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CENTRE FOR MIGRATION STUDIES



TRADING ACTIVITIES AND LIVED EXPERIENCES OF CHINESE IMMIGRANT

TRADERS IN GHANA

BY

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PHILOSOPHY DEGREE IN MIGRATION STUDIES**

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DECLARATION

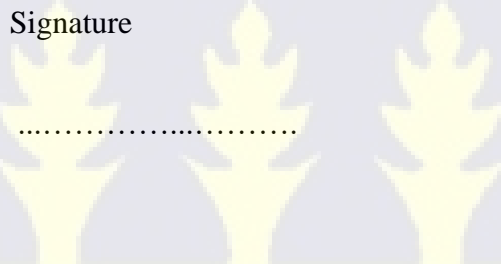
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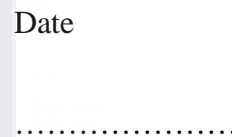
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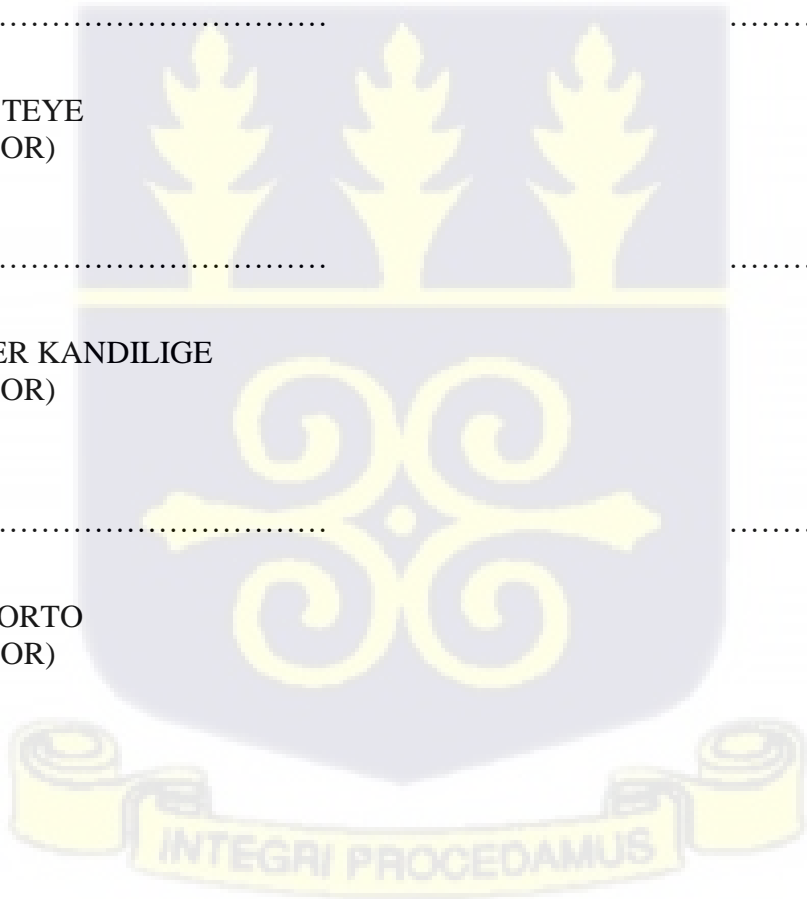
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DEDICATION

To my parents and siblings

To my wife, Bridget, and to our children, Chris Jnr., Angela, and Jason



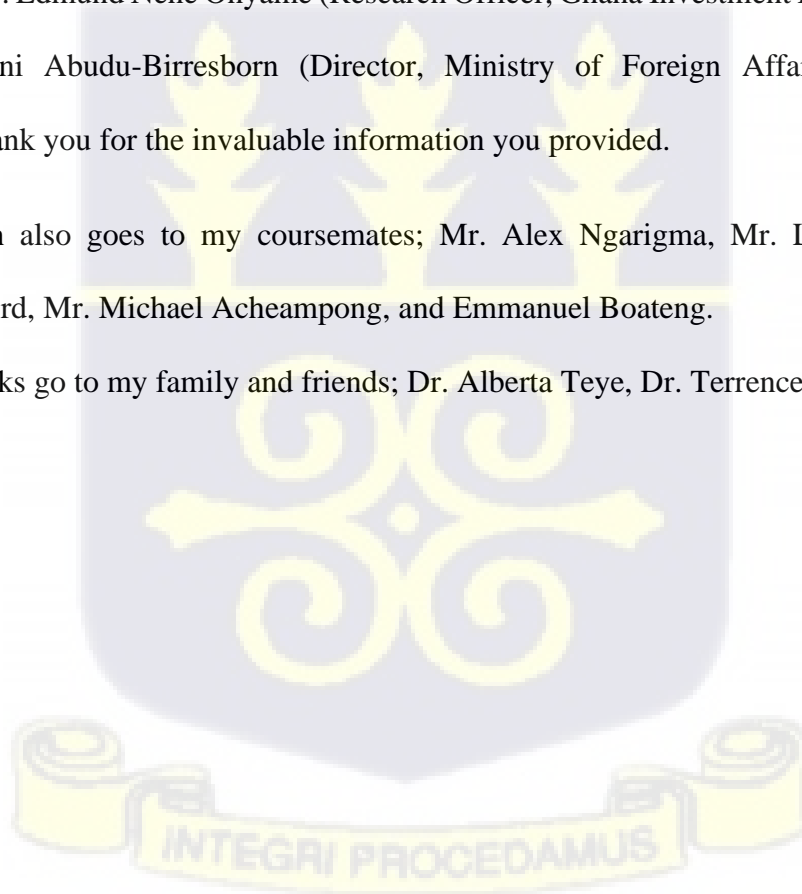
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ABSTRACT

In the last two decades, international migration has seen an unprecedented increase, especially between South-South economies. As a result, Chinese citizens are increasingly migrating to Ghana to engage in trading activities with the expectation of consolidating their gains in international trade volumes. However, in recent times, there have been rising tensions between Ghanaian traders and Chinese immigrant traders which require a critical understanding of the trading experiences of Chinese immigrant traders, as well as the Ghanaian trading community to align trade interests for mutual benefits. This study therefore examines the trading activities and lived experiences of Chinese immigrant traders based on the attitudes that Ghanaian traders have towards Chinese immigrant traders.

Using random, purposive, and snowballing sampling techniques to select 529 participants from Accra and Kumasi, the study used a mixed-method approach to examine the influence of trading activities on lived experiences of Chinese immigrant traders. Based on the logistic regression analysis, the study results show that the most important factors influencing the lived experiences of Chinese immigrant traders are retail trading activity, economic incentives, length of stay in Ghana, level of education and location. Considering trading activity, the study finds that Chinese retailers are 32% less likely to have a “very good” relationship with Ghanaian traders. This finding is indicative of the prevalence of tensions between Ghanaian and Chinese traders. Aside from retailing, factors such as quality of goods, price competitions, and fronting are associated with the rising tensions between Ghanaian and Chinese traders. Thus, the study concludes that trading activity (i.e., retail or wholesale) play a significant role in shaping lived experiences of Chinese immigrant traders.

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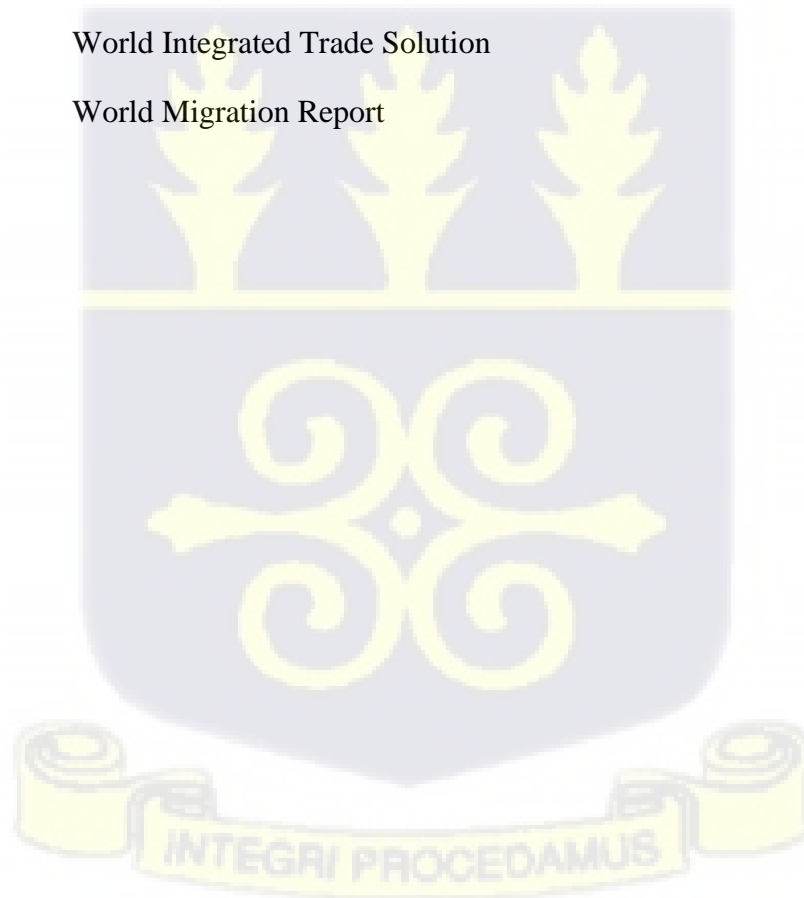
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AMA	Accra Metropolitan Assembly
CBD	Central Business District
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FOCAC	Forum on China–Africa Cooperation
GIPC	Ghana Investment Promotion Centre
GIZ	German Development Cooperation
GSS	Ghana Statistical Services
GUTA	Ghana Union of Traders Association
ICMPD	International Centre for Migration Policy Development
IET	Immigrant Enclave Theory
IML	International Migration Laws
IMPIC	Immigration Policies in Comparison
IOM	International Organisation of Migration
KMA	Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly
LI	Legislative Instrument
LMIC	Lower Middle-Income Country
MGI	Migration Governance Indicators
MIPEX	Migration Integration Policy Index
MMDAs	Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
OLS	Ordinary Least Squares
PICMD	Policy and Institutional Coherence for Migration and Development

PRC	People's Republic of China
RGD	Registrar's General Department
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SNT	Social Network Theory
SOE	State Owned Enterprises
UNDESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
UNHCHR	United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
USA	United States of America
USD	United States Dollar
WITS	World Integrated Trade Solution
WMR	World Migration Report



CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Migration plays a significant role in the achievement of economic, social and environmental development, which constitute the three pillars of sustainable development (Guarnizo, 2017; Kirshner, 2012). In the last two decades, international migration has seen an unprecedented increase. For example, as of the year 2000, there were an estimated 150 million international migrants (Martin & Larkin, 2000), the number grew to 214 million as of 2010 (Koser & Laczko, 2010) and was estimated to be 272 million as of 2020 (McAuliffe & Khadria, 2020). International Organization for Migration (IOM) (2020) report shows that the top receiving regions of international migrants are the America (USA and Canada), Europe (e.g., Germany, United Kingdom, France, etc.), Middle East (i.e., Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates, etc.), Asia (i.e., Russia, Malaysia, India, etc.) and Africa (i.e., South Africa, Ghana, Egypt, etc.). The report further shows that China is among the top three countries sending migrants abroad, falling behind India and Mexico. When it comes to migration to Africa, China is the topmost country sending migrants to Africa (World Economic Forum, 2015). Figures on Chinese migration stock in Africa are difficult to find due to weak statistical systems (Merli et al., 2016), yet Siu & McGovern (2017) and Wang (2022) suggests that there are about one million Chinese migrants living in Africa. In Ghana, for instance, Mohan et al. (2014) estimated the number to be between 7,000 and 20,000, while Teye et al. (2022) reports the figure to be about 30,000. As a result, Africa has seen a remarkable influx of Chinese investment as well in the last few decades (Blair et al, 2022; Donou-Adonsou & Lim, 2018). For example, Fu (2021) reports that since 2003, annual flows of Chinese

foreign direct investment (FDI) to Africa have risen significantly – from a mere \$74.8 million in 2003 to \$5.4 billion in 2018. Chinese FDI flows to Africa declined in 2019 to \$2.7 billion, and then – despite the COVID-19 pandemic – swung up again to \$4.2 billion in 2020. Over the same period, Chinese FDI stocks in Africa grew nearly 100-fold over a 17-year period – from \$490 million in 2003 to \$43.4 billion in 2020, peaking in 2018 at \$46.1 billion. That makes China Africa’s fourth largest investor, ahead of the United States since 2014 (Fu, 2021)

Unlike large-scale investments by corporations (e.g., China Shandong international Ghana limited, China Geo-Engineering Corporation Ghana Limited, Inocon Group Limited, Joshob Construction Limited, China Mall, China State Construction Engineering Corporation, among others) and the labour that comes with them, Africa has also seen an increasing wave of individual Chinese entrepreneurial migration at the turn of the 21st century (Axelsson, 2012). Chinese entrepreneurial migrants are largely independent of huge Chinese firms and come to Africa to pursue their own economic interests (Marfaing & Thiel, 2011). The literature on global migration has focused more on movements from poor to developed regions (Castles, 2013; Castles, 2016; Düvell, 2020; Hatton & Williamson, 2005). Nonetheless, such a pattern has little relevance to movements within the South (Bakewell et al, 2009; Wang & Zhan, 2019) and the ensuing implications. For the developing world, the developmental impact of China on countries in Asia and Latin America has been a focus of empirical studies (e.g., Jenkins et al, 2008; Chantasasawat et al, 2010; Cazorra, 2012) with relatively scanty empirical work considered in the case of Africa. Some studies on Africa have focused on China’s soft power. For instance, using the Accra cityscape as an exemplary point of reference, Amoah (2016) considers Sino-Africa’s interaction through Chinese architectural designs of infrastructure in Africa (i.e., the National Theatre and the Ministry of Defence building in Accra). Other studies also consider the industrial competitiveness and

macroeconomic performance (Taylor, 2006; Giovannetti & Sanfilippo, 2016; Wang, A., & Adolphe, 2018) with little attention to specific sub-sectors of the economy. Giovannetti & Sanfilippo (2016), for instance, investigate whether Chinese exports crowd-out African goods at the country and sector levels using an econometric analysis while Wang, A., & Adolphe (2018) consider the effect of Chinese outward foreign direct investment on international trade of Africa. A relatively small number of studies have been conducted on Sino-African relations at the macro level (Mohan et al. 2014; Giese & Thiel 2015) and discussed the social impacts in the context of local African communities (Liu, 2010; Dankwah & Valenta, 2019; Waweru, 2020). However, the impact of the Sino-African relation goes beyond just social impacts. It has economic and geopolitical impacts as well (Hodzi & Amoah, 2022) and considering a specific sector analysis such as wholesale and retail trade is more likely to drill down on issues like the potential benefits, bottlenecks and lived experiences of immigrant traders.

The recent Chinese emigration into African countries is part of a new strategy by Chinese authorities after opening up reforms in the 1970s (Wang & Zhan, 2019). The presence of Chinese on the continent lately has become a significant and increasing engaged ally of Africa in the last couple of years (Zhihang Wang, 2019). China has emerged as a global economic superpower in recent decades (Liu & Dunford, 2016) and it is not only the world's second largest economy (Dunford & Liu, 2019) and the largest exporter by value, but it has also been investing in overseas infrastructure and development (Breslin, 2013; Dunford & Liu, 2019; Wang & Rosenau, 2009). Africa has become a key destination for China's bilateral cooperation (Dunford & Liu, 2019).

From the turn of the millennium, China has stepped up diplomatic and commercial links with Africa, culminating in the Forum on China–Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) meeting in Beijing in

2006. This growing connectedness has seen a wave of economic migration to Africa by state-influenced construction teams and mining and oil workers, as well as private traders.

The large number of migration of Chinese to Africa is also because in 2006, China stepped up its diplomatic and commercial links with Africa during the Forum on China–Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) meeting in Beijing to increase investments in infrastructure, mining and oil sectors across the continent (Mohan & Tan-Mullins, 2009). These Chinese reforms have caused many Chinese to migrate to several countries in Africa and to venture into various enterprises (Muttarak, 2017). Some of the leading countries with large number of Chinese migrants include Algeria, Angola, Nigeria, Ethiopia, Zambia, Kenya, Egypt and Ghana (World Economic Forum, 2015).

Being the world’s largest developing country, China’s alliance with Africa has become an issue of discussion and popular topic of analysis by policy makers, civil society organizations, researchers and academia. For example, the interests of some policy makers and civil society organizations have centred on how China’s presence in Ghana can promote equitable flow of trade and investment between the two countries (Andrew et al., 2018) while for some researchers and academia, the interests have centered on unearthing the structural and institutional dynamics that either promote or undermine this equitable flow of trade and investment (Zhihang Wang, 2019).

The influx of Chinese to Africa, and particularly Ghana to some extent, has brought about increased investments (Kaplinsky & Morris, 2016; Shan et al., 2018; Sparreboom et al., 2018; Teye et al., 2022), created employment opportunities as the Chinese tend to open small-scale industries (McCauley et al., 2022) which leads to the transfer of technology (Omoruyi, 2022). Nevertheless, the presence of the large numbers of the Chinese poses serious problems such as pressure on the environment especially with their involvement in illegal mining activities (Osei et

al., 2021) and the crowding out of local businesses since most immigrants in developing countries tend to work in informal sectors, especially in trading (Giovannetti & Sanfilippo, 2016; He, 2020).

The Chinese are chiefly among immigrants who continue to engage in wholesale and retail trading in Africa (Park, 2007; Liu, 2019; Teye et al, 2022). Although, immigrant trading activities have been argued to lead to the flow of foreign capital between host and immigrant countries (Crush, Chikanda & Skinner, 2015), it is also associated with negative social implications such as tensions which undermines the mutual benefits of international trade (Freund et al., 2018; Guarnizo, 2017; Meyer, 2017; Shaffer, 2019). For this reason, there is the need for peaceful and cordial relationships conducive for trade between local business operators and immigrant traders. The literature therefore recognizes more explicitly the economic and cross-cultural impacts that characterise societies that have played host to immigrant trading activities (Crush, Chikanda & Skinner, 2015). Some international organizations and agencies are therefore positioning themselves through the UN Global Compact for Migration and International Organisation of Migration (IOM) policies on migration to harness the developmental potential of migration for the benefit of both citizens and migrants (Ozden, & Rapoport, 2018).

Since the 1990s, there has been an increase in the influx of immigrants engaging in various trading activities in different countries (Imoro, 2017; Perreira & Smith, 2007). Research on the reception and integration of immigrants in general, and immigrant traders in particular therefore focuses on host society's reception of immigrants (Ozden, & Rapoport, 2018). In Ghana for instance, some of the measures and policy strategies to harness development potential include the Immigration Act, 2000, (Acts 573), Immigration (Amendment) Act, 2002 (Act 848) and Immigration Regulations, 2001 (L. I. 1961).

As prevalent in other African countries, there has been tension between some Ghanaian trade actors and other migrant traders in Ghana. For instance, in August 2018, spare parts dealers in Suame Magazine in Kumasi attacked foreigners who retail spare parts in the trading space (3news, August 1, 2018). In June 2019, Ghanaian traders in Abossey Okai, a suburb of Accra, protested foreigners engaging in retail business (Peacefmonline, June 21, 2019). In July 2020, the Ghanaian traders in Abossey Okai locked all retail shops belonging to foreigners (Citinewsroom, July 20, 2020). These instances portray the existing tensions that exist between some Ghanaian traders and migrants involved in retail trading in Ghana. The nature of the tensions between host societies and immigrant traders manifests differently in countries where such incident happens. It is worth noting that in many high-income countries, immigrant traders face regulatory restrictions in the form of strict immigration policies and laws (Guarnizo, 2017). For example, in the United States of America and European countries such as Germany and the United Kingdom, immigrant traders experience structural and institutional discrimination, which are motivated by racism (Ozden, & Rapoport, 2018). In many African countries, on the other hand, the tension between host societies and immigrant traders tends to be more interpersonal due to “competition regarding the trading area and similarity of products” (Dankwah & Amoah, 2019, p.80), as trade encounters between Ghanaian business operators and immigrant traders have been marked by tensions and anti-immigrant trading sentiments (Harris, Findley, Nielson & Noyes, 2018).

There have been incidents in host societies accusing immigrant traders of “stealing” their jobs in countries such as South Africa, Nigeria, Libya, Zimbabwe, and Kenya (Crush, Tawodzera, Chikanda, Ramachandran & Tevera, 2017; Ozden & Rapoport, 2018). In South Africa for instance, the host society and immigrant tensions sometimes manifest in the form of xenophobic attacks against immigrant traders (Angen, 2016; Crush, Chikanda & Skinner, 2015; Harris et al. 2018).

These immigrant businesses are generally perceived as threats to local businesses and their livelihoods (Harris et al. 2018). In essence, the host communities believe that the migrants have to return to their countries of origin to protect the local livelihoods of the host community (Harris et al. 2018; Moyo et al. 2016).

Retail trading in the case of Ghana is seen as a source of tension as these activities are preserved for Ghanaian nationals (Acheampong, 2019; Dankwah & Amoah, 2019). The fundamental difference in citizen-migrant trading relationships in different countries shapes the tensions in trade encounters between local business operators and immigrant traders in profoundly different ways (Gyedu, 2018; Moyo, Nicolau & Gumbo, 2016). Hence, the current study explores trading activities and lived experiences of Chinese immigrant traders in Ghana by examining the nature of relationship between Chinese and Ghanaian traders. This study has the potential to contribute to the sparse knowledge of the lived experiences of Chinese immigrant traders and inform policy on how to integrate Chinese traders into the Ghanaian market space.

1.2 Problem Statement

Migration plays a crucial role in achieving economic, social, and environmental development (Guarnizo, 2017; Kirshner, 2012). China's interest in Africa's trading spaces continues to increase in the last five decades (Mohan & Tan-Mullins, 2009). Over the years, China has become one of the strongest trading partners to many African countries (Yankson et al., 2018). Apart from providing massive infrastructural support to African countries (Zajontz, 2022), the Chinese government has also provided many opportunities for their traders to migrate and do business in many African countries ((Muttarak, 2017). As Chinese traders increased in African countries, Gyedu (2018) and Moyo et al. (2016) claim the trading field has become uneven to the advantage

of the Chinese. In Ghana, local traders have always lamented about the concerns that Chinese traders have flooded the trading space and pushed them out of business (Acheampong, 2019; Dankwah & Amoah, 2019).

It is important to note as a backdrop that according to Genç (2014 p.1) “there is a causal positive relationship between migration and international trade. A 10% increase in the stock of immigrants can boost trade by an estimated 1.5% on average”. Thus, international trade and migration are two important dimensions of globalization. According to Sun, Jayaram & Kassiri (2017), China is now the largest investor in Africa, with FDI estimated at USD 35 billion and trade volume at USD 188 billion in 2015. In 2019, China-Africa trade volume reached USD 208.7 billion while China’s accumulated FDI in Africa reached USD 49.1 billion representing up to 20 times and 100 times respectively compared to 20 years ago (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the PRC, 2021). Ghana has also received its fair share of Chinese investments as trade exchanges between China and Ghana have increased (Asante, 2018). China is Ghana’s biggest trading partner and foreign investment source. In 2019, bilateral trade volumes between Ghana and China reached USD 7.46 billion, ranking among the top in Africa. The bilateral trade increased despite the pandemic in the first half of 2020 (Abraham & Ray, 2020).

While there is the need to protect and sustain these trade relations with China for the potential benefit it offers in terms of technology transfer, employment, and investments, some Chinese trading activities in recent times in Ghana have been perceived as illegal because of an existing investment Act enacted in 1994 and amended in 2013 (Dankwah & Amoah, 2019). According to the Ghana Investment Promotion Act (865, 2013), some retail trading is the preserve of Ghanaians only. The Act makes it unlawful for non-Ghanaians to engage in some retail activities preserved by the Act for only Ghanaians.

Therefore, the actions of foreigners engaging in retail trading activities because of the lack of enforcement of local laws have been met with displeasure by the Ghanaian trade actors. Since 2010, there have been growing tensions between Ghanaian trade actors and immigrant traders, especially Chinese immigrant traders (Dankwah & Amoah, 2019). Ghanaian business operators who share trading spaces with the Chinese have called on the Government of Ghana severally to stop immigrant traders from engaging in retail trading in Ghana. The Ghana Union of Traders Association (GUTA), for instance, has served notice that if the government fails, they [GUTA members] would be compelled to take action against all immigrant traders involved in retail trading. The tensions have been growing especially in Accra and Kumasi, the two largest trading cities in Ghana (Acheampong, 2018; Gyedu, 2018).

Some aggrieved Ghanaian traders resorted to demonstrations and locking of Chinese retail shops to drive the Chinese immigrant traders out of the retail business or in other cases resorted to direct attacks on foreign traders and their Ghanaian employees (Acheampong, 2019; Gyedu, 2018). For example, in an article published on *myjoyonline.com*, a local news portal, on 21st July 2020, GUTA demanded and implemented the immediate closure of shops belonging to foreigners (mostly Chinese) who do not possess the requisite documentation to engage in retail trading in the Ghanaian market space. Thus, these trade tensions have implications for security and safety of immigrant traders in Ghana and Ghanaians as a whole. It also tends to increase local unemployment, reduce knowledge transfer, and create scarcity or price hikes of certain imported products from China. It may also lead to a crowding-out effect in the retail trade sector and the potential of undermining bilateral relations, trade volumes, and investments between Ghana and China.

Despite the tensions between local and foreign market actors in the market spaces in Ghana and some African countries, knowledge of factors accounting for these tensions is still limited in the literature. In Ghana, for instance, few studies have looked at the Ghana-China and Ghana-Nigeria migrant trader relationship. These studies have however focused more on the perceptions of Ghanaian traders on the socio-economic impact of Chinese entrepreneurial activities (Acheampong, 2019; Auffray & Fu, 2019; Dankwah & Valenta, 2019; Haugen, 2018) and not on the lived experiences of Chinese traders. There are also studies in other parts of Africa that focused on xenophobic attacks on immigrant businesses in South Africa (Moyo, Nicolau & Gumbo, 2016). Although Dankwah & Amoah, (2019) provided insights into tensions in trading encounters because of the specific niche market engaged in by the Chinese traders in Ghana, there is still not enough empirical research to answer some gaps in the literature such as the lived experiences of the Chinese in Ghana and factors that influence or encourage Chinese immigrant traders' lived experiences. The current study responds to some of these gaps by exploring the lived experiences of Chinese immigrant traders as well as examining how Chinese trading activities influence such lived experiences or the nature of their relationships with Ghanaian traders.

1.3 Research Objectives

Based on the above insights or discussions, this thesis examines trading activities and lived experiences of Chinese migrant traders and investigates the underlying factors that account for the tensions in Ghana.

The study specifically seeks to:

1. Describe the nature of Chinese immigrants' trading activities in Ghana.

2. Explore the opportunities and challenges faced by Chinese immigrant traders in Ghana
3. Investigate the attitudes of Ghanaian traders towards Chinese immigrant traders in Ghana.
4. Interrogate the underlying factors that account for the tensions between Ghanaian traders and Chinese immigrant traders.
5. Delve into the lived experiences or nature of the relationship between the Chinese immigrant traders and Ghanaian traders.

1.4 Research Questions

The following research questions were explored:

1. What is the nature of Chinese immigrants' trading activities in Ghana?
2. What are the opportunities and challenges of Chinese immigrant traders in Ghana?
3. What attitudes do Ghanaian traders have towards the Chinese immigrant traders in Ghana?
4. What underlying factors account for the tensions between Ghanaian traders and Chinese immigrant traders?
5. Does trading activities affect the lived experiences or nature of the relationship that exists between Chinese immigrant traders and Ghanaian traders, if so, how?

1.5 Significance of the Study

This study provides empirical evidence on the relationship between trading activities and lived experiences from the perspective of immigrant traders particularly Chinese traders in Ghana. The importance of this research may be seen in two key axes: research on the one hand, and policymaking and practice on the other.

In terms of the importance of the research, this study goes further than the ongoing qualitative discussion on trade tensions and provides empirical evidence on the lived experiences of Chinese traders and factors responsible for the tensions among market actors. To the author's knowledge, no research has been done on the relationship between trading activities and lived experiences. The study further enriches extant literature on immigrant relations by decomposing lived experiences into categories and exploring this further using the ordered logit regression technique. Thus, broadening the methodological scope of studies conducted in the Ghana-China migration and trade context. Also, the findings of this study could serve as a backdrop literature for future researchers investigating related issues.

Similarly, considering the formulation of policy and practical applications, the study findings could serve as a tool for the formulation of guidelines on South-South cooperation and foreign policy improvement, specifically between China and African countries. This could foster the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals of "decent work and economic growth" and "industry, innovation and infrastructure" by supporting national plans to promote international trade and help developing countries achieve an equitable trading system that is fair and benefits all stakeholders. The findings of the study also have the potential of streamlining migration and trade policies, socially integrating immigrant traders especially non-Africans in Ghana and for that matter Africa.

Limitations of the study

When evaluating and/or applying the results, it is important to keep in mind the study's limitations. The interviews and survey data were gathered before and during the period that the COVID-19 pandemic had hit Ghana. Therefore, Chinese immigrant traders who cited COVID-19 travel

restrictions and stigma as a challenge did that due to the period within which the data was collected. Such challenges are associated with the COVID-19 pandemic and not necessarily what was prevailing as the *usual* challenges in the trading spaces before pre-pandemic times. Furthermore, China was still under lockdown when the data for the Chinese traders were gathered in Ghana.

Some Chinese participants requested the interview guide and provided written responses to it like open-ended questionnaires. This limited on-site interactions for an in-depth discussion from those Chinese traders. To overcome this limitation, those Chinese traders were contacted on the phone for further clarifications on certain issues raised in their earlier responses.

Apart from the COVID-19 pandemic, the study also faced another challenge, particularly from the Ghanaian traders. The traders complained that studies conducted on some of these issues do not result in any real change in prevailing situations. Some Ghanaian traders who were randomly selected therefore refused to participate in the study. This created a situation where some Ghanaian traders from the major business centres in Abossey Okai for instance had to be conveniently sampled. These limitations should guide any attempt at generalizing the findings from this study.

1.6 Organization of Chapters

There are seven chapters in the thesis. Below is a description of each chapter: The study's introduction is covered in Chapter One. The chapter includes considerations of the study's background, problem statement, goal, aims, and research questions as well as its significance, limits, and organizational structure.

Chapter Two contains a review of the literature. The chapter provides a discussion of the concept of migration, and legislation on migration, focusing on global, regional, and national legislation. After that, the chapter presents discussions on contemporary Chinese relations with Africa and

Ghana, as well as their business activities in Ghana. The theoretical and conceptual framework is then discussed, and a summary is provided.

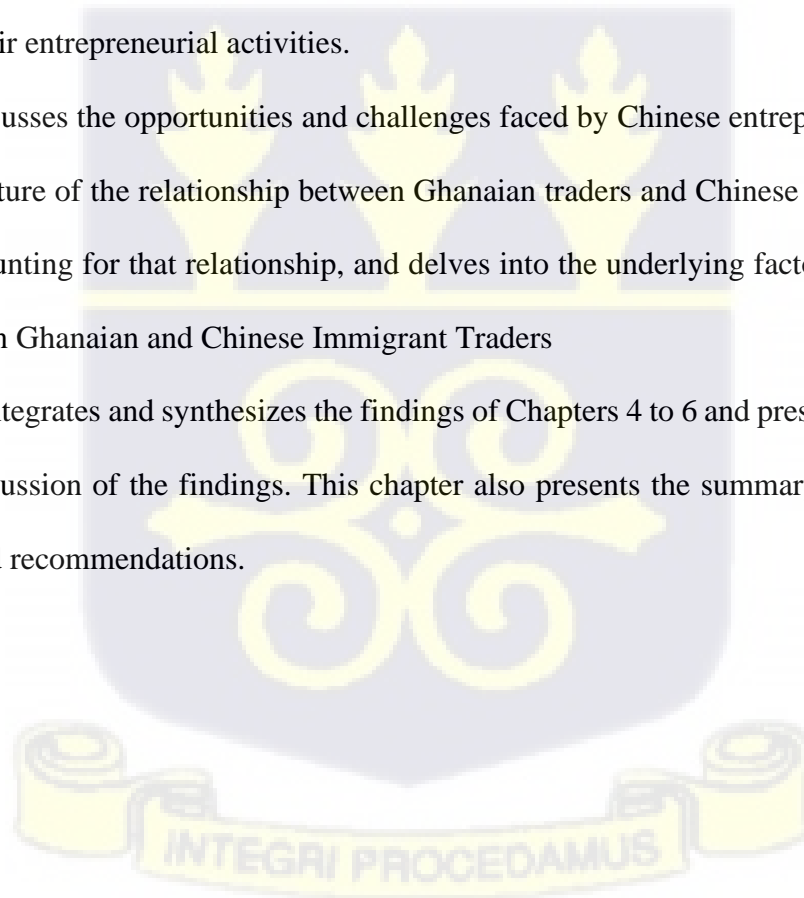
In Chapter Three, the analytical approaches used for the study are presented along with the research methodology and study structure. The research design, research environment, demographics, sample size, sampling procedure, and data collection methods are all covered in this chapter. It also outlines the data collection process and the ethical standards that were followed.

The sociodemographic details of the Ghanaian study participants are presented in Chapter Four. This chapter presents the characteristics of both the survey respondents and the interviewees.

Chapter Five presents and discusses the profile of Chinese entrepreneurs, migration history, and the nature of their entrepreneurial activities.

Chapter Six discusses the opportunities and challenges faced by Chinese entrepreneurs in Ghana, examines the nature of the relationship between Ghanaian traders and Chinese entrepreneurs and the factors accounting for that relationship, and delves into the underlying factors accounting for tensions between Ghanaian and Chinese Immigrant Traders

Chapter seven integrates and synthesizes the findings of Chapters 4 to 6 and presents a general and synthesized discussion of the findings. This chapter also presents the summary of key findings, conclusions, and recommendations.



CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a critical review of the literature within which the current study is situated. In reviewing the literature, therefore, different lines of research within migration and economic activities are drawn on to provide the state of the current knowledge to situate the current research. The review is then narrowed to Chinese migration in Africa, and Ghana, and then their business activities in Ghana. The literature review is organized around the following themes.

First, the concept of migration and its legislation are discussed. Particularly, emphasis is made on the definition of migration, global legislation on migration, regional legislation on migration, national legislation on migration, and legislation on immigrant trading in Ghana. By way of focusing on the historical context of Chinese migration into and relation with Africa, contemporary Chinese relations with Ghana are discussed.

Finally, the theoretical and conceptual frameworks of the study are discussed. Three key theories are discussed: Immigrant enclave theory, social network theory, and the Relational theory. The theories are then integrated and discussed as the conceptual framework of the study. A summary of the literature review is then provided.

2.2 The Concept of Migration

This section discusses migration in its broader sense to provide the basis for the study. There have been various definitions of migration, depending on factors such as duration, destination, and

reason for migrating. However, the varied definitions of migration cohere around a common theme, which involves the temporal or permanent movement of people from their place of residence to a different region or country (Martin, 2019; Mitchell, Jones & Fluri, 2019). When conceptualized as a fundamental change in residence, migration may defy the distance between old and new residence, and whether the movement was intentional or unintentional (Martin, 2019).

However, in contemporary migration studies, scholars such as Ozden & Rapoport (2018), Geddes et al. (2019), and Schapendonk et al. (2021) argue that migration should be conceptualized within the context of distance and time. In terms of distance, two fundamental types of migration are identified: internal and international migration (Perreira & Smith, 2007). Internal migration is defined as the movement of individuals from one place to another within the same geopolitical boundary (Guarnizo, 2017). Internal migration examples include the mobility of persons from Ghana's northern and southern regions, as well as the migration of people from Ghana's rural areas to its cities. International migration on the other hand involves the movement of people from one geopolitical residence to a different geopolitical destination (Guarnizo, 2017; Kirshner, 2012). For example, the well-documented movement of people from one country to another constitutes international migration.

Even though, international migration has always been part of human history, the decades of industrial and technological revolution, have been, argued to have produced an unprecedented level of international migration (Crush, Chikanda & Skinner, 2015). From a historical point of view, during the Industrial Revolution when manufacturing industries increased, people migrated from farms to industrial areas, from villages to cities, from one city to another, and from one country to another (Crush, Tawodzera, Chikanda, Ramachandran & Tevera, 2017; Ozden & Rapoport, 2018). In modern times, rapid changes in electronic and digital technology are taking

place in a global space where large-scale migration from one country to another is easily witnessed. For these reasons, international migration is seen as both a force and product of social change (Ozden & Rapoport, 2018), leading to a paradigmatic shift in population redistribution and supply of labour (Crush, Chikanda & Skinner, 2015).

2.2.1 A Review of Reasons for Migration.

Globally, an estimated 3% of the world's population (approximately 258 million people) at any point in time live outside their country of origin (International Migration Report, 2017). Available literature points that many migrants choose to leave their countries of origin each year, notwithstanding, there are increasing numbers of migrants who are forced to leave their home countries for a complex combination of reasons, such as poverty, lack of food, water, lack of access to healthcare, education, and housing (Mitchell, Jones & Fluri, 2019). Others migrate because of environmental degradation and climate change, as well as the more 'traditional' drivers of forced displacement such as persecution and conflict (White, 2016). The reasons why people engage in international migration are varied. These reasons encompass economic, political, social, cultural, technological, and educational reasons (Crush et. al., 2015; Moyo, Nicolau & Gumbo, 2016). It is important to remember that people migrate internationally for economic reasons, including to increase their income. Consequently, by looking at economic indices like the cost of living, employment prospects, wage differentials, capital saturation, and the overall process of economic development, potential migrants can consolidate their migration decisions (Yue, Li, Jin & Feldman, 2013). However, apart from the economic rationale, other reasons for international migration include accessing medical care, escaping natural disasters and structural violence such as civil wars and conflicts (Crush et. al., 2015; Ren, Du, & Li, 2010).

In the subsequent sub-sections, relevant laws and policies governing migration at the international levels are reviewed and discussed.

2.2.2 Legislations on Migration

This section discusses the various legislations that regulate migration, focusing on legislation at the global, regional and national level.

2.2.2.1 Global Legislation on Migration

There are several implications of international migration irrespective of the direction of migration flows (Hong, 2007). Migration from one nation to another can be caused by international relations or shared characteristics between nations. Migration can be influenced by a variety of factors, including linguistic barriers, economic opportunity, postcolonial links, and cultural similarities (Triandafyllidou, 2018). International migratory patterns are also facilitated by current systems including the interchange of products, capital, people, services, and information across nations. Because of this, several nations have implemented migration protocols to lessen potential shocks brought on by migration (Osaghae & Cooney, 2020), and many migration protocols and regulations are produced globally to facilitate international mobility (Triandafyllidou, 2018).

Although migration is a positive and empowering experience for many people, there is increased awareness that lack of human rights-based migration at the global level leads to routine violation of the rights of migrants in transit, both at the borders and within the countries of destination (Costello & Mann, 2020; Tan & Gammeltoft-Hansen, 2020; Osaghae & Cooney, 2020). For example, Costello & Mann (2020, p.312) assert that many human rights violations such as

“beatings of irregular migrants by state security services and private militias; arbitrary deprivation of liberty in inhuman and degrading conditions; deliberate family separation; detention and other mistreatment of children” occur in the context of migration control.

Thus, as individuals, migrants are vulnerable to several human rights violations within the host countries (Liu, Y., Namatovu, Karadeniz, Schøtt & Minto-Coy, 2020; Triandafyllidou, 2018). Irregular migrants tend to experience the highest form of human rights abuses globally. Human rights violations against migrants come in various forms and may include torture, lack of due process, denial of civil and political rights such as arbitrary detention, economic, social, and cultural rights abuse, and rights to health, housing, or education (Osaghae & Cooney, 2020). Research suggests that the denial of migrants’ rights is often closely linked to discriminatory laws and deep-seated attitudes of prejudice or xenophobia (Portes & Martinez, 2020). Global policies on migration are therefore needed to protect the human rights of all migrants in all countries.

Migration policies set out the requirements, rights, and responsibilities for migrating to different destinations. Migration policies are defined as “a government's statements of what it intends to do or not do (including laws, regulations, decisions or orders) with regards to the selection, admission, settlement, and deportation of foreign citizens residing in the country” (Osaghae & Cooney, 2020). This means that migration policies spell out who can or cannot enter a country, who gets to stay or leave a country, and the requirements needed for entering, staying, and working in a country. Migration policies are closely linked to international migration law (IML). For example, the 1954 Constitution of IOM, in its preamble, stressed the need to promote cooperation among international actors with a view to the emigration of persons where “they may live with their families in dignity and self-respect” (Chetail, 2022). The Brussels Resolution also established an intergovernmental arrangement to move people who “...desire to emigrate to overseas countries where their services

can be utilized in conformity with generally accepted international standards of employment and living conditions, with full respect for human rights” (Leitner, 1997). The 1989 Constitutional amendments of IOM carried over this objective, and a further preambular paragraph was added to the Constitution on consultation on migration issues “not only regarding the migration process but also the specific situation and needs of the migrant as an individual human being (Chetail, 2022). Fundamentally, international migration laws inform migration policies in different countries. International Migration Laws (IMLs) are defined as the international legal framework governing migration (Portes, & Martinez, 2020). In its broader sense, IMLs are not covered by any one legal instrument or norm but constitute an umbrella term covering a variety of principles and rules that together regulate the international obligations of States regarding migrants (Osaghae & Cooney, 2020) von Bloh, Mandakovic, Apablaza, Amorós & Sternberg, 2020; Honig, 2020;).

In the context of promoting migrants’ rights, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) is mandated to promote, protect, and fulfil the human rights of all migrants, regardless of their status as regular or irregular migrants (von Bloh et al., 2020). The OHCHR promotes a rights-based approach to migration at the global level, by placing migrants at the center of migration policies and governance (Li & Li, 2016). The OHCHR also ensures that migrants are considered in all relevant national action plans and strategies, such as plans on the provision of public housing or national strategies to combat racism and xenophobia (von Bloh et al., 2020).

These notwithstanding, at the global level, there is no single instrument or norm that covers all relevant rights and responsibilities of migrants (Portes & Martinez, 2020). What exists are pockets and isolated laws and regulations in different countries regarding how migrants are treated (Osaghae & Cooney, 2020). Thus, developing global policies on migration entails collecting

information on all such isolated international laws and framing them in a more accessible and comprehensible way (Portes & Martinez, 2020). The International Organization for Migration (IOM) is responsible for bridging this information gap, by consolidating information on international migration law and making it accessible through, inter alia, its online migration law database (Osaghae & Cooney, 2020). The International Migration Law Unit (IMLU) was established within IOM to strengthen and promote the Organization's involvement in International Migration Law (IML) (Portes & Martinez, 2020).

The fundamental objective of the International Migration Law Unit is to encourage dissemination and understanding both within IOM and amongst IOM counterparts of the international legal standards that govern migration and provide protection of the rights of individuals involved in migration. The Unit thereby promotes migration governance within the rule of law (Portes & Manning, 2012). Although there is no comprehensive single codified legal instrument at the international level that establishes a framework for the governance of migration, there are sets of legal rules that regulate, and channel state authority over migration (Crush et al., 2015; Moyo, Nicolau & Gumbo, 2016). The IOM's online migration law database draws together pockets and isolated migration-related instruments and relevant norms across different countries regulating migration at the international and regional levels (Moyo, Nicolau & Gumbo, 2016). The sources of information include relevant international, regional and bilateral treaties (Crush et. al., 2015), international and regional resolutions, declarations and other relevant and prominent case laws (Portes & Martinez, 2020; Triandafyllidou & Ilies, 2016).

These pockets of rules (most of which have been created through inter-state relations, negotiations and practice) are enshrined in multilateral and bilateral treaties, non-binding instruments, or have become part of customary international law (Wang & Zhan, 2019). Recognition of the rights of

migrants and the need for the promotion and protection of these rights in the exercise of state sovereignty has been present in IOM's constituent documents since the Organization's foundation (Crush et. al., 2015). The IOM constitution contains certain decisions and policy documents that provide the basis for IOM's involvement in promoting International Migration Law (IML) as part of its comprehensive migration management frameworks (Czaika & Parsons, 2017). The IML Unit of the IOM facilitates and monitors member countries to ensure that their treatments of migrants comply with global best practices, through advocacy for legislation review.

The IOM draws on different sources of information for carrying out their mandates. These include; the World Population Policies Database, the International Migration Policies Report, the Global Migration Database, and the Determinants of International Migration (DEMIG) Policy, which tracks more than 6,500 migration policy changes enacted by 45 countries from 1945 to 2013. There are Migration Governance Indicators (MGI) which is a framework to assess the comprehensiveness of countries' migration policies and to help identify gaps and priorities to build institutional capacity and programs on migration (De Haas, Natter & Vezzoli, 2018.).

The Immigration Policies in Comparison (IMPIC) project developed a set of 69 sophisticated quantitative indicators to measure immigration policies in all (33) OECD countries for the period 1980 to 2010. The OECD's Policy and Institutional Coherence for Migration and Development (PICMD) dashboard measures the extent to which public policies and institutional arrangements are coherent with international best practices to minimize the risks and maximize the development gains of migration. There is also a related index (Migration Integration Policy Index, MIPEX), which also measures migration governance but focuses on integration policies instead of migration policies.

This study follows De Haas, Natter & Vezzoli (2018) and adopts the Migration Governance Indicators (MGI) framework to assess the comprehensiveness of migration policies and to help identify gaps and priorities to build institutional capacity and programs on migration.

The MGI framework aims to advance conversations on migration governance by clarifying what “well-governed migration” might look like in the context of SDG Target 10.7 (“facilitate orderly, safe, and responsible migration and mobility of people, including through implementation of planned and well-managed migration policies”)

The six dimensions of migration governance included in the MiGOF and MGI are Migrants' Rights, Whole Government Approach, Partnerships, Well-Being of Migrants, Mobility Dimensions of Crises, and Safe, Orderly, and Dignified Migration.

Under the Whole of Government Approach, for instance, this study assesses Ghana’s institutional, legal, and regulatory frameworks related to migration policies with emphasis on the Ghana Investment Promotion Centre Act, 1994 (Act 478); 2013 (Act 865). The Partnership approach as applied in the current study hinges on cooperation between migrants and citizens as this can lead to improvements in governance by aligning and raising standards, increasing dialogue, and providing structures to overcome challenges between Ghanaian and Chinese traders.

2.2.2.2 Regional Legislation on Migration

This sub-section presents a discussion on policies and legislation regarding migration within Africa. Geographic influences have been argued to be one of the most fundamental underpinnings of migration today (Bonjour, Ripoll Servent, & Thielemann, 2018). In a geographic sense, research suggests that more people migrate out of Africa to other geographic regions of the world such as

Europe, America, Asia, and Oceania (Castles, 2017). There is a third line of migration which involves non-Africans migrating into the African subregion (Castillejo, Dick, & Schraven, 2019). The subsection provides in-depth discussions about the policies and regulations at the regional level that influence migrants on the African continent. This is to provide information to migration policymakers, practitioners, and researchers to make better sense of international migration to present a regional migration overview.

The IOM's World Migration Report (2020) identifies three groups of migrants relating to Africa; 'migrants to Africa', 'migrants in Africa', and 'migrants from Africa' (WMR, 2020). Migrants to Africa" refers to migrants residing in the region (i.e., Africa) who were born in one of the other regions (e.g., Europe or Asia) (De Haas, Czaika, Flahaux, Mahendra, Natter, Vezzoli & Villares-Varela, 2018). "Migrants within Africa" refers to migrants born in the region (i.e., Africa) and residing outside their country of birth, but still within the African region (Awumbila, 2017, p 87). "Migrants from Africa" refers to people born in Africa who were residing outside the region (e.g., in Europe or Northern America) (Adam, Trauner, Jegen & Roos, 2019). This study focuses on migrants to Africa. Migration in Africa involves large numbers of migrants moving both within and from the region. The World Migration Report (2020) indicates that, in 2019, over 21 million Africans were living in another country. In the last decade, however, the number of migrants to Africa' has been growing steadily. However, regional legislation is yet to be coordinated.

A survey of migration policies conducted in 2015 by the International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD) and the International Organization for Migration (IOM's Regional Office for West and Central Africa) shows the limited existence of well-coordinated policies on migration in Africa. Within the West African sub-region, there exists the 1979 Protocol relating to the Free

Movement of Persons and other supplementing protocols regarding the Rights of Residence and Establishment of migrants.

However, for over four decades (since 1979), Member States of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) have yet to develop these migration protocols into laws to protect and regulate the activities of migrants within the sub-region. The formulation deficits are largely due to a lack of ECOWAS governments' commitment leading to the creation of policy ambiguities, weak institutional arrangements, and resource constraints (Teye et al., 2019). For instance, Teye et al. (2019) note that challenges such as harassment at the borders can be attributed to weak institutional arrangements. It is important to note also that there have been portions of the protocols that are implemented in bits in some ECOWAS countries. For instance, while the right of entry and the abolition of visa requirements for a 90-day stay have been implemented in all countries within the West African region, less progress can be noted as regards the Right of Residence, the Right of Establishment, and access to employment (Fioramonti & Nshimbi, 2016; Triandafyllidou, 2018). Many of these protocols apply more to migrants within Africa, rather than migrants to Africa. These show a lack of well-developed standing policies and regulations regarding the protection and regulations of activities of migrants to Africa at the regional level (Fioramonti & Nshimbi, 2016; Geddes, Espinoza, Abdou & Brumat, 2019). What is evident is the fact that some individual African countries are explicitly planning to develop national migration policies or strategies (Lavenex, Jurje, Givens, & Buchanan, 2016).

2.2.2.3 National Legislation on Immigrants

In the past, Ghana's migration policies have been governed by several laws created following the nation's independence (Adam & Trauner, 2019). The earliest legal instrument enacted to regulate

the entry, stay, and commercial activities of foreigners in Ghana was the Alien Act of 1963 (Act 160). The Act (160) was argued to have established a more liberal immigration regime in Ghana (when it opened the Ghanaian market to external investors), while defending the labour market against unfair competition from immigrants (Mouthaan, 2019). This was done by restricting access to foreign nationals to certain key sectors of the economy (particularly retail of essential goods) to prevent dominance by foreigners (Dick, & Heitkamp, 2016). However, by 1990, the Alien Act of 1963 (Act 160) had become obsolete, which called for the need for reforms to meet the growing trends in global migration.

After the Alien Act, several legal policies have been developed to regulate various aspects of migration in Ghana. First and foremost, the 1992 Constitution of Ghana safeguards the fundamental human rights of all people within the borders of Ghana, including immigrants. Since the development of the 1992 Constitution, there have been several Acts of Parliament, developed to regulate migration, by incorporating different international, regional, and sub-regional migration regulation statutes (Awumbila & Teye, 2014). A few of the legal regulations of migration in Ghana have been provided in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Policies and Regulations on Migration in Ghana

Acts of Parliament / Legislative Instrument	Focus of Regulation
Immigration Act, 2000, (Acts 573), Immigration (Amendment) Act, 2002 (Act 848)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide for the admission/entry, residence, employment, and removal of foreigners
Immigration Regulations, 2001 (L. I 1961)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recognize diaspora for citizenship

Labour Act, 2003, (Act 651)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Grant permission for immigrant labour and other legally relevant industrial legal provisions
Labour Regulations, 2007 (L.I. 1833)	
Ghana Investment Promotion Centre Act, 1994 (Act 478); 2013 (Act 865)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Established the Ghana Investment Promotion Centre to encourage and promote investments
Ghana Free Zone Act, 1995 (Act 504)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Established free zones for development
Minerals and Mining Act, 2006 (Act 703)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Grants residence permits to foreign workers who wish to work in designated free zones• Permits holders of mineral rights immigration quotas for specified numbers of expatriate personnel; freedom from taxation of remittances
Foreign Exchange Act, 2006 (Act, 723)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Permits operation of businesses in foreign exchange and the conduct of such businesses

Source: Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana (2017)

The Immigration Act 2000 (Act 573) is used to manage both immigration and emigration. The Act 573 makes provisions for the "admission, residence, employment and removal of foreign nationals

in Ghana” and other related matters. Act 573 also makes provisions for the deportation, exemption, detention, petitions, and miscellaneous offenses. The Act therefore provides for yet another liberal migration regime but does not make provisions for migration integration in Ghana.

Over the years, the Government of Ghana keeps revising the national policy on migration. The numerous revisions of the policies are geared towards increasing the immigration of skilled labour and opening doors for commercial migration into Ghana. In 2016, Ghana developed yet another migration policy. Ghana’s National Policy on Migration (NPM) was formally launched on 5th April 2016 with the help and support from the IOM. This policy is supposed to regulate and guide the management of Ghana’s internal, intra-regional, and international migration flows (Bosiakoh, 2012). The NPM aims to promote the maximization of the benefits and the minimization of the costs of migration.

The development of the policy was supported by an IOM Development Fund (IDF)-backed project: “Developing a Migration Policy to Integrate Migration into the National Development Framework for Ghana”. The IOM worked with the Migration Unit of the Ministry of the Interior and the Inter-Ministerial Steering Committee on Migration (IMSCM) throughout the development of the policy culminating in its validation and adoption. The project was also supported by the German Development Cooperation (GIZ), the European Union Delegation to Ghana, and the Italian Embassy.

2.2.2.4 Legislation and Institutions on Immigrant Trading in Ghana

Ghana’s provisions of legislation on immigrant trading activities within the country are provided within different legal documents and regulations. For instance, the Ghana Free Zone Act, of 1995 (Act 504) established free zones for the promotion of economic development. The Act 504 also

grants residence permits to foreign workers who wish to work in designated free zones. The Labour Act of 2003 (Act 651) and the Labour Regulations of 2007 (L.I 1833) both make provisions regarding immigrant labour and other legal industrial provisions that immigrant labourers can engage in.

The Ghana Investment Promotion Centre (GIPC) is a government organization created by the GIPC Act 2013 (Act 865) to promote, coordinate, and facilitate investment in the Ghanaian economy to develop and improve commerce and investment in Ghana. The GIPC Act (865), passed in 2013, gives the GIPC the authority to guarantee the establishment of an environment that will facilitate foreign investment promotion in Ghana. Section 27 of the Act lists the trading activities that are exclusive to Ghanaians and Ghanaian-owned businesses. According to the Ghana Investment Promotion Act (865), 2013, some retail trading was the preserve of the Ghanaians only.

As stated in Section 27(1) of the Act, “A person who is not a citizen or an enterprise which is not wholly owned by a citizen shall not invest or participate in; (a) the sale of goods or provision of services in a market, petty trading or hawking or selling of goods in a stall at any place; (b) the operation of taxi or car hire service in an enterprise that has a fleet of less than twenty (20) vehicles; (c) the operation of a beauty salon or a barber shop; (d) the printing of recharge scratch cards for the use of subscribers of telecommunication services; (e) the production of exercise books and other basic stationery; (f) the retail of finished pharmaceutical products;(g) the production, supply and retail of sachet water; and (h) all aspects of pool betting businesses and lotteries, except football pool”. The provision in the Act makes it unlawful for non-Ghanaians to engage in some retail activities preserved by the Act for only Ghanaians. Additionally, it is made plain in subsection (1) of section 28 of the GIPC Act 2013 (Act 865) that someone can operate a business even if they are not a citizen. It also stipulates that, in the case of a joint venture with a citizen

partner, the foreign capital investment must amount to at least USD 200,000 in cash, capital goods relevant to the investment, or a combination of the two through equity participation, and the citizen partner cannot own less than 10% of the joint venture. When that person is the sole owner of the business, that person must invest foreign money in the amount of at least \$500,000 in the form of equity capital, either in the form of cash, capital goods related to the investment, or a mix of both. A person who is not a citizen may operate a trading business if the person invests at least 1,000,000 USD in the business in the form of cash or capital goods related to the investments, according to subsection (2) of section 28 of the GIPC Act 2013 (Act 865). An enterprise mentioned in subsection (2) must employ at least twenty skilled Ghanaians, according to subsection (4).

This Act aimed to give foreign nationals doing business in the country a greater mandate and set of rules. The great majority of Ghanaian enterprises have not been able to reach Chinese markets, despite Ghana acting as a market for Chinese goods and services. This has created certain difficulties for the nation's small companies, which has sparked some agitation among the populace.

Additionally, the Minerals and Mining Act, 2006 (Act 703) provides tax-free remittances for permit holders of mineral rights as well as immigration quotas for a certain number of expatriate staff. Operating businesses in foreign exchange and carrying on such activity are both permitted by the Foreign Exchange Act, of 2006 (Act, 723).

2.3 Contemporary Chinese Relations

This section presents discussions of Chinese relations with Africa. The discussion is sub-sectioned into three parts. The Chinese migration into Africa is first discussed to situate the Chinese presence in Ghana within the broader context of their interests in Africa. The debate is then focused on

Chinese immigration to Ghana, followed by their business activities, as well as the challenges associated with their business activities in Ghana.

2.3.1 Historical Context of Chinese Migration

Chinese emigration started during China's recorded first imperial dynasty (221-207 BC) led by then-Chinese leader Qin Shi Huang (Wang, 1995). The Dynasty dispatched a team led by Xu Fu (Lai, 2002; Williams & Peberdy, 2005) to sail overseas in search of greener pastures for the population. The team which was composed of 3000 virgin boys and girls was later settled in Honshu, Japan (Lai, 2002; Williams & Peberdy, 2005). The Han Dynasty which succeeded the Qin Dynasty was the second imperial dynasty in China (Cosmo, 1994; Dirlik, 1996). The Han Dynasty period was considered a golden age in Chinese history (Skinner, 2018). The Dynasty formally established a military and agricultural colony and continued to dispatch Chinese overseas trying to conquer more lands for farming (Barfield, 2008). Some Chinese sent abroad later made their way to a region mostly inhabited by Tocharians, an Indo-European group (Dirlik, 1996). By the 10th Century, many Chinese had migrated to farming communities at Palembang, part of present-day Indonesia. A large number of Chinese migrants in the Palembang region later migrated to Nanyang in an attempt to escape wars during the Tang dynasty of China (Thunø et al., 2016). The Nanyang region which stretches along the Southern coastal regions of China became known as the "Great Golden Peninsular" due to the large number of Chinese migrants (Cosmo, 1994). Between the 10th and 15th centuries, Chinese immigrants, some of whom became merchants, lived along Southeast Asia's ports in places like Champa, Cambodia, Java, and Sumatra, where they married locals (Yan, Sautman, & Lu, 2019). The period from the 15th to 19th Century witnessed the fall of the Ming dynasty in China which led to the spread of Chinese refugees to settle in the Chams and Cambodia (Dirlik, 1996; Munslow, 2012). Chinese refugees from Zhangzhou moved

to the northern section of the Malay Peninsula after the Quig dynasty's invasion during the Ming era (Dirlik, 1996). Early European powers encountered the Chinese migrants during this time and observed their established positions in Asia (Gukurume, 2019). Some Chinese went to British Malaya in the beginning of the 19th century from the provinces of Fujian and Guangdong to work in the tin mines and rubber plantations, or even to create new farmlands (Dirlik, 1996). Due to the Second Sino-Japanese War and the Chinese Civil War, several Chinese residents left their country between 1927 and 1949 out of fear of food shortages, joblessness, and general insecurity (Davis, 1962). After the defeat of the nationalist fighters during the civil war, some of the fighters fled to Singapore, Sawawak, North Borneo, and Malaya for fear of prosecution and execution by the Communist Party of China (Cosmo, 1994). The Republic of China's retreat to Taiwan, also known as the Kuomintang retreat, saw the exodus of the supporters of the Kuomintang-ruled government of the Republic of China to the Island of Taiwan in December 1949 at the end of the civil war. This includes over 2 million troops, civilians, and refugees, fleeing from the threats of the Communist People's Liberation Army (Thunø et al., 2016).

By the end of the 19th Century, the Chinese government realized that Chinese labour could be an asset and a foreign investment as their know-how could be tapped for national development (Park, 2009). The government therefore encouraged Chinese migrants to identify themselves as overseas Chinese (Pal Nyiri, 2018). Migrants from China were referred to as "Sinkeh" during the 19th and 20th centuries, which means "new guest". Many Chinese fled the chaos, wars, and poverty in China by emigrating to Singapore, which is nearby, in search of a better life (Hodzi, 2019). Many of the Chinese migrants at the time search for work as coolies, workers on steamboats, and other manual labourer jobs available (Jung, 2006).

Late 19th century, the Chinese government discovered that Chinese immigrants may be beneficial

as a foreign investment whose know-how could be tapped for national development (Park, 2009). The Chinese government therefore encouraged Chinese migrants to identify themselves as Overseas Chinese. It is worth noting that in 1957, about 8.2 million Chinese migrated from Guangdong Province due to limited arable land and unfavorable soil texture for farming land and moved to Chinatown in the USA and Canada (Wang & Zhan, 2019). The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 by the USA prevented Chinese from migrating to the United States. A similar law, the Chinese Head Tax, was also passed by the Canadian Parliament in 1885 imposing a fixed fee to each Chinese entering Canada (Verde, 2005). The Act was to discourage the Chinese from migrating to Canada. In 1923, the Canadian Parliament passed a law that prohibited the Chinese from entering into Canada (Lai, 2002). The Chinese Exclusion Act was, however, repealed in 1965. In the case of Canada, the de jure in 1947 and the de facto in 1960 led to the opening up of immigration to Canada for all including the Chinese (Dirlik, 1996).

In the late 20th Century, the Chinese government placed strict immigration controls which prevented a large number of Chinese from leaving China (Thunø et al., 2016). Nonetheless, about 100,000 individuals were permitted to immigrate to Hong Kong (Davis, 1962). Between 1979 and 1980, about 200,000 Chinese migrated to Hong Kong and it resulted in the effort by both Hong Kong and mainland China to reduce the flow of migration between the two (Burns, J. 1987).

By the latter part of the 1980s, the Chinese government had liberalized its immigration laws as a part of the 'Open Door Policy' economic liberalization (Hodzi, 2019). The "Open Door" policy introduced under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping focused on foreign trade as a major vehicle for economic growth (Mohan & Tan-Mullins, 2009). The regime's liberalized emigration policy served to make it easier for the growing number of Chinese people who wanted to join their relatives abroad. By 1984, about 11,500 business visas for Chinese nationals to visit the USA had been awarded. (Obeng, 2019) and by 1985, the Chinese students and scholars population in the

US had reached 15,000. In 1983, China and the United States in a bid to formalize their emigration policies, signed the United States-China Consular Convention which permits both citizens of countries to travel to each other's countries for family reunification (Dankwah & Amoah, 2019). Just around the same period, the defunct Soviet Union, Iraq, and Germany's requests for the export of labour particularly the Chinese were over 500, 000, out of which about 50,000 Chinese were successfully dispatched to these countries. Although some nations needed Chinese labour, it is important to emphasize that emigration from China was difficult and that many nations were unwilling or unable to accommodate the enormous number of Chinese who were ready to migrate (Giese, 2003). Another obstacle that hindered the migration process was the Chinese government's resistance to issuing passports and other travel exit permits (Biao, 2016).

There was some wave of emigration of the Chinese mostly Mandarin-speaking from northern China to Malaysia in the 1990s. Despite China's long history of emigration to the rest of the globe, there has also been a sizable influx of Overseas Chinese who left in the late 1940s and returned after receiving incentives from the Chinese government to return to mainland China (Verde, 2005). Additionally, due to deteriorating relations between the two nations during 1978 and 1979, about 250,000 ethnic Chinese departed Vietnam for southern China's mainland (Amer, 1996).

2.3.2 Chinese Migration to Africa

The history of Chinese migrants to Africa dates to the 17th century with the Dutch East India Company in current South Africa and was later followed by a small number of Chinese contract workers who also arrived in the southern part of Africa and another part of Africa including Ghana in the mid-19th century (Park, 2009). Evidence of early Chinese emigration into Africa was discovered in a village of Mambrui on Kenya's northern coast where a long-held Kenya legend that Chinese mariners had once settled on the Swahili coast (Kuang, 2008; Yan et al., 2019).

According to Jinyuan (1984), Tang dynasty (618–907) Chinese porcelains were discovered by archaeologists in Kenyan villages. However, it was later determined that Zhen He, a Chinese mariner, brought the porcelains over during his 15th-century sea voyages. Oral tradition emphasized that after killing a large python, the natives allowed the Chinese to stay. The Chinese afterward became Muslims and wed local women (Hodzi, 2019; Skinner, 2018; Park, 2009).

According to Yap (1996), Chu Ssu-pen, a Chinese mapmaker, included a drawing of a map of southern Africa in 1320 in their book *Color, Confusions and Concessions: The History of Chinese in South Africa* (Park, 2009). Other objects, including ceramics, have been discovered in South Africa and Zimbabwe that originate from the Chinese Song dynasty (Gukurume, 2019). Some locals in Cape Town, South Africa, claimed to be descended from Chinese sailors who arrived there in the thirteenth century. They had skin colors similar to Chinese people's and spoke a language with a Mandarin-like accent (Kuang, 2008). These natives are sometimes called Awatwa, meaning abandoned people.

During the 18th Century, the Chinese had some restrictive measures against migration out of China (Shen, 2006). However, after the Opium War of the 1840s and 1850s between the Great Qing and the British Government concerning the trade of opium, the Chinese were pressured to relax the restrictive policies concerning Chinese emigration (Chan, 2018). The reform led to many Chinese migrating to other parts of the world including Africa in the form of the 'coolie trade' (Park, 2006). Several of the labourers who came to work on the various contracts did not return entirely after the contract of these companies expired (Mohan & Tan-Mullins, 2009). According to the literature, most of the Chinese who migrated to Africa were Chinese enterprising group of independent traders who embarked on adventure and were involved in small-scale export (Pan, 2005). Other factors that accounted for the massive Chinese emigration to Africa were because of pull and push

factors which involved factors that encouraged the Chinese to migrate to Africa and those that attracted them to migrate to Africa (Cook et al, 2016).

The emigration trend of the Chinese continued until 1949 when the People's Republic of China (PRC) was formed and a reversal policy was put in place to curb the emigration during which period the Kuomintang withdrew to Taiwan to form the Republic of China (Mohan & Tan-Mullins, 2009). Taiwan has remained an important state to the African migration story in some ways (Timothy & Banerjee, 2015). One of the ways was that during the period, the Chinese Diaspora and many Taiwanese firms moved to Africa, particularly South Africa to operate amid political and economic instability during the time in South Africa (Pickle & Wood, 1999).

Geopolitical strategy engaged in Africa during the Cold War witnessed China challenging some of the major superpowers through its targeting of aid (Brautigam, 2003).

Modern China-African migration trends were linked to China's internal policy in the late 1950s under the leadership of Chairman Mao Zedong which fostered anti-colonial and post-colonial solidarity with countries on the African continent (Park, 2009). The recent trends in the migration of the Chinese to Africa were also because of China's market-oriented economic reforms in the 1970s and the liberalization of emigration laws in China in 1985, both of which made it easier for Chinese nationals to obtain the necessary documents to travel (Xiang, 2013). Between 1960 and 1980, 150,000 Chinese technical assistants were dispatched to Africa to work in the areas of agriculture, transport infrastructure development (roads and railways), construction of official buildings (including football stadiums), industrial development (for example, close to half of the industrialization process in Mali during the 1960s was supported by China) (ECOWAS-SWAC/OECD, 2006). It was recorded that though the aid workers were not in large numbers, a significant number of the workers did not return to China and stayed on the continent to engage in

other commercial activities (Hsu, 2007). At this time, overseas Chinese were not perceived as traitors to China in line with a new policy that saw them as vast resources as they sent remittances, and they became more independent in engaging in business activities (Thuno, 2001).

The geopolitical concerns in the 1970s increased the number of migrants from Taiwan and Hong Kong middle-class professionals and entrepreneurs to Africa particularly South Africa (Pickles & Wood, 1989). During the 1980s, about 400 Taiwanese industries set up branches in South Africa. These industries later took advantage of the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) to export their goods into the USA under the framework agreement (Kaplinsky & Morris, 2009). These attracted about 40,000 Taiwanese migrants living in South Africa (Wilhelm, 2006).

Botchwey et al. (2018) and Xiang (2013) unanimously assert that the entry of Chinese migrants into African states was a result of weak immigration entry requirements, especially in some African countries including Ghana where Chinese migrants enter Ghana illegally through porous borders, especially from Togo where Chinese national have visa-on-arrival access Available literature points to a long migration history of Chinese migrants to Ghana since the 1980s (Jinpu & Ning, 2019). The first significant wave of Chinese migration to Ghana was recorded in the 1950s before the independence of Ghana in 1957 (Ho, 2008). The earliest literature on the earliest Chinese migrants in Ghana was on Hong Kong Chinese engaged in tobacco farming and small-scale manufacturing (Hodzi, 2019). Between the 1950s and 1980s, the Chinese involvement in Ghana was mostly in the textile industry leading to the establishment of Akosombo Textiles Limited and Juapong Textiles Limited (Xiaoyang, 2018). From the late 1980s to the early 1990s, there were a new wave of Chinese migrants to Ghana who were involved in the construction and engineering enterprises mainly owned/operated by Chinese state-owned-enterprises (Amanor & Chichava, 2016). These enterprises have been expanding and later spreading their activities into

other parts of Ghana (Jinpu & Ning, 2019). Aside from the influx of the Chinese state-owned-enterprises with accompanying migrants, individual Chinese migrants also came to Ghana as traders of imported Chinese goods such as electrical and electronic appliances, textiles, small appliances, and everyday use goods (Jinpu & Ning, Z., 2019). Some earlier Chinese migrants in Ghana also invested in restaurants, clinics, and fishing (Ho, 2012).

Another phase of the migration of Chinese to Africa came during the leadership of Deng Xiaoping when he introduced the concept of the socialist market economy in 1978, and the period weakened the role of the State in emigration (Cui, 2012). The number of Chinese living in poverty has reduced drastically because of prudent economic transformation which includes partial or total privatization of some state-owned enterprises (SOE) which led to an internalization strategy that has seen an increase in Chinese investments overseas (UN, 2007). The reform led to lowered trade barriers and neutralization of emigration legislation which sought to legitimize emigration for greener pastures (Biao, 2003). Hence, it has become easier for Chinese business executives as well as tourists to travel to other parts of the world. Additionally, the reforms also affected labour regulations leading to deregulation of existing labour laws and growth in private sector contractors in densely populated provinces such as Sichuan, Hubei, and Henan (Wong, 2006). It was estimated that over 80, 000 workers were brought to Africa to work on various projects with the majority in the construction sites (Chen et al 2009). The economic boom during the period created a huge demand for raw materials for the industries as well as markets for the cheap Chinese goods being produced from the industrialization (Matt, 2011). This has seen a wave of economic migration from China to Africa by major state-influenced construction companies, mining companies, oil & gas companies as well as private businessmen and traders (Hanauer & Lyle, 2014).

Chinese emigration has resulted in the growth of Chinese State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs) and

privately owned companies in the fields of engineering and construction which were typically labour-intensive has also created jobs for African labour. According to a World Bank study, Chinese finance for infrastructure on the African continent has risen since the 2000s from \$1 billion per year to about \$7 trillion in 2018 (Chan, 2019). It is estimated that the Chinese were engaged in projects in over 40 countries in Africa which are mostly funded by the Chinese EXIM Bank (Mohan & Tan-Mullins, 2009). One of the issues that came up because of Chinese migration to Africa was the competition between the Chinese companies and the indigenous African firms resulting in the marginalization of the African firms (Dobler, 2008). These were notable in the mining sector where the Chinese companies bring cheap labour from China even though the contract may specifically indicate several workers that need to be recruited locally (Mohan, G & Tan-Mullins, M, 2009). The situation was not different in the construction sector where Chinese construction firms bring cheap labour to undertake contracts even though the contract agreement may state otherwise (Mohan & Tan-Mullins, 2009). A typical example was in the case of the construction of the Chinese EXIM-funded Bui Dam in Ghana which the agreement was explicit as to several Ghanaian workers to employ (Mohan, G & Tan-Mullins, M, 2009). It is worthy to note that as per the contract agreement signed, about 3000 Ghanaians were to be employed as against 700 Chinese on the Bui Dam project but the reality was different (Bakke, 2017). In trying to resolve some of these issues, there is a recent document between China and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) where one in every five workers should be Chinese, however, it is very difficult for independent monitoring to confirm whether the agreement has been adhered to (Curtis, 2008). In related issues in other African countries, Angolan companies were prepared to recruit Chinese Angola nationals for the reason been cheap labour and requisite skills which sometimes brings tension between the local workers and the Chinese migrant workers (Corkin, 2011). A similar situation was witnessed between South African nationals and Chinese migrants (Naidu, 2008).

Another effect of Chinese emigration to Africa is the area of state-backed Chinese migrants who are entrepreneurs that typically operate in trade, manufacturing, and provisions of various services in African countries (Kolnert & Dirk 2016). Research mentions Morocco, Ghana (Colombant, 2006), Angola (Corkin, 2008), Cameroon, Namibia, and Cape Verde as some of the nations that were particularly affected (Haugen and Carling, 2005; Mung, 2008). It was, however, argued that these entrepreneurs are independent of China state institutions although there has always been a notion that suggests the contrary (Ho, 2008). These Chinese traders are well noted for marketing cheap Chinese manufactured goods on the African continent which brings tension between them and their African counterparts (Davies, 2008). In some of the African countries, resentment at the practice of the Chinese traders led to some protection and violence against Chinese traders and migrants (Hanauer & Lyle, 2014). The trend of the Chinese traders has been similar on the African continent (Eisenman, 2012). In Kenya for example, the cheap Chinese goods called ‘down street’ are relatively cheaper and patronized by many customers (Power, Mohan & Tan-Mullins, 2012). Another group of Chinese migrants in Africa are transitory migrants (Mung, 2008). Some of these Chinese who intend to travel to seek greener pastures in Western European countries and North America, break their journey in Africa and then continue (Mung, 2008). During this period in Africa, the migrants work to save money and get the necessary documentation to continue their journey to their intended destination (Mung, 2008). It was noted these transitory Chinese migrants usually take up petty trading in Chinese goods for their livelihood until the opportunity avails itself for their further travel (Mung, 2008).

2.3.3 China's Relation with Africa

The relation between China and Africa is referred to as the Sino-African relations. The Sino-African relationship is therefore defined as the historical, political, economic, military, social, and

cultural connections between China and the African continent (Felbo-Kolding, Leschke & Spreckelsen, 2018). Research suggests that the specific period of the beginning of the Sino-Africa relations is not known, but there has always been a historical or ancient relationship between Africa and China, particularly in the areas of trade connections (Batchelor & Zhang, 2017; Mlambo, Kushamba & Simawu, 2016).

There have been different accounts of Chinese encounters with Africans in different historical periods and for different reasons. For instance, trade contacts between China and Africa date back to 202 BC and AD 220, often through intermediaries (Xing, & Farah, 2016). Ptolemy described China in two different ways while writing in Roman Egypt in the second century (Xing, & Farah, 2016). The Silk Road was first, followed by the Indian Ocean trade (Batchelor & Zhang, 2017). The Seres or silk people and the Sinai of the southern trade, whose name likely dates from the Qin period, are two other types of Chinese people that he identified (Batchelor & Zhang, 2017).

There is reported evidence of medieval contacts of some great men of Africa with the Chinese, most of them through their travels. For instance, historical research indicates that the Somalis from the Ajuran Empire were the first Africans to ever communicate with the Chinese (Farooq, Yuan, Zhu & Feroze, 2018). In addition, numerous Chinese coins were found during archaeological digs at Kilwa, Tanzania, and Mogadishu in the Ajuran Empire (Alden & Jiang, 2019). According to Richard Pankhurst, the Song Dynasty was the period when many Chinese coins were produced, while there were also examples from the Ming and Qing dynasties (Xing, & Farah, 2016). Ibn Battuta, a Moroccan philosopher, and traveler who visited sections of China in the 13th century, is one example (Farooq, Yuan, Zhu & Feroze, 2018). Additionally, Sa'id of Mogadishu, a Somali scholar, and adventurer, traveled to China in the fourteenth century (Batchelor & Zhang, 2017). The Chinese admiral Zheng's Ming dynasty expeditions in the fifteenth century are another example. He and his fleet traveled around Somalia's coastline, passing the Ajuran Sultanate, and

then continued along the coast until they reached the Mozambique Channel (Batchelor & Zhang, 2017).

These medieval records show that Africa had always had historical contact with the Chinese. However, it is considered that the current political and economic ties between China and Africa began under Mao Zedong (Diawara & Hanson, 2019), following the Chinese Communist Party's victory in the Chinese Civil War (Ademola, Bankole & Adewuyi, 2016). The first official bilateral trade agreement between China and Egypt, Guinea, Algeria, Somalia, Sudan, and Morocco were signed in the late 1950s, which marks the beginning of the contemporary Sino-African commercial relations in their current, structured form (Leslie, 2018). The first large-scale African-Asian Conference, which became known as the Bandung Conference was held between 18th - 24th April 1955 in Bandung, Indonesia. The Bandung Conference sought to promote economic and cultural cooperation between Africa and Asian countries. Since the Conference focused on fostering political, economic, and cultural cooperation between the two continents, it had a significant impact on China-Africa relations (Appadurai, 1955; Shimazu, 2014). The conference laid the foundation for the establishment of the non-aligned movements during the cold war (Parker, 2006). The People's Republic of China (PRC) quickly developed diplomatic ties with several African nations in the 1960s (Farooq, Yuan, Zhu & Feroze, 2018). Relationships at the period frequently reflected China's overall foreign strategy (Leslie, 2018). China's foreign policy at the time engendered China to "begin cultivating ties and offer economic, technical and military support to African countries and liberation movements in an effort to encourage wars of national liberation and revolution as part of an international united front against both superpowers" (Ademola, Bankole & Adewuyi, 2016). By the beginning of the 21st century, China and Africa have established close commercial connections (Leslie, 2018). There are about two million Chinese

nationals living in Africa (Leslie, 2018). A further estimate states that 200,000 Africans are employed in China (Diawara & Hanson, 2019)

The presence of Chinese manufacturing companies has given rise to the number of Chinese migrants in Africa. Chinese manufacturing has mainly been labour intensive requiring many workers at factories. The Chinese brought in their labour to work at the various factories (Pilling & Feng, 2019). Contrary to earlier stories that most Chinese migrants were in Africa as aid workers, Ho (2008) revealed that during the time of Ghana's independence, the Chinese were attracted to Ghana for example suspecting that the economy would be booming (Xiaoyang, 2018). It is worth noting that South Africa was one of the countries with the largest number of manufacturers from China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan.

Existing Chinese food joints and restaurants also sustained the stay of Chinese migrants by providing an enabling food-culture environment which further attracted other Chinese migrants to Africa (Zhao, 2017). One of the legacies of the Cold War aid program was that Chinese migrants became involved in several business ventures such as restaurants and the sale of Chinese medicine (Hsu, 2007). These activities were initially set up for the growing Chinese migrant population but over time the locals became more interested in the restaurants and Chinese indigenous medicine (Zhao, 2017). In terms of medicine, Chinese medical practitioners worked for aid teams in the 1970s but some stayed behind and set up their private clinics using both Chinese and Western medicine (Hsu, 2007).

China's growing commercial involvement in Africa has been well documented. In the 1980s, the total volume of Sino-Africa trade stood at US\$1 billion (Amusan, 2019; Leslie, 2018). By 1999, the Sino-Africa trade volume had increased to US\$6.5 billion, and in 2000, the volume reached US\$10 billion (Diawara & Hanson, 2019). By the end of 2005, the total Sino-African trade had increased to US\$39.7 billion before jumping to US\$55 billion in 2006 (Ademola, Bankole &

Adewuyi, 2016). China became Africa's second-largest commercial partner behind the United States, which transacted with African nations for US\$91 billion (Diawara & Hanson, 2019). China overtook France, one of Africa's former colonial powers, in terms of trade volumes in 2006, with commerce worth US\$47 billion. (Farooq, Yuan, Zhu & Feroze, 2018). By 2010, Sino-Africa trade volume was worth US\$114 billion, US\$166.3 billion in 2011, and US\$163.9 billion in 2012 (Amusan, 2019; Leslie, 2018).

According to an economic surveillance study on Africa, about 800 Chinese firms are operating in various regions of Africa (Ademola, Bankole & Adewuyi, 2016). Most of these Chinese businesses are private companies that invest in different business interests, including infrastructure, energy, and banking sectors (Amusan, 2019; Lau, 2020). There have also been reverse trade relations where China also benefits from many products and services from Africa. For instance, an estimated one-third of China's oil supplies come from Africa, mainly from Angola (Amusan, 2019; Lau, 2020). Chinese businesses have recently made significant investments in the energy sector (Bodomo, 2019; Diawara & Hanson, 2019). Deals for oil and gas exploration and production in nations like Nigeria and Angola totalled more than \$2 billion in 2007. (Bodomo, 2019; Shinn, 2019). Many of these investments consist of a mix of loans and aid in exchange for trade agreements and infrastructure development (Bodomo, 2019; Diawara & Hanson, 2019). Within the agricultural sector, countries such as Benin, Burkina Faso and Mali supply up to 20% of China's cotton needs (Amusan, 2019; Lau, 2020). China receives most of its cocoa from Côte d'Ivoire, Namibia remains the main suppliers of fish products to China and Kenya also supplies China with coffee (Ademola, Bankole & Adewuyi, 2016).

There have also been several aid projects undertaken by China in Africa. For instance, the Chinese government built and provided all the funding for the headquarters of the African Union.

Additionally, China has been promoting health in Africa since the 1960s (Amusan, 2019; Lau, 2020).

One of the most productive areas of collaboration has been the development of health care and medical support (Bodomo, 2019; Diawara & Hanson, 2019). Between the early 1960s and 2005, more than 15,000 Chinese doctors were sent to Africa to help treat cases in more than 47 countries (Bodomo, 2019; Diawara & Hanson, 2019). China has also had military cooperation with Africa, dating back to the Cold War period. For instance, China recently dispatched troops to the continent to help maintain peace. Around 1,500 Chinese military personnel were sent to Liberia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo in 2004 under the auspices of the UN (Batchelor & Zhang, 2017). There are three Chinese cultural centers in Africa. In 1988, Mauritius hosted the opening of the first Chinese cultural center outside of China (Amusan, 2019; Lau, 2020). Thereafter, there were two more Chinese cultural centers in Benin and Egypt (Batchelor & Zhang, 2017). 20 centers of the Confucius Institute, which promotes Chinese language and culture, are spread across 13 African nations (Lau, 2020).

There have been a variety of critical viewpoints that have examined China's involvement in its interactions with Africa, focusing on the balance of power and human rights (Bodomo, 2019; Diawara & Hanson, 2019). Africans and foreign observers have both increasingly criticized China's connections with Africa as being neo-colonialist (Batchelor & Zhang, 2017). According to some other academics, Chinese migrant traders' investments have had a favourable effect on the economy of Africa both directly and indirectly by creating jobs (Amusan, 2019; Lau, 2020). At the same time, there have been several concerns about the indirect negative impact of Chinese migrant traders in Africa through displacing local traders (Bodomo, 2019; Diawara & Hanson, 2019). As a result, there have been several worries about the requirement to safeguard Chinese

investments in Africa. China has shifted from its traditional policy of not meddling in the internal affairs of other countries to new diplomatic and military operations to try to quell turmoil in African nations like South Sudan and Mali because of the necessity to preserve its growing investments in Africa (Amusan, 2019; Lau, 2020).

The "going out" strategy, which the Chinese government adopted in 1999, aimed to support Chinese businesses solely to explore opportunities to invest and establish subsidiaries in foreign countries. These Chinese subsidiaries received assistance from the Chinese government to establish themselves, making them occasionally joint owners of the various subsidiaries they established (Boafo, Paolo & Dotsey, 2019; Diawara & Hanson, 2019). There have been numerous protests and strong public sentiments in response to China's expanding influence in Africa (Li & Shi, 2019).

There is currently a plethora of studies documenting the increase in Chinese global consumables on the African continent (Ademola, Bankole & Adewuyi, 2016; Alden & Jiang, 2019; Amusan, 2019; Batchelor & Zhang, 2017). These studies have shown that both Chinese and Africans have actively participated in this project (Boafo, Paolo & Dotsey, 2019; Diawara & Hanson, 2019). The alleged rivalry between Africans and their Chinese counterparts in the African market space is closely related to and emphasized in these works (Guarnizo, 2017; Lampert & Mohan, 2019). The perceived threat that Chinese imports pose to African players is at the heart of this conflict, which has frequently led to protests in public (Haugen, 2018).

2.3.4 China's Relation with Ghana

This subsection presents discussions on the migration of Chinese into Ghana. China's relationship with Ghana has been referred to as the Sino-Ghana relations (Osei-Kyei, Chan, Yu, Chen &

Dansoh, 2019). The historical and current interactions between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Ghana are known as Sino-Ghana ties (Auffray & Fu, 2019; Haugen, 2018; Selase, 2019).

Ghana and China's historical relationship began in the 1960s when both nations established their initial diplomatic ties (Crawford & Botchwey, 2017; Obeng, 2018). Since that time, Ghana has offered China significant, symbolic diplomatic support. For instance, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana's first president, pushed for China to be admitted to the United Nations (Agyekum et al., 2015). Dr. Kwame Nkrumah also provided China with diplomatic support during the Sino-Indian War in 1962 (Sarpong, 2015; Agyekum et al., 2015). For example, Ghana was among the earliest countries to establish diplomatic missions in Beijing and voted for China to be reinstated as a UN permanent member (Idun-Arkhurst, 2008; Klein, 1960). After Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's regime was overthrown, Beijing was said to have withdrawn about 200 Chinese aid workers and Chinese Embassy staff from their Embassy in Ghana (Sarpong, 2015). After the coup, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah sought refuge in Beijing for four days and was hosted by Premier Zhou Enlai (Boafo, Paalo, & Dotsey, 2019; Opoku Dankwah & Valenta, 2019).

China on their part has reciprocated Ghana's symbolic gestures with material and symbolic support towards Ghana's development (Auffray & Fu, 2019; Haugen, 2018; Selase, 2019). For instance, as payment for Ghana's diplomatic assistance during the 1989 Tiananmen Square demonstrations, China constructed Ghana's National Theatre in the early 1990s (Selase, 2019). China provided Ghana with a US\$2.4 million grant to rebuild the National Theatre in 2001, the year John Agyekum Kufuor was elected president of the country. (Cook, Lu, Tugendhat & Alemu, 2016; Lam, 2019).

Since the establishment of diplomatic relations, there have been several high-level visits between the leaders of the two countries. For example, President Nkrumah made an official trip to China,

while Premier Zhou Enlai made a reciprocal trip to Ghana (Dankwah & Amoah, 2019). President John Agyekum Kufuor of Ghana travelled to China on a state visit in 2002. Hu Jintao, the president of China, visited Ghana once again in 2003. In 2007, the second phase of Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao's seven-nation tour of Africa included a stop in Ghana. In 2010, Ghana's President Prof. John Evans Atta Mills also led a delegation for an official visit to China, which the Vice Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Chinese National People's Congress reciprocated in 2011 (Giese, 2017).

On the economic front, the volume of Chinese trade and investments in Ghana has been increasing since the 2000s (Auffray & Fu, 2019; Haugen, 2018; Selase, 2019). The GIPC recorded Chinese projects in Ghana totaling an estimated \$4.4 million in the year 2000. However, Chinese recorded flows reached \$1.6 billion in 2014, and Ghana's manufacturing industry saw the greatest Chinese investment that year. Since 2014, the general trade sector in Ghana has seen an increase in Chinese trade and investments (Moyo, Nicolau & Gumbo, 2016). The Ghanaian economy's building and construction industries were by far the biggest recipients of Chinese investment in 2015, preceded by manufacturing and general trade (Dankwah & Valenta, 2019). The services sector also emerged as one of the significant recipients of the inflows of Chinese trade and investments from 2006 (Moyo, Nicolau & Gumbo, 2016). In terms of economic assistance, Ghana has derived several economic recovery aid programs from China. For instance, six agreements and a US\$66 million Chinese loan were signed in 2007 during Premier Wen Jiabo's visit to Ghana to upgrade and extend Ghana's telecommunications network (Auffray & Fu, 2019; Haugen, 2018). Additionally, China contributed a \$30 million US concessionary loan to the first stage of a communications project to connect Ghana's 36 towns and ten regional capitals with fiber optic connections (Dankwah & Amoah, 2019).

There have also been several aid programs undertaken by China to support Ghana's economic development agenda. A \$6 billion concessionary loan from the China Export-Import Bank, for instance, is being used by Ghana to expand its rail network (Dankwah & Amoah, 2019). In 2009, China granted Ghana an interest-free loan of US\$28 million for the construction of the 17 km Ofankor-Nsawam road (Auffray & Fu, 2019; Haugen, 2018; Selase, 2019). China has also provided substantial technical support to Ghana with more than 700 Ghanaians having attended Chinese-funded training courses in education, trading, communication, energy, auditing, agriculture, and fisheries operation (Dankwah & Amoah, 2019).

2.3.5 Chinese Migrants Business Activities in Ghana

This subsection focuses on the business and entrepreneurial activities undertaken by Chinese migrants in Ghana. Chinese immigrants' business activities in Ghana date to the 1940s and 1950s. These earlier Chinese immigrants, who started coming in the late 1940s and early 1950s, are thought to be of Hong Kong origin (Auffray & Fu, 2019; Haugen, 2018; Selase, 2019). To expand their commercial operations, these ethnic Chinese migrants started bringing their wives and children to Ghana in the late 1960s and early 1970s (Moyo, Nicolau & Gumbo, 2016). Ghana has experienced a growing migration of Chinese immigrant traders in addition to macro trade and investment activities who are largely autonomous of Chinese SOEs. They either stayed in Ghana after working for large Chinese companies or moved between China and Ghana for trading purposes based on the needs of the local market (Haugen, 2018). As a result, the Chinese trade community in Ghana has gradually increased the sophistication and diversification of its economic operations. (Marfaing & Thiel, 2011). An estimated 700,000 Chinese immigrants lived in Africa as of 2019 and engaged in a variety of commercial ventures (Auffray & Fu, 2019; Haugen, 2018).

While some of them arrived as workers, the majority operated restaurants or import-export enterprises as independent traders (Haugen, 2018). According to World Bank's agency World Integrated Trade Solution's (WITS) database, Ghana's top exporter of products is China with a trade volume worth about \$1.9 billion in 2019 representing an outlying 18.2% of total global exports as compared with the USA being the second largest exporter of goods representing 9.35% of total global exports (WITS, 2022). Chinese investments in Ghana were \$1.6 billion in 2014 (Dankwah & Amoah, 2019). Out of 283 businesses in which Chinese nationals and SOEs have invested, records from the GIPC indicate that 97 are in manufacturing, 59 are in trading, 48 are in tourism, 44 are in services, and 15 are in construction sectors.

2.3.6 Challenges faced by Chinese Migrants Businesses in Ghana

According to Dankwah & Valenta (2019), there are increasing Chinese immigrant traders undertaking different business activities in Ghana. The Chinese population in Ghana was estimated to range from less than 10,000 in 2005 (Sautman & Yan 2007; Ho, 2008) but has doubled in 2010 (Giese & Thiel 2012; Lam, 2015). Additionally, Teye et al. (2022) estimate that recently there are about 30,000 Chinese immigrants in Ghana. The GIPC uses the quota system to issue work permits to expatriates or migrant entrepreneurs to engage in trading activities (Dankwah & Valenta, 2019). For instance, a company can only hire one expatriate under the GIPC quota if it has equity between \$50,000 and \$250,000; but, if it has equity between \$200,000 and \$500,000, it can hire up to four expats (Lampert & Mohan, 2019). This is referred to as the GIPC Automatic Quota (Nyanyi, 2020). Even though statistics on the exact number of Chinese migrant traders in Ghana are difficult to estimate (Crawford, Agyeyomah & Mba, 2017), between 2011 and 2013 for instance, there were 176 replacement quotas and 302 automatic quotas for the 478 Chinese on GIPC work permits. For

the years 2011 to 2013, 155 Chinese citizens have work licenses for the free zones. (Dankwah & Valenta, 2019).

Over the years, there have been growing tensions between Ghanaian business operators and immigrant traders, especially Chinese immigrant traders (Dankwah & Amoah, 2019). Ghanaian business operators have renewed calls for the Government of Ghana to stop Chinese immigrant traders from engaging in retail trading in Ghana. In Ghana, the Ghana Investment Promotion Centre and the Free Zones Board are responsible for determining the type of work permits, and the trading modalities in which migrants can engage within Ghana (Yankson, Asiedu, Owusu, Urban & Siciliano, 2018).

Recently, this new Chinese migration trend has resulted in an influx of Chinese goods and the quick expansion of small Chinese businesses. This is thought to be a challenge for certain local Ghanaian traders who are engaged in the trading sector thereby hindering the progress of local businesses. For example, landlords or store owners take advantage of the new market entrants i.e., Chinese traders and charge high fees when letting out their stores. The Chinese traders who have financial strength can afford the rent of these stores, but most local traders are unable to afford it. Thus, one of the most discussed topics in Ghana has been the influx of Chinese and the importation of low-cost Chinese goods. (Scheld 2010; Dittgen 2010; Dobbler 2008; McNamee et al 2012) and the Ghana Union of Traders Association (GUTA) has overseen recent protests.

There have been several calls accusing Chinese immigrant traders of the displacement of local Ghanaian traders. The issue is that the Chinese immigrant traders have huge capital outlays partly because in Ghana foreign businesses are granted tax incentives to draw them into the country. These happenings have culminated in substantial impacts on local traders who are not able to keep up with rising administrative and tax costs, allowing foreign traders to close in on their trading

spaces (Wang, & Zhan, 2019). While Chinese immigrant traders in Ghana offer reasonably priced consumer items, it has also been stated that they replace native Ghanaian traders as well as those who sell commodities from surrounding African nations (Debrah & Asante, 2019). Conflicts between the Ghana Union of Traders Association and some Ghanaian traders in general on the one hand, and Chinese immigrant traders on the other, have resulted because of these (Dankwah & Amoah, 2019). Ghanaian traders frequently criticize the indiscriminate trading practices of Chinese merchants and their growing concentration in areas that are contested as markets, drawing comparisons to Indian and Lebanese merchants doing business in Ghana (Yankson, Asiedu, Owusu, Urban & Siciliano, 2018).

Central to the antagonism between Ghanaian and Chinese traders is the perceived threat the Chinese importers provide a threat to Ghanaian firms, which has multiple times led to protests in public (Haugen, 2018). Although both Chinese and African traders bring these goods into the continent, the Chinese are frequently accused of doing so (Diawara & Hanson, 2019), leading to several protests calling for their exclusion from the market. The Accra Business District has seen most of these demonstrations, with some also taking place in Kumasi Central Market. According to Boafo et al. (2019), the protests and agitations against Chinese traders in Ghana started in late 2005.

2.4 Theoretical Review

The theories that shaped the framework for this study are critically examined in this section. A theory is the primary building block of a theoretical framework (Chambliss & Schutt, 2018; Herek, 2010), and according to Bryant and Charmaz (2019), a theory is a collection of connected concepts that aims to describe a studied phenomenon. Theories influence how concepts and ideas are

arranged within the context of research to accomplish the main goal or purpose of a study (Koopmans & Statham, 2010; Reiter, 2017). According to Mitchell, Jones, and Fluri (2019), a theory in the field of migration studies is a collection of concepts arranged to explain research on migration.

Therefore, the framework that binds and reinforces a theory or group of hypotheses in a study is known as a theoretical framework (Chambliss & Schutt, 2018). An explanation of the theory that underpins the existence of the research challenge is provided in a theoretical framework (Herek, 2010). Because it enables the researcher to frame the subject in a wider context or body of knowledge, it is crucial to research (Koopmans & Statham, 2010). Thus, it combines all the knowledge components that researchers need to use in the context of the research's objective. (Reiter, 2017). Within the field of migration studies, theoretical frameworks organize the building blocks that serve as pillars for analyzing migration issues (Mitchell et al., 2019; Martin, 2019; Triandafyllidou, 2018). In this study, three theories are used as a framework: the Immigrant Enclave Theory (IET), the Social Network Theory (SNT), and the Relational Theory. Each of the theories is discussed below.

2.4.1 Immigrant Enclave Theory

Immigrant Enclave Theory (IET) is one of the most well-established theories in migration research and policies, particularly for researching entrepreneurship and trading activities of migrants (Osaghae & Cooney, 2020). The IET is primarily concerned with the localization and concentration of immigrants inside a certain geopolitical region (Osaghae & Cooney, 2020). The labour market segmentation idea is where the IET got its start (Liu, Namatovu, Karadeniz, Schøtt & Minto-Coy, 2020). Labour market segmentation is the sharp division of labour, and the labour

market based on socio-politically and economically informed principles, including occupation, geography and industry (Portes & Martinez, 2020). Through labour market segmentation, a primary labour market and a secondary labour market are separated (Felbo-Kolding, Leschke & Spreckelsen, 2018). Large monopolistic corporate entities and companies make up the primary labour market. (Lukac, Doerflinger & Pulignano, 2019) while the secondary labour market refers to small competitive businesses or enterprises (Liu et al., 2020; Passaretta & Wolbers, 2019). The secondary labour market usually involves small-scale traders, employers, and minority workers (Felbo-Kolding et al., 2018; Joll, McKenna, McNabb & Shorey, 2018) as in the case of Chinese immigrant traders in Ghana.

One aspect of the secondary labour market which has received much research attention in migration studies is around immigrant businesses. Identities for labeling different categories of traders are one of the fundamental elements of the secondary labour market (Osaghae & Cooney, 2020). Within secondary markets, there is the sharing of homogenous group identity, bounded solidarity, and generalized trust, which helps in securing market entry (Passaretta & Wolbers, 2019). Within the context of migration studies, the immigrant market becomes a secondary labour market (Liu et al., 2020). Immigrant businesses are thought of to be more frequently harmonized with the needs of immigrant enclaves and meet distinctive working conditions in their geopolitical areas where they operate (von Bloh, Mandakovic, Apablaza, Amorós & Sternberg, 2020). Additionally, this collective identity may discourage big businesses from targeting the marketplaces of immigrants (Joll et al., 2018).

The IET therefore draws deeper attention to immigrant businesses as a specialized secondary market (Li & Li, 2016). There have been different definitions and conceptualizations of immigrant enclaves within IET. Some researchers define immigrant enclaves as the distinctive socio-spatial locations and organization of enterprises serving an immigrant community (Osaghae & Cooney,

2020). This definition however focuses on all businesses (whether locally owned or foreign-owned) that serve the needs of immigrant communities. Other researchers also define immigrant enclave as the spatial gathering of immigrant-owned and run businesses that serve immigrant communities (Liu et al., 2020).

The second conceptualization focuses only on businesses owned by immigrants to serve immigrant communities. Enclaves are described in these definitions and illustrations as areas where immigrants are concentrated geographically (Portes & Manning, 2012). IET is therefore a circumstance in which immigrants reside in a particular region and use their cultural resources and networking to create a close-knit community of individuals with a shared ethnicity or immigrant origin (Osaghae & Cooney, 2020). Both dominant definitions fail to adequately capture the changing nature of immigrant businesses, leaving large portions of such businesses out of reach of research (Honig, 2020; Liu et al., 2020; Portes & Martinez, 2020). Some immigrant businesses only serve immigrant communities, some serve host country communities, while others serve both immigrant and host country communities (Portes & Martinez, 2020). In the current study, therefore, Portes and Martinez's (2020) conceptualization is used to define immigrant enclave as all immigrant-owned businesses that serve immigrant communities or host country communities or both. Therefore, within the context of Chinese immigrants in Ghana, the Chinese immigrant enclave is conceptualized as all Chinese-owned businesses that serve both the Chinese immigrant community and the Ghanaian community.

The IET is also usually situated within the context of Bourdieu and Nice's (1977) theory of practice to delineate the activities and nature of immigrant enclaves (Osaghae & Cooney, 2020). Drawing from the theory of practice (Bourdieu & Nice, 1977), IET is described as a social field (i.e. enclave) that generates habitus (immigrant infrastructures) and capital (immigrant cultural capital) (Liu et al., 2020). According to Osaghae and Cooney (2020), IET also theorizes a tension-filled

environment characterized by infinite interactions (negotiations, discussions, and conflicts) and rules that dictate the conditions of setting up and operating immigrant businesses. The increasing number of Chinese immigrant traders and entrepreneurs in Ghana is the social field that generates immigrant infrastructures and capital for company start-ups within the context of this study. The IET also delineates the conditions through which immigrant businesses gain market advantage and market protection (Osaghae & Cooney, 2020). Drawing on the IET therefore, this study focuses on Ghana as a social field, conceptualizing Chinese businesses in Ghana as an immigrant enclave. The study thus examines the business environment in Ghana as experienced by the Chinese entrepreneurs, particularly focusing on their market experiences, market challenges and market protections.

2.4.2 Social Network Theory

The social network theory is employed as the second theory in this study to examine the network structure of Chinese immigrant traders and how it shapes their trading experiences in Ghana. A social network is defined as a social structure that consists of several social agents (e.g., people, groups, and organizations), a set of dyadic relationships or links, and other organized or unstructured social interactions between the social actors (Knoke & Yang, 2019). Therefore, in its broader sense, social network theory encompasses how people, groups, and organizations interact with others within their social circle or network (Bilecen, Gamper, & Lubbers, 2018). According to Ryan and D'Angel (2018), it is simpler to comprehend the theory of social networks when you break it down into its parts, starting with the largest element—networks—and moving down to the smallest element—actors.

Inherently interdisciplinary, social networks and social network theory in particular draw on concepts of social psychology, sociology, statistics, and graph theory (Haug, 2008; Ryan, 2011).

The German Sociologist and Philosopher, Georg Simmel, is argued to have developed one of the earlier structural theories in sociology in the 1920s (Knoke & Yang, 2019). Simmel's structural theory emphasized the dynamics of triads and the web of group affiliations (Bilecen et al., 2018). Jacob Levy Moreno, a Romanian American psychiatrist, psychosociologist, and educator is also credited with building on Simmel's structural theory to develop the first sociogram (a graphic representation of social links of individuals) in the 1930s to aid his research on interpersonal relationships (Knoke & Yang, 2019). Both Simmel's structural theory and Moreno's sociogram were mathematically formalized in the 1950s (Knoke & Yang, 2019). Several theories and methods were then developed to analyse social networks, becoming pervasive within social and behavioural sciences by the 1980s (Ryan, 2011; Thieme, 2006). Social network analyses are currently regarded as one of the key paradigms in modern social science. It is used by a variety of disciplines to explore how the social networks of individuals, groups, and organizations impact their life trajectories (Knoke & Yang, 2019). The social network theory or perspective provides methods and techniques for analysing the structure of social entities and theoretical basis for explaining the patterns observed in migrants' activities (Bilecen et al., 2018). The examination of these systems uses social network analysis to discover multilevel local and global trends, locate influential or pivotal figures, and evaluate network dynamics (Schapendonk, 2018) (Schapendonk, 2018). Social network theory is a well-established theory within migration research and discourse (Blumenstock & Tan, 2016; Schapendonk, 2015; Yue, Li, Jin, & Feldman, 2013). The theory has been used in several research studies on migration in general, and on Chinese migrants in particular (Hong, 2007; Yue, Li, Jin, & Feldman, 2013; Ren, Du & Li, 2010). Fundamentally, the social network of migrants facilitates the movement of particularly new or first-time migrants by providing them with critical assistance in their migration process (Wissink & Mazzucato, 2018). According to Crawley and Hagen-Zanker (2019), the assistance can be symbolic (such as

providing information about employment in the destination county) or material (such as providing financial and accommodation or housing). Therefore, within the field of migration, the social network is conceptualized in research and discourse as a fundamental source of social capital for migrants (Palloni, Massey, Ceballos, Espinosa & Spittel, 2001).

Social capital, as a sub-concept of the social network theory is defined as a form of economic and cultural capital, in which social networks are central, particularly within the context of migration (Pehkonen, 2019). Social capital is also characterized by transactions marked by trust, reciprocity, cooperation, and common good within and between migrant social networks (Lubbers, Verdery & Molina, 2018). The social capital basis of migrants' social networks is based on the fundamental assumption that social networks can be naturally given (van Meeteren & Pereira, 2018) but require intentional investment plans (through such things as trust, reciprocity, cooperation, etc.) to avail the inherent capital (Randell, 2018). According to Wissink and Mazzucato (2018), the sociological concept of social capital also refers to the importance of interpersonal connections as well as the contributions that confidence and teamwork make to achieving successful outcomes (Pehkonen, 2019). Social capital thus refers to the real values that individuals, groups, and organizations get from their social ties (van Meeteren & Pereira, 2018). For instance, recently arrived immigrants can use their social connections with established immigrants to find employment or begin business ventures (Lubbers et al., 2018). Therefore, social capitals are deeply buried within the social networks of migrants (Pehkonen, 2019).

Migration involves risk and cost (Black et al., 2005). De Haas (2010) and Salik, Qaisrani, Umar, and Ali (2017) suggested that one significant advantage of social networks for migration is that they play a crucial role in distributing the cost and risk of migration, particularly among low-income household income groups, by lowering initial levels of inequality and poverty. Furthermore, Salik et al (2017, p.39) concluded that "social networks and advice from relatives

and friends played an important role in the decision to migrate or not; while non-migrant households' inability to access social networks and associated costs are the main reasons not to migrate”.

Within the context of social network theory, social capital can be divided into three multilevel dimensions; the structural dimension, the relational dimension, and the cognitive dimension (Ryan, Sales, Tilki, & Siara, 2008). The social network's partners' interactions with one another and how particular partners are connected are all covered by the structural dimension of social capital (Randell, 2018). The relational component of social capital relates to the reliability, expectations, conventions, and identifications of the ties between members of a social network (Pehkonen, 2019). The cognitive component of social capital focuses on how people interact and share goals and objectives because of their connections to one another in a social network (Lubbers et al., 2018).

According to Klyver et al. (2008), who examined how social network structure affected people's participation in entrepreneurship, the most significant resources that social networks can offer are information, access to finance, access to skills, knowledge, and advice, as well as social legitimacy, reputation, and credibility. The authors came to the additional conclusion that there are cultural commonalities in networking activities and that culture moderates the importance of networking. Similar to this, Sequeira et al. (2007) observed that a personal network of strong, supportive links combined with high entrepreneurial self-efficacy improves the likelihood of entrepreneurial goals and nascent action in a sample of people from a variety of social and ethnic backgrounds. Meanwhile, Fafchamps & Minten (2002) demonstrate how social networks in Madagascar increase trader productivity by providing access to information about prices, market conditions, and borrowing opportunities. Meagher (2005) also emphasized the importance of social ties in

lowering risk, pooling complementary skills, and improving access to new markets. In France, Combes et al. (2005), demonstrates empirically that compared with immigrant traders without networks, immigrants with social networks can multiply trade flows.

In the current study, all three dimensions of social capital are analysed to examine how the Chinese immigrant traders draw on their social networks in their trading activities in Ghana. Specifically, the study explored dimensions of social networks such as networks between Ghanaian traders and Chinese traders, networks among Chinese traders, and networks between the Chinese traders and regulatory institutions like the police, immigration, and foreign ministry. In all these networks, the exploitations embedded in them will be examined to unearth all, if any, forms of anticipated exploitations. Thus, by examining social actors through their effective relational contacts, social network analysis provides a realistic view of the flows of human and financial capital, market information, and goods that potentially cut across social groups and market spaces (Walther, 2014; Walther, 2015). The application of social networks in the context of informal trade as espoused in this study can serve as an empowerment tool for local and immigrant communities and as an intervention tool for governmental and international organizations.

2.4.3 Relational Theory

In its fundamental development, the relational theory has roots in sociology (Emirbayer, 1997; Mosse, 2010), particularly within the context of explaining poverty (García, 2014; Gonzales, 2018; Zelizer, 2012). From sociology, the relational theory has been applied in different fields of study within the social sciences such as social work (Coleman et al. 2018; Feldman, 2018; Papilloud, 2018), social policy and migration (Hagen-Zanker, Postel, & Vidal, 2017). Relational theory is rooted in relational sociology – a collection of sociological theories emphasizing relationalism

(rather than substantivalism) in explaining and interpreting social phenomena (Burkitt, 2016; Lawson & Elwood, 2018). Relational sociology is most directly connected to the work of Harrison White and Charles Tilly in the United States and Pierpaolo Donati and Nick Crossley in Europe (Burkitt, 2016; Dépelteau, 2015).

Fiske (1991) offers a particularly helpful perspective for examining situated, empirical configurations of ethnic group relationships when taking the influential relational model theory into account (Belk 2005, 2010; McGraw, Schwartz, and Tetlock, 2012). Fiske asserts that humans do more than only observe, categorize, recall, and draw conclusions about other people based on his ethnographic research in Burkina Faso and his thorough analysis of classic social theory. More, people intentionally structure their interactions with others according to presumptions and relational norms that they believe or anticipate being shared. Additionally, Fiske noted that “people consciously or implicitly use these conceptions and rules as shared goals, ideals, or standards in guiding their initiatives and responses” (Fiske, 1991, p.19). According to Fiske (1992), most human interactions—if not all—are based on four basic relational models, which he labels “communal sharing”, “authority ranking”, “equality matching”, and “market pricing”. He explained that there are various ways in which people can exchange goods or services, such as giving them as gifts without expecting anything in return (communal sharing); selling or buying them at market prices (market pricing); giving them as a sign of loyalty to an authority figure or, conversely, as a favor to a subordinate (Fiske and Haslam, 2005).

These four fundamental relational models can be extended to encapsulate the entrepreneurial relation of immigrants especially Chinese immigrants internally among themselves and externally between them (Chinese) and Ghanaians. These four fundamental relational models can also form the basis of immigrant coping strategies with both their internal and external environments. For

example, in the socio-political terrain, Chinese immigrants in the primary labour market may resort to using “authority ranking” when dealing with politically exposed persons of the host country especially when these immigrants are lobbying or negotiating for a mining concession or an infrastructural development project such as road or railway construction.

According to Fiske, “People develop situated and context-dependent implementation rules to define the specific terms of these relationships. These rules specify who is a legitimate member of a local community, who possesses legitimate authority, what constitutes a balanced tit-for-tat relationship, and which goods and services are valued in a specific social setting” (Fiske, 1992, p.690). Fiske's theory relies on these cultural norms because, even though people may employ the same four models everywhere, their definitions of what constitutes membership, legitimate authority, balance, and market value vary greatly depending on the social situation (Askegaard and Linnet, 2011). Conflicts frequently occur when thoughts and practices are out of sync. The success of a relationship depends on each participant's understanding of the relational models and implementation norms that govern their interactions.

Similarly, Emirbayer (1997) developed the relational manifesto, drawing on earlier processual thinkers such as Elias, Dewey, and Cassirer, to argue that social phenomena are made up of processes rather than solid social structures. The relational sociology has been applied to poverty analysis and marginalization (Dépelteau, 2018; Emirbayer & Goodwin, 1994; Mosse, 2010), and structural ecologies of power (Farmer, 1999, 2003; Lukes, 2004).

In developing a relational perspective to chronic poverty, inequality, and power, Mosse (2010) argued that; (i) poverty and inequality are a product of social categorization and identification, , and (ii) poverty and inequality are a result of historically constructed economic and political interactions.

Building on the idea of the socio-political and historical basis of persistent poverty (as argued by Mosse, 2010), Burkitt (2016) also conceptualized agency in social theory in relational terms rather than an individual phenomenon. Burkitt (2016) argued that individual agency is inherently shaped by structural powers and that agency is always located within a manifold of social relations. When agency is conceptualized in relational terms, it helps to put the plight of vulnerable and interdependent populations within broader structurally defined choices that unfold across time and space (Dépelteau, 2015, 2018).

The relational theory has been applied to migration research (Ali et al., 2017; Spivak & Wisnesky, 2015; Syed, 2008), and has gained increased attention in global development (Mosse, 2013), particularly within the context of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) of “decent work and economic growth” (Papilloud, 2018). This has been built upon the foundational work of Vivian A. Zelizer, a relational economic sociologist. Viviana Zelizer argues that social relations shape people’s meaningful engagement (Zelizer, 2012). The fundamental argument of Zelizer was that people engage in the process of differentiating meaningful social relations. In the case of Chinese immigrant traders engaged in a local market space, the formation of these meaningful relations among themselves, with local market actors and/or institutions is important. Zelizer (2012) opined that there are distinct categories of social relations, with each category having its own erected boundaries, established set of distinctive understandings, and designated economic transactions. The relational work process has been applied to examine the economic activities of migrants in current global migration policy discourses (Hagen-Zanker et al., 2017). International labour migration has been conceptualized as a powerful tool for reducing poverty for the migrant themselves, their families, and both the host and origin countries (Lawson & Elwood, 2018). The argument is that migration offers migrants the opportunity to engage in decent economic

activities, generate income, and reduce poverty (Randell, 2018). However, migration is seen not to always achieve its poverty reduction potential for several reasons, including poor relations and working conditions in host countries (Hagen-Zanker et al., 2017). This coincides with Zelizer's (2012) concept of relational work, which she argued is characterized by the argument of erected boundaries, distinctive understanding, and designated economic transactions. The relational theory thus offers the potential for exploring how social relationships between Chinese migrants and Ghanaian traders are formed. This could result in a rigid application, a potential lack of connection, or even the premature termination of a relationship between Ghanaian and Chinese traders due to the relational theory's limitation that it is unable to address the specific needs of market actors using appropriate theories and interventions. This is because it is impossible to connect fluidly.

2.5 Conceptual Framework

In research, a conceptual framework is described as the portion of a study that uses concepts and theories as the foundation for explaining how various concepts relate to one another (Bryant & Charmaz, 2019). This means that the conceptual framework helps in domesticating or fitting a theoretical framework to a specified research topic (Chambliss & Schutt, 2018; Jnawali, 2012; Kappelman et al., 2019). Conceptual frameworks demonstrate how the various ideas from the theories are incorporated into a model or framework to explain the research problem being studied in research studies that use two or more theories (Martinm 2019; White, 2016). Mitchell et al., (2019) argue that conceptual frameworks allow researchers to operationalize concepts in a theory to suit the context of their research.

In this study, the conceptual framework is informed by the three theories; Immigrant Enclave Theory, Social Network Theory, and the Relational Theory, as discussed in subsections 2.4.1,

2.4.2, and 2.4.3 respectively. The Immigrant Enclave Theory portrays an environment where migrant traders or immigrants share common culture and business interests (Li & Li, 2016; Lukac et al., 2019). The Immigrant Enclave Theory therefore allows for a deeper understanding of migrant trading or business developments (Osaghae & Cooney, 2020). The Social Network Theory also provides the basis for understanding migrants' entrepreneurial activities. The Social Network Theory enables a more thorough investigation of how immigrant traders can access resources that are typically available to immigrants, such as (a) predisposing factors like cultural endowments and a sojourning orientation, and (b) modes of resource mobilization like access to immigrant social networks and labour (von Bloh et al., 2020).

It is important to note that some researchers (e.g., Gold & Light, 2000; Riddle, Hrivnak & Nielsen, 2010) have classified the social capital migrants draw from their social networks into two distinct types; tangible resources (e.g., financing), and intangible resources (e.g., information, advice, guidance). The argument is that even though countries differ in several ways (e.g., population size, economic well-being, technology, etc.), the resources that migrants derive from their social networks are similar in countries where there are immigrant enclaves (Portes & Martinez, 2020). Therefore, migrants' social capital provides immigrant traders with opportunities to convert their ideas and visions into rewarding ventures (Yue et al., 2013). In applying to this study therefore, when Chinese immigrant traders in Ghana are starting their businesses, resources are mostly about the benefits that allow the Chinese immigrant traders to use the resources that they do not own (e.g., a network of migrants; human and social capital, and cultural resources). In most cases, these social capitals are achieved through social networks and the building of trust within an enclave (Randell, 2018).

However, using the Relational Theory, the relational process of work between Chinese immigrants and Ghanaian traders shapes forms of erected boundaries, distinctive understanding, and designated economic transactions, which affect the trading activities of Chinese traders in Ghana. The Relational Theory therefore allows in-depth exploration and examination of how the economic activities of Chinese immigrants in Ghana are shaped by the relational processes of work and economic transactions (Hagen-Zanker et al., 2017). In the conceptual framework below, the relational theory serves as a basis for the market-related factors and further explains how traders perceive incentives because of the external market environment.



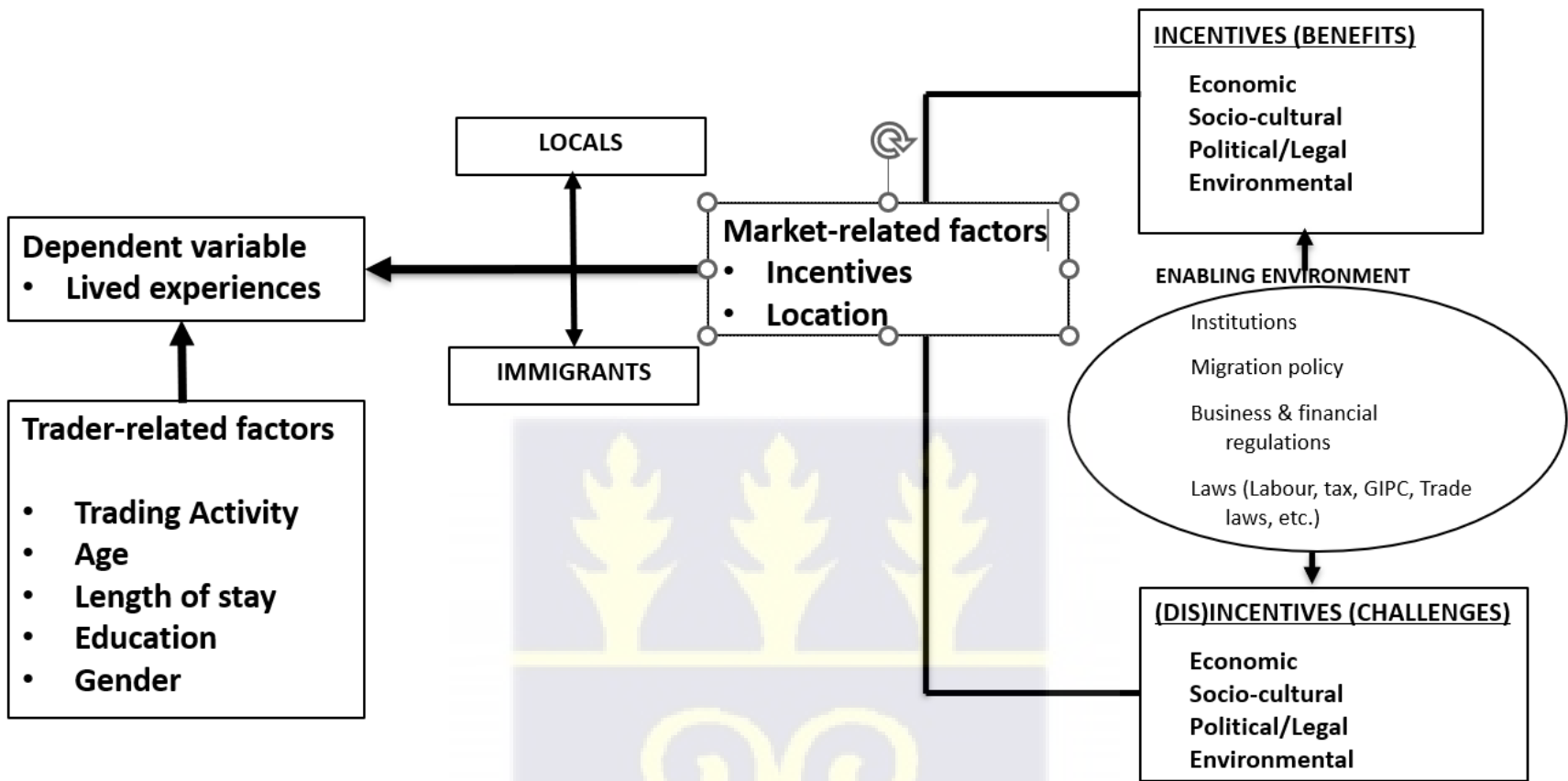
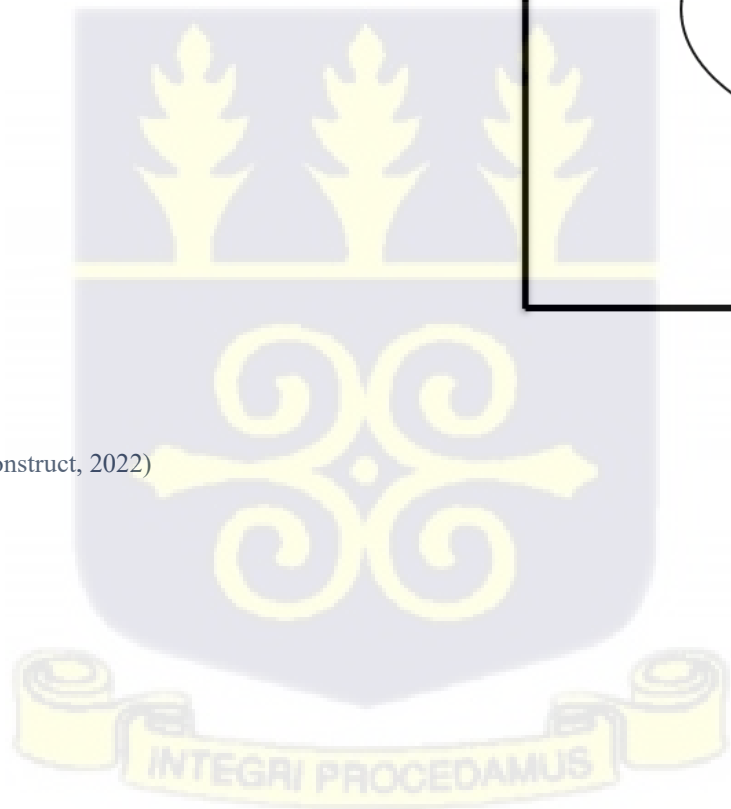


Figure 1: Conceptual Framework (Author's construct, 2022)



Migration has been recognized as a strategy adopted by entrepreneurs to expand their business territories, especially in developing countries like Ghana (Carson, Carson & Eimermann, 2018). In this regard, the impact of migration on entrepreneurship has been centered on migration and its related theories (Kerr, 2013) especially the Immigration Enclave Theory (IET), Social Network Theory (SNT), and the Relational Theory (RT). As shown in Figure 1 above, immigrants' presence in a particular location brings about lots of benefits (Zhou, 2009) and in the case of immigrant trading, there is increased adherence and display of immigrant cultural values where immigrants display their culture (food, clothing, language) without having to return to their origin countries quite often which as posited by Forsander (2002) distort business when immigrant traders are mostly absent at the host country. This common cultural capital promotes communal sharing as noted by Fiske (1992). Again, immigrants' presence in a particular region or an area attracts business interest due to the likelihood of other immigrants of the same origin engaging in the same or similar business models as explicated by Mago, (2020). A further observation of the conceptual framework shows that immigrant business' survival or sustainability depends on its networks and the understanding of the sector in the host country. Morris (2001) contends that the development stage of a business venture and the associated exchanges that occur with the network at each development stage is indicative of the value of the immigrant enclave's resources to the immigrant business.

As peculiar with immigrant traders, Chinese traders in host countries according to Chen (2001) and Wong & Ng (2002) rely on family and friends as well as business associates with previous experience in a particular business. Other scholars such as Kimball (2017) and Herrera (2019) have also emphasized that aside the strong networks built by immigrants in the field of business, the indigenes attitudes towards foreigners also account for the survival of immigrant businesses in the host country. In view of this, the framework allows the immigrant to undergo certain phases that include benefits and challenges in the host country based on the enabling

environment immigrants find themselves in. The framework assumes that in terms of capital requirement, it makes it susceptible for immigrants including Chinese entrepreneurs to venture into certain sectors without any difficulty. The environmental setting here is the business environment and the ability to penetrate into the market. All these forms the basis of the economic benefit associated with foreign entrepreneurship in host countries. As a result of capital injection through advertisement of products, price reduction, better customer relation and product availability makes it easier for foreign businesses to dominate the market in no time and attract both local and foreign customers.

Socio-politically, Ghana is relatively peaceful with stable political conditions (Issifu, 2017; Suleiman, 2017), hence, the tendency to invest in Ghana comes with less or little risk and failures. These conditions propel immigrants including Chinese to opt for Ghana for business opportunities. This is further achievable if enabling factors such as formal institutions (e.g., Ghana Revenue Authority (GRA), Ghana Investment Promotion Centre (GIPC), Ghana Immigration (GIS), Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration (MFARI), Ghana Free Zones Board (GFZB) establish viable regulations to accommodate immigrant traders. The design and provision of economic incentives such as tax exemption *inter alia*, for specific businesses and affordable capital requirements for such business sectors is also able to draw in immigrants and boost trade.

Benefits derived by immigrants mostly affect the host country and the immigrants positively. These benefits include job creation, poverty reduction, tax payments, spillover effect of migrants' technical know-how and transaction costs associated with remittances become gains for the host country while profit returns for immigrants in the form of remittances to their country of origin.

Also, favorable immigration policies such as acquisition of work permits, company registration and timely renewals of business documents attracts immigrants and their businesses since the delay of such documentations affect the take-off of business activities and its operationalization.

However, the enabling factors can degenerate into many challenges economically, socio-politically and environmentally if processes and procedures in governing foreign businesses are not favorable towards immigrants and their ability to integrate into the local business market without agitations from the locals can contribute to the growth of such sectors.

From a sustainability perspective, the relationship between migration and the environment has also been of critical importance especially in the population-environment nexus (Adamo & Izazola, 2010). Economic or business activities can enhance or degrade the environment (Dean & McMullen, 2007). In the case of migrants, business activities are more likely to have an adverse effect on the environment particularly within jurisdictions of weak institutions (McLeman & Hunter, 2010). This situation is particularly evident in the Sino-Ghana relationship with regards to the small-scale alluvial mining of gold. Environmental degradation has long been associated with small-scale alluvial mining (Botchwey, Crawford, Loubere & Lu, 2019). This is specifically the case with illegal mining activities (galamsey), given that their illicit nature makes it difficult to affix accountability for damage caused (Armah et al., 2013; Tschakert, 2016). Over the years, there have been certain considerations arising around the degradation of farmlands for cocoa and other cash and food crops due to the redirection of rivers and other water bodies to serve mining purposes, as well as surface and ground water pollution through the usage of toxic chemicals such as cyanide and mercury for processing gold (CSIR–Water Research Institute, 2013) thereby destroying biodiversity and undermining agricultural and rural livelihood support systems. On the flip side, eco-friendly oriented Chinese migrant businesses are able to recycle plastic waste into usable household appliances.

Such business ventures promote environmental sustainability by creating decent jobs and protecting the environment as a whole and as a result supporting wider economic sustainability.

Thus, this conceptual framework implies that when immigrants embrace these attributes emanating from the theories within the host country, there is the likelihood of enhancing their business growth with less challenges depending on the enabling environment they find themselves in. The strength of host country institutions through the formulation of robust migrant-related entrepreneurial policies, business and financial regulations, trade and labour laws can serve as incentives to boost business activities of migrants, and these can have a positive spillover effect on local businesses through competition and innovation resulting in a win-win situation for host and origin countries.

2.6 Summary of Literature Review

This chapter has provided discussion of migration within the context of migration policies and migrant trading activities. The general idea of migration was covered first, then laws governing migration, with a focus on international, regional, and national regulations. The discussion was then narrowed to Chinese relations, focusing on Chinese-Africa relations, China-Ghana relations, and the Chinese businesses in Ghana and its associated challenges. The theoretical and conceptual frameworks were discussed to place the study in relation to pertinent theories. The review of the literature revealed that there is an increase in research into immigration laws, as well as migrant entrepreneurs and business ventures. The common theme that runs through these studies is the fact that migrant entrepreneurial or business activities have double-edged sword effect on host country economy. On one hand, migrant businesses contribute to economic growth by providing income to government, employment to people. On the other hand, migrant businesses are also found to displace local businesses, thereby pushing local traders out of businesses. This double-edged sword effect is rife in countries where there are

weak policies on migration and business activities. Ghana is experiencing similar situation, particularly with Chinese immigrant traders, who are always accused by local traders of displacement. However, there is limited understanding concerning the nuances of the tensions between Ghanaian traders and Chinese immigrant traders. Therefore, much work needs to be done to provide a thorough understanding of the complexities and nuances of local-migrant business tensions in Ghana, situating it within the context of Chinese immigrant traders in Ghana.



CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents details of the methodological processes and procedures followed by analysing data that was gathered for the purposes of addressing the research questions in this study. The chapter is discussed in ten sections. The profiles of the study areas where this study was conducted are discussed focusing on the Greater Accra and Ashanti Regions. The philosophical paradigm underpinning the study is also discussed. The research approach and research design are then discussed in sections 3.4 and 3.5 respectively. Specifically, the section on mixed-methods discusses research designs for a mixed-method approach, the pros and cons of the approach, and why it was chosen for the study. The study uses simple random sampling, purposive, and snowballing techniques in selecting respondents for data collection. Interview guides and questionnaires were used to elicit responses. The logistic regression method was used to analyse quantitative data, while interviews were subjected to content analysis.

3.2 Study Areas

This section presents description of the study areas where the different sets of data for the study were gathered. Specifically, the data was gathered in two regions in Ghana: Greater Accra Region and Ashanti Region. Figure 9 (APPENDIX A) shows all the regions in Ghana including Greater Accra and Ashanti regions.

These two regions in Ghana constitute the main destination regions for Chinese immigrants in Ghana. The selected regions are therefore good settings for this study.

3.2.1 Greater Accra Region

Greater Accra Region is the region hosting the capital of Ghana, and therefore the seat of the Government of Ghana. Accra is the capital city of the Greater Accra Region. Geographically, Greater Accra constitutes the smallest of all the 16 regions in Ghana, occupying a total land surface of 3,245km², constituting just 1.4% of the total land surface of Ghana. However, population-wise, Greater Accra is the most populated region. According to the Ghana Statistical Services (GSS, 2021), in the 2021 population census, the Greater Accra region recorded a population of 5,455,692, representing 17.7% of the total population of Ghana, with an annual growth rate of 2.9%.

The region is regarded as the most densely populated region in Ghana, with a population density of 1,681 people per square kilometres (GSS, 2021). Greater Accra Region constitutes the most urbanized in Ghana, with approximately 91.7% of its total population living in urban areas (GSS, 2021). Historically, the Greater Accra Region is inhabited by two ethnic subgroups: the Ga and the Adangme, known together as the Ga-Adangme. They form the largest ethnic groups in the Greater Accra Region. Administratively, Greater Accra Region is divided into 16 administrative districts. The data was gathered in the Accra Metropolis, with the district capital being Accra.

Accra Metropolis

Data for the study was gathered from the Accra Metropolis (shown on Figure 10 in APPENDIX A), with the Accra Metropolitan Assembly (AMA) as its local authority. The AMA is in the heart and central part of the Greater Accra Region and spans a geographic area of 60km² with an estimated population of 284,124 (GSS, 2021). AMA was established by the Local Government Act of 1993 (Act 462) and Legislative Instrument 1615.

The Accra Metropolis is cosmopolitan because it is composed of both internal migrants (from the surrounding rural communities in the Greater-Accra region, and the other 15 regions of Ghana) and international migrants. The GSS (2013) statistics indicates that approximately 8.8% of the population of Accra Metropolis are immigrants from ECOWAS countries (accounting for 2.9%) and non-ECOWAS countries (accounting for 5.9%).

Infrastructure wise, the metropolis is among the few in Ghana with massive social and economic infrastructure. The metropolis boasts of schools, hospitals, water facilities, road networks, railway, sports stadia, shopping malls, international airport, national theatre, conference centres, institutions of higher learning, among others. The availability of good social and economic infrastructures opens up strong economic activities within the district.

Economically, the metropolis possesses the most commercial districts, both within the region and in Ghana as a whole, accounting for large numbers of migration into the district. According to the GSS (2013), the main economic activities in the district encompasses, manufacturing, construction, transportation and storage, wholesale and retail trading, financial services, administrative services, arts and entertainment, education, information technology, fishing, public administrations, among others.

The economy in the district is dominated by the informal sector (mainly wholesale and retail trading) which accounts for about 74% of the labour force in the district (GSS, 2013). This is a reflection of the broader economic structure in Ghana which is dominated by the informal sector. Increasingly, there has been the presence of migrants involved in the vibrant trading activities within the district. Chinese migrant traders constitute one of the most vibrant and most popular migrant traders within the district. They are engaged in various forms of wholesale and retail businesses in the district, located in vibrant trading spaces such as Abossey

Okai, Makola and others. This makes the district a good setting for conducting the current study.

3.2.2 Ashanti Region

The Ashanti Region is found the central part of Ghana (see Figure 9 APPENDIX A), occupying a total land surface of 24,389km², approximately 10.2% of the total land surface of Ghana. It lies between longitudes 0.15W and 2.25W, and latitudes 5.50N and 7.46N. The region shares boundaries with six of the sixteen political regions, Brong Ahafo and Bono East regions in the north, Ahafo region in the west, Eastern region in the east, Central region in the south and Western North region in the southwest. The south-western part of the Ashanti region lies in the semi-equatorial forest zone while the north-eastern part lies in the savanna zone.

The Ashanti Region is the third largest region in Ghana and is regarded as the second most populous region (after the Greater- Accra region) in Ghana (GSS, 2021). It has a population of 5,440,463, accounting for 17.6% of Ghana's total population (GSS, 2021). The largest city in Ashanti region is Kumasi and it is also the regional capital. The region is predominantly occupied by the Asante ethnic group. However, there is the presence of other ethnic groups in the region as well. Administratively, the Ashanti region is divided into 43 Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies (MMDAs).

Of all the 43 MMDAs in the region, the Chinese migrant traders are predominantly found in the Kumasi Metropolis. Data for the study were therefore gathered in the Kumasi Metropolis (with its district capital being Kumasi).

Kumasi Metropolitan

The Kumasi Metropolis constitutes the economic and administrative nerve centre of the Ashanti region. The district's administrative authority is the Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly

(KMA). The Metropolis covers a total land area of 254km², bounded to the north by Kwabre East Municipal, southeast by Bosomtwe, southwest by Atwima Kwanwoma District, to the east by Ejisu Municipal and Juabeng Municipal Assemblies and to the west by Atwima Nwabiagya District. The map of the Kumasi Metropolis is represented by Figure 11. (APPENDIX A)

The total population for the Kumasi Metropolis is approximately 443,981, with a 5.3% annual population growth rate, higher than the regional growth rate (3.4%) and national population growth rate of 2.7% (GSS, 2013). With a blend of commerce, a valuable cultural history, and administrative duties, the Metropolis serves as the Ashanti region's commercial and market hub. The Metropolis boasts several infrastructures including schools, hospitals, road networks, sports stadiums, shopping malls, regional airports, institutions of higher learning, industrial hub and large wholesale and retail markets.

The international migrants to the districts come from both neighbouring African countries, and other parts of the world. The Chinese, for instance, have a strong presence in the Metropolis, engaging in different kinds of economic and commercial activities. The Central Business District (CBD), which includes the Kejetia, Central, and Adum markets, Suame Magazine (a vehicle repair facility), the Kaase/Asokwa Industrial Area, and the Anloga Wood Market are among the commercial districts where Chinese business operations are most prevalent in the Metropolis. In both commercial spaces within the district, the Chinese immigrants engage in various wholesale and retail businesses. The Kumasi Metropolis therefore also constitutes a good setting for the current study.

3.3 Research Paradigm

This section discusses the philosophical paradigm that governed this study, and the research paradigm was governed by critical realism philosophy which was chosen due to its ability to

draw on the strengths of both positivism and constructivism in defining and researching social reality (Fletcher, 2017). The critical realism is therefore drawn on as basis for understanding the social reality of trading experiences between indigenous Ghanaian business operators and Chinese immigrant traders in Ghana.

Critical realism originated as a scientific alternative, challenging assumptions of universality of experiences of positivism and subjectivity of experiences of constructivism (Malone, 2020). Nonetheless, it draws elements of methodological strains from both philosophies (i.e., positivism and constructivism) in defining and studying social reality (Hu, Marlow, Zimmermann, Martin & Frank, 2020). According to critical realism, human understanding can only grasp a small fraction of a deeper and more expansive reality, and what is reality (also known as ontology) cannot be reduced to what we know about reality (also known as epistemology) (Fletcher, 2017). This is where critical realism deviates from both positivism and constructivism.

Critical realism therefore sees social reality as theory-laden but not theory-determined (Cartwright & Montuschi, 2014; Iosifides, 2017). This therefore means that while there is a real social reality that we can aspire to understand, some knowledge come closer to social reality than others (Fletcher, 2017). In applying to this study, trading activities and experiences among Chinese immigrant traders is deeper and more complex. Critical realism therefore divides social reality into three levels. The first is the empirical level which focuses on how societies and its social structures are experienced. In the context of migrant trading for instance, the empirical level examines how trading activities and experiences as observed. For example, the same laws and policies on migrant trading in Ghana will be experienced differently by different Chinese traders in Ghana, based on factors such as migration status and income levels.

The second level is the actual, which focuses on how individuals experience actualities of societies based on actual activities they are involved in. In migrant trading for instance, the actual level focuses on the trading activities and experiences based on the type of trading activities they are involved in. For example, the same laws and policies on migrant trading in Ghana will be experienced differently by different Chinese traders in Ghana based on the kind of trading activities they pursue in Ghana. The third level is the real, which focuses on how individuals' lives are shaped by the established social structure within a society. In the case of the Chinese traders, their level focuses on how their trading activities and experiences are shaped by causal social structures or mechanisms (Gorski, 2018). These levels of social realities are argued to interact in complex ways and therefore understanding these provide closer view of reality (Gorski, 2018; Iosifides, 2017).

3.4 Research Approach

To answer the research questions in this study, data was gathered and analyzed using a mixed-method approach. Mixed-method research is a strategy where different research techniques are combined into a single framework to collect data for a topic (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2010). The complexity of the subject under investigation and the research paradigm used both played a role in the decision to use a mixed technique for the current study. Immigrant trading is one of the complex problems in migration studies, shaped by different economic, migration, sociocultural, and political factors. The dynamics of immigrant trading also differ from country to country, and the tensions associated with economic activities of immigrants differ based on nationalities. Thus, even within the same country, different immigrants may experience trading activities differently based on their nationalities. The complexity of the social realities of immigrant trading being studied requires a research approach that offers an opportunity to

cover breadth and unearthing depth. The mixed method is the only approach capable of achieving both objectives, hence, the choice for the current study.

The quantitative dimension focused on gathering survey data to assess the attitudes of Ghanaian traders towards Chinese traders and also to examine the lived experiences of Chinese traders.

The qualitative dimension focused on gathering narrative data from key informants to explore the underlying factors that influence the relationships between the Ghanaian traders and the Chinese immigrant traders.

3.5 Research Design

Concurrent triangulation mixed-method design was employed in this investigation. When using a contemporaneous triangulation design, both qualitative and quantitative data are gathered, processed, and compared before being integrated (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2011). The quantitative and qualitative data were collected simultaneously. This means that while the survey data was being gathered from the traders, interviews with key informants were also being done simultaneously. Appointments with the key informants were booked, and then interviews were conducted. Within the same period, the survey data was being gathered from the Ghanaian traders and Chinese immigrant traders.

The data were then combined and synthesized to answer the study questions during the analysis phase. The qualitative information was acquired through key informant interviews and document reviews. A cross-sectional survey was used to collect the quantitative data. A cross-sectional survey design is typically employed in research where the individual is the unit of analysis since it is ideal for descriptive and explanatory studies (Creswell & Clark, 2017). As a result, the cross-sectional survey approach was used for this study since it enabled the

researcher to gather information from a large number of participants and reveal the range of opinions within a predetermined time frame.

Integration of quantitative and qualitative data collection techniques allows researchers to gain a more robust, nuanced, and holistic understanding of a research subject. It reduces the limitations inherent in using one method alone and promotes richer insights by addressing both the breadth and depth of the phenomena under study. For example, to achieve the research objectives (i.e. describe the nature of Chinese immigrant trading activities, assess opportunities and challenges faced by Chinese immigrant traders, and investigate the attitudes of Ghanaian traders towards Chinese immigrant traders and the tensions among the traders in Ghana, the study used a qualitative approach. Frequencies and percentages are provided on categorical variables such as gender, location, nature of trading activities, and lived experiences. Applying content analysis, themes on attitudes, tensions, opportunities, and challenges of both traders were ascertained. Furthermore, to achieve the objective of how trading activities affect lived experiences, the study employs logistic regression with robust standard errors to examine the factors influencing the lived experiences of Chinese immigrant traders.

3.6 Selection of Study Participants

The procedures used to choose study participants are covered in this section. Sub-sections include the target population, the sample size, sampling techniques, and the inclusion and exclusion criteria for the study.

3.6.1 Population of the Study

According to what a researcher is interested in, the population for a study is a group of individuals that have comparable experiences or traits (Plonsky, 2017). In this study, the target

population encompassed individuals and groups whose activities directly link with trading activities of Chinese immigrants in Ghana. For the purposes of clarity, the characteristics of various stakeholders who constituted part of the population are described in Table 2.

Table 2: Target population of the study

Stakeholders	Description
Chinese immigrant business community	Individual Chinese immigrants who are doing businesses within the selected districts
Chinese Embassy	Officials from the Chinese Embassy in Ghana
Ghanaian Small and Medium scale Enterprises (SMEs) operators/traders	Ghanaian SMEs that have same or similar trading activities with Chinese businesses
Ghanaian SME Associations	Executives of the Ghana Union of Traders Association (GUTA)
Ghana Investment Promotion Centre (GIPC)	Officials from Ghana Investment Promotion Council
Ministry of Trade and Industry	Officials from Ministry of Trade and Industry
Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration	Officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration
Ministry of the Interior	Officials from the Ministry of the Interior (Migration Unit)

Accra Metropolitan Assembly	Officials from the Accra Metropolitan Assembly
Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly	Officials from the Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly

3.6.2 Data Collection

For this investigation, a number of procedures and processes were used to collect data. First, an ethical clearance was applied to the Ethical Review Board of the College of Humanities, University of Ghana, for clearance to conduct the study. The fieldwork got underway after clearance was obtained. To help the researcher with the fieldwork, three (3) trained research assistants (all graduate students) were recruited. The primary tasks of the fieldwork allocated to the research assistants included recruitment, questionnaire sharing, administration, and retrieval. The researcher and the research assistants carried out all of the fieldwork necessary for the data collection procedures. Fieldwork was done in sections. Pre-testing was done as the first step in the data collecting procedure, and after that, data for the main study were collected. Prior testing was done on the data collection tools. A pre-test was carried out following the creation of the interview guide and questions. Pre-tests are small-scale preparatory studies that are carried out to assess the viability, timeline, budget, and risks of future research as well as to enhance the study design before beginning the full-scale or major research project (Dawson, 2019). The Greater Accra region hosted the pre-test. The pre-test had the following objectives: to determine whether the interview guide and questionnaire were understandable to the study participants; to evaluate the questionnaire's validity; to pinpoint potential field problems; and, where necessary, to change the instruments.

After the data for the main study was then gathered once the pilot study was successfully completed and the questionnaire and interview guide were revised. The study's goals and methodology were explained to the participants who were chosen to take part. The findings are purely for academic purposes, it was emphasized. The participants choose the location for the interviews, which were scheduled and often held there. Copies of the questionnaire were given to the participants to collect the quantitative data. All the interviews for the Chinese sample were done in English. Some of the interviews for the Ghanaian sample were performed in English, while others were in the local languages such as Twi, Ga-Adangme, and Ewe.

3.6.3 Specific Data Collection Methods

The numerous data gathering procedures used to choose a sample from a population for research are referred to as sampling techniques in research (Patten & Newhart, 2017). There are two main categories of sampling strategies, broadly speaking. These sampling methods include both probability sampling and non-probability sampling. All sampling methods that provide every member of a population an equal chance of being chosen are known as probability sampling (Gravetter & Forsano, 2018). Simple random sampling, stratified sampling, systematic sampling, and cluster sampling are a few examples of probability sampling approaches (Patten & Newhart, 2017). All selection methods in which there are unequal odds of selection for individuals of a population fall under the category of non-probability sampling approaches (Patten & Newhart, 2017). Convenience, purposeful, and snowballing sampling methods are examples of non-probability sampling.

The various instruments and methods used to collect research data are known as data collecting tools (Pattern & Newhart, 2017). The primary instruments employed in the current study for

data collection, using both probability and non-probability sampling strategies, were questionnaires and interview guides.

3.6.3.1 Quantitative data collection methods

Survey information was gathered via a questionnaire. Nardi (2018) defines a questionnaire as a type of research tool with a set of questions and potential answers that is used to collect information from study participants. Questions in a questionnaire can be in two forms; close ended (where options are provided to choose from) and open-ended (where spaces are provided for brief explanations). In the present research, a combination of close and open-ended items was used. The close-ended items used Likert scale type of responses, which sometimes ranged from; 1 = Strongly Disagree (SD), 2 = Disagree (D), 3 = Neutral (N), 4 = Agree (A), 5 = Strongly Agree (SA). The open-ended items provided spaces for respondents to give further explanations, where necessary.

In the current study, different samples were used. These include the Chinese and Ghanaian samples. The percentage of the population chosen for research is known as the sample size (Creswell & Creswell, 2017). A sample size is always chosen from the population and used for the research for practical reasons. But the sample size needs to be substantial enough that the results of the study can be applied to the entire population (Pattern & Newhart 2017). This is because both instances of under- and over-sampling might impair the quality of the study. According to some experts, a population of more than 1000 people require a sampling ratio of between 10 and 20 percent (Plonsky, 2017). To aid in the quantitative analysis for the Chinese sample, 110 Chinese immigrant traders in the Greater Accra and Ashanti regions were surveyed. Specifically, the first set of participants were selected using simple random sampling from a list of Chinese traders. These randomly selected participants later became nodes for snowballing sampling technique at a mob-up data collection stage. Out of a list of one hundred

and twenty-seven (127) Chinese traders obtained from the Chinese Embassy and GIPC in Accra, and contacted by phone, ninety-one (91) traders who reside in both Accra and Kumasi agreed to take part in the study. Sixty (60) participants were randomly selected and contacted for data collection schedules. The random selection is done using Microsoft excel. The process creates numbers from 1 to 91 and presents a random list of 60 participants as the first set of respondents. These first-stage respondents obtained from the use of simple random sampling were asked to refer other traders in a snowballing method to increase the sample size of Chinese immigrant traders. The snowball technique yielded twenty-eight (28) extra respondents. The maximum number of people along each randomly selected respondent node was limited to three (3) and the minimum was zero (0). Thus, the most referrals made by a Chinese trader is limited to 3 other traders, while some traders were not able to make any referrals. This is to ensure that useful responses are collected with limited selection bias.

In addition, the convenience sampling method was used to further increase the sample size of the hard-to-reach Chinese sample. Participants in the convenience sampling were chosen depending on their availability and willingness to respond to the survey, and their engagement in both wholesale and retail businesses in Ghana. The convenience sampling provided twenty-two (22) extra respondents for the survey. It is important to note that although useful results can be obtained from convenience sampling as in other non-probability techniques, the results are prone to biases, because those who volunteer to take part may be different from those who choose not to, resulting in volunteer bias. Thus, different sampling techniques will produce different results. This discrepancy is known as sampling error, and the standard error quantifies its variability. Although Chinese traders are not easily accessible for research purposes, the study uses a large enough sample size to reduce the sampling error. In a further attempt to reduce the effect of the sampling error, the quantitative data is estimated using robust standard error estimates.

3.6.3.2 *Qualitative data collection method*

The interview guide was used to gather the qualitative component of the study. An interview is defined as an interactive conversation between individuals where one person (i.e., the interviewer) poses questions to the other person (i.e., the interviewee) for the purposes of eliciting information (Creswell & Creswell, 2017). In the context of qualitative studies, researchers or trained fieldworkers become the interviewers and respondents become the interviewees. Interviews can be conducted in three main ways; structured, semi-structured or unstructured (Dawson, 2019; Silverman, 2015).

When conducting structured interviews, a predetermined interview guide is created and closely followed when speaking with various respondents, preventing discussion of any topics not covered by the guide (Silverman, 2015). An interview guide is utilized in semi-structured interviews, but there is room for probing questions to bring up areas not covered in the interview guide (Dawson, 2019). There is no interview outline to drive an unstructured interview; instead, the interview's direction is decided by the context of the conversation (Clarke & Braun, 2013).

Since the goal of the current study is to understand the lived experiences of Chinese immigrant traders, a semi-structured interview was used. When the objective is to gather qualitative, open-ended data, investigate participant thoughts, feelings, and opinions about a particular topic, and delve deeply into personal and occasionally delicate matters, semi-structured interviews are an excellent strategy for data gathering. (Forman & Damschroder, 2007; DeJonckheere & Vaughn, 2019). To facilitate interviews, an interview guide was created. Every research objective was addressed in the interview guide's opening questions. Nevertheless, based on the interviewees' responses, it was possible to ask various probing questions. The probing questions enabled further exploration of contextual concerns on Chinese trading activities in

Ghana as well as within the districts where the study was conducted. Thus, themes were created from emerging issues during the interviews, consisting of market tension and lived experiences, trading activities, challenges, and opportunities. The first approach to generating these themes was familiarizing with the transcripts while the second approach identified patterns and topical issues on related subject matter.

A sample of thirty-five (35) stakeholder interviews were conducted in both regions using purposive sampling. From the analysis of the transcripts, some follow-up interviews were conducted where it became necessary. This made the qualitative data-gathering process iterative. As a result, the final number of people for the qualitative part of the study was guided by meaning, saturation, and information power (Malterrud et al. 2016). As in the case of Chinese traders, a combination of sampling strategies was used to select the Ghanaian traders' sample of three hundred and eighty-four (384) traders from Accra (259 respondents) and Kumasi (125 respondents). These sampling strategies are systematic random and convenience sampling methods

Key informants were chosen for interviews using the purposive sampling method. The key interviewees were chosen based on the roles they play in the issues surrounding the tensions and restrictions surrounding Chinese immigrant trading activities in Ghana. The snowballing technique was also used where key informants who have been interviewed also recommended other key informants whose perspectives are critical to relations between Ghanaian traders and Chinese immigrant traders.

3.6 Ethical Issues

When doing research with human subjects, all ethical guidelines must be followed. According to Creswell (2009), researchers must safeguard research participants, build trust with them,

support the integrity of the study, prevent misconduct and improper behavior that could reflect negatively on their companies or institutions, and manage new obstacles. Ethics describe what is and is not ethical behavior, as well as what ethical research practices entail (Neuman, 2007). Before the respondents were included in the current study, their informed consent was requested during the data collection process. This includes explaining to participants the study's main goal and the fact that it was carried out solely for academic goals and had no other motivations. Furthermore, the participants' information was guaranteed to be private and secret. The respondents' anonymity was preserved throughout the collection and analysis of the data.

3.6 Data Analysis

The methods and steps used to analyse the collected data are covered in this section. Data analysis is the process of turning raw data into information that can be used to address research questions or achieve study goals (Braun, Clarke, Hayfield, & Terry, 2019). Different analytical methods are employed in mixed-method studies to analyse the data's quantitative and qualitative components. As a result, the qualitative and quantitative data were analysed differently, individually, and independently in the current study.

3.8.1 Quantitative Data Analysis

For the quantitative component, the survey data was analysed using both descriptive and inferential statistics. These were done using Excel and STATA 16 software. Cleaning and coding responses provided by survey respondents were part of the data processing process. The replies on the questionnaire were coded by giving them numbers to translate them into a numerical language that can be easily manipulated by software. For example, responses such

as “very good” for lived experiences were coded as “4” while the selection of “male” for gender was coded as “1”.

Following the coding procedure, the respondents' responses were subjected to descriptive statistics as the next step. To estimate the patterns in the data, the descriptive statistics are provided using frequencies and percentages. The data is also shown as tables based on the frequencies and percentages. To analyse the research questions, descriptive statistics (frequency and percentages) were used. Additionally, certain inferential statistics were implied to the data. After the knowledge from the data analysis was interpreted for meanings, it was summarized, and conclusions were drawn.

3.8.2 Model Specifications

To assess the factors that account for the nature of relationships that exist between the Chinese immigrant traders and Ghanaian traders, a similar model used by Johnston, McDonald & Quist (2020) is adopted due to the ordered or ranking nature of the dependent variable in this study. Here, the nature of the relationship or lived experience as a function of individual characteristics is specified as follows;

$$\begin{aligned} Liv_Exp_i = & \beta_1 Activity_i + \beta_2 Incentives_i + \beta_3 Gender_i + \beta_4 Age_i + \beta_5 Duration_i \\ & + \beta_6 Education_i + \beta_7 Location_i + \varepsilon_i \end{aligned} \quad (1)$$

Where, Liv_Exp_i is the lived experiences measured as an ordinal variable with categories such as very good (coded as 4), good (coded as 3), fair (coded as 2) and poor (coded as 1). $Activity_i$ stands for the trading activity of a Chinese trader coded as 1 for a retailer and 0 for a wholesaler. $Incentives_i$ is a categorical variable which measures whether the Chinese trader is motivated by either environmental (1), politico-legal (2), socio-cultural (3) or economic (4) incentives. $Gender_i$ represents whether the Chinese trader is a male or female, coded 1 for male and 0 for

female. Age_i represents how old the Chinese trader i is measured in years as a continuous variable. $Duration_i$ measures the number of years the Chinese trader has lived in Ghana since s/he first arrived up to the time of the survey. $Education_i$ is a categorical variable which denotes the educational level of the Chinese trader i measured as secondary (1), diploma (2), first degree (3) and second degree (4). $Location_i$ is a categorical variable indicating the city where the Chinese trader operates. It is coded as 1 for Accra and 0 for Kumasi. ε_i is the stochastic error term or the disturbance term that captures all possible omitted variables in equation (1). These omitted variables include annual turnover, business size, competition, number of local employees, business age, etc. and β_1, \dots, β_k are parameters (of the explanatory variables) to be estimated.

3.8.3 Estimation Strategy

A single model with a non-binary goal can also predict a dependent variable with more than two discrete potential values. The complex process of generating a multilevel decision tree can be avoided depending on whether the result categories are ordered or unordered by using ordered (ordinal) logistic regression, ordered (ordinal) probit regression, and multinomial logistic regression. The drawback of the multinomial regression model in this case is that the ordering or ranking of the categories is ignored. In the case of an ordered outcome variable, lived experiences, i.e., “nature of the relationship between Chinese and Ghanaian traders” in Eq. (1) above, has four (4) categories such as “very good” (coded as 4), “good” (coded as 3), fair (coded as 2) and poor (coded as 1). Thus, the ordinal logit model is employed to determine factors that account for the kind of relationship that exists between the Chinese immigrant traders and their Ghanaian trading counterparts. Robust standard errors are considered to

minimize the sampling bias that occurs because of the use of convenience and snowballing sampling techniques.

The ordinal probit model follows the cumulative standard normal distribution while the logit model follows the logistic distribution. To motivate the use of these models, we describe the lived experiences of Chinese traders as either poor, fair, good, or very good. In ordered response models, the true, continuous variable Y_i^* is represented by the variable, Y_i which only spans a finite number of totally ordered outcomes. Due to the discrete-choice nature of the data, Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) will result in heteroskedastic errors and predicted probabilities that may fall outside the range of (0, 1) for each outcome described in the vector Y . To circumvent this problem of heteroskedastic (where there is a wide variation in the residual term), maximum likelihood estimation is often used to estimate the unknown parameters, and the structural equation can be defined in the general form as follows.

$$Y_i^* = X_i\beta + \varepsilon_i, \quad 1 \leq i \leq N \quad (2)$$

$$Y_i = \begin{cases} 1 & \text{if } y_i^* < \alpha_1 \\ 2 & \text{if } \alpha_1 \leq y_i^* < \alpha_2 \\ 3 & \text{if } \alpha_2 \leq y_i^* < \alpha_3 \\ \dots & \\ N & \text{if } \alpha_{N-1} \leq y_i^* \end{cases} \quad (3)$$

Y_i is the observed state for case i and it takes ordinal responses such as: poor, fair, good and very good. Y_i^* is an unobserved dependent variable (the exact level of agreement with the statement proposed),

X_i is a vector of variables that explains the probability of the transition by case i

β is a vector of coefficients, α_k are the threshold parameters to be estimated along with β and ε_i is a disturbance term that is assumed normally distributed.

The threshold parameters are given by;

$$\alpha_k(x) = \ln \frac{P(Y \leq j | x)}{P(Y > j | x)} = \ln \frac{\varphi_0(x) + \varphi_1(x) + \dots + \varphi_j(x)}{\varphi_{j+1}(x) + \varphi_{j+2}(x) + \dots + \varphi_j(x)} = \tau_j - X^T \beta \quad (4)$$

Where;

τ_j are the cut points between the categories (poor, fair, good and very good) and $\varphi_j(x)$ is the probability of being in class j given covariates x .

The final parameter estimation is a system of equations:

$$\ln \frac{P(Y_i = 1)}{P(Y_i = N)} = \beta_1^T X_i \quad (5)$$

$$\ln \frac{P(Y_i = N-1)}{P(Y_i = N)} = \beta_{N-1}^T X_i \quad (6)$$

Thus, the ordered probit and logit models provide an appropriate model for measuring the nature of the relationship between Chinese and Ghanaian traders, preserving the ordering of response options (poor, fair, good, or very good) while making no assumptions about the interval distances between options (Liddell & Kruschke, 2018). Some assumptions considered for the logistic regression include the fact that (a) the dependent variable (lived experience) is measured on an ordinal level, (b) one or more of the independent variables are either continuous (i.e., age, duration), categorical (i.e., gender; male, female) or ordinal (e.g., education) and, (c) there is no or low correlations between the independent variables.

Multicollinearity

The explanatory variables aren't associated with one another is an implicit assumption made by multivariate estimation techniques (Brooks, 2008). When at least two independent variables are strongly associated, multicollinearity results. This makes it challenging to distinguish the effects of the many variables (Westerlund, 2005). Create a correlation matrix and look for pair-wise variables that have a very strong correlation with one another to get a good indication of whether multicollinearity is a problem. Typically, a correlation of at least 50% is required to be considered high. A correlation matrix reveals the link, as well as the intensity and direction, of the variables. The concept of multicollinearity is further investigated using a variance inflation factor (VIF). In a multivariate regression model, it offers a measurement of multicollinearity among the independent variables.

3.8.4 Qualitative Data Analysis

The interviews were used as the main source of the qualitative data. During the interviews, participants' consent was sought for the interactions to be audio-recorded. The data was analysed using thematic analysis. Clark and Braun's (2013) procedures for thematic analysis were followed in analysing the data. They propose a staged approach when analysing qualitative data thematically.

Transcribing all the audio data into transcripts was the initial step in the thematic analysis process. To properly analyse the interview data, the researcher had to become familiar with it at the following step of the analysis. This was accomplished by carefully examining and classifying each transcript considering the study's goals and its research questions (Braun et al., 2019). The next step included organizing the codes into smaller themes after the coding process. In the final step, the minor themes were combined with the major themes in a way that shed light on the research issue being examined. Themes, codes, and quotations from the

participant narratives were then used to portray the qualitative findings. Steps were taken to ensure the trustworthiness of the qualitative data. The steps are described as follows:

3.8.5 Trustworthiness of the Qualitative Component

Perhaps the most contentious points highlighted, especially with qualitative research components, are reliability and validity (Montuschi, 2014). The main justification is based on the claim that qualitative research is fundamentally subjective and value-laden (Montuschi, 2014). Although reliability and validity are conceptually utilized for quantitative research (Morse et al. 2002), both notions are applicable in theory and practice to qualitative research (Creswell & Creswell, 2017). Numerous qualitative researchers have developed numerous ways or bolstering and improving reliability and validity in qualitative research, including Creswell & Creswell (2017) and Silverman (2015). The regularity with which research investigations can yield the same results when repeated by various researchers is known as reliability (Silverman, 2015). Replicability of results is hence the primary concern with reliability (Morse, Barrett, Mayan, Olson & Spiers, 2002). On the other hand, the extent to which study findings truly reflect the social phenomenon being studied is what is known as validity (Creswell & Creswell, 2017).

Rigor in qualitative research has been suggested to be ensured in four essential ways. They are transferability, believability, confirmability, and reliability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Silverman, 2015). Each of these four approaches pertains to various facets of validity and reliability. It refers to the consistency with which results from qualitative research may be reproduced and is also known as reliability (Silverman, 2015). Confirmability is sometimes described as a metric for objectively assessing outcomes (Smith, 2005). Therefore, confirmability refers to how well findings are backed by the actual data obtained (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). For instance,

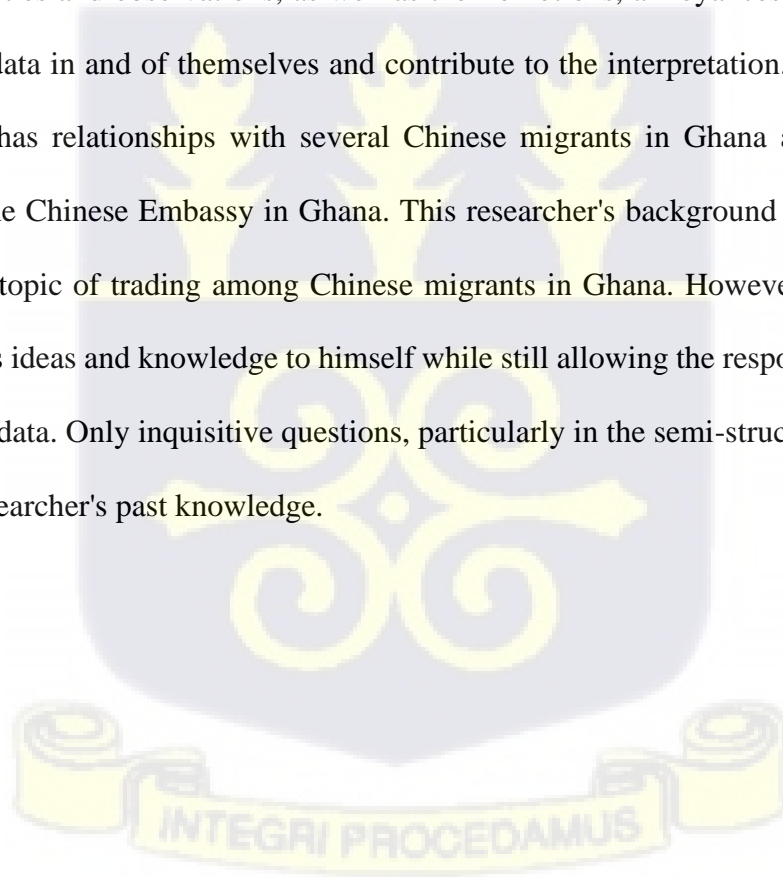
while discussing findings' degree of credibility and plausibility, internal validity is frequently mentioned as well (Mayan, 2009).

Transferability refers to the extent to which findings from qualitative research can be used to different situations that are like the original environment (Silverman, 2015). (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). To ensure that the study is dependable, internally and externally valid, and trustworthy, the four techniques call for caution at various stages of qualitative research. To ensure rigor, there are particular or specialized abilities required at each stage. Through all phases of the data collection and analysis methods for this study, reliability, validity, and trustworthiness were guaranteed. The procedure began with the design stage of the study, when the researcher made sure that the best techniques were employed to gather the required data on Chinese trading activity.

The researcher made sure that information was gathered from a variety of sources, including Chinese migrant traders and other parties with a stake in migrant trading activities in Ghana. Data was gathered using a variety of techniques, including surveys and one-on-one interviews. The method is frequently known as "data triangulation" (Smith, 2005). By gathering information from many angles, it is possible to confirm the accuracy of the facts and make sure that the statistics accurately reflect social reality (Creswell & Creswell, 2017). After successfully gathering data, the method and approach used to analyze the data has an impact on its rigor, reliability, and validity, particularly when the qualitative component of mixed-method studies is included (Creswell & Creswell, 2017). Data analysis has significant effects, particularly on the internal validity or credibility of the research (Silverman, 2015). Correct data analysis makes sure that the conclusions are reliable and correct. The first tactic employed in the current study to establish dependability and trustworthiness was to provide a thorough overview of the methods utilized to analyze the data (Silverman, 2015). This makes sure readers have no questions about who conducted the qualitative assessments and how the data

analysis was conducted (Creswell & Creswell, 2017). Inter-rater dependability was another technique that was employed. Two (2) additional graduate assistants who are skilled analysts were asked to assess the data, and their conclusions were then compared (Morse et al., 2002). This lessens analysis subjectivity and raises its credibility and dependability (Creswell & Creswell, 2017:43; Morse et al., 2002).

Finally, the researcher was conscious of reflexivity. Recognizing the researchers' contributions as they actively co-create the setting they aim to analyze is known as reflexivity (Creswell & Creswell, 2017). The subjectivity of both the researcher and the subjects under investigation is incorporated into the research process. As a result, the researcher's internal reflections on their fieldwork activities and observations, as well as their emotions, annoyances, feelings, and so forth, become data in and of themselves and contribute to the interpretation. In this instance, the researcher has relationships with several Chinese migrants in Ghana and is extremely familiar with the Chinese Embassy in Ghana. This researcher's background made it easier to investigate the topic of trading among Chinese migrants in Ghana. However, the researcher tried to keep his ideas and knowledge to himself while still allowing the respondents' voices to be heard in the data. Only inquisitive questions, particularly in the semi-structured interviews, drew on the researcher's past knowledge.



CHAPTER FOUR

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF STUDY PARTICIPANTS

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, we discuss the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of Ghanaian traders. This discussion helps us to explore the attitudes Ghanaian traders have towards the Chinese immigrant traders in Ghana and serves as a basis for their interactions and the lived experiences of Chinese traders. The chapter also presents the attitudes Ghanaian traders have about Chinese immigrant traders. We explore these characteristics using interviews and opinions and present them using tables and graphs.

4.2 Profile of Ghanaian Traders

Table 3: Socio-demographic profiles of the Ghanaian respondents

Variable	Categories	Frequency	Percent
Location	Accra	259	67.45
	Kumasi	125	32.55
	Total	384	100.00
Gender	Male	273	71.09
	Female	111	28.91
	Total	384	100.00
Age	20-29	29	7.55
	30-39	67	17.45
	40-49	143	37.24
	50-59	76	19.79
	60-69	69	17.97
	Total	384	100.00

Education	No formal education	14	3.65
	Non-formal education	42	10.94
	Basic education	109	28.38
	High school education	145	37.76
	Tertiary	74	19.27
	Total	384	100.00
Marital Status	Single	25	6.51
	Married	288	75.00
	Separated	21	5.47
	Divorced	39	10.16
	Widowed	11	2.86
	Total	384	100.00
Business Ownership	Sole proprietorship	295	76.82
	Family business	58	15.11
	Partnership	31	8.07
	Total	384	100.00
Nature of Trade	Retail	277	72.14
	Wholesale	107	27.86
	Total	384	100.00

4.2.1 Location and Gender

Regarding location and gender information about Ghanaian traders, the study revealed that most traders were males who live in Accra. The gender composition of this study is in line with the findings of Dankwah & Valenta (2019) who noted that most traders are males having similar trading activities with Chinese traders. These male traders are involved in the sale of electronics and electrical appliances, building and construction materials, and machinery and automobile accessories. With a total sample of 384 Ghanaian traders, male traders represent 71% as shown in Table 3. Additionally, 67.45% of Ghanaian traders are in Accra and 32.55%, representing 125 traders operate in Kumasi.

4.2.2 Educational Level of Ghanaian traders

Considering the educational level of the Ghanaian traders, Table 3 shows that majority of the traders have high school or secondary level education. This represents 37.76% of the sample. The second highest category of educational level of Ghanaian traders is basic level of education and 28.39% of traders are in this category. Findings reveal that only 19.27% of Ghanaian traders have tertiary level education while the remaining 3.65% have no formal education.

4.2.3 Age Distribution of Ghanaian traders

The age distribution of Ghanaian traders is measured as a categorical variable. The 40-49 years' group is the modal class representing 37.24%. Traders between the age group of 50 to 59 years form the second highest category, representing about 20% of the sample. Closely following this group is those in the age bracket 60-69 years which represents about 18%. The 20-29 age

group, which has the lowest frequency constitute only 7.55% of the sampled traders.

4.2.4 Business structure and nature of trade

Regarding the ownership structure of the business and nature of trade (retail and wholesale), the survey results show that most of the traders are sole proprietors. Specifically, 295 traders, representing approximately 77% of the sampled traders indicate that the ownership structure of their business is a sole proprietorship. Family business forms about 15% of business ownership structure and partnerships represent only 8%. Concerning the nature of trade, 277 traders, representing about 72% of the sample were retail traders while about 28% of respondents were wholesalers.

4.3 Economic Incentives

In this subsection, the local context in which the Chinese immigrant trader operates is discussed. Certain characteristics of this local context in terms of economic, socio-cultural, politico-legal and environmental perspectives were explored. Specifically, these characteristics include capital requirement, availability of labour, macroeconomic stability, and encouragement from indigenes. It is argued that these characteristics serve as either a pull, a sustaining or a push factor for Chinese traders, thereby having an influence on their lived experiences through their nature of relationship with Ghanaian traders. For example, all things being equal, more immigrant traders may be attracted to trade in Ghana if there were a lower capital requirement policy compared with other countries in the sub-region or if macroeconomic indicators were relatively more stable and the chance of making profit is greater. It is also assumed that Chinese immigrant traders are economic actors, who predominantly understand their ethnic social capital as a strategic economic resource (Tolciu,

2011) but also leverage their relationship with local actors for action. Similarly, immigrant businesses will profit and grow faster in a marketplace with cheaper local labour or in a regime where locals are more willing to facilitate the activities of immigrant traders.

“You know that in Ghana, we like peace and are very hospitable towards foreigners. I am in the same business with the Chinese traders I share this building with. Some of them are my friends. Sometimes, I refer people to buy from them when I run out of the demanded product. In the market, sometimes you must support others. On three occasions, a Ghanaian friend of mine who is also a trader and imports from China had to help some Chinese friends get business information to facilitate their business registration process. That is how we do it here. The left hand must wash the right hand and vice versa” -Nana Kay, electrical appliances wholesale trader, Accra

Fellow citizens in host countries serve as dominant sources of networks (Knoke & Yang, 2019) but establishing networks with host-country nationals is more effective than the networks from fellow country citizens (Blumenstock & Tan, 2016; Schapendonk, 2015; Yue, Li, Jin, & Feldman, 2013). This is because host-country nationals can provide immigrant traders with business information, share institutional links to public agencies, and connect local markets and customers (van Meeteren & Pereira, 2018).

Table 4: Economic Incentives

Variable	Categories	Frequency	Percent
Lower capital requirement	Strongly disagree	9	2.34
	Disagree	6	1.56
	Somewhat	63	16.41
	Agree	91	23.70
	Strongly Agree	215	55.99
Poor and improper monitoring	Strongly disagree	9	2.34

	Disagree	3	0.78
	Somewhat	51	13.28
	Agree	100	26.04
	Strongly Agree	221	57.55
Ready market for imported goods	Strongly disagree	2	0.52
	Disagree	5	1.30
	Somewhat	48	12.50
	Agree	174	45.31
	Strongly Agree	155	40.36
Cheap labour	Strongly disagree	3	0.78
	Disagree	5	1.30
	Somewhat	75	19.53
	Agree	124	32.29
	Strongly Agree	177	46.09
Macroeconomic stability	Strongly disagree	4	1.04
	Disagree	17	4.43
	Somewhat	73	19.01
	Agree	82	21.35
	Strongly Agree	208	54.17
Encouragement from local people	Strongly disagree	8	2.09
	Disagree	47	12.27
	Somewhat	54	14.10
	Agree	102	26.63
	Strongly Agree	172	44.91

4.3.1 Low capital requirement

Soliciting responses from Ghanaian traders on how low capital requirement can incentivize Chinese immigrant traders, it was observed that 4 out of 5 Ghanaian traders or 80% of respondents agree to the fact that capital requirement for (Chinese) immigrant traders are low and hence their influx into the Ghanaian trade area and subsequently the retail space. By low capital requirement, Ghanaian traders perceive that given the strength of their purchasing power, Chinese traders find it relatively cheaper to do business in Ghana than Ghanaian traders

themselves, and not necessarily comparing the capital required officially to start up a business as an immigrant business in Ghana with other countries in the sub-region. This perceived greater purchasing power of Chinese traders over their Ghanaian counterparts may be related to a skill gap problem where the Ghanaian trader perceives the Chinese trader to be more skilled at doing business, managing trade-related relationships, and shaping market experiences. For instance, Mayda (2006) empirically analyses economic and non-economic determinants of individual attitudes and argues that the association between pro-immigration attitudes and individual skills should be related to the skill composition of natives relative to immigrants in the destination country. Consequently, skilled individuals should favor immigration in countries where natives are more skilled than immigrants and oppose it otherwise. It could be argued that the perceived skill gap problem is a recipe for the observed tensions between the two market actors. Thus, low capital requirement is a facilitator of Chinese immigrants' trading activities in Ghanaian markets. It is interesting to note that only 4% of respondents disagree to the assertion that capital requirements for immigrants in Ghana are low whereas 16% neither agree nor disagree.

“It is difficult for some of us (Ghanaian traders) to pay the rent for one full year in advance but the Chinese are able to pay for 5 years or more in advance for the shops. So, if you think carefully about it, you will realize that they can even afford it if the capital required for foreigners to do business in Ghana is increased. They have more money, they can pay so for me the capital requirement for foreigners is low”- K. Boadi, Ghanaian car battery trader, Kumasi.

4.3.2 Monitoring of businesses

Monitoring involves the systematic and routine collection of information from business owners in the trading space. Monitoring allows results, processes and experiences to be documented

and used as a basis to steer decision and policymaking and the learning processes. Monitoring of businesses (whether local or foreign businesses) ensures the enforcement of legal provisions. It enables regulators to learn from experiences and make data-driven decision to improve practices and activities in the future; to have internal and external accountability of the resources used and the results obtained; to promote business empowerment and strengthen the ease of doing business. Monitoring also reveals challenges involved in the trading space and provides baseline data to circumvent such challenges. Through monitoring, tax agencies can optimize revenue generation strategies to maximize economic potentials.

From the survey, we find that when Ghanaian traders were asked whether monitoring mechanisms for businesses particularly immigrant businesses are properly conducted, about 83% of respondents agree that monitoring is poorly conducted and, in some instances, no monitoring is done. However, less than 4% of Ghanaian traders disagree that monitoring is poorly and improperly conducted.

“We expect that officials from ministries, departments and agencies of government organizations responsible for business registration, trade facilitation, residence permits, among others, pay routine visits to our markets to get first-hand information on the experiences of their patrons. These organizations render services to us-the traders, so there is the need for them to come around and find out how we feel about the services they provide and how that is making or breaking our businesses. They need to know about our experiences and challenges, whether local or foreign businesses. They exist because of us and vice versa, so they must not be in their offices all the time. They can make surprise visits to market and shops as part of their monitoring duties. That way, they will be able to identify our challenges and probably find solutions to them before it degenerates into something else. If you consider foreign businesses, I can say that officials from our local institutions tend to avoid them as if they are in “bed” with them or they don’t care about them. If they do their monitoring well, I am sure

foreign businesses registered as wholesalers would not veer into retailing for the fear of being discovered and fined or probably deported” -Moshosho, Ghanaian spare parts dealer, Accra.

From the literature, Harris et al. (2018) and Moyo et al. (2016) argue that local traders in African countries blame structural economic and operational weaknesses in their countries, of which poor monitoring of foreign businesses is a component, on immigrant traders. Based on this structural economic weakness argument, Ghanaian traders who perceive that the Chinese immigrant traders have flooded their trading space should avoid venting their spleen on Chinese traders and rather channel their concerns to the regulatory bodies in Ghana to enforce trading regulations and properly monitor the trading space in Ghana. This will ensure that the Ghanaian traders will be able to understand the broader structural weakness and address them, instead of directing their focus towards the Chinese immigrant traders whose business activities are sanctioned by the regulatory bodies in Ghana. The perceived bilateral relation between monitors and the Chinese traders by the Ghanaian traders fosters the notion of authority ranking, which creates a sense of tension among the traders.

4.3.3 Ready market for imported goods

Ghana’s urban population growth and the inelastic demand for imported goods have created a ready market for imported goods leading to an import-based economy. From the survey, 85% of Ghanaian traders at least agree that the country is a ready market for imported goods. On the other hand, only 2% of respondents at least disagree with the claim that “Ghana is a ready market for imported goods”.

“If you look at most of the things we consume in Ghana, from electronics to electrical, from furniture to kitchen utensils etc., you realize that they are not produced in Ghana. We rely so much on other countries, especially China. Go to our homes, and offices of government

institutions, come to the markets, and observe the type of goods we sell and you will believe what I am saying. If you remember, there was even a time when the Parliament of Ghana had to buy furniture from China to furnish its offices although rosewood was exported from Ghana to China. We have made ourselves consumers of foreign goods to the extent that now, it is even more expensive to produce locally, and most locally manufactured are even more expensive than similar foreign brands. I sell both locally and foreign-made clothes, so I know what I am talking about”.

4.3.4 Cheap labour

From the survey, we find that the distribution of responses is right skewed with about 46% of respondents strongly agreeing to the assertion that labour is cheap. A total of 124 Ghanaian traders, representing 32.29% agree to the claim of cheap labour while only 1.3% disagree with the assertion that labour is cheap. Additionally, less than 1% of respondents strongly disagree to the fact that labour is cheap. Furthermore, about a fifth of respondents do not agree or disagree with the claim that labour is cheap.

4.3.5 Macroeconomic stability

Macroeconomic stability is a set of important economic indicators that influence migration (Docquier, 2018). A stable economy enhances sustainable investment and has a higher potential of drawing in immigrants (Nguyen, 2021).

From the survey, more than half of the sampled respondents agree at least that the macro-economy is stable while only a minute fraction of respondents claim otherwise. Indicatively, 208 Ghanaian traders, representing 54.17% strongly agree that the economy is stable, followed

by 82 respondents (21.35%) who agree that the economy is stable. Interestingly, 73 Ghanaian traders, representing 19.01% neither agree nor disagree to the assertion that macroeconomic indicators are stable, while 4.43% disagree and 1.04% strongly disagree macroeconomic indicators are stable.

4.3.6 Encouragement from local people

We now turn our attention to “encouragement from local people” to understand the socio-economic context in which Chinese immigrant businesses operate. Like macroeconomic stability, more than half of sampled Ghanaian traders either agree or strongly agree that Chinese traders are encouraged by local people. For instance, about 45% of respondents strongly agree while approximately 27% agree that Chinese traders are encouraged by some Ghanaians. These “encouragers” are typically middlemen who are traders themselves or non-traders within the social network of Chinese immigrants and facilitate trade activities between Ghanaian and Chinese traders. These relationships form the basis of immigrant coping strategies and largely depict the mutually beneficial interaction between Ghanaians and Chinese immigrants in terms of information sharing and job creation.

4.4 Attitudes of Ghanaians towards Chinese immigrant traders

Attitudes of Ghanaian traders towards Chinese immigrant traders depend on the trading space (i.e., retail or wholesale) the traders are in and the type of trader (i.e., Chinese or Ghanaian). For instance, Ghanaian retailers tend to have a less favourable or in some cases a hostile attitude towards Chinese retailers for sharing the same trading space and being price-competitive with

them but have a more favourable attitude towards Chinese wholesalers who supply them with goods.

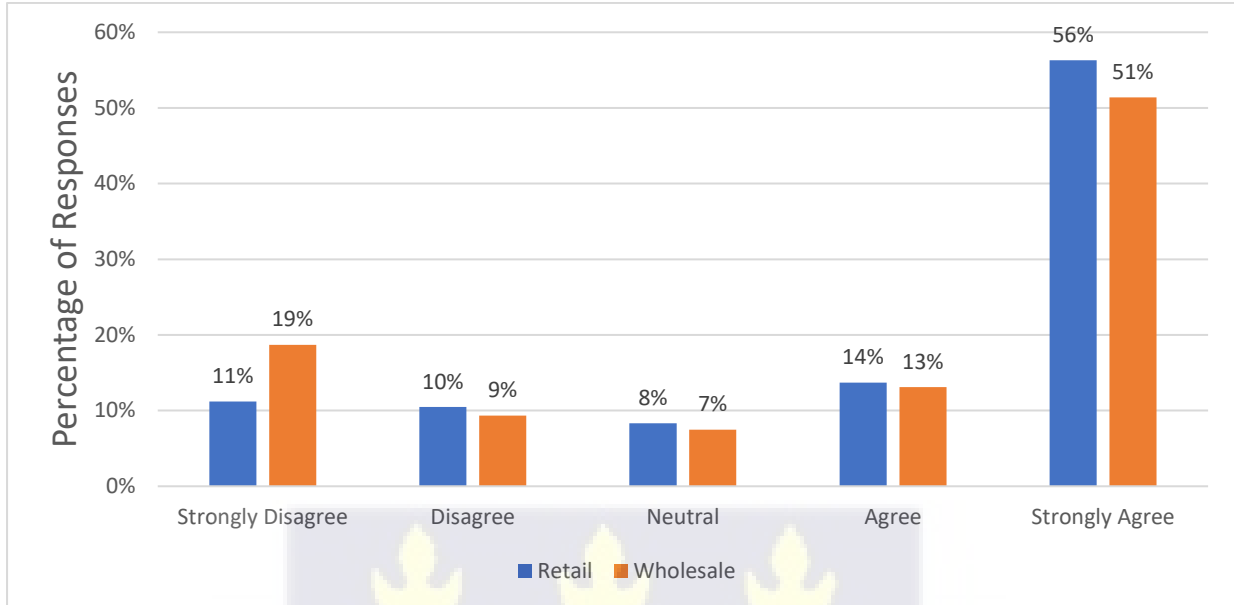


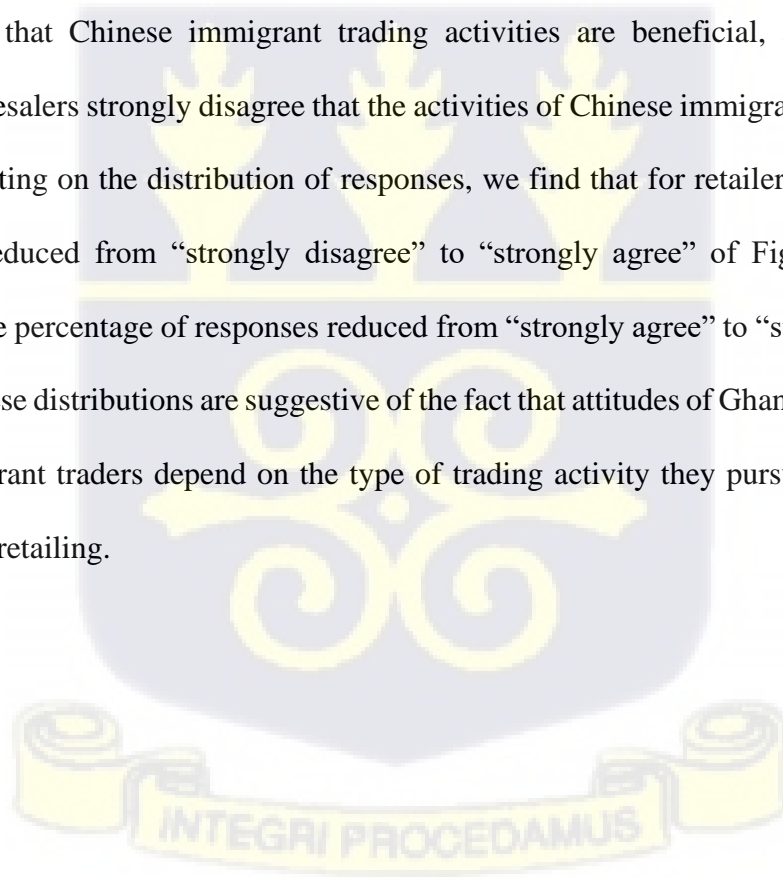
Figure 2: Chinese immigrant traders engage in trading activities reserved for Ghanaians

In this subsection, we present and discuss responses from Ghanaian traders on whether Chinese immigrant traders engage in trading activities that are reserved for Ghanaians. From Figure 1 above, majority of Ghanaian traders, irrespective of their trading space (i.e., retailing or wholesaling) support the notion that Chinese immigrant traders engage in trading activities that are reserved for Ghanaians. In both retailer and wholesaler cases, the “Strongly Agree” category has the highest percentage responses. From the sample, the survey reveals that 56% of Ghanaian retailers and 51% of Ghanaian wholesalers fall within the “Strongly Agree” category, with only 11% and 19% in the “Strongly Disagree” category for retailers and wholesalers respectively. Considering the “Disagree”, “Neutral” and “Agree” categories, we find that percentage responses are almost the same with only a one percent difference. Thus, from Figure 1, the results indicate that Chinese immigrant traders engage in trading activities

that are reserved for Ghanaian traders. This engagement of Chinese immigrant traders in a space they are not allowed to have the propensity for creating ‘unfair’ competition and tension between the traders.

4.4.1 Benefits of Chinese immigrant trading activities.

Exploring whether the activities of the Chinese immigrant traders benefit Ghanaian traders, we note from Figure 2 that 65% of Ghanaian retailers disagree while 70% of Ghanaian Wholesalers agree that the activities of Chinese immigrant traders benefit them. It can be deduced that most Ghanaian retailers disagree that Chinese trade is beneficial because Chinese retailers are in direct competition with them. Also, it is found that 12% of Ghanaian retailers strongly agree that Chinese immigrant trading activities are beneficial, and only 2% of Ghanaian wholesalers strongly disagree that the activities of Chinese immigrant traders benefit them. Commenting on the distribution of responses, we find that for retailers, the percentage of responses reduced from “strongly disagree” to “strongly agree” of Figure 2 while for wholesalers’ the percentage of responses reduced from “strongly agree” to “strongly disagree” of Figure 2. These distributions are suggestive of the fact that attitudes of Ghana traders towards Chinese immigrant traders depend on the type of trading activity they pursue, that is, either wholesaling or retailing.



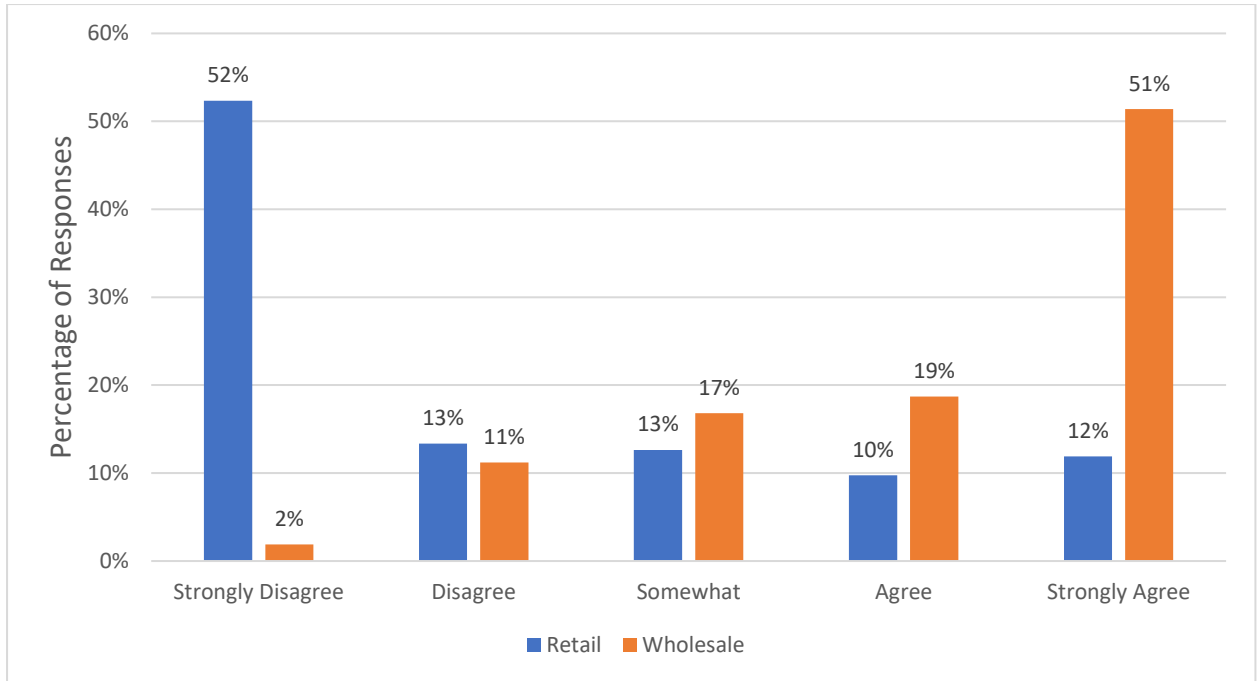


Figure 3: Do Chinese immigrant trading activities benefits Ghanaian traders?

Responses from interviews that support this position are provided below.

“This box is from China. It contains a sewing machine from China. I import all my goods from China, including sewing machines and accessories. I have Chinese friends who are also traders in Ghana. Before COVID-19, I travelled to China with them to buy goods. They facilitated my purchases in the Chinese markets by helping me to understand the Chinese currency and showing me where to get the machines at competitive prices. With COVID-19, I do not go to China anymore, my Chinese friends buy and bring me the goods and I pay for the shipment cost. Therefore, the Chinese traders are beneficial.” -A male Ghanaian wholesaler of Butterfly brand sewing machines, Kumasi.

While some Ghanaian traders highlight that the presence of Chinese traders in Ghanaian marketplaces have positive impacts on trading activities in Ghana as these Chinese traders facilitate the purchase goods in China and clarifies currency and exchange rate information,

other traders have different views.

“Whether Chinese immigrant trading activities benefit Ghanaian traders and consumers or not depends on the interactions between us (Ghanaian and Chinese traders). These interactions could be the direction of the flow of goods between us or how we (both traders) respond to market conditions. Some Ghanaian wholesalers who buy goods from China claim that the Chinese suppliers are not helpful when they are buying from them in China, and so they mete out similar treatments to Chinese traders in Ghana. In other words, some Ghanaian wholesalers think Chinese traders are even not friendly or hospitable to them when these Ghanaian traders go to China to buy goods. I am a retailer of kitchen utensils. I get my supplies from both Chinese and Ghanaian wholesalers but irrespective of my suppliers, all the goods come from China. The hawkers you see on the street here, most of the goods they sell are Chinese goods. The goods either flow from Ghanaian wholesalers to Ghanaian retailers or from Chinese wholesalers to Ghanaian retailers. It is along these interactions that attitudes and experiences are formed. You have to trust people to do business with them so in situations that lack this trust, people may not be willing to help each other” -A female Ghanaian retailer, Accra.

4.4.2 Activities of Chinese immigrant traders collapse Ghanaian businesses

In this subsection, responses to whether trading activities of Chinese immigrant traders collapse Ghanaian businesses are discussed. From Figure 3 below, 81% of Ghanaian wholesalers disagree or strongly disagree while only 10% of Ghanaian retailers falls in the same category. On the other hand, 84% of retailers agree or strongly agree that activities of Chinese immigrant traders collapse Ghanaian businesses compared to 11% of Ghanaian wholesalers who agree or strongly agree that activities of Chinese immigrant traders collapse Ghanaian businesses.

Like the distribution of responses on whether trading activities of Chinese immigrant traders benefit Ghanaian traders, we notice from Figure 3 that percentage distribution of responses by Ghanaian wholesalers decrease from 64% to 4% for strongly disagree and strongly agree respectively and increase from 4% to 51% for strongly disagree and strongly agree respectively for Ghanaian retailers. The distribution of responses in this case also points to the fact that trading spaces (i.e., retail or wholesale trading space) has a role to play in shaping the attitudes of Ghanaian traders towards Chinese immigrant traders. In conclusion, we find opposing views from Ghanaian retailers and wholesalers when asked whether activities of Chinese immigrant traders collapse Ghanaian businesses. While most Ghanaian retailers are of the view that Chinese immigrant traders collapse Ghanaian businesses, Ghanaian wholesalers have the opposite view.

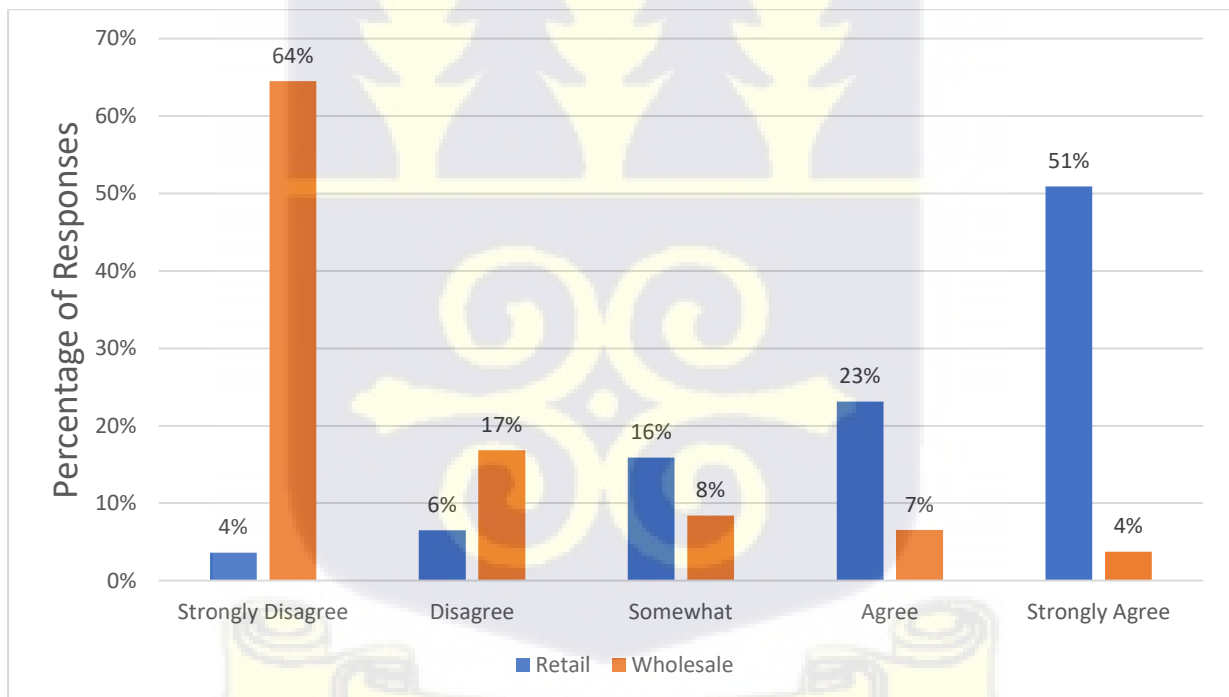


Figure 4: Do activities of Chinese immigrant traders collapse Ghanaian businesses?

4.4.3 Chinese immigrant traders flood Ghanaian markets with inferior goods

Another dimension where we assess the attitude of Ghanaian traders towards Chinese traders

is their goods-mediated relationship. It is important to note that Ghanaian traders define their attitude towards Chinese traders in terms of market factors such as the quality of goods traded. Liu (2010) asserts that “the quality of Chinese goods creates tension between the Chinese and Ghanaian traders as they adopt different ways of managing what quality means”. Additionally, another point of tension is that low-cost imported goods benefit consumers since they have a wide range of product choices to make at affordable prices but poses a challenge to local retailers.

Despite the remarkable differences in responses between Ghanaian retailers and wholesalers when asked whether activities of Chinese immigrant traders collapse Ghanaian businesses and whether activities of the Chinese immigrant traders benefit Ghanaian traders, responses for whether Chinese immigrant traders flood Ghanaian markets with inferior goods are very similar among Ghanaian retailers and wholesalers. Unanimously, actors of both trading activities (retail and wholesale) agree that Chinese immigrant traders flood Ghanaian markets with inferior goods. Specifically, about 92% of wholesalers either agree or strongly agree to this phenomenon as compared to 83% of retailers who fall in the same categories. Interestingly, only 5% of both wholesalers and retailers either disagree or strongly disagree to the fact that Chinese immigrant traders flood Ghanaian markets with inferior and low-cost goods. Although the majority of Ghanaian traders claim that Chinese goods are inferior, some traders mentioned that they sell Chinese goods of varying quality.

“Our goods are from China. To serve our customer base, we deal in goods of varying quality. We have first-grade, second-grade, and third-grade products. The first-grade products are the best compared to the rest in terms of quality but, of course, are more expensive than the second and third grades. The third-grade products are the cheapest but less durable. We adopt this strategy so that any customer whether a one-time buyer or a regular retailer who walks into our stores can get a wide range of products to purchase. This improves consumer choice”. -

KK, a male Ghanaian electronic wholesaler, Kumasi.

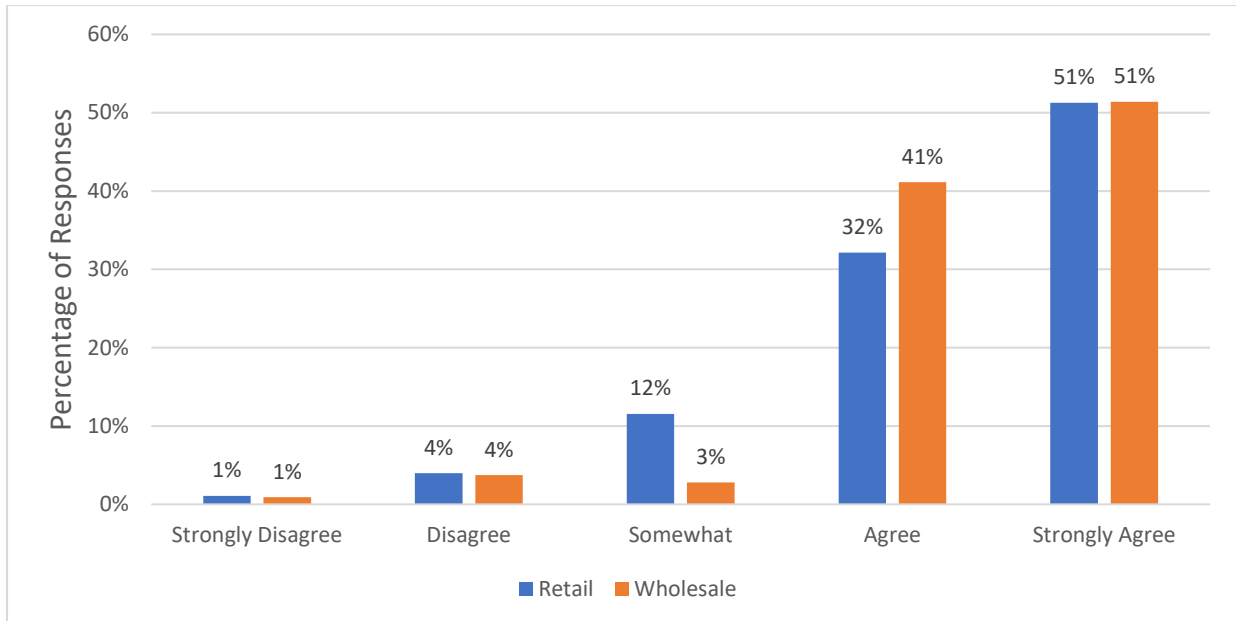


Figure 5: Do Chinese immigrant traders flood Ghanaian markets with inferior goods?

4.4.4 Source of goods

Given the large proportion of respondents asserting that Chinese immigrant traders flood Ghanaian markets with inferior goods and the fact that retailers and wholesalers have divergent views on the claim that activities of Chinese immigrant traders collapse Ghanaian businesses, we further explore the sources of goods in the Ghanaian trading spaces to find out if there are any trends or patterns peculiar to retailers or wholesalers. Country or region of origin of goods include Ghana, Europe, America, China and other African countries. Figure 5 shows that 40% of Ghanaian retailers source their goods from Ghana as compared to 18% of Ghanaian wholesalers sourcing their goods from Ghana. Interestingly, we find that a larger proportion of Ghanaian wholesalers source their goods from China. Specifically, 34% of Ghanaian wholesalers get their merchandize from China as opposed to only 10% of Ghanaian retailers claiming that their goods come from China. This evidence could suggest that goods for wholesale trade are import-based while goods for retail trade are locally sourced when we

consider Ghana and China as two source countries of goods.

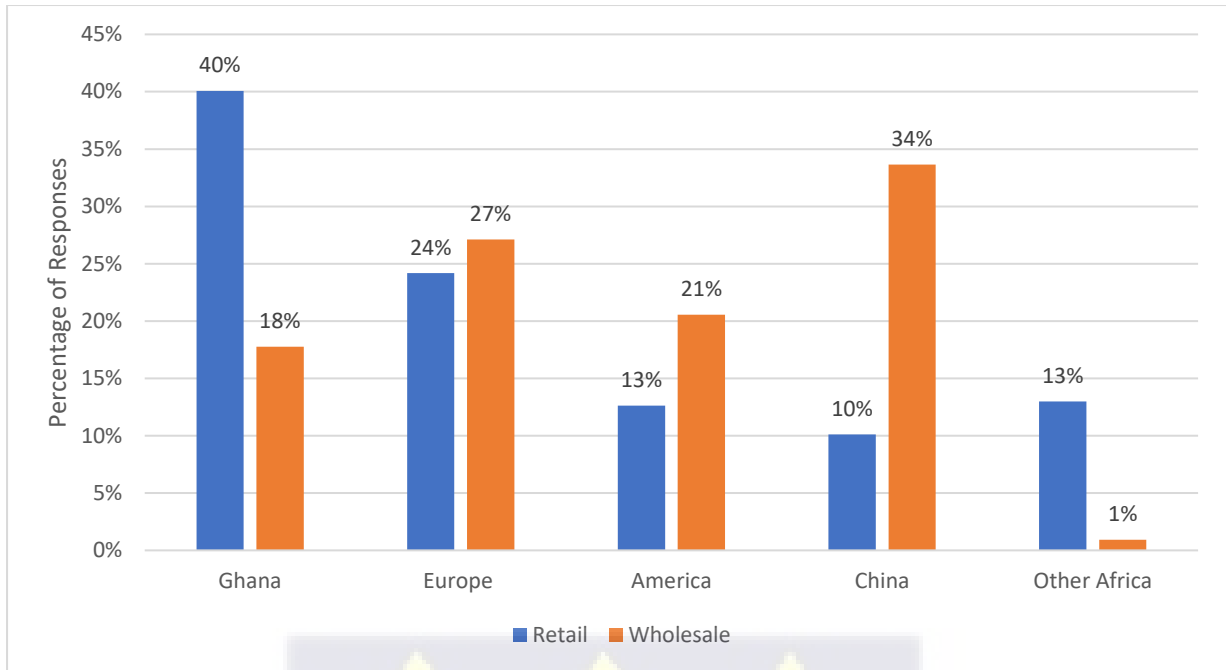


Figure 6: Sources of goods

Table 5: Mean scores of attitudes of Ghanaian traders towards Chinese traders

Attitudes of Ghanaian Traders	N	Mean	SD
Government of Ghana supports Chinese immigrants' entry into restricted business activities in Ghana	384	4.45	.79
Ghanaian traders would not be allowed to engage in retail activities in China like it is allowed here	384	4.44	.86
Chinese traders flood Ghanaian markets with inferior goods	384	4.31	.87
Chinese traders do not share in the developmental ideals of Ghana	384	4.27	.99
Activities of Chinese immigrant traders collapse Ghanaian businesses	384	4.17	1.12

Chinese immigrant traders do benefit Ghanaians	383	3.79	1.37
Activities of Chinese traders have badly affected the Ghanaian economy	384	3.65	1.45
Chinese traders do engage in trading activities that are reserved for Ghanaians	383	3.59	1.62

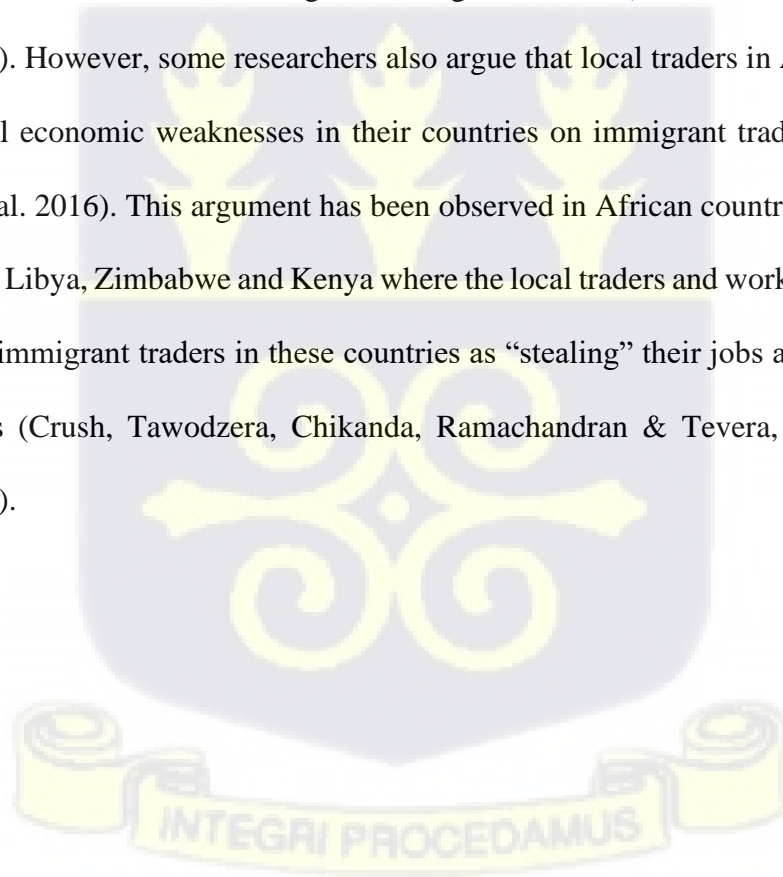
As shown in Table 5 above, the Ghanaian traders held very strong attitudes towards activities of Chinese immigrant traders in five indicators. The indicators according to the mean scores are; that the Chinese entrepreneurs have the backing of the Government of Ghana in their engagement in restricted business activities in Ghana ($M = 4.45$, $SD = .79$), Ghanaians traders would not be allowed to engage in retail activities in China like it is allowed here ($M = 4.44$, $SD = .86$), Chinese traders flood Ghanaian markets with inferior goods ($M = 4.32$, $SD = .87$), Chinese traders do not share in developmental ideals of Ghana ($M = 4.27$, $SD = .99$), and then activities of Chinese immigrant traders collapse Ghanaian businesses ($M = 4.17$, $SD = 1.12$).

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter focused on examining the attitudes of Ghanaian traders towards Chinese traders in the Ghanaian urban trading space. The findings showed that the Ghanaian traders, especially retailers, had predominantly negative attitudes towards Chinese immigrant traders in Ghana. Specifically, the findings showed that Ghanaian traders perceived that Chinese traders have unfair advantage in Ghana due to; low capital requirements for the set-up of immigrant businesses, poor and improper monitoring of foreign businesses, unfair government support for immigrant (Chinese) traders through the implementation of foreign direct investment policies of tax exemptions, engagement in restricted trading activities and the fact that no

Ghanaian trader would be allowed to engage in retail trading in China. Thus, these negative attitudes identified among Ghanaian traders towards the Chinese traders are due to crowding out of Ghanaian businesses, flooding Ghanaian markets with inferior goods, encouragement from local Ghanaians who front for the Chinese, and ready market for imported goods.

Furthermore, some negative attitudes held towards the Chinese immigrant traders are borne out of Chinese involvement in “galamsey”. Some Ghanaian traders argue that Chinese traders do not share in Ghana’s developmental ideals, and that if they did share in such development goals, they would not exploit the countries’ economic resources at the expense of the environment. These findings align with previous studies that have reported that local traders in Africa hold largely negative attitudes towards foreign or immigrant traders (Crush et al., 2017; Ozden & Rapoport, 2018). However, some researchers also argue that local traders in African countries blame structural economic weaknesses in their countries on immigrant traders (Harris et al. 2018; Moyo et al. 2016). This argument has been observed in African countries such as South Africa, Nigeria, Libya, Zimbabwe and Kenya where the local traders and workers have accused fellow African immigrant traders in these countries as “stealing” their jobs and pushing them out of business (Crush, Tawodzera, Chikanda, Ramachandran & Tevera, 2017; Ozden & Rapoport, 2018).



CHAPTER FIVE

MIGRATION HISTORY AND TRADING ACTIVITIES OF CHINESE IMMIGRANTS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the migration history and trading activities of Chinese immigrants in Ghana. Using cross-tabulations and graphs, the chapter details Chinese traders’ migration history classified by gender. The chapter further discusses sources of initial capital for trading activity, reasons for engaging in such trading activities and marketing strategies of Chinese traders in Ghana.

5.2 Profile of Chinese immigrant traders

A total of one hundred and ten (110) Chinese immigrant traders participated in this study. The profiles of the Chinese immigrant traders are provided in Table 6. Note that N represents the total number of observations and Std. Dev. stands for standard deviation. Min and Max represent the minimum and maximum values of a variable/category respectively.

Table 6: Descriptive statistics

Variable	N	Mean/Prop	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Lived experiences (Nature of relationship)	.	.	.	.	.
Poor	110	0.036		0	1
Fair	110	0.182		0	1
Good	110	0.309		0	1

Very Good	110	0.473		0	1
Trading Activity					
Retail	110	0.527		0	1
Wholesale	110	0.473		0	1
Age	110	41.745	8.937	23.00	62.00
Duration	110	7.915	5.25	2.60	25.20
Location	.	.	.	.	.
Kumasi	110	0.145		0	1
Accra	110	0.855		0	1
Education	.	.		.	.
Secondary	110	0.218		0	1
Diploma	110	0.109		0	1
First Degree	110	0.473		0	1
Second Degree	110	0.200		0	1
Gender	.	.		.	.
Female	110	0.236		0	1
Male	110	0.764		0	1
Incentive	.	.		.	.
Environmental	110	0.073		0	1
Politico-legal	110	0.218		0	1
Socio-Cultural	110	0.327		0	1
Economic	110	0.382		0	1

Variable	Categories	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Age	20 - 29 years	12	10.91
	30 - 39 years	32	29.09
	40 - 49 years	48	43.64
	50 - 59 years	16	14.55
	60 - 69 years	2	1.82

5.3 Migration History

Exploring the previous migration history of Chinese immigrants, the study finds that 20% of Chinese immigrants have ever migrated (transited) to other African countries while 80% of the sample came to Ghana the first time of their migration or came directly to Ghana. Transition countries of Chinese immigrant traders include Egypt, Ethiopia, Togo, and Nigeria.

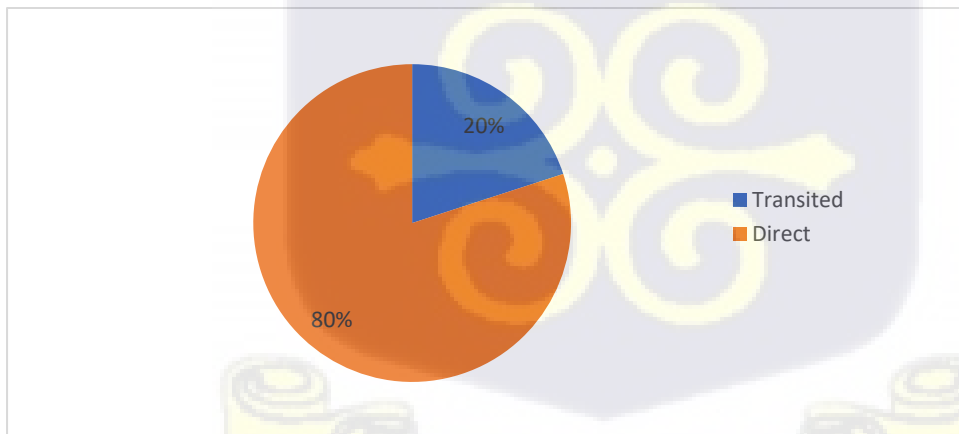


Figure 7: Chinese traders by migration history

The findings show further that in terms of migration history, many Chinese traders came to Ghana in the last 10 years (since 2010) and have been living in Ghana between 2 – 10 years. Majority of them (79.1%) came with visa while the rest came without visa. Most of them come

by direct entry, whilst others are increasingly coming as transit. Those who transited with visas came from countries such as Ethiopia and Egypt. However, those who came without visa indicated coming through neighbouring Togo. The Ghana-Togo border for instance has been a major entry route for illegal immigrants into Ghana for decades (Agbedahin, 2014). These findings suggest that it is not only citizens of neighbouring countries who enter Ghana through unapproved land border routes but non-African nationals as well. The findings thus align with recent global migration trends which suggest that illegal migration is not only a problem of Africans moving to high income countries, but also citizens of high-income countries moving into LMICs illegally (De Haas et al., 2019).

Table 7: Tabulation of migration history and gender

Migration history	Gender		
	Female	Male	Total
Transited	8	14	22
	30.77	16.67	20.00
Direct	18	70	88
	69.23	83.33	80.00
Total	26	84	110
	100.00	100.00	100.00

First row has *frequencies* and second row has *column percentages*

Considering the tabulation of migration history and gender shown in Table 7, the study finds that about 30% of Chinese females had a previous migration history as compared to 69% without previous migration history. For males, the study finds that about 17% of Chinese males

had a previous migration history while 83% had no previous migration history or directly came to Ghana for the first time.

Table 8: Migration history and documentation

Indicators	Categories	Frequency	Percentages
Migration document	Visa	87	79.1%
	No visa	23	20.9%
Destination	Direct entry	88	80.0%
	Transit	22	20.0%
Transit countries	Ethiopia	8	36.4%
	Egypt	4	18.2%
	Nigeria	4	18.2%
	Togo	4	18.2%
	Unspecified	2	9.1%

Source: Field data (2020)

As shown in Table 8, most Chinese immigrant traders (79.1%) indicated arriving in Ghana with a visa. Twenty-three (23) of them (20.9%) indicated arriving in Ghana with no visa. In terms of destination, four-fifths of Chinese traders sampled for the study, representing (80.0%) indicated entering Ghana directly, while twenty-two (22) participants (20.0%) indicated

transiting through other African countries before coming to Ghana. The countries of transit included Ethiopia, Egypt, Nigeria and Togo.

5.3.1 Migration Assistance into Ghana

The assistance that Chinese traders received in their migration preparations to Ghana is provided in Table 9. It shows that 70.91% of respondents received some assistance in migrating to Ghana while 29.09% indicated not having any form of assistance.

Table 9: Migration assistance into Ghana

Assistance	Response categories	Frequency	Percentage
Did you receive assistance?	Yes	78	70.91%
	No	32	29.09%
Source of assistance	Family only	16	20.51%
	Friends only	10	12.82%
	Family and friends	49	62.82%
	Other	3	3.85%

Source: Field data (2020)

For the majority who received assistance, 20.51% of respondents reported having been assisted by “Family only”. The family members mentioned included mothers, siblings, uncles, and husbands. Sample quotes from these participants are:

“I received assistance from my mom to start up my business in Ghana as a branch of my mom’s company back in China. The next shop you see (pointing to a shop in the building two stores away) the owner received assistance from her parents to migrate to

Ghana to explore various business opportunities. She brings and sells footwear made in China” -Female Chinese Trader 44, Accra.

Considering assistance from “Friends Only”, 10 respondents representing 12.82% indicated having such assistance, while a majority of respondents representing 62.82% noted receiving assistance from both family and friends for their migration into Ghana. Sample quotes from these participants are provided below:

“Most of us living here came through our family or friends. Myself, I came through a friend. My family helped with some money; I added it to my savings. I got assistance from friends in the form of encouragement and business advice. When I came here 6 years ago, the friend I came with gave me a place to sleep before I moved to my current place after one and a half months. You will think we are brothers from the same family”

-Male Chinese trader 18, Kumasi

Findings confirm that in terms of support for migration, most of the participants indicated receiving assistance for migrating into Ghana, mostly from family and friends. These results support the finding from some other studies that family and/or friends play a significant role in immigrants' decisions to immigrate (Castles & Miller, 2003; Jordan & Duvell, 2003; Lunn & Steen, 2000; Tsui-Auch, 2005).

5.3.2 Decision to migrate to Ghana

The decision of Chinese immigrant traders to migrate into Ghana was also explored, in terms of who played a major role in the decision-making, and reasons for choosing Ghana. The findings are provided in Table 10 below.

Table 10: Decision and reason to migrate to Ghana

Decision & Reason	Response categories	Frequency	Percentage
Who took the decision?	Self	75	68.18%
	Together with family	33	30.00%
	Company	2	1.82%
Reason for migrating to Ghana	Recommendations from Chinese friends in Ghana	24	21.82%
	Economic prospects	25	22.73%
	Peace and stability	24	21.82%
	Recommendations from Ghanaian friends	11	10.00%
	The high appetite of Ghanaian markets for foreign goods	15	13.64%
	Increasing numbers of Chinese in Ghana	11	10.00%

Source: Field data (2020)

As shown in Table 10 above, in terms of who decided to migrate to Ghana, three groups emerged: self, together with family, and company. Most of the participants (68.18%) indicated that they decided on their own to migrate to Ghana. Although Fischer, Martin & Straubhaar (2021) assert that many migration decisions are taken as a group decision, many Chinese traders stated that they took the decision all by themselves. This finding conforms with Cairns

(2014) who points out that migration decisions are influenced more by personal than social considerations. It is also important that the educational profile of the Chinese group is considered since it may play a crucial role. For example, about 67% of Chinese traders have tertiary education and as such can access, gather and compare migration information, make better decisions, and may not necessarily consult extensively with family members in making migration decisions. Moreover, the income sources of Chinese immigrant traders may also be a factor in the migration decision-making process. Given the fact that 4 out of 5 Chinese traders stated personal savings as their source of initial capital for trading activities (see Table 13 below), this may be evident that they do not really need financial support from family let alone make family play a major role in the migration decision-making.

“...Of course, family matters. Without family, we don't have anything. But I also must go out of my country for now and still be able to provide for the family. I have the responsibility to make my own decisions and so I took a personal choice to come to Ghana. I have the financial resources myself, so I can travel. Indeed, I discussed with an uncle with my migration decision, but he was not supportive of my decision. But I am a young man with lots of life ahead, so I must make the final decision for myself and do what I must do” - Chinese trader 77, Accra.

In taking migration decisions together with family, it is worth noting that integrating family in the migration decision-making process is one of a livelihood strategy as opined by Shmulyar Gréen & Melander (2018). The process often involves negotiations over options and capital/financial resources available to the family and sometimes requires trade-offs to be made in the form of emotional and material support as migration decisions may bring about insecurities and other vulnerabilities to members of the family left behind (Kay & Trevena, 2018). As Chinese traders in the Ghanaian trading spaces are male dominated, families of these traders left behind in the country of origin may be mostly female spouses and children who

have to trade-off emotional and material security. From the Chinese sample, 33 participants (30%) also indicated that they took the decision together with their families before moving to Ghana.

“I had to discuss it with my wife and her parents, because we were all living together as a household under my provision. I was already in the trading business, and I convinced them that I could make more money when I am engaged in buying goods from China and selling them in Ghana. We agreed that my wife would assist with some of the sourcing and buying of goods. ...Her parents gave me their support and blessing” -Male Chinese trader 23, Accra

Company, as a category for making the major migration decision for an immigrant trader has the least response. Company-supported migration is mostly prevalent in the construction, mining and oil and gas industries (Barber & Breslin, 2020; Maiorana, 2013). Bonin (2005) notes that immigrants who are mostly sponsored by companies must have peculiar skills and play significant roles in the management of a branch of the company in a foreign country to meet its' profit-making goals. In the Chinese sample, two participants representing 1.82% also indicated that their companies back home in China took the decision for them to come to Ghana.

“I am an assistant manager in one of our branches located in Dongguan in the Guangdong province. The company has a small branch in Accra and so made the proposal. We took the decision together for me to migrate to Ghana to manage the branch. The company intends to expand outside Accra to Kumasi in the near future. In that case, I may manage both branches” - Female Chinese trader 68, Accra.

5.3.3 Reasons for migrating to Ghana

Chinese traders migrate to Africa and Ghana for several interrelated reasons, primarily driven by economic opportunities and social networks. Research indicates that many Chinese migrants are highly educated and possess legal documentation, challenging the stereotype of being undocumented and unqualified (Teye, Kandilige, Setrana, & Yaro, 2022). Economic factors play a significant role, as Chinese entrepreneurs seek to capitalize on Africa's growing markets and resources (Fei, 2023). Additionally, social networks facilitate migration, providing support and information that enhances the prospects of success in new environments (Teye, Kandilige, Setrana, & Yaro, 2022). Moreover, the expatriation of Chinese workers aligns with state-led initiatives aimed at job creation and poverty reduction in Africa, while also serving the interests of Chinese companies looking for accessible labour (Fei, 2023). However, migration is not without challenges, as it often leads to tensions with local entrepreneurs and can be met with resistance (Kohnert, 2010). Overall, the motivations for migration are complex, involving a blend of personal aspirations and broader economic strategies.

As shown on Table 10, six thematic reasons emerged why the participants decided to migrate into Ghana. The themes include recommendations from Chinese friends in Ghana, economic prospects in Ghana, peace and stability in Ghana, recommendations from Ghanaians, high taste for foreign goods in Ghana, and the increasing numbers of Chinese in Ghana.

Recommendations from their Chinese friends in Ghana emerged strongly with about a fifth (21.82%) indicating that they migrated to Ghana because of their Chinese friends who were already doing business in Ghana. Some responses on this theme include:

“A friend who had earlier come to Ghana encouraged me to come to Ghana and invest in trading” [Participant 16]

“Have a friend who encouraged me to come to Ghana since Ghana is stable and business is good” [Participant 90]

“A good friend of mine in Ghana told me about how trade business is doing well in Ghana” [Participant 87]

“Some of my friends have already established businesses in Ghana and they told me about the opportunities here” [Participant 53]

“A friend talked to me about better business opportunities here, good climate and great networking for the Chinese community” [Participant 11]

“I have a friend already in Ghana and he encouraged me to come after I complained that my business situation in Ethiopia was not favourable” [Participant 92]

The fact that majority of them indicated migrating to Ghana due to their friends' recommendations suggests that the Chinese traders tend to cluster together in some business and trading centres in Ghana as they are more likely to stay with those friends upon arrival to find their bearing and settle down. The participants draw on their social networks of family and friends in Ghana to migrate. When they arrive, they concentrate and localise their business activities within specific trading spaces in Accra and Kumasi, for the purposes of security and business growth. This aligns with the immigrant enclave theory, which explains the concentration and localisation of immigrant businesses in proximity (Liu et al., 2020; Osaghae & Cooney, 2020).

Economic prospect was another theme explored. Twenty-five (25) of the participants representing 22.73% indicated that they migrated into Ghana because of the prospects of Ghana's economy. Sampled quotes from the participants are:

“I had gotten information about the prospecting economy and the peaceful nature of Ghana” [Participant 2]

“Business is good in Ghana and also has stable government” [Participant 30]

“I came to do business in Ghana because of the economic prospects and the peaceful environment” [Participant 14]

“Comparing the Ghana cedis to our RMB was a great gain to us” [Participant 8]

Twenty-four (24) Chinese traders also indicated that their decision to migrate to Ghana was influenced by the peace and stability as well as free market that Ghana enjoys. This number represents 21.82% of the sample of Chinese traders. Some quotes from the participants include:

“Ghana is peaceful to do business in and Ghanaians are friendly” [Participant 24]

“Because of Ghana’s stable government and peaceful nature, my investment is safe” [Participant 16]

“Apart from the economic benefits, there are no political disturbances in Ghana. The peace is good for business” [Participant 75]

Even though being one of the lowest in terms of numbers or percentages, a tenth of Chinese traders also indicated that some Ghanaian friends they met in China who suggested they visit and conduct business in Ghana:

“I came to try the market in Ghana because of recommendations from Ghanaian customers in China” [Participant 107]

“I was encouraged by a Ghanaian friend to migrate to Ghana so we could team up for a fast-moving business” [Participant 23]

Furthermore, about 13.64% of Chinese immigrant traders also cite Ghanaians’ high appetite for foreign goods as a reason for engaging in trading in Ghana.

“My Chinese friend and I did a little research on what goods Ghanaian patronise. We realised a lot of them are foreign goods particularly Chinese goods, so we started our

trade with help from some already established Chinese relatives who are businessmen in Ghana” -Male Chinese trader 32, Kumasi

The above statement tallies with the finding that a larger proportion of Ghanaian wholesalers source their goods from China. Specifically, 34% of Ghanaian wholesalers get their merchandize from China, followed by Europe (27% of Ghanaian traders), America (21% of Ghanian traders) and Ghana (18% of Ghanian traders), a trend which further highlights either the low production capacity of the Ghanaian manufacturing sector or a high export orientation of made-in-Ghana goods.

“According to friends and research done by me, Ghanaians have good appetite for foreign foods especially Chinese foods. Once I had a discussion with a Ghanaian who came to buy some goods in Guangzhou. He explained that most of their products-mobile phones, iron, kettles, car batteries etc. come from China. Based on that, I decide to relocate to Ghana and start trading in car batteries because the profit is good” -Male Chinese trader 110, Accra

In addition, eleven (11) of the Chinese traders representing a tenth of the immigrant sample said that they migrated to Ghana because there are growing numbers of Chinese in Ghana. Two (2) of these Chinese immigrants said the Chinese community in Ghana will need their catering and hospitality services.

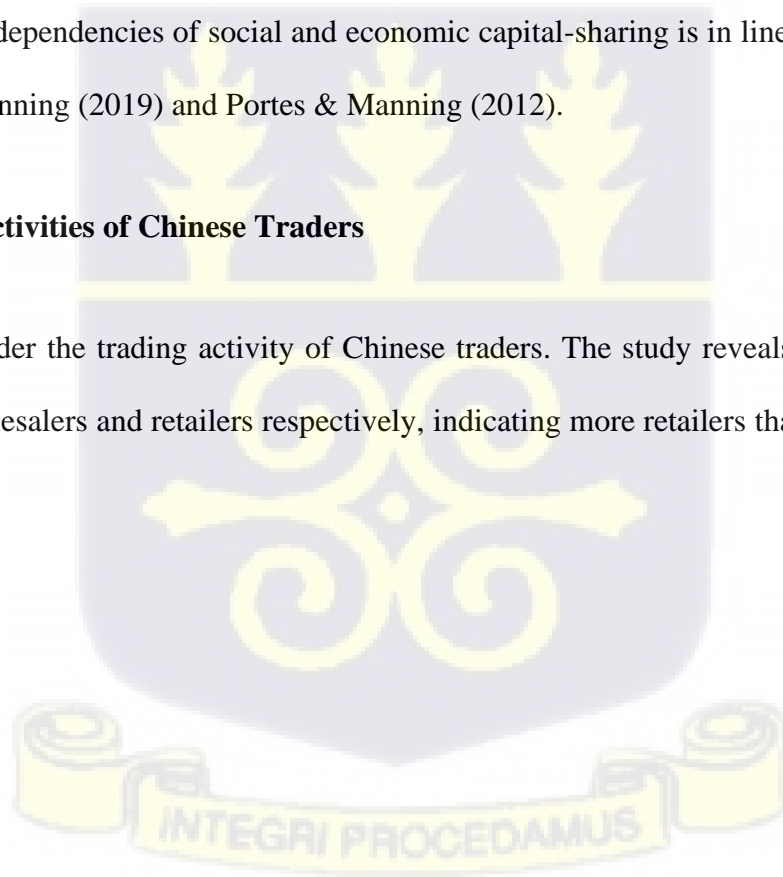
“I found out many Chinese nationals are in Ghana and would need their hair barbered so I moved in. At the time, I could only afford the travel fare. I came with an old school mate who provided me accommodation. After a week, I started my barbering on his veranda. Overtime he helped me to get a shop. I have met people I knew back in China who also

loaned me some money and now I have expanded. I have mobile phones, and its accessories displayed in my shop for sale”- Participant 13, Male Chinese trader and barber.

This finding coincides with that of Crozet (2004) who posits that migrants follow market potentials. Thus, Chinese services providers who also engage in trading create an adaptive environment by responding to market potentials of other immigrant traders. Apparently, these trading cum services-providing immigrants established their businesses in Chinese-populated neighborhoods to have good access to demand. This finding further highlights the fact that, based on their geographic cluster or proximity, several Chinese immigrant traders are dependent on the social and economic resources of their ethnic community. This finding on proximity interdependencies of social and economic capital-sharing is in line with the finding of Portes & Manning (2019) and Portes & Manning (2012).

5.4 Trading Activities of Chinese Traders

Now, we consider the trading activity of Chinese traders. The study reveals that 47.3% and 52.7% are wholesalers and retailers respectively, indicating more retailers than wholesalers in the sample.



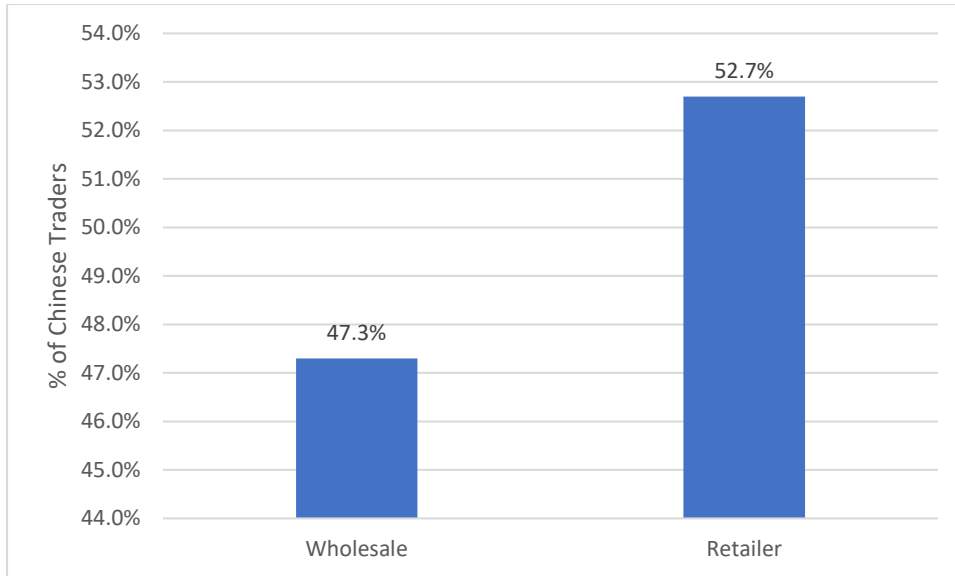


Figure 8: Trading Activity

From the interviews conducted, we classify the goods sold by Chinese traders into six (6) main categories, namely.

1. Electronics and electrical appliances: mobile phone and accessories, iron, kettle, blender, water heater, portable radio, television, speaker, microwave oven, refrigerator, etc.
2. Building and construction materials: tiles, building materials, doors, plumbing materials, furniture, safety equipment, etc.
3. Plastics and other rubber receptables: bottles, flasks, polyethene bags, basins, buckets and other containers.
4. Clothing and textiles accessories: sewing machines, jewellerys, clothes/wax prints, ladies' hair, pampers, and footwears (shoes and sneakers), etc.
5. Machinery and automobile accessories: vehicle tyres and spare parts, power generators and car batteries.
6. Food and Services

Table 11: Category of goods sold by Chinese traders

Category of goods sold	Frequency	Percentages
Electronics and electrical appliances	26	23.64%
Building and construction materials	29	26.36%
Plastics and other rubber receptables	20	18.18%
Clothing and textiles accessories	15	13.64%
Machinery and automobile accessories	18	16.36%
Food and Services	2	1.82%

Source: Field data (2020)

According to Table 11, twenty-six (26) Chinese traders representing 23.64% of the sample sell electronics and electrical appliances.

“Started selling LED lights/bulbs since I arrived in Ghana” [Participant 41]

“I first started by selling electrical bulbs and other electrical gadgets” [Participant 93]

“First, I started with electrical gadgets because I realised that most homes in Ghana use electrical gadgets. Now I have added mobile phones to it because the patronage is high” [Participant 12].

From the survey, twenty-nine (29) traders representing 26.36% of the sample indicated that they trade in building and construction materials in Ghana.

“I am into tiles because it is a good business and easy to sell” [Participant 17]

“I have not changed my trade since I started trading in Ghana. I sell tiles and other building materials” [Participant 26]

“I started with the importation of doors because it is a booming business in Ghana”

[Participant 9]

Twenty (20) participants (about 18%) indicated that they sell plastics and other rubber receptables. *“As soon as I arrived in Ghana, I wanted to engage in the sales of electrical cables, but was later introduced to the current business, which is the sale of tough plastic containers”*

[Participant 3]

“I have been selling plastics since I arrived in Ghana because I was doing similar business in China, so I have the experience and expertise” [Participant 13]

Additionally, fifteen (15) traders representing 13.64% of the sampled respondents indicated that they deal in the fashion business thus, clothing and textiles accessories.

“I started selling rubber shoes since I first arrived in Ghana” [Participant 79]

“I sell wax print cloths” [Participant 10]

“First, I sold ladies’ clothing and footwear because it was fast. Now I have expanded and added baby’s wraps and clothing to it” [Participant 61]

“First, I was dealing in human hair for ladies and now I have added clothes” [Participant 15]

About sixteen percent (16.36%) of respondents or eighteen (18) Chinese traders engage in the sale of machinery and automobile accessories such as engines, tyres, spare parts and other vehicular accessories.

The least represented category is the food/restaurant business. Two (2) participants (1.82%) indicated that they operate in this category.

“I am into food business, preparing Chinese cuisines specifically” [Participant 106]

“I have been in the restaurant business since I came to Ghana in 2012 and that is what I am still running but have to reduce our production because of COVID-19” [Participant 86]

Table 12: Reasons to engage in trading activities

Multiple Responses	Frequency	Percent of Responses	Percent of Respondents
Network (family and friends)	65	21.20%	59.10%
Higher profit/returns in Ghana (than in Chinese markets)	76	24.80%	69.10%
Low capital requirement	59	19.20%	53.60%
Local market demand	55	17.90%	50.00%
Expertise/skills	32	10.40%	29.10%
Availability of raw materials	20	6.50%	18.20%
Total	307	100.00%	279.10%

From the Table 12 above, “frequency” represents the number of cases who selected response option/category and there are a total number of 307 selections. The study finds that 69.1% of Chinese traders cite profit-making as the most important reason to engage in trading activities in Ghana. In other word, about 70% of Chinese immigrants trade because of the profit they make. This is followed by network of friends and family which represents 59.1 % of respondents. Thus, more than 50% of Chinese immigrants engage in trading activities because of their family and friend networks. Low capital requirement is cited as the third reason to engage in trading activities. It represents 19% of responses or regarding all the six response categories, a fifth of the responses are allotted to the low capital requirement category. This category was selected by more than half (53.6%) of the Chinese immigrant traders. To the Chinese trader, capital requirement here may not only be the official capital required by law to start a business in Ghana as an immigrant but comprises official capital required and any other

cost incurred as a result of informal transactions to either start a trading activity, register a business, acquire official documents or get business information through their Ghanaian social networks. What’s more, half of the Chinese immigrant traders also cited local market demand as one of the reasons to engage in trading activity in Ghana. Profit/returns, low capital requirement, and local market demand are all common features agreed on by both Ghanaian and Chinese traders. For instance, from Table 4 above, 215 Ghanaian traders representing 55.99% strongly agree that capital requirements for Chinese traders are low. Furthermore, 40.36% of Ghanaian traders strongly agree that there is a ready market for imported goods with some 45.31% agreeing to it. Thus, higher profit/returns, low capital requirement, and high local market demand for Chinese goods form economic incentives for Chinese immigrant traders. As stated in the conceptual framework, market actors benefit economically from these incentives. Economic incentives available to Chinese traders in Ghana may be a disincentive to Ghanaian traders or an incentive for Ghanaian middlemen or “fronters” who facilitate Chinese trade in Ghana. In the case where Ghanaian traders perceive or treat these economic incentives available to Chinese traders as disincentives to them (Ghanaian traders), it creates economic challenges for them (Ghanaian traders), but in cases where “fronters” or landlords see the opportunities these incentives present them, they can take advantage of it and benefit economically as outlined in the conceptual framework in section 2.7 above.

Table 13: Source of Initial capital for trading activity

Multiple Responses	Frequency	Percent of responses (%)	Percent of Respondents (%)
Personal savings	92	30.77	83.60
Loans from friends	75	25.08	68.20
Family and friends	70	23.41	63.60
Loan from relative	40	13.38	36.40
Loan from Chinese Bank/Gov't	20	6.69	18.20
Funded by company in China	2	0.67	1.80
	299	100.00	271.80

We also consider the history of Chinese traders in terms of the top three sources of initial capital for their businesses. From Table 13, the survey on Chinese traders reveals that personal savings, loans from friends, and financial support from family and friends forms the top three sources, with personal savings as the most important source of initial capital. Specifically, 30.8% of responses represent this category with priority given to it by 83.6% of respondents. Loans and financial support (not a loan) from family and friends constitute immensely to the initial capital for Chinese immigrant trading activities in Ghana. Put together, loans from friends, financial support (not a loan) from family and friends and loan from relatives constitute about 61.9%. Thus, although personal savings is solely the most important source of initial capital, collectively, family and friends constitute the largest capital-providing group. The finding highlights strong ties among close members who share the same or similar personal characteristics such as social class, race, ethnicity, education, age, religion or gender and it is indicative of the bonding, bridging and linking social capital. This form of social capital is good for under-girding specific reciprocity and mobilising informal solidarity (Bhandari & Yasunobu, 2009; Meadowcroft & Pennington, 2007).

“For my business, I was able to raise 40% of the initial capital through my own savings from some profit I made in my earlier trade in China. I got another 40% from two of my siblings and 20% from my good friend who is back in China. Half of what I got from my friend was an interest-free loan and the other half was his support for my business”-Female Chinese trader
101, Accra

5.5 Market Strategy

Exploring marketing strategies or tactics by which Chinese traders concentrate their limited resources on the greatest opportunities to increase sales and achieve a sustainable competitive advantage, the study finds that Chinese traders devise strategies along networks, traditional and social media tools, quality of goods, *pool* purchasing, price competition and location lines. Chinese immigrant traders make use of their Chinese (family and friends) and Ghanaian networks in searching for a shop and facilitating the renting of the shop for trading activities as well as human resources network to drive their marketing strategies. For example, in choosing local employees to assist and clients to engage in trading activities with, Chinese traders select their staff and clients based on commendations or referrals from their networks. Therefore, Chinese immigrant traders fall on their social network to handle human capital or resources challenges. Within the marketplaces, these networks thrive on norms of reciprocity and generalised trust as noted by Bhandari & Yasunobu (2009). For Chinese traders with shorter durations, the recommendation is more likely to come from other Chinese traders within his/her social network who have stayed in Ghana for longer durations. With time, however, these new traders begin to form relationships and broaden their social network with other traders, native or immigrant, either on their own or through older traders in their networks. Based on these networks, a Chinese trader entrusts a local trader or agent within his/her network to recommend that right local employee to satisfy his/her staffing needs. Similarly, a local agent could serve as a front for a Chinese trader who wants to register his/her business or clear goods from the ports based on shared beliefs, values, attitudes and informal norms of reciprocity as a form of structural and cognitive social capital as opined by Uphoff & Wijayaratra (2000). Thus, this observable structural social capital creates mutual benefits through actions and established roles within social networks (Bhandari & Yasunobu, 2009) and facilitates relationships that form part of the socio-cultural incentives likely to influence the Chinese

traders lived experiences in the marketplace (Knoke & Yang, 2019; Bilecen, Gamper & Lubbers, 2018)

A market entry strategy used by Chinese immigrant traders is “fronting”. This involves Chinese traders registering their shops in the name of Ghanaian directors to avoid associated costs when the business is registered as a foreign business. Although, this is a risky strategy since the Ghanaian directors are the legal owners and could take over in any litigation, Chinese immigrant traders have built trust with their Ghanaian directors to maintain a healthy relationship.

Pool purchasing and price competition is another set of tools in the marketing strategy toolkit for Chinese immigrant traders. As a market strategy, Chinese traders usually price their goods at a reduced rate relative to the price of same or similar goods of their Ghanaian counterparts. The price competition strategy is hinged on “pool purchasing.” This type of purchasing can be likened to bulk purchasing where several Chinese traders who are friends pool their resources together to buy and ship goods from China to Ghana. *“My business is the sale of general household appliances. I and my [Chinese] friends, sometimes there are three or four or five of us depending on the market, pool our monies together and buy in bulk and import from China to Ghana. That way, the import duties are shared among us and only one person clears the goods because we buy in his name. We can sell at reduced prices and therefore sell more. That way I get to maintain my customers and my business is sustained”*- A Chinese household appliances trader in Accra.

The phenomenon of pool purchasing also demonstrates the Immigrant Enclave Theory.

A number of Chinese traders have emphasized the point of living together with their family and Chinese friends in the same communities. By so doing, Chinese traders demonstrate the

Immigrant Enclave Theory, where immigrants concentrate and localize in a specific geographic area. *“I entered the Ghanaian market through other Chinese already working in Ghana and having Ghanaian friends and employees. I rented a shop at Asafo Central Market and employed a Sales Assistant who helps me with the day-to-day activities of the business. I stay with them here. We the Chinese nationals live together as you can see. We have an association and a common WhatsApp platform where we meet to communicate ideas and share experiences. I got some customers through the internet and some contacts from other Chinese in the business”* [Participant 104]- A Chinese spare parts trader in Kumasi.

The use of social media especially WhatsApp is also a pronounced market strategy for Chinese traders. *“I use social media in addition to retain my customers. Some customers will send you a picture of a product they want on WhatsApp. You can also share pictures with them when you have those items”* [Participant 108]- A Chinese car battery trader in Accra.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter focused on understanding the context of the Chinese traders in Ghana. Specifically, the profile of Chinese traders, their migration to Ghana and nature of trading activities were explored and discussed. The findings showed that in terms of demographic profiles, the Chinese immigrant traders are predominantly men (76.4%) with few of them being women (23.6%). The gender imbalance is an indication that the men have more opportunities for migrating than women. This aligns with some previous studies that argue that in patriarchal cultures such as China, men have more opportunities to travel to other countries than women. Countries in Asia and Africa are said to be the most collective and patriarchal countries in the world (Banerjee, Chacko & Piya, 2020; Cockerton, C2002).

In patriarchal and communal cultural contexts, men are free to travel for work in other countries, while migration chances of women are largely controlled by men (Yeung & Mu,

2020). China has such strong patriarchal cultural values which explains why in the Chinese migrant entrepreneurs in Ghana men are predominantly (Banerjee et al. 2020; Fan, 2000). Fan (2000), for instance, indicates that in China, opportunities for migration of all kinds are largely in the hands of men. The finding that Chinese traders are predominantly men could also imply risk-taking differences between men and women with men being more adventurous or more risk tolerant. The findings show further that the Chinese immigrant traders in Ghana are relatively younger, most of them below 50 years, relatively well educated and are mostly skilful at business and trade. This shows that age, education and business skills are strong determinants of migration of Chinese traders to Ghana. Reasons for migration to Ghana were based on recommendations from Chinese friends, economic prospects, peace and stability, and recommendations from Ghanaians.

The decision to migrate among the participant traders were usually taken by participants themselves. However, majority of them indicated consulting their families before migrating to Ghana. These findings align with the critical role of families in migration decisions, particularly in collectivistic cultures (Kok, 2010; Schiefer, 2020; Truong, Giao, Ly & Giang, 2020).

Trading activities include retailing and wholesaling, and traded goods of Chinese traders are mostly general merchandize involving the sale of electricals, fashion, plastics, household goods, electric generators and building materials, among others. These findings show that Chinese traders in the market spaces are into importation and selling, compared to production and manufacturing.

CHAPTER SIX

OPPORTUNITIES, CHALLENGES, LIVED EXPERIENCES OF CHINESE TRADERS AND TENSIONS AMONG TRADERS IN GHANA

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the study investigates and discusses the opportunities and challenges of Chinese immigrant traders. The chapter further discusses the nature of relationships as a proxy for lived experiences between Chinese immigrant traders and Ghanaian traders from the perspective of the Chinese immigrant trader. These lived experiences or relationship types have been classified as “Poor”, “Fair”, “Good” and “Very Good” and the factors which influence these lived experiences are examined. Lastly, quite many instances of tension have been reported in the media over the years, especially among Ghanaian, Nigerian, and Chinese traders, this chapter provides empirical evidence of the existence of tensions or otherwise between Ghanaian and Chinese traders and further reviews the underlying factors accounting for any tensions, particularly between Ghanaian and Chinese immigrant traders.

6.2 Opportunities for Chinese Traders

6.2.1 High demand for Chinese goods

High demand for Chinese goods in Ghanaian markets may be attributed to the country’s inability to meet local demand or high appetite for foreign goods by local consumers. Several scholars argue that consumers in emerging markets such as Ghana largely have the predisposition towards foreign products even if those products have higher prices and sometimes lower quality (Akbarov, 2022; Mahmoud, Mallen-Ntiador, Andoh, Iddrisu &

Kastner, 2021; Diamantopoulos, Davydova & Arslanagic-Kalajdzic, 2019; Asante, 2018; Kumar & Paul, 2018; Balabanis & Diamantopoulos, 2016). Chinese immigrant traders perceive Ghana as a market with a lot of demand for their goods. They claim that Ghanaians have a high patronage for their goods.

“The opportunities are amazing to the extent of supplying electrical materials for some government projects and increasing my customer base. I am also located at a strategic place where demand is very high.”-A Chinese electrical cable trader, in Accra.

6.2.2 Ghanaian hospitality and network

Relying on fellow citizens from countries of origin is the dominant source of networks for immigrant traders (Knoke & Yang, 2019). However, building networks with host-country nationals is more effective than depending on fellow country nationals (Blumenstock & Tan, 2016; Schapendonk, 2015; Yue, Li, Jin, & Feldman, 2013). Host-country nationals can link immigrant traders to local markets and customers easily compared to fellow country nationals (van Meeteren & Pereira, 2018). Thus, while building networks with fellow Chinese nationals in Ghana offers the Chinese immigrant traders with tangible and intangible resources (Gold & Light, 2000), building networks with Ghanaian citizens gives Chinese immigrant traders access to valuable resources such as market information and advice (Riddle, Hrivnak & Nielsen, 2010). Building networks with host-country nationals requires that immigrant traders go beyond their enclave to tap into the local markets (Portes & Martinez, 2018). This contradicts the assumption of the immigrant enclave theory that prescribe those immigrant businesses are better off operating within their enclave than venturing outside of the enclave (Joll et al., 2018; Lukac et al., 2019). Perhaps for immigrant traders from LMICs operating in high income countries, operating within the enclave helps them. But for immigrant traders from high income

countries operating in LMICs, the high financial capacity gives them the confidence and courage to reach out beyond their enclave for networking.

The findings show that most Chinese traders have in some cases strong networks with Ghanaians. Their primary network base includes local retailers, local wholesalers, and consumers. Networks are mainly formed through personal contacts, Chinese friends, and Ghanaian associates. These results are consistent with what has been found in earlier investigations that immigrant traders build networks from multiple sources (Bilecen et al., 2018; Haug, 2008; Ryan, 2011).

The relational theory and the social network provide insights into migrants' connection with citizens to enhance their business operations in a foreign country (Dépelteau, 2018; Lawson & Elwood, 2018). As immigrant traders deepen their relationships with host-country nationals, they draw contextual insights into ways of penetrating the local markets to ensure that their businesses succeed (Hagen-Zanker et al., 2017).

Chinese traders are very much aware of the positive social attributes of Ghanaians in general and consider these attributes as opportunities that are likely to affect their experiences and the nature of their relationship with Ghanaians in general and their counterpart traders. The opportunities are also expected to strengthen the network ties between market actors and improve their business relations. *“Even though I have been here for the past six years, I have not learnt the local language. Hence, not every Ghanaian can relate with me very well unless those who are close and understand me. Aside that, Ghanaians in general treat me well. I have many Ghanaian friends because of my trade and they are good people. Occasionally, you will meet some who are not friendly, but that is normal and there are, in my experience, only a few.”* -A Chinese wax print trader, Accra.

Another Chinese trader claims that *“Ghanaians are tolerant and have time for you knowing you are foreigner and needs helps especially asking for directions or looking for information on anything. They are ready to assist you. They are easily approachable. In terms of working with them, most are loyal, and I can bear witness to that and even some of my colleagues also say the same thing about their local staff.”*- A Chinese plumbing and safety equipment trader, Accra.

6.2.3 Low competition and low capital requirements

Chinese traders consider Ghana (compared to China) as a destination for low competition and low capital requirements presenting unique set of opportunities to improve and grow their businesses *“For opportunities, the competition in China is too much. There are many people doing exactly what you do so it is difficult to breakthrough. Just look at the way manufactured products from China are everywhere outside the country. Cars, motorcycles, phones and anything you can think of. That is why America is not allowing Huawei to do business in the USA. Competition has made prices cheap, so it makes them unbeatable. So, it is good to go to other places like here (Ghana) to grow your business from the start”*- A Chinese mobile phone trader, Accra.

6.2.4 Local employment and skills-training

As a mutually shared opportunity, Chinese businesses serve as a source of employment for Ghanaian job seekers while Ghanaians also serve as a source of labour for Chinese businesses. From the content analysis, some Chinese respondents cite access to local labour as an opportunity. Skills-training and business knowledge transfers between Chinese immigrant

traders and Ghanaian workers are also opportunities that emerged from the interviews. *“In terms of opportunities, we provide employment opportunities for the locals. Without them, we cannot also do our business. They understand the languages. My workers interpret the local languages when customers are buying so I pay my workers well. I also train them in business skills and how to treat customers. Also, when they ask questions concerning the business, I make sure I give them the right answers.”*- A Chinese building materials trader, Kumasi.

6.3 Challenges of Chinese traders

While Chinese immigrant traders have mentioned several opportunities associated with their trading activities, there are also associated challenges. For example, we find certain themes on these challenges emerging from the interviews. These challenges include those on rent, bureaucracy, fuel prices, and COVID-19 travel restrictions.

6.3.1 High rent charges

The most occurring issue raised as a challenge is rent. Chinese immigrant traders claim that rents paid for shops are exorbitantly higher than rates paid by Ghanaian traders. *“For the challenges, it has been the cost of renting shops in commercial areas especially for foreigners. Charges for renting a commercial building is too expensive. You will later find out that although you are in the same building with a local, he or she is paying less than what you were charged for. This price discrimination affects foreigners a lot. For example, the man in the other shop is a Ghanaian trader (pointing to an adjacent shop), our shops are of the same size, but I pay about twice the amount he pays. That is how we are treated as Chinese in this place. The shop owners think we have money, so they charge us higher when it comes to rents. We*

will plead with the rent control directorate if they can regulate it because most of the profit, we make goes into paying rent.”-A Chinese shoes, bag and jewelry trader, Accra.

6.3.2 Bureaucracy

Chinese immigrant traders also mentioned how frustrating it can be when they are registering businesses. They claim that the administrative procedures and documentation processes are very slow and excessively complicated. They also claim that in certain situations, these processes are intentionally delayed. *“Things are done too slow in this country. For example, my office space rent has expired, and I must go through too many things just to renew my rent. It is frustrating sometimes. Even the government institutions take too much time to carry out simple things. They do not pick calls, sometimes the number does not go through at all. It frustrates foreigners a lot. There should be a place just for foreigners to lodge complains and make enquiries” -A Chinese shoes, bag and jewelry trader, Accra*

Complexities and delays in business registration and permits may be reasons some Chinese traders operate without proper documentation or some Ghanaians “fronting” for them to facilitate the process.

6.3.3 High fuel cost

Some Chinese immigrant traders in the auto industry have also registered their displeasure at the rising fuel prices they are faced with. *“In terms of challenges, I will say fuel prices are one key thing that affects the business because we use fuel for some of the machines we sell. The prices are not stable, and this affects our budget.”- A Chinese car engine trader, Accra*

6.3.4 COVID-19 travel restrictions and stigma

Another challenge mentioned by several Chinese traders is the travel restrictions between Ghana and China because of COVID-19. Some Chinese traders claim that immigration procedures have made the movement of goods very difficult while issues of coronavirus stigmatization are also persistent. *“Ghana immigration procedures have become more difficult for many Chinese to come to Ghana. Things are harder now than before at immigration so moving goods into the country is not easy for us. It is not simple at all so many Chinese merchants do not come here with their goods as they use to. In addition, the COVID-19 has made it even worse because it was alleged that the virus started from China. The immigration officials are very strict on us. They think we have the virus because the virus started in China. Most of my friends have gone back to China because the Covid-19 has affected their businesses. All these things affect my business because these people bring me some of the goods that I sell. So, it has not been easy at all because it also affects the import duties.”* A Chinese furniture trader, Accra

6.3.5 Language barrier

Several Chinese immigrant traders also cited language barrier as one main challenge that inhibit communication with customers. However, they fall on their Ghanaian network and employees to facilitate business communications.

6.4 Experiences of Chinese traders in Ghana

This section presents the experiences of the Chinese immigrant traders doing business in Ghana. The issues that emerged covered their business networks with Ghanaians and how these networks were formed. The responses of the participants are provided in Table 14 below.

6.4.1 Network with Ghanaians

As shown in Table 14, over four (4) out of five (5) Chinese traders indicated having a network with Ghanaians for the purposes of doing business in Ghana. Exactly ninety-three (93) traders representing 84.55% indicated having this kind of network with Chinese traders. The remaining seventeen (17) traders, representing 15.45% of the sample indicated not having any meaningful business networks with Ghanaians.

6.4.2 Primary network base

The primary network base of the Chinese immigrant traders encompassed six different groups. As shown on Table 14, more than a fifth of the Chinese immigrant traders, specifically 22.58%, indicated having business networks with local retailers. Those who indicated having network with local consumers were 19.35% while 12.90% of Chinese traders had business networks with local contractors and entrepreneurs. Additionally, 7.53% of Chinese traders had business networks with big Ghanaian stores and supermarkets. Furthermore, 34.41% of Chinese traders indicated having their primary network base with their fellow Chinese traders while 3.73% of Chinese traders reported having business networks with traders from other African countries doing business in Ghana.

Table 14: Chinese traders' networks with Ghanaians

Themes	Categories	Frequency	Percentages
Networks with Ghanaians	Yes	93	84.55%
	No	17	15.45%
Primary network base	Local retailers/traders	21	22.58%
	Local consumers	18	19.35%

	Local entrepreneurs/contractors	12	12.90%
	Big Ghanaian stores	7	7.53%
	Chinese traders	32	34.41%
	Other African retailers	3	3.23%
How the network was formed	Personal contact / Created by self	24	25.81%
	Chinese friends	33	35.48%
	Introduced by Ghanaian associates	17	18.28%
	Attending social functions/ entertainment programs e.g., casino	9	9.68%
	WhatsApp platforms	10	10.75%

Source: Primary data (2020)

6.4.3 Network formation

From the survey, how business networks of Chinese traders were formed was also investigated. As presented in Table 14, five main ways emerged through which the networks were formed. These include personal contacts, introduction by Chinese friends, introduction by Ghanaian associates, attending social programs, and networking on WhatsApp platforms. Introduction by Chinese friends emerged as the most dominant way through which the networks were formed. More than a third (35.48%) of Chinese traders who had Ghanaian networks claimed that their business networks were established through their Chinese friends. Personal contacts

or self-created networks followed with 25.81% as the second most used way of forming business networks. Less than a fifth (specifically 18.28%) of Chinese traders who had Ghanaian networks indicated their business networks were formed by introduction through Ghanaian associates while 9.68% reported being formed through attending programs. About one out of ten (10.75%) Chinese traders indicated that their network was formed on WhatsApp platforms.

6.5 Empirical analysis: factors influencing lived experiences

In this subsection, an empirical analysis of factors influencing lived experiences was conducted using ordinal logistic regression. The estimated results are presented in Table 15. From the table below, the logit (with robust standard errors) and logit (without robust standard errors) are presented as alternative estimation techniques. Robust standard errors were estimated as a way of mitigating the effect of possible bias that could occur due to the convenience sampling and snowballing of some Chinese traders although more than half of the Chinese sample was selected using simple random sampling. The validity of the model is tested using the Wald chi-square value of 92.50 with a p-value of 0.000. This implies that the model explaining lived experiences is valid at the 1% level of statistical significance.

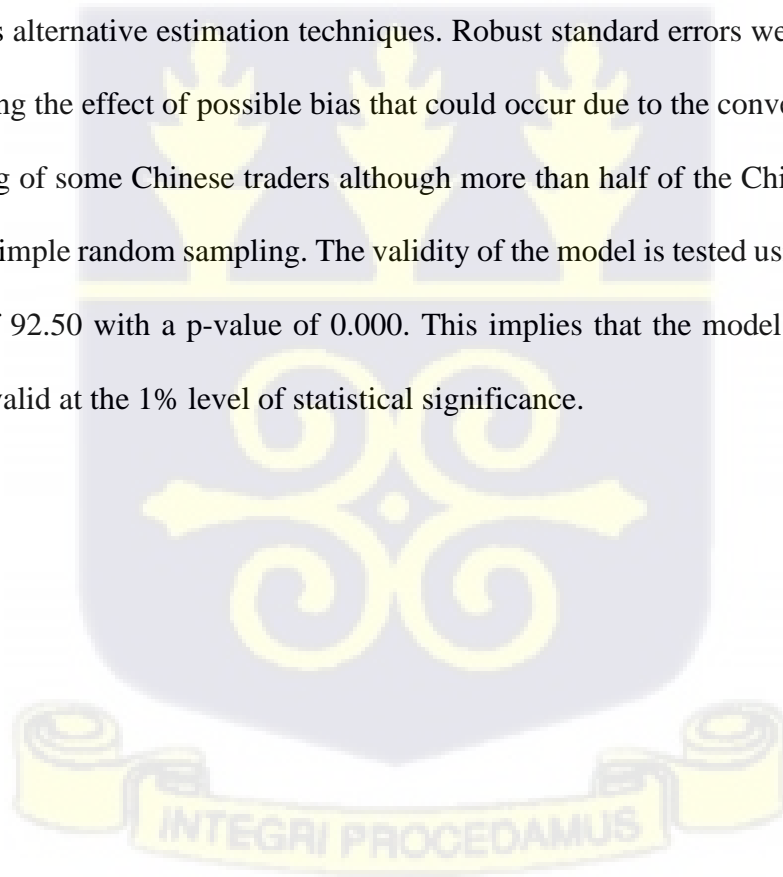


Table 15: Factors influencing lived experiences

VARIABLES	Logit (Robust)		Logit	
	Coefficients	Marginal Effects	Coefficients	Marginal Effects
Trading Activity				
Retail	-1.315*	-0.3173**	-1.315*	-0.3173**
	(0.715)	(0.1607)	(0.795)	(0.1787)
Incentive				
Economic	6.027***	0.893***	6.027***	0.893***
	(1.526)	(0.0525)	(1.975)	(0.0774)
Socio-Cultural	3.731***	0.5106**	3.731**	0.5106**
	(1.319)	(0.2410)	(1.769)	(0.2430)
Politico-legal	0.128	0.0036	0.128	0.0036
	(1.234)	(0.0331)	(1.088)	(0.0298)
Age	0.200**	0.050**	0.200***	0.050***
	(0.0812)	(0.0203)	(0.0640)	(0.01592)
Duration	0.925***	0.2312***	0.925***	0.2312***
	(0.268)	(0.0687)	(0.276)	(0.0704)
Location				
Accra	2.682***	0.4998***	2.682**	0.4998***
	(0.888)	(0.1410)	(1.047)	(0.1822)
Education				
Diploma	0.178	0.0368	0.1777	0.0368
	(0.962)	(0.1927)	(1.004)	(0.1999)
First Degree	2.305	0.5169*	2.305382	0.5169*
	(1.473)	(0.2724)	(1.4594)	(0.2731)

Second Degree	1.826*	0.4269**	1.826353	0.4269**
	(0.958)	(0.1932)	(2.5857)	(0.5382)
Gender				
Male	-0.432	-0.1075	-0.432	-0.1075
	(0.703)	(0.172)	(0.867)	(0.2120)
Observations	110		110	
Log pseudolikelihood	-35.876		-35.876	
LR chi2(11)			180.71	
Wald chi2(11)	92.50			
Prob > chi2	0.0000		0.0000	
Pseudo R2	0.7158		0.7158	

*Standard errors in parenthesis. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$*

6.5.1 Trading Activity

Chinese trading activities in Ghana have been viewed as a threat to local traders who engage in the same sector thereby hindering the progress of local businesses (Gyedu, 2018). Ajavon (2014) is of the view that Ghanaian traders have problems with Chinese traders who import in huge volumes while Dankwah & Valenta (2019) maintains that the relations between Ghanaian and Chinese market actors may be described as complementary, collaborative, and competitive, and trading activities or spaces (i.e., retail or wholesale space) influenced the nature of relationship between Ghanaian and Chinese immigrant traders. From Table 15, the estimates of the robust logit marginal effects show that there exists a negative and statistically significant relationship between lived experiences and retail as trading activity of Chinese immigrants in

Ghana. Estimates of the robust model are chosen over the estimates of the non-robust model because the robust model suppresses the bias introduced by using convenience sampling. At the 5% level of statistical significance, on average, Chinese retailers are 32% less likely to have a “very good” relationship with Ghanaian traders than Chinese wholesalers. This finding is in line with Obeng (2018) who opines that the presence of foreigners in the retail sector has been met with displeasure by the Ghanaian traders and this gives rise to a lot of tensions. Hence, the finding is evidence of the tension between Ghanaian and Chinese market actors.

A study by Yendaw, Tanle & Kumi-Kyereme (2019) which analyses of livelihood activity among West African migrant traders in the Accra Metropolitan Area reveals that the main trading activity was the retailing of footwear, bags, leather belts, and herbal medicines. Moreover, Harrison, Harrison & Shaffer (2019) claim that immigrants engaged in trading have become an important source of flash point for conflict with natives in some countries. This phenomenon is not any different in the case of Ghana where large-scale importers are opposed to the presence of Chinese traders.

“It’s free trade everywhere. They can also trade like the Nigerians and Lebanese do, but we don’t want them to do retailing”. Our laws are against their retail trading. They must obey our laws. When you go to Rome, you do what Romans do. These people are doing “galamsey”, destroying our rivers, and cocoa farms and taking away our gold. Now they want to take away our trade too. They are taking over as our customers. When our business is destroyed, how do we feed our family? ...So, we will not sit down and allow that” -Male Ghanaian who sells electric generators, Kumasi.

6.5.2 Incentives

Considering the incentives that facilitate the nature of the relationship between the Chinese and Ghanaian trader, the study explored economic (i.e., market demand conditions, higher returns,

etc.), socio-cultural (i.e., social capital, Ghanaian hospitality), politico-legal (i.e., political stability, security, labour and trade laws, etc.) and environmental (geographical location, climate) incentives. Higher profit/returns, low capital requirement, and high local market demand for Chinese goods form economic incentives for Chinese immigrant traders. Socio-cultural incentives are argued to emanate from social capital which refers to the real values that individuals, groups, and organizations get from their social networks (van Meeteren & Pereira, 2018). Based on these networks, a Chinese trader trusts a local agent within his/her network to recommend a native for employment or the local agent may be a “front” for a Chinese trader who wants to register his/her business or clear goods from the ports. As a result, the structural social capital based on trust creates mutual benefits and forms part of the socio-cultural incentives likely to influence the Chinese traders’ lived experiences in the marketplace (Knoke & Yang, 2019; Bilecen, Gamper & Lubbers, 2018; Bhandari & Yasunobu, 2009).

From Table 15, the study found that economic incentives comprising demand and supply for Chinese goods, is the most important factor that influences the lived experiences. There exists a positive and statistically significant relationship between lived experiences and economic incentive. Statistically significant at the 1% level, the probability that the nature of relationship between Chinese and Ghanaian traders is “very good” based on economic incentives, given that the rest of the variables are at their mean values is 89%. In other words, economic incentives are 89% more likely to motivate a “very good” relationship between both trading parties than environmental incentives.

The second most important incentive is the socio-cultural factor. Per the estimates, there is a positive and statistically significant relationship between socio-cultural incentives and the nature of relationship between Chinese and Ghanaian traders. All things being equal, socio-cultural incentives are 51% more likely to motivate a “very good” relationship between Chinese and Ghanaian traders compared to environmental incentives.

Regarding politico-legal incentives, although there is a marginal positive relationship between politico-legal incentives and the nature of relationship between Chinese and Ghanaian traders, the relationship is not statistically significant. This finding could be indicative of a weak legal and regulatory system in which Chinese immigrant traders operate.

6.5.3 Age

According to the migration literature, migration is selective with respect to age (Asante, 2017). Age have historically been among the top factors of pre-migration opportunities globally (Inoki & Suruga, 1981; Schwartz, 1976). Compared to older adults, young adults are mobile because they have limited domestic and non-domestic responsibilities that tie them to their home countries (Inoki & Suruga, 1981; Lemmermann & Riphahn, 2018). This gives young adults the opportunity to migrate to other countries to do business. Therefore, age is a factor that can influence migration decisions and consequently the nature of relationship of migrants along their migratory paths. According to Piracha and Saraogi (2017), there is a greater tendency for the youth to migrate than the elderly. Thus, an influencer for future policy decisions is being able to identify the impact of age on the nature of relationship and how it influences the lived experiences of Chinese migrant traders.

From the logit model, the marginal effect of age on lived experiences is 0.05 at the 10% level of statistical significance. This implies that a one-year increase in the age of a Chinese trader is associated with being about 5% more likely to be in the “Very Good” category of lived experiences with Ghanaian traders. This positive finding of age and lived experiences agrees with Luong, Charles & Fingerman’s, (2011) finding that social relationships are generally more positive with age with the explanation that even when negative social exchanges occur, older

adults behave in ways to minimize the consequences of these exchanges on the quality of their relationship with one another.

6.5.4 Duration (Length of stay)

Length of stay refers to the usual period spent by an immigrant in the host country up to the moment he/she is surveyed for research purposes (Mosbah, Wahab, Alharbi, & Almahdi, 2020). This period includes the time spent in building social networks in the host country for entrepreneurial activities and the time spent implementing these entrepreneurial activities.

From the estimates in Table 15, the marginal effect of duration or length of stay on lived experiences is 0.2312 at the 1% level of statistical significance. This indicates that a one-year increase in the duration of a Chinese trader in Ghana is associated with being 23% more likely to be in the “Very Good” category of lived experiences.

The fact that duration has a stronger effect than age makes sense. For example, a Chinese trader who was 25 years old at the time of arrival in Ghana and spent 10 years trading in Ghana is expected to have a better understanding of the market, form stronger social networks and have a better relationship with actors in the local environment than a 45-year-old Chinese immigrant who just arrived to engage in trading activities.

6.5.5 Location

Considering the prime locations of Chinese trading activities in Ghana, i.e., Accra and Kumasi, we find that the marginal effect of being in Accra is 0.4998 at the 1% level of statistical significance. This means that on the average, a trader located in Accra is 50% more likely to be in the “Very Good” category of NOR than a trader in Kumasi, all things equal. The finding

may be linked with shorter transportation time and lower cost from the Tema port for Chinese traders who stay in Accra compared with Chinese traders in Kumasi. Shorter delivery times and lower transport costs for goods cleared at the Tema port for an Accra-based Chinese trader may culminate into a better-lived experience than Kumasi-based Chinese traders who will take a longer time and pay a higher cost for the delivery of goods cleared at either the Tema or Takoradi port.

6.5.6 Education

Education is also an important determinant of migration (Guo, 2019). Individuals with high educational levels can speak and interact in one or more dominant official languages in the world (Guo, 2019). Business experience is also an important factor for migration. Largely, people with business experience have higher tendency of surviving in foreign countries (Maria Hagan & Wassink, 2016). This is due to high propensity for self-employment among migrants from high-income countries into low- and middle-income countries (Maria Hagan & Wassink, 2016). Business skills enhance chances of the Chinese in Ghana in opening their own businesses. Therefore, being a young adult, having high education and business experience increases the chances of successfully integrating into the business environment in foreign countries. In China for instance, educational level and business experience are among factors that affect income gaps which further influence migration decision (Zhu, 2002).

Considering the current study and the effect of level of education of Chinese traders on the nature of relationship with their Ghanaian counterparts, the estimates reveal a positive relationship. Interestingly, education outcomes reveal that only tertiary level education has a positive and statistically significant relationship with NOR. Specifically, all things being equal,

Chinese traders with a second degree are 43% more likely to have a “very good” relationship with Ghanaian traders at the 5% level of statistical significance than Chinese traders with a secondary (high school) level of education, on the average. Additionally, Chinese traders with a first degree are 52% more likely to have a “very good” relationship with Ghanaian traders at the 10% level of statistical significance than Chinese traders with a secondary (high school) level of education. We, therefore, conclude that Chinese traders with higher educational attainment have better lived experiences compared to their less-educated peers. This result agrees with that of Raghupathi & Raghupathi (2020), who posited that well-educated people experience high self-reported quality of relationships with their social networks and the quality of these relationships results in better health outcomes.

Although the positive relationship between education level and lived experiences may be beneficial to host country employees working with Chinese traders through technological spillover effects and knowledge transfer, Steinmann (2019) and De Vroome, Martinovic & Verkuyten (2014) opines that it has the potential of mentally turning away higher-educated Chinese traders from the resident country (in this case, Ghana). This may be the case, especially for Chinese traders who have purely economic or profit-seeking motives other than socio-cultural or geographical reasons and may relocate to other countries in the sub-region with better economic opportunities as noted by Sapeha (2017).

6.6 Market tensions

Studies have revealed the active participation of both Africans and Chinese in trading enterprises in West Africa (Marfaing and Thiel, 2011). Closely linked to this active participation is the purported antagonism that exists between Africans and their Chinese counterparts in the African market space (Lampert & Mohan, 2019; Obeng, 2018; Giese 2014; Lampert & Mohan 2014; McNamee et al. 2012; Haugen, 2011; Dobler 2009; Gadzala 2009).

In this sub-section, the study reviews statements and themes that point to the existence of tension between Ghanaian and Chinese traders. Both market actors were engaged to find out their views on the issue of tensions and infer from such statements the existence of tensions. While Chinese immigrants recounted positive experiences, they also shared their negative experiences and explicitly talked about agitations and tensions in the marketplace. For instance, a Chinese retailer from Kumasi who rated his lived experiences as “fair” explains that *“Trading and interacting with Ghanaians has affected me positively but sometimes it is negative. On the positive side, I have learnt new ways of doing business from the Ghanaian traders making my experience vast and helps my business expansion. On the negative side, there are tensions from the Ghanaian side and that is based on the view that Chinese and other nationals do not have to engage in petty trading leading to the closure of shops or agitations from some of the Ghanaian counterparts”*

Another Chinese, a wholesaler notes that *“The trading environment is cordial for business. However, from time to time, Ghanaian traders come with some agitations against us the Chinese for intruding into their market space”*- A Chinese electrical appliances trader, Accra.

The above stance is supported by Liu (2010) who posit that the rise in Chinese traders and increased availability of low-cost imported goods benefits consumers, challenges local African retailers and is a point of tension in local communities.

“Clearly, there are tensions between us. The Chinese man has come with his cheap goods and taking over the market, so what do you expect from us? We are not happy about that, and we cannot sit down and watch them take over our business. We must look at how we can all benefit in the market. ...I wish to recommend that there should be programs for both Ghanaian and Chinese traders to help us understand these things, like how to register a business, what to sell

and what not to sell. Moreso, the Chinese should adhere to Ghanaian regulations and laws” -

A Ghanaian mobile phone retailer, Accra

From the quantitative model in Chapter Seven, our results also show that Chinese retailers are 32% less likely to have a very good relationship with Ghanaian traders. This finding gives strong empirical evidence about the prevalence of tension between Ghanaian and Chinese traders and more importantly, it is indicative of the direction or market actors involved in the tensions. The finding implies that these tensions could be more prevalent among Ghanaian retailers and Chinese retailers and less prevalent among Chinese wholesalers and Ghanaian retailers because of the flow of goods from Chinese wholesalers to Ghanaian retailers based on the collaborative relation between them (Dankwah & Valenta, 2019)

6.7 Underlying factors of the tensions

Several factors have been associated with the rising tensions between market actors. The most important among these factors is the fact that Chinese traders are engaged in retailing activities which is a legal preserve of Ghanaians as mentioned earlier and supported by Obeng (2018). Other factors include quality of goods and price competition.

About a third of the Chinese immigrant traders in this study indicated that they experience some form of tensions in their business activities in Ghana. The participants indicated that the tension is because of the competition with the local traders for the local customers. As a result of competing with local retailers for customers, the local Ghanaian traders perceive business activities of the Chinese to be posing a critical threat to the survival of Ghanaian retail businesses (Haugen, 2018). Chinese immigrant traders indicated that the tensions create several

challenges for them. These challenges include limited access to potential customers, pushing up cost of doing business and sabotaging business strategy. Tension with host-country nationals have been reported to have adverse effects on migrant businesses (Postel, & Vidal, 2017). Trading tensions between immigrant traders and citizen traders pushes up cost of productions for migrant business, leading to high prices of products and services of migrant businesses (Papilloud, 2018). In many high-income countries, the rising cost of production collapses migrant businesses (Gold & Light, 2000; Riddle, Hrivnak & Nielsen, 2010). In LMICs however, the dynamics are different. Even though trading tensions between immigrant traders and citizen traders pushes up cost of productions for migrant business, it is not the case in low- and middle-income countries. This is because of the high financial capacity of immigrant traders in LMICs is such that the tension is not able to collapse their enterprises to push them out of business (Hagen-Zanker et al., 2017; Randell, 2018). The situation is like what goes on in the Ghanaian market space where even though Chinese retailers are fiercely opposed in the market by the Ghanaian retailer, the opposition does not force them out of the market. Below are main factors that account for the tensions experienced in Ghanaian trading spaces.

6.7.1 Trading activity

From interviews conducted among both Ghanaian and Chinese traders, the study find that immigrant retailing activity is the focal point of dispute between Ghanaian and Chinese traders. For example, from Chapter Four, the survey of Ghanaian traders reveals that 56% of Ghanaian retailers and 51% of Ghanaian wholesalers strongly agree that Chinese immigrant traders engage in trading activities reserved for Ghanaians. Even though this practice of engaging in retail trading give Ghanaian consumers a high purchasing power and a wide variety of products to choose from, it is detrimental to the businesses of Ghanaian retailers who share the same or

similar trading spaces with the Chinese. In as much as that is a problem, some Ghanaian retailers, wholesalers, middlemen and employees who buy their goods or profit from Chinese wholesalers or retailers do not have any problem with this practice and it builds tension between the Ghanaian actors themselves. This finding agrees with Ajavon (2014, pp. ii) who noted that *“The supporters’ group are prepared to protect the interest of the Chinese traders even though their presence contravenes Ghanaian investment laws more especially because, according to them, the Chinese offer them goods and jobs which makes it possible for them to eke out a living”*.

6.7.2 Quality of goods

Another factor responsible for the tensions between Ghanaian and Chinese traders is the quality of goods traded. Liu (2010) asserts that *“the quality of Chinese goods creates tension between Chinese and Ghanaian traders as they adopt different ways of managing what quality means.”*

“Our goods are from China. To serve our customer base, we deal in goods of varying quality. We have first grade, second grade and third grade products. The first-grade products are the best compared to the rest in terms of quality but, of course, are more expensive than the second and third grades. The third grade of products are the cheapest but less durable. We adopt this strategy so that any customer whether a one-time buyer or a regular retailer who walk into our stores can get a wide range of products to purchase. This improves consumer choice”. -KK, a male Ghanaian electronic wholesaler, Kumasi.

Conversely, a Chinese wholesaler claims to sell only first-class goods or high-quality products to protect his market reputation. A Chinese electronic and furniture trader claim that some traders import poor quality goods on purpose to dump those goods in the local markets.

6.7.3 Price competition

Since Chinese traders adopt pool purchasing among other market strategies, they can save proportionally on shipment costs and demurrage charges, thereby being able to sell at competitive prices. This increased availability of low-cost imported goods is a point of tension in local markets because consumers patronize these low-cost imported goods from Chinese traders to the neglect of high-cost goods sold by Ghanaian traders. Thus, resulting in envy and thereby causing tensions.

“I suggest we have the same product price in Ghana local market. Ghanaians are angry because our products are cheaper. We all bring the goods from China, including the Ghanaians but their prices are higher. They want us to leave the market because we are taking over their customers” -A Chinese construction material trader

Price wars has been found to characterize trading spaces in many African countries (Imoro, 2018; Perreira & Smith, 2007). Ghanaian traders accuse the Chinese traders of selling their goods at prices that are lower than the market price. Chinese traders enjoy economies of scales due to their high finance capacity which allows them to import goods in large quantities and sell at relatively cheaper rates. Therefore, even when they sell at lower prices, they are still able to make profits. Selling their goods at such lower prices makes goods sold by Ghanaian traders more expensive. Due to this, the Ghanaian traders lose their customers to the Chinese traders. In such a market situation, Ghanaian traders tend to turn their displeasure towards some Ghanaian customers for patronizing goods from Chinese traders. For example, an encounter emerged from the Suame Magazine market in Kumasi where some customers alluded to the fact that some Ghanaian traders turn their anger on customers because they continue to patronize Chinese goods at unfairly lower prices, and this later resulted in fracas between the Ghanaian and Chinese traders.

6.7.4 *Fronting*

The findings also showed that fronting for Chinese businesses is rampant among some Ghanaian traders and brings about tensions between pro-fronting Ghanaian traders, anti-fronting Ghanaian traders and Chinese traders. Some Ghanaian traders indicated that there are high levels of suspicion among Ghanaian traders that their colleague traders are fronting for the Chinese traders within the retailing space. This was found to be very rampant within the spare part trading space. Many of the Ghanaian operating big stores in the Suame Magazine area, for instance, are found to be fronting for Chinese businessmen. Some Ghanaian traders are of the view that some Chinese traders are assuming some level of power with local authorities, and they are using these power relations to intimidate some Ghanaian traders out of the business to take over the market. The suspicion of fronting and perceived access to and abuse of power to intimidate local Ghanaian traders fuel and sustain the tension between the Ghanaian traders and the Chinese immigrant traders (Harris et al. 2018; Moyo et al. 2016). Fronting could be seen as emanating from cultural norms and economic benefits. Thus, the components of the relational model such as market pricing could be used to explain the involvement of some Ghanaian as fronters to Chinese traders. The fronters see it as an opportunity to constitute membership of the trading community, legitimate authority to be a co-owner of a business, prestige and socio-cultural balance, and a gain in market value. (Askegaard and Linnet, 2011).

6.7.5 Blurred regulations

The key informants reiterated and confirmed the factors identified by the Ghanaian traders and customers such as price war, low quality goods, backdoor retailing, and Ghanaians fronting for Chinese businesses. Apart from these relatively interpersonal factors that fuel the tensions,

there are several structural level factors which make the tensions very difficult to resolve. Perspectives from the key informants showed that structural factors such as conflicting trading rules and improper documentations make the tensions difficult to resolve.

The key informants were unanimous with the fact that there are inconsistencies in national and regional trading rules, which created the problem being observed in Ghana. For instance, what constitute retailing is not well-defined in the trade regulation laws of Ghana, for which reason it is extremely difficult to identify which Chinese trader is retailing and who is not retailing. For instance, one of the key informants indicated that most of the foreign-owned big stores in the malls across the country do retail business but Ghanaian traders do not seem to have problem with that. The lack of consistent definition creates situations where there are several other avenues that Chinese traders can retail but no specific action can be taken against them. These findings align with rising concerns for unregulated trading spaces in African countries (Angen, 2016; Crush & Ramachandran, 2015; Harris et al. 2018), and the deficiencies within existing regional and national trade laws in many African countries (Amanor & Chichava, 2016; Jinpu & Ning, 2019). Some researchers have raised the issue that in many African countries, the quest to attract foreign direct investment has overridden carrying out due diligence in regulating the business activities of foreign nationals within these countries (Amanor & Chichava, 2016; Mohan & Tan-Mullins, 2009). Ghana is argued to be facing the same problem (Acheampong, 2019; Dankwah & Amoah, 2018).

High-income countries in Africa such as South Africa for instance, insist that businessmen coming from other high-income countries are involved in manufacturing rather than retailing goods (Acheampong, 2019; Dankwah & Amoah, 2018; Gyedu, 2018; Moyo, Nicolau & Gumbo, 2016). Middle income countries in Africa such as Ghana are unable to enforce such regulations. The result has been unregulated trading spaces in Ghana where important elements of commerce such as retailing and wholesaling are not clearly defined.

6.8 Key Informants' Perspectives on addressing the tensions

Key informants identified three key approaches in which the tensions between Ghanaian traders and Chinese traders can be addressed. These approaches are diplomatic approach, sensitization and cooperation.

6.8.1 Diplomatic approach

The diplomatic approach takes the form of frequent engagement and dialogue with both the Ghanaian traders' associations and the Chinese Embassy to ensure that lasting solution is brought to the matter.

“Frequent consultation between the two countries do account for the success” [Ministry of Interior]

“The Ministry of the Interior in consultation with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration holds meetings with the Chinese Embassy in Ghana to deliberate and find lasting solutions to such situations” [Ministry of Foreign Affairs]

6.8.2 Sensitization

The sensitization approach focuses on educating the Chinese traders in Ghana on the rules and regulations governing trading and retailing in Ghana:

“I believe the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the two countries should play a key role in sensitizing their nationals especially the Chinese part about the dos and don'ts of Ghana investments laws. This will clarify matters and bring the constant tensions to rest” [Ministry of Interior]

6.8.3 Cooperation

Key informants from the Ministry of Trade and Industry also calls for cooperation between both Ghanaians and Chinese traders to ensure that the tensions are resolved:

“In trying to resolve these challenges, we need the cooperation of both Ghanaians and Chinese traders because if you are Ghanaian and you sell your goods very expensive to get more profit then you are the cause of your own problem. Again, those who do the business registration at the Registrar Generals Department must do follow-ups and monitor especially immigrant businesses to find out if their business/trading activities conform with what they were registered for” [Ministry of Trade].

6.9 Conclusion

This chapter drew on both quantitative and qualitative findings to assess opportunities and challenges of Chinese immigrant traders, examine factors that influenced lived experiences, and explore factors accounting for the tensions between Ghanaian and Chinese immigrant traders in Ghana. The study uncovered that opportunities for Chinese traders in Ghana include high demand for Chinese goods, Ghanaian hospitality and available networks, local employment and skills-training, low competition and low capital requirements, while challenges of Chinese traders comprise language barrier, COVID-19 travel restrictions and stigma (it should be noted that the COVID-19-related response is due to the time of the data collection which occurred during the period of the pandemic), high fuel cost, bureaucracy and delay in official processes such as business registration, renewal and other documentations, and high rent charges.

The findings also showed that majority of the Chinese traders have forged strong network ties with Ghanaians wholesalers, local retailers and consumers. These social networks were mainly

formed through personal contacts, Chinese friends, Ghanaian associates and by attending social programs. The findings align with what previous studies have reported to the effect that immigrant traders build networks from multiple sources (Bilecen et al., 2018; Haug, 2008; Ryan, 2011). The relational and social capital theories provide insights into migrants' connection with citizens in order to enhance their business operations in a foreign country (Dépelteau, 2018; Lawson & Elwood, 2018). As immigrant traders deepen their relationships with the host-country nationals, they draw contextual insights into ways of penetrating the local markets to ensure that their businesses succeed (Hagen-Zanker et al., 2017).

Examining the factors that influence the lived experiences of Chinese immigrant traders or their nature of relationship with Ghanaian traders, the study finds that retail trading activity, socio-economic incentives, age, duration, location, and education level of Chinese traders play a very significant role in affecting lived experiences. Additionally, some Ghanaians, particularly retail traders have cordial relationships with the Chinese wholesalers and even do business with them. However, a number of both trader groups indicated that the relationship has been more of strained than cordial due to the tensions that exist. The study finds that the main factors accounting for the tension between Ghanaian and Chinese traders were unlawful retail trading by Chinese traders, price competition due to cheap Chinese products, inferior quality of Chinese goods, and the fronting of Ghanaians for Chinese businesses or businesspeople.



CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Introduction

This concluding chapter has three sections. The important findings concerning the research objectives are outlined in the first part. In the second portion, conclusions are drawn for each of the objectives. Finally, suggestions for future directions in both policy and research are given.

7.2 Summary of key findings

Considering the profile of Chinese traders, 20% of Chinese immigrants are transited migrants from other African countries such as Egypt, Ethiopia, Togo, and Nigeria while 80% of the sample came directly to Ghana. This category of migrants were first time migrants coming out of their country, China.

The study also finds that Chinese traders are either wholesaler or retailers and goods sold by Chinese traders fall into six (6) main categories, namely, electronics and electrical appliances, building and construction materials, plastics and other rubber receptables, clothing and textiles accessories, machineries and automobile parts, and food and services.

Additionally, the study finds that majority of Ghanaian traders have a hostile or favourable attitude towards Chinese traders even though a few Ghanaian traders have a neutral disposition towards Chinese immigrant traders. Hostile or favourable attitudes of Ghanaian traders towards Chinese immigrant traders depends on their trading spaces (i.e., retail or wholesale). For instance, Ghanaian retailers tend to have a hostile attitude towards Chinese retailers for sharing

the same trading space but have a more favourable attitude towards Chinese wholesalers who supply them with goods.

Furthermore, Chinese immigrant traders reveal that opportunities in Ghana include high demand for Chinese goods by the Ghanaian market, Ghanaian hospitality and availability of social networks, low competition and lower capital requirements (relative to other countries), availability of local labour and skills-training. However, challenges of Chinese traders include high rent charges, rising fuel prices, and COVID-19 travel restrictions and its associated stigma, and bureaucracy which includes excessively complicated and very slow administrative procedures and documentation processes for business registration and resident permits.

The study also finds that several factors have been associated with the rising tensions between Ghanaian and Chinese market actors. According to Ghanaian traders, these factors are quality of goods, price competitions and trading activities. The most important tension-causing factor is the fact that Chinese traders are engaged in retailing activities which is a legal preserve of Ghanaians.

Results also show that the five (5) most important factors influencing the lived experiences of Chinese immigrant traders are trading activity, economic incentive, duration (length of stay), level of education and geographical location. Considering trading activity, for instance, there exists a negative and statistically significant relationship between lived experiences and retail trading activity of Chinese immigrants in Ghana. On the average, we find that Chinese retailers are 32% less likely to have a “very good” relationship with Ghanaian traders. This is as a result of the hostile attitude between Ghanaian and Chinese retailers. This negative result is also supported from the Ghanaian perspective.

For incentives, the study finds that on the average a positive and statistically significant relationship exists between NOR (lived experiences) and economic incentives. Thus, at the 1% level, economic incentives are 89% more likely to motivate a “very good” relationship than environmental incentives. Also, there is a positive and statistically significant relationship between socio-cultural incentives and the nature of relationship between Chinese and Ghanaian traders. All things being equal, socio-cultural incentives are 51% more likely to motivate a “very good” relationship between Chinese and Ghanaian traders compared to environmental incentives. Although, there is a positive relationship between politico-legal incentives and the nature of relationship between Chinese and Ghanaian traders, the relationship is not statistically significant.

While the study also finds that on the average, a one-year increase in the age of a Chinese trader is associated with being about 5% more likely to be in the “very good” category of NOR with Ghanaian traders, duration (length of stay) has a more profound influence on the lived experiences suggesting that a one-year increase in the duration of a Chinese trader in Ghana is associated with being 23% more likely to be in the “very good” category of NOR.

Furthermore, exploring the location of Chinese traders reveals that staying in Accra has a positive effect on lived experiences than staying in Kumasi at the 1% level of statistical significance. Similarly, education effects show that only tertiary level education has a positive and statistically significant relationship with NOR as compared to Secondary and Diploma levels. Specifically, Chinese traders with a first degree are 52% more likely to have a “very good” relationship with Ghanaian traders at the 10% level of statistical significance than Chinese traders with a secondary level of education whereas Chinese traders holding a second

degree are 43% more likely to have a “very good” relationship with Ghanaian traders at the 5% level of statistical significance than Chinese traders with a secondary level of education.

7.3 Conclusion

Migration plays a significant role in the achievement of sustainable development which is composed of economic, social, and environmental development. Immigrant trading activities have been argued to lead to the flow of foreign capital between both the host and immigrant countries. For this reason, there is the need for fair and peaceful trade relationships between local business operators and immigrant traders. In this study, we consider the trading activities and lived experiences of Chinese immigrant traders vis-à-vis opportunities and challenges such as the rising tension between Ghanaian and Chinese traders.

Applying content analysis to the interviews conducted and ordered logit regression to cross-sectional data collected from Chinese immigrant traders as part of the quantitative aspects of the study, it was discovered that Ghanaian retailers tend to have a hostile attitude towards Chinese retailers for sharing the same trading space with them. Thus, the most important tension-causing factor is the fact that Chinese traders are engaged in retailing activities which according to the laws of Ghana are a preserve of only Ghanaians.

The study also finds that the most important factors influencing the lived experiences of Chinese traders are economic incentives while trading activity, level of education, location, duration or length of stay of Chinese traders in Ghana are also strong factors influencing the lived experiences of Chinese immigrant traders.

The current study highlights multilevel factors that create tensions between Ghanaian traders and the Chinese immigrant traders. Particularly, there is lack of conceptual clarity of what constitutes immigrant trading and retailing, which creates implementation deficits in checking

which of the business activities of the Chinese immigrants are lawful and which ones contravenes the laws. This observation aligns with some previous studies that argues that implementation deficits in developing countries inure to the benefits of immigrant business (Kappelman et al., 2019; Mitchell et al., 2019; Martin, 2018).

The structural weakness identified in Ghana's migrant trading laws create enabling environments for Chinese businesses. This aligns with the conceptual framework of the current study where institutions, migration policies and trade laws in Ghana create undue advantage for expatriate businesses over domestic businesses (Carson et al., 2018; Osaghae & Cooney, 2019). These structural deficits become good prospects within Ghana's economy and keep attracting Chinese immigrant traders into Ghana. Consequently, Chinese migrants have become more interested in retail trading for about a decade now and are therefore moving into Ghana largely as direct entry for business purposes. They therefore recommend to their colleague Chinese back home to move to Ghana, taking advantage of the conceptual and implementation lapses in Ghana's trading and tax laws to create enclaves of Chinese businesses in Ghana which aligns with the immigrant enclave theory (Lukac et al., 2019; Osaghae & Cooney, 2019; Portes & Martinez, 2018).

Social network is therefore critical for the enclaves of Chinese businesses since most of them move to Ghana based on recommendations and assistance from their family and friends. In line with the social network theory, the Chinese traders are therefore able to build strong networks of business associates, which helps them to have access to institutional and regulatory bodies to further relax some trading regulations (Armah et al., 2013; Botchwey et al., 2019; Tschakert, 2016). The Chinese immigrant traders are therefore increasingly putting emphasis on building local networks with Ghanaian traders. These Chinese traders who have succeeded in establishing networks with Ghanaian traders and do business with them experience no tensions.

Those who compete with the Ghanaian traders for local customers experience the tensions the most.

The enclaves however create relational difficulties with Ghanaian traders. This aligns with the relational theory which argues that when immigrant businesses gain undue advantage in the market, indigenous traders begin to develop hostile attitudes towards them (Chambliss & Schutt, 2018; Osaghae & Cooney, 2019). The negative attitudes become the tool that local traders use to call the attention of regulatory bodies to strengthen the weaknesses within their institutions (Botchwey et al., 2019; Dépelteau, 2018). In line with the relational theory, the Ghanaian traders see the Chinese traders as taking advantage of the institutional weaknesses and lapses in Ghana to exploit Ghanaians. They believe that the Chinese traders are not only dumping inferior goods into Ghana's market space, but also pushing local traders out of business so they can gain control over Ghana's market space. The local traders mentioned fronting, price war, and extreme influence over law enforcement agencies by the Chinese immigrant traders as strategies to dominate the Ghanaian trading space.

The key informants further indicated that the Chinese immigrant traders take advantage of the status of China being Ghana's biggest trading partner to exploit Ghana's market space. The situation is exacerbated by the lack of clarity and conceptualization of what constitutes immigrant retail within the trading laws and regulations which makes it difficult to identify which Chinese immigrant traders are trading lawfully and which ones are trading unlawfully. These findings point to the multi-level factors that both precipitate and sustain the resentment and tensions of Ghanaian traders towards Chinese immigrant traders.

The relational tensions created by the institutional weaknesses in Ghana have strong ramifications beyond just the Chinese businesses in Ghana. More importantly, the tensions can easily spill to other immigrant businesses (Hagen-Zanker et al., 2017). In Ghana, there are

instances of Ghanaian traders attacking other immigrants such as Nigerians and Lebanese for engaging in unauthorized trading activities in Ghana. The policy ramifications of these relational tensions therefore require strong regulations that ensures that all immigrant businesses in Ghana do not exploit the weaknesses in free zone agreements.

7.4 Recommendations

From the research conclusions, the following recommendations are made for policy, practice, and further research.

- 1 The study reveals both conceptual problems and implementation deficits in immigrant retail in trading regulations in Ghana. Conceptually, the concept of retailing is not well defined within the trading laws of Ghana. This creates an implementation deficit where some Chinese who retail in big shops in malls in Ghana are free to do so but those who retail in local market spaces face severe tensions. It is recommended that these conceptual and implementation bottlenecks be addressed. Immigrant retailing needs to be clearly defined within Ghana's trading laws and regulations. This will facilitate proper monitoring of immigrant businesses to ensure adherence to the laws and regulations of Ghana and the peaceful trading of local and immigrant market actors. Government agencies such as the Ministry of Trade and Industry, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, the Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of Justice, the Attorney Generals' Department, and the Ghana Investment Promotion Centre, among other government agencies, can collaborate to implement this recommendation with consultations from Ghana Union of Traders Association.

- 2 Tensions exist between Ghanaian and Chinese traders due to three main factors; trading activity, quality of goods, and price competition. To reduce the effect of these tensions and avoid their future escalations, it is recommended that Government agencies (both Ghana and China), trade associations, and other stakeholders should organize trade-related sensitization workshops for both Ghanaian and Chinese traders to understand their mutual roles and responsibilities. The workshops should also be aimed at orienting Chinese traders on business laws, regulations, procedures, and processes in Ghana.
- 3 The current study has uncovered that due to delays in business registrations, some Chinese traders engage locals to “front” for them, which may lead to an under-declaration of taxes. It is therefore recommended that the Registrar General’s Department establish a dedicated desk or express service to handle immigrant business registration processes to curb delays.
- 4 The study has revealed that the price war of imported goods is one of the key factors that fuel the tensions between the Ghanaian traders and Chinese immigrant traders. In recent years, there have been several attempts to promote patronage of Ghanaian goods. However, there needs to be a policy backing this agenda. So far, much of the emphasis has been on using the media to promote the need for local patronage of Made-in-Ghana goods. For the low patronage of Ghanaian goods to be truly reversed, there is the need to be intentional and strategic with tax regimes in Ghana. Tax incentives should be granted to local companies that produce Ghanaian goods. In addition, import duty taxes should also be increased on imported goods that Ghana has local capacity to manufacture. This will reduce the cost of production for local manufacturing companies and increase the prices of imported goods. These strategies will make the prices of local

goods more competitive. This has the potential of primarily eliminating market price wars to ensure that Chinese immigrant traders do not sell their products at relatively low prices to deliberately crowd the Ghanaian traders out of the market.

7.5 Suggestions for future research

Despite its limitations, the current study nonetheless significantly advances our understanding of the dynamics of Chinese immigrant traders' trading interactions and experiences in Ghana's market. Future research must be done to expand on this current study to further our grasp of the subject. There is a need for a comparative analysis of the experiences and challenges of Ghanaian immigrant traders in China and Chinese immigrant traders in Ghana. This will help to compare the structural context of immigrant trading experiences in these two countries. In examining the attitudes of the Ghanaian traders, it emerged strongly that they believed Ghanaians would not be allowed to trade in China the way the Chinese were allowed to do in Ghana. Therefore, exploring the experiences of Ghanaian traders in China and comparing their experiences to Chinese traders in Ghana would help put the issue into a better perspective. Comparing both countries would provide a better understanding of the structural factors that create conceptual confusion and implementation deficit in regulating the trading activities of Chinese immigrant traders in Ghana.

There is also the need for more studies into the case of fronting in Ghana, and how that breach the trading laws and regulations in Ghana. From the way the Ghanaian traders and the key informants referred to this concept, they classified all forms of partnerships between Ghanaians and Chinese traders as cases of fronting. This presents some confusion and adds to the already relatively volatile encounters between the Ghanaian and the Chinese traders. A deeper and nuanced understanding of the concept of fronting, within the context of local-foreign

partnerships would help throw more light on the experiences and challenges of foreign traders and entrepreneurs in Ghana.



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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: MAP OF GHANA

Figure 9: Map of Ghana showing all the regions in Ghana including Ashanti and Greater Accra regions



Figure 10: Map of Accra Metropolis

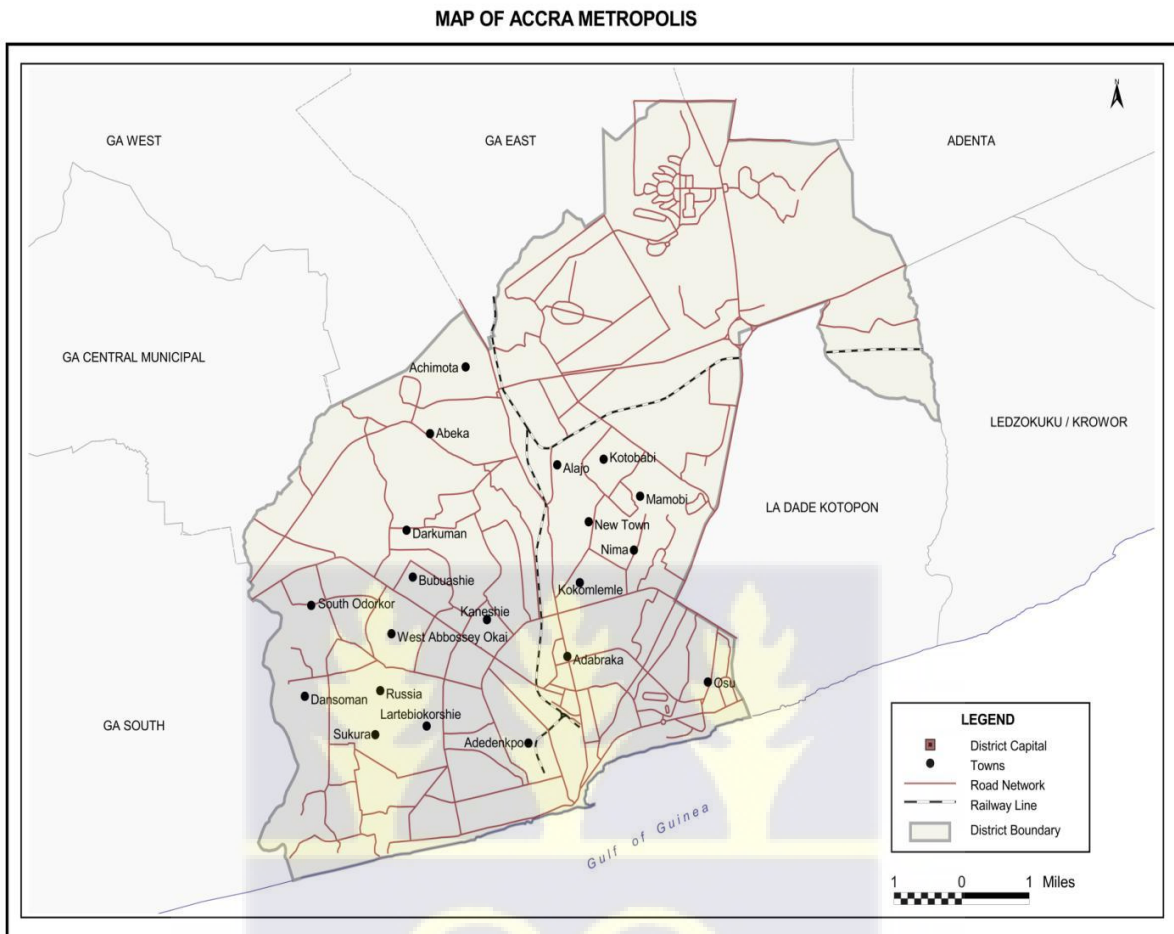
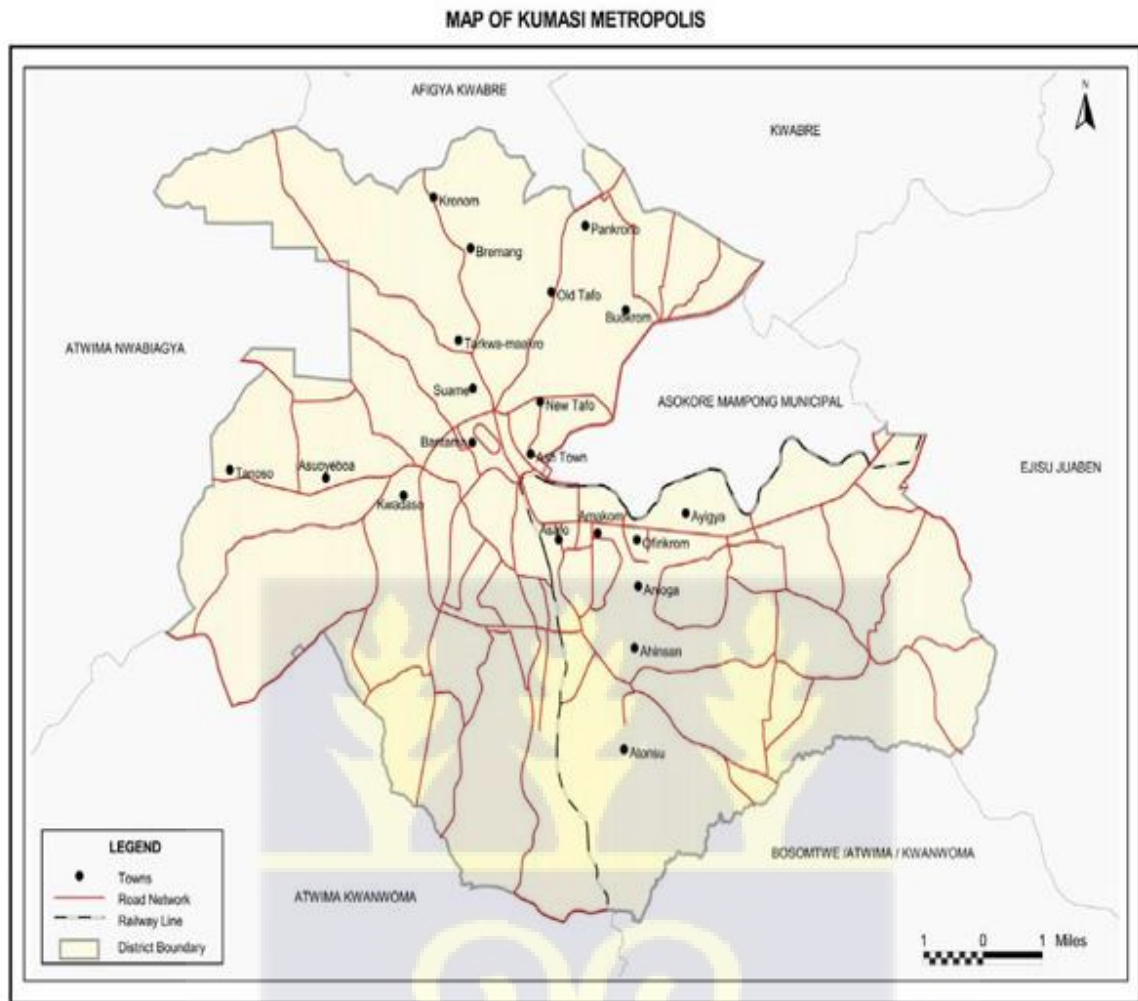


Figure 11: Map of Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly



Source: Ghana Statistical Service, GIS

APPENDIX B: QUESTIONNAIRE

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

CENTRE FOR MIGRATION STUDIES



STUDY OF CHINESE MIGRANT TRADING ACTIVITIES IN GHANA

My name is Christian Narh, a final year PhD candidate in the Centre for Migration Studies, at the University of Ghana, Legon. I am conducting this study on trading activities and experiences of Chinese immigrants in Ghana. The study is for academic purposes and so participation is strictly voluntary with no associated penalty should you decline to participate. Your privacy and confidentiality are assured as you will not be required to provide any personally identifying information.

Should you choose to participate, you will be required to take part in an interview or fill a questionnaire or both, all examining the dynamics of Chinese immigrant trading in Ghana. Your privacy and confidentiality will be highly assured, as there is no personally identifying information on the instrument and therefore no personal identity information will be associated with responses. Please do well not to skip any of the questions. There is no right or wrong answer, only respond according to how the items reflect your personal experiences.

Please sign if you consent to participate

Signature

Date

Identification:

1 = Accra Metropolis [], 2 = Kumasi Metropolis []

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

1. **Gender:** 1 = Male [], 2 = Female []

2. **Age** (as at last birthday) years

3. **What is your highest educational level?**

1=No formal education [], 2=Non-formal education [], 3=Basic education []

4 = High school [], 5 = Tertiary []

4. **What is your marital status?**

1 = Single [], 2 = Married [], 3 = Separated [], 4 = Divorced [], 5 = Widowed []

5. **What is your religious affiliation?**

1 = Christian [], 2 = Muslim [], 3 = Traditionalist [], 4 = Other []

INFORMATION ABOUT THE GHANAIAAN BUSINESSES

1. **What is the ownership structure of your business?**

1 = Sole proprietorship [], 2 = Family business [], 3 = Partnership []

2. How many years have you been operating this business? _____ years

3. What is the nature of your business?

1 = Retail [], 2 = Wholesale [],

If you deal in retail or wholesale of goods, please specify the kind of goods

4. Where do you get your merchandise from?

1 = From Ghana []

2 = From other African country [], please specify _____

5. Number of employees _____

ALTITUDES AND RELIATIONSHIP WITH CHINESE BUSINESSES

Use the scale below to indicate the extent of agreement or disagreement to the selected economic incentives Chinese immigrants to participate in restricted business activities in your area.

1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=neutral; 4= agree; 5= strongly agree

Items	1	2	3	4	5
Lower capital requirement					
Poor and improper monitoring					
Ready market for imported goods					
Cheap labour					

Macroeconomic stability					
Encouragement from local people					

Use the reaction below to answer attitudes by Ghanaians towards Chinese Immigrant

Traders

1. Strongly Disagree (SD)
2. Disagree (D)
3. Neither Agree or Disagree (N)
4. Agree (A)
5. Strongly Agree (SA)

Items	SD	D	N	A	SA
On average, Chinese immigration has badly affected the Ghanaian economy					
Chinese immigrant traders <i>do</i> engage in trading activities that are reserved for Ghanaians					
Activities of the Chinese immigrant traders do benefit Ghanaians					
We should establish a legal immigrant work program to accommodate immigrant trading					
Chinese immigrant traders do not share in developmental ideals of Ghana					

Activities of Chinese immigrant traders collapse Ghanaian businesses					
Chinese immigrant traders flood Ghanaian markets with inferior goods					
Ghanaian traders would not be allowed to engage in retail activities in China like it is allowed here					
Government of Ghana supports Chinese immigrants' entry into restricted business Activities in Ghana					



APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW GUIDE – GHANAIAAN PARTICIPANTS

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

CENTRE FOR MIGRATION STUDIES

**INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR GHANAIAAN TRADERS/ INDIGENES IN RESPECT OF
THE CHINESE TRADERS/ENTREPRENEURS IN GHANA**

- 1. Demographic Information:** age, sex, place of residence, educational level
- 2. Trading activities:** Can you tell me about your trading activities in Ghana? *Probe into:*
 - a. what trading activities are you engaged in?
 - b. how long have you been operating the trading activities?
 - c. Are there other businesses you engaged in before settling on this one?
 - d. what informed your decision to enter that business activity?
- 3. Relationship with Chinese traders:** What has been your relationship with Chinese migrant traders? *Probe into:*
 - a. What factors are accounting for that relationship?
 - b. Are there other foreign nationals involved, apart from the Chinese?
 - c. Is their relationship with the Chinese the same with all other foreign nationals?
 - d. If not, why are the Chinese migrant traders a special case?
- 4. Managing the situation:** What has the Ghanaian community tried to do to improve the situation? *Probe into:*
 - a. How have you the Ghanaian trading community has tried to solve the problem?
 - b. What has been the response of the Chinese community in Ghana in addressing the problem?
 - c. Are there any other external parties involved in addressing the situation?
 - d. What have been the results so far? Are measures working or not working?
 - e. What is accounting for why the measures are working or not working?

f. *improve on the relationship with the Chinese entrepreneurs)*

5. **Fronting for foreign businesses:** examine their views on fronting for foreign businesses in Ghana

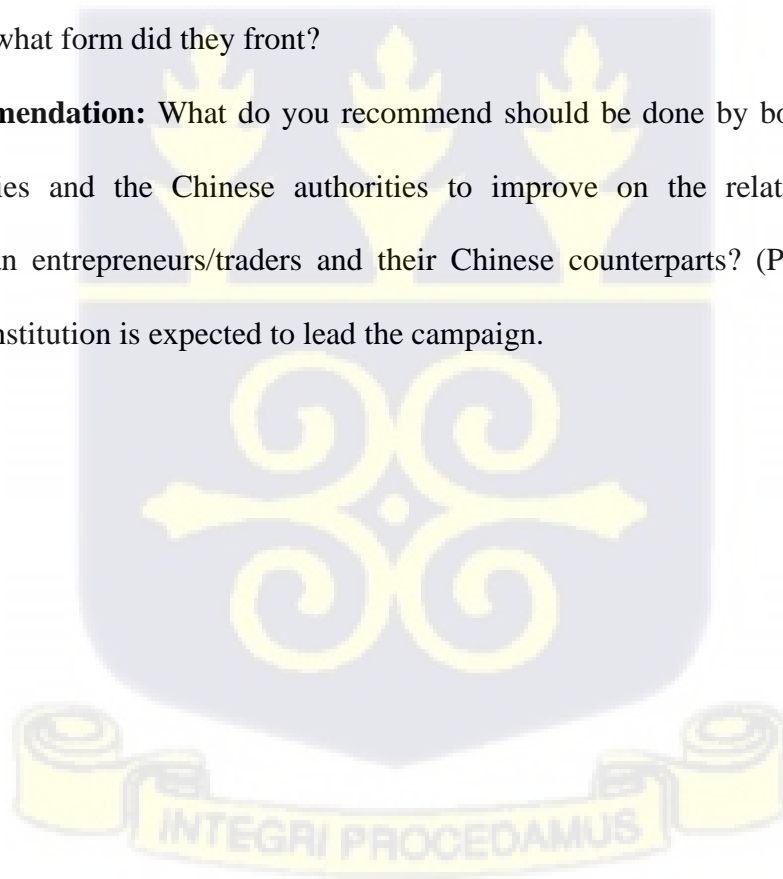
a. Have you heard about the fronting for foreign businesses by Ghanaian?

b. What is your view about that?

c. Have you ever fronted for any Chinese businessman or entrepreneur(s) in Ghana? If yes, what was the conditions for fronting and in what form did you front?

d. Do you know of Ghanaians who front for any Chinese businessman or entrepreneur(s) in Ghana? If yes, what are the conditions for fronting and in what form did they front?

6. **Recommendation:** What do you recommend should be done by both the Ghanaian authorities and the Chinese authorities to improve on the relationship between Ghanaian entrepreneurs/traders and their Chinese counterparts? (Probe to find out which institution is expected to lead the campaign.



APPENDIX D: GHANAIAN KEY INFORMANTS

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

CENTRE FOR MIGRATION STUDIES

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND REGIONAL INTEGRATION

1. **Demographic Information:** sex, age, portfolio, years of office
2. **Views on Chinese traders in Ghana:** examine their views on Chinese presence in Ghana's trading space
 - a. Can you tell me about your views on the Chinese traders in Ghana vis-a-vis Ghana's investments regulations?
 - b. Would you agree with people who say there are too many Chinese in Ghana's trading space?
 - c. What would you say are the contributions that Chinese traders bring to Ghana?
 - d. Are you aware of any challenges that Chinese traders encounter in Ghana?
 - e. Are there some provisions in Ghana's investment regulations that Chinese traders violate?
 - f. What are your views on the assertion that Chinese employers do not treat their Ghanaian employees well?
 - g. What factors do you think account for that?
3. **Views on Ghanaian traders' assertions:** examine his views and opinions on assertions by Ghanaian traders
 - a. What are your views on Ghanaian traders' argument that their businesses suffer due to unfair competition from Chinese traders?

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

CENTRE FOR MIGRATION STUDIES

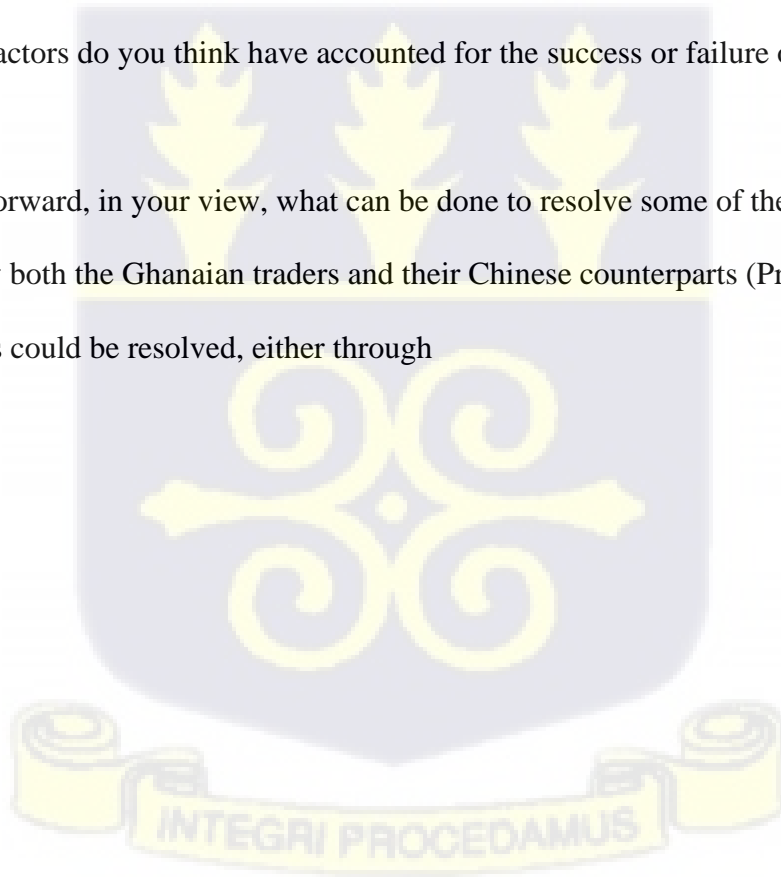
MINISTRY OF INTERIOR AND GHANA IMMIGRATION SERVICE

1. **Demographic Information:** sex, age, portfolio, years of office
2. **Chinese migration process to Ghana:** explore processes that Chinese migrants go through before coming to Ghana
 - a. Can you please tell me the process which the Chinese immigrants go through before entering Ghana?
 - b. Besides the approved process you just described, are there other unapproved routes which you are aware off?
 - c. If yes, what is being done by your institution about the unapproved routes?
 - d. Are there some Chinese traders who are without requisite documentation to engage in the trading activities? If yes, what is your institution doing it?
 - e. Are you also aware of some challenges faced by the Chinese traders? If yes, what is being done to avert the situation you just described?
3. **Views on Chinese traders in Ghana:** examine their views on Chinese presence in Ghana's trading space
 - a. Would you agree with people who say there are too many Chinese in Ghana's trading space?
 - b. What would you say are the contributions that Chinese traders bring to Ghana?

- c. What are your views on Ghanaian traders' argument that their businesses suffer due to unfair competition from Chinese traders?
- d. What factors do you think account for the constant tensions between Ghanaian traders and Chinese traders?
- e. What are your views on the assertion that Chinese employers do not treat their Ghanaian employees well?
- f. What factors do you think account for that?

4. Interventions at solving: explore various steps undertaken to address the situation

- a. What steps has the Ministry taken in trying to address the situation?
 - b. Are the steps taken working or have not been successful?
 - c. What factors do you think have accounted for the success or failure of the steps taken so far?
6. Going forward, in your view, what can be done to resolve some of the challenges faced by both the Ghanaian traders and their Chinese counterparts (Probe to know how this could be resolved, either through



APPENDIX E: INTERVIEW GUIDE – CHINESE PARTICIPANTS

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

CENTRE FOR MIGRATION STUDIES

QUESTIONNAIRE/INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR CHINESE IMMIGRANT TRADERS

Identification:

1 = Accra Metropolis [] 2 = Kumasi Metropolis []

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

Gender: 1 = Male [] 2 = Female []

Age (as at last birthday) years

What is your highest educational level?

1=Secondary [] 2=Diploma [] 3=First degree [] 4 = Second degree []

MIGRATION AND BUSINESS INFORMATION

1. **Occupation:** occupation before migration....., occupation at destination.....
2. What is the nature of your business? 1 = Retail [] 2 = Wholesale [],
3. If you deal in retail or wholesale of goods, please specify the kind of goods
4. What is the main incentive that motivates you to engage in this business?
Economic [] Socio-cultural [] Politico-legal [] Environmental []
5. **Migration history into Ghana:** Can you tell me about your migration history. Probe into;
 - a. When s/he first arrived

- b. Through visa or no visa
 - c. Transited, came direct or transiting to a different country
6. **Assistance for migration:** did you receive any assistance for migrating into Ghana?
Probe;
 - a. Assistance from family (how did the family assist? Financial or non-financial)
 - b. Assistance from friends (how did the friends assist? Financial or non-financial)
 - c. Other (who, how or why?)
7. **Decision to migrate into Ghana:** Why did you decide to migrate into Ghana? Probe;
 - a. Who took the decision for him/her to migrate?
 - b. Why s/he choose to travel to Ghana (*Probe for the expected economic/social benefits; role of networks of friends and relatives in Ghana*).
8. **Trading and entrepreneurial activities in Ghana:** Explore their trading activities in Ghana. Probe into;
 - a. What did sell first or what economic activities were you engaged in first? Why
 - b. What s/he is selling now or what economic activities they engaged in (if different).
 - c. Why did you change from previous economic or trading activities?
 - d. How long have you been operating this trading activity in Ghana?
 - e. What informed your decision to engage in this trading activities in Ghana?
 - f. How did you obtain capital for the business?
 - g. How do you operate your trading activity?
 - h. What strategy did you used to enter the market in Ghana?
 - i. Who is your primary customer base?
 - j. Who are your competitors in the business?
9. **Network with Ghanaians:** examine the network they have with Ghanaians

- a. Do you have networks with Ghanaians in operating this business?
- b. Who are your primary network base?
- c. How was your network with Ghanaians formed?
- d. How did you grow your customer base?

10. Relationship with Ghanaian traders: Explore their relationship with Ghanaian traders

- a. How would you classify your lived experiences/ nature of relationship with Ghanaian traders? 1 = Poor [] 2 = Fair [] 3 = Good [] 4 = Very Good []
- b. What do you think is accounting for that kind of relationship?
- c. How does this relationship affect your business operations?

11. Improving the relationship: examine what have been done so far to improve the relationship

- a. What do you think can be done to improve the relationship with the Ghanaian community?
- b. What is the Chinese community in Ghana doing to improve the relationship?
- c. Have there been successes or failure in that regard?
- d. What factors accounted for why the strategies worked or did not work?

12. Role of Ghanaian community: examine how the Ghanaian community impact on their business

- a. What has been your relationship with your Ghanaian employees? why?
- b. How is your relations with Ghanaian customers/clients?
- c. How does entrepreneurial / investment / trading regulations in Ghana affect your trading activities?

- d. Do you or have you received any support or assistance from Ghanaian institutions such as the Ministry of Business Development, Ministry of Trade & Industry, Ghana Investment Promotion Centre (GIPC)

13. **Recommendation:** what suggestions they recommend to improve their experiences.

What do you recommend should be done to improve on the relationship between Chinese immigrant traders and the Ghanaian trading community?

APPENDIX F: MATRIX OF CORRELATIONS

Variables	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
(1) Lived experiences	1.000							
(2) Trading Activity	-0.266	1.000						
(3) Age	0.735	-0.158	1.000					
(4) Duration	0.608	-0.039	0.694	1.000				
(5) Location	0.579	-0.132	0.469	0.277	1.000			
(6) Education	0.610	-0.107	0.620	0.720	0.175	1.000		
(7) Gender	-0.008	-0.012	-0.054	-0.057	0.135	-0.142	1.000	
(8) Incentives	0.773	-0.175	0.574	0.517	0.445	0.536	0.011	1.000

