UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

CENTER FOR MIGRATION STUDIES

BENEFITS OF NIGERIAN MIGRANT ASSOCIATIONS: THE ROLE OF NIGERIAN MIGRANTS IN NIGERIAN MIGRANTS’ INTEGRATION AND ADJUSTMENT PROSPECTS IN ACCRA, GHANA

BY

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DECLARATION

I, Yao Wise Adzah, hereby declare that, except for references to other people’s work, which have been duly acknowledged, this Long Essay is the outcome of my independent research conducted at the Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana, Legon, under the supervision of Dr. Leander Kandilige. I, therefore, declare that this Long Essay has neither in part nor in whole been presented to any other institution for academic award.

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(SUPERVISOR)
DEDICATION

This book is dedicated to my innovative, lovely and dependable wife and my son namely Beatrice Edzenunye Atefoe, Maurice Makafui Yao Adzah for their support, encouragement, advice and guidance. My parents; Michael Adzah and Comfort Ametuxor and my siblings both paternal and maternal are also acknowledged. Moreover, not forgetting my long standing trustworthy friend, class mate, colleague co-worker Ambrose Seyram Dzansi. Courage Kwame Amegbe is not left out as well.
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ECOWAS     Economic Community of West African States
ILO        States International Labour Organization
IOM        International Organization for Migration
OECD       Organization for Economic Cooperation for Development
UN         United Nation
UNDP       United Nation Development Programme
ABSTRACT

Migrant associations in different parts of the world have been acknowledged by scholars due to the current expansion of such associations and their roles in the integration and adjustment processes for their members in host communities within destination countries. Though these associations have become globalized, existing literatures mostly focus on those in the developed countries like the USA especially migrants from Central and Latin America. Generally, in Ghana and Africa, literature on migrants associations are scanty as a result of absence of proper structures to monitor the affairs of these associations as well as the bureaucratic challenges when registering a group or an association. The study sought to tease out the benefits derived from migrants associations namely Nigerian Committee of Brothers, Nigerian Women and Edo State associations in Accra, Ghana and how members of these associations rely on them to ensure adjustment, integration and development. The study relied on secondary data retrieved from different sources as well in-depth interviews from five (5) key informants selected purposively from the associations. The study revealed that social network binds Nigerian migrants in complex social and interpersonal relationship away from their usual kinship-oriented networks (eg family system) using the associations as a substitute. The inability of Ghanaian state institutions to handle migrant needs effectively, the associations play expert roles to ensure their adjustment and integration into Ghana. Although the associations don’t serve as a direct mode of economic development, their social activism makes them useful social development agents in Ghana.
CHAPTER ONE

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Globally, migrants irrespective of where they find themselves rely on one or more associations either of their own descent or one with common cultural and identity characteristics as their own. Migrants attraction to these associations worldwide is as a result of the different types of support and benefit received by its members (Okamura, 1983; Orozco and Rouse, 2007; Owusu, 2000). Several literature abound in migrant associations worldwide (Caglar, 2006) where destinations such as the USA have migrants from Latin and Central America forming associations. Other associations emanating from Mexico have been examined as a platform for which migrants from Mexico and its environs relied on for several opportunities (Mooney, 2003; Lopez et. al, 2001). This is an indication that associations formed by migrants in their destination have been explained differently by scholars in the literature. Some studies have focused on the significant areas such as leadership and member wellbeing, benefits and their entitlement as well as those that serve as a conduit with their hometowns (Okamura, 1983).

Migration involves several processes with integration as a major factor. This integration process affects immigrants in the host communities together with their descendants. The presence of migrants in the destination countries in itself is a key motivator to changing lifestyles and behaviour adjustment. This adjustment takes time as a result of migrants „adaptation experience in the destination country, social and traditional environment as well as the host society’s friendliness to the newcomers (Saint-Maurice, 1997). Challenges migrants face upon arrival influence their actions especially during integration (Jenkins, 1988). Most of them as a result of problems emanating from the new environment create informal migrant groups which often give way to formal and well-structured group that
connect migrants through common origin and cultural traits. The aim of establishing these formal structures later changed into migrant associations.

In addition, some associations have been classified as a development tool with emphasis on creating wealth through mobilizing resources such as remittances to improve infrastructural development at their place of origin (Babcock, 2006; Silva, 2006; Akologo, 2005). Many scholars view immigration to have a relationship with economic fortunes and growth of the host country. For example in the United States, migration and increase in foreign-born labour in the 1990s played a significant role in stimulating growth in the U.S. economy (Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas). These immigrants form associations which later translate into helping new arrivals of migrants from their home countries in order to integrate and survive subsequently. It is in this regard that Adamson (2006) attributed international migration to enhancement rather than detracting from or compromising state power.

1.2 STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

In spite of the numerous literature on migrant associations (Alarcon, 2000; Caglar, 2006) worldwide, studies on migrant groups or associations in West Africa or even Africa is scanty. Though, few studies exist, they report on the tie between groups or associations and development prospects by these association (Okafor & Honey, 1998). Although South-North migration is extensively researched from the perspective of developing countries to developed countries, south-south migration intra-regional migration is popular among African countries (Adepoju, 2010). West African migration corridor has been a long standing labour migration stream to and from Ghana. Significant proportion of the labour force in the Ghanaian mining sector were migrants from neighbouring West African countries such as Liberia, Nigeria among others (Beals and Menezes, 1970). According to Awumbila2010), Ghana’s wealth
Compares with its immediate neighbours was prolific therefore attracted immigrants from the sub-region.

Ghanaians perception about Nigerians being the largest in terms of number of West African migrant in Ghana was confirmed by the Ghana Statistical Service, (2010) that about four hundred thousand Nigerians lived in Ghana as at 2010 where majority of these work in the informal sector as traders.

In Ghana, information on migrants associations are scarce despite several existence of associations from pre-colonial era to contemporary times. This has contributed to the formation of different associations upon arrival of migrants at destination in order to meet their various needs. These essential needs according to Owusu (2000) include adjustment and integration difficulties in the host communities as well as the process to be considered when forming associations.

1.3 GENERAL OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

The general objective is to understand the role Nigerian migrant association plays in the adjustment and integration of their members towards development in both Ghana and Nigeria.

1.4 SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES

1. To describe the profile of Nigerian migrant associations in Ghana.

2. To ascertain how migrant associations help to adjust and integrate members into the host communities.

3. To examine some of the challenges migrant associations face.

1.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What roles do migrant associations play in the adjustment and integration process?
2. What are some of the challenges migrant associations face?

1.6 RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

The study adds to existing literature on the benefits of migrant associations in the way they adjust and integrate prospective migrants into the host communities. The study will unearth the contributions of immigrants to the Ghanaian economy and the social development they bring on board to improve the livelihood of both Nigerians and Ghanaians.

Finally, the study would provide evidence on how migrant associations contribute to the overall benefit of immigrant and their host communities.

1.7 ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

The study is categorized into five chapters. The first chapter focuses on the background of the study, statement of problem, objectives of the study and the purpose of the study. The second chapter contains an in-depth literature review of the study and the topic area. It also deals with some theories necessary for the study.

The chapter three discusses the study area and the methodology employed to gather the data for the study. It includes physical features of the study area, sampling method used to select the respondents, method of data collection, limitations of the study and data analysis.

The fourth chapter provides a clear description and presentation of the results on analysis of the findings from reviewed articles and respondents perspective. The final chapter which is chapter five gives the summary of the findings, conclusions and recommendations.
CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter looks at the theories that migrants employ when migrating to destination of their choice. It also reviews literature on migration with Nigeria in perspective to include changing patterns of Nigeria migration to Ghana, contribution of migrant associations on migrant adjustment and integration process among others.

Theoretical overview of migration

In spite of the negatives surrounding migration, it has contributed positively to human development especially in developing countries. It serves as a survival strategy for migrants as well as the left-behind families. Evidence emanating from migration includes how remittances have been used to aid development in origin countries of migrants and its impact on migrant-sending areas. There is no single theory that can explain migration phenomenon intuitively owing to its multifaceted nature. Massey et al. (1993), also alluded to the fact that there is no single, robust theory of international migration and such processes can be handled and therefore call for both theoretical and empirical understanding of the migration process.

Social network theory

Several studies have indicated that network theory seeks to focus on the individual ties that connect migrants, non-migrants in both sending and receiving areas through bonds of kinship, friendship and shared community of origin (Massey et al., 1993). This consistently helps to reduce burden associated with economic, social and psychological cost of migration. Social network and its connections aid in the migration process for example family and friends can influence migration decisions, other information pertinent to their wellbeing such as
availability of jobs or emerging business with profitable outcome. Others extend privileges such as securing accommodation for new migrants till they finally settle down.

This helps to explain what propagates migration in time and space instead of finding out the determinants of migration realities (Massey et al., 1993). This theory gives further understanding to why attractive factors or policies do not terminate onward movement into destination countries as well as migrant distribution in terms of which destination country to choose. The attention is on the association’s networks and its reliance when one is taking migration decision.

In this regard, major factors that influence migration encompasses social relations, common language and trade flows (Castle and Miller, 2009). This revelation is in line with Anarfi et al. (2003) study on immigrants where he suggested that significant proportion of Ghanaians emigrated because of their family members present at the destination. This has been the case for many Nigerians since their network gives them prior information of the area they are come into and their ability to secure better jobs upon arrival. This assertion confirms that many of this migrants including the Nigerians depend on their social capital for pertinent information for their survival.

The transnationalism theory

The transnationalism model is basically highlighted when redefining borders to be a mere distance and not an obstacle. Transnationalism is the process where migrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that connect together their societies of origin and settlement usually the destination countries (Basch, Glick-Schiller and Szanton, 1994).

This system relieves migrants of their physical absence in their origin countries but rely on transnational approach through the means of technology to maintain ties with families, communities and reduces boundaries of Nation-state to which people use in migrating
(Vertovec, 2001). Migrant associations then assume the position by organizing members of the associations and new arrivals through a collective memory of their homeland from the host society in activities such as get together for child outdooring, celebration of marriage, independence anniversary among others. These activities by migrant associations make return most unlikely to migrants in destination countries because of the localization of their culture, identity and sense of belongingness in the host countries.

Again, specific aspects of transnationalism adopted by migrant associations is the usage of modern communication technologies in mobilizing and re-enforcing new social relations out of pre-existing tendencies (Rmennick, 2003). Portes (2001) idea of physical presence have been defeated in current globalized era where culture and community have become separated as a result of distance noted as an impediment to communities (Kennedy & Roundometof, 2002). However, in order to recognize the full variety of transnational activities, it is mostly the case of migrant associations who exhibit transnational exchange among themselves through sharing of ideas, values and culture. These emerging trends out of transnationalism makes the likelihood of return extremely insignificant since activities can be done transnationally irrespective of your location and not necessary migrating out of your origin country.

**Overview of Migrants association**

Globally, literature on migrants associations indicate that individuals who find themselves in a destination country with common background usually form informal social networks in their settling process. These social networks gradually culminate into migrant associations (Pojmann, 2007; López, Escala-Rabdan and Hinojosa-Ojeda, 2001). Migrant associations are therefore the evidential indicators of migrant social networks (Lopez et al., 2001). These associations have many objectives that they fulfil but always make sure that migrants in the
destination countries are catered for in all aspects of their stay in the host country. Immigrants in destination countries consider such associations keen in their quest to integrate and also find employment in their new environment (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006). Immigrants relying on their social capital and on associations even before their arrival become a motivating factor to pull more migrants to the destination countries. This has called for establishment of such associations in destination countries of which Nigeria immigrants in Ghana forms part. Many of these associations in Ghana have their traditions and core values even though they belong to one origin country.

The initiative of forming mass associations is seen as a way of organising and structuring which influence an important part of many countries including the destination countries like Swedish public life since the mid-nineteenth century (Fred, 1983). The justification according to Fred (1983), is that migrants should be given the same opportunity to organise as other ethnic traditional associations in destination countries. This revelation is key in many parts of the world especially in developing countries where state institutions frown on giving foreigners the free will to organize themselves into groups or associations.

However, these migrant associations after their establishment exhibit an enormous degree of inner differences in the way that they operate and their connections with the local residents and authorities (Rex and Drury, 1994). Koopmans and Statham (2000) opined some of these associations have been characterised with political colours in the sense that what they focus much on are political situations in their respective country of origin. A case study is the Chilean association. Since it set up it has had a specific agenda to achieve politically and fight for Chilean cause. In contrast, associations like Iranian Association in Sweden were more concerned with activities that bind them and allow them to maintain and exhibit trait of their culture within the host society. In addition, many migrant associations such as Iranian
association in Sweden express that members in one way or the other discuss political situation in Iran but does not form part of the official agenda (Odmalm, 2004).

Notwithstanding the political undertone of some migrant associations, others are linked with corrupt practices to siphon money from members and also undertaking dubious projects at the origin countries (Stergaard-Nielsen, 2000; Rath et al. 2001). This was evident in the affairs of the Turkish associations in Sweden but outside Sweden, their activities were tailored in order to achieve the objectives of the association. The globalizing nature of these associations as a result of increasing numbers involved in contemporary migration, makes the associations appear to have a more strained relationship with some host countries. For example, Mexican migrant association in California had issues with the state authority and had some of their future activities suspended after fraud had allegedly had been committed and shielding on illegal migrants (Lopez et. al 2001; Alarcón, 2000).

Some studies done by Kwong (2004), reiterated that disagreements between migrant associations and state authorities lead to closure of some migrant associations. For example former Turkish members in Malmo, Sweden stated that the association as such would most likely cease to exist within the near future, due to the increasingly difficult relationship with state authorities.

However, some migrant associations continue to have harmonious relationships with host countries in the case of Chilean and Iranian associations overseas (Odmalm, 2004).

Key functions of migrant associations provides enabling environment for social activities, exchange of cultural values and mediation between migrant-sending areas and the host countries (Albuquerque, Ferreira and Viegas, 2000). Assessing the above statement, one can argue that migrant associations are in the position to solve immediate challenges faced by immigrants. These associations help in holding firm the cultural heritage in addition to their sense of belongingness, moulded out of unique characteristics within the migratory and
integration process (Rex, 1994). Again, the associations consider members’ adjustment and integration challenges as a priority when dealing with migrants’ problem in general (Cheetham, 1988).

Migrant associations have several aims when they are set up but diverge in the course of their operations ending up either culturally or politically and sometimes both at the same time. Subsequently when these associations gain grounds, they achieve their objectives and goals not only at social or cultural level but also by incorporating and protecting the right of members through lobbying of stakeholders and the legal system of the host society (Esteve & Caldeira, 2001).

In affirming an ethnic or migrant association, certain common trait usually bring individual migrants together which is termed as common interest (Bell, 1975; Jenkins, 1988). On the other hand, it is important to establish a migrant association in order to be able to preserve the ethnic character and culture of their members. Unavoidably, these associations move further to assist in major roles during settlement processes of their members, and encouraging their active involvement in the host society. Migrants in destination countries congregate and form formal associations in order to protect mutual interests, to mobilise support over issues of concern and to make representations to political authorities concerning their welfare (Antwi Bosiakoh, 2009).

This according to (Layton-Henry, 1990), there is clear distinction emanating from what these associations are and what they do. In terms of what constitute migrant association, Soysal (1994), opined that is a collective decision made by individuals with a goal to achieve. For example, variables deemed important by migrants in forming such associations always fall within certain commonalities which include ethnicity, language and country of origin. Beyond these features, migrant associations traverse into other areas to include business, politics or combination of some of the variables (Fred, 1994).
As argued by Zig Layton-Henry (1990), migrant associations in Africa are scattered all over but in small numbers. This is as a result of many migrant moving to destinations they will be secured economically, politically and socially.

This is eminent because many of the destination countries are not enticing enough to attractive migrants. However, most of the known associations are sprouted in South Africa which includes migrant workers association (MWA), Southern Miners Association among others. Again in Africa, the continual existence of migrant associations create a cordial relationship between migrants and the indigenes paving way for their involvement in the political governance process in the host country. This in a way aid their integration and adjustment processes. The activities outlined by these associations move in a direction towards the association’s collective effort within the socio-politics as well as the social setting of the host communities which paves way for active participation and representation within the destination countries (Vasta 2000).

This many at times, leads to violent sentiments where indigenes start to question the identities of migrants in order to remind them of their limit in terms of political discourse (Rojas, 1999). The pre-motive behind formation of these associations sometime back was to help each other based on family or friendship networks. This exclusive interest serves the basis for inclusion of other migrants other than family or friends which then gave way to collective goals, aimed at increasing exchange of ideas with the host communities on issues which fundamentally addresses community integration (Amelina, 2007). These associations sprang up especially when there was increase in dialogue with the receiving society on challenges partly due to social exclusion from the wider population as well as discrimination manifested on the part of the host communities on immigrants when it comes to accessing social services such as education, health, housing, welfare and employment (Malheiros, 2000). These migrant groups begin to negotiate on behalf of their members with the host communities.
Migrant association is seen as a medium to which migrant expectations and demands are met in the destination countries. Furthermore, most of the associations distinguished by itself more professionally as an organisation and have frequent activities, thus making these migrant groups more similar to traditional ethnic associations (Soininen, 1999). This association also continues to engage its members through local parties at both origin and the destination even though it does not take place quite often. Most people have labelled such associations as a mouthpiece with little command in terms of what affect their members and to what extent they can prescribe solutions. This is in line with Freyne-Lindgren’s (2000) assertion on classification of migrant organisations as infrequent functioning unit but rather as a normal ethnic grouping or social club with little or no achievement. Some scholars have opined that host countries institutions that deal with associations or groups of which migrant associations forms part are biased when it comes to migrant associations as against associations formed by indigenes of the host country (Jenkins, 1988). However, other studies have debunked that claim by reiterating that the challenges surrounding the institutional structure is unhealthy as compared with the difficulty in uniting migrants originating from different places (Tarrow, 1994; Vermeulen, 2002). Conclusions drawn from Tarrow (1994) study is that state institutions of host nations do not pursue associations with ethnic and social background but rather those who have the ability to spark religious conflicts and engage in terrorism activities. This serves as the basis whenever migrant associations are formed and the kind of activities to partake in without being equality biased.

In Ghana many migrant associations exist which includes Nigerian migration associations with different compositions, Lebanese associations and other migrants associations are insignificant in terms of their numbers and contributions. The Lebanese associations focus mostly on business. In as much as Lebanese associations primary focus is on economic ventures, the Nigerian migrant’s association focuses mostly on promoting and preserving their
cultural heritage in Ghana especially through their dresses, songs and food (Antwi Bosiakoh, 2009). Most of the Nigerian associations are scattered all over the countries especially the southern and the northern parts of Ghana because of its geographical advantage to migrants settling in those areas (Acquah, 1958). By extension, the Yoruba association of Nigerian origin is located in Tamale. The other vibrant Nigerian associations are the Nigerian Committee of Brothers Association, Nigerian Women Association and the Edo State Association base in Accra. These associations are well known because of its members and contributions they make for their members and the communities they are located. Although the associations have fundamental objectives to help the course of Nigerians in Ghana through the process of integrating and adjusting them fully into the Ghanaian society, individual associations have their set of objectives to achieve alongside the common goal of integration.

Some of the association like the Nigerian Committee of Brothers pave way for new migrants to be part of already existing social networks by helping them into business and also giving seed capitals to members to start business. This is an indication how migrant associations are structured to effectively manage the affairs of such associations away from the issues that defeat their existence (Eade, 1994). Studies on migrants associations report that certain category of issues are difficult to highlight either it been internal or external especially when such associations are inconsistent with their course and are politically motivated. Drawing on examples from Turkish Association, the Iranian and Chilean associations in Sweden it was obvious that aside the Turkish association the rest were in harmonious relationship with the host country because of adherence to rules and laws governing social organizations (Rex, 1994). The examples quoted not only draw attention to the way in which migrant organisations are influenced by the dominating destination countries discourse but also point out the extreme explains that the likelihood for migrant associations difficulties that surfaced as a result of ethnic cleavage.
This to mobilise and become stable depends on the political situation in the host country of which Ghana is enviable in terms of democratic stability in sub-Saharan Africa (Olowu & Wunsch, 2004). Again, migrant associations’ inability to deal with some critical issues affecting its members such as to adjust and integrate new arrivals into the space available, it then becomes insignificant and affects the overall functioning of the association (Rex, 1994). On the other hand, many rely on migrant associations as a means of forming alliances with strategic political partners. This interaction with political heads becomes possible whenever there is balance of power between actors like social organizations, political parties, indigenes associations and the government of destination countries. Absence of this coexistence with leading members of political parties can have dire consequences on migrant associations and its members. Issues such as stringent immigration rules at the destination countries can spark up divisions among migrant groups when their members piled pressure on them. Furthermore, migrant formation is more likely to be violent if the environment they find themselves is xenophobic in nature (Valji, 2003). This situation becomes minimized when social groups are respected in host countries with conformity to the laws in order provide the needed benefits for its members (Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies report, 2000). In the Swedish case, migrants associations had form alliances with the Social Democrats political party but in the same vein, more contacts with the other parties as well. The implication is that migrant associations only affiliate themselves with parties that have them at heart. However, the close relationship with these parties makes migrant associations become a global phenomenon and diffuse the localization of political situation especially where this association dominate (Machado, 1993).

This notion and root of many immigrants have allowed them to belong to any association of their choice and has the ability to belong to several of them provided he or she derived the needed benefits that comes with it. Some of the associations are only males or females whereas others
are mixed in terms of sex composition. The reasons are that each association and its priorities.
This therefore gives varieties for individual immigrants to decide on which one is beneficial to
him or her and where he or she is likely to draw more social capital in the quest to integrate
fully without any hindrances. For example the major Nigerian migrant association in Ghana as
observed by (Lopez et al., 2001) and (Owusu, 2000) confirms that migrants join associations
that they are intrinsically connected to especially based on their history.
The creation of the Nigerian Women’s Association which is the oldest among the major
associations in Ghana, is a representative of the three Nigerian migrant associations. Firstly, this
association was restructured due to non-functioning of the existing ones. The former association
collapsed because of dormancy. In the late 1990s, the increase in the number of Nigerians in
Ghana created the awareness of the growing numbers of Nigerian women in Accra (Antwi
Boisiakoh, 2009). It was on these bases that, the realization of migrant associations became a
point under consideration during social gathering. Prior to creation of these associations, most
migrants relied on friendship networks based upon common tribal lines and citizenship (Brettel &
Hollifield, 2013). It was under this premise that women migrants saw the need to form distinctive
associations to deal with their peculiar problems. These Nigerian women migrants were aware of
their exceptional position as women, and also realized the absence of state institutional bodies in
Ghana to assist them. In analysing, for the formation history of this association it was
recommendable to praise the effort on the part of the women for fending for themselves. It was
being responsive to inadequate structures to cope with the gender-based needs of Nigerian women
migrants in Ghana that led these women into organizing themselves separately away from their
male counterparts. Generally, gender issues were the major concerns of the association. The
formation process were initiated as a result of friendship network due to the attempt of solving
issues whenever they meet. Core reasons for the creation of this association serves as the platform
for other migrant groups like the Edo Association and the Nigeria Committee of Brothers
Association. The essential advantage of this association emanated from the realization of the increasing numbers of Nigerians in Accra, Ghana. This assertion is in line with some studies that migrant associations are formed to take care of the problems migrants face in their destinations (López et. al 2001; Owusu, 2000; Jenkins, 1988; Okamura, 1983; Sardinha, undated).

In as much as these associations contribute to the wellbeing of their members through diverse means, it also faces some challenges considered to be economical, political as well as challenges with issues of responsibility and credibility (Marques & Santos, 2001). Politically, migrant associations allude to the facts that many projects which require political leaders approval through national government delays which creates difficulties for these associations thus abandoning many developmental projects to be undertaken. This political problems mostly emanate from migrant association countries of origin (Carita, 1994). Another group of problem largely encountered by migrant associations is economic-related issues especially misappropriation of funds in executing developmental projects. This sends many signals to members whose contributions survive the run of most of this association’s paving way for less support in subsequent projects. Another intriguing problem which is mostly ignored by migrant associations has to do with responsible and credible leadership (Vermeulen, 2002). This circumstance when not resolved leads to total collapse of such associations and derail the focus of which the associations were set for. Many have attributed this to lack of permanent staff to mount key positions of the association in order to sustain and keep it running.

2.1 Nigeria’s migration to Ghana

In terms of movement within West Africa, Nigeria’s migration to Ghana dated as far as the twentieth century (Antwi Bosiakoh, 2009; Rouch, 1954) and have contributed greatly to the socio-economic development of Ghana even after independence till date. Mass movement of Nigerians to Ghana according to Adepoju (2005a) is as a result of Ghana’s position at that time as
Gold Coast with employment opportunities in that area, farm labourers and farm contractors, factory workers as well as menial jobs.

The trend of Nigeria population increased from 8,891 in 1999 to 28,489 in the year 2000 according to (Manuah, 2006). This figure has increased swiftly to over 2million as the current figures disclosed by Nigeria High Commission (see Antwi Bosiakoh, 209). Ghana’s economic fortunes then made Nigerians during the second part of the twentieth era as the largest group consisting of 96 percent of the immigrant stock from the West Africa British territories (Cardinall, 1931). Nigerians perseverance towards work made them economically viable in all areas including gold business, yam selling and butchery. The major tribes of Nigeria that dominated in terms of migrant composition were the Yoruba and the Hausa migrants and had greater control of known markets in Accra while other foreigners were into skilled type of work (Gould, 1974).

The overwhelming migrant stock in Ghana and their participation in the economy infuriated the Ghanaian indigenes to put pressure on government to increase their participation in the economic life of their country (Gould, 1974). Eventually, economic misfortune set in at the early stages in 1960s where migrants especially the Nigerians were blamed of posing threat to the Ghanaian economy. In order to profess solution to these economic woes attributed largely to the presence of migrants, an act was passed known as Alien Compliance order in 1969 which affected Ghana’s closest neighbours of which majority were Nigerians (Awumbila, Manuah, Quartey, Addoquaye Tagoe and Antwi Bosiakoh, 2009). Although the expulsion affected numerous aliens (Gould, 1974) it achieved its purpose to the extent of retrieving jobs and reducing crime rate at that time (Brydon, 1985:569). However, in the recent past, empirical study on Ghana’s immigrants have diminished which could be as a result of poor economic woes and challenges within the political space the country was experiencing that time. Again during that period, a lot of out-migration by Ghanaians within West Africa, few to Europe and America also increased astronomically.
Within a period of 17 years Ghana has enjoyed democratic governance which has placed the country high in terms of stability than its own neighbours. It has become the destination for many migrants though the country is experiencing out-migration of its citizens. The movement to Ghana has taken another trend where not only citizens of West Africa countries but businesses especially, banking and insurance firms has also sprouted out in Ghana particularly those from Nigeria.

The continuous movement of Nigerian’s businesses to Ghana is as result of the relative stability and peace the country is enjoying after embracing democratic rule and its core values (Sachs et al., 1995). Aside that, Ghana through its investment promoting agencies give tax incentives to foreign companies that are ready to invest in Ghana’s economy which has edged our neighbours especially Nigeria business mogul and entrepreneurs to explore Ghana for business opportunities. In as much as these companies moves to Ghana, they bring Nigerians to hold onto key positions in those companies which continuous to increase their presence and numbers in Ghana.

Again, Ghana being part of the Economic Community of West African State (ECOWAS) has made movement into Ghana by Nigerians very simple than before because of the ECOWAS protocol ratification by Ghana given right to free movement, establishing to acquire properties irrespective of the ECOWAS country you find yourself as well as the right to residence in the country (Manuh et al., 2010). The passage of this act by ECOWAS has paved way for most migrants especially Nigerians because of common language and same colonial masters to migrate to Ghana for better economic opportunities (Antwi Bosiakoh, 2009) in Ghana rather than their own country though Ghana is also suffering economically.

Notwithstanding the ECOWAS protocol, most Nigerians especially the youth are fleeing from ethnic escalation and woes of Bokom Harram insurgency at the northern part of the country and the best country within the sub region has always being Ghana due to the common values we share together. The exodus of Nigerians to Ghana’s capital has helped them to form enclaves within
the city and are able to reach out to others with ease which has led to the formation of numerous association to help each other in times of difficulty. According to (Castle, De Haas & Miller, 2013) migrants will continue to move to destinations where they feel secured, protected and have the will to go on with their business activities in order to survive and remit back home. These qualities expected by every migrant is essentially available in Ghana which has translated into the substantial number of foreigners in Ghana of which Nigerians dominate.

Nigerians migration to Ghana will continue to increase exponentially since the presence of their associations are reliable in helping Nigerians immigrants present in Ghana as well as welcoming new arrivals to integrate fully. Government of Nigeria keeps bringing political office holders to understudy some of Ghana systems especially the health care system. Generally in Ghana most of its institutions work and therefore it has prompted Nigeria government for possible modelling of some Ghanaian systems and institutions. This key achievement by Ghana has led to many Nigerians moving to Ghana instead of migrating to Europe or America. In terms of geographical proximity, cost of travel and language clarity makes Ghana a preferred choice for most Nigerians (Anarfi et al., 2003).

Other factors responsible for mass movement of Nigerians to Ghana has to do with Ghana’s democratic credentials where exercise of political freedom is assured, civil liberties are guaranteed and it makes Ghana attractive to migrants especially those from Nigeria (Antwi Bosikoh, 2009; Anarfi et al., 2000). Overwhelmingly, immigrants in Ghana from Nigeria reinforce the fact that security and protection of human lives and properties is guaranteed in Ghana as against that of Nigeria. The combined effect of all these is that for those who can afford to migrate outside Nigeria and specifically to Ghana.
Changing migration status of Ghana and Nigeria

The abrupt end of the Nigeria’s civil war in 1970 positions the economy of Nigeria positively (Brydon, 1985) while the country oil boomed brought about creation of new jobs and demand for workers has also increased (Adepoju, 1984). As a result, Nigeria’s interest in emigration diminished due to high remuneration packages for local work. The economic prospects in Nigeria attracted a lot of migrant labourers from West Africa (Hass, 2006) especially from Ghana making Nigeria a complete immigration country instead of emigration. This changing migration status brought about 1,500,000 Ghanaians to Nigeria according to Ghana’s High Commission in Lagos (Anarfi, 1982).

The stable and flourishing economy as a result of the oil booming did not last for long bringing Nigeria back to its rapid deterioration living conditions of the people, depreciation of the national currency against major trading currencies coupled with military dictatorship rule in the 1980s (Adepoju, 2005). This condition created a second migration transition now from net receiving country to a net sending country (Antwi Bosiakoh, 2009) labelling Nigeria as a changing migration status country.

In most countries, politics have been used to accuse aliens as a threat to economic subsistence of a country making migrants target of hostility from indigenous population (Adepoju, 1984; Brydon, 1958). Similar happenings in Nigeria with Ghana setting the precedent was described by Gravil as „Mere self-righteous opportunism (Gravil, 1985:529). This occurrences have transcended to be the case for most countries anytime they faces economic, social and political problems (Adepoju, 1984, 2005b; Peil, 1974). For instance in early 1983, Nigeria government then expelled close to 1 million Ghanaians (Arthur, 1991; Adepoju, 2005). This trend of movement have made Nigerians to establish association irrespective of where they find themselves. This has led to Nigeria having strong associations when it comes to migrant associations and it role in ensuring the wellbeing of it nationals.
ADJUSTMENT AND INTEGRATION DIMENSIONS OF NIGERIAN MIGRANTS’

The role migrant’s association plays vary greatly. The most influential Nigerian associations are diverse in terms of its establishment, objectives and the line of activities carried out. Economically, these migrant groups serve as a medium for its members to seek financial support. Core members of these associations rely on specific help such as soft loans to engage in business and other viable ventures. This assistance is eminent when social groups like migrant associations are set up (Agadjanian, 2002).

The real experiences of these associations provide information on key sectors which are beneficial to its members especially in the area of employment at the destination and was evidential with most Nigerian associations (Antwi Bosikoh, 2009; Adepoju, 2005) where they revive the economic fortunes of their members. Significant number of Nigerian migrants present in Ghana since time immemorial participate in economic activities and still dominate in that sector up to date (Essuman-Johnson, 2006).

Several studies have posited that migrant associations core aim is to solve problems encountered by their members (Berry, 1997), this was evidential in Nigerian migrants association where they often provide support by intervening to find solutions on behalf of their member, even if it means soliciting for legal assistance for them. These initiatives by migrant associations help in enhancing the economic activities of members. Some of the association’s economic related activities remain outstanding as compared to other activities but on the whole, members must be supported financially through economic empowerment. One of the associations, the Nigerian Committee of Brothers aside its social roles is venturing into the transport business in order to generate employment for some of its members and funds to support developmental projects both home and abroad.

Subsequently, another vibrant association that is the Nigerian Women’s Association is putting in measures to set up more viable economic ventures so as to generate some specific jobs for its
members. The integration process of Nigerians in Ghana especially the new migrants are mostly facilitated by their associations (Antwi Bosiakoh, 2010; Twum-Baah, 2005). One aspect of the integration process which is the cultural integration, the migrant association ensures that migrants are constantly in touch with their culture in as much as they formulate ways to incorporate migrant and new arrivals into the broader Ghanaian culture space.

Nigerian cultural heritage is unique and comes in different forms serving as a source of pride to many Nigerians and Africans in general. In such instances, migrant associations design ways in order to protect it from eroding in their new environment. Africans all over especially those within African countries believe that one’s culture depicts his or her identity and therefore leadership of the associations are of firm convictions that their culture is their lives and must be protected, displaced as well as sustaining it.

According to Altonji et al. (1991), some associations maintain and protect their cultural heritage using socio-cultural activities. Members from Nigerian migrant associations according to Antwi Bosiakoh (2009) are encouraged by their associations to promote and preserve cultural songs and dance as well as their unique way of dressing and food items. This when done, project them in a distinct character and appearance. Notwithstanding these revelations, Aluede and Braimah (2005) opined that migrants own traditions occupies the climax of their way of life especially Edo migrants in particular, and indeed all of Nigerians in general. As such social gathering such marriage ceremonies, child naming among others are used to display Nigerian culture by its members.

Other cultural appearances are mostly seen during funerals, parties, and independence celebrations. Muzucato (2005), posit that these activities have cultural significance and draws huge number of people (both Nigerians and Ghanaians), together amidst cultural manifestations. With regards to funerals, culture, tradition and heritage are displayed during the funeral process which tend to unite members as they portray Nigerian culture together, and also build their self-
confidence. The bond, self-assurance and the significance attached to such cultural activities help the migrant associations and their followers to organise resources and their energies together to deal with the encounters they face in Ghana. Association members are constantly reminded of their root and also encouraged to form friendship networks and forge understanding among members (Kilduff & Tsai, 2003). In addition, members are encouraged to promote the speaking of Nigerian languages and teaching their children as well.

Most of the associations for example suggested that, portraying Nigerian culture in terms of using Nigerian language or languages help to imbibe our culture and maintain our identity to our generation. In simple terms then, the associations play vital roles in the lives of their members. These roles are socially and culturally relevant which help members to adjust and integrate into Accra.

These associations over the years have internationalize their activities though some association remain internal depending whether the migrants are internal or international (Manuh, 2001). These associations which help in integrating process of new migrants especially allows new entrants to join these groups base on common ethnicity, religion, schools attended in Nigeria, political party affiliation shifting from the normal nationality as the central attachment to an association. Though most of these associations serve as a platform for articulating the needs of the migrants and support for his or her integration it also extend the support to communities and institutions back at their origin countries.

Over the period Nigerians in Ghana and abroad in general have contributed towards improving the lives of their members as well as mobilizing resources towards project in their communities and their country at large. This initiated by these associations have increased in terms of members because being a member either new or old have the guarantee of enormous support anytime you ask for help. This allows members to adjust and settle easily without much hindrances at the destination. The Nigerian immigrant community forms an integral part of the stakeholders in
local development as a result of various developmental projects they channel through their local governments or their representatives in their home country which focuses on areas such as health, education, skill training among others (NIDO, 2004).

Aside these contributions made available by these associations after sorting their members with the help they need fully, they also extend the contribution to donation of educational materials and medical equipment as well as logistics for their former schools. It has also become a common norm now where eminent traditional chiefs from Nigeria travel to meet their subjects in destination countries to solicit for help in order to develop their traditional areas. The sad part of this great innovation is that many of these efforts are not formalized in order to check for transparency and accountability. In spite of this shortfall characterizing such innovation it has helped with some developmental projects in Edo state communities such as buying generators for some selected schools.

**Economic contribution of immigrants to the host countries**

According to IOM (2013), the number of people migrating across borders ranges from 5million to 10million each year. This phenomenon which has been in existence for some time now has taken a new dimension through globalization. This has made transportation cheaper and more accessible and also communication technologies which help to link national economies (Kirtz et al., 1992). As a result of globalization, trade and production which forms part of the economic integration have all contributed to the emergence of new and more mobile pools of labour. This statement is in line with Adamson (2006) where he opined that globalization has created resilient connections between Global North and South economies that provide new opportunities and platforms for migration.

The reception and the integration process of immigrants is key in economic and social phenomenon in many previous emigration countries (Kerr, 2011). However, literature on
immigration policies are more identified to be economic where much emphasises are placed on the indigenes at the expense of the immigrants. With regards to this assertion, persons who view immigration and its related matters are of the opinion that immigrants have the potential to compete with native workers in the labour market which in tend cut employment or reduce wages (Freidberg and Hunt, 2007). In the same vein, Freidberg and Hunt (2007) reiterate that benefits that can be derived from immigration depending on the opportunity given to immigrants to complement some native production which could be beneficial to the overall economic output and welfare of the immigrants and natives.

In terms of immigration influence on growth per capital income, less of it has been explored. However, the nexus between immigration and growth is likely to rely on the buoyancy of the host country economy as well as the characteristics of the immigrants present (Altonji et al., 1991). Several studies have focused on migration of students from Less Economically Developed Countries (LECDs) to advanced economies either for temporary or permanent bases (Borjas, 2009). This means that migration will impact certain key areas such as educational level, ages, duration of stay of immigrants and subsequently its effect on the economy and the demography of the host country (Kerr and Kerr, 2011).

Currently, studies shows that immigrants in most European countries are still struggling to achieve full convergence to indigenes wage level though sometimes have the exact skills and quality for that sector. However, in order to account for the economic impact of immigrants on host countries, certain key determinants such re-migration or permanent return of immigrants to their origin countries plays important role (Kerr and Kerr, 2011). For example a third of every immigrant to the US leaves permanently at a later date (Lubotsky, 2007). Emerging evidence from Northern European countries suggest that less successful immigrants are more likely to return to their home countries.
According to Liebig and Mo (2013), researchers and policy makers focus on the employment rates of immigrants compared to the indigenes as migrants contribute more in taxes and social contribution than they receive as individual benefit. This is supported by the recent study on fiscal impact of migration for all OECD countries as well as Australia, Canada and the US which provides comparative evidence. Furthermore, immigrants aside securing jobs also create jobs as investors. This leads to the increase in employment opportunities that the indigenes could have (Wadhwa et al., 2008). As consumers, migrant’s preference in terms of consumable goods can also affect or influence domestic and import supplies. Immigrants pay tax and have all the right to benefit from the public services, amenities and infrastructure when host countries policies facilitate their economic contribution through their protection from exploitation, discrimination and xenophobia.

In effect, immigrants who form associations in the host countries can have both positive and negative impact in the economy of the host countries. Their service transcend all sectors such as labour market, human capital production, economic growth among others (ILO et al., 2015). Hence any attempt made to ensure proper integration of immigrants should be seen as an investment rather than a cost (OECD, 2014).

Quite recently, some empirical works have been done on the impact of immigrants on receiving economy even though most of the work on immigrants’ impact focuses on developing countries (Friedberg & Hunt, 2007). Collectively immigrants forming associations contribute to the economy of the destination countries as well as much work done on south-north migration and its remittances flow to the origin countries. However, emerging evidence indicate that south-south migration is on the increase which leads to numerous migrants associations spring out of the destination countries. In terms of volume of flow, it is either the same (OECD, 2013) or even higher (Adepoju, 2010). These migrants transcend the associations from national agenda to hometown associations. This pave way for immigrants from the same city or region or country to
a large extend in order to maintain ties and materially support each other before extending the support to their home countries (Ryan et al., 2008). When the new migrants arrive, as a result of their links with such associations they integrate easily within the host country as they contribute to the economy of the host country through taxes. Majority of the immigrants rely on the hometown association (HTAs) because the network in such association is easily accessible because of the numbers. It has attracted the attention in the development of the community for project in the home country that support micro-enterprise and agriculture activities. Nevertheless, majority of these immigrants contribute half the money received in the host country remains there as result of their presence in the country.

According to UNDP report (2009) migrants boost economic output of destination countries with little or no adverse cost to the indigenes. This is because movement in general comes along with both intrinsic and extrinsic benefits such as remittances to family members left-behind, liberating women from traditional roles and at the same time destination economies get expanded in terms of the taxes paid by immigrants and also doing arduous work that natives are not likely to do. With regards to demographic deficit in developed countries migrants presence neutralises the numbers and compensate for the lost by working in such sectors that would have reductant because of manpower to run. This in effect projects estimated income for the country to be significant due to hard work in those sectors by the presence of immigrants. However, most of these immigrants are seen as security threat anytime a destination country becomes economically challenged and threaten the fundamental rights of these immigrants. This has become a global issue due to the increase occurrences of such situation in countries like South Africa among others.

The possibility of making greater dividends on invested capital is high in Ghana compared to other West African countries (Boateng, 2004). The success chucked by Ghana Stock Exchange (GSE) for some time now has made Ghana a preferred business destination for investors”
especially Nigerian investors for establishing branches of their parenting companies in Ghana. There is also a high number of Nigerians in the retailing and trade business in Ghana. This assertion is consistent with Essuman-Johnson (2006) argument on current poor economic indicators inducing emigration to other countries at the same time political stability as well as tax exemption for some foreign businesses from within and outside Africa who, with the financial means are able to create thriving businesses in Ghana thus, proving employment for both locals and immigrants.
CHAPTER THREE
METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction
This section presents the methodology of the study which was employed in researching relevant issues of this study. It starts by describing the study area, methodological design used, data analysis, limitations among others.

3.2 The study area
The study was limited to Accra which is the capital of Ghana though Nigerians are found at every corner of the country, majority of them leave in the capital. This is because Accra is noted for being the major commercial centre. Greater Accra region of Ghana is made up of sixteen (16) districts and two (2) metropolitan areas, Accra and Tema (GSS, 2000).

In spite of it being the smallest region among all the ten regions in Ghana it constitutes a population of 4,010,054 according to Ghana statistical service (2010) making it the second most populated region after Ashanti region. This has been attributed to the high in-migration alongside high population growth. As mentioned previously there is in-migration from other regions with the largest portion of the population being Akans, followed by Ewes and Fantes. However, people from every ethnic group in the country can be found in the region. Statistics shows that 1.3 percent of the people living in Accra are immigrants from outside Ghana (GSS, 2010). The relative peace and bright economic indicators in all sectors of the economy attracts many foreigners who come to invest in the Ghanaian economy.

In terms of religious affiliations, the city of Accra is made up of diverse religious denominations. Overwhelming majority are primarily Christians with significant proportion constituting the Islamic faith. However, few of the indigenes practice traditionalism as part of their belief systems.
As a result of migration, new and foreign religious groups are also present in the region but have insignificant bearing in terms of numbers.

Accra was chosen to study migrant associations because it is noted for most economic activities as well as serving as home to many foreigners. Undeniably, it is the major hub for all business activities out of the ten regions of Ghana.

3.3 Methodological Approach

Secondary data was used for the study and was obtained from sources such as articles, journals books and search engines using the internet. These documents were reviewed and the best ones that have relevant information on the topic understudy were selected. Out of the reviewed documents, twenty (20) out of fifty (50) were used for the study.

Again, interview guide was used to conduct in-depth interviews with three (3) heads of the selected migrants associations and two (2) members of the associations. Purposive sampling technique was used to select the heads of these associations since these associations are the major ones in Accra. The interview guide was employed in the conduction of the interviews since it helps in exploring attitudes, feelings as well as to highlight issues that have not surfaced in detail from literature (Preskill and Jones, 2009).

3.4 Data analysis

In-depth interviews were audio recorded by the researcher. All interviews were carried out in English since it was the common language both researcher and respondent could communicate. Thus interviews recorded were transcribed without any difficulties. The interviews were then coded, put into themes by referring to the objectives. This helped to categorize and analyze the themes using thematic analysis. This supported the explanations of the secondary data.
3.5 Ethical consideration

Ethical considerations are very significant in any research work. Respondents were very well informed about the purpose of the study as well as the benefits from participating in the research. Respondents were made aware of the audio recordings and also the usage of the interviews after recording. Again, respondents were informed that participation was voluntary and they could end the interview at any given time should they wish not to continue. Finally, respondents were assured of anonymity and hence all names were referenced with pseudonyms.

3.6 Limitation

The researcher encountered some limitations. Since the study sought to find the role of migrant associations in destination countries and how it helps immigrants to integrate and adjust to the destination country, some of the respondents were reluctant in taking part of the study or sharing some information. The researcher had to continuously reassure them that it would be confidential with the use of the information and only for academic purposes.
CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the profile of migrant associations, the activities of Nigerian migrant associations, the association’s role in adjustment and integration of members, the association as an agent of development as well as some challenges faced by the associations.

4.1 Profile and relevance of migrant associations

Migrant associations worldwide play an important role in the lives of migrants as well as their adaptation to the new environment (Moya, 2005). Migrant groups or associations are formed where migrants have common traditional norms, ethnic affiliations or originate from the same country. Studies on migrant associations in West Africa portray how they facilitate tribal-cultural activities (Tumasi-Ankrah, 1995). It is in this vein that Nigerian migrant associations in Ghana were under studied.

It emanates from the findings that most of the associations were relatively young and their modes of operations were similar in nature. This assertion suggests that migrant groups should be encouraged to expand their scope of their activities to cover other areas which affect their members. Again, rules governing establishment of associations should be simple to attract more migrant groups in their numbers.
### Table 1: Migrant association’s profile

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Association’s Names</th>
<th>Gender Composition</th>
<th>Association’s Members</th>
<th>Date of establishment</th>
<th>Meeting place</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nigerian Women Association</td>
<td>Females only</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>House No. 31 Abeka Lapaz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigerian Committee of Brothers Association</td>
<td>Males only</td>
<td>Over 200</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Madina-Accra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edo State Association</td>
<td>Both males &amp; females</td>
<td>Over 100</td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Nigeria House, Accra</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source: Adopted and modified from Antwi Bosiakoh, 2009.**

From the table, the major Nigerian migrant associations in Ghana even though, there are several of them have wide range of reasons for their formation. This includes the Nigerian Women Association (NWA) which focuses predominantly on female affairs while its counterpart, the Nigerian Committee of Brothers Association is for only males. The incorporation of both sexes is the Edo State Association. The construction of these associations emanates from the large presence of Nigerians in Ghana as well as the peace and democratic stability Ghana enjoys (Antwi Bosiakoh, 2009). The associations are categorized based on the core objectives leading to its establishment. National Women Association (NWA), Nigerian Committee of Brotherhood Association (NCBA) and Edo State Association (ESA). Of these, the well-known migrant associations in Accra are Nigerian Women Association which consists of females followed by Nigerian Committee of Brotherhood Association made up of only males. The mixed sex group association is the Edo State Association. The reasons for these classifications could perhaps be the diverse background of most of the migrants and the fundamental reasons for the establishment of these associations.

With respect to the year of establishment, Nigerian Women Association is the oldest among the associations since it is a branded association from existing one due to inactiveness of the
previous one followed by Nigerian Committee of Brotherhood Association. The youngest in
terms of age is the Edo State Association. One executive member of Nigerian Women
Association (NWA) had this to share:

“Again, the resurrection of the NWA was due to the absence of state institutional bodies
in Ghana to assist us and therefore there was the need for us to be responsive due to the
lack of structures in Ghana to cope with gender-based needs of Nigerian migrant
women, thus making women to organize themselves autonomously from their male
counterparts. In addition, our concerns were general issues migrant faces especially that
of women and concerns of nationality (Executive member of NWA, 2018)’’.

Furthermore, the table elucidate that in terms of membership with regard to each association, Edo
State Association (ESA) had the least followed by Nigerian Women Association (NWA). Though
NWA was formed earlier than NCBA, Nigerian Committee of Brotherhood Association (NCBA)
had more members in terms of numbers than the rest of the associations. The reason is that males
dominate in migration within the sub-region though in recent time migration has been feminized in
Africa. Meeting places for all the associations were very strategic since it was easy to access public
transport to those places with affordable transport fares.

The increasing number of Nigerians in Ghana specifically Accra, has led to the formation of
these important associations to deal with any problem they encounter as an association as well
as their members. This confirms some scholarly assertions that migrant associations are
established in order to deal with challenges migrants face in their destination region (Lopez et

4.2 MAIN ACTIVITIES UNDERTAKEN BY NIGERIAN MIGRANT ASSOCIATIONS

Major activities engaged in by Nigerian migrants associations varies especially among the top
three known associations. This variation emanates from the reasons influencing the
establishment of these associations. The Nigerian Women’s Association focuses on the
development of children in terms of their upbringing, sustainability of women through care services, the Edo State Association solves the problems they face with state institutions such as the Ghana Immigration Service and the Police Service. The Nigerian Committee of Brothers Association is responsible for members exhibiting good brotherly relationship.

In terms of organization of association’s meetings, the Nigerian Women’s Association meet every last Saturday of each month and deliberate on previous issues and more essentially programs which took place during that period. These activities according to one executive member include random visitations but for specific purposes such as orphanage homes, donations to social set up organizations like the social welfare department, WAJU and DOVVSU sections of the Ghana Police Service, food and fashion fairs among others. These were supported by a member who had this to say:

   Our association does a lot of charity work because we believe in empowering individuals to stand on their feet financially and catering for the needy in society. We also donate to orphanages basic food items to support them because basic necessities in life constitute freedom to a lot in our part of the world (Aisha, 2018).

The diverse nature of the activities organized by these associations go a long way to enhance the lives of these deprived children. In addition, it organizes social functions such as party for members and their families. These parties bring together children with diverse background including orphans and other mother care homes to interact with the children of the members of the association who are within the same age category. Musically, indigenous African tunes by both Ghanaian and Nigerian bands inspire the people to dance to their own songs. For example, traditional dancers and singers from Yoruba land are mostly invited to entertain members and their families with their traditional songs. In all these, display of Nigeria culture through dressing are exhibited. With their focus on child development, most of the activities embarked on incorporate children welfare as the most priority on all agenda. This is evidential in their
frequent visitation to orphanages, maximum prisons in Ghana as well as participating and organizing social events such as unity walk, Nigeria fashion and fair week and most importantly seminars on personal, marital and family disputes. It also has interest in the adjustment and settlement procedures for women migrants coming from Nigeria. A member of the association had this to share in that regard.

Women are more vulnerable in our part of the world. This becomes more intense especially when they migrate and because of that, our association has taken upon itself to help them settle and also assist them financially in order to adapt into the new space they find themselves (Onoshi, member of NWA, 2018)

Most of the functions of these associations are socially, economically and culturally induced since it promotes and sustains interaction among members especially the old and the new ones. Major programs that sustain these interactions include social functions such as the Independence Day celebration, parties and other recreational activities.

The associations engage in other activities especially in the area of housing for old and new members in addition to promotion of unity and social interactions among members. In response to this, the associations play a lead role in searching for housing facilities on behalf of their members as well as engaging the owners of residential facilities and begin negotiations on rent for new members searching for accommodation. Subsequently, migrant associations support payment of rent cost on behalf of new arrivals in order to settle and fully integrate in the host communities within Accra.

The Nigerian Committee of Brothers Association coming into being serves as a financial relief agency for its members since it offers them with financial assistance with zero interest rate and flexible mode of payment. This package entices members especially new migrants to join the association (Antwi Bosiakoh, 2008). Notwithstanding this achievement, older members experiencing financial turmoil also enjoy this credit facility. According to one executive member of NCBA:
A lot of our members rely on these loans to offset their housing and accommodation problems as well as health bills at the host communities since most owners of residential facilities in Accra are quick to release your facility out to others if you delay in payment of arrears (Agali, 2018).

Nigerian Committee of Brothers Association aside assisting members financially also congregate members to meet for socially induced programs and charity-related activities. These activities include visitation to hospitals and orphanage centres within the host country as well as a party at end of the year. Again members’ ability to acquire material wealth receive accolades and congratulatory messages. Such parties also include newly married members and naming ceremonies as well.

In respect to Edo State Association, it exhibited some differences and similarities when it comes to their line of activities with the other migrant groups. As an ethnic-induced association, members’ reliance was not adjustment and integration only but financially as well. With regards to the support received, members donate generously towards those in need with the hope that similar reciprocation will be done on their behalf should they face such difficulties. These donations form part of the basis for its establishment but also attach cultural importance to other ceremonies. It also helps in settling disputes among members as well as between a member and a Ghanaian.

4.3 NIGERIA MIGRANTS ASSOCIATION’S ADJUSTMENT AND INTEGRATION ROLE

Generally, migrants face a lot of challenges in the host community. These include language and cultural constraints and their inability to locate available opportunities. Subsequently, migration becomes problematic at the initial stages for significant proportion of migrants whenever the socio-economic activities at the destination are not available (Caglar, 2006).
Integration challenges are expected as new migrants arrive. This becomes compounded when migrants relied on individual networks for their adjustment difficulties. In line with this assertion, migrant associations become the ideal substitute since its network is wider as compared to the individual network in solving integration problems for new arrivals (Little, 1957; Okamura, 1983; Attah-Poku, 1996; Owusu, 2000; Caglar, 2006). This way of treating migrant associations manifest in several ways in the associations under study. With regard to new migrants arriving, migrant groups or associations help them to integrate them into prone Nigerian communities as well as other parts of Ghana. This assertion was confirmed in one of the interviews:

As an association we also make sure Nigerians who arrive in Ghana are catered for. We mostly allow them to settle in enclaves dominated by Nigerian citizens so we can be in constant touch with them (Edo Association executive, 2018).

These associations encourage new migrants to be proactive in the activities of the associations hence creating opportunities and series of networks in order to satisfy their needs and aspirations in the destination countries. Socially, these networks pave way and gives members the opportunity to express their individual opinion and other problems they encounter in their quest to integrate fully. The Edo Association as a case study helps its new members to solve any problem with Ghana Immigration Service especially in terms of permit renewal and visa extension while the Nigerian Committee of Brothers Association also takes a step further in accommodation problems members and new arrivals face in the primary stages.

Social and cultural events organized by Nigerian migrant associations encourages one’s participation in the integration and adjustment processes. These programs aside interactions, also plays a role in the acclimatization and integration into the host communities. During important festivities, new migrants become familiar with their new community as they continue to adapt to what a respondent opined as “the new domain” in Accra. Quite often, these migrant
groups organize advice sessions for new migrants about available opportunities in the labour market and edge them to get involved in programs by the associations to avoid loneliness which characterize the early stages of migrant lives in the adjustment process.

In addition to these activities organized by migrant groups, it can also be considered as a channel for which migrants especially the new ones relied on in the absence of their family and love ones back home. The associations therefore contribute towards making their nationals in Ghana feel secured and safe through making them have a sense of belonging to what might be missed back home. The associations further edged their members to participate in communal and any other social activities organized within their neighbourhood seriously in order to exhibit high civic spirit which facilitates the promotion of integration and cohesion. From the basis of these accounts, members from these migrant groups or associations stimulate civic participation and to a larger extent integrate new members into Ghana culturally, socially and economically.

Religiously, other options that could aid the process of integration included members joining prayer groups in their neighbourhood by accepting to visit the local mosques and churches. With respect to the churches, members were encouraged to join Nigerian churches in Accra where interactions and interrelations were eminent since the composition of members were both Nigerians and Ghanaians. These were considered by many as the first point of integration and adjustment because of the diverse nature of available networks to rely on for help. However, other studies have shown that migrants who do not belong to any association rely on kinfolks for assistance and these networks are not widely connected as that of the migrant associations hence hindering their integration and adjustment processes (Anderson and Anderson, 1962).

One member of the Nigerian Brotherhood Association had this to say:

Some of these migrants have different views about some migrant groups and usually rely on families and friends for their integration. As an association, we hear most of
these complains but cannot do anything for such people we only deal with challenges our members face first before helping others (Ojolo, 2018)

Aside the associations, another channel relied on by new migrants is the kinfolks. They fall on them for settlement, housing and other difficulties encountered at the destination. However, such relationship even continues after migrants have attained self-sufficiency. This suggestion contradicts some studies on migrant integration at the destination countries (Okamura, 1983). It is found that most migrants fall on associations more than kinfolks or friends if they want their integration and adjustment process done as soon as possible.

Generally, the difficulties felt by significant sections of migrants in host communities is largely blamed on poverty and one’s socio-economic position which is mainly characterized by low education and professional qualification, lack of jobs and inadequate housing facilities (Amaro, 1985; France, 1992; Saint-Maurice, 1997; Gomes, 1999).

While I was communicating with one association leader, this continual phenomenon was explained in the following way:

It's a like continuous cycle, most Nigerian migrants in Ghana have no economic resources. They live in bad houses and due to that, they are been tossed aside by the rest of society. They are discriminated against and when you're discriminated against, you can't get a better job and when you can't get a better job, you can't better your economic situation and the cycle continues (Association leader of N.C.B.A, 2018).

According to some association leaders, social problems are basically as a result of lack of comprehensive integration policy. The introduction of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) protocol in addition to common colonial language and good democratic governance have made Ghana attractive to immigrants including Nigerians. This has brought problems and can be attributed to lack of Immigrant Integration Policy for immigrants which made Ghana suffered during the early 1960s. According to information from these
associations, the social problems are largely due to illegal situations and overstaying of visas many Nigerians find themselves in. Again, undocumented migrants in Ghana of which Nigerians forms significant part (Adepoju, 2004) hardly have access to such services which include employment and training, incorporation onto national health system as well as other citizenship rights accorded to foreigners.

With regards to other challenges faced by Nigerian migrants within the host communities when issues of integrating culturally surfaced, many association leaders expound that the cultural differences between Ghanaians and Nigerians are quite similar but have traces of differences in terms of activities and its symbolization as well as where and how it should be celebrated. Some of the cultural resources that the Nigerians bring to bear in Ghana and how it aids in cultural integration is their support towards promoting cultural pluralism embraced by both Nigerians and Ghanaians. This defeats other destination countries imposition of culture on individuals through acculturation or in assimilation manner.

The following views expressed by an association key member alluded to this opinion:

Cultural integration always manifest slowly. Of course when we arrive, there is that initial culture shock, but with the passing of time, we begin to acquire certain Ghanaian cultural traits. But as we do it, it is also important not to forget that cultural integration is not the acceptance of everything that is Ghanaian in nature and the complete rejection of what is Nigerian. I will end by saying Cultural integration means preserving one's own culture, respecting the culture of the country that welcomed you, and also that of the migrants' culture respected by the host society (Musa, 2018).

Furthermore, representatives and association leaders insisted that it is evidential during Ghanaian social gathering which makes Nigerians to confirm that, their culture is quite known by Ghanaians through popularly Nigerian music as well their foods in many Ghanaian restaurants.
Another type of integration challenge faced by migrants and their associations has to do with professional integration which are largely related to illegal situations migrants find themselves in ending up working with no contracts and also been exploited economically at the expense of their employers. One interviewee laments these concerns and the treatment of some immigrants in Ghana as follows:

When a country needs labour for certain jobs that look menial in nature, indigenes of the host society refuse to do and this also happens to Nigerians in Ghana. It is easier to insert workers into the Ghanaian labour market and when migrants are no longer needed for such services, the predominant attitude of the host society ends up by declaring migrants here as stealers of work which belong to those here (Ghanaians) (Okaniya, 2018).

This assertion by the respondents confirms the inhumane treatment migrants receive worldwide in an attempt to better one’s life because of their immigration status. These complains whenever reported to migrant associations take it up by negotiating with employers on behalf of their members in order to settle amicably which always proves difficult but are mostly resolved on mutual grounds. In the end, these associations’ role in protecting their members on key issues of adjustment and integration are achieved at a satisfactory rate. The low skills emanating from low level of education makes integrating into the labour sector in Ghana difficult, but significant number of Nigerians are working now due to the establishment of Nigerian works in the area of banking and telecommunication.

Another hindrance in terms of integration is housing facilities for many migrants in Ghana. This is evidential per the associations concerns where they mentioned that many Nigerians reside in slum areas and deplorable housing facilities as a result of economic constraints members face. This was confirmed by one Edo State Association executive as:
Those who don't have any qualification hardly get good jobs and those who don’t have good jobs have low paying jobs. These conditions most of members face makes it difficult for them to acquire a decent accommodation for their families. Again owners of houses increase rent astronomically for migrants as compared to indigenes renting the same apartment (Ejoro a member of E.S.A, 2018).

The associations have formed committees solely responsible for dealing with issues of housing for its members, especially negotiating housing accommodation on behalf of its members as well as buying any property in Ghana for any association member. This is because the associations assume official position on these matters which put the association in a better position to negotiate for the best price and necessary document for a member. Again, some perceptions about Ghanaians when it comes to housing issues does not allow for systematic integration into the housing domain. This perception has eaten into many owners of housing facilities who have preconceived notion about Nigerians as fraudsters, traffickers among other social vices. One association leader had this to say in that regard:

There is always that stereotype mind-set that the people who are migrants especially those from Nigeria are thieves and drug traffickers who will only bring problems to our neighbourhood (Association leader of N.C.B.A, 2018).

But as an association we have always diffused that notion, though some Nigerian immigrants exhibit some form of fraudulent act, majority of Nigerians are law abiding and conform to the laws of Ghana with all dignity and respect. This mentality that Ghanaians have over Nigerians still exist and will take a long time in order to eradicate this mythology. This type of integration and adjustment process migrant must fulfil in order to adapt to the Ghanaian society is been resolved due to the presence of migrant associations in dealing with the issues surrounding it. The Testimonies of members of these associations during the association functions encourage others to join in order to integrate culturally, socially or professionally.
since each integration process is keen to one’s adjustment process in the host community. On the other hand, the associations are of the view that community integration of migrants is not a sole responsibility of migrant associations but the host country also plays a crucial role in defining this community which accept and embrace others irrespective of their race, ethnic background, religion and country of origin. In line with this statement, an association leader of Nigerian Committee of Brothers Association had this to share:

With regard to advice and benefit members of migrant associations have received, it is enormous and without this many Nigerian migrants and new arrivals will continue to wallop in integration difficulties since it is always challenging to integrate individually (Odagbety, 2018).

4.4 NIGERIA MIGRANT ASSOCIATION AS A MODE OF DEVELOPMENT

Migrant association’s role on development have been explored by many studies (Orozco & Rouse, 2007; Portes et al. 2007; Babcock, 2006; Silva, 2006; Akologo, 2005), but in all no concrete evidence has surfaced yet. Many scholars have reiterated the significance migrant associations bring to bear in terms of their presence and programs outlined serving as a channel for social development and creating networks with other organizations for philanthropic works. Subsequently, other studies recognize migrant associations as a mere gathering of people outside their origin countries and not a facilitator of development (Antwi Bosiakoh, 2009). These positions inform their establishment and the kind of development agenda to focus on in order to contribute towards the well-being of their members and the host country at large.

Migrant associations and development nexus is quite debatable since most of the activities by these associations constitute social development than that of economics. However, given the fortunes in economic migration decision making, migration of Nigerians on the whole may have some development impact on both Nigeria’s and Ghana’s economy. This however cannot be attributed to the activities of migrant associations. Nigeria migrant association development
activities are more charitable and philanthropic in nature with social service activities outnumbering that of economic development activities. Socially, migrant association’s line of activities are relevant and fall within the remit of social development model. Charitable and philanthropic nature of migrant association’s activities direct their support to the needy in societies such as orphans, childcare institutions, prisons, hospitals among others. While these associations donations to hospitals help raise the level of health care services in terms of equipment and building materials, other enormous contributions go to the prison service to support in improving the living standards of inmates as well as orphans. Giving the future prospect of these associations in Ghana, other economic activities in the area of transportation business as well as other lucrative ventures which will transform the economic life of its members are the next form of objectives the associations are embarking on for the overall development agenda. A member of the Nigerian Committee of Brothers Association had this to say in one of the interviews:

As an association, we have focused on social development of our members and the citizens at large. We are gradually shifting our attention to profit making business and creating employment for our members and Ghanaians in general (Azika, 2018).

This assertion was also supported by an executive member of the Nigerian Women Association who had this to share:

As women group, our focus is on the young and vibrant ladies who have the energy to work. We are looking at fashion and the creative sector where we can introduce Nigeria traditional clothes and also sew and design them for sale in Ghana (Tonto a member of N.W.A, 2018).

Currently, the associations are relatively young and it can be expected that it may increase in numbers and branches across the country to broaden their activities to include other economic-
induce development projects in the near future. The basis for the establishment of these associations have always been socially motivated, however, in contemporary times it is shifting from mere social activities to more economic related activities as it grows and creates more branches. This finding support Sardinha (2005) where she posits that when migrant associations expand in size, it completely changes it goals and enhances its objectives for more economic prospects.

Host countries are the most beneficiaries aside the members of the associations in terms of the prospects these associations bring to bear in discharge of their duties either socially or economically. This is so because most of the activities engaged in by the Nigerian associations are executed in Ghana and not Nigeria. This paradigm will change when the associations expand enough to incorporate development needs in Nigeria. Notwithstanding these attributes, it is only remittances members of these associations send that benefit Nigerians and these remittances are individual contributions and not group remittances and do not form part of the association’s contribution to development activities back home. Furthermore, the presence of Nigerian companies such as banks and insurance not forgetting the telecommunication and the movie industry facilitate and enhance development which benefit Ghana and Nigeria (Antwi Bosiakoh, 2009).

Although, most of the activities of these associations constitute social development, individuals who are not members of these associations but have businesses in Ghana contributes towards both social and economic development which have positive implications for Nigeria and Ghana. However, their activities which are more socially-induced (Charity and philanthropic) make them important social development agent in Ghana.
4.5 CHALLENGES MIGRANT ASSOCIATIONS FACE

Most of the migrant associations are recognized by state-centered institutions as weak organizations and are accorded only limited recognition thus fails to be accepted as significant civil societal force (Gropas & Triantafyllidous, 2005). This assertion makes majority of the associations powerless when it comes to fighting for the right of their members during adjustment and integration processes. Economically, migrant association’s economic resources and financial capacity translate into low revenues depriving them of permanent staffs and delegating key positions to volunteers which mostly leads to collapse of these associations. It also limits their operating capacity hence not able to solve members needs especially migrant integration.

In as much as these associations try to strengthen the social bond among their members, allows them to engage in multiple task which result in social segregation of their members from the host communities. With regards to spatial distribution, migrant associations have become severely short chained in their networking patterns since networks of limited capacity hardly connect with the wider communities to draw economic and social benefits for its members.

Finally, identity crises surface especially with members of the associations emanating from the second generational migrants settlement in host communities of both developing and developed countries. This constitutes a form of rejection for migrant association members and their families affecting them psychologically, socially and politically since it cripples them from contesting key positions in the host countries. Complaints of such nature are difficult for migrant associations to handle because of their recognitions in host countries making it difficult to change situation from bad to better.
CHAPTER FIVE
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction
This section encapsulates the summary, conclusion and the recommendations drawn from the study.

5.1 Summary of findings
In ascertaining the benefits of migrant associations with Nigeria in perspective, some objectives guided the study in Accra. These objectives included how the associations help in integration process for their members, member’s adjustment to the study area and the overall challenges the association faces in operating. To achieve the objectives, secondary data emanating from articles, journals, books among others were reviewed and the best ones relevant in answering the objectives selected. Again, in-depth interviews were used to obtain information from key informants.

Data collected from the interviews were analysed thematically through transcription and categorization which supported the secondary data. The findings indicated that Nigerian migrant associations were many but the most vibrant and working ones were Nigerian Committee of Brothers Association, Nigerian Women Association and Edo State Association which was relatively young in terms of the year of establishment. From the findings, it was evident that the main activities of the associations were socially induced but different with each association. The findings further suggested that with regards to adjustment and integration, most of them relied on family and friends as well as the associations they joined. This supported the social network theory which was responsible for migration to Accra, Ghana.

The associations helped in the integration of new arrivals into Nigerian communities in Ghana which made them feel a sense of belongingness and this encouraged them to socialize through
communal activities in their new environment. Furthermore, the finding showed that Nigerian migrant association’s developmental prowess were more of social development than economic development due to the nature of their activities which was attributed to charity and philanthropism. The most challenges faced by these associations were the use of temporary staffs and the associations been considered as a weak organization by some host countries. Finally, the study findings in its entirety found that the benefits migrants from Nigeria both new and old enjoyed from joining the major associations helped in facilitating their integration and adjustment process as well as the networks made during festivities organized by these associations.

5.2 Conclusion

With regards to the findings of the study, it was concluded that the number of migrant associations were many but only few were functioning and where relatively young. Most of their activities were socially induced as compared with economic prospects. Absence of family members and little help from Ghanaian state institutions towards integration and adjustment, social network surfaced and connected migrants within a broader and well-coordinated processes. This form of social network and friendship concept create an enabling environment for the establishment of migrant associations in Accra, Ghana. The study noticed that, benefits derived from these associations were different for each association, while Nigerian Committee of Brothers Association exhibit brotherhood sentiments, Nigerian Women Association reflects on issues bordering on especially that of women and children. It is only Edo State Association that merges the two cardinal objectives of the other associations though the association is ethnically induced.

Furthermore, the outcome reveals that the associations help their members in the adjustment and integration process, especially of new migrants in Ghana. This enables the associations to focus on different activities thus reflecting the core objectives of their establishment. Despite
the most of their activities towards social development, they have wider economic bearing on migrants and Ghana. On the whole, some challenges these associations face were basically financial resources in running the associations and its inability to integrate members fully as a result of its position as weak organization in the eyes of the host countries.

Though the study could not ascertain a strong commitment of the associations towards purely economic development, the findings notwithstanding, unravel social activism as the main contribution of the associations towards the well-being of their members and the host country making them social development intermediaries in Ghana.

5.3 Recommendation

This section of the study makes the following recommendations based on the benefits derived from migrant associations in the case of Nigeria. Nigerians migration to Ghana continue to increase and therefore Ghana should consider incorporation of migrant associations into the mainstream migration policy because of the control that these associations have over their members. Hence mobilization of migrant associations for benefit of the Ghanaian economy should be directed at these associations.

Again, expulsion strategies adopted by Ghana in the late 1960s and Nigeria in the early 1980s will not reduce migration flows of Nigerians to Ghana, therefore Ghana should maximize the benefits of this migratory phenomenon which should include activities of these associations.

Lastly, legal migrant’s integration should be supported by state institutions of Ghana responsible for that and in addition to migrant association roles.
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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

THE ROLE OF NIGERIAN MIGRANTS IN NIGERIAN MIGRANTS’ INTEGRATION AND ADJUSTMENT PROSPECTS IN ACCRA, GHANA.

The interview guide is meant to create a free flowing conversation that will last between 30 minutes to 45 minutes. I seek to find out role migrant associations play in the adjustment and integration of their members into Ghana as well as the challenges the face in their quest to discharge their duties. Therefore I would try as much to probe respondents for an in-depth understanding.

I am an MA Candidate at the Centre for Migration Studies of University of Ghana, Legon-Accra. This field research is being conducted as part of my studies. I would be grateful if you could answer the questions below. Your participation in this study is very important but it is voluntary and you can withdraw at any point. Any information provided for this study would be treated with utmost confidentiality and for academic purposes only.

Interview Guide for Migrants Association Executives

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Can you please tell me about yourself (Probe for age, level of education, marital status, current position in the association, number years’ work for etc)

2. Can you please tell me something brief about your association (probe for year of establishment, number of members, and reason for the setup and activities done by the association etc)
SECTION 1: ROLE OF MIGRANT ASSOCIATIONS IN THE ADJUSTMENT AND INTEGRATION OF MEMBERS

3. What is relationship between your members and Ghanaian (probe for hostility or cordial or no relationship etc)

4. What are some of the ways you adopt as an association in their settling in Ghana (Probe any family or relative support, association role etc)

5. How do people get to know your association (Probe for why people join and what are some of the benefits etc)

SECTION 2: CHALLENGES ASSOCIATIONS FACES

6. As an association, what are some of the difficulties you encounter in running your outfit (Probe for association sources of finance, staff support, members welfare issues socially, culturally and economically, their relationship with state institutions like GIS, GRA etc)