

**UNIVERSITY OF GHANA
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES**

**TRANSNATIONAL ACTIVITIES AND INTEGRATION PROCESSES
OF FRANCOPHONE MIGRANTS IN ACCRA**

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**THIS THESIS IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA,
LEGON IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR
THE AWARD OF MPhil MIGRATION STUDIES DEGREE**

CENTRE FOR MIGRATION STUDIES

JULY, 2018

DECLARATION

I, Kezia Margaret Aryeetey, hereby declare that, except for references to other people's work, which have been duly acknowledged, this thesis is the outcome of my independent research conducted at the Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana, Legon, under the supervision of Dr. Mary Boatemaa Setrana and Dr Delali Badasu. I, therefore, declare that this thesis has neither in part nor in whole been presented to any other institution for an academic award.

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ABSTRACT

In spite of the treatment of transnationalism and integration as separate subjects by previous studies, there has been growing interest in how transnationalism and integration interact and what the outcomes of these interactions are on migrants and host society relations. These recent studies have however focused on migrants in North America and Europe with very limited attention on how the twin phenomena interact within African contexts.

Drawing on the framework of Erdal and Oeppen (2013), who categorize the outcomes of the interactions as additive, synergistic and antagonistic; this study explored the transnational activities and integration processes of francophone migrants. The study examined the factors that influenced the migrants' integration and the outcomes of the interactions between transnational activities and integration processes. Adopting a qualitative approach, and using a snowball sampling method, twelve (12) migrants from six (6) francophone West African countries were interviewed primarily in Alajo and Kisseman, two suburbs of Accra.

The major findings of the study indicate that, the motivations for migrating to Ghana were largely economic and educational in nature and almost all of the participants had some form of early networks established prior to their arrival. In addition, the transnational activities that the migrants engaged in helped them to maintain ties with their home countries, strengthened their national identity and group identity as people of francophone origin and aided in their integration efforts. With respect to the participants' integration; the study found that migrants were integrated economically and socio-culturally in various ways, but faced certain structural and socio-cultural challenges that hindered their ability and/or willingness to integrate.

While factors such as length of stay, access to information prior to migration and motivations for migrating influenced the migrants' integration efforts to some extent; the circumstances migrants encountered once in Ghana as well as their individual agency played a larger role in influencing their integration process. In addition, the migrants experienced different outcomes based on their levels of transnational engagement and integration and the interaction of the transnational activities and the dimensions of integration. It was therefore possible for the migrants to experience the same economic and socio-cultural outcomes or different economic and socio-cultural outcomes.

The francophone migrants were most likely to experience a synergistic economic outcome, where the resources gained from one place (either origin or settlement) were used to develop further resources in the other place. On the other hand, the migrants were just as likely to experience an antagonistic socio-cultural outcome as they were to experience a synergistic outcome. An overall additive outcome where the interactions lead to an additive economic outcome and an additive socio-cultural outcome was the least likely to occur among the francophone migrants interviewed. Finally, as noted in the typology of Erdal and Oeppen (2013); several of the migrants engaged in a balancing act, straddling the societies of here (Ghana) and there (origin country). The migrants accessed opportunities and benefits such as finding jobs, making investments and buying property while also bearing responsibilities in both places. These responsibilities included activities such as sending remittances to the origin county and paying rent in Ghana.

The study recommends that measures that could potentially aid integration efforts such as creating a more transparent and streamlined process in acquiring residence and work permits and standardising the requirements and regulations for rental properties be introduced.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to God and my parents. Thank you Mr. Richard Aryeetey and Mrs. Naa Densua Aryeetey for the encouragement and support you have given me during the course of my studies. God richly bless you.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

My profound gratitude goes to my supervisors, Dr Mary Boatemaa Setrana and Dr Delali Badasu whose careful critique, advice and insightful comments led to the successful completion of this work. Thank you for the effort you put into seeing this work through.

I also wish to extend my deepest appreciation to Dr James Dzisah, Director at the Centre for Gender Studies and Advocacy (CEGENSA) and the staff of CEGENSA. Thank you so much for your patience and understanding through my various health challenges and absences.

I am especially grateful to Prof. Akosua Keseboa Darkwah for your insightful comments and advice which helped me during especially challenging times. My thanks also go to Mr Alexander Nii Adjei Sowah, Miss Lydia Amoah and Miss Abena Kyere for taking time out of your busy schedules to listen to ideas, read through my work, offer critiques and provide support and encouragement. I could not have done it without you.

Finally, I thank the faculty and staff of the Centre for Migration Studies (CMS) whose passion for their work made the learning process an enjoyable one. A special thank you to Prof. Joseph Teye, the Director of the Centre, Dr Kandilige, Prof. Awumbila, Dr Asima and other faculty as well as the staff of CMS for all your hard work and effort. You are truly the unsung heroes.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AMA	Accra Metropolitan Assembly
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
GIS	Ghana Immigration Service
GSS	Ghana Statistical Service
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
MDA	Ministries, Departments and Governmental Agencies
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
UNDESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1. Background

Humans have been migrating throughout history, pushed by conflict, adverse economic conditions, and the search of a better life (Gheorghiu, 2007). In today's increasingly globalised world; improvements in transport, communication and technology have made it relatively easier and cheaper to move from one place to another.

Not only is migration one of the three processes of population changes; in many parts of the world, it has replaced fertility and mortality as the driving force of demographic change (Bell, et al., 2015). According to the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA), the number of international migrants continues to grow rapidly. In 2017 for example, the international migrant stock stood at 258 million; a 17 per cent increase from 220 million in 2010 (UNDESA, 2017). The UNDESA also notes that in 2017, Africa hosted about 25 million international migrants, the fourth largest after Asia, Europe and North America (UNDESA, 2017).

In West Africa, a region characterised by a long history of intra-regional migration, dynamic migratory patterns and disparities in economic growth and development (Awumbila, Benneh, Teye, & Atim, 2014); countries like Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Nigeria and Senegal which are the main countries of immigration in West Africa also tend to be countries of emigration and transit. The establishment of the ECOWAS Protocol on the Free Movement of Persons, Right of Residence and Establishment which abolished the requirements for visas and entry permits within the ECOWAS region plays an important part in the migration process as it allows people from member nations to move from poorer countries to countries with better economic prospects within the region (Adepoju, 2016; Awumbila et al., 2014).

The influx of foreigners into a host society is not without challenges. This is especially so when the cultures, religions, norms and values of the migrant group are distinct from that of the host society (Castles & Miller, 2009). The topic of how migrants become a part of the host society, the challenges involved as well as the policies implemented to shape their inclusion into these host society has been the subject of numerous studies (Alba & Nee, 1997; Engbersen, 2003; Heckmann, 2005; Kivisto, 2005; Legrain, 2006).

Classical and contemporary studies on immigrant integration have largely focused on immigrant integration into Western societies (Alba & Nee, 1997; Fokkema & De Haas, 2015; Gans, 2007; Givens, 2007; Jayaweera & Choudhury, 2008; Sert, 2012). Although the literature on immigrant integration is well developed; very little is known about integration within the African context. Questions such as how African migrants who travel within the region become integrated into the African societies they migrate to, what role transnational activities play in the integration process of immigrants and what kinds of policies and initiatives exist to help migrants integrate into the host society have not been fully explored.

Using Ghana as a case, this study explores the lived experiences of migrants from French speaking West African countries living in Accra, and the ways in which they integrate into Ghanaian society.

1.2. Problem Statement

Ghana remains one of the most attractive destinations for migrants within the West African region. According to Quartey (2009), the relative peace, security, political stability, steady economic growth and the discovery of oil in 2007 have contributed in making Ghana an attractive country of destination for migrants in the West African sub-region. It has been estimated that there were about 600,049 immigrants living in Ghana in 2010 (GSS, 2013). According to the Ghana Statistical service (GSS), this immigrant population was largely

African (86.4%) with 68.3 percent of the immigrant population coming from ECOWAS countries.

Although the immigrant population in Ghana is large, there are only a few existing studies on immigrant communities such as Liberian migrants (refugees) (Boateng, 2012; Cofie, 1998; Tete, 2004) the Lebanese migrant community (Akyeampong, 2006), Nigerians in Ghana (Antwi Bosiakoh, 2008; Adida, 2008) and in more recent times, Chinese migrants living and working in Ghana (Aidoo, 2016). In addition, Awumbila, Manuh, Quartey, Tagoe and Bosiakoh (2008) note that, research focused on migrants from French speaking ECOWAS countries who are living and working in Ghana is difficult to find. Thus, there is little known about how migrants from these countries engage in transnational activities, integrate into Anglophone countries like Ghana as well as navigating challenges in the social spaces within these countries in order to integrate.

The scarcity of information on francophone migrants presents an avenue for research as these studies could potentially expand knowledge and understanding of the dynamics involved with managing labour migration, provide data on the effectiveness of ECOWAS protocols as well as deepen our understanding of transnationalism and integration from the African perspective.

As such, this study seeks to address the gap in knowledge on migrant experiences and the processes of their integration within the African context by providing insight into how francophone migrants in Accra integrate into Ghanaian society and how transnational practices influence migrants' ability to integrate into the communities in which they reside.

The study adopts a qualitative approach, using semi-structured interviews and informal conversations to achieve its objectives. As the study focuses on a migrant population that has

been the subject of very little research, a qualitative approach allows for the collection of in-depth data about the lived experiences of the francophone migrant as well as the ways in which they integrate into the host society.

The concept of transnationalism is used to describe the activities that the francophone migrants engage in as a way of sustaining ties with their home country while the concept of integration is employed to show how the migrants adapt to Ghanaian society

1.3. Research Objectives

The study set out to explore the transnational activities and factors that influence the integration processes of francophone immigrants in Ghana, the challenges they face integrating and the relationship between transnational activities and the migrants' integration.

The specific objectives were:

- i. To describe the socio-demographic characteristics of the francophone immigrants from ECOWAS nations.
- ii. To describe the migratory processes of the francophone immigrants.
- iii. To examine the forms and levels of transnational activities of the francophone immigrants.
- iv. To examine the factors that influence the integration of the francophone migrants and the challenges they face integrating into Ghanaian communities.
- v. To explore how the interactions between transnational activities and integration processes influence the lives of the francophone migrants.

1.4. Justification of Study

As Bakewell & Jónsson (2011) note, research focusing on the transnational linkages and engagements of African migrants within the African continent is limited. This study seeks to

fill the gap in knowledge by providing a perspective on the transnational linkages of francophone West African migrants living in Ghana.

Ghana is uniquely positioned as one of the few Anglophone countries surrounded by francophone countries in West Africa and generally receives large numbers of francophone ECOWAS nationals. There is therefore a need to study how these immigrants become integrated into Ghanaian society. As such, the study contributes to knowledge of immigrant migration experiences and processes of integration within an African context

Findings from the study will also serve as a reference document for policy recommendations on how to manage the challenges faced by ECOWAS nationals in integrating into the economic and social landscape of Ghana.

In addition, the findings may also serve as a tool to design appropriate interventions to address the barriers to the labour market faced by migrants within the ECOWAS region

1.5. Definition of Concepts

This study used a number of concepts and terms in this work; there is therefore a need to define these various concepts. They include concepts such as Integration, francophone, country of origin, country of destination immigrant association and migration experience factors which are elaborated below.

Integration refers to the ways in which immigrants adapt to the culture, norms and values of the host society and become absorbed into the economic, social and cultural landscape of the host society.

Francophone may be defined as a person from a French speaking country. For the purposes of the study, this is limited to ECOWAS countries where French is an official language or

language of instruction. These countries are Benin, Burkina Faso, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Mali, Niger, Senegal and Togo.

Country of origin refers to the country that is a source of migratory flows (IOM, 2011). It is also referred to as the sending country or country of emigration. For the purposes of the study, this refers to any of the francophone ECOWAS member states listed above.

Country of destination is defined as the country that is a destination for migratory flows (IOM, 2011). It is also referred to as the receiving country, country of immigration or host country. For the purposes of the study, this refers to Ghana.

Immigrant Associations refers to the voluntary organisations founded by migrants. These organizations tend to be transnational in nature, and help migrants to participate and integrate into the host society (Moya, 2005)

Migration experience factors are conceptualised as the resources whether tangible or intangible acquired by the migrant for purposes of integrating into the host community. For example, educational attainment, language acquisition at the destination, networks at destination among others

1.6. Organization of Study

This study is divided into eight chapters. Chapter one gives an introduction to the study; providing a background to the study, the research objectives, problem statement, and the justification of the study. Chapter two presents a review of related literature dealing with specific themes of the study such as integration, transnationalism and the interaction between the two concepts. It also presents the conceptual framework underpinning the study.

Chapter three provides an overview of migration in Ghana and West Africa; presenting the historical, socio-economic and geo-political context of migration. In addition the chapter provides an overview of the laws, policies and institutions that manage migration in Ghana.

Chapter four focuses on the methodology utilised in collecting the data and analysing the results. It also describes the study area, how participants were identified, the researcher's positionality as well as the limitations and challenges encountered on the field.

Chapter five begins by providing a socio-demographic profile of the francophone migrants interviewed; focusing on factors such as their age, level of education and their marital status. It then describes the migratory process of the migrants, highlighting factors such as their motivations for migrating as well as issues they faced at the border.

Chapter six and chapter seven present the findings of the study. In chapter six, the kinds of transnational activities and practices francophone migrants engage in as well as the impact of these activities on their immigration are described and analyzed and Chapter seven describes the ways in which the francophone migrants become integrated. Chapter seven also presents the challenges francophone migrants' face in integrating, as well as an analysis of the relationship between transnational activities and the processes of integration based on the findings. In chapter eight the conclusion, policy recommendations as well as areas for further research are presented

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Introduction

The purpose of this study as stated in chapter one is to explore the experiences of francophone migrants in Ghana and how they interact with and integrate into the host society. As such, this chapter begins with a look at the concepts of integration and transnationalism and then examines how transnational ties influence migrants' ability to become a part of the host society.

Although terms and concepts such as adaptation, acculturation, assimilation, incorporation and integration are used to describe and explain how immigrants become part of the host society; the concepts of assimilation and integration dominate the literature.

Assimilation, according to Alba and Nee (1997) refers to the "decline and disappearance of ethnic and racial distinctions and the accompanying cultural and social differences"(p.863) while integration, may be broadly defined as a two-way process whereby members of the host society and the immigrant community both adapt to each other (Zapata-Barrero, 2015)

Issues of how migrant settle into host society do not only play out in academic discourse but also in the political sphere as increasing global mobility creates the impetus for governments' to be seen as managing migration and community cohesion. Thus, how migrants are integrated into the host society influences and are influenced by government decisions and policies on immigration. Schunck for example, notes that the concepts of integration and assimilation have been the subject of "intense normative political and public debates which is, to some extent, mirrored in scientific controversies" (Schunck, 2014, p.10). Not only are the terms highly contested, there is often a conflation of analytical concepts with "normative

notions or idealised projections of society which are viewed and contextualised differently by different groups” (Phalet & Swyngedouw, 2003, p.7).

This study follows the pattern of Erdal and Oeppen (2013), Sardinha (2010) and Sert (2012). These scholars view integration as a process whereby migrants find ways to negotiate their entry and adaptation into the host society. This is a departure from studies that view integration as the end result of governmental policies where migrants are considered to be successfully integrated when they fulfil the requirements of institutionalised activities and programmes such as language and culture classes.

In light of this, the study focuses on the lived experiences of the francophone migrants and the ways in which they become integrated into Ghanaian society, taking into consideration the fact that Ghana does not have an explicitly stated integration policy.

2.2. Immigrant integration

The classical models of immigrant integration such as the race-relation cycle (Park, 1939), Eisenstadt’s (1953) conception of the absorption of immigrants, Taft’s (1957) model of change in group membership and Gordon’s (1964) model of immigrant assimilation have given way to contemporary models which have extended and reconceptualised these classical models in response to “the increasingly diversified composition of contemporary international migration” (Wang & Fan, 2012, p.732)

Contemporary literature on immigrant integration has been approached from different perspectives. For example, Heckmann (2005) defines integration as:

a long-lasting process of inclusion and acceptance of migrants in the core institutions, relations and statuses of the receiving society. For the migrants integration refers to a process of learning a new culture, an acquisition of

rights, access to positions and statuses, a building of personal relations to members of the receiving society and a formation of feelings of belonging and identification towards the immigration society. Integration is an interactive process between migrants and the receiving society, in which, however, the receiving society has much more power and prestige. (p. 15)

To Brochmann, integration deals with how “socialisation, through standards and formation of expectations, contributes to creating social cohesion and societal stability” (Brochmann, 2003, p.4) while according to Snel, Engbersen and Leerkes, (2006, p.3), immigrant integration in general, refers to the “incorporation of new elements (immigrants) into an existing social system”.

Scholars agree that integration is a multi-dimensional concept, although there are different perspectives on what the relevant dimensions are. Schunck (2014) for instance, provides a viewpoint where immigrant integration is viewed from either a micro-sociological or a macro-sociological perspective. From a micro-sociological perspective, integration refers to the individual processes of migrants used in adapting to the host society while the macro-sociological perspective considers the aggregate outcomes that describe the relation between immigrant groups and the native population. (Schunck, 2014, p.11)

Another perspective is that of Lomba (2010), who views integration as having both public and private dimensions. The public dimension of integration is made up of the legal and social environments while the private dimension comprises of the personal experiences and social connections of migrants.

According to Ager and Strang (2008) the process of integration involves three things: public outcomes such as employment, housing, education and health; social connections involving

members of the community as well as connections with members of the host society and personal competencies in language, cultural knowledge and security/stability.

Others such as Snel et al. (2006), Fokkema and De Haas, (2015) and Cheung and Phillimore (2014), place integration into two dimensions: the structural and the socio-cultural dimensions of integration. The structural dimension of integration refers to “the full participation of migrants in the central societal institutions especially the educational system and the labour market” (Snel et al., 2006 p.299). This dimension of integration also includes the acquisition of rights and status within the core institutions of the receiving society, such as employment, housing, education, political and citizenship rights (Heckmann, 2005). The socio-cultural dimension of integration on the other hand refers to the informal social contacts of immigrants with natives of the host society as well as the extent to which immigrants endorse the host society’s prevailing moral standards and values (Snel et al., 2006)

Wang and Fan (2012) provide an alternative classification of the dimensions of integration. According to them, immigrant integration can be placed into three categories; economic integration, social and cultural integration and identity integration. Economic integration is often measured by indicators such as education level, income level and occupation. It may be defined as the process by which immigrants become more or equally upwardly mobile as members of the native population. Economic integration plays a significant role in determining migrants’ integration trajectory. Studies find that most migrants at the low end of the economic/income spectrum are often poorly integrated into the host society when compared to their co-migrants at the higher end of the economic/income spectrum. According to Alba and Nee (1997), economic integration is especially important as being employed in

the mainstream makes integrating into other areas easier and it is considered to be a form of structural integration (see for instance Snel et al., 2006)

Social and cultural integration may be said to describe how much of the norms, culture, values and ideals of the host society migrants adopt. According to Wang and Fan (2012) the outcome of successful social and cultural integration is a reduction in the social distance between the migrant group and the members of the host society. Indicators of social integration include having informal social interactions within the native population, language skills, the degree to which migrants accept the norms and values of the host society amongst others. Heckmann (2005) expands on this dimension of integration by further breaking down the various aspects of socio-cultural integration into cultural integration, which refers to the cognitive, behavioural and attitudinal change of immigrants and their descendants in conformity to the norms of the host society and interactive integration, which refers to social intercourse such as friendship, marriage and membership of various organisations.

Identity integration is the third aspect of integration and describes not only 'behaviour, practice, and achievement but also a sense of one's self in relation to others' (Wang & Fan, 2012, p.733). It refers to the feelings of belonging, expressed in terms of allegiance to ethnic, regional, local and national identity. Identity integration does not necessarily mean losing one's original identity so as to acquire a new one more in line with that of the receiving country, rather, it is the creation of identities as a result of immigrants and their children (second generation immigrants) finding or creating their own spaces within the host society and building social and political networks across origins and heritages. This is seen in the creation of for example, the Asian-American identity or British-Ghanaian heritage.

While the various works have expanded on the concept of integration, providing a deeper understanding of the various dimensions involved and how they impact a migrant's

acceptance into the host society, these works do not fully describe or explain the African, and specifically the West African integration experience. Identity integration for example, which encompasses areas such as race, religion and culture, may not necessarily play as integral a role in the West African migrant context as it does for immigrants in the West, where race and religion are significant markers of difference.

This study therefore uses the dimensions of economic integration also referred to as structural integration as espoused by Snel et al., (2006) and the dimensions of social integration by Heckmann (2005) which encompasses cultural integration to situate the lived experiences and processes of integration into Ghanaian society for the francophone migrants.

2.3. Migrant and Host Society Relations

An important indicator of how integrated immigrants are in the host society is reflected by the contacts, relationships and interactions between the members of the migrant group and host society. Fokkema and De Haas (2015) note that immigrants' ability to integrate whether individually or as a group may be hampered by barriers and inequalities present in the host society. These barriers may be institutional such as unequal citizenship rights, exclusionary practices and policies or structural barriers in different public spheres (i.e. the lack of recognition of occupational qualifications will not permit labour market integration (Entzinger & Biezeveld, 2003; Ter Wal, de Munnik, & Andriessen, 2008; Tonah, 2007).

The barriers may also be societal or individual where differences in culture, religion, race and language lead to issues such as racism, discrimination and distancing (Herbert et al., 2008; Poynting, Tabar, & Noble, 2009; Sardinha, 2010). For example, in their study of Senegalese, Ghanaian, Egyptian and Moroccan migrants in Italy and Spain; Fokkema and De Haas (2015) found that Egyptian and Moroccan migrants achieved higher levels of economic and socio-cultural integration than their Ghanaian and Senegalese counterparts due in part to the fact

that sub-Saharan migrants were more often confronted with racism and discrimination than North African migrants.

In Africa however, the markers of difference such as culture, ethnic group, religion and language which hinder an immigrant's ability to integrate in the West could be the very things that allow for easier integration. In her study of Nigerian Hausa's in Accra, Ghana and Niamey, Niger; Adida (2008) found that while Nigerian Hausa's had become integrated into the Muslim community of Ghana to the point where many Ghanaians assumed that the Hausa were a native Ghanaian ethnic group; In Niamey, Niger they were excluded from the social and political arenas. She argued that this was because immigrant groups (in this case, the Hausa) who shared similar cultural traits were seen as threats to the cultural identity of the host society while immigrant groups that shared little or no traits with the host society could easily be identified as foreigners and as such posed no threat to the cultural identity of the host society.

In the case of francophone West African migrants, while certain aspects of their culture may be similar to that of Ghanaian culture, the historical influence of French rule on the part of the francophone countries and English colonization in Ghana create enough cultural, social and economic differences that may positively or negatively affect the integration process of the francophone migrant in Ghana.

Studies show, that the presence of barriers to integration increase the likelihood of migrants engaging in transnational activities in order to overcome the challenges to social and economic mobility in the host society (Mazzucato, 2008; Portes, 1999; Tonah, 2007)

Tonah (2007) for example explains that many of the Ghanaians who travelled to countries like the Netherlands and Germany in the 1980s were largely unwelcome in their new

destinations unlike their skilled counterparts who had migrated in the 1950s to 1960s and the 1970s. These migrants who were for the most part unskilled and uneducated were viewed by European governments as economic migrants who had migrated in order to take advantage of the economic benefits and social security system available in these countries. Tonah notes that, socially, they were largely isolated from the mainstream society wherever they settled and faced different kinds of discriminatory practices from the host population. As such, these “third generation” migrants were more likely to maintain close social, economic, political, cultural and religious links with Ghana than those of previous generations.

2.4. Transnationalism, Transnational Activities and Contemporary Debates

The concept of ‘transnationalism’ may be traced to the early 1990s when anthropologists noticed intense interactions between the sending and receiving countries of international migrants and the concept can be attributed to the work of Glick Schiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton (1992, 1994). In their work on transnational migrants, Glick Schiller et al posited that rather than the dichotomous paradigm of either settling in the host society or returning permanently; a new kind of migrating population was emerging, composed of networks and activities that encompassed both their home and host societies, cutting across national boundaries to bring two societies into a single “social field”.

They argue that immigrants who build such social fields are referred to as transmigrants and these migrants develop and maintain multiple relationships that may be social, economic and or political in nature; taking actions, making decisions and developing identities within these social networks that connect them to two or more societies simultaneously (Basch, Glick Schiller, & Blanc-Szanton, 1994; Glick Schiller et al., 1992). According to Glick Schiller and Fouron (1999)

‘Transnational migration is a pattern of migration in which persons, although they move across international borders, settle, and establish relations in a new state, maintain ongoing social connections with the polity from which they originated. In transnational migration people literally live their lives across international borders. Such persons are best identified as “transmigrants”. (p. 344)

Thus; the transnational migrant is one who can be said to have a foot in both worlds; engaging in activities in both the host society and origin society. Guarnizo, Portes & Haller (2003) add to this by noting that, it is the frequency or regularity with which migrants engage in these cross-border activities that make them transnational. Portes, Guarnizo and Landolt (1999) note that:

While back-and forth movements by immigrants have always existed, they have not acquired until recently the critical mass and complexity necessary to speak of an emergent social field. This field is composed of a growing number of persons who live dual lives: speaking two languages, having homes in two countries, and making a living through continuous regular contact across national borders. (p.217)

Transnationalism may be viewed from the actor-based perspective where grass-roots/individual initiatives are considered transnationalism from below while activities initiated by powerful institutional actors such as multinational corporations and States are considered transnationalism from above (Guarnizo, 1997). The concept may also be viewed within the context of the nature of activities that take place within the field. As Portes et al. (1999) note, these activities may be economic, political, social, cultural or religious in nature.

2.4.1. Transnational Economic Activities

Transnational migration is viewed by some scholars as a by-product of late capitalism where industrialised countries are dependent on the cheap labour while small non-industrialised countries rely on the remittances migrant workers send home (Portes, 2003; Itzigsohn, 2000).

Remittances play an important role on a micro economic scale and on a macroeconomic level. They are used to support family members who stay behind, fund large and small businesses, and are used by migrants in hometown associations in destination countries to fund social service projects in the communities of migrant sending countries. On a macro level, remittances also have an impact on national growth and capital accumulation. The World Bank notes that remittance flows to developing countries are larger than official development assistance and more stable than private capital flows. In 2016 for example, the World Bank estimates that remittances were around US \$ 585 billion with US \$ 442 billion being sent to developing countries (World Bank, 2016)

In addition, Zhou (2004) argues that transnational economic activities may provide a means for migrants to avoid the structural barriers to economic integration in the host society as well as provide migrant communities with social capital that can foster their horizontal and vertical integration

2.4.2. Transnational Political Activities

Migrants' political transnational activities are varied and include activities such as electoral participation and membership in political parties or campaigns to name a few. According to Østergaard-Nielsen (2003) there are three different categories of political action. The first is homeland politics comprising migrant political activism in the host country around home country issues (Guarnizo et al., 2003). The second is immigrant politics which refers to the political activities undertaken by a community to improve its status in the host country and

may sometimes involve homeland resources (Al-Ali, Black, & Koser, 2001; Al-Ali & Koser, 2002). The third domain, translocal politics includes the activities migrants undertake to support specific communities in their home country. Though primarily economic, they become political when the state intervenes to support or control them

2.4.3. Transnational Social Activities

Studies on transnational migration have identified changes in the social lives of migrants and the people left behind as a result of migration, especially with respect to kinship and the family structure. According to Levitt & Jaworsky (2007), these changes in turn influence constructions of class, gender and race. Boundaries of family and kinship also change over the life course and as Pries (2004) found, transnational strategies are adopted over several generations depending on individual's changing needs and desires throughout the life cycle. Several studies have also focused on the change in the gender dynamics of marriage and the family structure and care giving roles due to the feminization of migration and the impact of pink-collared jobs. (Wong, 2006; Parreñas, 2005; Manuh, 2003)

2.4.4. Transnational Cultural Activities

According to Nurse (1999) when multiple cultures meet, new categories are created and old ones break down, such that identifying a single resulting culture is difficult. Vertovec (1999) notes that, transnationalism acts as a mode of cultural reproduction and is found especially among transnational youth whose “primary socialization has taken place within the cross-currents of differing cultural fields” (p. 6). The hybrid culture created from the interactions of two or more cultures within a social field has been intensified by the improvements in technology and communication that allows for images, music, food, and fashion among others to be rapidly transported and consumed.

2.4.5. Transnational Religious Activities

In recent times, there have been quite a few studies on the relationship between religion and migration (Adogame, 2003; Ebaugh, 2010; Levitt, 2001; Van Dijk, 1997) but prior to the mid 1990s, very few studies focused on the influence of religion on the lives of migrants. According to Levitt, religion supports and is itself transformed by all aspects of the migration experience (Levitt, 2007). Studies on transnational religious activities have focused on the role that religious congregations play in helping immigrants settle and adapt to a new homeland (Adogame, 2003; Chafetz & Ebaugh, 2000), the transnational ties between home and host countries of congregations (De Mola, 2002; Levitt, 2001) and how religious factors impact the global religious ties being created by international migration flows (Bowen, 2004; Yang, 2002). Csordas adds to the discourse on migration and religion by pointing out that the influence is not unidirectional (from home to host). Religions carried across the world due to migrations are adapted to local beliefs and practices and transformed in a myriad of other ways, and ideas and practices are transmitted back to the non migrants; influencing and transforming the ways in which the religion is practiced back home. (Csordas, 2009)

2.4.6. Debates on the concept of transnationalism

The study of transnationalism has not been without its critiques. The concept has been subject to debates ranging from the terminology and ambiguity of definitions to the scope and importance of the concept. With respect to the terminology used, some scholars argue that conceptual distinctions are not clear for example between global, international, and transnational. Others have argued that migrants have always maintained ties to their home countries and thus transnationalism was not a new phenomenon (Waldinger & Fitzgerald, 2004). As a result of the criticisms and debates surrounding the robustness of the theory, recent scholarship have sought to rectify this by explaining the social spaces in which transnational migration occurs and the social structures it generates, the variations in its

dimensions and forms, the relationship between processes of incorporation and enduring transnational involvements, the ways in which contemporary iterations of cross-border memberships compare to earlier incarnations, and their durability (Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007).

2.5. The relationship between Transnationalism and Integration

As mentioned in previous sections, barriers to economic and social mobility within the host society may influence a migrant's decision to participate in transnational activities in order to counteract their exclusion from the economic, political or social sphere. In recent times, attention has been drawn to the relationship between processes of migrant integration and transnational activities (Itzigsohn & Saucedo, 2002; Morawska, 2003; Schans, 2009; Snel et al., 2006) with various debates on how transnationalism influence the processes of integration

The growing body of work focused on this relationship have been based on studies which have taken place primarily in North America and Europe, where scholars of migrant transnationalism have explored the empirical patterns of migrants' transnational practices, observing whether they co-exist with indicators of integration (Morawska, 2003; Schans, 2009; Sert, 2012; Snel et al., 2006). According to Erdal and Oeppen (2013), existing literature focused on the relationship between the concepts of transnationalism and integration can be placed into four schools of thought/positions.

The first school of thought or the "alarmist position" argues that transnational ties place migrants in a position where they have a dual loyalty which hinders successful integration. This perspective sees the transnational connections migrants maintain to be a threat to the perceived cultural cohesion of the society in the destination country. The fear that transnationalism threatens social cohesion is even more pronounced when there is an apparent ideological conflict between the country of settlement and the transnational places that the migrant identifies with.

According to Snel et al.,(2006), the recent terrorist attacks in various countries have only strengthened this alarmist viewpoint that integration and transnationalism are at odds and has led to many Western States opposing dual nationalities (Snel et al., 2006). Erdal and Oeppen add that this is not only limited to the extremes of violent conflict but also leech into various social interactions and activities which engender a sense of mistrust from the majority population towards ethnic minorities. For example, media discourse on Muslim migrants in Australia and some West European countries tends to be largely negative (Christoph, 2012; Rane & Hersi, 2012)

The second according to Erdal and Oeppen (2013) is “the less alarmist but pessimistic view”. This school of thought is of the view that, where structural integration (employment, housing education etc) is difficult for migrants to attain engaging in transnational activities becomes a livelihood strategy. Erdal and Oeppen posit that migrants whose language skills, human capital (such as skills, educational attainment etc) or cultural capital are not immediately applicable in the country due to institutional and social restrictions may have to engage in transnational activities in order to survive. This particular viewpoint is quite evident in early studies of transnationalism (see for example, Basch et al., 1994; Faist, 1999; Portes et al., 1999).

The third school of thought; the “positive perspective” is of the view that transnational ties and integration are not mutually exclusive with migrants carrying out transnational activities and participating in the integration process at the same time (Sert, 2012). For example, Oeppen (2013) highlights how transnational return visits can generate resources that can be invested in integration while Levitt (2003) notes that successful socio-economic integration into the host society can fuel transnational activities such as remittances, investments and return visits.

The fourth posits that the reality for most migrants is more nuanced than choosing between engaging in transnational activities and becoming a part of the host society. This viewpoint which Erdal and Oeppen (2013) label the “pragmatic position” expands on the “positive perspective” and is increasingly recognised in both theoretical and empirical literature (Fokkema & de Haas, 2015; Jayaweera & Choudhury, 2008; Joppke & Morawska, 2003; Kivisto, 2005; Levitt, 2003; Mazzucato, 2008).

This school of thought views transnational ties as existing alongside processes of integration, whereby migrants who engage in transnational activities develop social and symbolic ties to the host country while maintaining and strengthening their ties to their country of origin. The relationship between transnationalism and integration is therefore seen as a positive and mutually beneficial one-with transnational activities reinforcing integration efforts and integration leading to increased opportunities to engage in transnational activities.

Much of the empirical work on the interactions between migrant integration and transnationalism tends to support the pragmatic approach. For example, a study conducted by Snel, Engbersen and Leerkes in 2006 looked at 300 immigrants from six different countries (USA, Japan, Iraq, the former Yugoslavia, Morocco and the Dutch Antilles) and found that, in general, transnational involvement did not hinder migrants ability to integrate. In addition their study found that there was no correlation between the transnational activities of migrants and their social positions noting that highly educated immigrants engaged in just as many transnational activities (though different ones) as the poorly educated, unemployed respondents. However, groups that were perceived by Dutch Society as being culturally different such as the Moroccans and Antilleans faced more difficulties in integrating and in turn had identified more strongly with their country of origin.

Similar to this, a study conducted by Jayaweera and Choudhury (2008) examined the transnational activities of recently arrived Muslim and non-Muslim immigrants to find out how their transnational activities affect their integration into British society. The study which consisted of 155 Muslim and 44 non-Muslim immigrants living in three urban localities (the borough of Newham in London, Birmingham, and Bradford) found that most of the transnational activities these recently arrived migrants participate in were related to having contact with relatives back home and accessing information about their country of origin. They also engaged in financial transnational activities such as sending remittances though this occurred at a lower rate, and there was very little evidence of engaging in transnational politics or business. With respect to the impact of transnational activities on the migrants ability to integrate; Jayaweera and Choudhury (2008, p.100) argued that ‘transnational involvement did not preclude economic, political and social participation in the receiving society’ and that the more respondents engaged in transnational activities, the more likely they were to be employed, have some form of financial stability and interacted with other people from different ethnic, religious and cultural backgrounds. Based on their findings, Jayaweera and Choudhury concluded that ‘transnational involvement appeared not to prevent or conflict with economic, political and social integration’ (Jayaweera & Choudhury, 2008 p.110).

In addition, to understand how transnationalism may affect migrant integration Erdal and Oeppen (2013) note that dynamics within communities as well as an individual’s position in terms of life-stage, human and social capital resources, class as well as sending and receiving country contexts may affect a migrant’s willingness and ability to engage in transnational activities. They perceive the interaction of migrant integration and transnationalism as one of a balancing act where migrants can access opportunities but may also have responsibilities in

two or more societies. Erdal and Oeppen's viewpoint is consistent with the work on the "double engagement" of Ghanaian migrants in the Netherlands by Mazzucato (2008).

In Mazzucato's analysis of 115 Ghanaians from three different locations; Amsterdam, Accra and rural and semi-urban villages in the Ashanti Region, the study found that Ghanaian migrants engaged in economic activities in their home countries such as investing into businesses, housing and education, sent remittances to take care of general living expenses of family members and fulfil cultural and societal obligations such as funeral contributions while simultaneously engaged in activities in the Netherlands such as buying a home, paying city and national taxes, buying cars etc. In addition, Mazzucato noted that although there was an overarching goal to send remittances to Ghana, the migrants' ability to do so was affected by the fact that many of these migrants had children who went to Dutch schools and became acculturated in the Dutch way of life. She concluded by noting that "these spending patterns attest to migrants' double engagement in two or more countries and show that engagement in one country does not preclude engagement in another" (Mazzucato, 2008, p.212)

While the various works examined have contributed to knowledge on the relationship between integration and transnationalism in Europe, there is a need to expand on the current literature available to include how the relationship plays out for migrants who engage in intra-regional migration in other parts of the world such as Asia, Africa and Latin America. This is especially relevant with respect to Africa in particular, where Bakewell & Jónsson, (2011) note that there seems to be a dearth of literature on the nexus of transnational linkages and the integration of African migrants within the African continent.

2.5.1. *Typology of interactions between transnational activities and integration (Erdal & Oeppen, 2013)*

Based on the relationship between transnationalism and integration, Erdal and Oeppen (2013) create a typology to explain the ways transnational activities and practices interact with processes of migrant integration and the impact of these interactions.

How migrants become a part of the host society is important in both academic and political discourse as both integration and transnationalism have a normative dimension. Erdal and Oeppen note that there has been a conflation of normative ideals of integration and analytical concepts, thus their framework sets out to provide an analysis which is “not dependent on any particular political stance but rather empirically based on individual-level analysis” (p. 879).

Erdal and Oeppen’s typology distinguishes between the structural dimensions and the socio-cultural dimensions of integration and views the interaction of transnationalism and integration within the context of here (country of destination) and there (country of origin). The framework provides three ways through which the relationship between integration and transnationalism may be viewed: first, as a process that is additive; where the result of the interaction between transnationalism and integration is the sum of the two parts. Second, as a process that is synergistic; where the result is greater than the sum of the two parts or third, as an antagonistic process where the result is less than the sum of the two parts, or one part even cancels out the other and is illustrated in table 2.2

From table 2.2 it is evident that the interaction the socio-cultural aspects of transnationalism and integration which include the emotional, social, cultural, and religious dimensions can lead to three types of outcomes. The first outcome is where the interaction between the two leads to feelings of belonging and socio-cultural connections in both the country of origin or country of settlement (additive) the second outcome is where the interaction between the

socio-cultural aspects of transnationalism and integration create a situation where the feelings of belonging and connections in one place give confidence to further develop connections in the other (synergistic) or the third outcome where the feeling of belonging and socio-cultural connections in one place displace feelings of belonging in other (Antagonistic).

In the same vein, the interaction between the structural aspects of transnationalism and integration which include the economic, political and legal dimensions can also lead to three outcomes; an outcome which is additive where the interaction between the structural aspects of transnationalism and integration leads to migrants being economically active in both the country of origin and the country of settlement; an outcome which is synergistic where the resources gained in one place are invested to develop further resources in the other or an outcome that is antagonistic; where the demand for resources in one place limits ability to meet demands in the other.

Table 2.5.1. Typology of Interactions between Integration and Transnationalism

	Type of interaction		
	Additive	Synergistic	Antagonistic
Socio-cultural integration and Transnational activities	Feeling of belonging and socio-cultural connections in country of origin and of settlement	Feeling of belonging and connections in one place give confidence to further develop connections in other	Feeling of belonging and socio-cultural connections in one place displace feelings of belonging in other
Structural integration and transnational activities	Economically active in country of origin and of settlement (Dual) citizenship regularised mobility	Resources gained in one place are invested to develop further resources in the other	Demand for resources in one place limits ability to meet demands in other

Source: Erdal and Oeppen (2013)

2.6. Conceptual Framework

According to King (2012), no single theory can adequately explain migration, due to its multifaceted and diverse nature. Migration is a subject of interest among various disciplines including economics, geography and sociology and studies have largely been situated within the narrow spheres of one discipline. However, in recent times, there has been a growing body of interdisciplinary studies (Boswell & Mueser, 2008; Messer, Schroeder, & Wodak, 2012; Silbereisen & Titzmann, 2016)

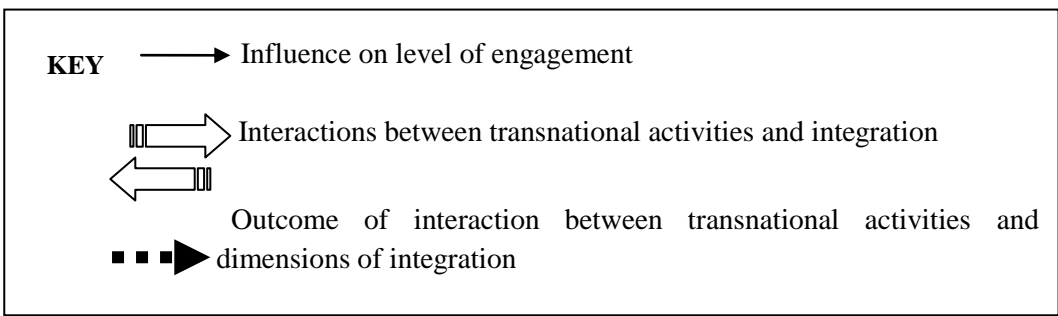
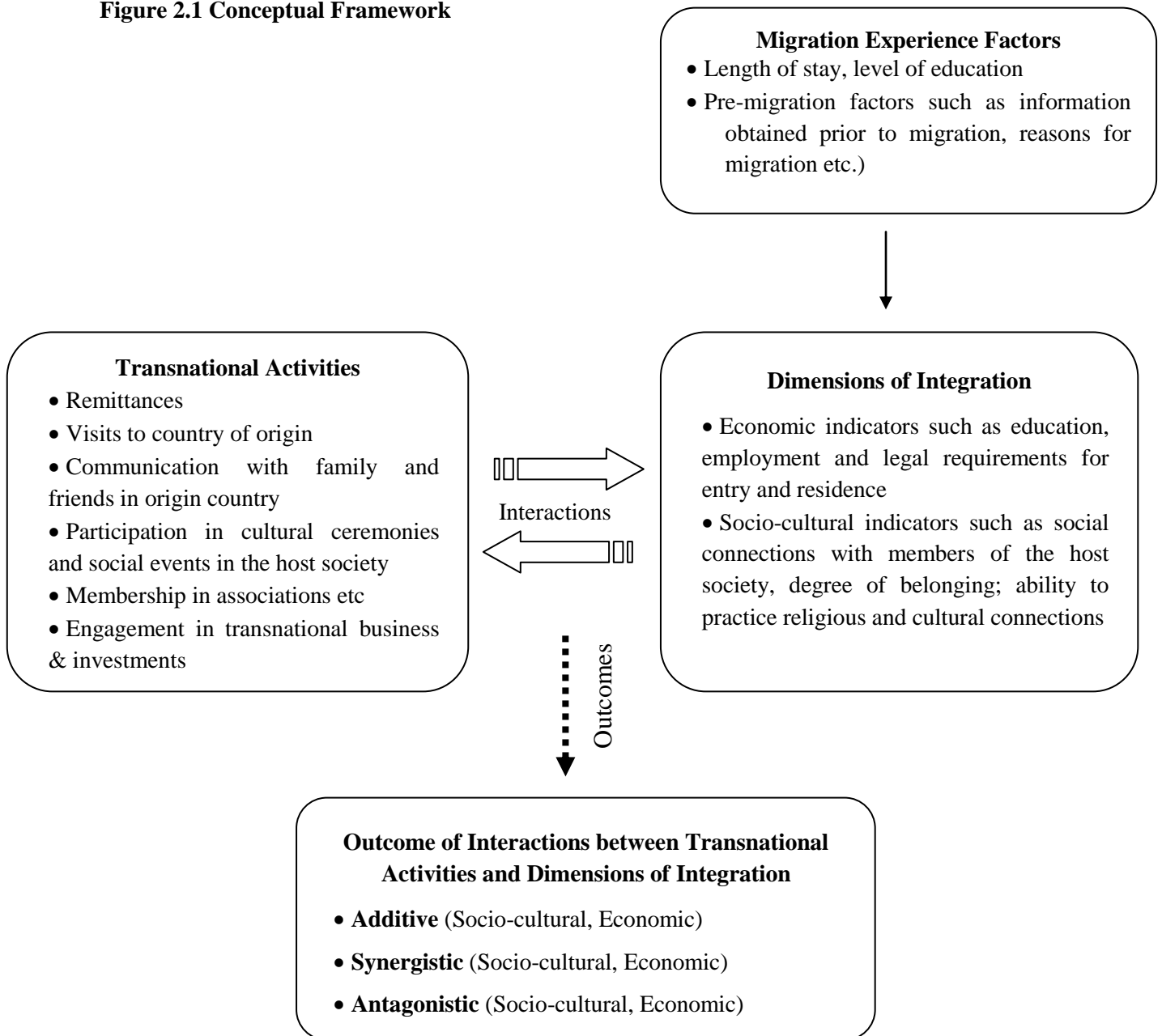
Based on the objectives of the study, the experiences of the francophone migrants are explained using the concepts of transnationalism and integration. While the interactions of the two concepts, where the outcomes may be additive, synergistic or antagonistic explain many of experiences of the francophone migrants; they do not cover the gamut of experiences migrants face.

In their work on the determinants of integration, Fokkema and De Haas (2015) note that that socio-demographic factors such length of stay and “pre-migration” factors such as reasons for migration and the degree and type of information obtained prior to migration influence migrants integration.

Thus, the conceptual framework of the study is based on two premises: First, socio-demographic factors and pre-migration factors may play a role in determining the level and degree to which migrants become integrated.

Second, there is a relationship between integration and transnational activities and the interaction between the two results in an outcome that could be synergistic, additive or antagonistic (refer to table 2.2). The conceptual framework is illustrated in figure 2.1 below

Figure 2.1 Conceptual Framework



2.6.1. Migration Experience Factors

Socio-demographic characteristics such as length of stay can play a significant role in a migrant's integration. For example, in their study on the economic integration of male migrants in Canada; Chiswick and Miller (2001) found that factors such as the duration of residence in Canada, age and educational attainment played an integral role in the migrants' ability to become economically integrated. Their study found that migrants who had been in Canada longer were also more likely to invest in destination-specific skills such as language which aided socio-cultural integration.

In the same vein, factors such as the degree and type of information obtained prior to migration and the reasons for migrating can affect the integration process. For example, in their study on the socio-cultural integration of African migrants into Spain; Fokkema and De Haas (2015) found that migrants who were well informed through formal or informal channels were more likely to be better integrated and migrants were more likely to be better integrated when the reason for migrating was economic.

2.6.2. Transnational Activities

Cross-border transnational activities such as having businesses and investments in the country of origin as well as transnational practices that take place in the host society (Ghana) such as attending francophone cultural ceremonies, participating in francophone social events and belonging to francophone associations can influence a migrant's integration into Ghanaian society.

This can be as a result of interacting with nationals and other francophones who have been in Ghana longer and as such can offer knowledge and introduce migrants to Ghanaians within their circle, being able to access information and get advice to make their settlement easier and using money earned from transnational businesses to support their integration ambitions.

For example, using money made from transnational business to fund education in Ghana or buy property in Ghana.

2.6.3. Dimensions of Integration

Economic dimensions of integration such as getting Ghanaian educational qualifications, becoming employed and owning property as well as socio-cultural dimensions of integration such as friendships with Ghanaians and learning a language provide migrants with economic and social capital which can be used to encourage or improve transnational activities

Thus finding employment and becoming financially stable provides migrants with more disposable income which could translate into sending remittances for those who were not sending before or allow for migrants to increase the amounts or frequency with which they remit. In addition, new transnational business opportunities may be created as a result of interacting with Ghanaians and picking up niche skills. For example, a migrant who makes *alata samina* (African black soap) as a result of learning from Ghanaians could then start a business where they sold the soap in the origin country.

2.6.4. Outcome of interactions between transnational activities and dimensions of integration

Based on the migrant's level of transnational engagement and integration, the interactions between integration and transnationalism can have an additive, synergistic or antagonistic effect on the migrant's transnational engagement and integration efforts.

An additive socio-cultural outcome would be where the interaction leads to feelings of belonging and socio-cultural connections in country of origin and of settlement. The outcome would also be additive when the interaction of transnationalism and the economic dimensions of integration allow the migrant to be economically active in both the country of origin and of settlement.

A synergistic socio-cultural outcome would be where the interaction allows for the feelings of belonging and social connections created in one place (e.g. origin) to create avenue to further develop connections in the other place (e.g. destination). In the economic sphere, a synergistic outcome occurs where the interaction allows the migrant to use the resources gained in one place to develop further resources in the other

A socio-cultural outcome would be considered antagonistic if the feelings of belonging and socio-cultural connections created in one place (e.g. destination) displace feelings of belonging in the other (e.g. origin). In terms of the economic dimension, this would occur when the demand for resources in one place (e.g. destination) limits a migrant's ability to meet demands in the other (e.g. origin)

2.7. Chapter Summary and Conclusion

This chapter has focused on some of the relevant literature on transnationalism and integration as well as presented the conceptual framework for the study. For the purposes of the study, the literature review focused on the economic (structural) dimensions of integration and the socio-cultural dimensions of integration. Integration is also a normatively charged concept, going beyond the academic discourse into the political sphere and having an impact on a migrant's ability to adapt into the host society. In addition, with the increasing migratory flows, there has been a growing interest in how transnational activities influence migrants' integration prospects.

CHAPTER THREE

MIGRATION IN THE WEST AFRICAN CONTEXT

3.1. Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of migration within the West African context by delving briefly into the history of migration in West Africa and Ghana as well as the policies that govern migrants' mobility and ability to integrate in Ghana and in West Africa. As the study focuses on migrants within ECOWAS region; this chapter begins with a brief historical overview of migration in West Africa, paying particular attention to Ghana. It then provides a profile of immigrants and the drivers of immigration to Ghana in Ghana as well as a presentation of the ECOWAS protocol on the free movement of persons as well as the laws and institutions concerned with migration in Ghana.

3.2. Socio-economic and Geo-political context of migration in West Africa

West Africa, a region comprising sixteen countries is a region with a diversity of cultures, dialects and religions. A history of slavery and colonization as well as the fragmenting and creation of artificial borders during the scramble for Africa has led to a region that is politically and culturally complex. Of the countries in West Africa, fifteen are members of ECOWAS and may be divided along colonial lines into English speaking (Anglophone) countries, French speaking (Francophone) and Portuguese speaking (Lusophone) countries.

According to UNDESA, the population of West Africa has been growing steadily with a declining infant mortality rate and high fertility rates. In 2010, the population stood at about 307 million people with a median age of 17.8. In 2016, the population had risen to about 362 million with a median age of 18 and a fertility rate of 5.46 (UNDESA, 2017)

The largest economies in the region are Nigeria, Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana and Senegal. In terms of economic growth, the region saw an increase in growth rates in 2010 of about 6.7 per cent

(AfDB/OECD/UNDP, 2017). However, the region is also characterised by large disparities in economic growth and development and a large proportion of the population within the region have a vulnerable occupation (UNECA, 2013).

Population movements are largely within the region (IOM, 2013) with about 84 per cent of migratory flows in West Africa directed towards another country within the region. The movements include permanent migration, temporary/seasonal migration, cross-border movements, return migration and transit migration. Migrants in the ECOWAS region also include temporary cross-border workers, female traders and farm labourers, professionals and clandestine workers (Awumbila et al., 2014). An important feature of contemporary migration patterns in West Africa is the increasing feminisation of traditional male-dominated migratory streams as professional women migrate independently within and across national borders (OECD-UNDESA, 2013; UNDESA, 2013). There has also been a noticeable trend away from straightforward labour migration towards independent commercial migration which is female-dominated, helping to promote intra-regional trade (Adepoju, 2004)

In addition to this, conflicts and civil wars within the region in Liberia and Sierra Leone in the 1990s, Cote d'Ivoire in 2011 and 2012 and in Northern Mali in 2012 and 2013 and the recent insurgence of Boko Haram in Nigeria have led to large scale refugee movements within the region (Adepoju, 2016; Boateng, 2012; Ogata, 2005). Climate change and the increasing desertification of countries in the Sahel region leading to declining agricultural productivity has also directed the patterns of migration within the region (Adepoju, Kuteyi, & Atsenuwa, 2015).

3.3. History of Migration in West Africa and Ghana

Before the colonial era, movement within the region was not restrained by the artificial borders created during the colonial period. Migrants regarded the West African region as a borderless area within which goods and people moved freely, and the main motivations for migration were the search for security and fertile land for settlement and farming (Adepoju, 2003)

Colonialism brought about the establishing of boundaries as well as a change in the direction, composition and motivation of migration by imposing various types of economic and political structures. For example, compulsory recruitment and forced labour legislation were among the strategies used to stimulate labour migration from the region to work in the mines and plantations in Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire (Anarfi & Kwankye, 2003). During this period; Ghana was a country of immigration, receiving migrants from countries like Togo, Mali and Burkina Faso.

In the 1960s, Ghana's relatively prosperous economy and the Pan African stance of the Nkrumah led Government made the country a popular destination for labour migrants from neighbouring countries as well as well as scholars, political activists and foreigners (Adepoju, 2005; Anarfi & Kwankye, 2003). However, by the late 1960s, Ghana's economy began to decline. The deteriorating economic situation, falling standard of living manifested in a "balance of payments deficit, growing unemployment and social malaise made Ghana unattractive to both foreigners and citizens" (Anarfi, Awusabo-Asare, & Nsowah-Nuamah, 2000, p.6). This period saw a large number of professionals such as teachers, engineers, medical personnel and professors leaving Ghana for neighbouring West African countries, other prosperous countries within Africa as well as Europe and North America (Dzorgbo, 1998). The Aliens' Compliance Order of 1969 also led to the expulsion of a large number of

foreigners, mostly from neighbouring West African countries like Nigeria, Togo, Benin, Mali, Niger, Cote d'Ivoire and Burkina Faso.

In the region, however, the booming oil economy of Nigeria led to a large number of migrants moving to Nigeria to meet the demand for skilled and low skilled workers (Adepoju, 2005). Cote d'Ivoire also attracted a large number of migrants, though these migrants tended to be less skilled than their counterparts in Nigeria. In addition, the high world price of phosphate also made Togo a commercial hub in West Africa attracting migrants from other West African countries (Manley, 2003; Awumbila et al., 2014).

Since the 1980s, migration flows from several ECOWAS countries have increased, in line with global migration trends (IOM, 2005). In Ghana, the failure of several economic policies to reverse the economic decline as well as the frequent changes in government in the 1970s and 1980s created a general lack of confidence in the Ghanaian economy and exacerbated the emigration of Ghanaians. This period saw both skilled and low skilled migrants migrating to various countries within and outside of the continent. According to Anarfi et al. (2000) "by December of 1980 about 150,000 Ghanaians had registered with the Ghana High Commission in Lagos and in 1986, the number of Ghanaians in Côte d'Ivoire was estimated to be between 500,000 and 800,000" (p.7).

The mass departure of Ghanaians to neighbouring countries has continued through the 1990s till present. By the mid-1990s a large number of Ghanaian migrants could be found in West and Southern Africa, Western Europe and in North America (Tonah, 2007) and Ghana had joined the ranks of countries creating a 'new diaspora' (Van Hear, 1998). The large number of Ghanaians leaving the country and the emergence of a diaspora abroad had both negative and positive effects on the Ghanaian economy, communities, families and individuals. Some of the effects include brain drain especially of health workers (see Mensah, Mackintosh, &

Henry, 2005), social and capital remittances (Quartey & Blankson, 2004; Wong, 2006), changes in family and social dynamics (Dankyi, 2011; De Witte, 2003; Mazzucato, Kabki, & Smith, 2006) and a shift in government approach to migration in order to capitalise on the positive effects while reducing the negative effects of migration on the economy (See Nieswand, 2008). In order to do so, the government has employed a range of policies and incentives such as the Ghana Investment Promotion Centre (GIPC) and the creation of the Diaspora Affairs Unit

3.4. Drivers of migration to Ghana

Several factors contribute to Ghana's status as an attractive destination for migrants in West Africa. Studies show that the main drivers of contemporary migration to Ghana include the growing economy, relative peace and political stability, the liberal business and trade environment, the relatively higher standard of tertiary education as well as broader shifts in the migration landscape as a result of civil unrest and climate change (Adepoju et al., 2015; Anarfi & Kwankye, 2003; Awumbila et al., 2009; De Haas, 2007a; Quartey, 2009)

3.5. Profile of Immigrants in Ghana

The Ghana Immigration service (GIS) defines an immigrant as a person who moves to Ghana for the purposes of settlement; that is, stays of six months and above. The types of immigrants found in Ghana can be placed in three broad and often overlapping categories; labour migrants, asylum seekers/refugees and students (Awumbila et al., 2014; Quartey, 2009). This section provides a profile of immigrants in Ghana; highlighting the migration of ECOWAS nationals into Ghana.

As Awumbila et al. (2014) note "there is a paucity of reliable and accurate data on migration in all ECOWAS countries" (p.11). This is further exacerbated by the fact that borders are

porous and poorly patrolled with some migrants entering or leaving through unauthorized routes.

Based on the 2010 census, the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS) places the number of immigrants in 2010 at 600,049 constituting 2 per cent of the population which stood at 24,568,823 (GSS, 2013). In contrast to the low numbers recorded, data from the UN show higher estimates of the immigrant stock in Ghana (UNDESA, 2017) in addition to this estimates from the embassies of ECOWAS countries like Mali, Niger and Burkina Faso indicate the presence of a substantial number of their nationals in Ghana (European Union, 2006). According to Devillard, Bacchi and Noack (2015), a partial explanation for this was provided by officials who suggested that many nationals of ECOWAS Member States claimed to be Ghanaian nationals when surveyed during the 2010 population census as their migration was or had become irregular.

According to the GSS (2013), in 2010, the total population of foreigners in Ghana was 600,049 made up of ECOWAS nationals (409,910) constituting 68.3 percent; non ECOWAS Africans (108,328) constituting 18.1 per cent and non-African nationals (81,811) constituting 13.6 percent of the total migrant population (Table 3.1). With respect to ECOWAS nationals, the data matrix created by Awumbila et al. (2014) shown below in table 3.2 allows for the depiction of the number of ECOWAS migrants who immigrated into Ghana during this period and their countries of origin.

Table 3.1 Non- Ghanaian population by sex and origin (GSS, 2013)

Origin	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
ECOWAS national	224,414	54.7	185,496	45.3	409,910	100.0
Non-ECOWAS African	53,756	49.6	54,572	50.4	108,328	100.0
Non African	41,373	50.6	40,438	49.4	81,811	100.0
Total					600,049	

Source: 2010 Population and housing survey (GSS, 2013)

Table 3.2 Flow of Migrants from ECOWAS countries into Ghana in 2010

Country of Origin	Absolute numbers
Benin	-
Burkina Faso	30,664
Cabo Verde	-
Côte d'Ivoire	5,001
Gambia, the	1,928
Guinea	-
Guinea Bissau	-
Liberia	13,396
Mali	-
Niger	-
Nigeria	124,653
Senegal	-
Sierra Leone	1,043
Togo	31,973
Unknown origin among ECOWAS	201,252
Total immigrants	409,910

Source: Awumbila et al. (2014)

With respect to sex distribution of foreigners in Ghana; the majority of migrants from ECOWAS countries were male; accounting for 54.7, with female migrants constituting 45.3

per cent. Female migrants from non-ECOWAS African countries were in the majority while there was no significant difference between males and females from with the non-African nationals. The GSS postulates that the presence of more male migrants from the ECOWAS region could be attributed to the nationals from those countries leaving their spouses behind while in the case of other Africans and non-African nationals people were more likely to move with their families hence the near sex balance among their populations (GSS, 2013)

In terms of education, the GSS (2013) notes that nearly 4 out of ten immigrants in Ghana have never attended school. Considering that the majority of foreigners are ECOWAS nationals (68.3 per cent) this is consistent with the findings of Awumbila et al. (2014) who point out that in “general the majority of West African migrants in the region are not very highly educated” (p.33) they add that anecdotal evidence suggests that highly educated citizens were more likely to find well paying jobs in their home countries and those who chose to migrate would be more likely to travel to destinations outside of the West African region where they could potentially earn higher wages (Awumbila et al., 2014).

They note however that despite this trend a number of West African migrants are highly educated. Ghana’s tertiary institutions tend to attract students from other West African countries with four out every five foreign students in Ghana coming from ECOWAS Member States. This is due in part to the relatively high quality of education compared to source countries as well as the movement of students from French speaking countries to learn English (Awumbila et al., 2014)

With respect to economic activities, immigrants are predominately employed within the informal sector in areas such as the agricultural, forestry, fisheries sector and in wholesale and retail, and repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles. Migrants also tend to be self-employed with female immigrants more likely than their male counterparts to be self-

employed without employees. The 2010 population census shows that about 67.8 percent of the immigrant population was employed with 3.9 percent unemployed while twenty-eight percent of the population were not economically active (GSS, 2013).

3.6. Laws, Policies and Institutions Involved in Managing Migration in Ghana

As Adepaju (2016) notes; ECOWAS countries have, in a bid to create a borderless sub-region thus far abolished the requirements for visa and entry permits within the ECOWAS region, making it easier for people to move more freely within the region.

In order to understand some of the legal and institutional conditions that aid or hinder the francophone migrant's ability to integrate and/ or engage in some transnational movements, this section provides a brief overview of the laws, protocols and conventions that affect migration in West Africa and Ghana.

The section specifically focuses on the ECOWAS Protocol on the Free Movement of Persons, Right of Residence and Establishment for the African and West African region and with respect to Ghana, this section focuses on the Immigration ACT 573, the National Migration Policy as well as the relevant institutions involved in migration in Ghana.

Ghana has made significant strides in managing migration with the creation of a National Migration Policy in 2016. Ghana is also a member of ECOWAS and the AU and as such is subject to their protocols, conventions, laws and frameworks on migration.

In addition, Ghana is a signatory on a number of UN conventions including the 1951 and 1967 conventions pertaining to the status of refugees, the 1990 International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families and the Convention against transnational organised crime as well as the Protocol against smuggling

of migrants by land, sea and air (known as the Palermo convention and the Palermo Protocols).

3.6.1. The ECOWAS Protocol

ECOWAS was established in May 1975 and is currently comprised of fifteen countries in the West African region. The overarching aim of ECOWAS is to increase and maintain economic stability, and contribute to the progress and development of Africa through closer regional cooperation (Barclay, 2010). With respect to migration, Article 27 of the treaty makes provision for intraregional migration by stating that “Member States shall by agreements with each other, exempt community citizens from holding visitors’ visas and residence permits and allow them to work and undertake commercial and industrial activities within their territories”. In furtherance of this, the Protocol on the Free Movement of Persons, Right of Residence and Establishment was introduced. The protocol which was to be implemented in three phases lasting five years each began with the Right of Entry which became effective in 1980 (Manuh, Benneh, Gebe, Anebo, & Agyei, 2010).

The Right of entry allowed for citizens from member states to go into other member states without a visa provided they had valid travel documents and an international health certificate for a period not exceeding ninety days (ECOWAS, 1999, 2008)

The second phase (Right of Residence) which was signed in 1986 and ratified in 1989 gave citizens from member states the right to live in another member state as long as they had a valid residence card or permit issued in accordance to the laws of the host member state (ECOWAS, 1999, 2008)

The third phase, the Right of establishment was signed in 1990 and ratified in 1992. It allowed citizens from ECOWAS member states to establish business ventures and have

access to and engage in economic activities under the same conditions as defined by the laws of the host member state for its national, (ECOWAS, 1999, 2008)

With respect to irregular migration, the protocol stipulates that “measures shall be taken to guarantee that illegal immigrants enjoy and exercise their fundamental human rights...Any expulsion orders shall be enforced in a humane manner without injury to the person, rights or properties of the immigrant” (ECOWAS, 1999, p.17)

In 2008, ECOWAS defined its regional Common Approach on Migration based on six principles in order to achieve its objective to establish a link between migration and development and define its impacts. The six principles provided directions on strategic priorities as well as action plans to allow for the effective management of migration in West Africa (see Manuh et al., 2010)

3.6.2. Immigration Act 573

According to Manuh et al. (2010) migration law in Ghana “translates itself into a more or less restrictive regulatory framework comprising the entry, residence and employment of foreigners”(p.68) and includes the Aliens Act of 1963 (Act 160) which was repealed and replaced with the Immigration Act 573 in 2000.

The Immigration Act 573 lays down provisions on the admission, residence, employment and removal of foreign nationals. Part 1 of the Act for example, focuses on the entry and exit of persons through approved points of entry. People who arrive in the country through channels other than authorised entries are also expected to report to the nearest immigration post within forty-eight hours.

Section 4 of the Act prescribes the documents which a person must possess in order to be allowed entry into the country namely a valid passport and visa, but makes provision for

persons exempt from this by virtue of a treaty or some other obligation assumed by the Republic of Ghana. This includes ECOWAS nationals and nationals from selected countries including Kenya and Malaysia (Manuh et al., 2010)

Part 2 of the Act focuses on the residence and employment of foreign nationals in Ghana. It includes the issuance of a resident permit as well as the duration of the resident permit; noting that applicants may be granted a residence permit for “up to a period not exceeding eight years”. The Immigration Act also makes provisions for migrants’ changing status with the creation of the indefinite residence and right of Abode categories which when conferred allows for entry into Ghana without a visa; indefinite stay, as well as work without work permit. Manuh et al. (2010) note however that the process of integration and the acquisition of citizenship are not guided by the immigration act but by the 1992 constitution and the Citizenship Act of 2000.

The 1992 constitution and the Citizenship Act 591 define who a citizen is and make provisions for acquiring citizenship when a person is not a citizen by birth as well as provisions for dual citizenship, renunciation and the deprivation of citizenship

3.6.3. National Migration Policy

In 2016, Ghana launched the National Migration policy (NMP). The policy provides a framework for dealing with issues of contemporary migration that affect the country within the national, regional and global context. The policy aims at promoting the benefits of migration (both internal and international) while minimizing the costs of migration, so as to have a positive effect on the socio-economic development of Ghana. The policy covers areas such as border management, Diaspora, dual citizenship and transnationalism, migration and international cooperation, migration and climate change as well as cross cutting issues such as migration and gender and migration and health.

With respect to immigrants and host-migrant relations, the policy seeks to reduce xenophobia and human rights abuses by having a policy objective of promoting peace and protecting the rights of migrants and host populations through the use of strategies such as promoting peace building initiatives and having a national register of immigrants. The policy however does not include strategies on how to integrate immigrant communities into Ghanaian society.

3.7. Institutions that are involved with managing migration in Ghana

The national institutions involved in managing migration are charged with collecting, collating and analyzing information on migration as well as implementing, monitoring and evaluating policies and regulatory frameworks (Manuh et al., 2010). They include Ministries, Departments and Government agencies (MDAs) such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, the Ministry of the Interior, the Ghana Immigration Service and the Ghana Refugee Board who all play a role in managing migration in Ghana.

3.8. Chapter Summary and Conclusion

This chapter has focused on migration within the West African context, paying particular attention to migration in Ghana. Although Ghana has historically been a country of immigration, in recent times however, it has become a country of emigration, immigration and of transit. Ghana is a popular destination for migrants in the West African region due to the relative peace and stability as well as the growing economy. It is also particularly attractive due to its relatively high standards of tertiary education. The chapter also focuses on the profile of immigrants in Ghana based on the 2010 national population survey, as well as the laws and policies and institutions that manage migration in Ghana.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

4.1. Introduction

This chapter describes the methodology used for the study. Due to the exploratory nature of the study, a qualitative research approach was chosen. The rationale for the overall research design, including how the research was conducted, how data was collected and analysed as well as ethical considerations and the challenges and limitations of the study are discussed in the ensuing sections of this chapter.

4.2. Research approach

This study focuses on a migrant population that has been the subject of very little research as such, it is exploratory in nature. Therefore, conclusions reached are tentative and may not be representative of the entire population.

The study employed a qualitative research method, specifically the use of semi-structured interviews and informal conversations, to solicit responses as it perceives lived experiences as a product of social construction. Creswell (2014) explains that social constructivists believe that individuals seek understanding of the world in which they live and work, and develop subjective meanings of their experiences and as such, the researcher seeks to rely as much as possible on the participants' views of the situation being studied while remaining cognisant of the role that their positionality plays in the research. The qualitative research approach is useful for the generation of data on experiences, perceptions, emotions, beliefs and behaviours of respondents (Teye, 2012) as such, it allowed for the collection of in-depth data about the lived experiences of the francophone migrant as well as the ways in which they integrate into Ghanaian society.

While the qualitative research approach has some limitations including the fact that findings cannot be generalised and tend to be highly subjective (Teye, 2012) this method was still the most appropriate for this research. The use of a qualitative research method is supported by Babbie (2012) who notes that:

“Qualitative field research enables researchers to observe social life in its natural habitat which can produce a richer understanding of many social phenomena than can be achieved through other observational methods, provided that the researcher observes in a deliberate, well-planned, and active way (Babbie, 2012, p.327)...Qualitative data, in short, can be richer in meaning than quantified data (Babbie, 2012, p.25)

4.3. Location of the study

The site chosen for the study was Accra, in the Greater Accra region. The Greater Accra region is located in the south-central part of Ghana and shares borders with the Central Region to the west, the Volta Region to the east, the Eastern Region to the north and the Gulf of Guinea to the south. It is the smallest of the 10 regions of Ghana, occupying an area of 3,245 square kilometres or 1.4 percent of the total land area of Ghana. (GSS, 2013)

Although the Ga-Dangme ethnic group is the indigenous ethnic group of the region, the cosmopolitan nature of Accra and high levels of migration into the region makes it ethnically diverse. According to the 2010 Ghana Population and Housing Census, the Akan (39.7%), Ga-Dangme (27.4%), Ewe (20.1%), Mole-Dagbani (5.2%) and Guan (1.9%) ethnic groups make up the bulk of population of the region (GSS, 2013).

As both the administrative and commercial capital of the Ghana, Accra, which is located in the Greater Accra region is an attractive destination to migrants who may wish to take

advantage of the socio-economic infrastructure such as facilities for higher education, health care, major sports and entertainment as well as the presence of several multinational companies, investment firms and enterprises as evidenced by the fact that Accra has the second largest population with over four million people in the region

The Accra Metropolitan area (AMA) is one of the twenty six (26) Metropolitan, Municipals and Districts of the Greater Accra Region of Ghana. The AMA had the largest share of the regional population due in part to migration from other regions and natural increase (GSS, 2013). While data focusing specifically on francophone migrant flows and stock in Ghana is scanty, available data from the 2010 population census shows that nearly 60 percent of the total non-Ghanaian population (58.4%) were found in Greater Accra region. Of this number, the vast majority were nationals from African countries (GSS, 2013) making Accra the best location for identifying participants.

In general, migrants tend to cluster in close geographic spaces, as a result of migrant social networks created which attract newly arrived migrants to settle within the same areas. Evidence of this can be seen with the Lebanese community who have been in Ghana for decades and have created strong social networks that help and support recently arrived Lebanese migrants. A similar situation is found within the Indian migrant community in Ghana.

Anecdotal evidence suggests that francophone migrants can be found in several parts of Accra but the majority reside in areas such as Osu, Carprice, Tesano, Accra New Town, Alajo and Kisseman. This is due to a variety of reasons such as the presence of schools and the relatively low cost of rent compared to other suburbs of Accra. In addition, an existing francophone migrant presence reinforced by social networks and the presence of restaurants

and entertainment facilities that provide francophone cuisine and music make these areas more appealing to the francophone migrants

Two sites were used for the study; Alajo in the Ayawaso East Municipality and Kisseman, Christian Village in the Ga East Municipality of Accra. These sites were chosen due to the large number of educational institutions located in those areas resulting in the construction of a large number of hostels and apartments for rent. Alajo for example has about five English language schools whose main student body is francophone. These schools also provide short preparatory courses and professional courses to help migrants who either want to attend institutions of higher learning or find jobs. Although two sites were chosen, two interviews took place outside of these sites, at the workplaces of the participants in Osu.

Kisseman/Christian Village also has a large francophone migrant presence. This is due to its proximity to institutions such as the University of Ghana, Lancaster University and Radford University, which in turn leads to the proliferation of hostels and apartments for those who need accommodation close by. The relatively large francophone migrant presences as well as the social networks created by migrants in these two areas make them the choice destinations for migrants.

Another reason why these sites were chosen was due to the relatively low cost of rent as compared to other suburbs of Accra. Although some migrants can be found in the more affluent areas of Accra such as East Legon, Osu and Spintex Road, the rent in these areas range from GHC 600-GHC 1000 whereas rent for a one bedroom self-contained apartment in Alajo is usually between 200 and 400 Ghana Cedis serving as increased attraction for usually young and large numbers of francophone migrants preferring to stay in such areas..

Areas like Alajo, Accra New Town, Tesano and Kisseman are also popular destinations for young francophone migrants who may also be paying for school and English lessons in the hopes of finding a job in Accra. Anecdotal evidence also suggests areas like Alajo and Kisseman are popular due to their relative proximity to francophone entertainment facilities as well as several restaurants offering Ivorian, Guinean and Senegalese cuisine, helping migrants to feel more at home.

4.4. Identifying Participants

Since the focus of the study was a segment of the migrant population that shared a specific characteristic; that is, nationals of West African French-speaking countries, a purposive sampling technique was used to identify participants who fit the criteria and had been living in Ghana for at least 12 months. In addition, the difficulty inherent in locating participants when there were no discernible differences between the migrant population and the host society meant that the snowball sampling technique was also incorporated. As Babbie (2012) notes, the snowball sampling procedure is appropriate when the members of a special population are difficult to locate

The number of participants for the study was determined based on several factors including the time frame in which the work was to be submitted. Kvale and Brinkmann (2009), note that the researcher's sample size is affected by several factors including time, quality, quantity, money, among others. Creswell also notes that the sample size in qualitative research tends to be small (Creswell, 2014) and Davies (2007) adds to this point of view by suggesting a small sample size between 5 and 15 for a qualitative research

Ultimately though, the principle of saturation; the point at which no new information is obtained from the inclusion of a subsequent interview- was what determined the sample size for the present research. During the course of the study, similar themes were observed in the

responses by the ninth interview although the interviewing process continued in order to confirm that the requirements for saturation had been met. As such by the twelfth interview it was discovered that saturation had been attained. A decision was therefore made to discontinue with the interviews.

4.5. Data Collection methods

A semi-structured interview guide was used to collect data from the participants. The interview guide contained an outline of subjects and questions aimed understanding as well as examining participants' migratory trajectory, transnational activities, processes of integration and challenges. Data on the socio-demographic characteristics of the participants were also collected. This method of qualitative data collection provides a deeper understanding of what the interaction between transnationalism and integration looks like and how it plays out from the West African francophone perspective.

4.5.1. Interview process

As the study relied on a snowball sampling method, once an interview was conducted the researcher asked the participant to recommend other francophone migrants who would be interested in participating in the study. Initial contact was made via telephone where the researcher made sure participants met the criteria, explained the topic and set a date for the interview.

The interviews took place at participants' convenience, in a setting chosen by them and generally lasted for about an hour. Having the participants decide on the setting for the interview meant that while the majority took place in the participants' home, a few took place in their workplaces and on one occasion in a neighbourhood restaurant. Generally, the interviews went on as planned with few interruptions, however one occasion stands out. The interview was to be conducted at the participant's workplace; as it was raining heavily, we sat

in the car waiting for the downpour to ease before starting the interview. The participant suggested that we begin the interview in the car and was quite willing to divulge personal information and share anecdotes. Once the rain stopped and we left the confines of the car however, she became hesitant to speak about personal issues and was more guarded in her responses.

An interview guide was used to help ensure that all relevant topics were discussed as well as helping to keep the interview on track, particularly when participants went off-topic. The interviews were conducted in a mix of French, English and Pidgin English depending on the participant's knowledge of the English language as well as their ability to express themselves. As the researcher spoke French this did not pose a challenge. The benefit of the face to face interview was that it allowed the researcher to make observations and pick up nuances in body language while administering the interview that might have been missed using other forms of data collection

Notes were taken for all the interviews conducted. This was supplemented by audio recording of interviews with the permission of participants. The recording was done to ensure that items which may have been missed during the note taking were captured. The recording was also meant to help the conversation flow so as not to keep stopping participants in the middle of responses in order to take note of important points should the conversation progress uninterrupted. Audio recordings were transcribed verbatim and translated, staying as close to the meaning as possible when the conversations were in French.

4.5.2. Other sources of data

Audio visual materials in the form of photographs and social media messages primarily from facebook and WhatsApp were collected. In order to collect observations, I joined facebook groups for francophone people living in Ghana to find out what kinds of information were

posted and shared and how these posts informed and influenced transnational activities and ability to integrate. Though a part of the group, I did not engage in discussions. This was done to avoid influencing the conversations. The study also relied on secondary data from previous research such as official statistics from the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS) and government reports.

4.6. Data analysis and interpretation

The data analysis and interpretation stage of the research involves segmenting and taking apart the data, making sense of it, then putting it back together (Creswell, 2014). As data collected was dense and not all the information collected would be used, analysing the data required “winnowing” of the data (Guest, MacQueen, & Namey, 2012) a process of focusing in on some of the data and disregarding other parts. This allowed for the aggregation of data into a small number of themes (Creswell, 2013)

The data was analysed manually which, though a laborious and time consuming process, allowed for a continuous revisiting of the objectives as well as lead back to moments of interest in the interviews. Raw data was first organised and transcribed, the transcripts read closely several times taking note of general ideas that came up and making observations. At this stage, all of the participants’ names were replaced with pseudonyms to ensure anonymity.

Using a thematic network analysis, basic themes (codes) were generated from the transcripts and sample quotes from the transcript chosen. These basic themes were then grouped into organizing themes by clustering similar ideas. For example basic themes such as problems caused by sharing utility meters, unscrupulous rental agents and problems with landlords/tenants were grouped under the organizing theme of “accommodation challenges”. As Attride-Stirling (2001) notes, organizing themes are “clusters of signification that summarize

the principal assumptions of a group of basic themes” and work to “enhance the meaning and significance of a broader theme that unites several organizing themes” (Attride-Stirling, 2001, p.389)

Thus, once all the basic themes had been placed into organizing themes, organizing themes that followed a similar idea/pattern were then grouped into global themes. For example, related organizing themes such as accommodation challenges, immigration challenges and xenophobia were placed into the global theme of barriers to integration. These themes were then used to form the thematic network.

4.7. Researcher positionality

As the researcher is a key instrument in qualitative research, it is imperative that the researcher’s positionality is clearly stated and considered. Positionality according to Foote and Bartell (2011) describes an individual’s world view and the position they have chosen to adopt in relation to a specific task. While some aspects of positionality such as gender and race are culturally ascribed or fixed others such as personal life history and experiences are subjective and contextual. Taking this into consideration, I considered how my gender, religion, socio economic status, nationality and experience living in a francophone Muslim majority country (Senegal) could aid or hinder the study.

For example, although most of the female participants were quick to get comfortable and share personal anecdotes, a participant, Fatou, a Muslim woman from an upper middle class family in Guinea who had had several negative experiences with Ghanaian women was at first hesitant to share personal details. She became more comfortable once she realised that I had lived in Senegal (a francophone, Muslim majority country) for some time and that we shared certain things in common, including being the oldest sibling and receiving an undergraduate degree in Economics. Fatou provided a lot of information and brought up two

issues I had not considered in the initial testing phase. First, her experiences owning a business as a foreigner in Ghana and secondly the intersectionality of socio-economic status and gender on friendships and social networks

On the other hand, my nationality and gender had a less positive effect on another participant. Abdoulaye, a Muslim man who had a wife and three children back in Senegal was at times condescending when answering questions about his transnational economic activities. Although he provided good information, his bitterness about what he called corrupt government officials and the lukewarm reception he received from his Ghanaian neighbours seemed to extend to me on few occasions. To counter this, I expressed sympathy and commiserated with him about his ordeals in order to make him feel more at ease.

4.8. Ethical considerations

Russell Bernard (2006, p 143) notes that “The key ethical issue in the conduct of all social research is whether those being studied are placed at risk by those doing the studying”. In conducting this research all efforts were made to ensure that the principles of confidentiality, anonymity, protection from harm and informed consent were applied.

The participants were informed about the nature of the study, as well as its scope, which was limited to academic purposes. They were made aware of the fact that the interview would be recorded and that the interview could be stopped at any point, if they felt uncomfortable. Participants could also ask questions if they needed any clarification.

Efforts were made to ensure the anonymity of participants through the use of pseudonyms in transcription of recorded interview. Other characteristics that could make identifying participants possible were also removed in order to protect their privacy and ensure that their information remained confidential. Additionally, all audio recordings were kept on a

protected storage device taking care never to use it on the internet in order not to expose it to hacking or illegal information miners.

The interviews also took place in areas chosen by the participants in order to create an environment in which they felt safe and comfortable enough to participate in the interview process.

4.9. Limitations and challenges

The study does not intend to give a critical analysis of the processes of transnationalism and integration of the francophone migrant in Ghana, but rather act as an exploration of how these migrants integrate and how transnationalism and integration impact the lives of francophone migrants

One challenge faced on the field was finding participants who fit the criteria. In addition, the study was plagued by several cancelled interviews by promising participants who could not make time for scheduled interviews for a variety of reasons including a job transfer out of Accra. To overcome this, the researcher relied on the connections made with previous interviewees to gain access to new participants.

Another challenge faced was the unwillingness of some people to participate. The researcher recalls a promising participant among a group of four francophone men -a man from Niger, married to a Ghanaian who had been living in Ghana for almost fifteen years; although he showed interest initially, once the scope of the research was explained to him, he declined to participate and the researcher respected his wishes. Unfortunately this had an adverse effect on the other men who, with the exception of one, also declined to be interviewed

In addition to this, a challenge faced on the field was the reticence of some of the participants to answer some questions initially because they were worried that the information would be

shared with the Ghana Immigration service, this was mainly due to challenges they were facing with their residence permits. Once they had been assured that the interviews were confidential and that they would remain anonymous, they were more willing to share information.

In general, the participants tended to be reticent when it came to disclosing financial information, choosing to use vague descriptions “not a lot” “something small” “enough to bills” when asked about finances. The researcher chose to give them ranges to choose from to help them feel more at ease with providing figures and amounts.

4.10. Chapter Summary and Conclusion

This chapter focused on the rationale of the study. Participants for the study were identified using a combination of purposive and snowball sampling methods. A qualitative approach was employed to collect and analyse data, and the researcher’s positionality as well as the limitations and challenges faced during fieldwork were discussed.

CHAPTER FIVE

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS AND MIGRATION PROCESS OF THE FRANCOPHONE IMMIGRANTS IN ACCRA

5.1. Introduction

The previous chapter presented the research methodology used for the study, including how the participants were identified. This chapter begins with a presentation of the socio-demographic characteristics of the francophone migrants interviewed. It is followed by a discussion of the migratory process of the migrants, highlighting their motivations for migrating to Ghana as well as the support they received from their networks in pursuing their migratory ambitions. This is crucial to understanding the migration experiences of the francophone migrant and fulfils the first objective of the study.

5.2. Socio demographic characteristics of the Participants

As Birchall (2016) notes; “A person’s gender, age, religion, race, ethnicity, sexuality and health or disability shape every stage of the migration experience” (Birchall, 2016, p. 3). The socio-demographic characteristics of migrants help to provide a clearer picture of the migration processes of migrants, allowing for a deeper understanding of factors such as migrants’ reason for migrating as well as the role that early networks play in the migration and integration process.

As such, this section presents the findings of the socio-demographic characteristics of the participants. In addition, table 5.1 presents a profile of these socio-demographic characteristics such as age, nationality, length of stay and level of education.

5.2.1. Age-Sex Distribution

Studies shows that young people are more likely to migrate than the elderly as their stock of local social capital is lower, making them less bound by family ties and social environments (Piracha & Saraogi, 2013)

Of the twelve (12) participants¹ interviewed, seven (7) were male and five (5) were female. The ages of the participants ranged between twenty-four (24) and forty-two (42) years, with an average of thirty-one (31) years.

The young average age of the participants indicates that they are within the active working age bracket and as such could contribute to the development agenda of Ghana. The relatively young ages of majority of the participants is consistent with data on Africa where in 2017, the population between the ages of 15 to 24 made up 19 per cent of the continents' population while those between the ages of 25 to 59 made up 35 percent of the population (UNDESA, 2017)

5.2.2. Educational Status

The level of education for the participants was generally high; of the twelve (12) participants, only two had no form of tertiary education. One of the participants was forced to drop out of school after primary 5 due to lack of financial support, while the other dropped out of Secondary school after the death of his parents to take care of his siblings.

Of the participants with tertiary education, six (6) had completed or were currently enrolled in some form of tertiary education in Ghana, while four (4) had completed their tertiary education prior to their migration and were not enrolled in any form of tertiary education in Ghana.

¹ All names of participants are pseudonyms

In terms of sex aggregation, six men and four women had some form of tertiary education with the highest level of education being at the post-graduate level. Two (2) men and one (1) woman were enrolled in programs at the Ghana Institute of Management and Public Administration (GIMPA), the University of Wisconsin or the Chartered Institute of Bankers (CIB). The lowest level of education among the participants was primary school level (Primary 5).

5.2.3. Marital Status

Three (3) out of the total of twelve (12) participants interviewed were married. The rest nine (9) had never been married. This is consistent with studies that show that single people, those are usually not tied down by marital commitments are more likely to migrate than their married counterparts (Jacobsen & Levin, 2000; Yang, 2000).

All three who were married were men; with two (2) of the participants having met and married Ghanaians while living in Ghana; which significantly aided their integration. Only one (1) of the three men was married prior to his migration. He was married to a francophone who had remained behind in the home country. Of the twelve (12) participants, only the three married men reported having any children with the remaining nine having no children.

5.2.4. Religious Affiliation

As Ebaugh (2010) notes, research shows that regardless of religion, congregations played a large role in helping migrants settle in with immigrant communities, serving as focal points for religious and social networks as well as helping migrants acclimate to the host society.

Seven (7) of the twelve (12) participants in the study were Christians. All seven were Catholics before migrating to Ghana. Four had switched to Charismatic/Evangelical churches while the other three Catholics had found catholic parishes to join in Ghana.

Those who had moved to Charismatic/Evangelical churches did so for a variety of reasons including the proximity of the church to their home, having been invited by friends in those churches and the bilingual (English to French) Sunday service offered in these churches which made it easier to follow the service.

Four of the participants were engaged in some sort of auxiliary group in the church such as the men's fellowship, the choir the evangelical ministry and the hospitality ministry. All four had benefitted from belonging to these auxiliary bodies where they had received support and created networks, which in turn helped them navigate life in Accra as foreigners.

Four (4) of the participants were Muslim and were not members of any auxiliary group or body. In addition, none of the Muslim participants had made any significant connections from attending services at the Mosque. One participant was an atheist, and as such did not engage in any form of religious activity or belong to any auxiliary body.

5.2.5. Economic Activity

With respect to the economic activities and participation in the labour force, ten (10) of the participants were engaged in some form of economic activity while two were not economically active. Of the ten engaged in economic activities, six (6) participants were in the informal sector of the economy while four (4) were in the formal sector. With respect to sex distribution, Four (4) men and two (2) women were in the informal sector while three (3) women and one (1) man had occupations in the formal sector.

All six (6) participants in the informal sector were self-employed (refer to Table 5.1). Three (3) of the participants were self-employed and had employees while three of them were sole proprietors (self-employed without employees). The participants were involved in various sectors of the economy, including the food services industry (three participants owned

restaurants), the transportation industry (one participant was a taxi driver) and the sales sector. The findings of the study support the GSS data which indicates that; among the employed non-Ghanaians in 2010; 85.8 percent were engaged in the private informal sector in 2010 with over fifty-eight percent (58.8%) of non-Ghanaians being self-employed (GSS, 2013).

Of the four participants in the formal sector, three worked in private schools, one as a teacher, another a receptionist while the other worked as a bilingual secretary. The fourth participant worked as a manager at a financial institution

Only four (4) of the ten (10) participants with jobs were employed in areas that were related to their professional qualifications (refer to Table 5.1). Two (2) of the participants with jobs in the informal sector had no professional or educational qualifications beyond basic or secondary school while four (4) participants who had university degrees were engaged in occupations that had nothing to do with their qualifications.

With respect to the migrants occupations prior to their arrival in Ghana, eight (8) out of the twelve (12) participants were not engaged in any economic activity. Four (4) had been unemployed and four (4) had been students. Only four of the twelve participants had been engaged in an economic activity; three (3) had been employed in the formal sector of the economy while one participant had been in the informal sector.

A comparison of the migrant's pre and post-migration occupations show that, in general their migration to Ghana had yielded positive results in terms of becoming gainfully employed as well as improving their financial status.

Table 5.1 below illustrates the socio-demographic characteristics of the francophone migrants

Table 5.1 Socio-demographic and Migration Profile of Participants

Participant	Sex	Age	Country of Origin	Marital Status	Educational level	Year of arrival	Length of stay	Religious Affiliation	Current Occupation	Occupation prior to migration	Profession /Training
Fabian	Male	25	Côte d'Ivoire	Never married	Bachelors	2012	5 years	Christian/ Evangelical	Student	Student	Accounting
Etienne	Male	32	Côte d'Ivoire	Never married	Bachelors	2011	6years	Atheist	Self-employed	Student	Communications
Marie	Female	24	Senegal	Never married	Bachelors	2016	1 year	Catholic	Banker	Banker	Finance
Abdoulaye	Male	35	Senegal	Married	Bachelors	2015	17 months	Muslim	Restaurant owner	IT personnel	ICT
Elodie	Female	32	Côte d'Ivoire	Never married	Primary 5	2005	12 years	Christian/ Evangelical	Restaurant owner	Unemployed	Catering
Philippe	Male	42	Benin	Married	Bachelors	1996	21 years	Catholic	Teacher	Student	Teaching
Guillaume	Male	32	Togo	Married	Secondary	2008	9 years	Christian/ Evangelical	Self-employed	Self-employed	Driving
Tidiane	Male	34	Guinea	Never married	Masters	2016	15months	Muslim	Student	Unemployed	ICT
Fatou	Female	29	Guinea	Never married	CIB (Chartered Institute of Bankers)	2009	8 years	Muslim	Restaurant owner	Banker	Finance
Mamadou	Male	30	Guinea	Never married	MBA	2015	2 years	Muslim	Self-employed	Unemployed	Self-employed
Victoire	Female	29	Mali	Never married	HND	2011	6 years	Christian/ Evangelical	Receptionist	Unemployed	Office management
Apolline	Female	30	Côte d'Ivoire	Never married	Bachelors	2012	5 years	Catholic	Bilingual Secretary	Student	Communications

Source: Fieldwork, 2017

5.3. The Migration Process

Castles (2010, p.7) posits that there is a great “complexity and diversity of migration experiences”, It includes aspects such as a migrant’s reasons for migrating (both push and pull factors), their ability to migrate (aided or hindered by socio-economic factors), their methods and means of transportation as well as the networks which influence migration. This section provides insight into how factors such as the migrant’s decision making process, reasons for migration as well as early networks play an integral role in understanding the migration trajectory of each of the participants. This in turn contributes to our understanding of how the participants become socially, culturally and economically integrated into Ghanaian society.

5.3.1. Countries of Origin of the Migrants

The majority of movement among ECOWAS nationals takes place within the sub-region due in part to the implementation of the free protocol movement. The implementation of the first phase of the protocol allows citizens of member nations to enter other Member States without a visa for a period of up to ninety days provided they were in possession of valid travel documents and an international health certificate.

The study found that Participants were nationals of various francophone ECOWAS countries including Côte d’Ivoire, Togo, Benin, Guinea, Senegal and Mali. Ivoirians made up the highest proportion of the participants with 4 out of the 12 participants; followed by Guinea (3) and Senegal (2). Benin, Mali and Togo each had one participant in the study. Though the sample size was small, the dominance of Ivoirians is largely as a result of the snowball sampling method employed in data collection. In addition, Côte d’Ivoire and Ghana share a border, and as Awumbila et al. (2014) note, “geographic proximity seems to influence the choice of destination for many migrants” (p.27). Another reason for this based on interviews

is due to the civil unrest in 2012 in Côte d'Ivoire which is when all four the participants arrived in Ghana.

For several of the participants, the move to Ghana was their first time of travelling outside the borders of their home country. Four of the participants had however spent brief periods of time in other countries including Nigeria, Benin, Mali, Senegal, Mauritania and Kenya.

Only one participant had been outside of West Africa and none had been outside of Africa which is consistent with the literature which estimates that only 10 percent of West African migration is to countries outside of the sub region and beyond (ECOWAS-SWAC/OECD, 2006).

5.3.2. Decision-making process and Reasons for migration

The decision to migrate was influenced by a combination of socio-economic factors for many of the participants. These factors included unemployment and the search for better economic opportunities, the desire to study English in order to increase their value on the job market, family reunification, education, job transfers and a desire to change one's environment. A major reason for migration was the desire to learn English in order to improve their employment prospects. As Fatou who has been in Ghana for eight years explains:

Before I came to Ghana, I was working at a bank after getting my first degree in Economics. While I was there, the bank kept sending those who could speak a little English out of the country for promotion...so I decided to come to Ghana to learn English (Fatou, 29, Alajo, May 2017)

Tidiane, a migrant from Guinea is another example:

You know... if you want a job, you need to have good certification for both English and French. In Guinea, everyone knows that if you want to learn good English so you can speak well, you go to Ghana, so that's why I came here to get the English certificate from Ghana (Tidiane, Alajo, May 2017)

The second most cited reason for migrating to Ghana was the search for better economic opportunities. Guillaume for example, moved to Ghana nine years ago in search of economic opportunities. He is married to a Ghanaian, has three children and is in the process of building a house. He considers migrating to Ghana to have been a good decision noting that:

In Togo, the money you make is not sufficient, you can work hard and make just a little money, but in Ghana, when you work hard, you can make a lot of money. (Guillaume, 32, Alajo, April, 2017)

The search for economic opportunities and the perception that Ghana's economy is better than that of their home country is shared by Abdoulaye who explains:

I came for work, my cousin was living in Ghana and she was making very good money, so I decided to also come to Ghana. (Abdoulaye, 35, Osu, May, 2017)

Migrating to Ghana, for some migrants like Elodie and Guillaume was an individual decision, but for others, especially those who migrated for education, the decision was made in consultation with family members. By involving family members in the decision making process, the migrants were able to receive different forms of support to aid their migration. The support they received took various forms. This included financial support, giving advice as well introducing the migrants to people already living in Ghana who could help them settle in (early networks).

5.3.3. Financial support

In terms of support in fuelling their migratory aspirations; several of the participants relied on family members for financial support. Most of the participants who arrived in Ghana for the purposes of studying had their admission fees, travel expenses and accommodation paid for by their parents or relatives. However, three of the participants paid for their travel to Ghana with no help from family members; Abdoulaye and Guillaume because they were the breadwinners of their family, and Elodie because she was an orphan and as such had no one

to rely on for support. For Elodie and Guillaume, the cost of travel was not prohibitive as they came from countries that shared a border with Ghana (i.e. Ivory Coast and Togo); and they travelled by road. Abdoulaye on the other hand, had to use part of the savings he had accumulated to pay for his plane ticket.

5.3.4. Documentation, means of entry and mode of transport.

As stated in previous chapters, the introduction of the ECOWAS protocol on the free movement of persons allows citizens from member nations to travel to other nations without a visa for a period of ninety days; provided they have the required documentation.

The majority of the participants interviewed came to Ghana alone, with three participants arriving in Ghana with their relatives. Five of the participants travelled by air while seven came by road. All the five participants who arrived in Ghana by air used a passport when entering the country the first time. For the seven who came by road five used other forms of identification while two used their passports.

Mamadou for example, arrived by road and did not have a passport but faced no difficulty entering as he had a national identification card from his country with him. The requirement for the health certificate seems to be strictly enforced as three of the participants who did not have their International health certificate (yellow card) were made to go through some health formalities and pay money in order to be allowed into the country.

In addition to this, two of the participants who came by air faced delays at the point of entry (Kotoka International Airport), due to the language barrier as they spoke little or no English and struggled to communicate with the officials as well as fill out the required forms. These delays could be brief (lasting two to three minutes) or be for an extended period (lasting for more than ten minutes).

Migrants found these delays to be an anxiety riddled experience as they could not effectively communicate, and were uncertain of how to proceed. Fatou for instance, spoke no English at all when she arrived in Ghana. She had a very difficult time at the immigration desk, as she could not answer questions such as her name or her address in Ghana. This was further exacerbated by the fact that the immigration officer in charge of interviewing her did not speak any French and was frustrated by her incessant repetition of “*je ne comprends pas*”²

5.4. Early networks

Some of the participants relied on existing networks and connections that other family members and friends had made in Ghana either by visiting and living in Ghana themselves or knowing someone who was living in Ghana at the time. This made it easier in some ways as they had an idea as to what documents were required as well as the information they would be required to give to immigration officials at the point of entry. Tidiane’s experience exemplifies this. After completing his undergraduate degree, Tidiane was unemployed for three years; his decision to migrate to Ghana was made after noticing that people who returned from Ghana with an English certificate or a degree from a Ghanaian university found jobs relatively easily. Wanting to also benefit from this, Tidiane got in touch with an old classmate who was in Ghana at that time via facebook. He got information about the requirements for getting into a tertiary institution in Ghana, the housing situation and cost of rent, required documents at the airport as well as other information. His friend also advised him to start getting his funds ready and to also visit the websites of prospective schools to get an idea as to the programs offered and the cost of tuition. Thus, Tidiane faced no difficulty entering the country, even though his grasp of the English language was limited.

² Translates to I do not understand

Studies on migrant experiences in the host country highlight the role and importance of migrant social networks in helping newly arrived migrants settle in (Owusu, 2000; Van Dijk, 1997). Having networks in Ghana (friends or family members) also meant that when participants arrived in Ghana they either had someone to meet them (if they came through Kotoka International Airport) or had information about how to get to their final destination if they came by road. In addition, the migrants explained that knowing somebody in Ghana meant that they didn't have to worry about finding accommodation immediately after arriving as their family or friends provided lodging for the period it would take for the migrants to settle in.

Nine (9) out of the twelve (12) participants had either a relative or a friend who had either lived in Ghana in the past or was currently in Ghana and the migrants spent between eight weeks to a year living with them. Fabian for example had an uncle living in Sakumono and spent six months living with him. The six months living with his uncle were particularly helpful as it allowed Fabian to acclimate to life in Ghana and improve his English. Fabian also used this period to explore Accra and Tema, got familiar with the public transport systems such as "trotro"; learnt simple phrases in *twi*³ so as to be able to communicate with the driver's mate and as well as how to go shopping and bargain in places like kantamanto. Thus, when he moved to Kisseman after getting admission into a tertiary institution he felt comfortable navigating life in Accra.

Not all the participants who had relatives or friends in Ghana spent extended periods of time with them. For example, prior to her arrival in Ghana, Victoire had been in communication with a relative who had found and paid the rent on suitable accommodation nearby. She therefore spent only a few days with her relative before moving in to her own apartment.

³ A local Ghanaian language spoken by members of the Akan ethnic group

5.5. Length of Stay

Some studies show that migrants' reasons for migrating, the intended duration of their migration and intentions to return to the origin country often evolve and change over time. This may be due to the circumstances they encounter in the host country such as better economic opportunities, health infrastructure and so on; as well as changes in a migrant's personal circumstance such as receiving citizenship or permanent residence, getting married or having children (Mazzucato, 2008; Alberts & Hazen, 2005).

The study found that participants' length of stay in the country ranged from one year (the shortest) to twenty one years (the longest) to with an average of about six years. In addition, seven of the participants had spent between five to twelve years in Ghana. Their length of stay was influenced by several factors including their motivation for moving to Ghana, the economic opportunities they found as well as the connections they made. Philippe's experience is an example. Philippe is a 42-year old migrant from Benin who has been living in Ghana for 21 years. He arrived in Ghana after completing his secondary school education with the intention of spending a year in Ghana in order to improve his English knowledge. However, his plans changed when after completing his language course, a Ghanaian couple in his parish offered to sponsor his tertiary education at the University of Ghana. While there, he met a Ghanaian and began courting her; upon completion of his degree, he found employment in the formal sector and got married a few years later. He has now lived in Ghana for over twenty years and has no intention of returning to his country of origin, Benin, although he visits there frequently. He feels very comfortable in Ghana and considers himself to be well integrated.

5.6. Chapter Summary and Conclusion

This chapter has presented a discussion on the socio-demographic characteristics of the francophone migrants. The socio-demographic characteristics the study considered based on relevant literature included age, level of education, employment status, religious affiliation and marital status. The chapter also highlighted the migration process of the migrants focusing on their migration trajectory, decision to migrate, length of stay and early networks. The study found that the main motivations for migrating were for educational and economic purposes and that the migratory ambitions of most of the participants were bolstered through financial support from family and friends as well as the existence of early networks

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CHAPTER SIX

TRANSNATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF THE FRANCOPHONE MIGRANTS

6.1. Introduction

As stated in chapter 1, this study examined the experiences of francophone migrants in Accra regarding their processes of integration and the role transnational activities play in affecting these integration processes. Advances in technology, transport and communication technology have made migration relatively cheaper and faster and have also facilitated migrants' ability to engage in transnational activities. In order to achieve the aims of the study, this chapter describes the kinds of transnational activities that the francophone migrants engage in and the level of their engagement

Transnational migrants establish and maintain multiple connections in societies that span geopolitical borders. They engage in a variety of practices that are economic, socio-cultural and political in nature within social fields that include both the migrant and those left behind (Levitt, & Glick Schiller, 2004). These transnational practices include activities such as periodic visits to their country of origin (home), telephone calls, sending remittances, engaging in business, participation in cultural and social ceremonies and events, belonging to migrant home associations and engaging in the news and events in the home country through various types of media. While some of these activities and practices take place across borders; some occur within the host country.

The study found that the participants had varying levels of transnational engagement; manifesting high levels of engagement with some kinds of transnational activities and low levels with other kinds. In addition, the study found that transnational activities influence the integration experiences of migrants and are in turn influenced by the integration experiences of migrants in various ways. According to Erdal and Oeppen, the resulting process may be one that is additive, synergistic or antagonistic (see chapter 2). The study found that some migrants experienced a synergistic effect where their transnational activities and practices resulted in the becoming better integrated into Ghanaian society. On the other hand, some migrants experienced an antagonistic effect where deepening integration lead to less engagement in transnational activities. These and other findings are discussed in further detail in this chapter and in chapter seven.

6.2. Means of communication

Telephones remain the primary tool for communication used by participants to maintain their ties with family and friends. All twelve participants regularly communicated with their family and friends back home; though the frequency of communication was affected by the means used. A major impediment to the participants' ability to call home was the high costs involved when making calls to African countries.

Telecommunication companies such as MTN and Vodafone offered subsidies and promotions such as lower costs per minute and free talk time to customers calling countries like the USA, UK, Germany and China. However, calls to countries like Togo, Ivory Coast and Senegal did not enjoy such subsidies or promotions. For example, calls to the UK using MTN cost GHC 0.12 (12 Ghana pesewas per minute) but calls to Ivory Coast cost 1.20 Ghana Cedis per minute.

For the majority of the participants interviewed, social media platforms like WhatsApp and Facebook had become their primary means of staying in touch with their families. Ten (10) of the twelve (12) participants communicated with their families and friends primarily through WhatsApp.

The WhatsApp platform was particularly popular due to its simplicity and lower costs as well as providing users with the opportunity to create different kinds of groups in order to communicate with and access different kinds of information.

These groups included groups made up of only family members- which allowed migrants to discuss family matters; groups made up of friends, school alumni and other networks based in their origin countries where news and discussions about events in the home country were shared and the WhatsApp groups of francophone associations and informal networks based in Ghana where migrants were able to access and share information to facilitate their integration. The popularity of social media platforms like WhatsApp is buttressed by the experiences of migrants like Fatou and Victoire:

...before it was very difficult especially when we were using MTN and then over there it wasn't MTN by then it was Areeba it was very difficult you can be here and maybe two weeks, three weeks before your father or mother will call you...now because of this WhatsApp we talk every day, even sometimes every hour, we just say hi... It's like I'm still in Guinea (Fatou, 29, Alajo, May, 2017)

How often can I say we get in touch? In the beginning it wasn't really often because it's not all of us back then who were using the social things... They can have the phone that can get the WhatsApp but they won't get the WhatsApp, so we were not always in contact but these days at least, everybody has tried, we even have a group, a family group on Facebook and on WhatsApp that we chat on, so every day I think we are in touch, everybody passes on internet they put there, the comments, they chat on anything. So I think we are always in contact (Victoire, 29, Kisseman, May 2017)

Two of the older participants, Philippe and Guillaume however still relied primarily on telephone calls when contacting family members in their origin countries of Benin and Togo.

This was because the calls were made to older family members such as parents and aunts who used phones that could not access the WhatsApp platform. The costs involved in making telephone calls therefore reduced the frequency with which they communicated with their relatives back in the origin country.

Considering the relatively young ages of the participants, the prominence of social media as a tool for communication is not surprising. As Dekker and Engbersen (2013) note, “social media establish an effective infrastructure for exchanging social capital in migration networks, which brings new opportunities for individual migrants.

The findings from this study indicate that; similar to the work of Chen and Choi (2011) on Chinese migrants in Singapore and Dekker and Engbersen’s (2013) work on Brazilian, Ukrainian and Moroccan migrants in Amsterdam and Rotterdam; social media platforms play an integral role in migrants’ ability to maintain ties to their families and friends back home and also acted as a way to navigate the economic, social and cultural challenges they experienced.

6.3. Home Visits

According to Duval (2004) visits may be defined as the temporary sojourns of a migrant to his or her country of origin which take place on a periodic or occasional basis. Family visits therefore perform the social function of maintaining, renewing and solidifying family ties across borders (Bryceson & Vuorela, 2002; Duval, 2004; Mason, 2004).

The study found that the migrants viewed visits to be one of the important ways in which they maintained their home ties. All but two of the participants had visited home at least once, since migrating to Ghana and ten (10) out of the twelve (12) participants had visited

home within the past year. The frequency with which the migrants visited home was influenced by their country's proximity to Ghana and the cost of travel.

For participants from countries like Cote d'Ivoire and Togo which share a border with Ghana, visits to home tended to be more frequent than migrants from countries further away such as Senegal and Guinea. The participants from countries further away were also more likely to struggle with the cost of travel; whether by road or air. In addition, the migrants from Guinea and Senegal who travelled by road, had safety concerns due to the fact that they had to pass through Mali which is experiencing civil unrest in order to get to their countries. These migrants were faced with a number of issues including highway robbery and harassment at the border. These issues become important considerations in deciding to visit home. For most of these migrants such risk are usually not worth taking. Thus, visits were infrequent.

For Abdoulaye and Marie from Senegal, visits to home have to be strategic due to the cost involved as well as the expectations of family members. Both have only been home once since they first arrived in Ghana. They first visited during the Christmas holidays in December, 2016 after saving throughout the year in order to afford the cost of a plane ticket as well as buy gifts for family members. Their decision to travel by air was fuelled primarily by the stories they had heard about travelling through Mali during the holiday season as well as the desire to appear successful.

The time spent during these visits back home varied; ranging from three (3) days to one (1) month though on average they spent about two weeks at home. Visits to the places of origin served several purposes including supervising building and business projects and fulfilling family responsibilities and commitments. Guillaume, for example, tries to visit Togo once or twice a year to spend time with his Aunt and nieces as well as check on the property he owns which he has rented out. Apolline also travels home to Ivory Coast a minimum of four times

a year to visit family and spend time with her fiancé though she also goes back home whenever there is an emergency or family event such as a funeral.

In general, the migrants expressed their desire to visit home more frequently sharing their frustration about their inability to do so due to the challenges involved such as the cost of travel and their limited time.

Two of the participants Tidiane and Etienne however, had never been home since migrating to Ghana. Tidiane, who had been living in Ghana for less than two years, was unable to visit home due to financial constraints. Etienne on the other hand, had left Cote d'Ivoire right after the arrest of then President Laurent Gbagbo in 2011, and had no intention of visiting Cote d'Ivoire until there was a change in government.

6.4. Cash Remittances

Empirical studies on migrant experiences show that remittances play an important role in the lives of migrants and their families as well as the economies of their countries of origin (Ratha, 2003; Orozco, 2005; De Haas, 2007b; Mazzucato, 2008). Of the twelve participants interviewed, nine (9) sent remittances while three (3) did not due to lack of funds and the high cost of living in Accra.

Of the nine who sent remittances home, seven (7) did so on a monthly basis while two sent money home once or twice a year depending on their financial situation. In situations where money was needed urgently however, all nine of the participants felt obliged to send remittances upon request, regardless of their own financial difficulties.

In general, remittances were sent through informal channels such as persons visiting home. Though not as secure as formal channels, participants explained that they had little choice because money transfer Operators such as Western Union and Moneygram only provided

services for receiving money and did not have the mandate for money to be sent from Ghana to other countries. According to the migrants, the only official channel which allowed people to send money to other countries in Africa was the Ecobank rapid transfer which was expensive and reduced the amount of money they could send.

It is worth noting that participants from countries like Senegal and Guinea preferred to use the bank to send money due to the low risk involved while those from neighbouring countries like Ivory Coast and Togo relied on informal channels

The francophone migrants also explained that unlike Ghana where telecommunications networks had the mobile money platforms available which made sending money within Ghana easier; there were no such avenues for sending money to their countries of origin. Thus, participants made use of informal methods such as friends as well as sending money through bus drivers who travelled between Ghana and their home country.

The use of informal channels is consistent with the literature on migrant remittances which notes that official figures for remittance flows are much lower than reality due to migrants' use of unregistered and informal channels to send money (Guarnizo & Diaz, 1999; Mazzucato, van den Boom, & Nsowah-Nuamah, 2005; Wong, 2006). The study found that Seven (7) of the twelve (12) participants frequently used these informal channels to send money to their networks back home. Fabian for instance, uses informal channels to send money frequently. Although he is from Ivory Coast; the time intensive nature of his education limits his ability to visit home. In order to maintain his relationship with his girlfriend in Ivory Coast as well as support his younger brothers, Fabian sends money through other Ivoirians going home. He has also cultivated relationships with two drivers who travel between Accra and Abidjan on a weekly basis; thus when he cannot send the money through friends or colleagues; he sends the money through the drivers.

Using informal networks is risky and requires a certain level of trust. Having networks of other francophones living in Ghana becomes particularly useful at this point; especially when a francophone has only been in Ghana for a short period of time. Being able to tap into existing channels for sending money, either through francophones who go home often or being introduced to trustworthy drivers by other francophones helps to mitigate the risk involved.

Remittances sent home were generally used to help take care of expenses such as education of children or siblings, medical expenses and other basic needs as well as augmenting family income. For two of the participants however, the primary reason for sending remittances was not because they were needed for daily upkeep but just as a way of showing appreciation and expressing love:

when I wasn't working, no, I didn't send money, but now that I am working, yes I do and when I do, they are very happy ... it's not like if I don't send money they won't eat, but I send it to show that the money they used to bring me here was not wasted...I can never repay my father, in fact he has done a lot for me, so now it is a pleasure to send money to my dad or mom or even pay my sisters school fees to show that I'm not doing anything bad; and that even though I am here, I am thinking of them' (Fatou, 29, Alajo, 2017)

I send money to my mother at the end of every month to do what she likes, not because she needs it- In fact she is not even in Senegal, but I still send money to a friend who puts it into her account on my behalf. (Marie, Kisseman, April 2017)

Another purpose remittances served was to fund building projects as is the case with Elodie. Elodie is currently building a house as well as a small restaurant in the hopes of expanding her restaurant business to Abidjan. She tries to visit Cote d'Ivoire a few times a month to monitor the progress of her projects. When she is unable to travel, she sends money through Ecobank rapid transfer so that the project does not experience delays. To her, building a house back home as well as a business is a sign of success and a way to provide employment for her relatives, making them more financially independent.

Remittances did not always flow from the migrant to the origin country; in some cases, the migrants' were the ones receiving the remittances. For both Fatou and Etienne, receiving remittances played an important part in their early efforts to settle in Ghana. This was partly due to them not having full information about the cost of living in Ghana as well as unexpected costs such as hospital visits and emergencies.

6.5. In-Kind Remittances

Remittances sent home were not always in the form of cash but also took the form of goods such as clothes, fabric, fashion accessories and others which were sent as gifts. Ghanaian goods such as Alata Samina (African black soap), African print dresses, Kumasi made slippers and beads as well as Golden Tree Chocolate were particularly popular gifts to sent home to family and friends

If I find someone to send them, I send the Ghanaian soap, because Senegal, they like the Ghana Industry...and the beads too, I send them to my wife, she really likes Ghanaian goods (Abdoulaye, Osu, May, 2017)

Last time I went to Osu to buy dress for my nieces they are 8 and 10 -those African dresses like this one... they don't have some of this Kente in Senegal. I send them as presents for them (Marie, Kisseman, April, 2017)

I like cooking so I send cooking stuff like utensils home and I like the GTP because it doesn't fade and I told you my mum used to come here so she also like it . I also like tie and dye like this one; we have some in Ivory Coast but it is not like this, so I buy them and send it to my mother (Apolline, Kisseman, May 2017)

The gifts served as a way to maintain kinship and social ties. As most of the locally made goods were relatively cheap, migrants could buy as many as they could afford so that relatives, including extended family members and friends could receive a gift. According to the participants, sending gifts to family and friends demonstrate that migrants are thinking about their family, even though they are not presently in the home country. It also acts as a

tangible show of appreciation as many of the migrants received some sort of financial support from family and/or friends.

6.6. Transnational businesses and investments

Other ways by which migrants' sustained ties to their home country were by having business and investments in their origin countries. These ties included owning and renting out property in their home country and engaging in cross-border trading activities. A few of the migrants had either engaged in or were currently engaged in these kinds of transnational businesses and investments. Fatou for example, owns a restaurant in Accra and sends made in Ghana goods such as alata samina (African black soap); Kumasi made shoes and GTP fabric to Guinea which is then sold in her Aunt's shop in Conakry for a small profit. Although this new business is very young, Fatou has a dedicated clientele and hopes to use the profit earned to expand the business and establish her own store in Conakry.

Guillaume owns a three bedroom house in Togo which he has been renting out for the a few years now. The rent he received from his property acts an alternative source of income for him and his family both in Ghana and Togo. Being able to rent out that property makes providing financial support to his widowed Aunt and nieces' in Togo much easier. In addition, Guillaume has also invested some of the rent money and bought land in Ghana where he intends to build a house for his family.

6.7. Cultural Ceremonies and Social Events

Another way migrants maintain ties with their home country is through their participation in the events, practices and ceremonies of their home countries. Participation in these events and ceremonies allowed migrants to embrace their national and cultural identities as well as their shared identity as francophone people. The study found that the participants engaged in a

wide range of ceremonies and events including weddings, naming ceremonies and Independence Day celebrations.

The type and scale of the events tend to determine the level of participation. Interviews with the participants showed that events organised by their respective embassies or consulates were well attended by francophones in general as it was a good opportunity to meet other francophones and to network. Events such as the Francophone day organised by Alliance Française; the various concerts and parties organised by Embassies and associations which featured musicians and other entertainment groups from various francophone nations were quite popular among younger participants.

These events also provided migrants with the opportunity to meet and interact with fellow nationals as well as other francophones who had spent more time in Ghana and could provide them with information and/or opportunities for advancement.

Weddings and naming ceremonies were also important avenues for engagement with their home countries. Participants noted that although the majority of their fellow nationals preferred to go home to have their weddings, a number of them took place in Ghana. These situations usually had a francophone marrying another francophone from a different country or a Ghanaian. Naming Ceremonies however always took place in Ghana with the music, food and rites as close to authentic as they could manage. Victoire, one of the participants of the study however notes that the ceremonies never really feel like the ones at home due to the absence of elders. She explains:

If I am invited, I'll go. I think it was just last week or so, my friend who had given birth had the naming ceremony, so I was there...It's not exactly like the one at home...you know these traditional things we need elderly people, we need those old men, old women, we just do our best to have fun and enjoy ourselves, play music and dance and eat, but it will never be like the one at home. (Victoire, Kisseman, May, 2017)

6.8. Accessing news and events from the Origin country

For many of the participants, accessing information about events that occurred in their home country was relatively easy. Ten out of the twelve participants made use of the internet to access information from news sites while for two of the respondents, the radio station RFI (Radio France International) was their main source of “official” news about events in Francophone Africa. In addition, those who could afford to, purchased a subscription to the television network Canal+ (Canal plus)⁴ allowed them to access news, sports, politics, music, movies, and other information from their country and the African francophone region in general.

Social media platforms such as facebook twitter and WhatsApp also played a major role in how rapidly news reached them. The reliance on social media, especially for the younger participants was due to its convenience. They received notifications from facebook and WhatsApp any time someone in their circle of influence shared any information or made a comment to add to the discussion and using social media meant that they did not have to be in their homes (as is the case with the TV) in order to access the information.

For the most part, the participants’ engagement with the politics of their home country was limited to reading and watching news from their country and having discussions with friends and family. They did not participate in activities such as voting, campaigning or demonstrating and in many cases; most participants were quick to state their disinterest in anything that required active involvement in politics.

⁴ Canal Plus is a digital TV subscription service where customers pay a monthly subscription to receive a range of movie, music, news and sports channels

6.9. Membership in francophone associations

Eight of the participants interviewed had either been part of a francophone association or were currently members of an association in Ghana. According to the participants, the associations served a variety of purposes and had different goals. Some associations such as the association of Guinean workers in Ghana were economic in nature, while others such as the Association of Ivoirians in Ghana and the Association of Guinean students were social in nature. In addition, associations that were more cultural or religious in nature also existed.

Some of these associations were formal bodies with a clearly defined hierarchical structure and a governing body and periodic elections; as is the case with economic associations and student organisations. Others were semi-formal, with no clearly defined leadership. These associations were also not necessarily oriented towards their home country as is the case with Hometown Associations, but rather served as a way for fellow nationals to share information about events occurring back home, invite other nationals to events such as weddings and a way to solicit and provide help to fellow nationals who were struggling in one way or the other.

For some of the participants, belonging to an association brought some benefits. Tidiane a migrant from Guinea who had been in Ghana for almost two years recalled an incident where the president of his country had arrived in Ghana for an ECOWAS meeting. The president had met with various Guinean associations including the students' association and during the meeting, the executives of the Association of Guinean Students had used the opportunity to discuss the challenges they faced as students in Ghana, especially with tuition fees which led the president to release some funds to be given to every member of the association to help with their tuition. Being a member of the association meant that he received that money, which he used to help pay his tuition for the second year of his programme.

For Mamadou, 30, who is an executive in an association; belonging to an association allows members to receive help when they have issues, especially issues relating to the police or landlords. He gave several instances where the executives had had to step in to help members who had been arrested or detained by police for using the license plates from their countries or using a driver's license from their country. Mamadou explained that in his experience, some unscrupulous police officers took advantage of the ignorance of recently arrived migrants to extort large sums of money from them, detaining those who failed to pay on trumped up charges.

Other participants had experienced no real benefit from being members of such associations with some complaining that the groups had devolved from helping each other to a group that was all about politics. As Fabian explains:

Honestly, I used to be very active, but now I'm not really involved because it has turned into a political thing, so instead of helping each other it's all about politics...you know there was a situation back in Ivory Coast...so now I just mind my own business and don't involve myself too much (Fabian,25, Kisseman, April, 2017)

6.10. Levels of transnational engagement of the francophone migrants

As the previous sections have shown, the francophone migrants engaged in various forms of transnationalism, however not all of the participants engaged in transnationalism at high levels. The eight forms of transnational activities the migrants engaged in manifested differently for each migrant and were placed into one of three categories: high engagement, moderate engagement and low engagement.

Findings from the study show that communication with family and friends via telephone calls and social media was the most common form of transnational activity the migrants engaged in. The frequency of the communication with family and friends was placed into three

categories: regular communication (daily/weekly calls and texts), moderate communication (monthly calls) and sporadic/low communication (a few times a year)

Frequency of home visits was categorised as high (more than three times a year), moderate (annual visits) and low (no visits).

With respect to cash remittances; engagement was considered high when the participants sent money home regularly (monthly remittances); moderate when money was sent at least four times a year (quarterly remittances) and low when money was never remitted home. In the same vein, in-kind remittances were placed into high (monthly remittances), moderate (quarterly remittances) and low (no remittances)

The participants who engaged in transnational businesses, projects and investments regularly (daily/monthly) were categorised as highly transnational, moderately transnational when they engaged in these activities occasionally (at least four times a year) and lowly transnational when they did not engage or no longer engaged in these activities.

Attending cultural ceremonies and social events was categorised as high when the migrants attended three or more functions a year, moderate when they attended one or two functions a year and low when they did not attend any francophone cultural ceremony/event in a year.

With respect to accessing information such as news and events occurring in their origin countries; migrants were placed into three categories: high engagement (daily/weekly), moderate engagement (monthly) low engagement (a few times a year)

Finally, membership in a francophone association was categorised as high when the migrants were active members who regularly participated in the activities of the association; medium when the migrants were passive members who engaged in some activities and low when the

migrants did not belong to any francophone association. The varying degrees of transnational engagement of the participants based on the findings of the study are summarised in the table 6.1 below

Table 6.1 Levels of Transnational Engagement

Participant	Transnational activity							
	Communication	Home visits	Cash remittances	In-kind remittances	Transnational business & investments	Cultural ceremonies & social events	Accessing news and events from origin country	Membership in a francophone association
Fabian	High	Moderate	High	High	Low	High	High	Moderate
Etienne	High	Low	Moderate	Moderate	Low	Moderate	High	Moderate
Marie	High	Moderate	High	High	Moderate	High	High	Low
Abdoulaye	High	Moderate	High	High	Moderate	Moderate	High	Low
Elodie	High	High	High	Low	High	Moderate	Moderate	Low
Philippe	Low	High	Low	Low	Low	Moderate	High	Low
Guillaume	Moderate	Moderate	High	Moderate	High	High	High	Low
Tidiane	Moderate	Low	Low	Low	Low	High	High	High
Fatou	High	High	High	High	High	High	High	Moderate
Mamadou	Moderate	Moderate	Low	Low	Low	Moderate	High	High
Victoire	High	Moderate	High	High	Low	High	Moderate	Moderate
Apolline	High	High	High	High	Low	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate

Source (Field work, 2017)

From table 6.1, it is evident that migrants had varying levels of transnational engagement. The migrants exhibited high levels of engagement in transnational activities such as communicating with family and friends in the origin country, sending cash remittances and sending in-kind remittances and accessing information about origin country. They were evenly split between high levels of engagement and moderate engagement in transnational activities such as attending cultural ceremonies

The migrants were moderately engaged in activities such as home visits and evenly split between being moderately engaged and lowly/weakly engaged in francophone associations. In general, the migrants had low levels of transnational business engagements

Using the migrants levels of engagement in each of the transnational activities discussed, a data matrix of the migrants overall level of engagement is created. This is determined by the number of high levels of engagement each migrant exhibited.

Thus, migrants who had high levels of engagement in five or more activities would be considered highly transnational, migrants who had high levels of transnationalism in at least four activities would be considered moderately transnational and migrants who had high levels of engagement in less than four activities would be considered weakly transnational as shown in table 6.2 below

Table 6.2 Overall level of Transnational engagement

Participant	Overall level of transnational engagement
Fabian	High
Etienne	Low
Marie	High
Abdoulaye	Moderate
Elodie	Moderate
Philippe	Low

Guillaume	Moderate
Tidiane	Low
Fatou	High
Mamadou	Low
Victoire	Moderate
Apolline	Moderate

Source: Fieldwork, 2017

6.11. Chapter Summary and Conclusions

This chapter has presented the findings on the transnational activities and practices of the francophone migrant. The transnational activities that the francophone migrants engage in reveal two dimensions of transnational practices: Activities that occurred within a social field encompassing both the home country and the host country and those that occurred within the host country but fed into the participants' national or cultural identity. Thus activities such as sending remittances, telephone calls and texts and business investments are a part of the first dimension while activities such as attending ceremonies and belonging to associations form part of the second dimension of activities which take place within the host countries.

The findings show that participants exhibited varying levels of transnational engagement ranging from high levels of engagement to low levels of engagement. This could be attributed to factors such as the migrants' socio-demographic characteristics, migration experiences and social networks. These transnational activities which describe the ways francophone migrants sustain their ties to their home countries reinforces the argument by transnational scholars (for example, Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004; Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007); that transnational migrants participate in multi stranded processes that extend across borders while they become part of the places where they settle.

The ensuing chapter (chapter 7) focuses on the integration processes of the francophone migrants, the challenges they experienced integrating and the outcome of the interactions between transnational activities and integration processes on the migrants' ability to engage in transnational activities and integrate.

CHAPTER SEVEN

INTEGRATION PROCESSES OF THE FRANCOPHONE MIGRANTS

7.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the following objectives, namely, to examine the factors that influence the francophone migrants' ability to integrate, the challenges they faced integrating into the economic and social environment of Ghana and the outcome of the interactions between transnational activities and integration. In fulfilling the objectives of the study, this chapter focuses on the integration processes of the francophone migrants and is divided into three sections.

The first section of the chapter highlights the two main dimensions of integration used in the study and how the components of each dimension played out in the migrants' integration process. The second section describes the challenges encountered as well as the coping strategies used by the migrants in facing these challenges. In addition, it presents two case studies on owning a business in Ghana as a francophone migrant and the role friendships with Ghanaians play in the success of the business. The third section of this chapter focuses on the outcome of the interactions between transnationalism and integration and its influence on the francophone migrants.

As stated in the literature review, the indicators of economic integration include employment, education and income level while indicators of socio-cultural integration include language, friendships and membership in organizations. As Ager and Strang (2008) note, these indicators are also factors that influence a migrant's ability to integrate. Although empirical studies on migrant integration elsewhere show that migrants with a high level of education and a stable job tend to have more informal contact with the host society (for example Snel et al., 2006; Jayaweera & Choudhury, 2008; Erdal & Oeppen, 2013); this was not necessarily

the case for the francophone migrants interviewed. The study found varying configurations of the relationship between dimensions of economic integration and socio-cultural dimensions of integration. Although some participants with high levels of education and stable jobs were well integrated socio-culturally; having Ghanaian friends, knowledge of a local language and so forth, others with similar backgrounds had weak socio-cultural ties to the host society. The participants with lower levels of education also tended to be better integrated in general than some of their better educated compatriots. This and other findings are discussed further in subsequent sections.

7.2. Economic Integration

This section focuses on the factors that influenced a migrants' ability to participate in the labour economy of Ghana. According to Wang and Fan (2012), the factors that influence economic integration include income, education and employment. The study found that education as well as the migrants' employment status played a role in their integration process.

7.2.1. Education

As noted in chapter four; one of the main reasons some of the participants migrated to Ghana was to further their education in a Ghanaian institution. These institutions included universities like Wisconsin University, Lancaster University and GIMPA, language schools like Alliance Française and Ghana School of Languages as well as other educational institutions like the Chartered institute of bankers.

Studies on immigrant integration in the west note that, opportunities for economic integration could be limited due to migrants' difficulty in translating their professional and academic credentials (Terrazas, 2011; Sardinha, 2010). However, this was not the case for the francophone migrants, as they could easily have their educational qualifications such as

baccalaureate and university degrees translated by accredited institutions to conform to the English/Ghanaian standards.

The study found that receiving an education from Ghanaian institutions provided some of the migrants with opportunities to gain work experience as part of the school's curriculum which improved their chances of finding a job after graduating. In addition, being in an educational environment gave migrants the opportunity to expand their knowledge of written and spoken English, especially for migrants in professional courses like banking and business administration.

An added benefit the francophone migrants received from enrolling in a school was the opportunity to make formal and informal social connections with Ghanaians and other migrants which aided their socio-cultural integration. Making friends from school for example, helped migrants overcome certain challenges such as difficulties following a class and navigating the public transport system.

7.2.2. Labour Market Participation in Ghana

A number of the participants interviewed had changed jobs since entering the labour market. The reasons for the job changes included the low wages they received, acquiring skills that allowed them to find better jobs, finding niches in the informal sector that provided them with higher incomes and a desire to become entrepreneurs.

The study found that job acquisition generally followed two paths; either the migrants relied on their social networks to gain employment within the formal sector or used their resources and networks to set up private enterprises in the informal sector. The participants who had secured jobs in the formal sector, used information provided in their francophone associations, friendships with Ghanaians, and school networks made up of students, teachers

and administrators to find employment within the formal sector. Apolline, an Ivorian woman who migrated to Ghana in 2012 shared this story:

You see, I left Ivory Coast to attend school in Ghana, and when I completed [my education]; I got a job at the Shippers Authority. It was sort of like an attachment [internship] and I was hoping that they would give me a full time job after it ended, but they didn't. So after a few months when I couldn't get a new job, I sent an email to the school administration to let them know I was going back to my country since I couldn't get a job. They called me a few days later to tell me they had a vacant position at the school, so I went there, they interviewed me and I got the job...I have been working there for almost two years. (Apolline, 30, Kisseman, May 2017)

Some of the migrants in the informal sector relied on their networks to some degree, capitalizing on their social networks to make new contacts, get information and acquire skills as is the case with Guillaume. When Guillaume arrived in Ghana, he lived in Suhum with a relative who owned a car washing business. While living there, he learnt how to drive and acquired a driver's license. Interacting with Ghanaians daily helped him to learn to speak *Twi* and after meeting and marrying a Ghanaian there, he decided to find a job in Accra. His uncle got in touch with a friend in Accra who agreed to employ Guillaume as a driver. After working for three years, his Uncle's friend helped Guillaume to buy a taxi so that he could become self-employed.

The migrants' length of stay also played a role in their economic integration. The longer they had lived in Ghana, the more the migrants understood how to live and work within the economic and social environment they found themselves. For migrants like Elodie, who moved to Ghana in search of a job and had been living in Ghana for twelve years, achieving economic stability was a result of working in different parts of the informal economy and acclimating to the Ghanaian lifestyle. Her experience living and working in Ghana helped her when starting her own restaurant as she had acquired knowledge on how to do business in the

informal sector of Ghana. In contrast, Abdoulaye had been in Ghana for less than two years and faced several challenges running his business.

Having a high level of education did not necessarily mean that migrants were employed in the formal sector. Four of the six migrants working in the informal sector had university degrees, but were in businesses that had no connection to the degrees earned. These migrant businesses were located in areas with a relatively large francophone migrant presence and included niche market activities such as owning francophone restaurants and commercial trading activities which worked to meet the demand for francophone items/products. In addition, some of the francophone migrant businesses also provided employment for other francophone migrants who had little or no formal education by employing them as cooks and waitresses.

According to Zhou (2004), engagement in “ethnic” businesses provides migrants with opportunities for socio-economic mobility which in turn helps with their integration prospects. The study found that the francophone migrants who owned businesses felt that they had achieved higher levels of economic integration by becoming self-employed in the informal sector as they made more money and had greater flexibility. Owning their own business and receiving higher incomes meant that they were able to make investments towards their integration such as buying property and expanding their businesses.

7.3. Socio-cultural Integration

The findings from the study show that knowledge of a local language, friendships, social networks and interactions with Ghanaians, membership in religious organisations, feelings of belonging and membership in informal francophone groups on social media were the factors that influenced migrants’ socio-cultural integration process.

7.3.1. Friendships with Ghanaians

Similar to other studies on immigrant integration, findings from the study indicate that the participants who had friends outside their national group felt more integrated than the participants who had limited interactions with Ghanaians and other non-nationals. Though friendships and contact with fellow nationals and other francophones was deemed very important; some of the participants placed a higher value on their relationships with Ghanaians.

Friendships with Ghanaians helped the migrants expand their networks, enabled them to become fluent in English faster and start to understand the local dialects as well as Ghanaian norms and values. In a more practical sense, friendships with Ghanaians helped the migrants to have a sense of the actual cost of living versus what they were told was the cost of things such as rent, utilities, transportation and market items. They also helped migrants navigate social and legal hurdles such as going to the hospital and registering a business. Fatou, for example, spent a lot of time and money travelling to Senegal to receive medical treatment for “ulcer” like symptoms she experienced before getting help from a friend who took her to the SSNIT hospital. As she explains it:

“When I came to Ghana, I really had a lot of difficulty with the Ghanaian food. Anytime I ate banku or kenkey...you know we don’t have these kinds of food in Guinea, so anytime I ate them, especially if I ate it in the morning, I would have these sharp pains. It was so bad. The medicine they gave me at the polyclinic wasn’t working and it was in so much pain that my dad had to get me a ticket to Senegal to go to a hospital there.....It was only later on, like a few months later, that I told a friend of mine about it and she took me to the SSNIT hospital at Osu. They made me get an endoscopy and some lab tests...the treatment was very good, even better than Senegal. I didn’t know there were hospitals like that here. If it had not been for my friend, I would still be wasting money going to Senegal. (Fatou, 29, Alajo, May 2017)

For Elodie, friendships provided both tangible and intangible benefits:

....I have many Ghanaian friends and they are very good... they have helped me in many ways... just sitting with them even if you don’t understand everything they are saying can help, because they will talk about life in Ghana

and some things that happen in the news or in Ghana, that you won't hear about or maybe don't understand as a francophone, they will take their time to explain to you. If you are going to buy a fridge and you don't know how much it's going to cost, I guarantee they will go and help you buy it and sometimes when they buy it they won't let you pay them back. (Elodie, 32, Osu, May, 2017)

Friendships with Ghanaians were cultivated through various ways, but a common means was through their participation in community activities such as contributing to other tenants' funerals or naming ceremonies; having household parties where all the tenants and some neighbours brought food and shared; participating in neighbourhood cleanup exercises and sitting outside and joining in on general conversation during power outages

7.3.2. Knowledge of a local language

The ability to effectively communicate with members of the host society plays an integral role in a migrants' ability to integrate. As Joppke (2007) notes, in many countries in Europe, migrants having to pass a language skills tests prior to entry or undertaking compulsory programmes focusing on language and societal knowledge upon arrival, points to the importance which governments place on language as an indicator of integration. In Ghana, the 1992 constitution requires that a person desiring Ghanaian citizenship be able to speak an indigenous language. There are however no policies in Ghana that focus on integrating foreigners by providing avenues for learning indigenous languages.

The study found that although speaking English helped migrants in navigating formal settings such as school and the workplace; it had little, and in some cases an adverse effect on their ability to integrate. This might be due to the fact that though English is the language of instruction in Ghana; it is not the medium of communication for the average Ghanaian. Thus, migrants who spoke a local language in addition to English or pidgin were better integrated than their compatriots who spoke English only. Those who spoke a local language were also

more likely to find it easier to navigate informal arenas such as using public transport and going to the market

I understand *Twi* very well. I picked it from friends and in the street...It has made it easy for me...even my francophone friends when they want to pick a taxi, they come and call me, I say a few things in *twi*, the driver will say oh ok, and then reduce the price (Fabian, 25, Kisseman, April 2017)

7.3.3. Membership in a religious organisation

Some studies show that belonging to a religious congregation can help migrants acclimate to the new society (Ebaugh, 2010; Adogame, 2003). The findings from the present study showed that while some of the Christian migrants had experienced some level of integration as a result of being in a church; none of the Muslim migrants had. The Muslim migrants interviewed explained that beyond going to the mosque for prayers, they had very limited interactions with Ghanaian Muslims.

On the other hand, some of the Christian migrants belonged to auxiliary bodies and had interactions with other church members that went beyond Sunday service. Their deeper connections with other Ghanaian Christians in the church may be attributed to the growing number of churches that offer French services. Examples of such churches include Lighthouse Chapel International, Christian Action Faith Ministries and Calvary Baptist Church.

Belonging to a church helped migrants in their integration in several ways. First, having an English to French service enabled them to pick up or improve their English language skills; churches and belonging to auxiliary bodies such as ushers, choirs and the men's' fellowship allowed migrants to join existing social networks that translated into deeper ties to the community and Ghanaians. Two of the migrants received financial support from their

churches, and one migrant was offered a job as a result of the connections he had made at church.

Not all the benefits received were as direct as financial support, but they still helped to make the migrants feel integrated. Guillaume, for example, shared that many members of his congregation had visited his household with gifts after the birth of his child. Victoire explained that being asked to join the ushers group had helped her become more assertive which made making friends easier. Having a French to English service also meant that they were able to meet with other francophone nationals and create relationships and develop friendships with other francophones with similar values and backgrounds.

7.3.4. Francophone groups on social media

All but two of the respondents belonged to groups on social media, primarily facebook. These groups had different configurations; some were open groups while others required prospective members to ask for an invite; but all the groups were directed at providing an environment or space for francophone migrants in Ghana to receive help and provide support to each other.

These informal groups helped the migrants to settle in Ghana in various ways. They provided information about various events taking place; helped migrants searching for restaurants with menu items from their origin countries and provided a place for francophone restaurants to advertise their services freely.

They also acted as a place for people to seek accommodation (Figure 7.1) and for others to advertise available accommodation (Figure 7.2), served as a market place for francophones leaving Ghana to sell items including beds, fridges, microwaves and television sets among others (Figure 7.3). These groups also served as a place for migrant to acquire “black market”

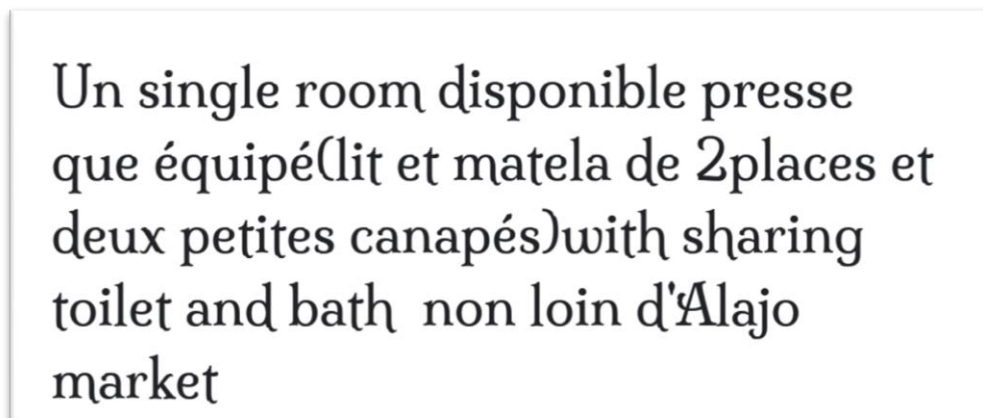
services such as those that that helped francophone migrants to get their residence permits, work permits among others without having to go through regular channels (Figure 7.4).

Figure 7.1 Searching for a room on facebook



[Good evening, I'll be in Accra soon; I'm looking for a room. Preferably [with] a girl who is looking for a roommate for 3 months]

Figure 7.2 Room advertisement on Facebook



[A single room available already furnished (bed, double mattress and two small sofas) with sharing toilet and bath, not far from the Alajo market.]

Figure 7.3 Selling items on facebook

Wardrobe / Armoire demontable
 #600gh
 Table et chaise #25ghc
 Matelas 2 places #250 ghc
 Sommier #100ghc
 Rideaux 4 de chaque modèles présentés
 100ghc



[Wardrobe/removable cabinet #600gh; Table and chair #25ghc; double mattress #100ghc; bedspring (bed slats) #100gh; curtains, 4 of each 100ghc]

Figure 7.4 Advertising the provision of Residence/work permits

LA FIN DES RÉSIDENCES
 PERMIS CHÈRES 🤔
 ♂ RÉGULARISER VOTRE
 SITUATION AU GHANA

1 -PERMIS DE RESIDENCE
 ZONE CEMAC
 -RENOUVELLEMENT
 -PENAUTÉ
 -EXTENSION
 ✓ JE PRATIQUES LES PRIX LES
 PLUS BAS 📞

2 -PERMIS DE RESIDENCE
 ZONE CEDEAO
 -RENOUVELLEMENT
 -PENAUTÉ
 -EXTENSION
 ✓ JE PRATIQUES LES PRIX LES
 PLUS BAS 📞

3 -WORKING PERMIT (NGOs,
 MISSIONNAIRES ARIES,
 COMPANIES AND
 SHAREHOLDERS)

DÉLAIS. (2 à 5 jours selon l'urgence)
 INFOLINE: SOSTHENE
 [REDACTED] 📞
 SERVICE FIABLE À 100%:
 SATISFAIT OU REMBOURSÉ

7.3.5. *Feelings of belonging*

The theme of belonging arose when the participants were asked if they felt like they were integrated. Eight of the participants felt they were integrated while four of the participants did not. There were several reasons for their feelings of belonging or alienation. Reasons for feeling alienated included not looking Ghanaian and thus always being treated like a foreigner, lukewarm reception from neighbours, cultural differences and language barriers. Victoire who has been in Ghana for six (6) years explained why she did not feel like she belonged:

...everything around you will still remind you that you are not in your country, you are not part of this country. For instance I cannot walk outside of my house and people will assume I am a Ghanaian. No! Even If I don't open my mouth they will let tell me they know I am not a Ghanaian" (Victoire, 29, Kisseman, May 2017)

On the other hand, those who felt they were integrated attributed their integration to having made a conscious effort to seek Ghanaian friends, learning a local language and adopting certain aspects of Ghanaian culture.

Yes I feel like I belong here, since I have been here for almost ten years, ...because I think I have [integrated]; because if things were bad I think I would have returned after the first three years. Yes so I have integrated, I have a piece of land and by the grace of God I will be building pretty soon. I already have my family here, what else will I do in Togo? I am becoming a Ghanaian (Guillaume; 32, Alajo, April 2017)

It is interesting to note that although in general, how long a migrant had lived in Ghana played a role in their feelings of integration, with migrants who had been living in Ghana longer generally feeling more integrated than migrants who had been in Ghana for shorter periods, this was not always the case. Victoire and Etienne who had both been in Ghana for six (6) years still experienced feelings of alienation and social distance while Marie who had been in Ghana for only a year felt like she was integrated.

7.4. Barriers to Integration

A migrant's ability to integrate into a host society is affected by the policies of the host country as well as the socio-cultural constraints. The study found that the migrants had faced or continued to face certain difficulties due to a number of constraints including issues related to immigration, cultural differences and discrimination; the high cost of living and "foreigner tax" and challenges with accommodation. This section describes these barriers and the strategies the migrants used to cope or improve their integration process

7.4.1. Cultural differences and Discrimination

A challenge that was a running theme for all the participants were the cultural differences and the associated misunderstanding and xenophobia that came with these misunderstandings. Several of the participants had had negative interactions with Ghanaians as a result. Tidiane, for example, shares a common scenario he and other francophones encounter regularly:

We Francophones, we behave differently from you Ghanaians and we consider some things that you don't consider and that's sometimes reciprocated... For example, for Francophones, it is very normal to sit at a bar and drink beer and be rowdy; shouting and smoking and having fun; you understand? And we consider that normal since it's a public place...but when Ghanaians see that, sometimes they get very annoyed, and start insulting us, saying things like "why are you speaking French?... go back to your country and other things...sometimes they even come to fight us because we are speaking French and just expressing ourselves. (Tidiane, 34, Alajo, May, 2017)

One way that these migrants cope with the cultural differences and hostility is by finding primarily francophone entertainment spots to avoid situations like this, for others making more Ghanaian friends and including them in their social circle helped as both groups learnt from each other. Others like Etienne chose to not dwell on these things, explaining that it came from a place of jealousy and ignorance:

Sometimes some people in this neighbourhood make very nasty comments to me, but you know what, I will still be okay. It's very normal. Some of the

people here are nice though, but some are racist [xenophobic]. They will insult you, and say things like what are you doing here? Go back to your country. But if you watch those kinds of people closely, you will see they don't have much education. So I just tell them that they behave this way because they are not educated...I just laugh at them and go my way (Etienne, 32, Kisseman, April, 2017)

In addition to the cultural differences and the concomitant misunderstandings that resulted; the female participants also had to deal with negative stereotypes about francophone women. They explained that in Ghana, there is the perception that francophone women are “loose” or prostituted themselves in order to be successful. All the women interviewed had experienced this in one way or the other; having had to endure sexual harassment from men who claimed to be friends or been the subject of gossip and hostility from women in their schools or neighbourhoods.

I have experienced a lot of jealousy from Ghanaian women...a lot. When they find out you are not a Ghanaian but you are successful, they don't treat you well. Africans don't believe you can be young, doing business and making money, so they think you got successful by doing something bad. It hurts me a lot when they say you this small girl where did you get this money from? Or when they say it's from prostitution. I don't want anyone calling me a prostitute. No, I work a lot. I believe that if you work hard, you can make it in Africa (Elodie, 32, Osu, May 2017)

Evidence suggests that this stereotype of francophone women and the generally negative perception about francophones may be rooted in recent history where Ghanaian labour migrants who travelled to francophone countries like Cote d'Ivoire returned to Ghana with sexually transmitted diseases such as HIV/AIDS (Setel, Lewis, & Lyons, 1999; Yankah, 2004)

7.4.2. High cost of living and the “foreigner tax”

The high cost of living in Accra was a common challenge faced by all the migrants. In addition, several of them complained about price gouging due to the perception that if they could afford to migrate to Ghana, they were wealthy enough to pay a little extra for their goods. Two participants, Abdoulaye and Victoire shared their thoughts on living in Accra

I used to think that Dakar was the most expensive place in Africa, but Accra is more expensive (laughs). The system in Ghana is special; if the government increases petrol, when you go to the market everybody has increased their prices. They will tell you, they increased the petrol, so I increased the price of my fish. (Abdoulaye, 35, Osu, May 2017)

Accra is very expensive, and when you are a foreigner, everybody cheats you; the landlord, the taxi driver, the market people, everyone. (Victoire, 29, Kisseman, May 2017)

For many of the migrants interviewed, this is when having Ghanaian friends and belonging to francophone groups became especially useful. They relied on their friends to provide them with estimates of the cost of items, went with their friends to the market so that they had someone who could bargain for the goods in their stead. Other strategies the migrants employed to reduce the occurrences of “foreigner tax” included dressing “more Ghanaian” learning to say a few phrases to help them bargain better or even learning a local language well enough that the Ghanaian traders could not tell they were foreigners and therefore treated them like they would any Ghanaian.

7.4.3. Challenges with accommodation

Each of the participants had faced some kind of challenge related to accommodation. For many of the migrants interviewed, this served as an impetus to moving to areas in Accra with a heavy francophone migrant presence.

The challenges related to the migrants’ accommodation came in various forms and included the high cost of rent, issues related to sharing utility meters where, due to other tenants unwillingness to pay their fair share, the migrants were forced to pay the complete utility bill in order to avoid having the electricity or water turned off.

Other challenges some of the migrants faced were dealing with exploitative landlords and rental agents who tried to take advantage of the migrants’ relative ignorance as well as

negative interactions with other tenants which sometimes devolved into physical altercations and in some cases, led to police involvement. While these challenges did not directly act as a barrier to the migrants' ability to integrate since they were not refused housing, the negative feelings engendered coloured their perception of Ghanaians which then influenced their socio-cultural integration.

For migrants like Victoire and Apolline who had been victims of exploitative rental agents and landlords, having social connections with other francophone migrants provided them with information on areas within Accra with lower rental fees and trustworthy landlords, as many of these places already had francophone nationals living there.

Belonging to a francophone association also became quite useful at this point. Mamadou, an executive in a student's association explained that, one of the major roles the association played was helping students who faced accommodation issues find alternative housing as well as sometimes dealing with the police on behalf of the migrants. During Mamadou's interview, he received a telephone call, when he ended his conversation with the person on the phone, he explained that the call was from a fellow Guinean who had gotten into a physical altercation with a Ghanaian tenant over the tenants refusal to pay his share of the utility bills and was now being threatened by other Ghanaians in the building. Mamadou explained that in situations like these, the association came together to contribute money to help the migrant find alternative accommodation as soon as possible, and in cases where the situation was dire, they went to help the migrant move out of the apartment. He then added that he, along with the president of the association would be going to visit the Guinean the next day to assess the situation.

7.4.4. Challenges with immigration

Although the participants were from ECOWAS member nations, several of them had faced challenges related to immigration. For some like Fatou and Apolline, they faced challenges at the point of entry due to language barrier. Fatou narrates the experience she had at the airport when she first arrived:

Can you imagine? When I first arrived in Ghana in 2009, I couldn't speak or understand any English. So at the airport, when the immigration officer was asking me questions... I think she was asking me for my name and where I was coming from... because I didn't know any English, I just stood there looking at her, telling her in French that "*je ne comprends pas*" meaning I don't understand. That was a big problem for me. I remember they were talking to me and at a point I was ignoring them a little because I didn't know what to do. It got to a point where I could tell the officer got very frustrated with me, but then another officer came and told her "can't you see she is a francophone?, she doesn't understand what you are saying" After that, I was able to finish the immigration stuff and meet with my relative outside (Fatou, 29, Alajo, 2017)

For some of the other migrants, the challenge they faced was the high cost of residence permits; which were required by law in order for foreign students to attend a Ghanaian university or other schools such as Alliance Française, Ghana Institute of Languages and the Chartered Institute of Bankers. For those who had jobs in the formal sector, in addition to paying for residence permits, they also had to pay for work permits which many found to be unnecessarily high, especially as they were ECOWAS citizens. According to Abdoulaye:

Ghana is the only country in Africa⁵ that will ask you for work permit and you pay like 700 or 800 dollars for the work permit for Senegalese people, and we are in ECOWAS!...We can do it for foreign people, for white people; but for a small African who is coming to start a business and they ask you about eight hundred (800) dollars for one year, where will you get all this money? (Abdoulaye, 35, Osu, May, 2017)

⁵ Ghana is among several West African countries where foreigners are expected to pay for a residence and work permit. The fees for ECOWAS nationals as at May 2016 were 150 cedis for a student residence permit and 500 dollars for non-students (immigrant quota). The work permit costs 500 dollars. In addition, they were required to pay for an Aliens identity card which costs 30 cedis and a confirmation of arrival fee of 100 cedis.

The migrants employed different strategies to avoid paying these payments this included using middle men who charged the migrants far less money to get them the residence and work permits through back channels (see figure 7.4).

7.5. Case Study: Integration processes of the francophone immigrants in Ghana

Studies show that socio-cultural indicators of integration such as friendships with members of the host community can have a beneficial effect on the economic integration of migrants as well as influence their ability to engage in transnational activities (Fokkema & De Haas, 2015; Snel, Engbersen, & Leerkes, 2006). This section looks at the migration and integration experiences of two restaurant owners, providing insight into how socio-cultural integration, specifically how friendships with Ghanaians played a role in their ability to establish and run a business.

7.5.1. Case study 1: Fatou

Fatou, a 29-year-old Muslim woman from Guinea has been in Ghana since 2009. After graduating from university with a degree in economics, she found employment at a bank in Guinea. Though the salary was good, she felt that she was constantly side-lined for promotion due to her inability to speak English; while those who could speak a little English were promoted and transferred to other countries. Wanting to improve her marketability, Fatou left Guinea and travelled to Ghana to study English. Prior to her arrival, she got in touch with friends and a family member who lived in Ghana to get some information about life in Ghana. Her father supported her travel ambition by buying her plane ticket, paying her school fees and providing enough money so that she could pay three months' rent. Upon her arrival in Ghana; her inability to speak or understand English proved to be an obstacle as she could not answer any of the questions posed by the immigration officer. After a long delay, she was able to complete arrival procedures when another immigration officer stepped in to assist.

Once in Accra, she realised that the money she had was not enough to rent; as she was expected to pay two years rent. She got in touch with her father who sent the money through Ecobank rapid transfer. After spending six months studying English, she was unhappy with her progress and enrolled at the Ghana Institute of languages. While there, she expanded her friend network, meeting other francophones as well as Ghanaians. She made conscious efforts to befriend Ghanaians she met at school as well as in her neighbourhood. She also expanded her networks of francophones, joining a Guinean student association as well as other francophone groups. Once she had completed her studies at the Institute of languages she found employment with a Turkish company where she dealt with their French clients. During this period, she decided to find accommodation around New Town or Tesano, as she had many francophone friends living in that area. She found accommodation at Alajo and moved there.

During her stay in Ghana, Fatou has made efforts to stay in touch with her friends and family in Guinea. It was quite difficult and expensive in the beginning as the only means of communication was the telephone where calling other African countries incurred very high tariffs. Communication became easier with improvements in technology and the rise of social media platforms like WhatsApp and facebook. Fatou went from calling her family once a week or once every two weeks to speaking with her family several times a day via WhatsApp. She also makes an effort to visit Guinea every December carrying along goods made in Ghana as gifts for friends and family.

Fatou enrolled at the Chartered Institute of bankers, as contact with her Ghanaian friends working in finance had made it clear that having a certificate from a chartered institute would make getting a high earning job easier. She quit her job and became a full time student. Having struggled to learn English and realising the importance of learning the language

early; she advised her parents to allow her younger siblings to start visiting her in Ghana during their school vacation to attend an English language school in the neighbourhood.

It was during their first visit to Ghana and enrolling in school that led to Fatou opening a restaurant. Her siblings struggled to eat the Ghanaian fare which they felt was carbohydrate heavy and too spicy for their palates. Having had unpleasant experiences adjusting to Ghanaian fare-even leading to her being hospitalised; Fatou made efforts to find a food stand or restaurant nearby where her siblings could find food. Fatou realised that this could be a good business opportunity, as there were five different schools within the area that catered to teaching francophones; and from her experiences and the experiences of other francophones from Guinea, Senegal and Mali, she knew that a restaurant serving Francophone cuisine was sorely lacking in the area.

She contacted two of her Ghanaian friends who owned businesses; as she had no idea what the regulations for starting a business in Ghana were. They provided her with information about the legal processes involved and put her in touch with people at the necessary institutions who could help with acquiring the necessary permits and documentation without too much hassle or delays. One friend also helped her acquire the land for her restaurant while the other provided her with start-up capital.

Fatou has been running her business for about three years now and is relatively successful. She has three employees on staff now and regularly advertises on various social media platforms, offering to cater events at a subsidised rate for various francophone associations which increases her popularity within the community. She remits between 400 and 700 Ghana cedis every month to her family, has bought a car, and is saving up to buy land.

She has had very few negative encounters with the AMA collectors as she makes sure to pay all her fees promptly and directly at the head office, as she has been advised by several Ghanaians that the collectors use people's ignorance as a means of extorting money. She explained:

I have the business certificate and registered it and everything so the AMA tax collectors don't worry me. Most of the time when you go to the Head Office and you pay their money you are free but after paying the money at the Head Office those tax collectors come around and try to make you pay again... they will just be talking, saying you shouldn't have gone to the Head Office to pay the money, you should have waited for us because we are the ones in charge of this area ... they just want their "T and T" [money] but since I have everything, they can't really worry me. (Fatou, 29, Alajo, 2017)

Fatou credits the success of her business to hard work, the help of her Ghanaian friends both through financial support and advice. She also acknowledges that finding a target market and a prime location to set up the restaurant has played a big role in her success. The success of her business has provided her with the funds to expand her business interests to Guinea. According to Fatou; there is a market for products from Ghana such as clothes, fabric, fashion accessories among others, but especially made in Ghana products like GTP wax print, alata samina (African black soap); and Kumasi made shoes. Therefore, starting in December 2016, Fatou began her second business- buying shoes from Kumasi and making and packaging alata samina to sell in Guinea.

With the help of some members in her Guinea workers' association, Fatou transports the items to Guinea by road where her aunt receives them and sells in her shop. Fatou relies primarily on word-of-mouth and her WhatsApp groups to advertise the products and though the business is relatively new, she has begun to see a small profit which she has reinvested into the business by hiring a Ghanaian who travels to Kumasi to buy the shoes. Fatou expects this business to grow rapidly and is hoping to buy or rent her own store in Guinea in the next two to three years.

7.5.2. Case study 2: Abdoulaye

Abdoulaye, a 35-year-old Muslim man from Senegal has been in Ghana since 2015. He holds a degree in computer science and is married with three children. Abdoulaye decided to migrate to Ghana to seek greener pastures. His cousin had been in Ghana for a few years had achieved relative success and managed to buy property in Ouakam, an upscale part of Dakar. In addition, an old classmate, who had moved to Ghana to study English, had gotten married to a Ghanaian and found a well-paying job in Accra. These two reasons and the stories he had heard about “making it” in Ghana from other francophones fuelled his migration decision.

Already possessing English skills, Abdoulaye felt he would have an easier time becoming successful in Ghana as he knew that speaking both English and French would be an asset. He thus began making arrangements to migrate to Ghana; leaving his wife and children in Dakar.

Prior to his arrival in Ghana, he managed to secure employment at a firm through his cousin. He then travelled by air on a ticket partly funded by a friend. Upon arrival at Kotoka International Airport in Accra, he faced challenges at the immigration desk as he did not have his yellow card with him. After some delays, he notes, he was made to pay some money before given entry.

Abdoulaye stayed with his cousin for a few weeks while searching for accommodation. He was disgruntled to find that he was required to pay two years rent in order to secure his accommodation. He noted:

In Dakar, you only have to pay *caution*⁶ for three months, and we complain, but here it is two years...it's too much! (Abdoulaye, 35, Osu, May 2017)

⁶ Caution de loyer; usually shortened to caution refers to the deposit prospective renters must pay in order to secure a room

Abdoulaye maintains his ties with his home country by calling his wife four times a week and messaging her via WhatsApp every day. He also sends remittances home at the end of the month for the upkeep of his children and the family. Abdoulaye has only been home once due to the cost of air fare and his unwillingness to travel through Mali by road. In addition, he makes efforts to send money and gifts such as alata samina, golden tree chocolate and fabric to his wife and children, as well as his extended family whenever the opportunity arises, sending them through other Senegalese visiting home.

After a few months of working at the firm, Abdoulaye chose to resign from his job as he felt the pay was not enough. He decided that he was going to open a business instead. Having had several conversations about the difficulty in eating Ghanaian food and very few Senegalese options at other francophone restaurants, Abdoulaye decided to sink his savings into opening a Senegalese restaurant.

Abdoulaye decided to open his restaurant in Osu where according to him; there was a growing francophone migrant presence. In addition, Osu Re (Oxford street) was a popular tourist destination, with a plethora of entertainment spots and restaurants. Hoping to benefit from the double presence of migrants and tourists; he chose to open his restaurant a lane away from the Oxford Street. He has two employees; a chef and a waitress and his restaurant has sliding glass doors and several air condition units, unlike Fatou's restaurant which is partially alfresco and similar to a "chop bar" or local restaurant.

Abdoulaye had at this point very little information about what the requirements for opening a business in Ghana were and set up the restaurant without registering or getting the required documentation. He immediately began experiencing difficulties from the AMA and Revenue authority and was forced to register his business and pay for a license as well as other fees.

Unlike Fatou who had cultivated friendships with Ghanaians, receiving advice and aid in setting up her business; Abdoulaye's social network was primarily made up of other francophones. Contact with Ghanaians thus far had been limited; he therefore had very little knowledge about how to navigate the bureaucratic processes involved with owning a restaurant in Ghana. For example, he received his business license in April 2016 and assumed that since he had paid for a year, he would not have to pay till April 2017. The license however lasts from January to December (one calendar year) and is not determined by when you pay.

Abdoulaye feels like he has been the target of unscrupulous officials and AMA collectors who want to extort him. He has also encountered difficulties with the collection of garbage as by law, restaurant must have their refuse collected by accredited garbage disposal companies, but Abdoulaye has been paying independent contractors on three wheeled vehicles to collect his trash. According to the AMA officials, he still needs to pay the fee for garbage disposal and switch to using a garbage disposal company; even though that is more expensive.

Abdoulaye is very frustrated with his business and the AMA and as at the time of the interview was preparing to go to court to fight penalties brought against him. He said:

It is very difficult to work in Ghana as a foreigner, many people come demanding money; Ghana Revenue they come every day, and you have to pay something. When they pass by and they see that you are a foreigner, they will come and ask for money. And for me it's not normal. Because if you start with your business in Senegal and you are a foreigner, the authorities give you some time. But if you are not busy, just wait about ten minutes, the people will come, including AMA... I am going to the court the first time in my life with AMA because the AMA came to ask me to pay for something and I said no. So I am going to court with AMA (Abdoulaye, 35, Osu, May, 2017)

For now, Abdoulaye's goal of bringing his wife and children to Ghana has been put on hold; he is hoping that with the change in government, there will be new policies introduced that will stimulate the economy. He is also considering finding work in the formal sector to

supplement his income; running the restaurant on a part-time basis and leaving it in the hands of his employees during working hours.

7.6. Indicators and facilitators of Integration

As noted in this chapter, some studies have shown that many of the indicators of integration such as employment, level of education, language skills and close friendships with members of the host society are also the same factors that influence or facilitate a migrant's ability to integrate act as facilitators of their integration (Ager and Strang, 2008, Fokkema and De Haas, 2015). Findings from the study show that along with these indicators and facilitators of integration, other factors such as a migrant's length of stay in Ghana, exclusionary mechanisms such as discrimination, institutional constraints such as acquiring legal documentation all played a role in influencing the migrant's integration. Table 7.1 below summarises the indicators and facilitators of integration for each of the francophone migrants.

Table 7.1 Indicators and Facilitators of migrants' integration

	Indicators and facilitators of integration						
	Economic		Socio-Cultural				
Participant	Employment	Education (Post-Secondary education)	Knowledge of a local language	Friendships with Ghanaians	Informal francophone groups on social media	Membership in a religious organization	Feelings of belonging
Fabian	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Etienne	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
Marie	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Abdoulaye	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
Elodie	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Philippe	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Guillaume	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Tidiane	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No
Fatou	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Mamadou	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No
Victoire	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Apolline	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes

Source: Fieldwork 2017

Table 7.1 summarises the levels of integration of each of the migrants. The level of economic integration was determined by a “yes” response for the indicators of employment and education. Thus, migrants who responded “yes” to both indicators of economic integration were considered highly integrated, migrants who responded “yes” to one indicator were considered moderately integrated and those who did not respond “yes” to either were considered poorly integrated.

In the same vein, the level of socio-cultural integration was determined by the number of yes responses; migrants who responded “yes” for three or more socio-cultural indicators were considered highly integrated, migrants who responded “yes” to at least two indicators were considered moderately integrated and migrants who responded “yes” to less than two were considered poorly integrated.

Therefore, migrants overall level of integrated was determined by collating the two dimensions. Migrants who responded “yes” in five or more of the indicators were considered highly integrated, migrants who responded yes in at least four of the indicators were considered moderately integrated and migrants who responded yes to less than four of the indicators were considered lowly/weakly integrated. Using these parameters, it is possible for migrants to exhibit high levels of one dimension and low or moderate levels of the other dimension, but have different levels of overall integration. This is shown in table 7.2 below.

Table 7.2 Overall level of integration of the migrants

Participant	Level of economic integration	Level of socio-cultural integration	Overall level of integration
Fabian	Moderate	High	High
Etienne	High	Low	Moderate
Marie	High	High	High
Abdoulaye	High	Low	Low

Elodie	Moderate	High	High
Philippe	High	High	High
Guillaume	Moderate	High	High
Tidiane	Moderate	Low	Low
Fatou	High	Moderate	High
Mamadou	High	Low	Low
Victoire	High	Low	Moderate
Apolline	High	Moderate	High

Source: Fieldwork, 2017

From Table 7.2 above, it is evident that the levels of integration were generally high for the francophone migrants. Seven (7) of the migrants had high levels of integration, two (2) had moderate levels of integration and three (3) who had low levels of integration. It is interesting to note that while both Etienne and Abdoulaye experienced high levels of economic integration and low levels of socio-cultural integration, Etienne had overall moderate level of integration, based on achieving four of the indicators of integration (two (2) economic, two (2) socio-cultural), while Abdoulaye had an overall low level of integration as he only two indicators of integration (two (2) economic, zero (0) socio-cultural).

A similar situation occurs with Mamadou who had two (2) economic indicators and one (1) socio-cultural indicator, achieving a low level of overall integration as well as in the case of Victoire who had two (2) economic and two (2) socio-cultural, achieving a moderate level of overall integration.

7.7. The interactions between transnational activities and Integration processes on Francophone Migrants

The interactions between transnational activities and integration processes may be viewed as a two-way process, where transnational activities may influence a migrant's integration and a migrant's integration may influence their level of transnational engagement, creating a

“feedback loop”. Erdal and Oeppen’s (2013) typology provides three possible outcomes for the interaction of transnational activities and integration processes.

The first is an additive outcome where the result of the interaction between transnational activities and integration is the sum of the two parts. Thus, the interaction between transnational activities and socio-cultural integration leads to feelings of belonging and socio-cultural connections in both the country of origin and country of settlement while the interaction of transnational activities and economic integration results in migrants becoming economically active in both the country of origin and the country of settlement.

The second possible outcome is a synergistic one where the result of the interaction is greater than the sum of the two parts. Thus, the interaction creates a situation where the feelings of belonging and social connections in one place give confidence to further develop connections in the other place in the socio-cultural dimension. The interaction between transnational activities and economic integration is synergistic when the resources gained in one place are invested to develop further resources in the other.

The third possible outcome is an antagonistic outcome. Here, the result of the interaction is less than the sum of the two parts, or one part even cancels out the other. Thus, the interaction of transnational activities and socio-cultural integration results in feelings of belonging and socio-cultural connections in one place, displacing or reducing feelings of belonging in the other while the interaction of transnational activities and economic integration results in a situation where the demand for resources such as money in one place limits a migrant’s ability to meet demands in the other.

Table 7.3 presents the outcomes of the interactions of transnationalism and integration for each of the participants based on their levels of transnational engagement (Table 6.2) and the levels of integration (Table 7.2)

Table 7.5.2

Participant	Levels of transnationalism	Level of Socio-cultural integration	Socio-cultural Outcome	Level of Economic Integration	Economic Outcome
Fabian	High	High	Additive	Moderate	Synergistic
Etienne	Low	Low	Antagonistic	High	Antagonistic
Marie	High	High	Additive	High	Additive
Abdoulaye	Moderate	Low	Antagonistic	High	Synergistic
Elodie	Moderate	High	Synergistic	Moderate	Synergistic
Philippe	Low	High	Antagonistic	High	Antagonistic
Guillaume	Moderate	High	Synergistic	Moderate	Synergistic
Tidiane	Low	Low	Antagonistic	Moderate	Synergistic
Fatou	High	Moderate	Synergistic	High	Additive
Mamadou	Low	Low	Antagonistic	High	Antagonistic
Victoire	Moderate	Low	Antagonistic	High	Synergistic
Apolline	Moderate	Moderate	Synergistic	High	Synergistic

Source: Fieldwork, 2017

Based on the data from the table, an outcome was considered additive when:

1. high levels of transnational engagement were met with high levels of economic integration
2. High levels of transnational engagement were met with high levels of socio-cultural integration.

A synergistic outcome occurred when:

1. moderate levels of transnational engagement were met with moderate levels of socio-cultural integration
2. moderate levels of transnational engagement were met with high levels of socio-cultural integration
3. high levels of transnationalism were met with moderate levels of socio-cultural integration (an overall positive result)
4. high levels of transnationalism were met with moderate levels of economic integration (an overall positive result)
5. moderate levels of transnationalism were met with high levels of economic integration
6. moderate levels of transnationalism were met with moderate levels of economic integration

Outcomes were considered antagonistic (result is less than the sum of the two parts, or one part cancels out the other) when:

1. Low levels of transnationalism were met with low levels of socio-cultural integration
2. Low levels of transnationalism were met with high levels of socio-cultural integration
3. Low levels of transnationalism were met with low levels of economic integration
4. Low levels of transnationalism were met with high levels of economic integration

5. Moderate levels of transnationalism were met with low levels of socio-cultural integration

The various tables have described the variations in the migrants' levels of transnational engagement and degree to which they are socio-culturally and economically integrated. Taking into consideration the two way nature of the interactions, it is evident that migrants could experience different outcomes for the two dimensions of integration. In addition, factors outside of transnationalism and integration such as length of stay, marital status and information prior to migration also had some effect on the levels and degree of transnational engagement and integration.

7.7.1. Transnational activities and economic integration

In general, the study found that for several of the participants the outcome of the interaction was positive. The study found that participation in economic activities such as owning a restaurant or working in the formal sector provided migrants with the financial resources needed to engage in transnational activities such as travels to the home country, sending remittances, building houses and owning businesses in the home country. In addition, the financial resources enabled some migrants to be able to afford luxury items such as CANAL+ TV which broadcast news, television shows and current events from francophone nations and allowed the migrants to participate in political, social and economic spaces and discussions with friends and family in the home country.

For some like Fatou, the interaction resulted in an additive outcome where, becoming economically integrated into Ghanaian society by way of owning a successful business, allowed her to engage in higher levels of transnationalism, such as sending monthly remittances and starting a second business in her origin country.

For others like Guillaume the interaction of the two elements had a synergistic result where the resources from one place were used to further develop resources in the other. The direction of the flow of resources varied for the migrants. In Guillaume's case, the flow was from his country of origin (Togo) to Ghana.

Guillaume owns a house in Togo which he rents out. The money from the rent paid has allowed him to purchase a plot of land in Ghana, where he intends to build a house for his family. The rent money also helps him with the maintenance of his taxi.

The outcomes of the interactions were however not always positive. Philippe, who has been in Ghana for over twenty (20) years, experienced an antagonistic economic outcome. His low levels of engagement in transnational activities such as sending remittances were largely due to the fact that he was married with children and bore responsibilities such as paying school fees and taking care of his family. The demands on his income meant that he was less likely to send remittances compared to a migrant like Fatou who is single and has no children.

7.7.2. Transnational activities and socio-cultural integration

With respect to the outcome of the interactions between transnational activities and socio-cultural integration, the study found that while some of the participants experienced a generally positive outcome (either synergistic or additive); other migrants had an antagonistic outcome. Findings from the study also show that the length of stay played some role in the outcomes that some of the migrants had, especially for the migrants who had experienced an antagonistic outcome.

For migrants like Mamadou and Tidiane who had been in Ghana for less than three years, and still faced problems as a result of cultural differences, their feelings of belonging and social connections to their origin countries reduced their inclination to create social connections with Ghanaians or prevented them from experiencing any feelings of belonging in Ghana. For others like 42-year old Philippe, who had spent half his life in Ghana (21 years), his feelings

of belonging and his socio-cultural connections such as friendships to Ghanaians had diminished the feelings of belonging for his home country such that he felt more at home in Ghana than in Benin.

On the other hand, length of stay did not play as much of a role with migrants who experienced a generally positive outcome. The study found that individual characteristics and the migrant's agency played a larger role than length of stay. For example, with respect to additive outcomes, both Fabian who had been in Ghana for five years and Marie who had been in Ghana for a year developed feelings of belonging and social connections in Ghana in addition to their feelings of belonging and social connections from their origin country.

Fabian and Marie share:

Most of my friends are Ghanaian... I met them in school, at church and I even used to play football with them, that's where I met a lot of them....Even yesterday one of my friends saw me and he said *chale*⁷, as for you, you are no longer an Ivorian you are now a Ghanaian. So, it has made me feel very comfortable here, I feel at home here. (Fabian, 25, Kisseman, April 2017)

No, I don't feel like a foreigner. I can speak the language; I am even learning *Ewe*... Yes...*Ewe* and *Twi*, I attend a school at Abelemkpe [A suburb of Accra] on Saturdays for *Twi* classes. So I feel like a Ghanaian (Marie, 24, Kisseman, April 2017)

For others like Fatou, Elodie and Guillaume who had synergistic outcomes; transnational activities such as belonging to transnational francophone associations and participating in cultural and social events allowed them to make contacts with Ghanaians, francophone nationals and other foreigners which led to various positive outcomes which helped with their integration into Ghanaian society.

7.8. Chapter summary and conclusions

This chapter has presented the findings on the integration processes of the francophone migrants in Ghana and the barriers to integration process faced by the migrants. It has also

⁷ Chale is a Ghanaian expression used to replace "my friend"

presented a discussion on the levels of integration as well as the outcomes of the interactions between transnational activities and the dimensions of integration.

In general, having an education and participation in the labour economy aided migrants' ability to integrate, which is consistent with studies conducted in the West (Snel et al., 2006; Heckmann, 2005; Ager & Strang, 2008). However, unlike the studies in the West; the socio-cultural indicators of integration such as informal social connections with Ghanaians and feelings of belonging as well as factors such as length of stay and marital status played a larger role in determining the migrant's ability to integrate into Ghanaian society.

In addition, findings from the study indicate that the francophone migrants face challenges that are institutional in nature such as unfavourable accommodation policies and issues related to immigration. However, the socio-cultural barriers and challenges such as cultural differences and discrimination played a larger role in the migrants' perception of whether they were integrating or not.

The study also found that the migrants' experienced different outcomes based on the interaction of their transnational activities and integration processes; such that it was possible for migrant to experience the same economic and socio-cultural outcomes such as a synergistic economic outcome and a synergistic socio-cultural outcome or different outcomes such as an additive economic outcome but a synergistic socio-cultural outcome.

Finally, findings from the study show that several of the migrants engage in a balancing act as acknowledged by Erdal and Oeppen (2013) in their discussions about the interaction between transnationalism and integration. The migrants straddled the societies of here (Ghana) and there (origin country); having access to opportunities such as finding jobs,

making investments and buying property but also bearing responsibilities in both places such as sending remittances to the origin country and paying rent in Ghana.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1. Introduction

Although past research has treated the concepts of transnationalism and integration as mutually exclusive, several recent studies have argued that there is a relationship between the two (Snel et al., 2006; Sert, 2012; Erdal & Oeppen, 2013). These recent studies have however focused on migrants in North America and Europe with very limited attention on how the twin phenomena interact within African contexts. In Ghana, data on immigrants shows that African francophone migrants constitute a large proportion of the migrant population. However, there is a dearth of research on these francophone migrants and how they integrate into Ghanaian society.

The present study examined the transnational activities and integration processes of twelve (12) migrants from the Francophone West African countries of Cote d'Ivoire, Togo, Benin, Mali, Guinea and Senegal. Using qualitative research techniques, the study explored the migration experiences of the francophone migrants in Accra; describing the kinds of transnational activities they engaged in as well as the ways in which they interacted with and integrated into the various communities in which they reside. The study also sought to find out how the interaction between transnational activities and integration influenced the lives of the francophone migrants. This chapter presents a summary of findings, conclusions as well as some recommendations based on the findings of the research.

8.2. Summary of Findings

With respect to the socio-demographic characteristics of the participants, seven (7) participants were males and five (5) were females with ages ranging from twenty-four (24) to

forty-two (42) years. The level of education among the participants was generally high with ten (10) having some form of post-secondary education. In terms of economic activities, ten (10) of the participants were economically active. Six (6) of them were employed in the informal sector and four (4) employed in the formal sector.

The motivations for migrating to Ghana were largely economic and educational in nature, with migrants either wanting to take advantage of the relatively liberal trade and business environment or the relatively high standards of tertiary education in Ghana. The study found that most of the migrants received some form of financial support from family members and friends prior to their migration and travelled to Ghana primarily by road (7) or by air (5). The immigrants who came by road faced very little difficulty entering the country while four (4) of the five migrants who came by air faced some difficulties, mostly related to language barrier at the point of entry (Kotoka International Airport).

Almost all of the participants had some form of early networks established prior to their arrival. These early networks included friends and family who had migrated to Ghana previously as well as contacts provided by friends and family who had networks in Ghana. These networks helped the migrants with accommodation, information about schools as well as immigration requirements prior to their migration to Ghana and helped them to settle in once they arrived in Ghana.

The study found that the transnational activities of the migrants took two forms; activities that took place within the host country (Ghana) and activities that took place between Ghana and the migrants' country of origin. The dominant forms of cross-border activities that the migrants engaged in included visits home, periodic calls to the country of origin, sending of remittances, both in cash and in kind, the use of social media, especially WhatsApp to communicate with friends and family and accessing information about their country. The

immigrants also engaged in activities within Ghana such as partaking in cultural ceremonies and social events which were organised in the traditional manner for the purpose of feeling at home. During such ceremonies, their home country delicacies were prepared, traditional clothes were worn and cultural performances took place. The social events included weddings, naming ceremonies, Independence Day celebrations, and festivals, among others and were organised by friend groups, associations, respective embassies and institutions such as Alliance Française.

The transnational activities that the migrants engaged in helped them to maintain ties with their home countries, strengthened their national identity and group identity as people of francophone origin and aided in their integration efforts. Contacts made during cultural and social events helped the migrants in many ways, including providing information, job opportunities, scholarship opportunities as well as opportunities to create friendships with Ghanaians and other nationals with different cultural backgrounds. In addition, transnational businesses and investments such as owning and renting out property in their home country provided the migrants with an alternative source of income which they used to invest in land, homes, cars and businesses in Ghana.

However, not all of the migrants experienced these transnational activities at the same level. While some migrants were highly transnational, engaging in several activities; others were moderately and lowly transnational, engaging in a few or no activities.

With respect to the participants' integration; the study found that migrants were integrated economically and socio-culturally in various ways such as, having employment and getting education as well as having Ghanaian friends, understanding and speaking the local languages, membership in Ghanaian churches and participation in auxiliary church bodies

such as the choir. The immigrants also belonged to social media groups especially facebook groups where they received different kinds of support that aided their integration.

The migrants however faced several barriers that hindered their ability and/or willingness to integrate. Some of these barriers were structural in nature, such as their inability to pay the costs involved in acquiring work and residence permits which hampered their ability to engage in the formal sector. Other barriers were socio-cultural in nature, such as facing discrimination, having difficulties with accommodation and dealing with “foreigner tax”-a situation where they were made to pay higher amounts for the same goods and services due to the assumption that migrants were wealthy. While both the structural challenges and socio-cultural challenges negatively affected the immigrants’ ability to integrate; the socio-cultural challenges had a greater influence on their ability to integrate.

In assessing the migrants’ feelings of belonging and level of integration, eight of the participants felt they were integrated while four of the participants did not. The reasons for not being integrated according to some of the migrants included; not looking Ghanaian and thus always being treated like a foreigner, lukewarm reception from neighbours, cultural differences and language barriers. On the other hand, those who felt they were integrated attributed their integration to having made a conscious effort to seek Ghanaian friends, learning a local language and adopting certain aspects of Ghanaian culture.

The interaction of transnationalism and integration brought about different socio-cultural and economic outcomes for the migrants. These outcomes which took three forms could be additive, synergistic or antagonistic (Erdal & Oeppen, 2013). An additive outcome occurred when the interaction resulted in feelings of belonging in Ghana and the origin country as well as allowed migrants to be economically active in both places. The outcome was synergistic when feelings of belonging and social connections in one place provided confidence to

further develop connections and economic resources in the other. The outcome was antagonistic when feelings of belonging and social connections in one place displaced or diminished feelings of belonging in the other and the demand for resources in one place limited a migrant's ability to meet demands in the other.

8.3. Conclusions

The study was conducted based on two premises; the first is that, factors such as a migrant's length of stay, access to information prior to migration and motivations for migrating could potentially play a role in their integration. Second, that not only is there a relationship between transnational activities and integration processes, but, according to Erdal and Oeppen (2013), the outcomes of these interactions could be additive, synergistic or antagonistic.

Factors such as length of stay, access to information prior to migration and motivations for migrating influenced the migrants' integration efforts to some extent. However, the circumstances migrants encountered once in Ghana as well as their individual agency played a larger role in influencing their integration process.

In addition, the migrants experienced different outcomes based on their levels of transnational engagement and integration and the interaction of the transnational activities and the dimensions of integration. It was therefore possible for the migrants to experience the same economic and socio-cultural outcomes such as a synergistic economic outcome and a synergistic socio-cultural outcome or different outcomes such as an additive economic outcome but a synergistic socio-cultural outcome.

The francophone migrants were more likely to experience a synergistic economic outcome where the resources gained from one place (either origin or settlement) were used to develop

further resources in the other place. In the same vein, although several of the migrants interviewed experienced a generally positive socio-cultural outcome, the migrants were just as likely to experience an antagonistic socio-cultural outcome as they were to experience a synergistic outcome. An overall additive outcome where the interactions lead to an additive economic outcome and an additive socio-cultural outcome was the least likely to occur among the francophone migrants interviewed.

Furthermore, as noted in the typology of Erdal and Oeppen (2013); several of the migrants engaged in a balancing act, straddling the societies of here (Ghana) and there (origin country). The migrants accessed opportunities and benefits such as finding jobs, making investments and buying property while also bearing responsibilities in both places. These responsibilities included activities such as sending remittances to the origin county and paying rent in Ghana.

8.4. Recommendations

Based on the findings of the study, the following recommendations are made:

First, Ghana occupies a unique position as an Anglophone country surrounded by francophone nations. This, along with the freedom of movement provided by ECOWAS protocols has facilitated the movement of nationals from neighbouring countries into Ghana. The large numbers of francophone migrants entering the county therefore, requires an increase in the number of immigration officials with working knowledge of French at the entry points.

Secondly, the bureaucratic nature of national institutions and limited information on the processes involved in acquiring legal documentation for work and residence permits and establishing businesses has created a breach in the acquisition process. This breach has

created an avenue for unscrupulous people to create a “black market” where such documents can be purchased. This causes financial loss to the state, as monies paid do not go into the national coffers, but to individuals. The study therefore recommends that the process of acquiring legal documentation be streamlined in order to make accessing information easier. In addition, the implementation of a more transparent system where information such as the various steps for acquiring documentation and the costs involved is made readily available both in print and on-line is necessary. This would make it easier for migrants to access information as well as curb corruption.

A challenge the participants faced was the high costs of residence and work permits as well as the penalties for defaulting. The participants explained that these high costs led them to use “middle men” and the black market to acquire documentation as the cost was significantly lower than what they would pay when using approved channels. The study recommends a reward system where prompt payment of residence and or work permits results in benefits for the migrants. This could potentially reduce the use of black market methods for acquiring documentation. These benefits could take the form of incremental decreases in the cost of permits after a certain period of time or extended grace periods before payment penalties are enforced for example.

Finally, based on the challenges that migrants faced with accommodation, the study recommends the creation of a law or policy in Ghana to standardise rental agreements for both Ghanaians and immigrants. This would include minimum requirements for rental properties such as provision of individual electricity and water meters, a standard minimum deposit required for renting, adequate sanitation and refuse collection. The law or policy when enforced would also prevent arbitrary price hikes and exploitative demands by land

lords and rental agents which would help both migrants and Ghanaians when searching for accommodation.

8.5. Emerging Issues for further research

This present study was qualitative in nature and based on a small sample of francophone migrants. For this reason, the study recommends that a research that will consider using a quantitative approach to examine the extent to which similar integration outcomes occur in a large population would allow for a comparative study among different francophone immigrants.

In addition, another possible area for further research would be an expanded comparative study of francophone and Anglophone West African immigrants in Ghana to investigate the factors that influence their ability to participate in the labour market and other parts of the economy and become integrated. This could potentially provide data for policy makers on how to overcome the obstacles in implementing the second and third phases of the ECOWAS protocol.

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APPENDIX

INTERVIEW GUIDE

The aim of this interview guide is to have an interaction that is as close as possible to a naturally occurring conversation lasting for about an hour. I am more interested with experiences, observations and specific details rather than general statements/responses. Therefore as much possible, I will probe participants for an in-depth understanding.

My name is Kezia Margaret Aryeetey, a student from the Centre for Migration Studies (CMS) at the University of Ghana. I am undertaking a research project as part of the requirements for my Masters in Philosophy (MPhil) in Migration Studies. The research aims at exploring your experiences as a migrant from a French speaking ECOWAS country living in Ghana. I humbly request that you grant me an interview lasting one hour. Your participation is very important for the success of this project. If at any point during the interview, you need clarification, please let me know. This interview will be treated confidentially; none of the information you give will be passed on to a third party, and the information provided will be used only for the purposes of this research.

A. Socio-demographic and migratory profile

1. Sex
2. Age
3. Marital status
4. Level of education
5. Religious affiliation (please specify)
6. Nationality
7. Nationality of spouse/partner
8. Length of stay in Ghana
9. Year of arrival in Ghana
10. Current occupation

B. Migration Trajectory

1. Why did you migrate to Ghana? (E.g. School, work, better opportunities, family, transit, conflict etc.)

2. Did you receive support from family/friends for your migration? (Probe for financial, help with accommodation, contacts, travel etc.)
3. Whom did you travel to Ghana with and why? (E.g. Friend, children, wife etc.) (If travelled alone why?)
4. Did you know anyone or have a relative in Ghana before your arrival? (probe for early networks)
5. How did you travel to Ghana (probe for means of transportation)
6. Can you tell me the type of travel document you used and why?
7. Have you been joined by other family members or friends (if yes/no please explain)
8. Have you lived in other countries before?
 - i. Can you mention the country/countries and the number of years you lived in those countries?
9. Did you face challenges at the point of entry into the country? (Probe for challenges at the entry points such as unexpected costs, issues with immigration officials, documentation, work permit, bureaucracy, language barrier, etc.)

C. Transnational activities

1. Do you have contacts with people back home? (Friends, family etc.)
2. How do you connect with home (probe for means of communication, frequency)
3. Can you tell me some of the challenges you are faced with when trying to stay in touch?
4. Do you visit your origin country often (why? Why not?, probe for purpose, frequency, challenges)
5. Can you tell me how often you send money home? (Probe for frequency, purpose, means, amount, who receives the money, who distributes it, is the person who receives the money the primary beneficiary?)
6. Do you send goods home? (probe for frequency, type of goods, purpose, means of remitting)
7. Do you have any francophone associations in Ghana
 - i. If yes, what types of association are there? (Hometown, ethnic, old students etc.)

- ii. If yes, are you part of any of these associations?(yes/no, please explain)
 - iii. If yes, how do these associations help you?(integrate, in transnational activities)
 - iv. If no, how do you interact with other francophone people in Ghana?
8. Are there any social media platforms for francophone people in Ghana, and are you a part of any (e.g. WhatsApp group, Facebook, Instagram etc.)
 9. Do you attend any cultural ceremonies of your country? (E.g. funeral rites, naming ceremonies, weddings etc.)
 10. Do you vote back home? How do you engage in the politics of your home country while in Ghana? (Campaigning, creating associations, sending people to go home to vote, contributing in cash/kind etc.)
 11. Do you contest for elections while in Ghana (position in party branch in Ghana, position in your home country)
 12. How do these activities help you to keep ties with your home country and/or your social networks?

D. Economic Integration

1. Have you changed jobs since you arrived?
2. If yes, can you tell me about the changes? (probe for why the changes)
3. How did you find your current job? (probe for social networks)
4. Is your current job related to your academic qualifications (if yes/no, please explain)
5. How would you describe your financial situation and the cost of living in Ghana as compared to your origin country
6. Are you satisfied with your current job and financial situation? (probe for payment of bills, other responsibilities)
7. Do you have an alternative source of income? (investments, money from business in origin country, transnational business different from current occupation)
8. Are you going to school or learning a trade? (if yes/no please explain)

E. Social Integration

1. How would you describe the kind of house you live in? (Apartment, compound house, etc.)
2. How would you compare your present accommodations to that of your accommodations in your origin country (probe for rent costs, interactions with neighbours, landlord/lady, facilities, security, cleanliness)
3. Are you able to visit the hospital (if yes/no please explain, probe for challenges e.g. Cost, language barriers, access to insurance)
4. Do you speak any local languages?
 - i. If yes, how did you acquire the language?(friends, work, church, media)
 - ii. If no, please explain
 - iii. Has being able to speak a local language made it easier to integrate? (If yes/no please explain)
5. Have you made friends in Ghana (probe social network-mostly Ghanaians, co-nationals, other francophones, other migrants)
 - i. Where did you meet them? (school, church, work, francophone associations/ceremonies)
 - ii. How has this helped you adjust to Ghanaian society?

F. Religious integration

1. Is your religious group the same as the one you attended prior to your arrival in Ghana? (If yes please explain, if no, why did you choose a new church?)
2. Do you belong to any auxiliary groups in the church? (ushers, choir, hospitality)
3. How has belonging to this church/auxiliary group made living in Ghana easier?

G. Political integration

1. Are you a sympathiser of any party in Ghana? (Probe for type of party)
2. In what other ways do you engage in politics in Ghana? (Campaigning, contributing in cash/kind, contesting for local elections etc.)
3. How has engaging in political activities helped in the integration process?

H. Gender Dynamics

1. How would you describe your role(s) in the household before migrating? (E.g. were you cooking, cleaning or taking care of the children?)
2. How would you describe your roles in the household since you migrated (probe for changes in the division of labour)
3. How do these roles change when you travel home (do you revert to your old roles or not. Please explain)
4. What are some of the challenges you have faced as a result of the changes in the gender dynamics of your household?

I. Other

1. Do you think your experience in Ghana has influenced some of your traditional ceremonies (e.g. changes in food, clothing, activities)
2. What challenges are you facing adjusting to life in Ghana?
3. Do you consider your integration successful? (If yes, what makes it successful, if not what makes it unsuccessful)
4. Do you have any recommendations on how your stay in Ghana can be better than it is now?
5. Is there anything else you would like to add?
6. Do you have any questions for me?

Thank you