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An investigation of the role of migrant entrepreneurs in job creation in the hairdressing industry: A case study in Pietermaritzburg KwaZulu-Natal

By

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to Talitha-Cumi.

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Declaration

I, Sibusisiwe (Busi) Chibambo, declare that this document is my own unaided work and has not been submitted previously either by myself or another person to any organization or institution.

SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT



DATE

18 August 2023

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Abstract

Immigrants may be found more proportionately amongst the self-employed because they may be excluded from more formal wage opportunities, hence they may be driven into self-employment and forced to become creative and problem-solving. African Migrants may be found within the informal sector. A study conducted in the city of Johannesburg concluded that migrant SMMEs played a role in changing the economy of the city. Therefore, we may assume within the same setting that numerous employment opportunities are being created by African migrants within the informal economy. The study was conducted in Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal Province. Data was collected through purposive sampling which enabled an in-depth investigation. The data collected answered the research questions of 1) What motivated male migrants to leave their country of origin and migrate to Pietermaritzburg, South Africa, 2) Why do male migrants select the hairdressing industry in Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal, 3) When migrant hair salon owners hire South African women does this serve as a counterforce against migration issues and/or municipal regulations (due process) and 4) What present and future threats have the participants experienced or foresee happening? The study adopted an explorative process of which aimed at understanding why male migrants hire South African women in the hairdressing industry. The study examined the role played by migrants in the informal economy and their contribution towards employment within the hairdressing industry.

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List of Acronyms

CBD: Central Business District

CEO: Chief Executive Officers

DHA: Department of Home Affairs

DHET: The Department of Higher Education and Training

GDP: Gross Domestic Product

GDRC: Global Development Research Centre

PMB: Pietermaritzburg

PRP: Permanent Resident Permits

QCTO: Quality Council for Trades and Occupations

SETA: Services Sector Education and Training Authority

SMME's: Small, Medium and Micro-Enterprises

Stats SA: Statistics South Africa

TEVET: Technical and Vocational Education and Training

TRP: Temporary Resident Permits

UNESCO: The United Nations Economic and Social Council

Chapter One: Introduction

Preamble of Study

Intra-regional migration to South Africa can be dated back to the 19th century. The 20th century saw migration as one of the most important factors in combining colonies and countries into one labour market in South Africa (Crush, Williams and Peberdy, 2005: 1). Akello (2013) describes migration on a global scale as movement that occurs for several factors that are out of one's control and the core reasons for migration are sometimes unknown to those in the receptive country. Migration is a subjective experience because an individual makes a conscious and calculated choice to migrate with and without a plan on how to proceed once arrived at the destination country.

The lack of a sustained livelihood and ability to provide spurs many African people to migrate. The deciding factors for migration can be pinpointed to one or more of the following: economic, political, social, or environmental factors. According to Crush et al. (2005) there are seven motivating factors to migrate:

1. Contract migration
2. Legal Immigration
3. Undocumented Migration
4. Forced Migration: Refugees and IDPs
5. Feminisation of Migration
6. Informal Cross-Border Trade
7. Internal Migration

The participants of this study provided information as to why they migrated to South Africa, thus two conclusions were made: 1) in search of employment and 2) as entrepreneurs in search of developing sustainable businesses. Brixy, Sternberg and Vordewlbecke (2013) and Naude, Siegel and Marchand (2015:5) state that “immigrants may be found more proportionately amongst the self-employed because they may be excluded from more formal wage opportunities, hence they may be driven into self-employment and forced to become creative and problem-solving.”

The informal sector has become a niche to exercise their problem-solving skills and in some cases with experience and qualifications. Rogerson (1999) conducted a case study in the city

of Johannesburg and the research concluded that migrant Small, Medium and Micro-Enterprises (SMME's) played a significant role in the development of Johannesburg's economy and city. The journal article provided by Rogerson (1999:5) lists a number of activities that African migrants take part in within the informal sector in South Africa. These include panel beating, hairdressing, selling various informal products and curios. Hairdressing is one of the most common activities within the migrant communities. The hairdressing industry consists of the formal and informal sector.

The observation that hairdressing is one of the most common activities within the migrant communities, led to the formulation of the problem statement. The researcher made this observation whilst getting her hair done, unknowingly, in a male African migrant hair salon. As she walked into the salon the researcher was met by an African male migrant who listened to her request. After doing so the African male migrant directed her to a Black female South African who was instructed to do her hair as requested. Once the desired hair style was completed, the researcher was directed to the African male migrant, who was at the entrance to the salon, to pay for the service. The observation and experience led to the following problem statement: why do male African immigrant hair dressing salon owners commonly hire female South Africans as employees in their salons? Using the term loosely, are male African migrant hair salon owners unconsciously creating employment opportunities for Black women South Africans in the informal sector?

1.1 Rationale of Study

The purpose of this dissertation was to understand why male migrants hire South African women in the hairdressing industry. In the same light this dissertation revealed the role played by migrants in the informal sector and their positive contribution towards the unemployment in South Africa. Mazani (2022) provided a study on female Zimbabwean salon owners and how they are contributing towards job creation in the city of Cape Town. The knowledge gap that this dissertation attempted to fill was the aspect of job creation for Black South African Women in the hairdressing industry, made by male African migrant hair salon owners.

1.2 Context of the Study

The literature used to explore the above statement was categorized into three sections. The three sections were job creation, immigrant entrepreneurship and migration. The sub-section of job creation intended to cover how African migrants have emerged into the informal sector

as key players. African migrants have Small Medium and Micro-Enterprises such as hairdressing salons that have created employment opportunities for Black South African women. Wiberg (1994) discussed how language shapes a certain identity in communities. The participants who can speak the language as opposed to the participants who cannot speak the language shared how social integration is difficult, especially during the last xenophobic attack in 2015. Kalitany and Visser (2010: 388) state that “South African employees offer the business a communication facility; South Africans are empowered: they gain financially; and they are trained in business; South Africans do not ask for a high remuneration rate as compared to foreigners, who are here (South Africa) in search of money.” The researcher aimed to find out what other factors influence the hiring of women South Africans in hairdressing salons besides the obvious language advantages as well as the migrants who are in the hiring position. This dissertation aimed to understand if the hair salon owners believed that they were creating employment opportunities in South Africa through the informal economy.

The sub-section of immigrant entrepreneurship covers the advantages and disadvantages of migrant entrepreneurship. The contrasting view and not sought-after opinion was that African migrant entrepreneurs who have been able to infiltrate the SMME market in South Africa were creating employment opportunities for South African citizens. Such conflicting views were addressed in this section as well as the advantages and disadvantages of the migrant entrepreneurship and characteristics of the informal sector. The last sub-section in the literature review considered the aspect of migration. This section discussed the vast definitions of migration since it is a multi-disciplinary term. This section also discussed the reasons for migration and why African migrants move to South Africa. Ultimately, this dissertation aimed to understand why male African migrants moved to Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal Province?

1.3 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework for this dissertation was based upon the economic theory of migration by Michael Todaro (1976). This theory states that migration is a “resource distribution of labour (Todaro, 1976).” Migration is influenced by push-and-pull factors that are premeditated and evaluated by the migrant. In this theory Todaro (1976) discusses migration from rural to urban areas due to the differences in wages. Therefore, migration is

spurred due to financial benefits. In this section the economic theory of migration was criticised and analysed.

1.4 Significance of the Study

Studies have been conducted on migration and job creation in the South African context. However, this study yielded new information on job creation specifically in the hairdressing industry of Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal Province. African male migrants are in the position of creating jobs in the informal economy and in the history of employment creation by white migrants in South Africa. This is commonly observed in the formal economy under mining, farming, security, and construction sector. Formal employment regulations do not abide to the informal industry. The research problem that was researched is the role played by male African migrants in hair salons in Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal. What motivated them to join the hair industry that is dominated by women and why do they hire specifically Black South African women within the hair industry?

1.5 Research Approach

The researcher sought to explore the topic of male African migrant hair salon owners and job creation within the informal sector. Core information was derived from key informants using the technique of in-depth interviews with semi-structured open-ended questions. Purposive sampling was chosen to select participants due to the specific characteristics needed to yield information to answer research questions and objectives for this dissertation. The research hypothesis was that male African migrant hair salon owners are creating employment for Black South African women within the hairdressing industry. However, their businesses are constantly under attack due to spontaneous xenophobic attacks in South Africa. The data analysing tool that was used was thematic analysis. According to Gibson, William, and Brown (2009), thematic analysis is utilised to identify common themes within qualitative data. The researcher manually coded the data and created themes from these codes using the six steps provided by Aronson (1994).

1.5.1 Research Question and Objectives

Rogerson (1992: 2) and Posel (2003: 5) identify the adequate increase in immigrants in South Africa since 1990. Klotz (2016) claimed that immigrants travel from North America all the way to South Africa to find a better place to live. The same logic applies to African immigrants that move to South Africa in search of better socioeconomic conditions (Kalitany

and Visser, 2010). The provision of services in the hair industry by African migrants develops opportunities of employment and transfer of skills. The following questions were answered in this dissertation:

What motivated male African migrants to leave their country of origin and migrate to Pietermaritzburg, South Africa as opposed to major cities within South Africa?

Why do male migrants choose the hairdressing industry in Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal Province?

When male migrants hire South Africans in their salons does it serve as a counterfeit towards migration issues and municipal regulations, such as due process and business regulations?

What experiences have affected the course of business and are migrants aware of any future threats or opportunities?

This dissertation aimed at exploring the answers to these questions through a qualitative research method. The study used interviews as a data collection instrument. Face to face open-ended interviews were conducted with 10 male African migrant hair salon owners on Langibalele Street, Pietermaritzburg Central Business District (CBD). Participants were purposefully sampled for this research due to the specifications needed to adhere answers to the above questions. From these questions, the following research objectives were derived:

Objective One: To identify reasons why male migrants migrate to Pietermaritzburg, South Africa.

Objective Two: To analyse why male migrants choose the hairdressing industry in South Africa.

Objective Three: To examine the strategies used by male migrants when employing South Africans within the hairdressing industry.

Objective Four: To gain an in-depth understanding on migrants' experiences, challenges, and threats within the hairdressing industry.

1.5.2 Limitations to the Study

There were some limitations and difficulties that were faced by the researcher in conducting this study. These were issues such as valid documentation (work permits or identity documentation). These posed a threat for the male African migrant hair salon owners to want

to be involved in the study. They were hesitant to share information due to insecurities and worry about their safety. They were worried that they might be found out that they were conducting business without the necessary authorisation and then get in trouble with the law. This aspect was addressed by the researcher by informing them of the ethical considerations pertaining to the study. When they became aware that their identities would not be revealed and they would not face any harm, they became more willing to participate in the study. Another, issue that was a potentially a challenge was the language barrier. The researcher sought to remedy this by finding a 3rd party that was going to translate while she was conducting the interviews. Fortunately, the migrants all spoke fluent English, understood each question, and replied with great depth.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

2. Introduction

Human Rights Watch (1998) indicated that xenophobia¹ in South Africa began in 1995 in the township of Alexandra, Johannesburg in the Gauteng Province. The crux of the xenophobic attacks was due to the ideology that African migrants come to South Africa to steal the South African citizen's jobs (Klotz, 2016). The Human Rights Watch (1998) described how foreign nationals migrated to South Africa, just after democracy, in search of economic, political, and social freedom. Employment opportunities during this era fell to the farming, construction, mining, and security sectors. African migrants predominantly fell under the above sectors of the formal sector in South Africa. In terms of employment, African migrants were successful in achieving financial security during this time. However, the informal sector has provided African migrants with opportunities to become entrepreneurs and provide employment within the informal sector (Kalitany and Visser, 2010). The hairdressing industry in South Africa has provided an opportunity for African migrants to utilise their skills and adapt themselves within the informal sector.

In this chapter an in-depth analysis and description of job creation, immigrant entrepreneurship and migration were discussed. Xenophobia (under job creation) was purposefully chosen to be discussed due to the impact it has on African migrant entrepreneurs in South Africa and the socio-economical factor. One of the challenges experienced by African migrants in South Africa is the mind-sets of those who perceive immigrants as threats within their country and communities. There is a battle between the South African citizens and African migrants within South Africa, which has caused barriers of conflicts as well as social exclusion within a South Africa communal context.

The literature review discussed the hairdressing industry in South Africa to provide a background towards the study. Then, it discussed job creation within the informal sector by African migrants. The research topic was discussed in relation to the Pietermaritzburg, South African hairdressing industry where the study sample was derived from. The African migrant owned businesses mainly hire South African employees in their salons (Kalitany and Visser: 2010). The study sought to explore the reasons why the African migrants hire South African

¹ The Daily Maverick news page defines xenophobia as “hatred or fear of foreigners”.

women. The notion of job creation and employment within the South African context has shifted over decades of conflicts (Bekker and Carlton: 1996).

Lastly, migration to South Africa has dramatically increased, especially after democracy was obtained. Migration is induced by the perception of economic freedom that migrants cannot achieve within their country of origin. Migration is based on the migrants needs at that time. One common reason is due to socioeconomic and political issues. However, it must be emphasized that this may be due to a combination of factors that spur it. The influx of migrant entrepreneurs was evident in the new developments of spaces such as plazas, malls and spaza² shops on this studies location.

2.1. The Hairdressing Industry in South Africa

The hairdressing industry in South Africa was discussed in this section to lay a foundation for this study. Within the literature review information was provided on job creation, immigrant entrepreneurship and migration, however, the literature has no emphasis or opinion on the hairdressing industry. Rather, the literature provided looks at the informal sector as a whole and mentions the hairdressing industry alongside other trades within this sector. The following information aimed at providing clarity on the topic being discussed as well as show relation within this study.

The Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET)³ in collaboration with the Services Sector Education and Training Authority (SETA)⁴ and ninety four (94) researches conducted a study on “skills supply and demand in the hairdressing sector, in order to investigate inter alia, the apparent mismatch between decreasing enrolments into hairdressing programmes at Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) Colleges and the rapidly growing hairdressing industry in South Africa (DHET: 8).” The DHET and Service SETA further stated that hairdressing is, “the process of cutting, cleaning, colouring, styling and arranging hair” and the hairdressing industry is “any premises in which cosmetologically services are rendered to either males or females or both males and females together (DHET: 20). The focus of this study provided by the DHET; Service SETA was to analyse the provision of hairdressing courses within TVET Colleges as well as private colleges to match the provisions to the demand within this sector. This study also investigated hairdressing as a

² a small [informal](#) shop in a township, often run from a [private](#) house

³<https://www.dhet.gov.za/Skills%20on%20Hairdressing%20SA/Skills%20Supply%20and%20Demand%20in%20the%20Hairdressing%20Industry%20in%20South%20Africa.pdf> (Accessed on 5 February)

⁴ Skills Supply and Demand in the Hairdressing Industry in South Africa.

profession within South Africa, the formal and informal sectors and the shape and size of it. The study also addressed the contribution of the hairdressing industry within the South African economy, as well as the dynamics of the supply and demand within the formal and informal sectors of the hairdressing industry. The method used to collect data was in-depth interviews and focus groups. The primary source of data was key informants. This study reported that there were only thirteen (13) TVET colleges out of fifty (50) who offer hairdressing in their curriculum in South Africa.

However, the study further reveals some issues that are faced within the educational aspect of the hairdressing industry. Firstly, the curriculum and qualifications offered are biased towards Caucasian hair, (the exclusion of African hair) and this qualification does not apply to the informal sector, rather those seeking hairdressing careers within the formal sector. Secondly, the courses provided within these TVET colleges do not accommodate other languages within the hairdressing industry which may cause issues with acquiring the correct terminology in other languages and environments within South Africa (DHET: 8). Thirdly, there was the issue of hairdressing graduates lacking sufficient skills to become professionals within their field. This could also be due to insufficient “workplace-based learning” within professional salons (DHET: 11). In South Africa, hairdressing is a trade that requires a written trade test and practical’s to formally qualify as a hairdresser. There are three (3) kinds of hairdressing qualifications that are offered by the TVET colleges and skills development providers (SDPs), which are:

1. New Occupational Qualifications (at NQF Level 4) accredited by the Quality Council for Trades and Occupations (QCTO)
2. The Further Education and Training Certificate (NQF Levels 2-4) accredited by Services SETA, and
3. International Qualifications which is not recognised by Services SETA.

These three qualifications provided students with critical skills within the hairdressing industry are “identified by industry included: complimentary skills such as nails and beauty; expertise on new hairstyles/trends; the conduct of basic hair analysis; knowledge on product safety and hygiene; problem solving; salon management; and business management (entrepreneurial skills) (DHET: 9).”

2.2 The Informal Hairdressing Industry in South Africa

The demand for skilled hairdressers in South Africa applies to both the formal and informal industry. According to the DHET, there is a high risk of formal hair salons becoming informal due to the lack of and demand of hairdressing skills. Formal hair salons might have to start hiring unqualified individuals in order to remain within the formal sector. The participants of this study shared that the informal hairdressing industry is characterised by high employee turnover due to the demand in skills and qualified hairdressers. High employee turnover in some instances is caused by the ex-employee starting their own hair salon business based off the skills that they have acquired whilst working within the informal industry. The informal hairdressing industry in South Africa “consists of the hairdressing businesses, enterprises and economic activities that are not formally registered taxed and regulated by relevant government agencies (DHET: 21).”

According to Essop and Yu (2008), the informal sector in South Africa is larger than the formal sector, due to the lenience in governance and regulations. Due to the lenience in regulations, the Pietermaritzburg hairdressing industry has provided African migrant entrepreneurs with an opportunity, as well as an opportunity to become leaders in this field. The informal sector is estimated to have 34 000 (thirty-four thousand) hair salons that emphasise on African hair (afro) and an estimation of 170 000 (one hundred and seventy thousand) hairdressers in South Africa. The researchers of this study found this result to be five times more than the formal sector (Essop and Yu, 2008, 133).

The study provided five key insights from their study on the informal sector. Seventy-six percent (76%) of the sample are interested in gaining qualifications within the field of hairdressing, however this study indicated that it is unlikely for them to do so, due to the following points (Essop and Yu, 2008, 150):

1. Time- the participants shared that they do not have enough time to enrol in classes due to the hours they work per day (eight hours) and a week (six to seven days).
2. Finances- the participants of this study shared that they do not have enough money to fund their studies, especially those who have just started working. Those who are well established in the hairdressing industry shared that they have no need to get qualifications due to the amount of money they are presently making.
3. Survival: Participants stated that as soon as they start working their main priority is sustaining livelihood and supporting their families.

4. Lucrative Market: The informal sector is more lucrative than the formal sector. It is easier to become an active participant in the informal sector than the formal sector without qualifications.
5. Undervalue of Qualifications: Formal qualifications is not a requirement for a successful career within the hairdressing industry. Therefore, the value of a formal qualification is not valued due to the mismatch of demands of skills. Clientele within this sector also do not view a qualification as a necessity whereas in the formal sector it is a requirement. However, experiences hold more value in this sector than qualifications.

The study revealed that 30% (thirty percent) of the participants were self-taught, 25 % (twenty-five percent) learnt from someone already in the industry, 20% (twenty percent) of the participants were taught by a family member, only 12% (twelve percent) attended a hairdressing course, whilst 4% (four percent) of the sample learnt hairdressing skills on the job, (DHET: 137). From the results provided above we can speculate that within the informal sector there is the “notion of informal skills transfer”, which is an essential aspect within the sector, as employees will be based on the skills that they may add to business (DHET: 139). However, even though the informal sector of hairdressing is operational, it would never become formal. The reasons range from challenges with registering the business to finances that are necessary to formalise it. The main aspect as to why formalisation may not occur is because there are no repercussions to operating informally (DHET: 12).

2.3 Job Creation: “Migrants are stealing our Jobs”

The developing stages of the industrial era brought about job creation on a global scale. Job creation during this era lay in the hands of those who obtained economic power and political freedom (non-whites). White collar jobs were “office jobs” and blue-collar ones involved hard labour and occurred on assembly lines (Bekker, 1993). A top-down managerial system was adopted which benefited those at the top and brought about great loss to those at the bottom. After the democratic elections in South Africa in 1994, equality and equity were introduced in the labour market alongside laws and legislation to ensure the same treatment for all within the workplace. (Bekker, 1993).

There are two trends that have evolved in the informal sector. Firstly, the social group that is behind the curtain of employment and is responsible for job creation within the South African informal sector. Secondly, there is a shift in skills development which was based on artisan

skills within factories and organisations. African women were not taught how to be artisans Bekker and Carlton (1999: 78). They were taught how to become housewives, while their husbands worked away from home. However, currently, it is the women that are readily seeking employment in the city centres within the hairdressing industry. The African male migrant entrepreneurs are creating jobs for South African women in the hair dressing industry and rural to urban migration is occurring on a large scale.

In the 2008 xenophobic attacks in South Africa, African migrant business owners were attacked in the city and rural areas.⁵ Some immigrants migrated to South Africa as entrepreneurs with skills in search of developing a business to sustain their livelihoods within their country of origin and their destination country. Rogerson (1999) conducted a case study in the city of Johannesburg and the research concluded that migrant Small, Medium and Micro-Enterprises (SMME's) played a role in the changing economy and city of Johannesburg. According to Naude et al. (2015), migrant entrepreneurship assisted in the development of certain destination countries to a certain extent and that it was mainly affordable labour that conducted the development.

Rogerson (1999) has provided empirical evidence that provides insight on the notion of 'development'. In this case migrant entrepreneurs have assisted greatly with the development of Johannesburg, South Africa and in doing so they have also created jobs within the informal sector for natives. African migrant entrepreneurs become entrepreneurs in South Africa (even though they have skills and qualifications) due to the elusive labour market. Therefore, due to the lack of employment opportunities migrants would fade amongst the unemployed. Brixy, Sternberg and Vordewlbecke (2013) cited in Naude et al. (2015: 5) stated that "immigrants may be found more proportionately amongst the self-employed because they may be excluded from more formal wage opportunities, hence they may be driven into self-employment and forced to become creative and problem-solving."

According to Rogerson (1999:19) cited in Kalitany and Visser (2010:379) the informal sector in South Africa has provided African migrant entrepreneurs with the opportunity of developing and expanding SMME's such as "selling curios, retailing ethnic clothes and foods, motor-car repairs/panel beating and operating hairdressing salons." The activities that African migrant entrepreneurs perform in are all service delivery and not production (Rogerson, 1999) and with service delivery comes the need for employees to assist with

⁵ <https://ewn.co.za/2018/05/31/commemorating-10th-anniversary-of-2008-xenophobic-attacks>

customer care and needs. According to Chen (2001) the African informal economy counted for 50 percent of all “urban employment” which makes the informal sector a main contributing factor the employment within South Africa. An assumption may be made that the reason behind the hiring of South African women in male African hairdressing salons is due to the needs of the customer and not necessarily because migrant entrepreneurs want to create employment. Serrie (1998: 212); cited in Kalitany and Visser (2010: 379), claims that entrepreneurship is essential for migrants “economic and social integration” which assists them with escaping poverty. However, the United Nations Economic and Social Council (UNESCO) and Sidzatané (2001: 2) indicate that poverty can be abolished if more attention is brought to the informal sector, migrant entrepreneurs, and the activities that they take part in. UNESCO (2006) state that the informal economy is a beneficial to the economy in terms of employment opportunities and creation. The option of job provision is being created by migrant entrepreneurs in South Africa.

Through observation hairdressing salons in Pietermaritzburg are flooded with South African women however all under the management of a male African migrant. The development of hairdressing salons has provided and opportunity for employment for native women to generate an income but why could the native women not develop their hairdressing salons and become entrepreneurs? Enchautegui (2005) conducted a research study in the United States of America (USA) that indicated the migrant population influences and contributes to the increase of employment within the USA. Kalitany and Visser (2010) conducted a study in Cape Town, which indicated that 82% (90 out of 120) of the interviewed candidates were hiring South African citizens. The reason behind the employment of South African citizens by African migrants is due to the language barrier. In exchange for this, the South African employees are upskilled in hairdressing skills as well as entrepreneurial skills, they also gain financial freedom from employment (Kalitany and Visser, 2010: 388).

The study conducted by Kalitany and Visser (2010) in Cape Town has raised an essential point as to why African migrant entrepreneurs hire South Africans more than migrants. In this study the authors indicated that hiring fellow migrants is an expense for business as they charge more than South African citizens. Within the labour market, the opposite is true. South Africans charge more than African migrants, hence the hiring of migrants in construction, agriculture, security and the like. It is due to cheap labour that South Africans feel threatened and spontaneous attacks of xenophobia occur.

Haubert and Fussell (2006: 43) support the statement that hiring African migrants is financially beneficial because, “immigrants with fewer skills or limited English proficiency are typically willing to work for lower wages than the native-born.”

Timberg (2005: 9) cited in Kalitany and Visser (2010: 382) states that “I don’t think that refugees are taking jobs that would otherwise go to South Africa; they are starting little businesses and employing South Africans more often.” African migrants within the informal sector can create employment for themselves as well as South Africans but to what extent does job creation play a role for natives due to the spontaneous events of xenophobia that shake the nation. If African migrants are creating employment opportunities within the informal sector, why do xenophobic attacks occur? Could there be a lack of knowledge or education and understanding of the labour market in South Africa. In conclusion the following table provided by Kalitany and Visser (2010: 383) indicates the employment opportunities created by immigrant entrepreneurs for unemployed South Africans within the informal sector. Employment opportunities are found within the list of businesses mentioned above.

integration which was discussed in the theoretical framework further in this chapter. However, there are many other reasons as to why this phenomenon occurs which this paper investigated.

2.4 Immigrant Entrepreneurship

In this section there was a discussion on the factors that led African migrants in South Africa to become self-employed entrepreneurs. Induced economic freedom migration to South Africa was not solely stimulated by entrepreneurship but primarily through the search of employment. African immigrants migrated to South Africa in search of employment within the farming, mining and construction industries. After the 2015 xenophobic attacks, Nathi Nhleko, the police minister stated that the issues of inequality in South Africa did not justify why migrants were being attacked.

Entrepreneurship in South Africa has not been encouraged or pursued within the South African education curriculum until the recent 2019 elections by Cyril Ramaphosa. During the 2019 State of Nation Address Ramaphosa stated that “the growth of our economy will be sustained by small businesses, as is the case in many countries.”⁶ Sidzane (2001: 19) cited Ncwadi (2003) who argued that street traders in Port Elizabeth have formal education whereas in South Africa, entrepreneurial skills and values are not emphasized in the education system. Naude, Siegel and Marchand (2015) state that “scarce resources are being spent on providing training and education to prospective entrepreneurs.” This issue is highly relevant within the South African context, entrepreneurship is not taught within the South African education system. However, when prospect entrepreneurs are sent in for training the result is dissatisfactory as individuals become discouraged or lose interest in entrepreneurship (Naude et al., 2015). Ncwadi (2003) further states that the reason why South African owned businesses turnover is unsatisfactory may be tied to the risk of losing all profits and efforts, it is a risky task to engage.

Entrepreneurship is based on a visualized end goal amid the tribulations that may occur before success is achieved and although the vision is not clear, an entrepreneur can see the opportunity that many cannot envision (Keogh and Polonsky, 1998: 24). Serrie (1998) holds the view that immigrant entrepreneurs value entrepreneurship due to assistance it brings

⁶ <https://www.expertHub.info/business/doing-business-in-sa/business-landscape/president-ramaphosas-support-of-entrepreneurs-and-smes-in-sona-has-us-cheering/>
(Accessed on 20 May 2019)

within the economic and social assimilation. Rogerson (1999) cited in Brixy et al. (2013: 379) concluded the immigrant entrepreneurship assisted in the development of Johannesburg City. Kalitany and Visser (2010) indicate that immigrant entrepreneurs partake in a handful set of activities of Small Medium and Micro-Enterprises (SMME) mainly in the “selling of curios, retailing ethnic clothes and foods, moto-car repairs/panel beating and operating hairdressing salons.” Brixy et al. (2013) highlighted that immigrants decide to become entrepreneurs in South Africa due to the odds being against them within employment in South Africa. Therefore, the creation of employment occurs and migrants become self-employed entrepreneurs in South Africa.

Self-employment for African migrant entrepreneurs are based within the informal sector. The South Africa economy is characterised of a dual economy. It consists of the informal economy and the formal economy (Rogerson, 2001; Sidzane, 2011:1). The informal sector in South Africa contributes to 30% (30 per cent) of the GDP, and is the largest sector despite contributing the least to the economy. African migrant entrepreneurs have fallen under the informal sector as it has provided more opportunities than the formal sector, especially due to the unlikelihood of finding employment within the informal sector (Essop and Yu, 2008; Sidzane, 2011: 1). The informal economy is an independent economy from the formal economy and has provided a means to survive for the poor. Nare (2016: 28) cites Chen (2012) and defines the informal economy as “an economic reality that is perceived with different approaches in developmental circles, considering it to be peripheral or marginal. Chen (2012) further supports Lewis (1995) who states that the informal economy is a subsistence sector that by being different to the capitalist sector, forms part of the economy that does not utilise reproducible capital.” Nare (2016) agrees with the Global Development Research Centre (GDRC) by saying that the informal economy is created by a various amount of labour activities (GDRC, 2015).

2.4.1 Characteristics of the Informal Sector

Rogerson (2001) states that South Africa consists of a dual economy. The elements of the dual economy are the formal and the informal sector. The dual economy or the Lewis Module was coined by Lewis in the year 1958/1959. This module defines the “economic growth primarily within the third world.” According to Arimah (2001), the formal and informal sector has an interdependent relationship between the two sectors. Chen (2012: 11-13) states that the

linkage between the two sectors is due to trading of goods and services. Chen (2012) further states that there are very few informal industries that exist without the formal sector.

According to Nare (2016) “the formal sector comprises of economic activity largely in towns featuring capital intensive firms, wage labour and marginally high returns which inspire investors to invest in machinery and labour. Unlike the formal sector, the informal sector operates primarily in the rural areas characterised by labour intensive enterprises that remunerate extremely low wages.”

The International Labour Organisation (1972: 6) characterised the informal sector as:

1. Ease of entry
2. Reliance on indigenous resources
3. Family ownership of enterprise
4. Small scale of operation
5. Labour-intensive and adapted technology
6. Skills acquired outside of the formal school system
7. Unregulated and competitive markets

The formal sector is contrary to the above points. The formal sector is characterised by:

1. Difficulty of entry
2. Reliance on overseas resources
3. Corporate ownership
4. Large-scale productivity
5. Capital intensive and imported technology
6. Formally acquired skills
7. Protected markets (through tariffs and trade license)

The informal sector is fairly large due to the lenient regulations of activities within this sector (Essop and Yu, 2008). However, the informal sector plays an essential role towards the contribution of South Africa’s gross domestic product (GDP) (Walthers, 2008; cited in Sidzatane, 2011). According to Sidzatane (2011) the informal economy contributes 30% (thirty percent) to the South African GDP. The informal economy is considered by self-employment and the hiring of family members on a pro bono basis [Santiago and Thorbecke: 1998 cited in Nare (2016: 28)]. The informal economy was created in the fifteenth century

due to the hindrances that ex-employees accounted in the formal economy (Chen 2012). According to the DHET and Service SETA,

“...the hairdressing industry sector contributes 0.62% to the GDP, whilst the contribution to employment is 2.02% (at 185 415 employees). Its contribution to the tax base is fairly significant at 8.9% (R8.75 billion per annum), whilst the contribution to gross fixed capital is 8.35% (at R15.61 billion) (DHET: 11).”

However, these results may only be documented from the formal sector of the hairdressing as registration of the business provides such data. The informal sector is fairly larger than the formal sector, the contribution may be larger if regulated (Essop and Yu, 2008).

Castells and Portes (1989: 12) indicates an essential characteristic of the informal economy. It is characterised by how some activities that occur within the informal sector are not regulated by municipal or government law. According to this study, many African migrant entrepreneurs may or may not have the correct documents to conduct business. However, business is still being conducted irrespective of the business regulations that have been put in place as well as Identification Documents (Passports) that are essential for migrant nationals to obtain in order to live in South Africa. Applying this concept to the research area, do male African migrants obtain all the necessary documents to allow access to business in Pietermaritzburg, if not how are they conducting their business? This is one of the objectives that the researcher aimed at researching and was discussed in the Methodology chapter.

The informal sector is also characterised by aspects such as political, social and economic. According to Nare (2016) these three characteristics are as follows:

1. Political Characteristics

The political aspect of the informal economy is that it does not contain any “government intervention and regulation (Nare, 2016).” The informal economy opposed to the formal economy does not have any legal regulations that govern the activities of the economy therefore business is regulated based on the specifications provided by the entrepreneur. Company registration number, employment equity, business tax or any labour relations that abide with the South African law do not abide to those within the informal economy.

2. Social Characteristics

The informal economy is socially characterised by “marginal entry barriers with regards to educational qualifications and seed finance (Becker, 2004; Nare, 2016).” Entrepreneurs within this sector determine and dictate the operations of business (working hours) due to the independence of persons in the informal sector.

3. Economic Characteristics

The informal economy creates vast revenues for “income generation opportunities” which contributes to the GDP of the South African economy. Nare (2016) further states that the informal economy is of “crucial nature” based on the enormous amount of labour that the economy develops and sustains. Employment within the informal economy does not on fall on the entrepreneur, employment opportunities trickle down to immediate family and extended family. The informal economy is a huge contributor towards decreasing poverty within South Africa.

Applying these three characteristics to male African migrant entrepreneurs within the hairdressing industry, results to the following factors:

- Political: Operations of salons within the Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal CBD may not abide under the business rules and regulations of the Msunduzi Municipality. Employees who operate within migrant owned hairdressing salons may not be employed according to the Labour Relations Act 66 of 1995⁷ or the Employment Equity Act 55 of 1998.⁸ Although hairdressing is not an illegal activity within the informal or formal economy the operations of the salon on government property as well as the business health and safety regulations may not be applied or practiced. The issue of correct identity documents necessary for migrants may not be of access for male African migrant hair salon owners therefore hindering obtaining necessary business documents.

⁷ The Labour Relations Act 66 of 1995 aims to promote economic development, social justice, labour peace and democracy in the workplace.
<http://www.labour.gov.za/DOL/legislation/acts/labour-relations/labour-relations-act> (Accessed on 20 May 2019)

⁸ The Employment Equity Act 55 of 1998 aims to promote “equal opportunity and fair treatment in employment through elimination of unfair discrimination and implementing affirmative action measures to redress the disadvantages in employment experienced by designated groups, in order to ensure equitable representation in all of occupational categories and levels in the workforce”.
<https://www.saica.co.za/Technical/LegalandGovernance/Legislation/EmploymentEquityActNo55of1998/tabid/3041/language/en-ZA/Default.aspx> (Accessed on 20 May 2019)

- Social: When it comes to the social aspect of migrant hair salons, owners are in the position to dictate and determine the operational hours of their business (bearing in mind that the South African women who live in the rural areas have to leave at a certain time to catch public transport).
- Economic: Migrant owned hair salons create a vast amount of employment for female South Africans. The South Africans are hired on a temporary basis or on the basis of hiring a chair within these salons. However, job creation is appropriate for this setting as the majority of women South Africans work within African migrant hairdressing salons.

The informal sector provides migrant entrepreneurs with lucrative economic opportunities in comparison to the formal sector in South Africa. Hairdressing salons in Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal Province provide economic opportunities for entrepreneurship which in return creates jobs for unemployed women South Africans. According to Khan (2011: 109) the reason why South Asian Muslims join the hairdressing salon is due to “the trade of cutting hair has spanned over generations for some migrant families.” In other cases that Khan (2011) states that some migrants took the occupation as hairdresser due to the urgency of finding a source of income to sustain livelihood. One reason why male African migrant entrepreneurs select the hairdressing industry is based on economic driven motives, whether based on supporting a family business or a survival strategy. Sidzatane (2011: 3) quotes Adepoju (2004) and states that “the foreigners from Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Mali, Sierra Leone and Senegal are mainly street traders who come to South Africa hoping to capitalise on its market.”

The question of whether African migrant hair salons in the informal sector benefit the South African economy was understood as this paper proceeded. During the era of colonisation and apartheid it could be argued that migration contributed significantly to the development of the South African economy and country, due to increased productivity, provided by cheap labour (migrant labour). Development of the South African economy may not be attributed to migrant entrepreneurship but emphasis is on labour. The development of the Industrial Revolution had contributions of migrant labour within South Africa within the formal

sectors.⁹ According to Nijkamp, Sahin, and Baycan-Levent (2009) migrant entrepreneurship in the Netherlands has somewhat contributed to “new urban economic opportunities.”

Migrants that own businesses within the informal economy come from underdeveloped countries (Zimbabwe, Malawi, Nigeria, Ethiopia, Pakistan and more) creating an issue for them to break into the urban market without the correct documents, papers and cash-flow to be verified within the urban market. On the other hand, African migrants within South Africa start businesses in the informal sector without acquiring skills and higher education qualifications. Sidzatane (2011) states that “many people left their home countries (Malawi, Nigeria and Zimbabwe) in search of economic opportunities in South Africa. It is against this background that scores of migrants, including the educated and highly skilled arrived in South Africa with the purpose of searching for means of livelihood (Harris, 2004; Sidzatane 2011).”

A percentage of African immigrants migrate to South Africa as highly skilled and educated personnel. However, finding employment within their specific field creates challenges. The formal sector and labour market is not always accommodating to African migrants who come from underdeveloped countries. The lack of migration rules and regulations within South Africa that govern African migrants’ entry and departure into the country, is one of the reasons why African migrants develop businesses within the informal economy, as a means of survival. According to Naude et al. (2015: 1), “the removal of discriminatory barriers against migrants and against migrant entrepreneurs in labour, consumer and financial markets will promote development in both sending and receiving countries.” The authors have drafted conclusions on the advantages and disadvantages of migrant entrepreneurship within destination countries. The conclusions are as follows:

2.4.1.1 Disadvantages of Migrant Entrepreneurship

According to Naude et al. (2015), if governments were to ease entry of migrant entrepreneurs into the country the effect would be an influx of potential migrant entrepreneurs who may not have the necessary skills or abilities to become successful entrepreneurs. Such African migrant entrepreneurs would then apply for loans from the bank to sustain operations (due to easier access of funds and/or entrance into the country). Eventually, they would not be able to repay their loans due to business not bringing in a satisfying turnover. This issue hypothetically poses itself as a disadvantage of migrant entrepreneurship. A study by Morris

⁹ Mining, farming, construction, security etc.

(2003) revealed that many entrepreneurs borrow money from friends and relatives who are still back in their countries of origin. The migrants use this money to start their trading businesses as well as buy materials. They mostly sell commodities imported from their home countries (Sidzatane, 2011: 15). From the start of operations migrant entrepreneurs have issues with finances which may not guarantee the success of their business. This issue poses as a hindrance or threat to banks and the loaning of money.

The beginning of this chapter mentioned how Cyril Ramaphosa (the South African President) would like to promote entrepreneurship in South Africa. However, as good as this initiative may be, it provides some unforeseen challenges for potential entrepreneurs. Naude et al. (2015) state that “scarce resources are being spent on providing training and education to prospective entrepreneurs...often participants of such programs only realise what it means to be an entrepreneur...such aspirations change because of this additional knowledge, even discouraging some who had initially planned to start their own business (Naude et Al., 2015: 1; Oosterbeek et al., 2010). This means that education on entrepreneurship is not productive and/or feasible solution due to education producing less entrepreneurs than the expected outcome. Due to discouragement of obtaining knowledge about entrepreneurship. Government plans on introducing entrepreneurship into Secondary School curriculum so that it should take into considerations how education can decrease the number of potential entrepreneurs within South Africa. The issue of remittance¹⁰ poses as an adverse factor towards migrant entrepreneurship in South Africa. In some cases, migrant entrepreneurs come to South Africa to start businesses to support homes within their country of origin (Naude et al., 2015).

2.4.1.2 Advantages of Migrant Entrepreneurship

According to Mokoena (2015: 109), one advantage of migrant entrepreneurship is the contribution towards South Africans valued-added tax through bulk purchases of South African service provider goods and products. Migrant entrepreneurs also contribute towards the local economies through rent. Nine of the participants of this study indicated that they pay rent for their salons on Langalibalele Street in Pietermaritzburg. Only one salon owner shared that he owned his shop and has been in operation for over 20 years.

¹⁰ A remittance is funding that is sent or transferred to another party, usually one in another country. Remittances can be sent via a wire transfer, mail, draft, or check.
<https://www.investopedia.com/terms/r/remittance.asp> (Accessed on 03 June 2019)

Professional or skilled migrants that leave their country of origin for a destination country create brain drain within their country of origin. Brain drain is perceived as a negative reaction of migration because countries are losing qualified professionals who may have the ability to develop the economies. However, Saxenian (2000:2) suggests that brain drain has created the opportunity for 'brain circulation.' Brain circulation is when migrants study and work in a destination country and then migrate back to their country of origin to "take advantage of promising opportunities (Saxenian (2000: 2).” In this manner these highly skilled professionals would not only influence the social factor (by returning back to their country of origin and communities) but they would also influence economic, technological and infrastructure development in their countries by implementing the knowledge and skills that they have acquired abroad. The skills and knowledge would be at a congruent level of a developed country which leaves room for innovation and creativity.

A case study was conducted by Anna Lee Saxenian (2000) on immigrant entrepreneurs and their contribution towards their engineering and technological development in the United States of America showed the following results:

Highly skilled Indian and Asian (Chinese) engineers migrated to Silicon Valley¹¹ and developed engineering and technological companies. Migrant owned companies in Silicon Valley are run by "chief executive officers (CEOs) with Indian and Chinese surnames." These companies made up one-third of the engineering departments in major technological businesses.

Big corporations such as Yahoo! and Hotmail were founded by immigrants in the 1980s and 1990s in the United States (Saxenian, 2000). Today, Silicon Valley hosts major companies, not only technological and engineering companies but also multinational firms. Internationally known corporations such as Apple, Google, Facebook, and Visa have headquarters situated in Silicon Valley with migrant entrepreneurs behind the development and operations of these businesses. The migration of Indian and Chinese professionals to Silicon Valley has assisted the United States by advancing their technology and becoming one of the leading countries in the world because of that. In the case of migration to Silicon Valley, the benefits are clear in terms of those who help create this leading conglomerate.

¹¹ "Silicon Valley is the home of the largest technology corporations in the U.S. It is located in Northern California, within the southern region of San Francisco. Silicon Valley was first given its name because of the many silicon chip creators and manufacturers there". <https://www.techopedia.com/definition/565/silicon-valley> (Accessed on 15 August 2019)

A similar study was conducted on migrant entrepreneurs as a global phenomenon and the influence they had on development. The authors Naude, Siegel and Marchand (2015) aimed to identify whether migrant entrepreneurship are the cause for development in countries and if their involvement made them ‘super-entrepreneurs’ and more entrepreneurial than natives of the destination country. In doing so, the authors created the term ‘super-entrepreneurs’ which can be associated with migrant entrepreneurs as they maintain a certain skill set that allows them to create vast business opportunities from little to nothing (income or support structure). Super-entrepreneurs are also indicating the risk factors that migrants take when migrating to a destination country, since migrant entrepreneurs have more to lose if business is to fail and therefore such knowledge and mind-set ensures that business will succeed.

Moreland (2006: 6) cited in Kalitany and Visser (2010: 379) states that an advantage of self-employment is “revenue generation”, since all monies made in a business are distributed to the desires and needs of the entrepreneur. In some cases, African migrant entrepreneurs would use profits to develop businesses and support families in their country of origin. Another advantage of migrant entrepreneurship that was discussed is remittance.¹² Migrants in foreign countries keep a tight knit community and stay in communication with their families back home. Migrant entrepreneurs take it a step further and assist their communities and families back home by sending money to sustain their livelihood and help with day-to-day necessities. Migrant entrepreneurs also extend their beneficial situation by sending “technology know-how, and information exchange remittance.”

Vaaler (2011) cited in Naude et al. (2015) suggests the view that migrant communities may create channels for import and export in destination countries and receiving countries. Such opportunities may create opportunities for business expansion and employment opportunities for fellow migrants and natives of the destination country. If rules on migration were not so strict and limiting lucrative business opportunities for both the destination and origin country could greatly benefit from migration. According to Saxenian (2000) (her study on Silicon Valley), “as Silicon Valley’s skilled Chinese and Indian immigrants create social and economic links to their home countries, they simultaneously open foreign markets, identify manufacturing options, and technical skills in growing regions of Asia to the broader business

¹² Remittance in the case of immigrant entrepreneurship is when migrants would send a share of profits to their families and communities in their country of origin to sustain livelihoods or to assist in developing a similar business in their country of origin (Naude et.al: 2015)

community in California. Firms in traditional as well as technology sectors, for example, now increasingly turn to India for software programming talent.”

This study provided by Saxenian (2000) supports the views provided by Naude et al. (2015) that migrant entrepreneurs are “super-entrepreneurs” and are more entrepreneurial than natives of that particular country. In the same structure African migrant entrepreneurs within South Africa have adopted the same phenomenon of hiring South Africans within their informal businesses, due to cheap labour that citizens provide compared to African migrants. The hiring of South Africans also assists with social integration into their surrounding communities, (Kalitany and Visser, 2010). This phenomenon has brought up the question of whether African migrant entrepreneurs are developing job creation opportunities within the informal sector, the hairdressing industry to be more specific. Upon observation the researcher had on multiple occasions received service from a male African migrant owned hair salon. In the process of getting the hair done the researcher was approached by the African migrant salon owner and was then referred to a South African woman to proceed with the styling of the hair after orders were exchanged between the owner and employee. However, immigrant entrepreneurship and creation of employment opportunities by migrants has not always been viewed as a possibility due to the ideology of xenophobia which was discussed in the next section.

2.5 South Africa’s perspective on migrants: “Migrants Stealing Our Jobs”

African migrants in South Africa have experienced a wave of mixed emotions, feelings and expectations. Human Rights Watch (1998) identified that the first xenophobic attack occurred in 1995 in Johannesburg, Alexandra Township. Zimbabweans, Malawians and Mozambican immigrants were assaulted and forcefully escorted to the local police station. Xenophobia officially started during the times of the industrial revolution era in South Africa. During this era migrants were migrating to South Africa to seek employment in industrialised factories. Klotz (2016: 180) states that “attackers have frequently charged that outsiders are stealing the fruits of democratisation.” The Daily Maverick newspaper defines xenophobia similarly to most dictionaries as a “hatred or fear of foreigners.” In South Africa, it has come to be understood as the often-violent dislike of migrants, the “makwerekwere.”¹³

¹³ Makwerekwere is a jargon word used to describe migrants in South Africa in singular form. Used by South African citizens.

Xenophobia in South Africa is the outcome of African immigrants in the country. Globally, xenophobia¹⁴ is known as the fear of foreigners. According to Moge kwu (2005) xenophobia is discriminatory behaviour, violence, abuse and hatred towards foreigners. It is a threat perceived towards citizen's social identity and economic status. Moge kwu (2005) extends the topic of xenophobia and states that the xenophobes do not have any information about the targeted group. However, they perceive the target group as a threat and do not know how to deal with the situation.

Bekker and Carlton (1999: 78) analysed South Africa's history and identified three historical periods of conflict. Each period has played a crucial role in the modelling and shaping of South Africa and an influence of xenophobia. The first period of conflict occurred before the 20th (twentieth) century. Bekker (1993) states that there was macro-conflict between the European powers and the natives of the land who were the South African natives, for example the Zulus and Xhosas. This phase can be referred to colonisation when 'civilised' white settlers migrated to Africa due to the scramble of African resources. Conflict developed between the white settlers versus African societies and communities. Before colonisation occurred the indigenous people of South Africa lived in an agrarian era and lived off the land, however colonisation changed this mind-set. Exploitation and slavery occurred as well as the evolution of the industrial era. Conflict can be pinpointed to when the oppression of Africans by white settlers began. Laws were passed during this era to maintain oppression of the 'inferior' races (Blacks: African Indian, Coloured). The Masters and Servants Act of 1856 (passed between 1856 and 1904) controlled Black movement in the workplace which in return ignited the Black rebellion.

The second period can be identified as the apartheid era when the oppressed majority was fighting against the dominant party which can be referred to as the Nationalist Party. Seekings (2008: 3) defines apartheid as the following, "the system of racial categorisation enshrined in law by the 1950 Population Registration Act (and subsequent amendments). The Act provided for all South Africans to be classified into one of three basic categories (African, Indian or Coloured)." The Group Areas Act forced Blacks to live on the outskirts of the town (Bantustans) and work for cheap labour under hazardous environments (Durban South¹⁵ and Asbestos).¹⁶ The dictatorship and oppression led to conflict between the Blacks

¹⁴ The Daily Maverick news page defines xenophobia as "hatred or fear of foreigners".

¹⁵ The Durban South was an industrial hub that was started in the 1930's, collaborated between entrepreneurs and the white government regime. Black communities were forced to move away from rural areas (i.e. Bantustans) for industrial development. The apartheid spatial planning (i.e. Group Areas Act) purposely put

and the Nationalist Party. The third period occurred during the era of Black liberation in South Africa. The birth of democracy led to culture clashes and a division in unity. Conflict took form in the fight for territory rather than cultural cohesion. Although violence was not as evident as the previous phases, mainly negotiations and civil disobedience occurred in the form of conflict.

The fourth period of conflict is assumed to be xenophobia in South Africa. This is where Black South African citizens had to once again ‘defend their territory’ against an out-group (African migrants) due to the perceived financial threat.

However, the demographic of xenophobia is black South Africans threatened by black (inclusive of Ethiopian and Somalian nationals) African migrants. The concept of xenophobia can be argued as Afrophobia, the fear of black African migrants. Bekker (1993) made an observation of contemporary Africa and identified that the black versus white conflict has been substituted with inter black conflict and violence. African migrants in South Africa are being accused of stealing labour from South African citizens causing the heated waves of xenophobia. Workplace restructuring, capitalization and globalisation has had a major influence on unemployment in South Africa.

2.5.1 National Crisis

National Crisis is considered as a contributing factor to xenophobia. Xenophobia is considered to occur when there is a national crisis in South Africa, mainly an economic crisis. Gordon (2015: 82) claims that “xenophobia becomes more prominent during periods when the collective well-being of the state seems fragile and imperilled.” Gordon (2015) further explains that when there is a national crisis mainly an economic crisis, the in-group of the country (South African citizens) will start to evaluate their environment and see how the threats of the out-group (migrant immigrants) influences the outcome of this crisis. This plays a role in xenophobic attacks due to the level of threat that migrant citizens bring with them to

African residence near carcinogenic Engen factories. The South Durban Community Environmental Alliance (SDEA) represented the African community around these factories. The SDEA fought for environmental justice and redress of past injustices.

South African Environmental Justice struggles against “toxic” petrochemical industries in South Durban: The Engen Refinery Case

<file:///C:/Documents%20and%20Settings/User/Local%20Settings/Temp/XPgrpwise/durban..> [Accessed on 28 May 2019]

¹⁶ The year 1906 produced the first case of asbestos. Asbestos factories contained lethal fibres and South Africa was providing asbestos and supplying amosite and crocidolite to majority of the world. High levels of mercury were discovered in factories in Cato Ridge, KwaZulu-Natal.

South Africa. Skilled and unskilled migrant immigrants hiring rate within the formal sector is increased due to cheap labour in South Africa (Haubert and Fussell, 2006: 43).

Sharp (2012: 260) conducted a case-study on day labour and xenophobia in Cape Town. The study concluded that as much as there are migrant job seekers there are just as much as South African job seekers. Hatred and violence were not experienced at the pick-up points where labourers waited for temporary employment. Both the in- and out-group experienced economic issues which affected sustainability at the designated waiting pick-up points (for example during lunch). This information raised the question of finances or economic crisis in individual households a contributing factor to xenophobia. Sharp (2012) identified that some but not all South African citizens expressed that the migrants should not seek employment alongside them, making it evident that migrants pose as a threat when it comes to labour. Some of the participants in Sharp's (2012) study indicated that South Africans should not be called xenophobic because of migrants seeking employment alongside them due to some migrants entering the country illegally and not having the correct documents that allow them to work in South Africa (without work permits).

Mujawamariya (2013: 43) says that South Africa has a culture of violence, this means that social relations and interactions are controlled by violent means. Violence is seen as a result or a solution to their problems, "this is a direct consequence of the fact that South Africa has been in a long struggle for liberation in which violence was a tool both for repression and defiance." The external factors that are being swept under the carpet are not publicly presented and add towards the misinterpretation of xenophobia. Another critical point is that prejudice, discrimination and stereotypes are only applied to Black migrants. Nyamnjoh (2006: 29) indicates that "the country's history of selective immigration has affected the way even South African blacks have tended to perceive migration as the natural rights of whites, and to expect non-whites, blacks in particular, to stay in their own countries", which defines this phenomenon of migrants stealing South African citizen jobs as afrophobia or negrophobia and xenophobia.

The restricting in the workplace triggered by globalisation and capitalism has led to unemployment and has in fact increased the unemployment rate amongst the youth of South Africa. Foreign migrants are feared, hated and accused of stealing jobs in South Africa. According to Afrobarometer Dispatch No. 360, written by Dominique Dryding, one of the key findings is that half of their sample respondents agree with the statement that "foreigners

should not be allowed to work in South Africa because they take jobs away from citizens (Afrobarometer, 2020: 2).”

When the last xenophobic attack occurred in South Africa, News 24 published an article on 17 April 2015. The article stated that “high unemployment and a failure to address growing inequality are to for a wave of anti-immigrant attacks in South Africa”. The South African Institution of Race Relations argued that the root of xenophobic attacks is due policy failure by the government in South Africa. The issues of great unemployment and inequality in South Africa is not being addressed and therefore African migrants are being beaten and bruised as a consequence of such. After 2015 xenophobic attacks occurred the eNCA published a report and Nathi Nhleko, the police minister says that the issues of unemployment and poverty do not justify why migrants are being attacked in South Africa.

2.5.2 Employment Challenges experienced by migrants in South Africa

African migrants seeking employment in South Africa are faced by many challenges from unfair treatment to fear of being deported (Humans Right Watch, 1998). Economically driven migrants made up the majority of the farming, mining, security and construction sectors, during the era of the industrialisation. Migrants hired under the above industries within the informal sector were excluded from employee benefits and representation from labour unions. The issue of documentation (identification) made it hard to create and/or obtain protection within the labour market. Although employment was obtained the actual working environments and habitual stations violated various health and safety regulations. Therefore, leading to the ill treatment of many migrants within these sectors (Humans Rights Watch, 1998). For example, factories and mining fields were carcinogenic and employees were not equipped with safety gear to assist susceptibility towards carcinogenic diseases.

Nyamnjoh (2006) describes a scene of the life of a migrant during the era mentioned above, the Humans Rights Watch (1998) also describes the challenges faced by migrants when employed within the South Africa borders. The main basis of the identified struggles by the said authors was the power play that employers had over their migrant employees, leading to a collection of stories of suffering shared by many migrants. Undocumented migrant employees were as young as 14 (fourteen) years old (Humans Right Watch, 1998). It was also stated that the issue of being paid on time as well as being paid at all was a challenge faced by migrants working on some farms and mines. Due to migrants being undocumented, migrant employees feared uprising against employers and reporting them to officials when

payment of salaries or wages was late, due to the fear of being deported or arrested for being 'illegal.'

In some cases, migrant workers were bribed with permanent citizenship once they agreed to employment contracts. Once employment was obtained there were no discussions of permanent citizenship, as promised. Resulting in migrants finding themselves stuck in the country and afraid of being arrested (Nyamnjoh, 2006). Fear of being arrested without documentation was one of the migrant's emphasized concerns. This was due to the detention camps where migrants were sent to await deportation. However, the conditions in these detention camps were just as hazardous as their working environments. Migrants would have to wait up to 3 (three) months before deportation (Human Rights Watch, 1998). These detention facilities did not have any health care or sanitary spaces to live in, if one was to be injured, they could not receive any medical treatment either. The Human Rights Watch (1998) described the arrest process as exposing African migrants to major lengths of corruption. Due to when the migrant was arrested, they were stripped of all their valuables and issued fines. In order to avoid long-term arrest and deportation, officials would bribe the African migrant in exchange for their freedom or better living conditions within these camps. Not only were migrants in South Africa being exposed to exploitation within the labour market but exploitation of migrants also occurred within the South African context in general.

Obtaining employment in South Africa by migrants, posed many expected and unforeseen challenges. Such as, ill treatment due to cheap labour as well as the breach of contract when permanent citizenship did not occur after contracts expired. Migrants' safety within South Africa (after seeking economic freedom) was not guaranteed and employment opportunities were becoming scarce due to the restructuring of the workplace. Cartwright and Holmes (2006) indicated that over the past 20 (twenty years) the growth of "globalisation and international competition" has greatly affected many organisations in South Africa. Leading to the downsizing, casualisation and delayering of many organisations, factories and companies. The evolution of the industrial era (globalisation and capitalism) created more challenges for migrants. These challenges posed as a great effect to migrants as they would find themselves amongst the unemployed due to the restructuring of the workplace (Brixy, Sternberg, Vordewlbecke, 2013).

Migrants needed to seek other means to sustain livelihood in the destination country and entrepreneurship brought that opportunity forward. Peberdy and Rogerson (2000) cited in

Sidzatane (2001:19) stated that African migrant traders in South Africa, Durban “became involved in street trading in order to survive” and in doing so they preferred to stay entrepreneurs who are self-employed. The informal sector has created a niche for migrants to become self-employed entrepreneurs.

2.6 Migration

The term migration is a difficult term to define (Kalitany and Visser, 2010). Gebre (2007: 6) states that “various approaches have been developed in an attempt to explain migration. Of the three population processes namely, fertility, mortality and migration, the last one is the most difficult to conceptualise and measure.” This is due to migration being a physical and social transaction (Kebede, 1998 cited in Gebre, 2007:6). The literature on migration indicates that there is not a singular definition or theory that can summarise the movement of people and/or animals. Migration is a multi-disciplinary term used across many disciplines of study.

Each discipline attempts to describe the various points of views and perspectives on migration (Cohen, 1996). The movement of people can be traced back to biblical times where migration took place for reasons such as weather climate, war, famine and better livelihood. However, in this study migration was linked to the search for employment opportunities and increase livelihoods. African immigrants migrated to South Africa for this exact reason and a search of freedom and basic human rights that may not be available in their country of origin (Human Rights Watch, 1998).

Rogerson (1999:2) and Posel (2004:5) cited in Kalitany and Visser (2010) identify the adequate increase in foreign immigrants in South Africa since 1990. Klotz (2016) claimed that immigrants travel from North Africa all the way to South Africa to find a better place of living. The influx of migrants into South Africa can be attributed to the increase of employment and the rules and regulations for immigrants. Serrie (1998:11) and Helton (2003:5) cited in Kalitany and Visser (2010) state that “the numbers of immigrants to any nation, and their countries of origin are powerfully affected by the receiving countries’ immigration policies and laws, as well as the degree to which those laws are enforced.” Another definition provided by Goetz (2015: 82) from an American context describes migration as the movement of individuals from one state to another in search of new inhabitants. There are only five (5) countries in the world that pursue the permanent settling of migrants in their country.

These five (5) countries are Australia, Israel, United States, New Zealand and Canada. According to Khan (2011:18) migration can occur on a large and small scale, the movement of people may occur from an undeveloped or developing country to a developed country; or migrant flows may occur from a developed-industrialised country to another. This movement is based on the opportunities and calculated risks that the immigrant takes.

The National Geographic define migration as “the movement of people from one place in the world to another for the purpose of taking up permanent residence, usually across a political boundary.”¹⁷ Defining migration entails not only the movement of people across state or country but also the time frame migration takes place. Khan (2011:17) indicates that “the time frame as well as the border that is crossed determines whether migration is temporary (short period of time) or permanent (indefinite, usually a year or more).” The author further states that migration is also involuntarily or voluntary, immigrants have a choice to migrate or they are forced to migrate due to various social, economic or political issues in their country of origin.

The above definitions have indicated the various explanations and definitions that many scholars have utilised to analyse the many aspects of migration. There are also just as many theoretical approaches of migration. For example, the push-and-pull theory of migration (which will also be discussed under the theoretical framework). The push-and-pull theory was developed by E.S. Lee in 1966. Lee (1996) states that “migration flows towards areas that are believed to be more attractive and desirable for either economic or non-economic reasons through the interplay of push factors at the places of origin and pull factors at the places of destination.” Gebre (2007) statement on migration supports the fact that defining migration is a challenging task and there are many aspects to defining the core aspects of migration.

Migration, the movement of people, can be traced back to biblical times when large groups of people would migrate in search of a better livelihood. Livelihoods were affected by aspects like the weather climate, war and famine. Migration can also be pinpointed to the “ancient times” which dates back to over two thousand (2000) years ago. During this era of the ancient times, it was mainly land-based migration along the Mediterranean and Black Seas (Manning: 2013). It is due to this era of migration that the great empire of Rome was developed. The spread of land-based migration altered cultures of two main subcontinents.

¹⁷ <http://www.nationalgeographic.com/xpeditions/lessons/09/g68/migrationguidestudent.pdf>
Accessed on 04th April 2018

During this era language was a major indicator of migration. According to Manning (2013), “Indo-European languages spread from Central Asia into Iran and northern India, and people speaking Bantu languages moved from what are now Nigeria and Cameroon to many regions of Central, eastern, and southern Africa.”

One of the first records of sea-based migration can be referred to Christopher Columbus who sailed west and landed in North America and came into contact with Native Americans. According to Manning (2013), “an era often called ‘early modern’ times-some two million settlers crossed the Atlantic from Europe to settle in the Americas.” In the same three centuries, nearly eight million Africans were brought to the Americas, most of them in slavery.” During the ‘early modern’ times (Manning, 2013), advanced innovation of transportation and new economy trade led to the movement of many Europeans to North and South America. During this period migration also took place in East and South Asia as well as long-distance movement of Africans across the globe.

Due to the first traces of sea-based and land-based migration, groups and communities of people and cultures were broken up, dispersed and merged. As a result of migration new cultures, communities and languages were formed. Migration of African migrants to South Africa have merged their culture and beliefs with South African cultures. The transfer of languages between African migrants and South Africans also occurred. Migrants in South Africa are learning how to speak the dialect in South Africa to be able to merge into communities.

Migration to South Africa by male African immigrants is influenced by the business opportunities that the informal sector provides, economic freedom is the main reason why migration occurs. Business opportunities in South Africa display themselves as pull factors for the male migrant entrepreneurs. The hair dressing industry in Pietermaritzburg provides African male migrants with an opportunity to provide sustainability for their households in their destination country and country of origin.

Another aspect to migration is language, as immigrants migrate to countries of destination, they also bring with them culture and language. Language plays a large role in identity between an in-and out-group. Language helps define human communities (Manning, 2013).

2.6.1 Migration and Ethnicity

Gottstein (1986: 21) indicates that scholars have two definitions of ethnicity. The first definition is “the ascriptive nature of ethnic identity is deep and is rooted in groups’ claims to common ancestry and to the shared memories and symbol of this ancestry. The second definition is “the constructed aspects of this identity and the continuing re-invention – for reasons that ought to be sought elsewhere, through materialist and political analysis – of shared history and solidarity.” Gottstein (1986) also pointed that ethnicity has existed since ancient times and due to the vast categories of ethnicity, violent ethnic conflicts have occurred (biblical times the Jews and Romans).

According to Rugunanan (2022: 34), “ethnicity serves as social capital to support members from the same ethnic and national background, irrespective of kin or familial relations. Irrespective of ethnicity, an instrumental solidarity emerges to assist foreign migrants to integrate into the host society.”

Bekker and (1996) claims that South Africa’s history, the interpretation of ethnicity and nationalism will be defined through political and social movements. South African citizen’s ethnic ties can be linked to birth, blood and marriage which is closely tied to their identity. Ethnicity for any national residing in any country plays a role in identifying with a group. Conflict with ethnicity may create division between the in- and out-group. African migrants living in diaspora in South Africa, experience challenges with the in-group therefore placing them with the out-group within communities. African migrants create their own groups within these communities to assist with identification in diaspora. For example, Chinese and Pakistani immigrants within South Africa operate in circles that have their own cultures and ethnicities based on religion and language.

Ethnicity, language and unity coexist with one another, they are interdependent factors that filter the in-group from the out-group (Gottstein, 1986). Language barriers that migrants come across hinder social absorption, however, it creates human communities. According to Manning (2013: 16) “these boundaries among language communities are not necessarily sharp – closely related dialects and languages may be easily understood.” Wiberg (1994) claims that language shapes a certain identity, therefore, it is essential for male migrant entrepreneurs to learn the dialect in KwaZulu-Natal in order for social cohesion to occur within the in-group and in the informal sector. Some male African migrant hair salon owners

speak the dialect (isiZulu) due to the similarities with their home language (for example Shona language from Zimbabwe).¹⁸

2.6.2 Migration to/and in South Africa

First records of the largest movement of people or groups can be traced back to the slave trade in Africa. Migration movements occurred within Africa as well as migration from Africa to across the globe. The history of migration to South Africa can be traced back to Africans from West and East who migrated south of the continent. Van Tonder (1997:1) states that these migrants from the West and East became the Bantu-speaking people of the south. This migration movement led to the discovery of the Khoi and San tribes that were dispersed all over South Africa. In 1652 white migration occurred. Jan van Riebeeck was sent by the Dutch East India Company to develop land for fresh produce and establish an import and export system in the Cape. Although colonisation was not the main aim for this migration move, it still occurred due to labour needed to power the Dutch ships.

Van Riebeeck attempted to negotiate livestock and labour with the African communities in the Cape however they failed and the slavery began in South Africa. Due to failed negotiations Forced Labour and Slavery, models evolved and grew from “the Western Cape to the Afrikaner Republics of the Orange Free State and the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek.”¹⁹ European contact with Africa developed the Atlantic slave trade and during this era the term African Diaspora was coined and an evident consequence of the African slave trade. Migration to South Africa occurred due to it being perceived as receptive country (Khan, 2011). The diminishing of the apartheid laws made migration to South Africa susceptible for African migrants to enter the country. The growing economy and opportunities in South Africa drew business from all over the world (Chinese, Pakistani and Africans). Due to migration within South Africa, it has caused a geographical shift within the borders. Internal migration occurred due to implemented systems by the governing parties.

The Group Areas Act 1950 separated urban and rural areas according to race in South Africa during the apartheid regime. Urban areas were reserved for Whites and the rural areas were reserved for Blacks (African, Indians and Coloureds). Segmentation amongst the White and Blacks caused rural to urban migration in South Africa and Africans would have to travel

¹⁸ One of Zimbabwe’s official languages (that has similarities to Zulu).

¹⁹ <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/history-slavery-and-early-colonisation-south-africa>

long distances for employment within the city or suburbs. This concept of rural to urban migration is evident amongst women within South Africa. During apartheid African men would find employment in factories far away from home and would have to travel to urban areas and stay there for long periods of time. This is due to women finding jobs in suburbs and graduates from rural areas and/or homes that seek better opportunities and livelihoods within the major cities of South Africa (Johannesburg, Durban).

2.6.2.1 Temporary Residential Permits and Permanent Residential Permits

The following is an explanation of the document's migrants are issued when requesting access into South Africa, bearing in mind that passports and permits each have their own price. In this sense not many African migrants can afford to pay such fees and end up jumping borders and becoming illegal immigrants. To follow are the formalities of obtaining identity within the South African borders.

As migration rules and regulations developed over the years and strict border control was implemented, entrance to and exit from South Africa need a passport or permit. Migrants need to consult and apply with Home Affairs South Africa where permits and visas are issued after the application process has been approved. Statistics South Africa (Stats SA) conducted a study in 2013 about Temporary Resident Permits (TRP) and Permanent Resident Permits (PRP) issued by the Department of Home Affairs (DHA). The study concluded that in 2013 the DHA issued over 24 027 work permits that fall under the TRP. Goetz (1999) states that the reason why people migrate is due to economic opportunities in the destination countries (pull factors such as job opportunities).

2.6.3 Causes of Migration to South Africa

2.6.3.1 Migration and Capitalism

Capitalism is defined as a countries trade and industry being controlled by private owners to maximise profit for their own organisations. The Global Capitalism Theory provided by Robinson (2007) argues that capitalism in the workplace has opened various new avenues for businesses to operate on a global scale. Scholte (1997) speaks about how capitalism is a reconfiguration of globalisations. Migration to South Africa by Western and European powers was influenced by capitalism, according to Scholte (1997: 433) "capitalism has encouraged the growth of transborder relations in so far as firms have over recent decades increasingly pursued Transworld marketing possibilities. With the global reach afforded by telecommunications, computerization and air travel, a company can develop any promising

market site, wherever it may be situated in the world.” Companies from the West and East migrated to South Africa in order to expand their business ventures and capitalise on cheap labour through the slave trade (the Atlantic slave trade).

Migration to South Africa was also influenced by Global Production, Scholte (1997: 434) defines global production as:

“A second cluster of important capitalist impulses towards globalisation relates to the opportunities that transborder relations afford for reduced costs of production. Vein enterprises have pushed the development of global communications, global organization and global finance in order to be able to site production operations wherever labour costs, taxation rates, regulatory frameworks and other variables are most favourable to them. Through so-called ‘global sourcing’, a company draws the materials, components, equipment and services it needs from anywhere in the world.”

Capitalist orientated businesses are aiming to maximize their profits and decrease their losses, even if it means that production of certain goods should be manufactured in a different region, due to it being cheaper. Or migrating to a country that will accommodate production regulations and laws.

2.6.4 Migration and Globalisation

Akello (2013) defines globalisation as a conjoined combination of different economies across borders that allow knowledge transfer and development of the global market to occur, free of social and political control. Akello (2013) also states that the definition of globalisation provided by Mittleman (N/A) best describes globalisation. Globalisation is “a syndrome or processes of activities as opposed to one element.” Mittleman (N/A) speaks of a global village that is achieved through the reduction of both time and space where a pool of common resources is available and a greater sense of economic, political and social interaction is achieved (Akello, 2013).

The effect of globalisation on the workplace has led to the shift in the structure of the workplace, this can be identified as the effect of modern workplace changes. Employment parameters are slowly receding and the emergence of temporary or casual work is evolving in the labour market. Formal employment was characterised by a nine to five working day that included benefits such as medical aid, car or house insurance as well as a pension plan and pay out, in some cases a car or home allowance was granted too. With globalisation the gig

economy is characterised by irregular shifts or working hours which entail less benefits. The gig economy is “a labour market characterised by the prevalence of short-term contracts or freelance work as opposed to permanent jobs. The gig economy is based on flexible, temporary or freelance jobs, often involving connecting with clients or customers by making work more adaptable to the needs of the moment and demand for flexible lifestyles (Kavese and Mbali, 2022: 3).” Freelance and outsourcing have become driving forces within the labour market.

Globalisation has affected the workplace to the extent that countries all over the globe have the freedom to communicate and/or exchange goods with almost whom they please and at point of time, at any place. Technological advancements increased the development of globalisation and the global village that many companies, businesses take part in.

Kirkbride (2001:33) states:

“...globalisation creates greater inequality...processes such as slavery, colonialism and globalisation have slowly transferred wealth from the South to the North. Today the richest 20 per cent of the world’s population receives 83 per cent of the world’s income, uses 70 per cent of the world’s energy, 75 per cent of the world’s metals, 85 percent of the world’s wool and 60 per cent of the world’s food, while producing 75 per cent of the world’s environmental pollution. In contrast, the poorest 60 per cent of the world’s population receives just 5.6 per cent of the world’s income.”

Globalisation and capitalism have assisted in the restructuring of the workplace and labour market which then leads to unemployment within South Africa. Employment in the informal and formal sector is deteriorating due to the downsizing, liquidating, foreclosure of mines and factories (Cartwright and Homes, 2006). Not only are natives affected by the restructuring, but African migrants are as well affected. Therefore, African migrants have to be aware of other means and ways of sustaining livelihood within South Africa (entrepreneurship). In this chapter xenophobia was discussed as well as challenges faced by African migrants in search of employment which led them to become African migrant entrepreneurs in South Africa.

Information technology allows organisations to gather a limitless amount of information, therefore increasing international competition which in return creates pressure and high demand on employee performance (skills and tasks). One of the factors contributing towards unemployment in South Africa can be attributed to globalisation and international competition, effects such as downsizing, casualisation and retrenchments, have a great effect

on the workplace. The demands on sustaining employment are increasing as the market is shifting and changing. Flexibility in the workplace is essential in sustaining employment due to increasing technological advancement.

An example of the above statement occurred in May 2017, where there was a report published in the Business Report that stated that the “Johannesburg- Coal-truck drivers brought traffic to a standstill on roads surrounding Pretoria on Wednesday as state-owned power utility Eskom said it will not renew agreements with 48 transport companies because of weak demand, slow economic growth and the introduction of renewable energy supply from independent producers has resulted in a 3 million metric-ton coal surplus.” A renewable power plan was drawn up; however, it has not yet been implemented. The plan sought to try reduce Eskom’s carbon print and would result to individuals losing their jobs. The constant up-keep and participation in the global village by organisations has a large effect of unemployment in South Africa.

A research study that was conducted by Ukpere (2011: 6074) titled, “*Globalisation and the challenges of unemployment, income inequality and poverty in Africa*” pointed out that the CEO of Adcorp shared that there is a numerous amount of qualified and experienced unemployed individuals in South Africa. Graduates are accepting jobs with low wages to support their socioeconomic needs.

According to Cartwright and Holmes (2006: 199), “the modern workplace continues to change at a radical and accelerated pace. Mainly in response to globalisation and international competition, the last two decades has witnessed a significant increase in mergers and acquisitions alongside the delayering and downsizing of many organisations.” The modern workplace has also changed in ‘workplace ideologies’ such as Fordism, Taylorism, and Toyotatism. The restructuring of the workplace leads to unemployment in South Africa. Many South Africans keep falling into the hands of unemployment due to restructuring and African migrants are targeted and blamed for such consequences. Kirkbride (2001: 70) states that “economists talked in terms of ‘tradeable’ and ‘non-tradeable’ sectors in domestic economies. Tradeable sectors were subject to international pressure on price and quality.”

Migration and globalisation have affected the labour market and contributed to the increasing unemployment issue within the South African context (Ukpere, 2011). Although the labour market is experiencing a shift from formal employment to a more flexible contractual

agreement (gig economy), as indicated by Kavese and Mbali (2022), migration to South Africa still occurs.

2.6.5 Migration and Social Network:

According to Khan (2011: 37) the social network theory is a fitted theoretical framework to grasp the concept of migration and the pull factors it entails. This theoretical framework was utilised to frame migratory pull factors and networks of South African Asian Muslim hair salon employers and employees in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal. Khan (2011) further states that a social network is an essential tool that influences migrations. She further says that “migrants create networks (social relationships) which assists in finding jobs, accommodations, provision of economic and emotional support as well as social information (Vertovec, 2002).

2.7 Theoretical Framework

2.7.1 Conceptualisation of Theoretical Framework

The economic theory of migration is one of the oldest and known theories on international migration. According to Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino and Taylor (1993: 433), the economic theory of migration was “developed originally to explain labour migration in the process of economic development” for developed countries.

The basis of this theory is that international migration is caused due to the “geographical differences in the supply of and demand for labour (Massey et al., 1993: 433).” Countries with low wages push migrants to leave their country of origin and pull migrants to their destination country with high wages. Migration happens due to the supply and demand of labour results in “capital-poor” countries with a decreased supply of labour. However, an increase in wages and capital-rich” countries that are characterised with an increase in the supply of labour face a decrease in wages (Massey et al., 1993: 433).

The theoretical framework for this study is based on the economic theory of migration. The economic theory of migration was developed by Michael Todaro in 1976, this theory views migration as an essential “resource distribution of labour (Todaro: 1976).” According to Todaro (1976) the reason behind migration is dependent on individual perceptions and calculations of the destination country. Migration is subjective to the immigrant. The premeditated evaluation of financial freedom within their country of origin and the destination country. In addition to this theory, push-pull factors are also considered. In this approach the migrant is affected by certain internal and external economic factors. Factors such as unemployment drives migration.

Todaro’s (1976) theory of migration has been remodelled into the Harris and Todaro theoretical framework in 1970s. According to Petrov (2007), the Harris and Todaro (1970) labour migration theory has become one of the greatest methods to analyse migration and balances within the labour market for developed and developing countries. The Harris-Todaro (1970) theory states that within a dual economy (formal and informal industries), migration from rural to urban sectors occurs. Although the urban sector is characterised by high employment, migration is still considered due to the “sufficiently high expectations of finding a job and earning more (Petrov, 2007: 185).” The concept of the Todaro Paradox is

introduced within Petrov's (2007) study. The Todaro Paradox is when job creation within the urban sector results in an increase in urban unemployment.

The Harris-Todaro (1970) framework can potentially be conceptualised to the South African migration context. The Harris-Todaro theoretical framework applied to the South African context can be considered to a certain extent. Migration is conducted due to economic pull factors. However, economic freedom is not only sought after in urban areas but also rural. African immigrants migrate to South Africa in search of financial freedom. However, upon arriving in the destination country, employment within the formal sector is difficult to obtain. The labour market is saturated by unemployment in South Africa. O'Neill (2021) published an article on the online platform Statista. His study researched the unemployment rate in South Africa. He concluded that in 2021, the unemployment rate increased by 4.4% raising the unemployment mark to 28.77 % in South Africa. Therefore, African migrants are forced to become entrepreneurs or seek employment within the informal sector to secure financial freedom. The Todaro Paradox can be applied to this case.

Galal (2022) published an article in 2022 on employment within the informal sector in South Africa between 2010 and 2020. This study concluded that in 2020 4.8 million were employed in the informal sector. According to Khan (2011), some participants of the study expressed that the hairdressing industry was an involuntary choice in occupation due to the urgency of securing a source of income within the destination country. The scarce availability of employment within the formal sector in South Africa creates a sense of urgency for African migrants to create entrepreneurial opportunities within the informal sector.

However, when conceptualising the Harris-Todaro theory to the South African context, one might argue that African immigrants migrate to South Africa with no intent of joining the formal sector. Their premeditated evaluation of employment in South Africa does not entail job security within the formal industry due to their lack of skills/ experience, communication and/or qualifications. Another premeditated influence for migration to the informal sector is the lenience in operational rules and regulations (Castells and Portes, 1989).

With reference to Haubert and Fussell (2006), some immigrants migrate to their destination country without any skills or the ability to communicate in English therefore, employment opportunities entail lower wages than native wages. Therefore, the notion of rural to urban migration is incorrect. According to Adepoju (2004), immigrants from various African

countries have become street vendors within South Africa with the hope of capitalising within the informal sector.

The Harris-Todaro and Todaro economic theory of migration is limiting. The theory states that migration occurs due to the economic factor. However, migration occurs to socioeconomic, political and environmental factors. Migration is a subjective move. Therefore, this theory lacks in this manner.

African migrant hair salon owners have integrated themselves within the informal sector in South Africa. The informal sector can be considered as a pull factor for African migrants to obtain financial security. In some instances, the informal sector becomes an involuntary backup plan due to the African migrant's inability to secure employment within the formal sector. Reasons for the unsuccessful attempt to secure employment or financial freedom within the formal sector may be due to the mismatch in skills and qualification for the labour market. The hairdressing industry in Pietermaritzburg is a pull factor for male African migrant entrepreneurs of this study. Although the Harris-Todaro model states that the wage difference within the country of origin and the destination is a major migratory factor. Thus, it can be argued and stated that the hairdressing industry in Pietermaritzburg was perceived by the participants as a lucrative market where they could capitalise on profits opposed to wages.

Migrants attempt to integrate themselves with their host countries for two reasons, economic and social purposes (Todaro, 1976). Before migrating to the destination country migrants calculate the risks and benefits of migration to the destination country. Once migration has occurred immigrants start to reshape their lifestyles and begin integration with citizens of the host country. In doing so, the immigrants attempt to reinvent themselves and start to learn the cultures, languages to join in on a social level.

2.8 Chapter Summary

In conclusion the information provided in the literature review served to assist this study with background information and in-depth context towards the keywords of the study, which are immigrant entrepreneurship, informal sector and job creation. The problem statement of this study was why do African male migrant hair salon owners hire South African women within their salons? And are they creating employment within the informal sector? Kalitany and Visser (2010) provided information on several trades within the Cape Town informal sector.

The authors concluded that 98 out of the 120 interviewed participants (African migrants) hire South Africans within their businesses. Therefore, we may conclude based on this literature that the African migrant entrepreneurs within the informal sector of Cape Town provide employment opportunities for South African nationals.

The Department of Higher Education and the Service SETA provided information on the hairdressing industry within South Africa. The information provided on this topic is that there are three hairdressing qualifications one may obtain in order to become a qualified hairdressing professional. The hairdressing industry in South Africa is also characterised by an informal and formal sector. However, the informal sector is fairly larger than the formal sector and is viewed as more lucrative due to the lenience in regulations and qualifications. However, if it is so, why is the Pietermaritzburg hairdressing sector dominated by African male migrants if the informal sector is so beneficial for South African nationals? It is also within this setting the job creation has evolved.

According to Cartwright and Homes (2006), the changing world of work has left many South African nationals without employment as well as provided less employment opportunities within the workplace in South Africa. Therefore, African migrants also find themselves amongst the unemployed in South Africa whether they carry a skill or qualification (Brixy et al., 2013). Since the labour market cannot accommodate African migrants, they become more susceptible to becoming entrepreneurs. The informal sector in South Africa accommodates the African migrants that venture into entrepreneurship. However, immigrant entrepreneurship has both a positive and negative connotation. Migrant entrepreneurship has a negative effect on the South African economy, due to the lack of governing regulations within this sector. However, migrant entrepreneurship contributes greatly to job creation within the informal sector.

Before migrating to South Africa, migrants are pushed away from their country of origin in search of economic freedom. Migration occurs due to many factors, factors that are interpersonal to that individual wishing to migrate. However, in this study migration is induced due to economic freedom and the opportunity to sustain livelihood. Todaro's (1976) theory encapsulated the economic aspect of migration however, political and social aspects have been provided by other scholars.

Chapter Three: Methodology

3. Introduction

According to Kalitanyi (2007), research on migration and entrepreneurship has various methodologies, for example, surveys and ethnography. Hussey and Hussey (1997) utilized the triangulation method which could possibly be a better suit for research on migration and entrepreneurship. Research methods and methodology is an essential aspect as well as the crux of all research projects. This is due to how a method quantifies a specific research topic and occasionally predicts a specific outcome of a study, which will be refuted or agreed upon. According to Hofstee (2015: 107), the problem statement in conjunction with the method should concluded that either “accepted, rejected, checked, replicated or even understood in the context of how you got there.”

In this chapter there was a discussion about the research paradigm and design and its techniques that was utilised to collect data for this study, as well as the analysing tool utilised to analyse the data that was collected. This chapter also addressed and provides information about the interview process and why certain participants were selected. The location where the interviews took place, and its significance were also discussed. Overall, this chapter covered the research paradigm, design, measuring tool, location, population, and sample size. Each aspect in this chapter was discussed and clarified in-depth.

The main aim of this research is to gain an in-depth understanding of the hiring of Black women South Africans within male African migrant hair salons. The research questions and objectives formulated the framework and questions for the interview guide. Firstly, migratory motives to Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal. Secondly, what are the thoughts of male African migrant hair salon owners when it comes to job opportunities being created within their hair salons? Thirdly, are there any possible strategies that are being utilised by male African migrant hair salon owners, when hiring South African women? Lastly, are there any challenges, experiences, and threats the male African migrant hair salon owner’s experience? The primary source of data for this dissertation was provided by qualitative face-to-face interviews. It was due to the information provided by the pieces of work in the literature review (Chapter Two), objectives and research questions, and the set of semi-structured and premeditated questions drafted for the interview guide that information needed to understand

the research context was provided through interviews. This dissertation was attempting to fill in the knowledge gap of the role played by male African migrant entrepreneurs and job creation within the informal sector in Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal Province. The researcher initially began research based on the assumption that male African migrant hair salon owners are creating job opportunities for Black South African women. The demographics of the selected participants are:

1. **Gender:** Male
2. **Ethnicity:** African
3. **Age:** Estimation between the ages of 20-70yrs
4. **Country of Origin:** N/A

Due to the target population being male African migrant hair salon owners, their age was not a considering factor for participant selection. Country of origin was also not a deciding factor, however for research's sake out of the 10 participants there were: 1 Malawian, 1 Ghanaian, 3 Nigerian and 1 Congolese. Gender and ethnicity were the deciding factors for selection of participants due to specific characteristics needed for the sample. The following section addressed the qualitative research method, sample population, sample and research techniques that were used to collect data for this dissertation.

Authors Positionality

I am a South African by birth however, my family identifies as Malawian. I am undertaking a Masters Degree on male African migrant hair salon owners and their contribution towards job creation within the hairdressing industry. I have an existing view and experience of the Pietermaritzburg hairdressing industry and I am passionate about the experience of African migrants and the employment of South African women within their salons.

My experience in a hair salon on Langalibalele Street in Pietermaritzburg has guided my selection of the research topic and questions. When given the opportunity to do my hair at one of the salons, my observation of the employment parameters sparked my interest. There is a minimum number of resources based on the topic of the hairdressing industry specifically in Pietermaritzburg however, there were numerous scholarly resources on African migrants and the hairdressing industry. I actively searched for feedback on the research topic and questions from the participants of this study. Some of the participants of this study have provided me services in the past.

Over the process of data collection, I became more intrigued as the participants shared their historical views. The aim was to explore job creation by male African migrant hair salon owners. My previous experience and background with some of the participants has shaped the research topic however, I had to avoid biasness due to the relationship I had built with them in the past. Due to having a subjective experience and understanding of the due processes within the investigated salons it has contributed towards the qualitative method of study. Specifically, the interview guide, data analysis and interview technique.

3.1 Research Method and Design

The purpose of this research project was to explore the phenomenon of job creation within the hairdressing industry of Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal Province. The researcher aimed to explore African migrant hair salon entrepreneurs “subjective experience (du Plooy-Cilliers, Davis, Bezuidenhout, 2014:173)” within the informal sector of the Langalibalele Street, in Pietermaritzburg. Exploratory research was the most appropriate paradigm to apply and conduct this study. According to Neuman (2003:83) exploratory research is used when “the subject is new, we know little or nothing about it, and no one has yet explored it.... The goal with it is to formulate more precise questions that can be addressed in future research.” Job creation opportunities provided by African migrants in the informal economy of South Africa is rarely researched which is evident with the information provided in the literature review. Research done on African migrants and job creation has a broad understanding of the informal sector and does not focus on the hairdressing sector (Kalitanyi and Visser, 2010). When it comes to African migrants within South Africa, they are mainly associated with xenophobia and the notion or disbelief of African migrants ‘stealing jobs (Klotz, 2016).’ However, amongst these spurs of xenophobic attacks, job opportunities stand amidst all the mayhem. If this statement is true, why do xenophobic attacks still occur? du Plooy-Cilliers et al. (2014:173) indicates that researchers should be able to provide a dense understanding of the human experience as well as provide a lay meaning drawn from qualitative methods, which the researcher aimed to do.

Exploratory research is qualitative in nature and is supported by specific techniques, in this dissertation purposive sampling and open-ended questions were the tools used to quantify this research hypothesis. The qualitative design is suitable for this study due to this being a new and specific research area. The main aim was to gain a deep understanding of this social encounter, perception and view of the research project. According to du Plooy Cilliers et al.

(2014:173), “by using qualitative data collection, the researcher obtains a richness and depth of data, gathered from complex and multi-faceted phenomena in a specific social context.” Neuman (2011: 424) further states that “a researcher attempts to capture all the details of a social setting in an extremely detailed description and convey an intimate feeling for the setting and the inner lives of the people in it.” Therefore, whilst conducting the semi-structured open-ended interviews, the researcher was able to gain a deeper understanding and expand her basis of knowledge in this area.

Each interview was recorded with a voice recorder (with the participants consent) to ensure that each word, statement, idea and answer reflected truly of the participants understanding of this research area. The voice recording and participant selection added or developed the credibility and trustworthiness of this study. The relationship between male African migrant hair salon owners and Black women South Africans in the hair industry is an interdependent dynamic relationship which had to be explored. The researcher was aiming to discover what makes this relationship work in such a unique nature. Some participants expressed in their interviews that they were using integrating methods and mediation tactics to keep peace within the CBD, (which was discussed further in the data analysis chapter).

3.1.1 Qualitative Data Collection: Population and Sample Selection

The target sample for this research was male African migrant hair salon owners who reside in Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal and operate their businesses on Langalibalele Street within the PMB CBD. Participants were chosen through a non-probability sampling method called, purposive sampling. Purposive sampling was selected due to the specific elements and characteristics (specifications) that are determined by the research title and problem statement. The specific elements for the sample size are: black, African, immigrant and hair salon owner. According to Neuman (2003: 267) purposive sampling is when “the researcher uses a wide range of methods to locate all possible cases of highly specific and difficult-to-reach population.” The population from where the sample size was drawn from was too large to study and too difficult to define and/or allocate due to the lack of government official documentation for both business (business registration) and individuals (identification documents). A total of 10 interviews were conducted within the CBD of Pietermaritzburg at the respective participant’s hair salons. The choice in sample size due to the findings being interpersonal and applicable to the larger population. In some instance’s interviews had to be conducted before business hours due to high demand of services at that time. The period that

the majority of the interviews were conducted was during month end and on a “Black Friday.”²⁰ There was no specific reason for selection of the period when the research was conducted however, an unnoticeable positive was that all salon owners were present in their shops. Other interviews were conducted during business hours at a location suitable to conduct an interview due to noise pollution.

3.2 Significance of the Location

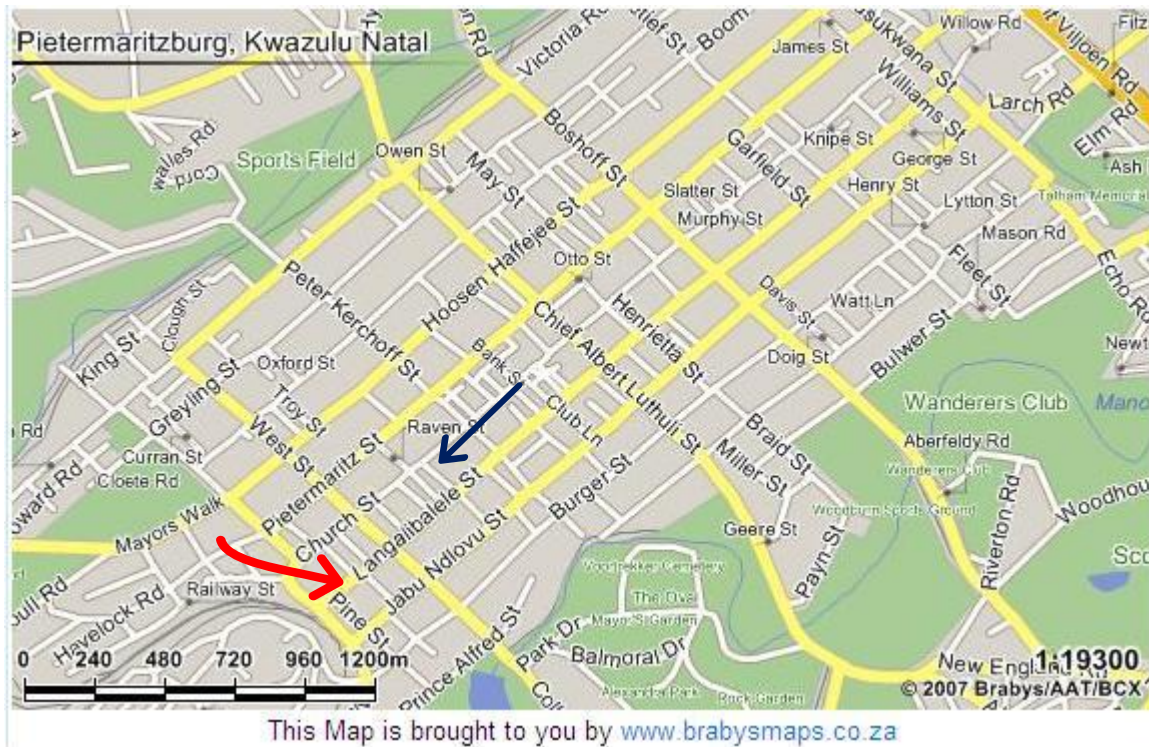
The study was situated in Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal Province and located on Langalibalele Street, previously known as Old Mutual Street. Langalibalele Street is a one-way street that connects up-to down-town. This street consists of majority immigrant owned clothing shops, cell phone repair stores and hairdressing salons (Kalitany and Visser, 2010). The researcher was familiar with this street due to doing her hair numerous times at any available salon. It was from these experience that observations and questions started to formulate. Langalibalele Street was previously known as Longmarket Street.²¹ Langalibalele Street is approximately 2.94 kilometers long²² and starts from Moses Mabida Road and ends on Mahlathi Road. The following map indicates Langalibalele Street and the respective lanes where interviews were conducted:

²⁰ Black Friday is the name given to the shopping day after Thanksgiving in the United States of America. It was originally called Black Friday because the volume of shoppers created traffic accidents and sometimes even violence. Police coined the phrase to describe the mayhem surrounding the congestion of pedestrian and auto traffic in downtown shopping areas. Due to globalisation it has become an international day.

²¹ Langalibalele Street was previously known as Longmarket Street due to the location and the entities situated on this street, “Langalibalele was the Hlubi chief who in the 1870s opposed the colonial government on a number of issues...took place at Government House, which stands at the top end of the street that now bears his name”.

²² http://za.geoview.info/langalibalele_street,59783780w#s

3.2.1 Figure 3.1: Map Showing Pietermaritzburg Central



The map above indicates the central business district of Pietermaritzburg, and the red arrow indicates the start of Langaibalele Street. This is where the researcher started her search for potential participants for the study through purposive sampling. The blue arrow indicates the lanes that spread off Langaibalele Street. It was within these lanes that the researcher observed that the majority male African hair salon owners operate. The researcher walked through Theatre Lane, Timber Lane where the interviews were conducted. The researcher observed that the majority if not all hair salons have sales, advertising and promotion individuals who sit at the entrances of each lane recruiting clients, these individuals have an A2 to A1 laminated page of pictures of different hair styles from men's haircuts to braids and perms as reference for clients' needs. The researcher was approached many times, and this was used as a strategy to be introduced to the owners of the hair salons.

3.3 Data Collection Method and Interview Process

Although, there is a pool of potential participants ranging from male to female hair salon owners. This study chose to research male African migrants solely based on the interactions experienced when seeking hair services in PMB. Before the researcher conducted interviews, she located the accurate participants who fit the focus for the study through walking around the area and observing. The specific characteristic essentially needed for each participant marked a clear line for the researcher to select her participants. The openness and willingness of a participant to take part in this research project was important due to the information needing to be credible and trustworthy in this study (Babbie and Mouton, 2001: 277).

Once a prospective hair salon owner had been located the researcher then approached each participant that suited the requirements and proposed an invitation to participate in a study. Once the participant agreed to take part in the study the interview took place. This posed a challenge as there was a lot of noise pollution and interaction from surrounding shop owners in some cases. However, as much as this posed as a challenge it also brought context to the research being done. In some cases, the researcher was able to access the male African migrant hair salon owner via telephone to book an appointment for the interview. This was possible due to association, referrals and word of mouth by friends of other hair salon owners.

Over the phone the researcher would start off the conversation by identifying who she was and the reason behind the phone call. Once the prospective participant had received an induction of the research, the researcher asked if they would like to be part of the study. Three participants (Participant 07, 08 and 09) were given the research induction over the phone. However, one participant expressed that he was and the researcher should go to his salon over the weekend and conduct the interview. Participant 07 was adamant to take part in this study and indicated that the researcher can come any time to do the interview and that he would clear up his schedule once the researcher arrived. This was an indication to the researcher that this information that was being researched was an issue that was being held close to some migrant employers' hearts. When the researcher asked the participants if they knew of any other male African migrant hair salon owners the participants shared information freely. Even though this phenomenon was not researched as much and not often, the migrants in South Africa asked to take part in a study and that portrayed their image in a

positive light. Migrant employers within the hairdressing industry perceive their actions as an act of value, contributing to the better livelihoods of South African women.

The qualitative technique that was utilised to conduct data collection was open-ended interviews (please see appendix A). Fetterman (1998: 43) states that “open-ended questions allow participants to interpret it.” When participants are asked to answer flexibly it opens pathways for a subjective intra-specific interpretation and understanding of the phenomena. An in-depth interview “allows you to pose questions to participants with the aim of learning more about their views, opinions and beliefs about specific phenomenon (du Plooy-Cilliers et al., 2014: 188).” A general interview approach in a public space of work may be hard to achieve but due to the informality of the interview, it allowed the participant to engage in a casual but informative conversation.

3.3.1 Data Analysis

Thematic analysis was used to analyse the data in this dissertation. According to Gibson, William and Brown (2009), thematic analysis is a process utilised to identify commonalities of themes in qualitative data. The researcher manually coded and developed themes from the data that was collected through in-depth questions. The researcher based her data analysis method on Aronson (1994). Aronson (1994) constructed six steps to conduct thematic analysis, which are as follows:

- 1) Become familiar with the data.
- 2) Produce Codes: the researcher will manually identify codes that are interesting and relate to the study.
- 3) Search for Themes: the researcher will then look at the common codes that came up in step two and generate relative themes.
- 4) Review Themes: the researcher will go over the formulated themes and identify which themes need to be combined, discarded or refined.
- 5) Define Themes: the naming and defining of themes will occur.
- 6) Write-Up: the researcher will report the interpreted data that relates to the research question, literature and the themes (Delahunt and Maguire, 2017).

From these six steps the researcher was able to analyse and interpret the data received. With the six steps in mind, during the interviews the researcher was able to link commonalities

during the separate interviews. This enabled the researcher to have a vast and greater understanding of the phenomenon and allowed probing to occur to have an in-depth understanding. Although, this technique was only established towards the end of the interviews and participants in these interviews had a better experience (between researcher and participant) the interviews over time yielded more information and a deeper understanding of what exactly was being researched.

3.4 Challenges Experienced

1. **Noise Pollution:** The environment that the interviews took place was in an environment that was interrupted by noise pollution. The street was busy as it is the CBD and the interviews were conducted during the month end, which is always a busy season in town. To overcome this challenge, if the noise overpowered the voice recording (interview) the researcher would pause the recording and wait until the participant could be heard clearly. In some of the recordings there was interruptions and obstruction (banter) during the interview. However, it did not stop the flow of the interview, it continued as per normal. The time that the interviews took place was during the month end which entailed busy streets and shops filled with customers. Whilst some participants were taking part in the interviews some disturbances such as walk-in clients occurred. However, during these times the researcher would pause the recording and wait until the participant was free to continue. Once the participant gave the advance to continue, the interview would continue as per normal.
2. **Threat towards Livelihood:** The research posed a great threat towards those taking part in it. This was due to the questions and topics being discussed in the interviews being a sensitive topic that was not openly discussed in these environments (mainly xenophobia). Most of the interviews were conducted in front of their employees, clients and fellow hair salon or business owners on Langalibalele Street. Day one posed a challenge for the researcher because the environment was tense and the 'usual' individuals that operate around Langalibalele Street and the respective lanes were hesitant to talk to a young African lady asking questions about their businesses in English, with a notepad and pen in hand. Interviews started on a low note but as the researcher became familiar with the surroundings and community more potential participants were opened to discuss their opinions and share their views. The researcher explained the informed consent (please see appendix B) form to each participant and how their participation in this research was voluntary and their

identities would be kept anonymous. For example, Participant 001 expressed during his interview that some questions were hard for him to answer, his body language also showed that he was uncomfortable. The researcher did not aim to make the participant uncomfortable and ensured that his comfort was considered first by ensuring the participant that the interviews are confidential.

- 3. Location/Locating:** Langalibalele Street is a high traffic foot zone with almost every stall and/or business being flooded with customers. Hair salons were always busy with clients and owners did not have time to “sit down and chat.” Individuals who turned down the researchers’ remarks expressed that this was their livelihoods and if they are to take a minute away from serving their clients, they could lose profits. The researcher then decided to seek potential candidates within the lanes that branched off the respective street being researched and search for potential candidates. Finding the sample for the study also posed a challenge as some hair salons had female owners or the owners were not present in the store. The researcher either had to call the owner and schedule an appointment or come the following morning to conduct the interview. In some cases, the candidate was not present and the researcher used that time to seek other candidates.
- 4. Ethnicity and Accent:** African migrants from different ethnicities and backgrounds was the focus of this study. However, a challenge experienced which was only experienced after the data collection process was the accents of participants. The participant’s country of origin varied from Malawi, Nigeria, Ghana, Nigeria and the Democratic of Congo. Some participants shared that English was not their first language therefore, they were hesitant to take part in the study. Whilst the transcription process began, the Nigerian accent was the hardest accent to transcribe. To ensure the transcription and opinion of the participant was portrayed correctly, the recording was transcribed by a Nigerian native.

3.5 Quality of Study

The aim of this study was to gain an in-depth understanding of the employment dynamics within the hairdressing industry. The study consisted of ten (10) hair salon owners within the Pietermaritzburg central business district, with South African women operating within their salon. The instrument utilised to capture the participant’s opinions was open-ended questions. This method was selected for this research project to ensure that researcher bias does not occur. Each question provided time for the participant to elaborate and/or rectify the question

answered, therefore leaving no room for speculation and misunderstanding. If the participant did not understand the question, it would be asked again in a way that would ensure that he understood. If the participant's response were not understood it would be addressed during the interview. The measuring tool was selected (open-ended interviews) due to the research phenomenon being new (Neuman, 2003).

The research attempted to explore the phenomenon of employment opportunities within the informal sector (hairdressing industry). The lack of information on this subject allowed the measuring tool to explore and ask non-structured questions that prompted and welcomed probing to clarify a participant's point view as well as elaborate opinions on said topic. If the research used closed-ended questions, exploration of the phenomenon would have not occurred. Fetterman (1998), states that open-ended questions create a platform for participants to explore and "interpret" the question. Open-ended questions allow answers to be flexible and produce subjective opinions on the research topic therefore, exploration becomes the focus of the interviews (du Plooy-Cilliers et al., 2014).

The primary resource of this research were the ten participants who took part in it. It is from their subjective opinions and experiences on the subject matter that provided context for the research. Due to the research topic being new, the research could only rely on the participants intricate and detailed responses during the interviews. The interview process entailed the participant signing an informed consent form and acknowledgement of voice recording during the interview. The voice recording of the interviews was to ensure the transcription process was conducted accordingly in conjunction with avoiding researcher bias. According to Neuman (2014: 271) bias is, "the desire or expectation of achieving a particular result." In other words, bias in research is when the data is coerced to come to a desirable conclusion, rather than allowing the data to determine the result. To avoid these issues, qualitative studies, applies trustworthiness (validity and reliability) to "promote understanding of a particular phenomenon (Neuman, 2014: 258)."

The following terms provided by Lincoln and Guba (1985); cited in du Plooy-Cilliers et al. (2014), are applied to ensure that the information of this study was valid and reliable within a qualitative study.

1. Credibility: This term refers to how precise the data provided by the participants of this study, was interpreted by the researcher. Credibility in this dissertation was achieved by the voice recording of each interview. The voice recordings assisted with

the transcription process due to the ability of pausing and playing to avoid misunderstanding the participant's point of view. The research attempted to portray all the participants' opinions on the subject matter from a non-bias standpoint. The authors further stated that an anthropology approach would increase credibility. In this study, the measuring tool did not allow field study. However, observations were made before a participant was selected to be part of the study. Triangulation was not utilised for this study; however, this may pose a critique of this study. Due to the participants being the primary resource, emphasis on their input should have utilised triangulation.

2. Transferability: This is the “ability of the findings to be applied to a similar situation and delivering similar results (Neuman, 2014: 258-259).” However, with qualitative research generalisation of results is not the aim, and an in-depth understanding of a phenomenon is attempted to be achieved. The aim of this dissertation was to investigate the role of African migrant hair salons and job creation within the hairdressing industry. However, can we apply the notion of job creation by migrants to all activities within the informal sector?
3. Dependability: This term refers to the process which takes place between the collection of data, analysis and theoretical conclusions (Neuman, 2014: 259). To ensure dependability the semi-structured interview questions were asked in a similar manner to each participant. In some instances, the same wording could not apply due to the participant conceptualising what was being discussed, therefore, different wording needed to be utilised. The interview questions were premeditated and presented in an interview guide (please see appendix A) before the interview process began. The voice-recordings of the interviews were transcribed in a period of seven sessions to allow the data analysis to occur naturally, as well as to avoid any misunderstandings and bias. The transcription of voice-recordings was done electrically. However, the analysis was conducted manually. The transcriptions were printed out and bound to allow a natural flow for analysis. All steps conducted during the above said process was premeditated to ensure that the process was conducted accordingly.
4. Confirmability: The data provided by the participants of the study shed light on a new research topic. However, the responses provided related to the literature provided in chapter two. The research process in section 3.1 of this chapter allowed the analysis of data to flow naturally and unravel.

3.6 Chapter Summary

The research method and design for this dissertation was based on an exploratory approach within the qualitative field. The aim of the study was to gain an in-depth understanding of African migrant hair salon owners and their employment preference within the central business district of Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal Province. The data collection method provided the study with an opportunity to explore the phenomenon from the subjective experiences and opinions of the participants of this study. Due to the research topic, it has provided new context on African migrant's and job creation. The primary resource for this dissertation was its participants. To portray the subjective opinions and objectives of the participants, the desired measuring tool was open-ended questions. The interview guide was constructed in a way that allows the participants to share their opinions on the subject matter. Each question was semi-structured, however, they asked in a way that was most suitable in the situation. The measuring tool provided an opportunity to gain an in-depth understanding and allowed the utilisation of probing within the interviews.

Each participant of this study was approached and asked if they would like to take part in the study. Thus, the researcher explained the aim of the study to the participants thoroughly. Once participants agreed to take part in the study, the informed consent was read through and explained, and the awareness and acknowledgement of the voice recording occurred. Once the interview process ended, the data collected was analysed through thematic analysis. The data was analysed manually from a printed transcript.

The opinions of the participants of this study provided context for the aim and research title. It was essential that the opinions were portrayed without any bias or misunderstanding. Therefore, the voice recordings played an essential role when transcribing. The measuring tool selected for this dissertation coincided accordingly for the research problem statement, title and literature. However, a critique for the method model was that triangulation did not occur, only the primary and secondary data was provided. Another measuring tool should have added to the exploration on this subject matter, for example, a focus group where all ten participants sat down and discussed the matter at hand.

Chapter Four: Data Analysis, Findings and Discussions

4. Introduction

This chapter aimed at presenting and interpreting the data in a way that demonstrates the views of the participants in correlation to the context that was provided on this research topic. This chapter also aimed at portraying the information provided in a manner that was understandable and indicated clear guidance and opinions of the participants. The presentation and interpretation of results, discussions and evaluation was combined under this chapter, an orthodox dissertation would have the presentation of results and interpretation in two separate chapters with the findings, further recommendations and conclusions in the last chapter. However, the combination of the presentation and interpretation of results was solely based on diverging from repetition of information in multiple chapters. The evaluation at the end of this chapter aimed to give way to the findings which would take place in the final chapter.

The structure of this chapter was as follows: it began with the reasoning behind the choice of qualitative data analysis methods, then, four sets of results were presented. After each set of results was presented, the interpretation of data occurred (description and/or discussion) in correlation or comparison to the literature, provided in Chapter Two. The four sets of results were based on the research questions and objectives which were provided in Chapter One. The research questions were as follows:

1. What motivated male migrants to leave the country of origin and migrate to Pietermaritzburg, South Africa (as opposed to the other attractive cities in the country)?
2. Why do male migrants choose the hairdressing industry in Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal?

3. When African migrants hire South African women, does it serve as a counterfeit against emigrational issues and municipality regulations, such as due process and business regulations?
4. What experiences have affected the course of business and are migrants aware of any future threats?

The research questions were utilised as the framework of this chapter. These research questions assisted in shaping the themes. However, the drafted interview guide defined the codes clearly for the research themes.

This chapter provided a concise explanation of the information that was provided by the participants of this study, using qualitative methods to analyse the information. The information provided begins with the description of each participant and their salons to provide context for this study. The next sub-theme is an explanation of the reasons why this study used thematic analysis to analyse the data. The next discussion was the commencement of the four themes that were provided and coded during the analysis process. After the discussion of each theme, there was a conclusion that tied up each code to the theme and the provided literature on this topic. Once each theme had been discussed, the aim was to answer the research questions and objectives in relation to the data, research title, research problem statement and literature.

4.1 Participant's Objective and Subjective Description

In this section, a description of each participant (age and nationality) as well as a description of their salon was provided. This analysis provided a descriptive understanding of each participant and their provision of livelihoods in Pietermaritzburg, South Africa. Ten (10) African male migrant hair salon owners were interviewed within the Pietermaritzburg CBD; the location of the study was on Langalibalele Street. In-depth open-ended interviews was the tool that yielded the respective results of this research. Participants were between the ages of 18-65. However, age was not a defining factor when selection of participants was conducted. Purposive sampling (a non-probability sampling method) was utilised due to the requirements of each characteristic needed. According to Neuman (2003: 267) purposive sampling is “a non-random sample which the researcher uses a wide range of methods to locate all possible cases of highly specific and difficult-to-reach population.” The researcher used observation to locate participants for the study. If a candidate looked like a potential participant for the study

the researcher would approach the candidate and address the study aims and if the participant would like to take part in this research an interview was conducted.

These characteristics were essential for the research due to the research title, objectives and questions for this study. The specific characteristic each potential participant needed before selection were as follows:

1. African
2. Migrant
3. Male
4. Hair salon owner

Once selection of the participant occurred the interviewed commenced. Some participants had developed, and others were not and the salon's description of participants were as follows:

- **Participant One:** originally from Malawi. The salon was underdeveloped and has six tight fitting chairs and mirrors, with three on each side. The salon was small in comparison (length and height) of a shipping container. The salon was dominated by African male migrants with two South African women attending to clients in the back. Even though he was hesitant, and his body language indicated that he was uncomfortable he was able to answer to the best of his abilities. Some information he was uncomfortable to share. There was also a language barrier as his first language is Chichewa. The salon was owned by him and his partner. Although age was not a decisive characteristic for the sample size the participant was young and slightly inexperienced. He was estimated to be in his late twenties. The researcher refrained from asking the participants about their age.
- **Participant Two:** originates from Congo, the participant was attending to a client when the researcher walked into the salon. After 15 minutes the interview commenced at 7am. The salon was large, in rectangular shape and accommodated 8 (eight) chairs. The salon was situated on the main road (Langalibalele Street) and the beginning of Theatre Lane. When the interview took place there was one South African woman who was tidying up the salon and readying it for the day. The participant was willing to share his opinions and answered the questions accordingly, his body language indicated comfortability and interest in the interview. It began as an interview and ended in a dialogue and conversation that yielded great results for the

study. The participant owned the salon. The participant was young, maybe in his twenties. However, portrayed a great understanding of the socio-economic factors within Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal Province.

- **Participant Three:** originates from Nigeria. The participant has a small four cornered shop that sold mainly hair products that ranged from hair extensions to hair relaxer. The shop owner had hired one South African woman to assist with the operations and the language barrier. However, the goods and products were mainly bought by South African hairdressers within that lane. He also answered to the best of his knowledge as well as shared some extra information about his plans. His body language expressed interest in the interview and comfortability. The participant shared that he and his brother were co-owners of the salon. This salon owner was young, estimated to be in his early thirties and had plans to further his studies in South Africa.
- **Participant Four:** originated from Nigeria. On the first day of interviews, the researcher approached this participant and was brushed off. However, the second day of interviews, the participant spotted the researcher from inside of his salon and called the researcher in to do the interview. The interview was conducted whilst he was attending to client. There was background noise during the interview. The salon was large and rectangular in shape. However, you could hear a generator running in the background and the salon was quiet dark. This participant shared that he hired 8 (eight) South African women in his salon. His body language showed anger and disappointment. This participant was very opinionated, however, this interview yielding great information of the experiences within Theatre Lane off Langalibalele Street. This participant was the owner of the salon and as stated above hired eight South African women. He was young (early thirties) and expressed interest in employment as well as furthering his studies.
- **Participant Five:** originated from Congo. His salon was large with eight seats in it. The salon consisted of both hair products and service stations. Only South African women were hired in the salon. The researcher observed two South African women in the salon during the interview. The interview was conducted outside to avoid disturbing operations. However, due to the interview being conducted on the walkway there were other disturbances such as people projecting during the interview. The participant was a well-known individual in the community as he shared his interest in assisting his community. His body language was friendly and welcoming. He shared

great interest in the interview and shared his opinions on sensitive topics (for example xenophobia). The participant co-owns the salon with his business partner. The participant was possibly in his early forties and had so much experience.

- **Participant Six:** originally from Ghana. The salon was a comfortable space that sold both hair and beauty products. Two chairs were being rented out to South African women. There was one South African and migrant employee in the salon. The participant was interested in the research being conducted and shared history on every question asked. He was the oldest of the participants interviewed, as he was one of the first three migrant owned hair salons in the area. This interview provided background to the research. His body language was comfortable and indicated a great interest. He co-owned the salon with his wife who was more experienced in the hair industry. However, he assisted with the operations and accounting issues in the salon. He was an elder (estimated to be in his sixties) as he migrated to Pietermaritzburg in 1996.
- **Participant Seven:** originally from Ghana. The salon was developed and had six chairs. The salon was self-sufficient and supplied the store with products instead of buying hair material on the arrival of a client. The participant's salon was the only hair salon out of the ten participants that had a social media following. The salon has a social media presence on Facebook and had a following of over 1,300 Facebook subscribers. The salon was a brand and highly developed as compared to the other participants' ones. The salon was situated further downtown of Langalibalele Street and was secluded from the other salons within the Pietermaritzburg CBD. South African women dominated the salon. The posts seen on Facebook attest to this statement. The participant's body language expressed that he was nervous and that he wanted the interview to go accordingly. He expressed that he was worried about the interview and did not want to mess up the interview, but he provided all the necessary information for the research. The researcher ensured that the participant was comfortable throughout the interview and utilised probing to allow the participant to speak freely. The participant was the sole owner of the salon and developed the brand on his own. He was young, possibly in his late twenties or early thirties, and he wished to grow further in his work.
- **Participant Eight:** originated from in Nigeria. The salon was divided into two sections. As you walked into the salon, the first room had a nail bar. As you walked further inside, there was a section that led into the hair salon. However, the section

was filled with hair products needed to conduct services within the salon. The participant was taking over his fathers' business. His body language expressed an inquisitive stance. The participant was not sure about what the research was about. However, upon explanation, the participant opened-up and participated in the interview with a knowledgeable conversation. He was hesitant, however, with the probing. Regardless, he provided insightful information for the research. As mentioned above he took over the salon from his father who relocated to the United Kingdom. He was young (late thirties) and had plans for his business and education.

- **Participant Nine:** originated from Nigeria. The salon was well developed and had six seats. The room was empty when the researcher walked in however, he was attending to virgin hair.²³ The participant shared that he only worked with virgin hair and the South African women that he employed attended to other hair demands and matters. His body language was quirky, and he engaged in banter during the interview. When interviewing the participant, it was known that he once attended to me when I requested the installing of virgin hair. He seems to be a professional in that sector. The participant shared that since he was a 'foreigner' in South Africa he registered the business with a South African national and later took over the salon. He was now the proud owner of the salon. He was young, possibly in his forties. However, he was experienced in the field as he stated that he has been doing this 'businesses for sixteen years.
- **Participant Ten:** originated from Congo. When the interview was being conducted the salon was full and all five chairs were occupied by clients. The salon did not exude elegance. However, it was the busiest salon that the researcher walked into. The participant stated that he only hired South African women due to an emotion towards people from Congo. His body language did not show much interest and he asked if he could not be recorded due to him fearing that he might get in trouble because of what he would say. His answers were very short and playful but indicated an issue with hiring individuals from his country of origin. He stated that he co-owned the salon with his brothers. His responses and attitude towards being approached and participating in the interview indicated that he was young, estimated to be in his early twenties.

²³ Virgin hair is hair that has not been treated with chemicals. It is human hair that gets transformed into a weave or a wig.

The above information was emphasised due the background it provided for the research. Although discussions during the interview were uncomfortable and touched on sensitive topics, essential information was discussed in each interview. The participant's attitudes and behaviours provided a backbone for the research at hand. Each participant had a similar point of view with regards to xenophobia. However, the reasons to hire South African women varied and this information was provided in the sections to follow. Attached below was the interview guide that consisted of semi-structured questions. The interview guide was a guideline for discussion during the interviews. Participants whose body language indicated comfortability, allowed the researcher to question and ask beyond the provided guidelines of the semi-structured questions which yielded information that contributed to research.

Participant One and Participant 10 body language showed the researcher that they were uncomfortable during the interviews. There was no flexibility during these interviews, even though probing was used to attempt participants to spur on, and it did not assist with yielding any extra information. The findings provided by the participant cannot be generalised amongst the greater population of African migrant hair salon owners. However, the findings sought out to portray the opinions and thoughts of the ten male participants interviewed, and yielding the information needed to conclude this study. The lack of generalisation of research amongst the population was seen by the researcher as a critique of the research. The inability to generalise the said findings to its respective population was seen as a limit to this research.

4.2 Reason for Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis was designated to this study. According to Gibson et al. (2009) thematic analysis is a process utilised to identify commonalities between codes and themes in qualitative data. In this study the qualitative data was in the form of ten (10) in-depth open-ended interviews and each interview was recorded with a voice recorder (provided on a smart phone). The choice of using a smart phone was due to accessibility. Once an interview was complete it was immediately sent to an email address and securing the audio file. From the voice recording audio files, transcribing took place of each audio interview and the analysis process took place thereafter. Reasoning behind the selection of the thematic analysis method and analysing manually instead of using a software, was due to the research design being qualitative in its nature, as well as attempting to avoid the repetition of responses in the interviews. As interviews were conducted, codes and links within the participants were meditating before the analysis process began. This made manual analysis vaguely easier to

conduct. If repetition occurred constantly, it would have posed a challenge to yield further research on the topic of migrant entrepreneurship and job creation in the hairdressing industry. Repetition of responses indicates an exhaustion within the population being studied. Although repetition of questions and responses was inevitable during the interview process. The topic being discussed was broad and affects all African migrants (xenophobia) within South Africa.

The data revealed a lot of commonalities or shared experiences that were drawn from the participant's responses but there were intricate differences that were identified as probing was used to grope the concepts being discussed. It was in these intricate details that the researcher had to personally analyse to fully understand and portray the views of the participant. In some intricacies found in the participants responses assisted in unveiling new knowledge on this topic and contributed to overall study in a positive light.

Succeeding thematic analyses step by step process assisted with the coding of commonalities in the interviews, as well as assisting in identifying the uncommon responses (intricacies) that contributed to the knowledge gap on this topic. The researcher had opted to manually code the data. The reasoning behind manually coding the data was due to the research topic being new and the researcher wanting to become familiar with the data, in correlation to Aronson's six step process of thematic analysis (Aronson, 1995) in conjunction with avoiding repetition within the study. The research paradigm for this study was based on an exploratory design and the aim of this study was to explore and gain an in-depth understanding of the data, in correspondence with understanding the African male migrant hair salon owners "subjective experience (du Plooy-Cilliers, Davis, Bezuidenhout (2014:173)" within the informal sector of the hairdressing industry. According to Neuman (2003:83) exploratory research is used when "the subject is new, we know little or nothing about it, and no one has yet explored it.... The goal with it is to formulate more precise questions that can be addressed in future research." Therefore, familiarization with the data and interpretation of the data, not only from a subjective level but as well as an objective level, is essential to grasp the concepts that have been provided and analysed. An internal and external understand of the phenomenon being explored was aimed to be achieved in this study. Kalitany and Visser (2010) provided a study on migrant entrepreneurship and job creation in the informal sector as a broad spectrum, this study aims to focus on hairdressing industry in a similar context.

4.2.1 Analysis Process

The analysis process is based on the Aronson (1995)²⁴ 'six steps to conduct thematic analyses. The research questions of the study served as the framework and/or structure for the analysis process. The analysis guidelines served as a framework to initiate the analysis process, due to it enabling the researching of data for vital key points and the main codes needed to answer the research questions, objectives and problem statement of this study. The analysis process was initiated in the following steps:

➤ **Step One: *Become Familiar with the Data***

Before interviews took place in Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal, the researcher had former knowledge about the subject matter being discussed which helped to guide the interview process, (Nowell, Norris, White and Moules, 2017). With prior knowledge on this topic, the researcher was intrigued by the provided responses. During interviews the researcher was consciously making notes on the subject matter before the orthodox analysis process began. As stated, the researcher had some familiarization on the subject matter which therefore led to probing and connecting responses to gain an in-depth understanding.

Once completion of transcribing occurred the researcher listened to the recordings again alongside reading the transcriptions line by line to ensure that not only qualitative data was recorded but as well as participant's attitudes, and body language due to difficult questions being asked during the interviews. From the recordings the change in tone as well as shift in comfortability during the interviews was observed. The intangible information provided by the participants plays the same role as the interviews provided and the researcher aimed to familiarize the data in a holistic manner.

➤ **Step Two: *Produce Codes***

This step was conducted firstly by printing and binding the transcriptions to allow easy access to data and flow in the analysis process. The researcher started the analysis stage by labelling essential points and opinions; words and phrases that were provided in the transcription paper. The codes that were noted were emphasized due to repetition in the transcripts in conjunction with relevance to the research. In some instances, the codes would unfold in a consecutive pattern, with each code relating to

²⁴ Aronson, J. (1995). A Pragmatic View of Thematic Analysis. *The Qualitative Report*, 2(1), 1-3. Retrieved from <https://nsuworks.nova.edu/tqr/vol2/iss1/3>

another. This manner gave a linear link towards each code and assisted with the development of themes. The provided codes are examined, which led to some codes being deleted as it served no relevance to the study and some codes were combined to create a better understanding of the information provided. From the examined codes the main codes were put into categories that were then assigned to the themes of the study. A coding template was not utilised during this process. The aim of the study was to explore the subject matter. To shed light on said subject matter, justification of codes on a template would not give way to exploration of new knowledge and understanding the phenomenon of African male migrant entrepreneurs and job creation within the hairdressing industry (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Although, leeway was issued during this step, examination occurred to ensure that the codes created were not off the topic of discussion.

➤ **Step Three: *Search for Themes***

The purpose of a theme is to link “substantial portions of data together (DeSantis & Ugarriza, 2000 cited in Nowell, et al., and 2017).” This step did not pose a challenge to the research, due to the premeditated interview guide questions which were derived from the research questions and research objectives. The codes derived (in step two) were in conjunction with the themes of this study and were deductively selected based on the research question and objectives (Boyatzis, 1998). The research questions and objectives were accumulated based on a knowledge gap in literature that current context provides, unfortunately to a certain extent. The process of analysing and transcription of data, resulted in the development of codes. Upon categorisation of each code, each code consequently fell into sequence with the research questions and objectives of this study. To avoid repetition of data and results the research questions and objectives were used as the basis of the themes; however, they were not similar. The correlation of the affiliated codes and the research questions occurred after step one and step two was conducted. King (2004) states that researchers should avoid using research questions as themes, however in this case the correlation occurred unintentionally.

➤ **Step Four: *Review Themes***

The researcher went over each theme resulting in no discarded or combined theme. However, codes in **Theme Four: Threats to Livelihood** were combined. Each research question (and objective) was refined in alignment with the codes provided in the analysis. However, the core message behind the research questions was not

discarded and were discussed later in a further stage in the study. The research questions were refined for the sake of the analysis process requirements.

➤ **Step Five: Naming and Defining of Themes**

I. Theme One: Push-and-Pull Factors for migration to Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal

Upon analysis of transcripts, participants of this study highlighted motives as to why migration to South Africa occurred, which have been numerous listed under literature context (socio-economic and political factors). However, the underlying motives as to why immigrants *migrate to specifically Pietermaritzburg* instead of other major 'tourist attraction' cities that draw immigrants, was not shared in literature provided. The research was based in Pietermaritzburg and literature on this subject area was based in the major cities.

II. Theme Two: Service Selection Motives

Kalitany and Visser (2010) listed occupations within the informal sector and the hairdressing industry is listed amongst them. However, hairdressing or hair is associated with females and speculated to be dominated by females in this industry. This study aimed to explore reasons for informal service selection by African male migrants in Pietermaritzburg, and why the hairdressing industry? What is the motive and rationalism behind choosing the hairdressing industry even though Pietermaritzburg has an influx of migrant owned hair salons?

III. Theme Three: Employment Preference and Strategies

Upon observation of the Pietermaritzburg central business district, the problem statement was constructed. The hypothesis (problem statement) of this study was based on empirical evidence that any lay man could witness. The observations were an African male migrant entrepreneur (at that time there was no confirmation of whether they were the owners of the hair salons or not) in a hair salon being operationalized by African Black South African women. This uniform in employment structure was displayed in neighbouring salons within the CBD of Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal. African hair styles are inspired by African American cultured hairstyles or traditional hairstyles from other African countries. How come these hairstyles are being conducted by South African women?

Bearing in mind that the hair salon owners are of ‘foreign’ origin, why do they hire South African women? Is it due to contractual issues or legitimizing their businesses within South Africa? What strategy is behind the employment of South African women instead of women from their country of origin?

IV. **Theme Four: Threats to Livelihoods**

African migrants in South Africa are faced with great pressure and troubles to sustain livelihoods. Xenophobia affects all African migrants in South Africa and going into the study this issue was bearing this in mind. It is an obvious threat towards migrant’s livelihoods not to mention their own lives in South Africa. The ideology of xenophobia is based on ‘immigrants stealing jobs. Results within this study and studies provided within the literature review, indicated that African immigrants within the informal sector of South Africa were creating jobs for South Africans. Other nationalities (for example the Chinese) were also hiring South African citizens to assist with the language barrier along with merging into their surrounding communities and areas. This theme attempted to underlie other contributing factors and/or threats towards migrants sustaining their livelihoods.

However, the aim of this theme was to identify hidden threats that African migrants face in this context. Besides xenophobia, what other challenges are affecting immigrants and what can be done about them?

- **Step Six: Write-Up** the researcher reported the interpreted data that related to the research question, literature and the themes, in the following section (Delahunt and Maguire, 2017).

The reason behind the research questions being the theme of the study was due to the premeditated questions that were formulated for this study. As the researcher began the coding process the codes fell in alignment with the research questions, as the questions were precise. The codes identified in the analysis are in conjunction with the research question. Once responses were coded, categorization was able to occur. Each code was listed under each question and categorised. In some instances, the categories would unfold one after the other in a chronological order. Some codes needed to be combined and others were discarded, those that were combined introduced a broader understanding to the theme. In this chapter there was a discussion on the information yielded from this study.

Ten (10) African male migrant hair salon owners were interviewed in Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal on Langalibalele Street. In-depth open-ended interviews was the tool that

yielded the respective results. The presentation and interpretation of data was conducted in the following order: firstly, the themes were addressed with the respective codes. Once the themes had been addressed there was an interpretation of results. The overall evaluation of the presented results was addressed after the above process.

4.3 Theme One: Push-and-Pull Factors for Migration

Participants were asked why they migrated to South African and did the participants specifically migrate to Pietermaritzburg, instead of the major ‘tourist attraction’ cities in South Africa. The results provided by the selected participants were hereto, referred to as the ‘push-and-pull factors’ that influenced migrants’ subjective motives for migrating to Pietermaritzburg KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. Push-and-pull factors such as economic, political and social, greatly influenced and effected emigrational motives for many migrants. These factors are amongst the logical reasons as to why migration occurs and are emphasized amongst numerous scholarly literatures.

The push-pull theory was developed by Lee (1966), where the author states that “migration flows towards areas that are believed to be more attractive and desirable for either economic or non-economic reasons through the interplay of push factors at the places of origin and pull factors at the places of destination.” Gebre (2007) statement on migration supports the fact that defining migration is a challenging task and there are many aspects to defining the core aspects of migration. However, economic factors are the common denominating factor amongst other pull factors (political and social). African male migrants would not have become entrepreneurs if there was no urgent economic need. The following factors pushed African male migrants from their country of origin and pulled them towards Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal Province. The results were as follows:

4.3.1. Social Factor:

Four of the ten participants shared the same social experience and motive for migrating to Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal. The participants expressed that migration was motivated due to family members residing in the destination country. The urge to join family members influenced the participant’s decisions to migrate to Pietermaritzburg, South Africa. Premeditated calculations of the destination country were based on social factors before any economic calculations were made (Todaro, 1976). Migration to the destination country may have contributed to and/or affected the process and exchange of remittance to their country of

origin. Remittance to their country of origin may have increased or decreased due to the participant migrating to Pietermaritzburg, South Africa.

Some participants expressed that their relatives have an operating business or hair salon in Pietermaritzburg within the informal sector and they managed or co-owned their family business. For example, Participant Three stated that, “I got into hairdressing because I’ve got a brother that went into it before I came here. So, there I got into hairdressing.”

4.3.1.1 Social Integration into the Informal Community and Sector

A subtheme to the theme of Social Migration was social integration into the informal sector. Some of the participant’s family members were involved in the informal sector. This meant that these family members were already socially integrated in the informal sector and the community there within. Providing the participants of this study an easy merge into the informal sector easier than the rest of the participants of this study. Serrie (1998), states that entrepreneurship help migrants in South Africa with social assimilation. For example, participant seven (7) shared that his sisters were in the hairdressing industry before he migrated to Pietermaritzburg. Participant eight (8) had a father in Pietermaritzburg, his father started off as a teacher but opened a salon before migrating to the United Kingdom. Both participants overtook the family business in a generational manner.

Khan (2011: 37) cites Vertovec (2002: 3) on the ‘social network theory’ and utilised this understanding of transnationalism and migration as a theoretical framework to understand migratory pull factors and networks of South Asian Muslim hair salon employees in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal. She further stated that a migrant’s social network is an essential factor that initiates migratory movement and that “migrants create networks (social relationships) which assists in finding jobs, accommodation, provision of economic and emotional support as well as social information (Vertovec: 2002).”

Participant Seven and Eight both had a social network provided before they migrated to KwaZulu-Natal. This provisional network allowed the participants to emerge into the informal sector and the hairdressing industry without any ‘challenges but rather introductions and continuation of operations.

Accommodation, employment and a support group were provided for the participants even before migration was premeditated. It was to their advantage to migrate and become employed whilst sustaining livelihood in PMB. Bott (1957) cited in Khan (2011: 38) further supports Khan (2011) argument and states that a social network is a concept to interpret the

transmission of information within the network. Having a family member already affiliated within the informal sector was to the participant's advantage.

4.3.2 Economic Factor:

The economic factor is indefinitely a pull factor for migration. Participants in this study were pulled to Pietermaritzburg in search of economic freedom from their country of origin or economic freedom in the sense of sustaining livelihood, within the destination country. The participants expressed that they each took premeditated calculated risks to migrate to Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal Province. For example, participant Six migrated to Pietermaritzburg from Nigeria (although originally from Ghana) to teach mathematics and physics in the Transkei, Eastern Cape. The participant further shared that they eventually migrated to Pietermaritzburg because of their kids. The participant was told that PMB has good and affordable schools and would be suitable for his wife and him to raise their family.

Participant seven indicated that he had skills that did not accommodate the environment that he previously resided in. He stated that the financial return for his skills was not beneficial to him. Therefore, he migrated to Pietermaritzburg to utilise his hairdressing skills to earn a sustainable income. He stated that Pietermaritzburg has a larger population than the township of Manfred in the Eastern Cape. Participant Seven viewed the Pietermaritzburg hairdressing industry more lucrative and accommodating to his skills that he has obtained. Participant Nine shared similar views, this participant migrated to Johannesburg, Gauteng first but discovered that the Pietermaritzburg's market to be more lucrative for his skills than the Johannesburg market. Participant Nine further stated that Johannesburg was "overcrowded and had a lot of competition." Upon analysis of the ten participant's responses, there were two participants that migrated from their country of origin to Eastern Cape and then settled in PMB. Both stated that PMB had a lucrative hairdressing market and that PMB was financially affordable.

Migratory motives provided by the participants correlated with the theoretical framework provided by Todaro's (1976) 'economic theory of migration.' The economic theory of migration perceives migration as a "resource distribution of labour (Todaro, 1976)." Participants in this study migrated to South Africa, and eventually Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal Province due to their calculations and perceptions of the destination country alongside the economic opportunities (in the formal and informal sector) that the destination country provided. One participant of this study shared that they had family members who

have infiltrated the informal labour market in Pietermaritzburg, allowing them to merge in with the family alliances and businesses.

4.3.3 Political Factor:

Participant two (2) was from the Democratic Republic of Congo and he stated that he was running away from political issues such as family issues, and war in his country. The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) is known for spontaneous violent attacks of war in the country. Participant Two was the only participant who experienced one of the three push factors, the political push factor. However, he did not share into detail but rather brushed the surface that he was affected by national political conflict.

4.3.4 Psychological Factor:

Except for economic advances (lucrative markets), social benefits (being closer to family members) and political peace (national or inter-family relations) as pull factors, some participants have expressed that their choice in migrating to Pietermaritzburg was due to their perceptions on the City of Choice of being a ‘peaceful’ and ‘cool’ place. Participants have migrated for reasons such as social, political and economic agendas. However, this study has identified that migrants are motivated to migrate from their country of origin to the destination country that is perceived as a peace of mind or a place where one may obtain inner peace²⁵ with themselves and their surroundings. PMB is a ‘cool’ place that provides a sense of comfort. Participant’s body language when asked this question indicated that mental wellness was a defining factor for migration. There was a cognitive and intra-personal calculation that led to migration.

4.3.5 Educational:

Two out of the ten (10) participants shared that they migrated to South Africa in search of trying to further and/or continue their studies. However, Participant Four shared that he migrated to Pretoria, Gauteng expecting to further his studies. However, he fell short of finances and also stated that tertiary institutions in South Africa do not provide African migrants with financial assistance. This was an issue with the education system within South Africa. However, this aspect was not be discussed further in this study. Participant Three shared that he was a Physics graduate and aimed to further his studies in South Africa. He

²⁵ Inner Peace or Personal Peacefulness defined as, “peaceful states, attitudes, and behaviors of individuals”. Sims, Gregory & Nelson, Linden & Puopolo, Mindy. (2014). Personal Peacefulness: Psychological Perspectives. 10.1007/978-1-4614-9366-2.

also shared that there were job offers that awaited him however, he needed to sort some of his business out first.

Socio-economic and political factors are all influences of migration. Each factor holds great value as to why one would migrate as well as where one should migrate to. However, this study revealed that socio-economic factors were not the only deciding factors that migrants consider. An environment of peace was also a factor that migrants sought after before migrating to a country. Psychologically migrants would perceive the destination country to provide them a state of mind of peace rather than stress and conflict. Another revealing factor was education. Migrants migrate to their destination countries in hope of furthering their studies. However, facing many challenges with finances being the major deciding factor affects their livelihood choices. The psychological and educational factor refuted this research theoretical framework provided by Todaro (1996).

4.4 Theme Two: Service Selection Motives

The informal sector in South Africa has a variety of services to select from, ranging from panel beating to the textile industry. However, in Pietermaritzburg the hairdressing industry was perceived to be the most lucrative industry amongst the participants of this study. The Pietermaritzburg central business district was dominated with African migrant hair salon owners, under the ownership of males. This observation led to this studies research question of, “why do African male migrants choose the hairdressing industry in Pietermaritzburg?” The participants of this study expressed and provided numerous motives. Their responses were coded into three categories such as: **Survival:** sustaining livelihood, **Generational:** taking over family business, and **Adaption:** adapting to their surroundings. The identified codes led to the theme of **service selection motives**.

Literature provided on this specific context was very scarce and did not provide reasons as to why African male migrants choose the hairdressing industry in Pietermaritzburg, South Africa. Reasons as to why African male migrants choose the hairdressing industry in South Africa were not discussed greatly in literature and this was the knowledge gap that this research attempted to fill in. However, the DHET and the Service SETA stated that the informal hairdressing sector lacks regulations and therefore easier to become an active member in this industry. The lack of regulations applies to all industries within the informal sector. The hairdressing industries informal sector is larger than the formal sector and that may be a reason as to why (DHET and Service SETA, 2018). One of the key insights

provided by the above-mentioned research is that qualifications are also not required for the informal hairdressing sector, which allows African migrant entrepreneurs to operate within the hairdressing sector without any formal qualifications. However, Participant Seven shared that he had acquired certificates within his field, but the other nine participants did not share the same view.

The information and knowledge offered by the participants of this research provided an insight on African migrant's motives behind their choice of service selection within a South African context. Kalitany and Visser (2010) provided a similar study on how migrant immigrants take part in a handful selection of activities of SMME's, 'operating hairdressing salons' is one of the activities that is mentioned. This study, by the above-mentioned authors, support this dissertations argument that African migrants who operate in the informal sector provide jobs for South African citizens due to various reasons, for example hiring South African women assists with breaking down the language barriers. The presentation of data and discussion of analysed codes and themes, that this study yielded were discussed next.

4.4.1 Survival: sustaining livelihood

Serrie (1998) states that migrant entrepreneur's value entrepreneurship due to the assistance it provides with economic and social assimilation within their destination countries and intricate communities. Participant Four stated that he came to South African in search of employment and started applying for jobs online. However, he was not able to secure employment and experienced discrimination due to him being a 'foreign' national (immigrant). This participant chose the hairdressing industry because he needed to... "survive, so I just threw my certificates...I have never touched anybody's head before, I have never." The hairdressing industry provided a means to generate an income and sustain livelihoods in Pietermaritzburg, South Africa. Participant Four continued to say that his "survival instincts" developed in a desperation and urgency to meet his needs, as a man he needed to make provision. He concluded by saying that "I start everything here; I start this salon of a thing here in South Africa because you have to be a man...you have to make your own plan."

Brixy et al. (2013) shared that the odds are against African migrants in South Africa when it comes to employment and entrepreneurship assists with providing migrants with a means to sustain livelihoods within their destination country. In this study the hairdressing industry was perceived to be a tool for African male migrants in Pietermaritzburg to generate and

sustain an income. Participant Five shared the same views and shared that there were no jobs when he first migrated to South Africa and since employment was scarce, he started a company (hair salon). Participant Five continued sharing that he started a hair salon due to his demands of rent (residential property).

The hairdressing industry in the informal sector has provided African male migrants with a means to sustain livelihood in Pietermaritzburg. African migrants are compelled to join the informal sector upon migration due to the odds of employment mounting against them. According to the Human Rights Watch (1998), before democracy in South Africa African migrants were hired during the development of the Industrial Revolution due to the cheap labour and misguidance and/or advantage that they provided to capitalist owned companies. However, due to the workplace changes and globalisation and capitalism it is hard for African migrants to find employment and the informal sector provided a means for sustainability.

4.4.2 Generational: taking over the family business

Some participants expressed that they were only in Pietermaritzburg, Kwa-Zulu Natal Province due to their obligation of taking part in their family business. African communities in the destination country (diaspora) tend to stick together and support one another's endeavours. As mentioned in theme one: push and pull factors, the social aspect of migration has influenced both migration destination and in this case choice in service selection. According to Khan (2011), a social network assists with merging into the communities that a migrant has migrated to. Some participants explained that they migrated to Pietermaritzburg due to a family relative residing in the city already. Upon further discussion with the participants in the interview, they specified how they started to manage, join or even take over a family business in the hairdressing industry. For example, Participant Three stated how he immediately went into the hairdressing industry upon migration. His brother owned a hair salon and he came to Pietermaritzburg from Nigeria to co-own and manage the business. Even though this participant migrated to South Africa with the qualifications of an Applied Physics Bachelor's Degree, he was now operating a hairdressing salon. Participant Seven also shared a similar encounter, he took over his sisters' business when he migrated to Eastern Cape Province, South Africa. He stated that they were not doing well in business and he decided to take over the business due to it being his passion in life as well as the skills that he obtained.

Participant Eight shared that his father first migrated to Pietermaritzburg as a teacher and opened a hair salon. Upon his migration to Pietermaritzburg, he joined the hairdressing industry immediately due to his father migrating to the United Kingdom to continue his teaching career. He also stated that he desired to work overseas but he had to settle with continuing his fathers' business. Participant Ten migrated to Pietermaritzburg due to his brothers owning a hair salon. He tried to make a living in the City of Durban, but he could not make or save any money. He moved back to Pietermaritzburg to manage his brothers' salon.

If African male migrants were migrating to Pietermaritzburg to take over family businesses, does the issue of remittance change? Africans' migrants migrate to South Africa in search of economic freedom. Once a form of sustainable income is achieved migrants would take part in remittance. Either remittance²⁶ of sustaining livelihood of family members in their country of origin, or remittance in the form of supporting their family businesses. Participants in this study have raised a question for further studies. None of the participants shared any information on family members in their country of origin. The transaction of monetary assistance to family members in their country of origin was not discussed during the interviews and this may indicate a criticism of this study however, this topic can be referred as a recommendation for further studies on remittance.

The motion of bringing family members into the destination country to assist with an operational business, is the mind-set that is being adopted by family members. This study has revealed that a generational mind-set is being adopted by African male migrant's hair salon owners. Family members are passing down their businesses to family members and sustaining livelihood across generations to come. In doing so, migrants transfer their know-how, network, business mind-set and skills to family members or friends living in the destination country and this knowledge can then be utilised by individuals or households in their country of origin and extended family.

4.4.3 Adaption: adapting to their surroundings

Social assimilation is an essential factor towards survival within South Africa (Khan, 2011). One needs to learn how to speak the language and learn the culture of their surrounding

²⁶ "Remittance have significant welfare impacts on countries with large out-migration, for example Jamaica and El Salvador, (Giovanni et. al., 2014), although this is more the case when low-skilled individuals migrate than in the case of higher skilled migrants, who tend to remit less in per capita terms than low-skilled migrants (Adams, 2009). Remittances can also facilitate increases in household spending on education, health services and savings and investments".

communities. Upon analysis of data, some of the participant's responses indicated the expression of 'adapting to their surroundings' to sustain livelihood in South Africa as a commonality. Participant One indicated that upon migrating to South Africa the first activity and/or skill he took was a day labour as a painter, however he was forced to adapt to his surroundings and learn the skills and trade of the hairdressing industry. Participant Two shared a similar view and stated that in Congo (country of origin) he was studying and generating an income through hairdressing, however upon migrating to South Africa his studies could not help him to sustain livelihoods and the only skill he obtained was in the hairdressing industry. Therefore, he decided to permanently stay in the hairdressing industry due to him knowing such skills.

Participant Six provided a perspective of a prolonged adaption to one's surroundings. He entered the hairdressing industry initially for his wife, who migrated to be with him in the Transkei, Eastern Cape Province. The business was for his wife to "while away her time." However, upon migrating to Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal he and his wife opened a salon as well due to it being the "easiest businesses to get into" and due to him retiring, he still needed to sustain his family's needs. He decided to remain within the hairdressing industry to meet the demands of his everyday life. Participant Six was forced to adapt to his current lifestyle to ensure that a system of sustainability may be kept.

Upon migration to South Africa, Participant Seven and Participant Nine both came to into their destination country with a specific skill set and adopted those skills into the informal sector (hairdressing industry). Participant Seven migrated to South Africa and took over his sister's hair salon due to him being "hair talented and having the skills" required to develop a successful hair salon. The participant expressed that he has a passion for hair and was the only participant that had multiple certificates to indicate his professionalism with African hair and African hair products. Knowing his strengths and weaknesses made it easier for this participant to adapt to his surroundings and ensure maximum benefits from his activity choice. Participant Nine had a similar experience as Participant Seven. He stated that he also entered the hairdressing industry upon migration, and he has been in this profession for over 16 (sixteen) years and he was not "comfortable to move to another job." He had a skill set that would allow him to adapt to the profession that allowed him to express and showcase his skills. Both Participant Seven and Nine both shared that they started in this informal sector as an employee. However, over the years they were able to turn their skills into a profession and make them name worthy hair experts in Pietermaritzburg. The main factor was comfortability

in the niche that Participant Seven and Nine, to the extent that a change in service selection would pose as a challenge for them.

4.5 Theme Three: Reasons for Employee Preference

Ethnicity and nationalism are the bonds that uniquely tie South Africa. Mentioned in the Literature Review, Bekker (1996) claimed that upon analysing South Africa's history, ethnicity and nationalism is defined through political and social movements. Ethnic ties in South Africa can be linked to birth, blood and marriage. A common issue that migrants have apart from ethnicity and nationalism, is language, which is associated with social assimilation. The majority of the population in KwaZulu-Natal Province, South Africa speak isiZulu, apart from those who speak other of the eleven official languages in South Africa due to internal (provincial) migration. With the most obvious obstacle that all African migrants face when migrating to South Africa, language barriers were an essential issue that needs resolution to succeed in any business in Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal Province. This argument and analysis led to the third theme of this study, **preference in employee by African male migrant hair salon owners**. The following codes were derived from the context provided: **language barrier, unemployment, peacebuilding, cost-efficient and neutral**.

4.5.1 Language Barriers:

Wiberg (1994) claims that language shapes a certain identity, therefore a migrant national's language in South Africa already shapes and classifies them as an outsider and being part of the 'out-group.' Two of the ten participant shared that they only hired South African women within their hair salons due to the language barrier that they faced. Participant Seven stated that the South African women (employees) in his salon were his interpreters between him and his clients, when he first migrated to South Africa. He was unable to speak isiZulu, however over the years he learnt the language and could speak fluently and assist his clients. The South African women in his salon provided an essential service, by breaking the communication barriers between client and service provider. Participant Seven was ensuring that all his client's needs were met and at the end of the session, he would be able to obtain the greatest goal of a satisfied client who would return in conjunction with profits for that day. Participant Nine also shared the same opinion and stated that some clients did not speak English and his South African employees would be able to assist with communication and explain to him his client's request.

Language barriers was one of the obvious reasons as to why African migrants hire South African nationals within their hair salons. Communication is an essential aspect to all businesses and reasons as to why so many businesses have a customer care service line. The exchange between the consumer and service provider is expected to be dealt with such elegance and attention to ensure that the same clients or customers would come back to receive the same service. Without communication the exchange between consumer and service provider cannot exist.

4.5.2 Unemployment:

Three out of the ten participants were able to observe and analyse the socio-economic and political issues within the South African context. From this analysis they were able to conclude that Black South African women were amongst the unemployed and suffer a great disadvantage, more than those who are employing that the Black male South African in Pietermaritzburg. Unemployment in South Africa is at a high of 29.1% (Stats SA, 2019). However, when asked if participants were to choose between hiring a South African woman or a woman from their country of origin, Participant Two, Three and Four shared the following views on this comparison.

Participant Two stated that he preferred to work with South African women because “most of them don’t have work.” He also shared that those migrant women from Congo (he referred to them as “home girls”) within the hairdressing industry would only work for themselves and did not want to be managed by somebody else. Therefore, hiring South African women was perceived to be more satisfactory than migrant women in Pietermaritzburg. Participant Three further supported this statement and shared that he felt like he was assisting the unemployment issue in South Africa by hiring South African women. Participant Four was able to provide some figures and indicated a ratio of South African women to male African migrant hair salon owners. He stated that “one foreigner would employ at least five to six South African women.... Me, I have eight women working for me.” According to this participant there was assumed to be a ratio of 1:6 as the minimum of South African women in male African hair salons.

The statement provided by Participant Four, supported the observation made by the researcher, which assisted in identifying the research problem statement and basis of this dissertation research topic. Participant Four provided a social analysis and aspect to this research because he was able to state further that the supply for jobs did not exceed the demand in South Africa. He believed that by hiring South African women in his salon he was

“reducing the poverty rate.” Participant Four believes that no matter the size of his contribution he was assisting with reducing the socio-economic imbalance in South Africa.

4.5.3 Peacebuilding:

The social setting in South Africa between African migrants and South African citizens results in the conflicts between the “in-group” and the “out-group.”²⁷ The clash of conflict between these two groups has resulted in fatality and bloodshed in the past. Xenophobia in South Africa has resulted in an international media spread of the clash of groups. Social assimilation with the in-group is perceived as an essential aspect for African migrants. Participant Five and Nine both expressed their concerns of disturbing the perceived peace and norm in the Pietermaritzburg labour market and hairdressing industry. Participant Five expressed that, “in order to keep those eyes away...we rather employ them (South African women) to help them earn a living.” He further portrayed a sense of unity and a “one Africa” that involved a sense of brother and sisterhood, Ubuntu.

Participant Six was the oldest hair salon owner amongst the ten participants. He shared that in 1996, there were only three (including Participant Six) migrant hair salons on Theatre Lane, Langalibalele Street. The setting in 1996 was mainly “South African or Zulu girl(s)” employees and not many African migrant women. To maintain the status quo Participant Six hired South African women with the understanding of the unemployment issue in Pietermaritzburg amongst women. Participant Nine also shared a similar view, however, with an understanding that he was a part of the ‘out-group’ in South Africa. To “keep the peace”, as a migrant he said he felt compelled and inclined to hire South African women in his hair salons due to the existing environment on Langalibalele Street.

One can observe the operations on Langalibalele Street as you walk down the street. However, even though there was evidence of job creation (employment), xenophobia still occurred in this area. African migrant entrepreneurs were taking pre-cautionary measures and analysing situations and settings in the Pietermaritzburg central business district. Despite facing the consequences of their choice of migration destination and choice in service to sustain livelihood, majority of hair salons in this environment are owned by African migrants.

²⁷ ”. Gordon (2015) further explains that when there is a national crisis mainly an economic crisis the in-group of the country (i.e. South African citizens) will start to evaluate their environment and see how the threats of the out-group (i.e. migrant immigrants) will influence the outcome of this crisis.

Male African migrants had developed a strategy to maintain operations and uphold the status quo within the hairdressing industry in Pietermaritzburg.

The strategy was developed to take focus away from their operations due to the social setting that was developed. The aim of employment preference was not necessarily a strategy against migratory issues and municipal regulations but rather South African citizens who may think of them as ‘other.’ Their preference in employment serves as a defence mechanism to not break the norm as well as defend them against the obvious association with the ‘out-group.’

4.5.4 Cost-Efficient:

Cheap Labour in South Africa is associated with African migrant workers. The development of the Industrial Era in South Africa led to an influx of African migrants within the labour market. The first xenophobic attack in 1995 (Human Rights Watch, 1998) was caused by this sudden influx of African migrants being employed to work on mines, farms, construction sites etc. However, within the informal sector in South Africa there was a reversal in roles. Participants of this study shared that it is cheaper to hire a South African woman in the hairdressing industry than migrants. According to Kalitany and Visser (2010), it is more expensive for a migrant to hire a fellow migrant because they have higher charges or rates.

There is a popular local term amongst hair salon owners, which is “rent-a-seat.” To “rent-a-seat”, means that someone may come into your salon and rent out a salon space (chair, mirror, cupboard space, as well as access to water and electricity) and be their own entity, separate from the daily operations of the salon. A sense of a macro and micro-operations under one umbrella. The terms and conditions of rent-a-seat between the salon owner and entrepreneur were that the entrepreneur allowed to service her own clients within the salon. However, even though a separate entity within the hair salon the entrepreneur was obliged to pay a monthly fee which includes utilities. The entrepreneur in this setting must supply his or her own hair products (shampoo, relaxer, hair food etc.). Participant Six shared that they hired South African women due to the “rent-a-seat” concept. This concept assisted with paying the salons monthly rental, excluding the other expenses that occurred. In conjunction with allowing separate entities to exist in his salon, the responsibility and stress of having many employees was cut due to the micro-managing style that was adopted to co-exist.

Participant Nine shared the same opinion and explained that the cost of bringing someone from his country of origin did not make sense, and it was more cost efficient to hire “someone form here (Kalitany and Visser, 2010).” Migration to Pietermaritzburg and the

development of the hair salon was due to the search of economic freedom to sustain livelihood. A calculated premeditated risk was considered and resulted in the above-mentioned response by participants. Michael Todaro (1979) coined the economic theory of migration. He explains that the pull factor of migration is associated with economic fulfilment. It is assumed to be a reversal in the informal sector due to African migrants hiring South African women due to cost-efficiency. The mind-set was to increase profits and decrease losses at all costs, this is in conjunction with the world capital theory. Participant Ten enlightened the issue of migrants expecting a higher wage than South African employees because they have “too much pride” and would not like to work under someone who comes from their country of origin.

4.5.5 Neutral

All the participants under this code expressed that they did not have a preference, however, employment was mainly based on the skills that one portrayed. Participant One shared that it was an equal opportunity and it was solely based on if the potential employee exceeds the service provided. Participant Six also shared the same view. He stated that the potential employee would undergo a test conducted by his wife, who was more knowledgeable of the hair trade. In the scenario where the potential employee had provided the necessary skills needed, his wife would employ the candidate. Participant Seven discussed that there was a sense of equality when in terms of hiring potential employees. He did not have a certain preference but rather a standard, when it comes to a differentiation between migrants and nationals. A preference on ‘who can do the job better.’ Participant Eight stated that employment was based on the experience and knowledge about hair that one obtained. Participant Eight further stated that, “the people that did know how to do hair, the majority that you know they were from South Africa.”

The above responses provided by the participants, developed this theme. The responses ranged from socio-economic and political factors to maintaining the status quo to ensure one’s safety and achieve social assimilation within the Pietermaritzburg community. However, amongst all these strategies used by African hair salon owners they were still faced with the challenge of xenophobia. When asked if the participants believed that they were creating jobs, the majority expressed with great confidence that they were providing jobs and helping “reduce the poverty rate (Participant Four).” Upon analysis, in some cases the hair salon owners expressed how they upskilled their South African employees. The South

African women nationals were taught customer care and etiquette (to ensure the return of clientele), as well as how to master their hair skills and turn it into a profession. The set skills that hair salon owners were in search of were:

1. **Relaxer:** “a hair relaxer is a lotion or cream that makes the hair easier to straighten and manage. It reduces the curl by breaking down the hair strand and chemically altering the texture²⁸ (Greene, 2018).”
2. **Set:** “A wet set is a method of styling black hair immediately following a shampoo and conditioning session, while the hair is still wet. Also known as a "roller set" or a "wash and set," a wet set can either create curls or straighten hair, depending on the tools you decide to use. Rollers of various sizes are often used to curl the hair slightly or create a gentle curl or "bump" on the ends while providing volume. People also use straws for "straw sets" on wet hair. The same people might also use small rollers or perm rods to create small ringlets. Setting lotion or mousse is used to hold the style²⁹, (Sandeem, 2020).”
3. **Straight Up or Straight Back:** “Cornrow looks are a type of flat plait that originates from Africa and the Caribbean. The name comes from their appearance, similar to rows of cane or corn³⁰ (All Things Hair, 2018).”
4. **Braid:** “Braiding started in Africa with the Himba people of Namibia...These people have been braiding their hair for centuries. In many African tribes, braided hairstyles were a unique way to identify each tribe. Braid patterns and hairstyles were an indication of a person’s tribe, age, marital status, wealth, power, and religion³¹ (Allen: 2019).”
5. **Installation of Weaves and Wigs:** “A weave is an artificial or natural hair extension that is fixed into human hair by sewing, gluing or clipping. Weaves originated in Egypt around 3400 BC where people dyed human hair or sheep wool and attached it to their heads with resin or beeswax. Cleopatra was noted in the ancient world for her peacock blue weave³²(Staff: 2018).”

²⁸ <https://www.naturallycurly.com/curlreading/transitioning/hair-relaxers-what-you-should-know> (Accessed on 5/12/2020)

²⁹<https://www.byrdie.com/wet-set-definition-and-tips-for-setting-black-hair-400259#:~:text=Antoinette%20Gentile%20%2F%20EyeEm%20%2F%20Getty%20Images,tools%20you%20decide%20to%20use.>

³⁰ <https://www.allthingshair.com/en-us/hairstyles-haircuts/braids/cornrows-basics/>

³¹ <https://www.byrdie.com/history-of-braids>

³² <https://un-ruly.com/weaves-101-everything-need-know-weaves/>

If the potential employee was tested, the above-mentioned hairdos were the basic skills that they would be required to know upon arrival. The tests were also based on the client's needs for the day. If the candidate was not able to provide the desired set of skills, there was no chance of employment. However, in some cases they would hire and attempt to teach and upskill their employees. They would also be given the jobs of shampooing clients hair and blow drying the hair (preparations for hair style). The DHET and Service SETA stated that only 4% (four percent) of the total sample learnt a skill on the job. Participants shared that when they hire South African women within their salons, they have the responsibility of upskilling their employees. However, once the employee is upskilled the participants are at risk of losing their skilled personnel. This was due to the South African women leaving their salons and operating somewhere else. Participant Eight shared that it was in fact the South African women who now know how to do hair better than African migrant women. However, the majority shared the former statement.

Not only were African male migrants supplying jobs in the informal sector, but they were also training and upskilling women South African nationals, to obtain an essential skill that they may utilise as a trade. To a certain extent one can rationally conclude that African migrants were creating jobs in the hairdressing industry for South African nationals, especially women. South African women were obtaining a certain level of skill to an extent that they would leave their positions in migrant hair salons and start working for themselves due to skills that they were able to achieve and, in some instances, to seek for a better source of income.

4.6 Theme Four: Present or Future Threats

Male African migrant hair salon owners were asked if they have experienced any threats, and/or can predict any future threats. Each participant was faced with a challenge of discussing xenophobia openly and in a public area that is highly affected by this ideology. The present and future threat of xenophobia was a commonality amongst nine of the ten participants. Participant Ten was hesitant and his body language indicated great discomfort when he was asked to discuss xenophobia. Participant Ten was also hesitant to have his interview recorded due to the fear of "getting in trouble." One of the challenges whilst conducting the interviews was introducing the topic of xenophobia due to all participants being affected by it. It was not an openly discussed issue in these areas of business. The end goal of each interview was to provide a platform for the participant to openly share their

opinions about xenophobia as well as create an environment of confidentiality and anonymity. Apart from xenophobia the following codes were derived for this theme: **inexperience, harassment/assault, immigration officials, exploitation, laziness, CCMA, competition and lastly xenophobia.**

4.6.1 Inexperience:

The participants mentioned the issue and risk of employing inexperienced employees within their hair salons. In such cases, the salon owners had the responsibility to train and upskill their South African women employees to ensure the goal of surplus and satisfied returning customers was exceeded. In the process of training and upskilling of employees, the African migrant hair salon owners were at a risk of losing business and decrease of clientele. However, even though South African women were employed, although inexperienced, the migrant hair salon owners were still employing and upskilling them. Once they had acquired a skill that could be turned into a profession, they would leave and manage themselves on a “rent-a-seat” basis, within another or neighbouring salon. The employers would suffer a great loss as they have shortage of employees and month end turnover were not met, due to unsatisfied customers. Participant Six stated that there are “no written tests” to test a candidate’s potential and one was only judged upon the skills illustrated on the day. Therefore, it was a high risk to hire a South African woman due to uncertainty of what skills they might obtain. On the day the South African woman walks into the salon looking for employment she was only tested based on the request of the walk-in client’s needs for that day and not across a variety of skills.

Participant Seven further clarified that the responsibility of training and upskilling unskilled employees was a strenuous task to do. Participants understood the dynamics of the supply and demand market within the hairdressing industry. They were also aware of that one client’s bad experience would lead to the loss in profits.

4.6.2 Harassment/Assault:

A current threat that salon owners in the central business district of Pietermaritzburg experience is harassment or assault from the general public. This harassment or assault does not fall under the term xenophobia due to it being conducted by singular individuals based on monetary motives. Participant Seven shared an experience of harassment and assault when he was alone in the salon attending to client after hours. This is an occurrence that may happen daily, a client would request to come and receive service after hours once they were done

with their workday. He could then be approached and assaulted for money. A salon is an intimate space and is not constantly kept secured or watched (security guards). Therefore, salon owners are exposed to the threat of being robbed or attacked. Participant Two, Participant Three and Participant Seven all expressed their experiences of being taken advantaged in their salons in the beginning of the day before the salon opens or after hours in the night (the salon may close the latest at 7pm). Participant Two shared that he was having issues with street kids who would harass him and complain about how he was making money.

The salon is known space to have an exchange of services for a monetary reward. Cash up and movement of the daily earnings is only conducted at the end of the day when the salon closes. However, some salon owners shared that they would transfer a certain amount of money during the day whilst the salon was open and busy so that the owners would not be attacked and have their cash stolen and suffer great losses.

4.6.3 Immigration Officials:

According to the Department of Home Affairs, migrants who migrate to South Africa must apply for a permit or visa in order to enter the country. Without these documents, a migrant may face deportation from the country. African migrant hair salon owners must ensure that they have a permit or visa as well as a business registration number, registered by Companies and Intellectual Property Commission (CIPC) to conduct business and employ employees within their hair salon, within the Pietermaritzburg central business district. Immigration officials pose a great threat towards migrants and migrant business owners by unexpected visits at their places of business. Some participants recalled immigrant officials walking around the central business district, escorted by police officers asking migrants for their documents (permits or visas and business registration). Participant Six registered his business in 1996 when he first migrated to Pietermaritzburg. However, he further discussed that as time passed the requirements for legalizing a hair salon changed and the previous valid documentation that he obtained expired without any warning. The immigrant officials were an indication that new documentation was required for a hair salon. Participant Six further shared that the municipality has asked migrant entrepreneurs within the Pietermaritzburg central business to fill out forms and submit them to the office at the Mahatma Gandhi Building, however no further action was taken once his forms were submitted. He recalls that it had been two years since he had submitted his forms.

4.6.4 Exploitation:

Under the sub-heading Inexperience (4.6.1) there was a scenario painted by Participant Six and Participant Seven. African migrant hair salon owners faced the possibility of exploitation by South African employees. South African women were offered training to perfect and expand their skills and knowledge pertaining to hair by their employers. Once a certain amount of knowledge was acquired from their employees, they could make the decision of leaving their employers and start their own businesses. In some cases, employees would leave their employers and “rent-a-seat” in a salon nearby their previous employers, creating competition within the marketplace.

Participant Four shed light on corporate exploitation between the hair salon owners and their landlords. The space that Participant Four was occupying was rented out at the price of R10 000.00 (ten thousand) per month. However, there had been no electricity or water in the hair salon for the past seven months. Whilst conducting the interviews the environment was polluted by the sound of generators being run. Timber Lane, off Langalibalele Street had suffered without electricity and water for the months mentioned above. However, the migrant entrepreneurs had found a way to survive and continue operation.

Another form of exploitation that African migrant hair salon owners faced was the concept of “rent-a-seat.” This allowed South African women to operate within an operational salon separate from the procedures of the salon. There was no formal agreement or contract that distinguished the guidelines between the “rent-a-seat” candidate and the owner of the salon but a verbal agreement. This allowed the candidate that “rents-a-seat” to operate on his or her own terms. However, what was discussed was the monthly rent that was expected. This opened a door of confusion pertaining to dividing clients, as stated by Participant Six. He further shared that temporary or permanent employees did not want to sign contracts. He assumed that this could be due to wanting to be accountable or tied down to one situation, leaving room for opportunities to start their own business or salons and “rent-a-seat” in a different salon in the future. Participant Four, stated that “the problem was that once they become able to do it on their own (hair skills) they believe they are too much, but it also depends on the person.”

4.6.4.1 Hair on Credit:

Participant Nine was the only participant that shared the dynamics of the monetary exchange relationship within the hairdressing industry. The usual casual exchange between a service

provider and customer entails a monetary exchange towards the end of the transaction. The same exchange applies within the hairdressing industry. However, in some instances some of Participant Nines clients asked for their hair to be done on credit. A client would ask if the hair stylist could draft a payment plan to pay off the services for the day. Participant Nine further shared that in some instances the client would not share this ‘payment plan’ until he had finished styling the clients hair. Which would then put him in a difficult position, forcing his hand to allow the client to leave without paying. It was these customers, he shared that do not end up paying for their hair and service in the future.

4.6.5 Laziness:

Any business owner or leader understands that it is essential to have employees that share the same passion and vision in business, to achieve organizational objectives. Three out of ten described South African women within the hairdressing industry as lazy. Participant Five shared that South African women are unreliable and that they can neglect their employment responsibilities to go drinking. Participant Seven stated that “they do not want to work hard but only know how to work hard when it is about money.” He further stated that they were not humble enough to be taught correctly. Participant Eight shared the following: “...some of the girls, that work with us are very lazy; they don’t like to come to work early and when you talk to them, they say ‘hai, we’re going to call their brothers or whatever.’”

Employee’s attitude towards their work or business is a crucial aspect for the success of the business. The supply and demand dynamics in the hairdressing industry is greatly dependent on a “pleasant experience”, for the customer to return to the salon again.

4.6.6 CCMA:

Two participants out of ten mentioned the issue of the Commission of Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration (CCMA). CCMA, “...is a dispute resolution body established in terms of the Labour Relations Act, 66 of 1995 (LRA). It is an independent body, does not belong to and is not controlled by any political party, trade union or business.”³³ Participants Seven initially had verbal agreements between himself and his employees. He changed to a contractual semi-formal agreement with his employees due to him involuntarily hiring inexperienced persons. Upon realizing that the hired employee obtained no skills he was forced to terminate the contract due to the employee not acquiring the basic skill set. The ex-

³³ <https://www.ccma.org.za/About-Us/Who-we-are>

employee then went to CCMA to sue the employer (Participant Seven) based on an unfair termination of employment.

A formal contract is easier to manage and stipulate where the ex-employee did not meet the requirements for employment between the employer and employee. Participant Eight also shared the same experience and formalized their workplace and dynamics within their business.

4.6.7 Competition:

There is an influx of migrant owned hair salons in the Pietermaritzburg central business district. There is a vast variety of salons to select from, on the day of needing services. To the extent that bookings of hair appointments is unnecessary as a first come first serve basis is utilised in these settings. If one salon is too full you always have the option of selecting any other. Participant Six explained that the hairdressing industry is the one of the easiest businesses to develop and own. He further stated that the amount of hair salons on Langalibalele Street has increased but the amount of business (customers)/ that he receives per day has decreased. The competition between hair salons was not only amongst migrant hair salon owners but as well as his previous employees who had acquired a skill from his salon and left to open and own their own salon, taking away business and clientele from his salon. Participant Two shared the same views and stated that “sometimes give a job, two weeks she runs, get another one.” Participant Six mentioned that he was one of the three migrant owned salons in 1996, however now one can observe the amount of migrant owned hair salons on Langalibalele Street, an estimation of +/- 200 migrant owned hair salons.

4.6.8 Xenophobia

In Chapter Two (Literature Review) there was a discussion about xenophobia, the origins of the ideology and the spontaneous occurrence of its happenings in South Africa. The common threat that all African migrants in South African are at risk of, is xenophobia. This view was shared by nine of the ten participants of this study. Participant Ten shared that his views on this topic and stated his fears of sharing information on this topic. Each migrant business owner in the Pietermaritzburg central business district is at a risk of being affected xenophobia, to the extent that they regularly have to close their businesses and wait for the spontaneous threats to simmer down. Participant Six shared the issue of the “idea of the foreign factor”, that just because they were “foreign” in the eyes of some South African citizens, they were an obvious threat to society. If you are associated with the ‘out-group’ you

are at a risk of your shop being looted and/or being attacked and assaulted. Participant Six further shared that whether you are a citizen, permanent resident, or have all legal documentations that allow you to operate and live within South Africa, you are still a target - due to you being 'foreign.'

Amongst the concern for their own lives within the central business district the participants shared the same amount of concern for their employees in their salons. Their employees were viewed as the same target as their 'foreign' employers. Participant Five shared his fear for his employees that what if they were to burn his salon down and his employees in it. He could not bear the responsibility for himself or his employees being harmed during the xenophobic attacks. All participants shared that during the xenophobic attacks they are forced to close their shops and cancel all operations, to ensure that no life is lost and there is no damage to property. However, this influences their business as they lose profits for the day as well as all the days that they are afraid to open their salons. Participant Seven said that "no work, no pay", which also affects their employee's wages and salaries.

African migrant hair salon owners have the risk of hiring a South African woman with a xenophobic mind-set. The migrant hair salon owners have to be aware of their employees who also might have adopted the same mind-set as those who take part in the xenophobic attacks. Hiring employees with a xenophobic mind-set influences business as the employee would not take their work seriously which leads to loss in profits. One employee's xenophobic mind-set can pollute their fellow employees within the salon and the employer would incur loss. Participant Seven shared that he must ensure that the women he hired did not have a xenophobic mind-set and assist with achieving the objectives and goals as a business.

Chapter Five: Discussion and Findings

5. Introduction

This chapter has identified the main findings of the transcribed data provided by 10 (ten) male African migrant hair salon owners in the central business district of Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal. Data was provided through in-depth interviews by primary resources (participants), however secondary data was also utilised but to a certain extent. Primary resources were essential to this study as this was an explorative paradigm and information provided on this subject matter is next to none. Without the subjective experiences crafted by the participants of this study there would be no context for this study. The secondary resources for this study were adapted to enhance or refute this studies' problem statement as well as evaluate and/or compare participant's responses to the theory that was provided. The four themes presented in this chapter were structured according to the research questions and objectives of this study. The research questions and objectives provided the research with a tool to begin with the analysis process. The following were the research questions and objectives:

Research Questions:

- i. What motivated male African migrants to leave their country of origin and migrate to Pietermaritzburg, South Africa as opposed to major cities within South Africa?
- ii. Why do male migrants choose the hairdressing industry in Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal?
- iii. When male migrants hire South Africans in their salons does it serve as a counterfeit towards migration issues and municipal regulations, such as due process and business regulations?
- iv. What experiences have affected the course of business and are migrants aware of any future threats or opportunities?

Objective One: To identify reasons why male migrants migrate to Pietermaritzburg, South Africa.

Objective Two: To analyse why male migrants choose the hairdressing industry in South Africa.

Objective Three: To examine the strategies used by male migrants when employing South Africans within the hairdressing industry.

Objective Four: To gain an in-depth understanding on migrants' experiences, challenges, and threats within the hairdressing industry.

To follow in this chapter, an evaluation of the data collected in comparison to the research questions, research objectives and problem statement. The above presented data (themes) was discussed and narrated alongside the literature provided in Chapter Two. At the end of this chapter there was a discussion of whether the problem statement was accepted or refuted. Each question and/or theme was presented in a quantifiable manner (using graphs).

5.1 Research Question (Theme) One:

This research question, '*What motivated male African migrants to leave their country of origin and migrate to Pietermaritzburg, South Africa as opposed to major cities within South Africa?*', resulted in the first theme for analysis which is, *Push-and-Pull Factors for Migration*. The push-and-pull theory is coined by Lee (1966). The author elaborates on this theory and states that migration occurs based on the belief that the destination country is perceived as more "attractive", than their country of origin, in an economic or non-economic manner. The push and pull factor are interdependent and essential to "migration flows (Lee, 1966)." Migration is determined by many factors that are intrapersonal to the individual migrating. In some instances, it could be one factor or a combination of factors that triggers an individual to migrate. The participants of this study were asked a set of questions, including reasons as to why the participants migrated to South Africa. However, the main crux of this question was to determine why migration to Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal Province occurs, instead of the major provinces and cities in South Africa. The results yielded the following results from the 10 interviewed participants.

Figure 5.1 Reasons for migrating to Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal

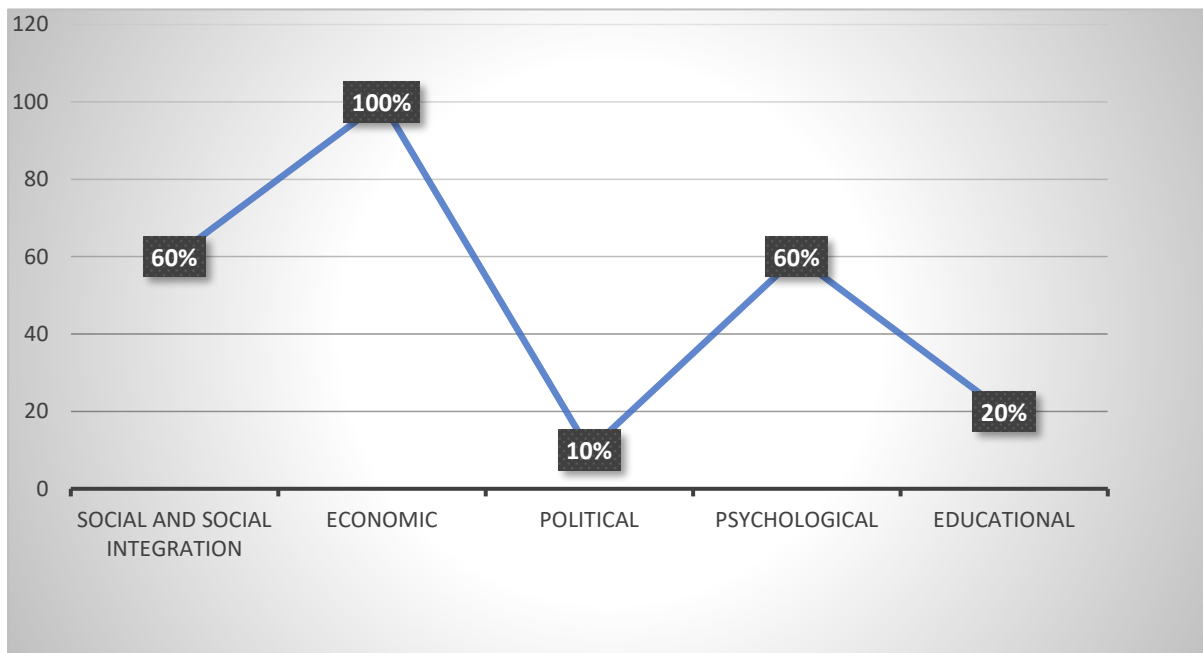


Figure 5.1 above, the line graph, shows the results provided by the African male migrant hair salon owners of this study. Each response provided was coded into these five (5) categories that make up theme one. The push-and-pull theory provided by Lee (1966) supports each of the five responses provided by the participants. Each participant shared that they migrated to South Africa, and specifically Pietermaritzburg due to the perceived attraction of the environment displayed. The participants shared that they left their country of origin in search of a solution towards the threat on their livelihood. Pietermaritzburg was perceived by each participant as a pull attraction. To the extent that the solutions to their problems was provided within the central business district of Pietermaritzburg. The socio-economic and political factors for migration provided by numerous scholars and literature are self-explained and provided in this chapter.

The theoretical framework of this research was based on Michael Todaro's economic theory of migration (1976). This theory summarized, states that immigrant's migrant to their destination country to achieve economic freedom. The participants of this study all stated that finances were one of the main reasons why they moved to KwaZulu-Natal instead of the major cities in South Africa. The sustainability of one's livelihood was the prime factor for migration in this study. However, it was not the only reason for migration, as much as the economic factor plays a major role in migration this study revealed there were other reasons for migration. For example, the *psychological factor* [6/10%] and the *educational factor* [2/10%], influenced migration.

The psychological aspect of migration plays a role in the selection of the destination country. An environment that is perceived as “peaceful” and “cool” is a pull factor for migration. Some of the participants shared that they chose Pietermaritzburg instead of Johannesburg due to the violence in Johannesburg. However, the violence of xenophobia affects all African migrants across South Africa. The second factor that was explored in the study is educational. Two participants shared that they migrated to South Africa in search of furthering their studies. Yet, due to issues faced with registering for the academic year and securing financial aid, the participants were forced to adapt to their surroundings. Participant Three came into South Africa with hairdressing skills however, Participant Four did not have any hairdressing skills upon migration. Ironically Participant Four had employed the most South African women within his salon.

Summarizing the data that was provided by the participants of this study and the literature provided by scholars the first of objective was achieved. New information was provided on this subject matter. Reasons as to why African male migrant hair salon owners migrate to Pietermaritzburg was answered and clarified substantially by the participants of this study. This study has achieved the research objective.

5.2 Research Question (Theme) Two:

This research question, ‘*Why do male migrants choose the hairdressing industry in Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal*’, resulted in the second theme for analysis. Which is, *Service Selection Motives*. The range of services is from textile to panel beating (Kalitany and Visser: 2010). The choice of service selection chosen by African migrants in South Africa is dominantly in the informal sector, due to the challenges faced by African migrants in South Africa. According to Serrie (1998), upon migrating to South Africa, African migrants are most likely to join the informal sector due to the social exclusion experienced within the formal sector. This study selected the hairdressing industry as the service within the informal sector to focus on. The central business district streets in Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal is filled with African owned hairdressing salons, managed, and owned by African male migrant entrepreneurs. The participants of this study shared their opinions on this subject matter and yielded the following results:

Figure 5.2 Push-and-Pull Factors for Migrations

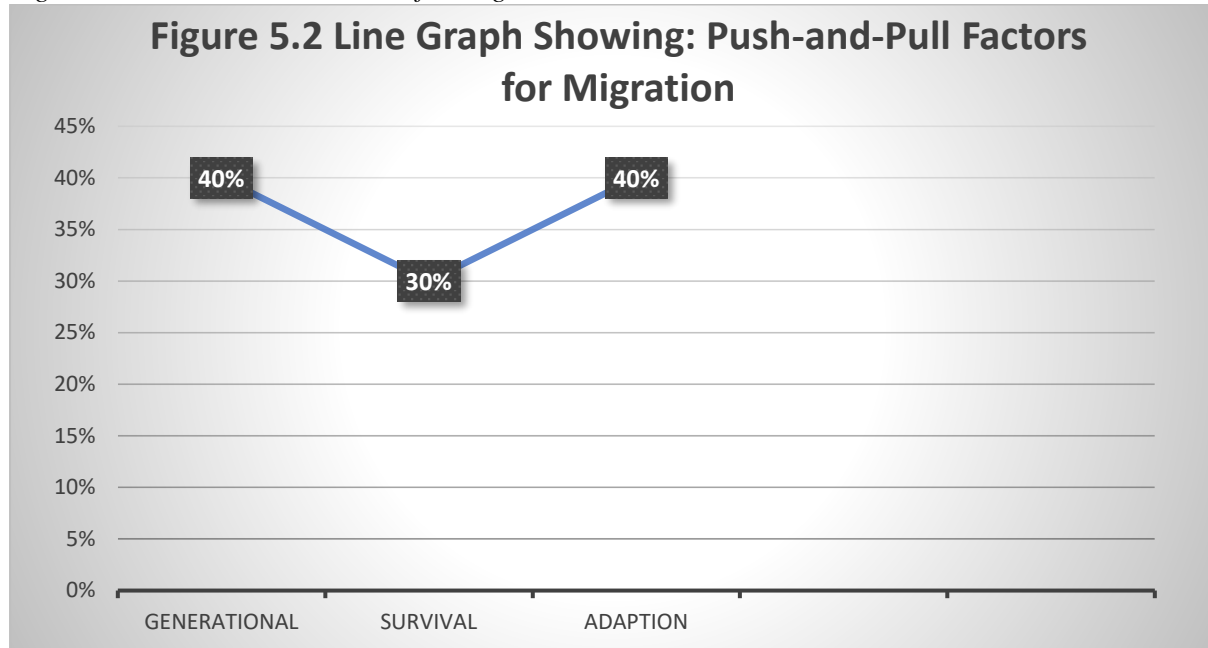


Figure 5.2 above, the graph, indicates the ten participant's responses, to why they chose the hairdressing industry as a profession within the informal sector. Each response provided was coded into three categories which are: generational, survival and adaption. Literature provided on this subject matter was alongside the views of Essop and Yu (2008) who state that the informal sector is larger than the formal sector due to lenient regulations on activities. According to Nare (2016), the informal sector has three characteristics, which would be discussed in the context of the hairdressing industry.

1. **Political:** The hairdressing industry in Pietermaritzburg is not governed by any rules and/or regulations. The only regulations that each participant shared was illegal documentation for oneself (valid passport) and the business (registered business with CIPC). However, the municipality in Pietermaritzburg have made attempts to construct a census and account for hair salons within the central business district. Some participants shared that the municipality and representatives from Home Affairs accompanied with law enforcements, walk around the area spontaneously and request documentation from all foreigners, to ensure that there are not illegal migrants operating within the central business district. Participant Six shared that the hairdressing industry is the easiest business that you can start. The lenient regulations governing the hairdressing industry do not pose a challenge for any individual starting a hair salon and the lack of labour-intensive work needed to operate a hair salon also do not affect the development of a hair salon. Thirty percent (30%) of the

participant's responses indicated that they used their survival skills and joined the hairdressing industry. Some had acquired other skills however, that skill did not generate enough income. The decision made may not have been spontaneous or long thought however, there were no rules or regulations that hindered the participant's decisions.

2. **Social:** There are no social boundaries within the hairdressing industry. The owners of the hair salons operate on their own terms and conditions with regards to opening hours, employee selection and number of employees. Participants shared that they migrated to Pietermaritzburg due to a family member residing in the city as well as operating a business within the informal sector. Forty percent 40% of the participants shared that they are operating within the hairdressing industry due to them taking over and managing a family member's salon or co-owning the salon with a family member. No formal contract was signed between the family members however there was a mutual agreement between the two. The social aspect of the hairdressing industry also goes according to the Vertovec (2002: 3) social network theory (4.8.1 and 4.4.1.1). Participants that joined the hairdressing industry based on family influence did not experience any risk when joining the informal sector. A path was laid for the participants to join the field with no premeditated calculations prior to migration.
3. **Economic:** According to Chen (2001) the African informal economy has contributed fifty percent (50%) of all "urban employment." Forty percent (40%) of the participants shared that they had to adapt to their surroundings even though they possessed a different set of skills they were able to adapt into the hairdressing industry. Upon adapting their skills or self to the hairdressing environment, the African migrant entrepreneurs created employment for not only themselves but for the South African women.

The exchange of services and profit increased value within the central business district of Pietermaritzburg. The main objective of the hairdressing industry was to increase profits as well as expanding clientele. The participants who adapted to their surroundings, joined the family business, or used the informal sector for survival, were able to gain economic freedom through the hairdressing industry in Pietermaritzburg. In conclusion, the participants provided a significant amount of information as to why they selected the hairdressing industry. There were many activities within the hairdressing industry however, as explained by Participant Six it is one of the easiest activities that one can develop. The underlying factor is economic freedom which they were able to do through the hairdressing industry. This research

objective was achieved with the further question of remittance, if family members are migrating to the destination country to take over a family business, how does remittance occur?

5.3 Research Question (Theme) Three:

The research question, *'When male migrants hire South Africans' in their salons does it serve as a counterfeit towards migration issues and municipal regulations, such as due process and business regulations?'* resulted in theme three. Which are *Reasons for Employee Preference*. Inductive reasoning was utilised before conducting the study. Factors that are unable to observe would be the employment terms and conditions. Some participants shared that they hire South African women on a verbal or written contract whilst others shared that they hire based on a "rent-a-seat" basis. However, the underlying question that this research aimed to explore and understand was why they hire mainly South African women instead of women from their countries of origin. The common misconception is that African migrant women know how to do hair better South African women. However, Participant Eight shared that it was the South African women who know how to style hair. To follow are the responses provided by the participants on this phenomenon.

Figure 5.3 Reasons for Employee Preference

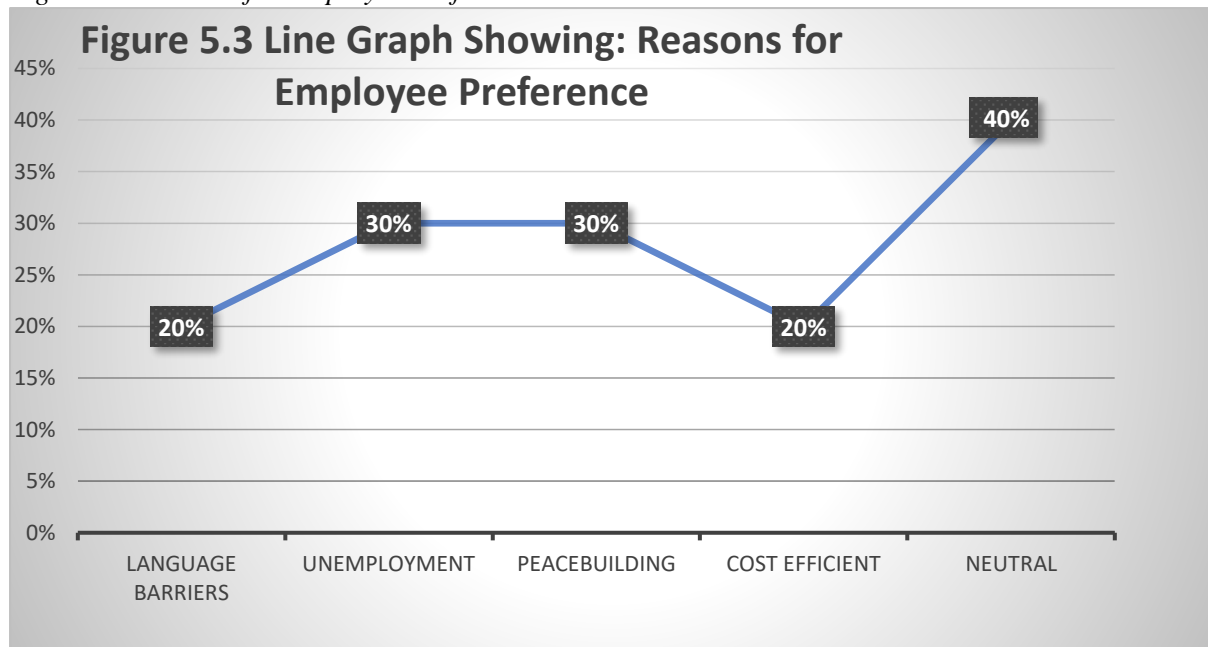


Figure 5.3 above indicates the reasons why African migrant hair salon owners hire South African women. The codes that made up theme three were: language barriers, unemployment, peacebuilding and cost efficient. According to Manning (2013), language help shape and define human communities within South Africa. Language and ethnicity play a major role when it comes to an individual's interpersonal identities and environment. Participant Six shared that he is part of the Ghanaian Society in Pietermaritzburg and they meet once in a while based on the country's Independence Day and other Ghanaian celebrations. However, it is the language unity that brings Ghanaians residing in Pietermaritzburg together. The ability to gather around like-minded people and discuss country politics and issues faced amongst each individual is what brings languages together. However, for an African migrant entrepreneur within the informal sector the language barrier affects the business financially.

The language barrier is one the obvious empirical reasons as to why South African women are hired by African migrant entrepreneurs. Participant Seven shared that in the beginning he did not know isiZulu and eventually learnt the language as time went by. This indicates that the language problem cannot be a reason as to why South African women are hired due to the solution provided by Participant Seven.

The socioeconomic and political aspect of women in South Africa was understood by three of the participants of this study. Participant Two shared that he chooses work with South African women due to them not being able to find employment. The workplace in South Africa is dominated by capitalism and globalisation with the influence of the fourth industrial revolution. An article published on the News 24³⁴ online website states that "high unemployment and a failure to address growing inequality are to blame for a wave of anti-immigrant attacks in South Africa." Unemployment and inequality in South Africa have led to numerous spontaneous xenophobic attacks nationally. The attacks are based on the premise that African migrants are stealing South African national's jobs however, in this study African migrants were entrepreneurs and provided employment for South African women. The role reversal of those providing jobs and those seeking employment within this sector (the hairdressing industry within the informal sector), have placed African migrant entrepreneurs in critical role within the informal sector.

Peacebuilding and Cost Efficient were two reasons that were not empirically evident, if one was to observe the study location. When it comes to peacebuilding, thirty percent (30%) of

³⁴ <https://www.news24.com/News24/Unemployment-anger-over-inequality-drives-xenophobic-attacks-report-20150417> Accessed on 29 October 2020

the participants expressed how they do not want to disturb the natural order within the hairdressing industry on Langalibalele Street. The natural order and/or structure amongst the hairdressing industry in Pietermaritzburg is African migrant owned hair salons operating with dominantly South African women employees. Participant Five shared that he did not want to disturb the peace, as well as draw any unwanted attention towards his salon. Therefore, he kept the natural order of things within that environment. Participant Six shared that he was one of three African migrant owned hair salons in central Pietermaritzburg. Participant Six stated that when he and his wife migrated to Pietermaritzburg, they decided to open a hair salon in Pietermaritzburg. However, they noticed that the hair salons owned by South African nationals were employing only South African women and men within their hair salons. Which they continued to do so.

Cost-efficient reasons for employment preference have indicated a reversal in the hiring and seeking employment roles played within the informal sector. Kalitany and Visser (2010) shared that it is cheaper to hire a South African national within the informal sector than an African migrant. The notion of cheap labour has been assumed to be associated with both xenophobia and African migrants within the labour market (by South Africa nationals). The first xenophobic attack occurred in 1995 in Alexandra Township, Gauteng due to South African nationals believing that African migrants are stealing their jobs. Capitalist driven companies driven by the industrial revolution hired African migrants due to their day rates being cheaper (Human Rights Watch, 1998).

Cheap Labour in South Africa is associated with African migrant workers. The development of the Industrial Era in South Africa led to an influx of African migrants within the labour market (mining, construction, agriculture, and security). The first xenophobic attack in 1995 (Human Rights Watch, 1995) was caused by the sudden influx of African migrants employed to work on mines, farms, and construction sites.

However, within the informal sector in South Africa there is a reversal in roles. Participants of this study shared that it is cheaper to hire a South African woman in the hairdressing industry than a migrant. Kalitanyi and Visser (2010) statement corresponds with Participant Six and Participants Nine opinion that it is more expensive for an African migrant entrepreneur to hire a fellow African migrant because their day rates are more expensive than South African citizens. Therefore, employee preference is based on cost-efficient factors. African migrants have adopted a capitalist mind-set of increasing profits and decreasing

expenses. According to Scholte (1997), the brand Nike shut down twenty (20) factories worldwide and reopened thirty-five (35) new factories in countries that have appealing lower production costs. In the same manner, African migrant hair salon owners have migrated with the perception that Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal is more appealing for business development and in this case employment preference.

The objective of this study was to examine the strategies utilised by African migrant hair salon owners when employing South African women. The only strategy that was devised is the language barriers faced by African migrant hair salon owners. Employment preference is more of a preference than a counterfeit against any emigrational issues and due process by municipal and business regulations.

5.4 Research Question (theme) Four:

This research question, *‘What experiences have affected the course of business, and are migrants aware of any future threats?’* resulted in the fourth theme of analysis which is *Present of Future Threats*. This research question and theme construction aimed to explore and understand the challenges African migrant hair salon owners experience within the hairdressing industry in Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal. African migrants within the South African context are correlated with xenophobia. Xenophobia is the main and obvious threat experienced by all of African migrant entrepreneurs in South Africa, in this study each participant shared their experience on this topic. When Participant Ten was asked about xenophobia, he was hesitant to discuss the issue. However, when the issue of xenophobia was put aside the participants were able to discuss and share less obvious threats that affect their business on a daily basis. The following responses were provided by the participants of this study:

Figure 5.4 Present and Future Threats

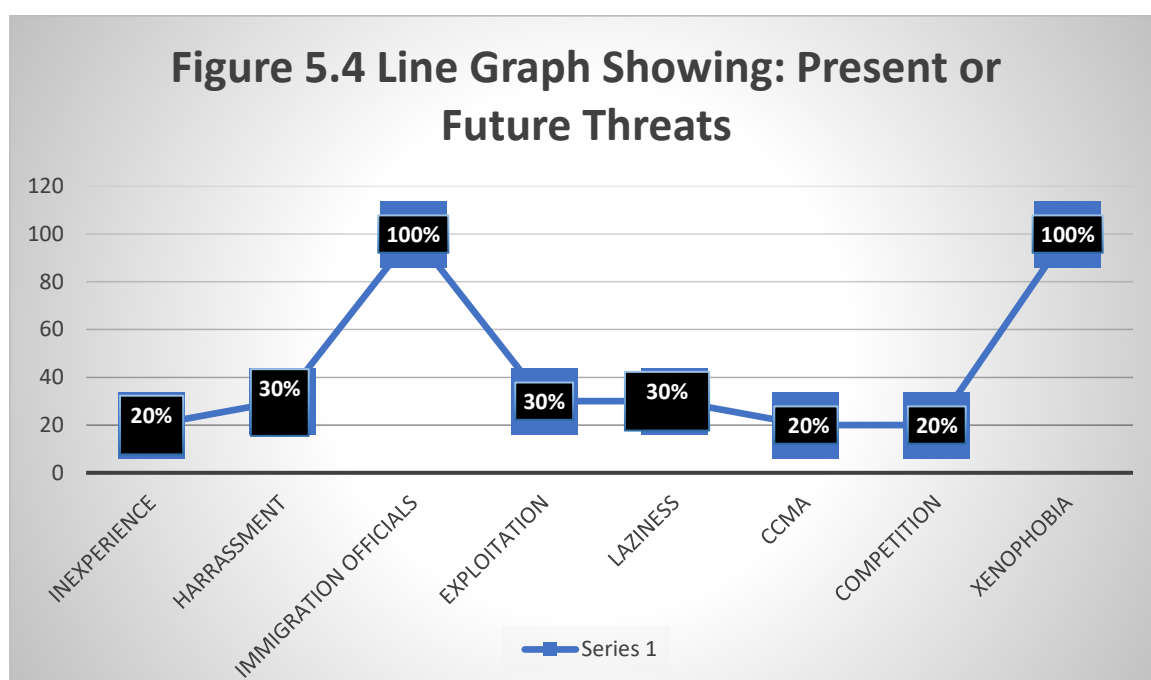


Figure 5.4 above indicates present or future threats provided by the participants of this study. Although, participants all shared a xenophobic experience, the participants also shared intricate threats and experience that provided new knowledge for this study. Theme four provided more responses and information than the other three themes of this study. As mentioned above xenophobia was the most objective present and future threat for the participants, however, the responses provided an intricate value to the study. Each response was applied to day to day challenges that the African migrant hair salon owners face.

From the eight codes provided, seven of the codes under this theme present themselves as present threats. For example theme three provided reasons for the participants employment preferences within the hairdressing industry. With such preferences, the African migrant hair salon owners made themselves vulnerable to employing South African women, which then become inexperienced South African employees. Participant Eight, stated that South African women were more skilled than African migrant women in the hairdressing industry. However, this perception cannot be generalised due to two of the ten participants sharing that hiring an inexperienced South African woman was a threat towards their business.

Participants shared that the fear of hiring an experienced woman was common due to the potential candidate not disclosing their full abilities when seeking for work within these salons. Participant Seven shared that it was hard to fire these women due to legalities and informal contracts (backed by the CCMA). The responsibility of upskilling these South

African women is placed into the African migrant hair salon owners. Participant Seven also shared that even though he was capable of upskilling his inexperienced and experienced employees the issue of laziness occurs. He further stated that South African women within the hairdressing industry affect business due to them being lazy. Three other participants also shared the same view pertaining to South African women within their hair salons.

African migrant hair salon workers face the difficulties of being harrassed by the general public. Harrassment may go alongside xenophobia, however, the harrassment was based on monetary motives as well as employment difficulties, rather than the ideology behind xenophobia. Hair salons are an intimate space and an open door policy is adapted in order to welcome walk-in clients. The open door policy exposes the African migrant hair salon owners to vice within the city. The African migrant hair salon owners also have to face exploitation by some of their clientele. The hair salon owners provide a service and in some instances may not be paid for their services. The participants shared that they cannot get assistance from law officials due to them being immigrants. In the same light the immigrant officials also pose a challenge due to their spontaneous walk ins within the central business district, accompanied by law officials.

Theme four provided the study with context on the challenges faced by African migrants within the hairdressing industry. This theme concluded that there were more present threats and challenges that African migrants face in the informal sector. The future threats were mainly based on the spontaneoulsy events of xenophobia. The present threats however posed a direct threat to every day business within Pietermaritzburg. This study has also indicated that the informal sector has its own challenges even though the informal sector was the easiest sector to enter.

5.5 Chapter Summary

The problem statement of this study was, *why do African male migrant hair salon owners hire South African women within their hair salons, and were they creating employment within the South African context?* Each participant was purposely selected to take part in this study based on their characteristics needed for this study (Neuman, 2003). The study aimed to gain an in-depth understanding of the dynamics within in the hairdressing industry in the central business district in Pietermaritzburg. In-depth interviews were conducted with semi-structured, open-ended questions. Each response was then coded and analysed using thematic analysis. Thus, the study assumes, based on the data provided by the participants of this

study, that African migrant hair salon owners are in-fact creating employment for South African women within the informal sector. The information yielded provided context on the informal sector and the interdependent relationship between African migrant entrepreneurs and South African employees. Therefore, the problem statement had been addressed with significant information under theme three (3) as well as the study objectives had been met within this study.

The theoretical framework was based on Todaro (1996), which states that migration is based on a premeditated and calculated decision. The decision was that the destination country was believed to bring economic freedom. The theoretical framework captured the basis for migration, however, in theme one (push-and-pull factors for migration), the participants provided two extra push-pull factors that the theory did not identify. The theoretical framework was a critique of this study as it failed to capture the essence of migration, according to this study. Participants of this study shared that they migrated to Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal Province, specifically, instead of the major cities in South Africa, due to the perceptions and financial benefits one may obtain. Once migrated to Pietermaritzburg, the informal sector provided the participants with a means so sustain a livelihood. According to Participant Six, the hairdressing industry was the easiest business to develop. The participants then faced the challenge of hiring staff to work in their hair salons. In order to accommodate the search of economic freedom, the participants adapted to their environment and hired South African women within their salons, even though their employee preference created challenges. The participants still hired South African women to increase profits and maintain economic freedom within the destination country. However, even though challenges were inevitable within their field of work the participants shared that there were external challenges that threatened their businesses within the central business district. Regardless of all the challenges the African migrant hair salons continue with business and create employment for South African women within the hairdressing industry.

In conclusion, the study aimed to gain an in-depth understanding about why African male migrant hair salon owners hire South African women within the hairdressing industry. This study consisted of four research questions and objectives which addressed, 1) reasons why migration to Pietermaritzburg occurred, 2) reasons behind service selection, 3) reasons as to why the hiring of South African women occurs and 4) to identify any future or present threats within the hairdressing industry. The primary data of the study was provided by the ten participants that took part in interviews. However, literature provided on this research topic

lacked depth. This study aimed to fill in this literary knowledge gap. The research also aimed at investigating the topic extensively, provided that the study would also introduce critical arguments to further this knowledge area. This study accepted the problem statement and agreed that African male migrant hair salon owners are providing jobs for South African women within the informal sector. The data collected in relation to the literature indicated that the informal sector is larger than the formal sector and has more economic opportunities. Therefore, the participants of this study migrated to Pietermaritzburg and started a business. Thus, the study concludes it sought out what it stated that it aimed to do (in terms of research objectives) and accepted the problem statement which was addressed profoundly.

Chapter Six: Conclusion and Recommendations

6.1 Summary of Results

The knowledge gap that this dissertation aimed to achieve was understanding the role African migrant hair salon owners play when it comes to job creation phenomenon within the informal sector of Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal. As well as understanding the labour relationship dynamics between African migrant hair salon owners and South African women. The hairdressing industry has provided jobs for South African women as early as 1996, as provided by Participant Six of this study. Initially the employment of South African women was due to the present norm within Langalibalele Street. However, another phenomenon discovered was why do African migrants migrate to KwaZulu-Natal instead of the major provinces within South Africa? This dissertation had four research objectives and questions which it aimed to achieve. Although, triangulation was not utilised in this study, the information provided by this research illuminated points that needed to be considered and recommended.

Firstly, the participants of this study stated that reasons as to why they migrated to South Africa was due to socio-economic and political issues within their country of origin (Todaro, 1976). However, migration to Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal was influenced by family remembers both residing and operation within the city. The economic factor was the influence of the economic freedom and the perception that Pietermaritzburg provides such freedom. Participant Two's country of origin is Congo and the only participant who experienced political issues which influenced migration to Pietermaritzburg. Psychological factors played a role in migration. Pietermaritzburg was perceived to be a peaceful city and one that can assist with furthering one's education as a migrant. The participant's response was in relation to research question one.

Secondly, once migration to South Africa occurred some of the participants faced the urgent need to sustain livelihood. African migrants are amongst the unemployed in South Africa, therefore, making them more susceptible to entrepreneurship (Brixy et al., 2013). The informal sector provided a means for African migrants to gain economic freedom (Naude et. al., 2015). Saxenian (2000), states that migrants are more likely to become entrepreneurs than natives of the country. In this dissertation, the collected data indicated that the hairdressing industry provided the opportunity for African migrants to generate an income. Survival

instincts and skills developed and entrepreneurship fulfilled the participant's needs. Some participants had family already in the hairdressing industry and lastly some participants were forced to adapt to their surroundings even though lacking skills to become a hairdresser (Participant Four). However, Participant Six shared that opening a hair salon was one of the easiest businesses to start in the Pietermaritzburg city. This participant responded to research question two.

Thirdly, information was provided on why African migrant hair salon owners hire South African women. The most evident reason provided was language barriers (Wiberg, 1994). The other reason provided by the participants was that they understood that South African women are amongst the unemployed therefore, they wanted to provide an opportunity for them to attain employment. Another reason was that due to the norm within the Pietermaritzburg CBD, African migrants new to the hairdressing industry also hired South African women to "keep the peace (Participant Five)." The participants of this study, then provided information on xenophobia. Xenophobia in South Africa occurs due to the belief that African migrants are stealing their jobs. However, Participant Six and Nine shared that it was cheaper to hire a South African woman than a national from their country of origin (Kalitany and Visser, 2010). Lastly, some participants were neutral about their employment preferences. They did not have a preference or differentiate either group.

Lastly, the participants provided information on any future or present threats that they had or would face. This research question provided the most information and provided intricate knowledge that would only be obtained through the questioning of individuals within the hairdressing industry. Participants shared that they were afraid to hire an inexperienced employee as they would be responsible for upskilling them as well as sustaining an increase in profits. There was also a fear of CCMA, if they were to terminate employment, although the majority of the participants had an informal system within their hair salons. The African migrant entrepreneurs also experienced the threat of harassment and assault, due to them operating with money.

Immigration officials also pose a threat as they sometimes carried out spontaneous visits and requested documentation such as work permits or business registration. Another issue was that some clients ask to do their hair on credit and did not pay. Thus, the Participants incurred some losses in the process. The participants also shared that their South African employees were lazy and did not want to learn and perfect their skills. The present and future threat that

all participants said they faced was xenophobia. Participant Ten requested not to speak about it as it was a hard issue to discuss in a public setting. The idea behind xenophobia was that African migrants were stealing their jobs. However, within the informal sector they were actually creating employment for South African women.

6.2 Conclusion

In conclusion, this dissertation achieved what it had aimed to (based on Chapter Five), with further information for recommendations. The problem statement for this dissertation was ‘why do African male migrant hair salon owners hire South African women within their salons? And are they creating employment within the informal sector?’ The study observed that African migrant hair salon entrepreneurs were creating jobs for South African women within the hairdressing industry in the informal sector. All ten participants interviewed in this study indicated that they hired four to ten South African women within their hair salons. Some participants shared that they allowed South African women to rent-a-seat within their hair salons. Thus, African migrant hair salon owners play a key role within the Pietermaritzburg CBD as they have created opportunities for employment. Kalitany and Visser (2010), conducted a similar study and concluded the same results within the informal sector that African migrant entrepreneurs hire South African citizens to work in their shops.

However, the government and municipality within the Pietermaritzburg CBD have not focused on the phenomenon that has been provided by the African migrant hair salon owners. Instead of focusing on the documentation that migrant salon owners have acquired the focus should be on how job creation within the hairdressing industry has occurred. The Participants of the study provided information on why African migrants migrate to Pietermaritzburg instead of the major cities within South Africa.

6.3 Recommendations and Implementations

Research question one asked why African migrants migrated to Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal Province instead of the major cities within South Africa. The first question on the interview guide was: *What motivated you to migrate to South Africa?* From the probing that occurred in this study, with regards to the interview guide, question led the conversation to “What led you to migrate to Pietermaritzburg?” The second question revealed numerous reasons as to why migration to Pietermaritzburg occurred. A number of participants stated that they migrated to Pietermaritzburg due to how ‘peaceful’ it was perceived to be.

However, was this due to the lack in regulatory issues one might face or how an African migrant is perceived within South Africa?

Another question raised during this study included the threats and experiences that most African migrants experienced within Pietermaritzburg. Xenophobia was an issue that affected all African migrants within the South African context. However, the participants of this study expressed that xenophobia was one aspect that influences their operations. However, intricate issues such as the risk of hiring an inexperienced employee, harassment and assault by vice incidents and immigrant officials and local police officers were challenging as well. African migrants also experienced exploitation from their customers. However, each participant expressed their challenges and no solution to such problems was devised. Is there possibly a way to formalise such issues however, in doing so the informal hair salons may not be able to sustain themselves if formalised.

A critique of this study was the methodology, in order to collect more data to relate to this study the use of triangulation should be utilised to provide an informative conclusion with a larger sample size.

Another recommendation to this study that will add value is the opinions of the South African women. What are their experiences working in a migrant owned hair salon and why do they not own hair salons? Such questions could provide a deeper understanding on the topic of job creation within the hairdressing industry.

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Appendix A: Interview Guide

1. What motivated you to migrate to South Africa?
2. What service in the informal sector was your first choice?
3. What is the municipal due process (i.e. informal trade regulations)? Do you face any challenges gaining such?
4. Why do you hire women South Africans in your hair salon?
5. Is there a formal contractual relationship between you and your employee?
6. What basic skills does your employee need in order to gain employment within your hair salon?
7. Have you experienced any threats towards yourself or your business?
8. Are there any other potential threats that you can identify within your business?

Appendix B: Informed Consent Form

Dear Participant,

My name is **Sibusisiwe Chibambo (210553494)**. I am a Masters candidate studying at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College. The title of my research is: An investigation of the role of migrant entrepreneurs in job creation in the hairdressing industry: A case study in Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal.

The aim of the study is to gain an in-depth understanding of the hiring of female South African women in male African migrant hair salons. I am interested in interviewing you to share your experiences and observations on this subject matter.

Please note that:

- The information that you provide will be used for scholarly research only.
 - Your participation is entirely voluntary. You have a choice to participate, not to participate or stop participating in the research. You will not be penalized for taking such an action.
 - Your views in this interview will be presented anonymously. Neither your name nor identity will be disclosed in any form in the study.
 - The interview will take about +/- 40 (forty) minutes.
 - Each interview will be audio taped to ensure that your point of view is understood.
 - The recordings as well as other items associated with the interview will be held in a password-protected file accessible only to me and my supervisors.

After a period of 5 years, in line with the rules of the university, it will be disposed by shredding and burning.

- If you agree to participate, please sign the declaration attached to this statement (a separate sheet will be provided for signatures)

I can be contacted at: School of Social Sciences, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College Campus. **Email:** 210553494@stu.ukzn.ac.za or busi.chibambo@gmail.com

Cell: 084 316 8840.

My supervisor is Jayanathan Govender who is located at the School of Social Sciences, Howard College Campus, Durban of the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Contact details:

Email: govenderj1@ukzn.ac.za **Phone number: 031 260 1409.**

The Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee contact details are as follows: Ms. Phumelele Ximba, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Research Office,

Email: ximbap@ukzn.ac.za, Phone number **07312603587.**

Thank you for your contribution to this research.