. ‘Germination’ inhibitors of learning South African indigenous languages

The table below illustrates findings from the data on factors that adversely affected the respondents’ desire or interest in learning a South Africa indigenous language. Once more I emphasise that there were more social than economic factors.

Respondent	**Languages not learned**	**‘Germination’ inhibitors affecting the learning of destination languages**	**Economic or social factor**
The Mechanic	South African indigenous languages	Use of English in the workplace	Economic
The Accountant	South African indigenous languages	Use of English in the workplace	Economic
The Burger	South African indigenous languages	Use of English in the workplace	Economic
The Salesgirl	South African indigenous languages	Use of English in the workplace	Economic
The Accountant	South African indigenous languages	Use of English at school and places of residence	Social
The Salesgirl	South African indigenous languages	Use of English at school and places of residence	Social
The Accountant	South African indigenous languages	Use of English with friends	Social
The Salesgirl	South African indigenous languages	Use of English with friends	Social
The Burger	South African indigenous languages	Negative attitudes towards established members of the speech community in Johanneburg	Social
The Accountant	South African indigenous languages	Lack of interest in learning South African indigenous languages	Social
The Salesgirl	South African indigenous languages	Uncertainties regarding a South African residence permit	Social

Table 9.5. ‘Germination’ inhibitors of learning South African indigenous languages

It emerged from the analysis of the data that the use of English at the workplace, in school, at the places of residence and with friends were the key ‘germination’ inhibitors that hindered the Mechanic, the Accountant, the Burger and the Salesgirl from learning a South African indigenous language. The ‘Burger’ stated the following reasons that discouraged him from learning a South African indigenous language: “*I am not coping with South Africans”, “Their lives are not okay to me”,* and “*I can’t mingle with them”*.

These negative attitudes towards speech communities in South Africa were 'germination' inhibitors (chapter 7, section 7.4.7.2).

The Accountant's preference for the use of English among her friends and colleagues at the two bookkeeping firms in Pretoria and the interior design company also in Pretoria suggested her lack of interest in learning South African indigenous languages (chapter 8, section 8.4.5.1). The flight attendant who invited the Salesgirl to South Africa failed to obtain a residence permit for her. She continuously asked the Salesgirl to be patient. The Salegirl was however anxious about her stay in South Africa. The fear of not being able to reside in South Africa made her reluctant to learn a South African indigenous language (chapter 8, section 8.4.6.2). Brown (1980: 161) explains that "Adults who fail to master a second language in a second culture may for a host of reasons have failed to synchronize linguistic and cultural development…They have no reason to achieve mastery since they have learned to cope without sophisticated knowledge of the language". There was no compelling need for the Mechanic, the Burger, the Accountant and the Salesgirl learn a South African indigenous language since they managed to live and work through the use of English.

9. 2. 7. Bridging the 'insider' and 'outsider' identities using language

- Lack of proficiency in a destination language creates linguistic barriers between immigrants and established members of a destination speech community.
- Proficiency in a destination language alleviates linguistic barriers and opens up socio-cultural boundaries between immigrants and the host community.

This analysis of the Architect's data demonstrates that lack of proficiency in Igbo and Xhosa created linguistic barriers between him and the established members of Igbo and Xhosa speech communities. However, proficiency in these two languages did not only alleviate this linguistic barrier but it also opened up socio-cultural boundaries between him and the host communities (chapter 6, section 6.6.8). The analysis of the Technician's data also showed that his knowledge of the Hausa language resulted in social acceptance but other socio-cultural beliefs such as religion was used to prevent him from getting integrated into the host community. He did not feel integrated into the Hausa community because he is not a Moslem (chapter 7, section 7.4.8.1).

The analysis of the data of the Mechanic (chapter 7, section 7.4.8.2) and the Salesgirl (chapter 8, section 8.4.7) who chose not to learn a South African indigenous language clearly indicated that they both felt alienated in private and public institutions when they were not able to communicate in a South African indigenous language.

9. 2. 8. Investment and identity

This analysis clearly indicated that where there are economic and social issues at stake immigrants are prepared to compromise their status and identities in order to learn a destination language. I consider this condition as a 'reversal' of status. Both the Architect and the Dentist considered their professional duties and social acceptance so important that they temporarily conceded their professional and social status to learn Igbo in the Imo State in Nigeria, Xhosa in the Eastern Cape in South Africa (chapter 6, section 6.6.9) and Sotho in Vereeniging also in South Africa. The ultimate objective was to achieve efficient professional performance. Similarly, in his desire to be recognized as a friend and a member of his social group, the Student became a language learner among his own friends (chapter 8, section 8.4.8). The Technician also accepted being taught by the Hausa community members, some of whom were his customers. Thus, destination language learning may be difficult to accomplish without readiness to give up some of one's own identity.

"Essentially, to learn a second language is to take on a new identity" (Guiora *et al*. 1972b: 422 in Schumann, 1975: 223). This research suggested that the investment in destination language learning has two main results. It may yield the desired result where the immigrant feels restored to the desired position. The Architect was concerned that he could not use English to properly supervise the Xhosa-speaking artisans he worked with at construction sites. His identity as a supervisor was therefore challenged and "*I mean initially it was hard".* But after learning Xhosa he stated that "*I felt at home and it became easier for me to work and enjoy the job"*. He, then, believed that he was actually in charge of his job (chapter 6, section 6.1.6). Learning Zulu and Xhosa, the Student desired to belong to the group of his South African peers and feel accepted. When he successfully learned these two languages, he commented that: "*It had been a great opportunity for me to grow up in life and experience things in a different way"* (chapter 8, section 8.4.8). Thus, he felt accepted. This supports Schumann's (1975:

227) argument that “Those conditions which make the learner less anxious, make him feel accepted and make him form positive identification with speakers of the target language”.

Investment in learning Xhosa in the Eastern Cape also produced a higher dividend where the Architect felt highly esteemed in the community in addition to regaining his professional position as construction supervisor. The social recognition created self-fulfillment for him (chapter 6, section 6.6.9). These observations emphasize that beyond the economic achievements, the Architect craved for social acknowledgement and appreciated it.

9. 3. Salient findings and contribution to literature

9. 3. 1. Social imperatives for destination language learning

The literature on language, immigration and the labour market mostly link destination language proficiency to higher earnings. Thus it emphasizes economic motivation for immigrants’ destination language learning (Chiswick, 1999, 2002; Dustmann and Fabri, 2003; Gonzalez, 2000; Cohen and Eckstein, 2004). The findings of my study also affirm that economic migrants mostly learn destination languages for economic purposes. However, the analysis of the data in this study revealed further that social motivation is equally important for immigrants’ language learning. The Architect in the Igbo community in the Imo State of Nigeria and the Technician in the Hausa community in Kano State in Nigeria respectively used English in their workplaces but the established members’ preference for the use of Igbo and Hausa made them learn Igbo and Hausa under social pressure. Both of them later appreciated the social access they gained through their proficiency in Igbo and Hausa (chapter 6, sections 6.1.3 and 6.6.4.1) and (chapter 7, sections 7.1.4 and 7.4.6.1).

Similarly, even though the Architect learned Xhosa in order to work well with artisans, he enjoyed the social interaction, exposure and acceptance he received as a result of knowing Xhosa (chapter 6, sections 6.1.6. and 6.6.4.1). The Dentist’s patients in Vereeniging were more interested in the use of Sotho for consultation. He also realized that it was *“difficult to make real S.A. friends because they speak mostly their home language”.* He believed that proficiency in Sotho would enable him to make friends with South Africans and work well with his patients. He therefore learned Sotho for economic

and social reasons (chapter 6, sections 6.3.4. and 6.6.6.3). The Student recognized that his inability to communicate in Zulu and Xhosa with his South African friends did not make him feel adequately involved in the group. He craved for a sense of belonging and acceptance among his South African colleagues which urged him to learn Zulu and Xhosa (chapter 8, section 8.4.5.3).

Responses from the 100 survey respondents of this study also reinforce the importance of destination languages to satisfy social needs. In all, 26% of the respondents learned South African indigenous languages for the following reasons in the social domain:

- Effective communication and social interaction
- The need just to know a South African indigenous language
- They needed to know the language to satisfy a sense of belonging.
- They wanted to be able to communicate with their South African in-laws.
- They were simply interested in knowing a South African indigenous language.

11% out of the 26% of the survey respondents learned a South African indigenous language for effective communication and interaction. 6% recognized the need to know a South African language and 5% believed that knowing a South African language created a sense of belonging.

Schumann (1975) asserts that “The learner may reject his own culture. This could have a positive effect on second language learning if it were accompanied by a positive identification with the target culture” (Schumann, 1975: 213). Brown (1980: 159) also relates successful target language acquisition to “acceptance of the new culture, self-confidence in the new person that has developed in this culture”. Of further importance is that survey respondent’s (CBD 14) perceived Zulu identity which was accompanied with social interaction among Zulus yielded knowledge and proficiency in the Zulu language.

2% out of the 26% did learn a South African indigenous language because they were married to South Africans. This finding supports the argument that “Individuals drawn into other societies through marriage are more obviously motivated to master the new

language … (Leather and van Dam, 2003: 17). 2% were simply interested in knowing a South African indigenous language.

Thus, economic migrants understand that they can successfully realize their economic goals within supportive social environments. However, the success of the Ghanaians who participated in this study was contingent on the space they created for themselves which facilitated language learning. The interviewees were socially, culturally and personally motivated to learn. Leather and van Dam (2003: 23) have noted that "Acquisition proceeds as a function of the subject positions learners are able to create for themselves. Programmes for integration must clearly reach beyond narrowly linguistic considerations and the associated settings, since acquisition is bound up with the totality of our social, cultural and personal experiences".

9. 3. 2. Age at migration and destination language learning

Though no tests on the participants' language competence was done in this study, this conclusion of age at migration and destination language learning is based on participants' reported competence and not tested competence. Sufficient competence is developed for the social and economic needs of the participants. "The ease or difficulty of learning a language is seen as an age-related phenomenon" (Brown, 1980: 158). Literature on immigration and destination language learning states that young immigrants are more likely to learn a destination language than older ones. The Technician, the Burger and the Student were young when they respectively learned Hausa, Arabic and Zulu and Xhosa. However, this study observed that this assertion may not necessarily be the case all the time. The Architect, the Dentist and the Businessman were not at the age when destination language learning is considered to be easier. The Architect was between 56 and 65 years, the Dentist between 46 and 55 and the Businessman between 36 and 45. The Accountant and the Salesgirl were very young but chose not to learn a destination language.

Respondents	**Language/s learned**	**Age**
The Architect	Igbo	34
The Architect	Xhosa	50
The Dentist	Sotho	49
The Businessman	Zulu	34
The Technician	Hausa	21

The Technician	French	26
The Mechanic	German	32
The Burger	Arabic	25
The Student	Zulu and Xhosa	18-25

Table 9.6. Age at migration and destination language learning of the nine respondents selected for analysis and discussion

The following findings from the survey respondents also support my contention that sometimes economic and social conditions compelled some of the older Ghanaians I interviewed to learn destination languages. In these situations language imperatives in both economic and social domains counted more than age.

AG 5	Afrikaans, Xhosa, Zulu Sotho	26-35
AG 6	Zulu and Sotho	36-45
AG 11	Xhosa	46-55
BS 2	Sotho.	46-55
CBD 1	Zulu.	36-45
CBD 2	Sotho and Afrikaans	26-35
CBD 3	Zulu	36-45
CBD 7	Zulu	36-45
CBD 8	Sotho and Zulu	46-55
CBD 9	Zulu.	18-25
CBD 11	Zulu	26-35
CBD 12	Zulu	26-35
CBD 14	Zulu	26-35
CBD 15	Zulu and Sotho	26-35
CBD 16	Zulu	36-45
CBD 17	Zulu	26-35
CBD 19	Zulu	26-35
CBD 20	Zulu	26-35
COP 14	Zulu	26-35
COP 15	Xhosa, Zulu and Tswana.	36-45
NMB 7	Zulu	26-35
NMB 10	Zulu	36-45

NMH 4	Zulu.	26-35
NMH 7	Zulu	26-35
NMH 8	Zulu	36-45
NMH 10	Zulu	26-35
NMR 3	Shona	26-35
NMR 4	Zulu	26-35
NMR 7	Zulu	26-35
NMR 8	Zulu	46-55
YEO 2	Zulu	26-35
YEO 3	All South African languages	26-35
YEO 5	Zulu	18-25
YEO 8	Zulu and Sotho	36-45
YEO 10	Zulu	26-36

Table 9.7. Age at migration and destination language learning of survey respondents

22 of these respondents were between the ages of 14 and 35 years. 15, who were between the ages of 36 and 65, were able to learn a South African indigenous language.

9. 4. Directions for further research

Following the findings of this study and my personal understanding of the issues raised during the data collection and observation, I suggest the following four areas for further research.

9. 4. 1. An investigation of destination language learning among children of Ghanaian immigrants living in Johannesburg

Ghanaian immigrants living with their families in Johannesburg are mainly middle class. In accordance with the attitudes of the Ghanaian middle class, these families insist on the sole use of English for communication at home in Ghana. However, some parents and children have encountered language difficulties at their workplaces and in social institutions in South Africa. It would therefore be useful to investigate their current attitudes towards African languages and the measures they are taking to re-orient their children regarding language learning and language use.

9. 4. 2. What are the social factors that influence destination language learning among Ghanaian immigrants residing in Johannesburg?

This research focused on the relationship between language and employment. However, it emerged from the analysis that Ghanaian immigrants learn South African indigenous languages for social purposes such as effective communication and social interaction, to satisfy a sense of belonging, to communicate with their South African in-laws, to enjoy their stay in South Africa and to be identified with South Africans. Some were simply interested in knowing a South African indigenous language for its own sake. I believe it would be interesting to probe further into social factors that motivate them to learn. The researcher may consider the enabling and constraining factors with regard to Ghanaians' use of language in social institutions in South Africa.

9. 4. 3. A Case Study of the use of language among Ghanaian professionals living in Johannesburg

The findings of this study have indicated that there is a relationship between the professions immigrants are engaged in and the choice to learn a destination language. I have categorized professions into three which are 'human-centred', 'office block-centred' and 'equipment-centred'. A further study that builds on this view and explores the factors that affect language learning in each category would enhance more understanding in this regard.

9. 4. 4. The impact of places of work and residence on Ghanaian immigrants' choice to learn destination languages

The analysis of the place of residence of the 100 survey respondents of this study shows that the majority (71%) lived in the following areas: Yeoville (21%), Braamfontein (12%), Berea (11%), Central Johannesburg (8%), Edenvale (7%), Ridgeway (7%) and Hillbrow (5%). I interviewed about 70% of these same respondents during working hours in Braamfontein, Hillbrow, Berea, Yeoville and the CBD. I can therefore state that the majority of the Ghanaian participants of this study work in Braamfontein, Hillbrow, Berea, Yeoville and the CBD. However, the nature of my in-depth interview and survey questions did not adequately capture the effects of the places of work and residence on language learning. A study that explores these effects would contribute to understanding of destination language learning among Ghanaians.

9. 5. CONCLUSION

I believe that this study has deepened knowledge and understanding of how immigrants from the multilingual context of Ghana acquired indigenous languages in the multilingual context of South Africa. South Africa has eleven official languages of which nine are indigenous languages. Similarly, English is the official language in Ghana with nine indigenous languages as national languages. Factors that promote or prevent Ghanaian immigrants' acquisition of South African indigenous languages, the relationship between language and employment among immigrants within the multilingual context of South Africa, their linguistic adaptation in both economic and social domains and how they learned a destination language from a range of indigenous languages are key areas for learning and study particularly in South Africa and in multilingual contexts in general.

Canagarajah (2007: 924) suggests that "We need more insider studies from multilingual (especially non-Western) communities and data from outside the classroom to meet these requirements". To my knowledge, there is no study in South Africa that explored Ghanaian immigrants' acquisition of South African indigenous languages using an ecological perspective of second language theory. I hope this thesis will make a significant contribution in this field of second language acquisition among immigrants in multilingual contexts of non-Western countries.

Studies of an ecological perspective of language learning have shown that successful second language learning takes place in the speech community where learners use the language to engage in social, cultural and other activities with the established members of the community (Haugen, 1972; Garner, 2005; Canagarajah, 2007; Leather and van Dam, 2003; Brown, 1993 and van Lier, 2004). This investigation has affirmed these research findings. The role of youthful age at migration, more schooling, length of stay in the destination country, economic and social factors affecting destination language learning among immigrants has also been established in a number of studies (Chiswick and Miller, 1994; 1998; 1999; 2002; .Dustmann and Fabbri, 2003; McManus, 1985; Grenier, 1984; Gonzalez, 2000 and Schumann, 1978). Dustmann and Fabbri (2000: 37and 39) specifically state that "language proficiency is strongly associated with higher employment probabilities, and with higher earnings" and that destination "language proficiency is an important factor for economic success of immigrants in the UK, and the earnings losses immigrants experience due to lack of language proficiency are

substantial". This research has affirmed the significance of these factors for meaningful second language acquisition.

This study, however, suggests that the emphasis in the literature placed on the economic benefits as major consideration for economic immigrants' destination language learning and youthful age at migration needs to be appraised. The findings from this research have demonstrated that social recognition, acceptance, acknowledgement are equally important factors influencing immigrants' language learning. The findings demonstrate further that "Language learning is obviously possible at all ages" (Hatch, 1977: 54 in Brown, 1980: 162). "Adults can learn a second language and learn it well" (Brown, 1980: 162). Schumann (1975) explains that "Successful adult second language acquisition might be explained by the fact that under certain conditions adults can overcome the social and psychological barriers of their learning" (Schumann 1975: 230). This study has shown that economic and social pressures compelled some of the Ghanaians I interviewed to learn destination languages in spite of being older.

This investigation has confirmed Norton Peirce's (1995) "position that if learners invest in a second language, they do so with the understanding that they will acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources, which will in turn increase the value of their cultural capital. Learners will expect or hope to have a good return on that investment - a return that will give them access to hitherto unattainable resources". However, this study has shown that the decision of the Ghanaians I interviewed to learn a destination language suggested their preparedness to invest some forms of their identities in learning a new language in order to gain another kind of identity. It has demonstrated further that such investment and the corresponding learning always involved "reversal of social status" where destination language learners who were in positions of authority became learners to the subordinates, customers, friends and colleagues.

I would like to conclude this thesis by stating that what seems obvious may not always be as obvious as it seems. When I started this research one of my student colleagues in Applied English Language Studies (AELS) once asked me this question:

> "Aloysius, what is your research about?"
> "I am researching the language or languages Ghanaian immigrants need to do their

work in Johannesburg". This was my response.

She laughed and said, "It's obvious. It's English".

The responses of the research participants in this study also support my colleague's opinion. Most of them (more than 78%) believed that their proficiency in English would navigate them through the sea of languages in the multilingual context of South Africa to a safe landing of achieving their ultimate objective – better standard of living for themselves, their immediate and sometimes their extended family members.

However, some of them realized sooner or later that their proficiency in English could not necessarily allow them to do their work effectively. Their sole use of English was questioned, challenged and they were consequently asked to re-examine their identity as Black Africans. Even though some of them could use English to do their work, the knowledge of other destination languages was necessary to live in the wider community. Proficiency in only English also hampered real and true friendship with the established members of the community.

Findings of this study have attempted to demonstrate that the perceived hegemony and acceptance of English have limitations for Ghanaian immigrants living in Johannesburg. Knowledge of a South African indigenous language is equally important for them in many ways: economic, social, cultural and religious domains. Most of them have acknowledged these limitations. Whilst some have learned South African indigenous languages or are in the process of learning, others have not. The latter admired their compatriots' ability to speak South African indigenous languages but they were unwilling to take the first step to acquire one.

During my data collection and observation, I was personally torn between admiration for those who could speak South African indigenous languages and sympathy for those who could not. I observed the former freely interacting with South Africans in both economic and social activities. The latter really desired to interact more with people who could speak South African indigenous languages but lack of proficiency in these languages created an artificial blockage. Finally this thesis has shown that language is indeed dynamic and that knowledge of any language has its own usefulness.

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