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INTERGENERATIONAL SOLIDARITY OF NIGERIAN MIGRANTS IN THE GREATER

ACCRA REGION

By

MUBARIK ABU

(10803644)

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INTEGRI PROCEDAMUS

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DECLARATION

I declare that except for the works of the other people cited in this work, the thesis is the outcome of my independent research conducted at the Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana, Legon, under the supervision of Dr Johnson W. Appiah Kubi and Dr Mary Boatema Setrana. I also declare that this thesis has never been submitted in part or whole to any other institution for the award of a degree.



MUBARIK ABU
(STUDENT)

.....
July 5th, 2022.....

DATE



.....
DR. JOHNSON W. APPIAH KUBI
(SUPERVISOR)

.....
July 11th, 2022.....

DATE



.....
DR. MARY BOATEMA SETRANA

.....
July 8th, 2022.....



(CO-SUPERVISOR)

ABSTRACT

Concerns have been raised about the potential of international migration in affecting family ties and the relationship between adult migrants and their ageing parents. When adult children migrate and leave behind their ageing parents, it has the potential of depriving them of support and care and could be disruptive as well. In recent years, the flow of international migration has increased in every region of the world. However, the discourse in Africa, particularly in West Africa, has turned to focus more on North-South migration although the data shows the majority of migrants move within the sub-region. This study is aimed at examining the intergenerational solidarity of Nigerian migrants in Ghana and their ageing parents in Nigeria. A qualitative research approach was used for this study. The sample size was made up of 20 adult Nigerian migrants through the snowballing technique. Of the 20, 15 were male migrants and five were female migrants. In addition, they were all above the age of 18. The instrument used for the study was a semi-structured interview guide. The qualitative data were manually transcribed, manually edited and analysed thematically based on the objectives of the study. The study found that Nigerian migrants maintained associational solidarity with their ageing parents through phone calls although visiting was constrained by distance, cost of transportation and border challenges. Geographical proximity was found to be a major constraining factor affecting the ability of migrants to regularly visit their parents. Functional solidarity was enacted through financial support, usually in the form of remittances, to ageing parents. Affectual solidarity was also expressed through love, emotional support and concern for ageing parents and vice versa. Normative solidarity was found to influence functional solidarity, associational solidarity and Affectual solidarity. Migration to Ghana did not have a significant influence on Consensual solidarity. Also, the study found that many of the dimensions of intergenerational solidarity are interlinked.



DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the Almighty God for his guidance, protection and blessings for me. I also dedicate it to my family, my siblings and other family relatives for their support and encouragement.



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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|--------------|--|
| NELM | New Economics of Labour Migration |
| IOM | International Organization for Migration |
| GSS | Ghana Statistical Service |
| NDC | National Democratic Congress |
| NPP | New Patriotic Party |
| KoKMA | Korle Klottey Municipal Assembly |
| MMDAs | Municipal, Metropolitan, and District Assemblies |

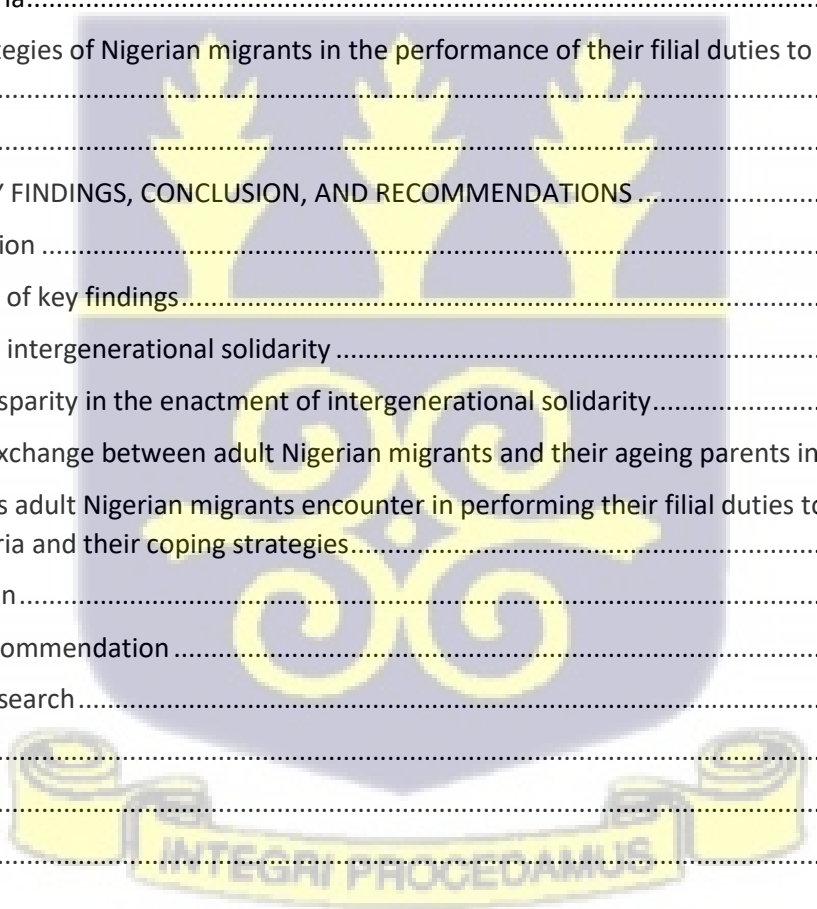


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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

International migration, which has widely been defined as the movement of people across international borders, has economic, social, and cultural implications in both the origin state and the destination country (Ozden and Schiff, 2006). In the past decades, the flow of international migration has increased in every region of the globe (Hollifield, 2000) and it is mostly dominated by the youth (Smith, R erat and Sage, 2014). While the migration of adult children has the advantage of providing resources not only for the family but the country of birth, some challenges associated with immigration such as the breaking up of traditional family and the increase of relative deprivation among neighbours and communities have been raised as a concern (Ozden and Schiff, 2006).

A study by Kodwo-Nyameazea and Nguyen (2008) also posits that concerns have been raised about the potential of migration weakening the extended family solidarity that insures support for ageing family members in Africa since the early 1980s. Older adults traditionally co-resided with or lived close to their extended family members where the younger members of the family cared for them. However, migration has disrupted this living arrangement as it has separated younger family members from elderly members who may need care and support (Kodwo-Nyameazea and Nguyen, 2008). This claim has further been affirmed by King and Vullnetari (2006) when they stated that when adult children migrate leaving behind their ageing parents, it has the potential of depriving them of support and care. And in societies where families play a central role, it could be disruptive (Zhou, 2012).

Migration, be it internal or international, has the potential to influence social, economic, cultural and political development (Ratha, 2007; Ratha et al, 2011), however, migration research has turned to focus more on the benefits of migration on economic development. As a result, multiple studies have been conducted globally to examine the impact of remittances at the micro, meso and macro levels of economic development, livelihood empowerment and poverty alleviation (Quartey, 2006; Ratha, 2007; Murrugarra & Herrera, 2011; Bulley & Quartey, 2014).

The nexus between migration and development has also attracted more attention in recent years (De Haas & van Rooij, 2010; Ratha et al, 2011; Clemens et al, 2015), thereby resulting in many African governments and other Third World countries developing migration policies in this direction (U. N. General Assembly, 2013). However, it is significant to point out that the benefits of migration go beyond economic development as it also affects other aspects of life such as social relations which also needs attention from scholars. The influence of migration on cultural beliefs, social relations, and their society has not received adequate attention although they form the foundation of many societies (Nyberg-Sorensen et al., 2002).

Multiple studies have highlighted the positive and negative effects of migration on society and more particularly, the family (Antman, 2013; Démurger, 2015). Some studies conducted on migrant families show that migration has the potential of enhancing the social capital and economic status of the family. Other studies also show that it has contributed to the breakdown of families, social networks and contributed to psychological stress on some family members (Kahn et al. 2003).

Thus, the family has been the focus of concerns because it is seen as one of the significant and cherished pillars that society builds around harmony and solidarity. Solidarity among generations, also known as intergenerational solidarity, has been considered as the driving force

for common good within families and over time, it has been seen as having an impact on the economic, social, and psychological health of individuals involved in intergenerational family relationships (Roberts, Richards and Bengtson, 1991).

Intergenerational solidarity is defined as the closeness and social cohesion between different generations (Katz, Lowenstein, Phillips, & Daatland, 2005; Roberts, Richards and Bengtson, 1991). In addition, it is a means for extending both monetary and non-monetary assistance between generations (Park 2021).

Multiple studies have shown that families with high intergenerational solidarity contribute to better adjustment in life in a period of crisis or transition like becoming widowed or experiencing immigration (Katz, 2009; Silverstein & Bengtson, 1991).

The exchange of support between generations differs as parents transition from the role of providers to the role of receivers (Luo and Zhan, 2011). However, questions of how intergenerational solidarity is maintained when family members are separated by international borders have become pertinent yet they remain largely unanswered, particularly in the context of present-day migration flows (Karpinska and Dykstra, 2018).

This study seeks to explore how Nigerian migrants in Ghana, specifically in the Greater Accra Region, maintain intergenerational solidarity with their ageing parents back home. Multiple reasons account for the international migration of Nigerians. However, according to Komolafe (2005), Nigeria migrants are more likely to move to countries where they can quickly adjust to the host country's language, engage in economic activities and join family and friends or associations with people from their country (Komolafe, 2005).

Ghana's migrant stock shows that the vast majority of immigrants are from Togo, Nigeria, and Ivory Coast and this pattern is heavily influenced by the ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement of Persons (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA), 2019).

In the last 30 years, the number of emigrants in West Africa has doubled. However, their share of the population at mid-year 1990 and mid-year 2020 has remained stable between 2.8 percent and 2.6 per cent respectively. Also, the percentage differs among countries in the region ranging from 0.8 per cent in Nigeria and 1.7 percent in Niger to 7.758 percent in Burkina Faso and 33.7 percent in Cabo Verde (UN DESA, 2019, UN DESA, 2020).

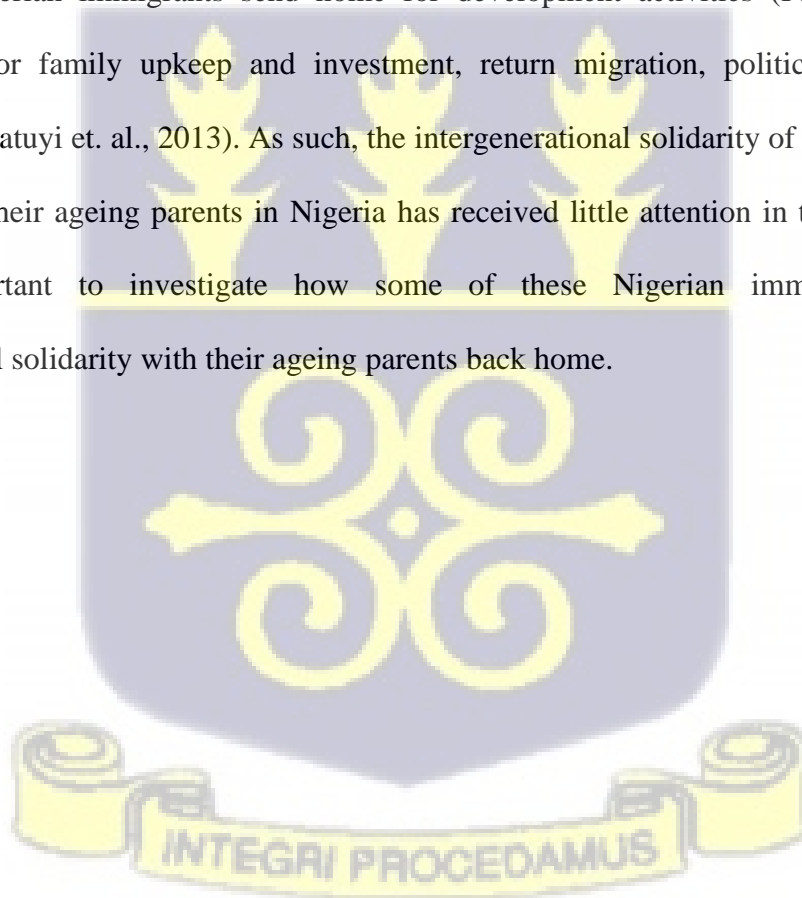
In West Africa, most emigrants move to a neighbouring country. Except for Ivory Coast, the highest levels of intra-regional migration are from landlocked or lower-income countries. According to UN DESA (2020), migrants from Burkina Faso who live in another state in West Africa are over 97 percent, Migrants from Niger living in West Africa are over 90 percent as do Migrants from Benin, Côte d'Ivoire, Mali, and Togo who are over 75 percent. However, migrants from Ghana, Nigeria, and Senegal increasingly migrate outside the region (UN DESA, 2020).

While migration continues to increase in the sub-region, it has declined as a share of the population, from a high of 2.5 per cent in 1990 to 1.9 per cent in 2020. This has largely been attributed to the drop in the refugee population since the 1990s. Ivory Coast continues to host a large number of migrants followed by Nigeria and The Gambia has the second-largest share of migrants as a percentage of its population, at 8.98 percent (UN DESA, 2020).

According to Twum-Baah (2005), Nigerians constitute the largest group of immigrants in Ghana, dominating in both sub-regional and general immigration statistics in Ghana. The 2021

Population and Housing census indicates that of the 294,341 non-Ghanaians enumerated, Nigerians constitute the largest, numbering up to about 78,000. In the terms of the population distribution of Nigerians in Ghana, some 42,000 of them live in the Greater Accra Region while the rest, some 38,000, live in other regions.

Orozco and Mils (2007) estimate that 5.2 million Nigerians are living in other countries and that five (5) percent of them live in Ghana, making Ghana the third preferred destination for Nigeria migrants in the global south and the fifth destination globally (Olatuyi, Awoyinka and Adeniyi, 2013). However, studies on Nigerian international migration to Ghana have turned to focus on remittances Nigerian immigrants send home for development activities (Fayomi, Azuh and Ajayi, 2015), for family upkeep and investment, return migration, political and economic participation (Olatuyi et. al., 2013). As such, the intergenerational solidarity of Nigerian migrants in Ghana with their ageing parents in Nigeria has received little attention in the literature. It is therefore important to investigate how some of these Nigerian immigrants maintain intergenerational solidarity with their ageing parents back home.



1.2 Statement of the Problem

It is estimated that there are about 272 million migrants in the world in 2019, making up around 3.9 percent of the world population (McAuliffe and Khadria, 2020). Numerically and proportionally, the increase in international migration has been evident over time and has grown relatively faster than previously expected due to prevailing forces of globalization (Czaika and De Haas, 2014). Contemporary international migration has been linked to the notion of betterment, be it personal attainment, household income, community resilience and coping strategies (Castles, 2010, Stark and Bloom, 1985). People migrate to improve their standard of living; however, it could negatively affect those left behind like elderly parents (Farooq and Javed, 2009).

Also, international migration has been found to weaken family ties and also leave elderly parents in vulnerable conditions. Elderly parents who need care, love, support and time from their adult children but due to migration often live without them and endure some social, psychological and health problems (Adhikari et al., 2011). Also, international migration turns to affect interactions between generations or intergenerational solidarity. However, the literature on international migration turns to focus on the nexus between the phenomenon and development (de Haas & van Rooij, 2010; Ratha et al, 2011; Clemens et al, 2015).

In developing and middle-income countries where significant migration takes place, countries are recording the greatest increase in the number of older people as a result of reduced fertility and long life (Ajomale, 2007). Yet, studies on intergenerational family solidarity within the context of migration have largely been carried out in Europe (Baykara-Krumme 2008; Bordone and de Valk 2016; Rooyackers, de Valk, and Merz 2014).

West Africa records one of the largest migration flows in the world, with Ghana being one of the favourite destinations for migrants in the region. Twum-Baah (2005) has noted that Nigerians constitute the largest group of immigrants in Ghana. Nigerian migrants usually migrate to Ghana in search of economic opportunities (Anarfi et al., 2003). Once they are working in Ghana, they regularly remit to their families or parents back home. However, they often remain separated from their families or parents for several months or years before meeting their parents face-to-face once more. This creates significant challenges for the immigrants due to the strong interdependence among extended family members. As a result, they make effort to maintain ties with their family members despite their migration status.

Some studies have explored how immigrants in the US maintain ties with their families in the origin. Şenyürekli & Detzner (2008) examined how Turkish migration to the United States has led to the decline in the frequency of contacts between Turkish migrants in the United States and their parents in Turkey as time elapsed.

Also, a study by Kodwo-Nyameaze and Nguge (2008) explored the care and support giving the role of Ghanaian migrants in the United States. They found that caregiving was a way of showing respect, appreciation for past support and enacting solidarity from a distance.

In Ghana, studies on immigrants have turned to focused on entrepreneurship, remittances and intra-regional migration and economic integration within the context of the ECOWAS protocol (Antwi Bosiakoh, 2016, Adaawen, 2017). While Nigerians constitute the largest migrants in Ghana, little attention has been paid to how Nigerians maintain ties that span borders.

Therefore, this study seeks to fill the gap in the literature regarding intergenerational solidarity in Nigerian families separated as a result of international migration. More importantly, this study

will focus on the relationship between adult Nigerian migrants in the Greater Accra region of Ghana and their ageing parents in Nigeria. The study will also use Bengston and Roberts' (1991) intergenerational solidarity theoretical framework to explore the study.

1.3 Research objectives

The general objective of this study is to examine the intergenerational solidarity of adult Nigerian migrants in the Greater Accra Region and their ageing parents in Nigeria.

The specific objectives of the research are:

1. To examine the nature of solidarity among Nigerian migrants in the Greater Accra region
2. To analyze how gender affects intergenerational solidarity among adult Nigerian migrants in the Greater Accra region
3. To find out the level of support exchange between adult Nigerian migrants and their ageing parents in Nigeria
4. To find out the challenges adult Nigerian migrants encounter in performing their filial duties to their ageing parents in Nigeria and their coping strategies.

1.4 Significance and Relevance of study

A study about the perspective of adult Nigerian migrants on how they maintain intergenerational solidarity with their parents in Nigeria is significant for several reasons. First, it helps fill the literature gap on our understanding of the south-south migration when it comes to

intergenerational ties. Also, this study would help understand how immigrants, particularly Nigerian migrants, fulfil their filial duties and the challenges they face in doing so.

The outcome of the study will help policymakers in both the host country and the origin country to make it easy for migrants to perform their filial responsibilities to the ageing parents. This is because in Nigeria, it is the duty of adult children to take care of their elderly parents due to the non-implementation of social protection policy for the aged in Nigeria by the federal government. Also, while the onus of taking care of one's parent is not the sole responsibility of migrant children only, a lot is expected of them by way of remittances because the primary reason for migrating in the first place was in search for greener pastures. In addition, the study will also contribute to the discourse on south-south migration and the existing literature on the topic under study.

1.5 Operational definitions

Intergenerational solidarity: It refers to the closeness and social cohesion between different generations.

Migration: The movement of people from Nigerian to Ghana for at least six months and above.

International migration: Movement of people across an international border.

Elderly Parent(s): Parent(s) who/is 61 years old and above.

Associational solidarity: It refers to the frequency of contact between generations.

Structural solidarity: It refers to factors such as the health of family members, proximity between generations, and the number of siblings that enable or constraint interactions between generations.

Affectional solidarity: It refers to the feeling of positive sentiments felt by adult children or their parents.

Normative solidarity: It refers to the strong feeling of filial obligations.

Functional Solidarity: It refers to the help and exchange of support between generations.

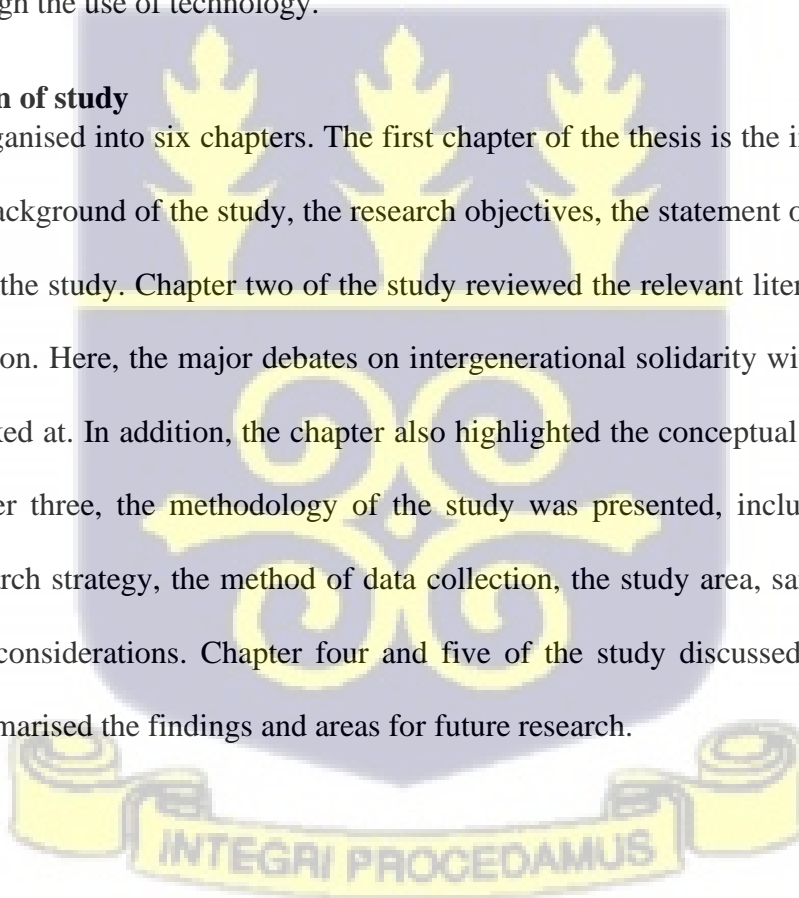
Consensual Solidarity: It refers to the agreement in values, opinion, and lifestyle.

Intergenerational conflict: This is described as the tension and disagreement among generations.

Transnationalism: It refers to the maintenance of ties and relationships with the country of origin and family through the use of technology.

1.6 Organisation of study

This thesis is organised into six chapters. The first chapter of the thesis is the introduction which focuses on the background of the study, the research objectives, the statement of the problem and the relevance of the study. Chapter two of the study reviewed the relevant literature on the topic under investigation. Here, the major debates on intergenerational solidarity within the migration context was looked at. In addition, the chapter also highlighted the conceptual framework of the study. In Chapter three, the methodology of the study was presented, including the research design, the research strategy, the method of data collection, the study area, sampling technique, and the ethical considerations. Chapter four and five of the study discussed the findings and Chapter six summarised the findings and areas for future research.



CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

In this chapter, the research reviews some literature on intergenerational solidarity, focusing on patterns of intergenerational solidarity, how it is affected by gender, the exchange of support between immigrants and their parents, and the challenges they encounter in performing their filial duties as well as literature relevant to the study.

2.1 Family and social network

Since the beginning of sociology, one of the topics that have caught the attention of social scientists is the family. This is because the family is a major feature that makes up the association between individuals and society. Emile Durkheim, who is regarded as one of the founders of sociology and a pioneer researcher into the family, developed an interest in the family as a result of the rising incidence of divorce and changes in the family structure which was occasioned by the industrial revolution.

In studying the foundation of society, Durkheim suggested two types of solidarity on which society was built, mechanical solidarity and organic solidarity. Mechanical solidarity refers to the conscience of similarities and according to Durkheim, it corresponds to a society that is more traditional where there is strict social control and there is little differentiation among individuals and people share the same conscience, follow the same faith, and believe in the same value. Organic solidarity, on the other hand, corresponds more to the modern society where individuals are interdependent because of the different functions of each (Paugam, 2007). Durkheim further makes the point that the family is a unit sustained by organic solidarity as each member of the family depends on each other for their functional differentiation (Mayhew, 1982). Durkheim

refers to the family as a moral association than simply a biological union, where persons with common consensus assemble and hinge on one another (Lamanna, 2002).

The evolutionary views of Darwin's "On the Origin of Species" inspired Durkheim to further argue that the family was transforming according to changing social circumstances. According to him, as the common family shrank from extended family to nuclear family, the main form of the modern family becomes conjugal and relational adding that the effective husband-wife relationship will be the main factor holding the modern families together. However, regardless of the form and nature, the family took in the past or the future, solidarity will be one of its important characteristics (Durkheim, 1892). Durkheim further argues that the contribution of various aspects of family life such as education and economic production, compared to the extended family, the conjugal family has been more independent and could perform its role in fewer but specialised ways (Lamanna, 2002).

Durkheim's views were accepted by Parsons (1955) regarding the emerging role of conjugal families as dominant in modernised society but added that the extended family can persist as the only dominant family form only if it remains the basic unit of labour in the society. Parson viewed the family as a subsystem of the wider macro-social system where children experience socialisation and adult personality determined. Functional role in the family is determined by sex, with father-husbands playing the role of financial providers while mother-wives undertake domestic supports. The family function divisions assure the family as a subsystem in the wider macro-social structure. The "isolation" of the modern families, Parson notes, is because non-kinship institutions like the state, the churches and professional institutions have taken the role of kinship units and this has caused the loss of function of kinship, turning families in the United

States into dwellings occupied by the nuclear family instead of the extended family (Parsons and Bales, 1955).

Goode views the nuclear family as ideal as it excludes other familial relations from its everyday internal affairs (Goode, 1970). Goode stated three factors that changed the nuclear family in modern societies. The first factor is that the unit of labour changed from the family itself in agricultural society to individuals in industrialized society. Second is that people's socioeconomic status was no longer determined by the heritage of farmland but by education, work and other factors in modern societies which stimulate mobility in extended families and led to greater independence for conjugal families. Lastly, many of the kinship roles have been taken by non-kinship institutions like the state, church and professional bodies and this has encouraged the independence of the conjugal family (Goode, 1970).

The loss of the functional role of the kinship unit in modern societies as observed by Parson and Goode has been challenged by recent scholarships in the area of family and its social relations. According to Litwak et al. (2003), the emergence of large formal and specialised institutions that has replaced the function of kinship role of the family has not led to the loss of the function of the family but is only optimal for technical tasks while non-technical tasks are still carried out by the family. Also, Foner (1993) notes that the family remains the most dominant source of caregiving in countries in the global south instead of services from formal public organisations. As a result, while modern families in cities are increasingly becoming independent, the network they have built among family members continue to remain important as ever.

2.2 Family solidarity

Despite certain social changes, family networks continue to be strongly interconnected.

However, the question about how family networks are formed and reinforced has not been

adequately answered. Therefore, to answer this question, the concept of family solidarity is introduced here to explore it better.

Martin (2002) defines solidarity as mutual assistance and exchange between generations. Durkheim categorised solidarity into “mechanical” and “organic” and it concerns itself with how individuals relate to society. Family solidarity, Van Pevenage (2009) notes, is difficult to define because it relates to two complex concepts. However, it relates to factors such as exchange giving, assistance, help and support among others (Van Pevenage, 2009). Family solidarity is the cohesion among individuals in a social group according to which socialization, exchange and mutual support occur. Family solidarity is both vertical and horizontal and it is usually found between generations as well as siblings and in-law.

Since the 1980s, intergenerational solidarity has attracted interest from researchers for two reasons: demographic changes and parent-child relations. The late-twentieth century witnessed an increase in the aged population as well as a decrease in fertility. These two changes resulted in significant changes to families. On the other hand, the parent-child relationship has been the foundation of relationships among family members. People of all generations bond together to survive and thrive because of the investment made for them by past generations (Butts, 2010). Expanding the definition, Cruz-Saco (2010) referred to intergenerational solidarity as “a bonding between and among individuals in multigenerational family networks and different age cohorts in the large community.”

The intergenerational solidarity theorists posit that good interpersonal relationships result in higher intergenerational exchange (Bengtson, Giarrusso, Mabry, and Silverstein, 2002; Cheng, Birditt, Zarit and Fingerma, 2015) and according to Schwarz et al. (2005), adult children support their parents more when they have a good relationship with them. Nonetheless, the

intergenerational solidarity model has been criticized for highlighting only the positive aspect of family relationships without touching on the conflict aspect of intergenerational relationships (Lüscher and Pillemer, 1998). In response to the criticism, Bengtson and his colleagues have suggested that intergenerational conflict should be added as the seventh model (Bengtson et al., 2002), however, seminal works incorporating the conflictual dimension is very limited.

2.3 Push and Pull Theory

In order to explore the research objectives, the Push-Pull theory and Bengtson et al.'s intergenerational solidarity theory were adopted. The adoption of the push-pull theory was important because it helps explain the conditions at the origin and destination that compel people to engage in international migration. Also, the intergenerational solidarity theory was adopted to help tease out how and by what means familial solidarity occurs in the context of international migration.

The Push-Pull theory, otherwise known as Lee's theory, was propounded by Everett Spurgeon Lee, Professor of Sociology at the University of Georgia in 1966. Lee's seminal work was published in the *Demography Journal* titled "A Theory of Migration."

Drawing on the principles of sociology, the theory attempts to formalize a "theory" of migration which explains the volume of movement between the origin and destination. Lee (1966) theorized the factors that cause people to migrate into four. They are (1) factors at the origin, (2) factors at the destination, (3) intervening obstacles and (4) personal factors.

Elaborating on these four categories, Lee explained that in each area, there are factors that act to motivate people to move from an area, hold people to an area or attract people to an area. In this

regard, there are differences between the factors associated with the area of origin and those associated with the area of destination. According to Lee, each area possesses a set of positive and negative factors. The positive factors attract people while the negative factors tend to repel people (Lee, 1975). Also, some of the factors remain neutral, which means that people are indifferent to such factors. While some of these factors tend to affect most people in the area, others tend to have differential effects. For migration to take place, both of these are properly weighed.

For migration to take place successfully, the migrant has to overcome certain intervening obstacles. Such obstacles include transportation and distance, visa requirements, passports and lack of money to migrate. However, globalization has helped lessen the importance of some of the requirements. Advancement in transportation has made it easy for people to travel in at a shorter time using aircraft.

Aside from the intervening obstacles, the individual's perception of these factors influences his or her decision to migrate instead of the actual factors associated with the origin or destination.

On the push and pull factors that motivate people to migrate, Lee explains that push factors induce people to leave the old place of residency or certain factors that force people to move out of a certain area. Lee identified economic, cultural and environmental factors as the main push factors. Some of the notable push factors within these three groups include war, loss of wealth, discrimination, few opportunities.

The pull factors, on the other hand, are factors that encourage people to migrate into certain areas or the reasons that entice people to certain areas. The pull factors are also divided into three

factors: economic, cultural and environmental, just like push factors. Some pull factors include e job opportunities, better living conditions, attractive climate and security.

The push and pull theory has been criticized for being difficult to determine due to the plus and minus factors at both origin and the destination. In addition, the intervening obstacles make it difficult for demographers that influence people the most and the least.

The Push and Pull theory is relevant for this study because one of the main contexts of this study is international migration. The theory also explains factors at the origin and destination that influence people to engage in international migration. When adult children are closer to their parents or co-reside with them, both generations can fulfil certain responsibilities towards each other. However, because of certain factors at the origin which push people to migrate and factors at the destination which attract migrants, when they migrate, they stay at the origin for long and engage in return migration in most cases until their migration intentions are met. Also, they leave behind elderly parents who need care, assistance (financial and nonfinancial assistance), emotional and physical support. However, because of distance, physical interaction is limited, likewise face-to-face interaction, physical assistance and support. Migrants leverage technology in other to perform some of the dimensions of solidarity like face-to-face interaction and emotional attachment. They also send remittances to compensate for their absence and inability to fulfil certain filial duties to their elderly parents.

2.4 The intergenerational Solidarity Model: Interrogating the six dimensions

Studies on the intergenerational relations in migrant and non-migrants have often relied on the intergenerational solidarity model developed by Bengtson and his colleagues (Bengtson and Roberts, 1991; Roberts, Richards, and Bengtson, 1991) as the guiding framework. For instance, a

study by Senyurekli and Detzner (2008) explored how Turkish immigrants living in the United States stay connected to their parents in Turkey using the Intergenerational solidarity model. The study interviewed 28 Turkish immigrants and used the grounded theory. The study found that respondents of the study experienced and dealt with significant associational, structural and functional changes in their intergenerational relationships. Immigrants were unable to maintain the Turkish cultural norm of maintaining close physical proximity to their relatives due to the geographical distance. Also, some participants saw their parents only once during physical visits to and from Turkey. Participants also frequently called their parents to compensate for their absence. And lastly, the participants could not provide physical support to their parents like assisting their parents to the hospital or going to the market for food.

Also, the multiple dimensions of the intergenerational solidarity model in Polish immigrants in the Netherlands and their ageing parents in Poland were explored by Karpinska and Dykstra (2019). The study found that they were able to abide by the strong family solidarity norms in Polish families. The study also noted that the strong family solidarity norms among the Polish migrants was facilitated by the fact that they live close to their country of origin and had fewer restrictions travelling between their country of birth and the host state than many countries outside the European Union.

In a study that used both qualitative and quantitative procedures, Katz and Lowenstein (1999) used five of the six original dimensions of the intergenerational solidarity model to examine “the impact of sociodemographic, personal, and familial resources on the adjustment of older Soviet immigrants and their adult children living in multigenerational household.” The study sampled 200 respondents from 100 families who came to Israel between 1989 and 1995. The researchers further found that younger generation adjusted better than older generation in Israel. It found that

married older immigrants who received formal support and educated younger male immigrants who had work satisfaction adjusted better. Also, the study observed that previous and current intergenerational solidarity as well as currently family functioning affect adjustments among the older generation but hardly affect the younger generation.

However, these studies were done within the context of north-north migration. Also, the studies did not explore all the dimensions of the intergenerational model to comprehensively analyze how migrants maintain ties with their ageing parents and relatives separated by international boundaries which this study seeks to achieve.

Bengtson and Roberts (1991) outlined six different patterns of intergenerational solidarity between generations. They include affectual (emotional attachment); consensual (agreement on values, attitudes and lifestyle); functional (exchange and sharing of resources); associational (frequency of contact between parent and adult child); structural (opportunities for exchanges and – related – geographic proximity of family members); and normative (feeling of obligation to familial duties and family obligations).

The six dimensions of intergenerational solidarity are important in explaining the ties adult migrants, who are separated by international borders, maintain with their elderly parents. These dimensions are also structurally related to each other in the sense that one dimension would in the future affect other dimensions. How the dimensions are interconnected is explained under the conceptual framework. However, the intergenerational solidarity model is limited in explaining family relations as it assumes relationships in the family are always positive.

2.4.1 Associational solidarity

Associational solidarity refers to the frequency and patterns of contact in shared activities among family members (Bengtson and Robert, 1991). Such contact with family members can take different forms such as face-to-face contact, telephone, mail, e-mail and texting (Lefkowitz, Vukman and Loken, 2012). Factors such as proximity of relatives, number of relations, work, filial demands and gender enable or constrain intergenerational interactions (Roberts et al., 1991).

Associational solidarity is affected by different individual factors such as cohabitation, gender and geographical proximity and it is associated with structural solidarity and affectual solidarity (Bengtson and Roberts, 1991).

Frequent contact also enables other aspects of intergenerational solidarity, such as economic solidarity (a form of functional solidarity) and emotional closeness (a form of affectual solidarity). Generations are more aware of the needs of others with higher contact frequencies, which are also claimed to promote financial exchanges (Schenk, Dykstra and Maas, 2010).

A study in Germany examining associational solidarity found that despite increasing geographic mobility among family members, the frequency of contact and emotional closeness was stable across (Steinbach et al., 2020). Also, geographic proximity between adult children and their ageing parents were found to influence intergenerational contact and support in a panel analysis on a Dutch longitudinal study (van der Pas et al., 2007). Similarly, Ward et al. (2014) found that changes in proximity between parents and children led to changes in the frequency of contact with their parents in U.S. families across two waves of panel data.

Family relations living close to one another is the strongest predictor of intergenerational interaction (Adams, 1986, Shanas et al., 1968). Residential proximity accounts for high variance in measures of the parent-child contact (Atkinson et al., 1986; Roberts and Bengtson, 1990; Rossi and Rossi, 1990). However, residential proximity alone does not account for the high levels of intergenerational contact as high levels of affection and normative solidarity also turn to lead to a superior association (Roberts et al., 1991).

Whereas geographical distance makes it difficult for families to maintain regular contacts such as face-to-face meetings or visiting, transnational families surmount this challenge by adopting modern communication technologies. This has not only increased the frequency of contact but has also helped maintain the emotional ties of family members living in different countries (Bacigalape and Lambe, 2011; Baldassar, 2002; Parreñas, 2005; Wilding, 2006). For example, in Norway and Israel where cohabitation is low, telephone or weekly face or telephone contact is significantly high (91% for Norway and 97% for Israel).

Visiting is also another way migrants maintain intergenerational interaction with their ageing parents. Wilding and Baldassar (2009) in an ethnographic study conducted with 50 Irish and Italian migrants living in Australia explained that women, more than men, often visit their ageing parents and held savings in case they needed to make emergence travel. The study also found that some held dual citizenship and current passport to make their movement in and out of Australia easy.

A study by Yener (1980) that examined the social and economic factors that affect the lives of civil servants between 1978-80 found that there was a frequency of contact between retired people who live close to their adult children. Also, a study by Mentis (1993) notes that ageing parents who live in the same city with their children meet them regularly.

Menjívar (2002), using in-depth interviews conducted with 26 Guatemalan immigrants in the United States and complemented with participant observation, found that undocumented Guatemalan children in the United States experienced barriers to travel to their country of birth to visit family relations despite efforts made by parents to keep them attached to their country of origin.

A qualitative study of intergenerational solidarity of Turkish migrants to the United States by Şenyürekli and Detzner (2008) found significant associational changes in intergenerational solidarity between them and their ageing parents, including face to face contact and contact over the phone. The study found that as a result of migrating to the U.S, some saw their parents once in a year while for others, several years elapsed without them seeing the parents due to financial and professional obligations.

Also, the pattern of interaction in the family varies by gender, as women are more likely to associate more than men (Aldous and Hill, 1985; Atkinson et al., 1986). Spitze and Logan (1990) also made a similar observation when they noted that daughters are more likely to visit their parents compared to sons. In Asia, variance in contact according to gender has been observed in the volume of contact frequency. For instance, in Japan, a study conducted concluded that although men were geographically closer to their older parents, frequency of contact was found to be high among women (Martin, 1990). According to Roberts et al (1991), this reflects the "kin keeping" role women usually undertake.

Also, a study of three generations of Mexican American families in San Antonio, Texas, elicited from respondents of the study how often they engage in certain activities like religious activities, telephone conversation and recreation outside the home with each of their family members. The

study found that female children had higher levels of associational solidarity than male children (Markides, Boldt, and Ray 1986).

The literature suggests that a greater part of immigrants maintain transnational contact (Waldinger 2007). However, some literature has suggested that migrants do not always maintain transnational contact. A study by Waldinger (ibid) found a large number of Latino immigrants in the US do not call home despite the relatively cheap call rate. In addition, the study also found that only a small group of Latinos use email to stay in touch with their family and friends.

Also, a study by Koelet and de Valk (2013) compared the extent of intergenerational contact between European families and Belgian families by focusing on contact between immigrants and their families. Koelet and de Valk (ibid) found a strong effect of geographical distance on face-to-face contact and a milder effect on telephone contact on European families.

Gender of children and parents have also been found to be a strong predictor of associational solidarity as it has been observed that more frequent contacts are more with mother-daughter (Rossi & Rossi 1990; Fokkema, ter Bekke, & Dykstra 2008). Also, marital status, educational status and settlement type of parents have been found to affect associational solidarity.

According to Roberts et al. (1991), lower levels of associational solidarity are often found among a combination of parents' characteristics such as divorced or separated, highly educated and living in urban settings. However, when compared with divorced, widowed, high levels of associational solidarity were found (Rossi & Rossi, 1990; Barrett & Lynch, 1999).

Age and the health of parents also have an indirect effect on associational solidarity. Elderly parents with health issues turn to have frequent contact with the child and are more likely to live with a child (Roberts et al., 1991).

2.4.2 Structural solidarity

Structural solidarity refers to the structures that enable or constraint interactions between generations (Bengtson and Robert, 1991). The health of family members, proximity between generations and number of siblings are such structures for intergenerational interaction and exchange. Co-residency and geographical proximity are the main structures for structural solidarity as in the case of associational solidarity. The theory assumes that close geographical proximity facilitates solidarity while better health status also improves intergenerational functional and associational solidarity (Brandt et al., 2009; Deindl and Brandt, 2011).

Co-residence is one of the most explored indicators of geographical proximity. In Europe, the prevalence of co-residence has reduced with the transition from extended families to nuclear families. Lowenstein and Katz (2005) citing a study by OASIS noted that high welfare states like Germany, Israel and Norway have a low incidence of cohabitation while low welfare states like Spain, Greece and Mediterranean countries have a high incidence of cohabitation.

In Asian states where co-residence and proximity are high, co-residence and geographical proximity are declining. In Taiwan, the percentage of elderly people residing with their children between 1973 and 1985 has declined from 81% to 69%. In Japan, older people living with their children fell to 65% from 77% between 1970 and 1980. In South Korea where elderly people live with their adult children, the percent of elderly people living with their children was found to have dropped to 64% from 71% (Martin, 1990). The data above shows that in Asia, there is a decrease in intergenerational co-residence.

In Europe, a similar trend has been observed. In Turkey, Aytaç (1998) found that co-residence of older people and their children have dropped. Aytaç (1998) further noted that co-residence is

more likely to decline in the future due to economic growth, growth in the urban settlement, transformation and secularisation.

Dykstra and Fokkema (2011) have also said that regular contact between generations increases emotional closeness and facilitates other forms of exchange which turn to reduce the cost of support giving and help support-givers to be aware of the needs of the recipient.

Migrants' ability to engage in regular face-to-face contact, provide practical support, and/or caregiving is restricted if not difficult. However proximity is not an absolute condition needed to facilitate interaction between family members overcome this challenge through the use of modern communication tools, (Parrena 2001; Faist, 2004, Baldock et al., 2016), exchange of emotional and financial support (Baldock 200, Guo Chi and Silverstein, 2011).

Nonetheless, Bengtson and Robert (1991) claim that one important condition that makes it easy for adult children to provide care to their ageing parents is the degree of interaction with them. McChesney and Mangen, (1988) have also opined that in examining the helping behaviour of individuals, it is important to consider the availability of supportive individuals, making proximity an important dimension of the family structure. This is true to the extent that assistance requiring a physical presence, such as elder care and performance of household tasks becomes difficult with physical distance. According to Rossi and Rossi (1990), geographical distance reduces the rate of all forms of assistance between generations.

Sands and Roer-Strier (2004) studied the effect of religious differences and geographical distance on intergenerational continuity between American Jewish mothers and their daughters who became orthodox and emigrated to Israel. The qualitative study found that mothers were initially negative about the religiosity of their daughters and happy about the movement to Israel.

Over time, the study noted, mothers became more tolerant of their daughters' religious pursuits but grew more negative or ambivalent about their migration to Israel.

Also, Şenyürekli and Detzner (2008) explored how 28 Turkish immigrants in the United States maintain intergenerational ties with their parents in Turkey. The study, which used the principles of grounded theory, found that the migrants felt negative or ambivalence about how their connection to their parents has changed since their move to the U.S. In addition, the study showed that the level of closeness to their parent in Turkey has decreased (Şenyürekli & Detzner, 2008).

The two studies have demonstrated that physical absence or geographical distance contributed to less frequent contact and support among family members (Sands & Roer-Strier, 2004; Şenyürekli & Detzner, 2008), which are also aspects of associational solidarity.

2.4.3 Affectional solidarity

According to Bengtson & Roberts (1991), affectional solidarity refers to the positive sentiments felt by adult children or older parents. Previous studies have highlighted the significance of affection or positive sentiment for exchange and social support for gaining parents. Affectual solidarity theorists posit that positive sentiment across generations facilitates other dimensions of solidarity such as functional solidarity and associational solidarity. In other words, having good feelings towards each other makes it easy for the exchange of support, practical help and assistance.

According to Rossi and Rossi (1990), the more intense the emotional connection between parents and their children, the more contact and support transfer between them. In American society, the decision of most people to become a caregiver comes from the affection one has towards his or her parents (Finley, 1989).

The literature has suggested that strong and closer ties are found between mothers and daughters (Rossi and Rossi, 1990). Other literature has also found more tensions between mother-daughter dyads (Pillemer & Suitor, 2002; van Gaalen & Dykstra, 2006).

The ages of children and parents are acknowledged to be important predictors of affectual solidarity (Roberts et al., 1991). According to Rossi and Rossi (1990), intergenerational affection is high during a child's adult years and parent's older age.

A handful of qualitative studies on affectual solidarity on cross-border intergenerational relationships concluded that migration does not act as an impediment to maintaining close family ties (Baldassar 2008; Goulbourne & Chamberlain, 2001). Some studies have also provided evidence to show that home visits, which have symbolic and practical significance, also allow for close transnational kin relationships (Mason, 2003).

A study by Kodwo-Nyameaze and Nguge (2008) explored the rationale and processes among five Ghanaian immigrants residing in two cities in the Mid-Atlantic region of the USA for providing care and support to their ageing relatives in Ghana. According to them, providing care and support to older members of their family was a way of showing solidarity, demonstrating respect and appreciation for previous support.

Of the six solidarity dimensions proposed by Bengston and Robert (1991), affectional solidarity is regarded as the most significant, superseding other dimensions of solidarity in determining social support. Cicirelli (1983) noted that adult children's feeling of emotional attachment to their ageing parents is by and large influenced their commitment to providing support to their parents. This feeling of strong emotional attachment to the older parents overrides any past conflicts and negative feelings toward providing such help (Cicirelli, 1983).

Similarly, Aldous (1987) also found that support exchange and contact between "young-old" parents and their children are influenced by affection more than on normative expectations.

Generational and gender bias influence affectional solidarity (Bengtson and Robert, 1991, Silverstein et al., 1998). In a study exploring the explanation for the gender difference in caregiving of ageing parents, Finley (1998) noted in American society, most people feel that one's decision to provide care to his or her ageing parents is influenced by the affection he or she had from them.

2.4.4 Normative solidarity

According to Bengtson and Roberts (1991), normative solidarity refers to the strength of commitment to perform familial obligations. According to Nauck and Steinbach (2009), normative solidarity refers to the degree of obligations to filial and parental duties by the individual members of intergenerational relations. It is also defined as the expectations of children to provide for their ageing parents (Seelbach, 1984). Norms set standards for behaviour and establish the expectations that guide behaviours. The above definitions highlight the notion that commitment to filial duties and family responsibilities leads to solidarity within the family.

Attitudes towards filial responsibilities differ from country to country (Katz, Gur-Yaish and Lowenstein, 2010). According to Esping-Andersen (1990), Nordic countries (such as Denmark and Sweden) turn to have low family obligations where welfare provision is high and low in Mediterranean countries (such as Spain, Italy, Greece) where welfare provision is low. In Chinese societies, filial obligations dominate the informal care system (Chow, 1996).

In European states, reciprocity is the basis for care relationships between generations as well as kinship networks (Schwarz, et al., 2005; Walker, 2002). According to Chow (1996), filial

obligations and hierarchical responsibilities dominate the informal care regime in Chinese societies. A comparative study of American and Japanese families on affectual solidarity found that whereas in Japanese culture support for parents is “deserved,” in American society, it is earned (Hashimoto, 1996).

In a European state like the United Kingdom, differences in intergenerational relations and responsibilities have changed throughout history. In the 1601s, it was individuals’ duty to care for the welfare of their elderly parents and however, by the turn of the 19th century, not much intergenerational solidarity exchange was taking place (Chan, 2009).

According to Hastrup (2008), modernisation and individualism are the prime values in modern European welfare states and this has weakened family relationships in those countries. Tufan (2007) has also said modernity has negatively affected adult children’s attitudes towards the welfare of older people in Turkey.

Luo and Zhan (2011) examined how functional solidarity impacts normative solidarity among families with migrated children in rural China. The study surveyed 1,443 elders in China’s migrant exporting regions and found that migration did lower (adult) children’s filial duties. The study also showed that sons’ filial duties were rated lower than daughters.

2.4.5 Functional Solidarity

Functional solidarity refers to help and support exchange between generations through the exchange of resources (Bengtson and Robert, 1991). It includes mutual assistance between the young and the old (Luo and Zhan, 2011). The exchange of help and support changes in the course of life as parents transition from the role of givers to receivers (Luo and Zhan, 2011). Some of the resources exchanged by families include finances, accommodation, instrumental and emotional support.

Financial resources often flow from parents older parents to their children (Cooney and Uhlenberg, 1992). However, when parents reach old age, the pattern reverses and children provide more financial assistance to their elderly parents (Hill, Morgan and Herzog, 1993).

Also, in most industrial countries, financial transfer turns to go from ageing parents to adult children but the reverse is the case in developing countries where financial transfers often flow from adult children to ageing parents (Lee and Xiao, 1998; Zimmer and Kwong, 2003). This is so because of the absence of state support care for the elderly and the influence of cultural norms of filial piety. In addition, functional support from adult children to their ageing parents is need-based and altruism-based (Cong and Silverstein, 2000; Silverstein et al., 2006; Sung 2000).

Nonetheless, contemporary studies in rural Chinese families have found that functional solidarity is also influenced by reciprocity or exchange-based model (Luo and Zhan, 2011). Ageing parents perform critical functions such as child caregiving on behalf of their adult children which may yield more financial reward (Cong and Silverstein, 2008; Cong and Silverstein, 2011a, b; Lee and Xiao, 1998; Silverstein et al. 2006; Zhang, 2005).

In the context of migration, transnational migrants fulfil resource exchange through remittances sent to their ageing parents or other family members. Remittances are an essential part of migration and the prospect of remitting is one of the motivations for people to migrate in the first place (Carling, 2008). Robert E. B Lucas and Oded Stark's (1985) article, 'Motivations to remit: evidence from Botswana' is seen as one of the first-ever pieces of literature to start discussions on motivations to remits. Luca and Stark (1985) in their analysis stated the motives to remit as comprising of pure altruism, tempered altruism or enlightened self-interest and Self-interest. Jorgen Carling (2008), citing Luca and Stark (1985), used the figure below to illustrate the motivations for migrants sending remittances.

The altruism model argues that migrants remit because they are concerned about the consumption of their families back home. The motivation is driven purely by the desire to improve the welfare of their families and one loves by incorporating the utility of these people in their own utility (Luca and Stark, 1985). In contrast, the pure self-interest model posits that migrants' decision to remit is purely based on selfish aspirations. According to Lucas and Stark (1985), both altruism and pure self-interest may not be enough to explain the motivation for sending remittances. They proposed the intermediate motive of sending remittances called "tempered altruism or enlightened self-interest." Here, remittances are interpreted as part of an intertemporal, mutually beneficial contractual arrangement between the migrant and the family.

Some qualitative studies show that besides financial flow, other forms of support exchanged include practical help during visits and emotional support which is usually offered during phone calls (King and Vullnetari, 2009; Baldock, 2000).

Most studies on transnational support turn to focus on the economic effect of families who remain in the origin and show how international migrants improve the financial status of the migrants, who are then able to remit to their parents in their country of birth (Lucas & Stark, 1985; Rapoport & Docquier 2005). Therefore, better financial welfare of the migrants is seen as an important predictor to enacting functional solidarity (Margarita, 2015).

In respect of accommodation, it appears to benefit both children and parents. Where both adult children and their parents live co-reside, access to multiple types of support is readily available. Co-residence is prevalent among families with limited resources, are from the minority group and are limited in activities of daily lively (Ruggles and Goeken, 1992).

Instrumental support, on the other hand, involves assisting with household maintenance, shopping, carrying a package, babysitting. A study by Spitze and Logan (1991) examining the pattern of instrumental support between adult children and their parents in the greater Albany (New York) area found that among older parents (65 and above), parents provided more instrumental support to their children and vice versa.

Also, using the 1988 National Survey of Families and Household, Eggebeen (1992) notes that nearly one-half of older parents give emotional support/advice to their adult children while 28% of older parents receive emotional support/advice from their children. Greenberg and Becker (1988), also note that elderly parents are an important source of emotional support for adult children struggling to experience changes in their life.

In Central and Eastern Europe, studies have been conducted with transnational families to explore the intensive flows of support between family members in the origin and the destination countries. The study found a strong necessity to establish compensatory care strategies due to strong normative filial expectations and deficits in the welfare system for the elderly (Piperno 2015; Krzyzowski & Mucha, 2013; Krzyzowski, 2012; Zechner, 2008).

According to a study by Wilding and Baldasser, (2009), migrant men remitted home often as a way of maintaining ties with their ageing parents in Italy and Ireland. Also, Kodwo-Myameazea and Nguyen (2008) found that Ghanaian migrants regularly sent money home to their ageing parents as a way of caring for them. The financial remittances received are used for building, paying medical bills, and home maintenance.

A study of Romanian and Ukrainian female migrants who live in Italy and their families in the origin state by Flavia Piperno (2015) showed various strategies they adopted to compensate for

care drain. The study found that the compensatory strategies were insufficient and the care shortage for parents and children left behind persists. Also, migration was found to be a strategy to ensure the social security of extended family members in a study of transnational Polish families (Lukasz Krzyzowski, 2012).

The literature on functional solidarity turns to focus on support from adult children to their elderly parents. However, other studies have shown that parents do not only receive support from their migrant children but also help them. Zechner (2008) studied how care is practised within a short distance among children residing in Finland and their elderly parents in Estonia. The study found evidence of intensive care requiring face-to-face contact. The study also highlighted the challenges when caring activities are undertaken over systems of social policies.

A qualitative study of intergenerational solidarity of Turkish migrants to the United States by Senyurekli and Detzner (2008) found changes in the frequency of both physical and financial exchange between them and their ageing parents as a result of their migration. The study, using the Grounded Theory, found that participants while in Turkey provided physical assistance such as giving their parents a ride to see the doctor or to the market for food but could no longer do so at the time of the study due to geographical distance or given the short duration of the visit.

Senyurekli and Detzner (2008) also observed that participants who co-resided with their parents before migration was dependent on them for financial support but after migrating to the U.S, there was no financial exchange between the migrants and their parents back home. However, the study further noted, there was a bidirectional exchange of gifts during physical visits home.

Gender is another significant predictor of functional solidarity, thus providing personal care and emotional support. Care for the older parents is mainly performed by female daughters or

daughters-in-law (Post 1990; Walker, Pratt, & Eddy). Also, strong emotional support is found among mothers and daughters (Rossi and Rossi, 1991).

Also, the type of assistance provided varies according to the gender of parents and children. Older men are more likely to support their children financially and home maintenance and repairs while older women are more likely to assist with child-rearing and domestic chores (Eggebeen1992). In addition, male children are more likely to receive financial support from parents and female children, services (HarrisandCole, 1980).

2.4.6 Consensual Solidarity

Consensual solidarity refers to the level of agreement in opinion, values and lifestyles between generations (Bengtson & Roberts, 1991). Throughout human history, ties between generations within the family have been the source of intense solidarity and severe conflict (Bengtson & Achenbaum, 1993). In recent years, attention has been given to the generational gap, that is, the differences or conflicts between views of adult children and their elderly parents or relatives (Landry & Martin, 1988). According to Rick & Forward (1992) should disagreement over basic cultural values and beliefs continue, it has the potential to gravely affect the foundation of intergenerational exchanges.

A study by Nesteruk and Marks (2009) among transnational families in Eastern Europe found that they maintained their beliefs and cultural norms that emphasized family connection and interdependence.



Conceptual framework: Linkages among all the six dimensions of intergenerational solidarity

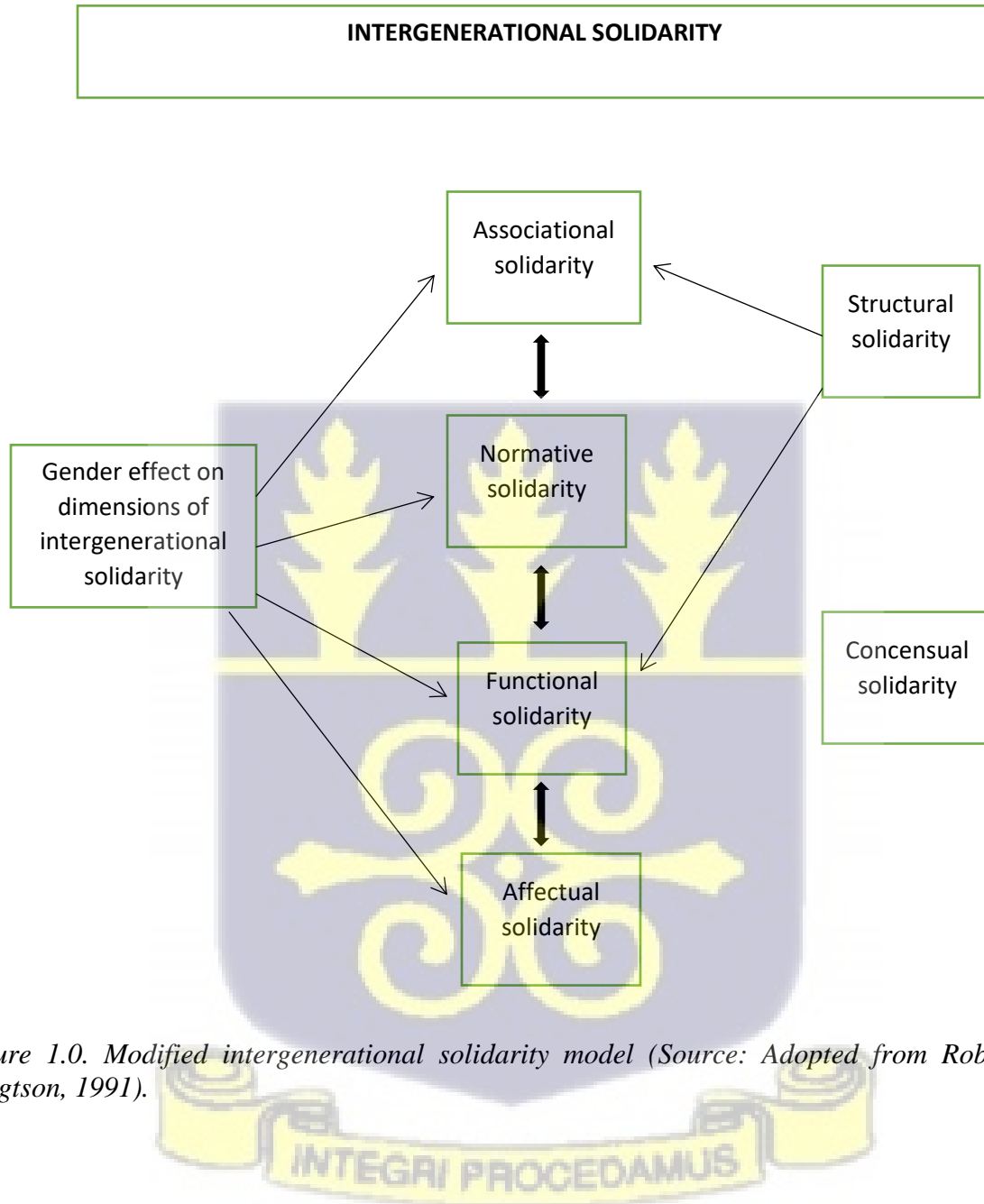


Figure 1.0. Modified intergenerational solidarity model (Source: Adopted from Robert and Bengtson, 1991).

The intergenerational solidarity model, as developed by Robert and Bengtson (1991), has six dimensions. Some of the dimensions are interconnected while others are not. Affectual solidarity, which is the feeling of emotional closeness between adult children and their ageing parents is interconnected with Associational solidarity and functional solidarity. When adult children have a close emotional attachment with their elderly parents, it turns to facilitate frequent contact and regular exchange of monetary and non-monetary support between them. Also, normative solidarity, which is the strong sense of filial obligation, is interconnected with affectual solidarity, associational and functional solidarity. A strong sense of normative solidarity turns to facilitating regular contact and exchange of support between generations as well as emotional closeness. Functional solidarity facilitates Associational solidarity and vice versa. Structural solidarity such as geographical proximity constraint Associational solidarity. However, migrants in the transnational space leverage technology to overcome the challenge of physical absence. Consensual solidarity, though plays an important role in facilitating interactions between generations, was not interconnected with the five other dimensions of the intergenerational solidarity model.

Also, Gender also influences the frequency of enactment of associational solidarity, functional solidarity, normative solidarity and affectual solidarity.

2.5 Gender difference in intergenerational support from adult children

Sons and daughters are recognized with different expectations in the family regarding parental support. The male child turns to take on the role of the main provider of parental support and the girl child plays a supporting role (Wang et al., 2019). Gender role theory opines that gender roles are socially constructed by society (Quarshie, 2019).

Women, more than men, are socialized into playing the role of kin-keepers who promote communication, contact, exchange of resources, care and nurture and oversee family relations at an early age (Arendell, 2000; Hagestad, 1986). Mothers most often provide warmer and supporting parenting roles while fathers tend to engage in directional and results-oriented parenting (Buchanan et al., 2016). As a result, adult children often turn to be more emotionally connected to their mothers than to their fathers (Shearer et al., 2005). This affection for elderly mothers motivates children, regardless of gender, to assist their mothers more (Albert et al., 2013; Parrott & Bengtson, 1999; Silverstein et al., 1995).

According to Brewer (2001), daughters and sons are socialized differently and this tend to result in variations in intergenerational solidarity pattern (Brewer, 2001). Daughters are socialized to have a more emotional attachment to the family than sons and it is unlike to change when they transition into adulthood (Proulx & Helms, 2008). Proulx & Helms (2008) further note that the effect between children and parents, particularly for mothers, results in support exchange.

Also, the history of affection and similarities in values predict whether daughters assist their mothers, with affection being the strongest motivator to elicit support (Albert et al., 2013). For sons, the strongest indicator to provide care and support to an elderly parent is a filial obligation (Silverstein et al., 1995). The gender differences show that whereas sons tend to be driven by filial responsibility, daughters' help is driven more by altruism (Finley et al., 1988; Parrott & Bengtson, 1999; Silverstein et al., 1995).

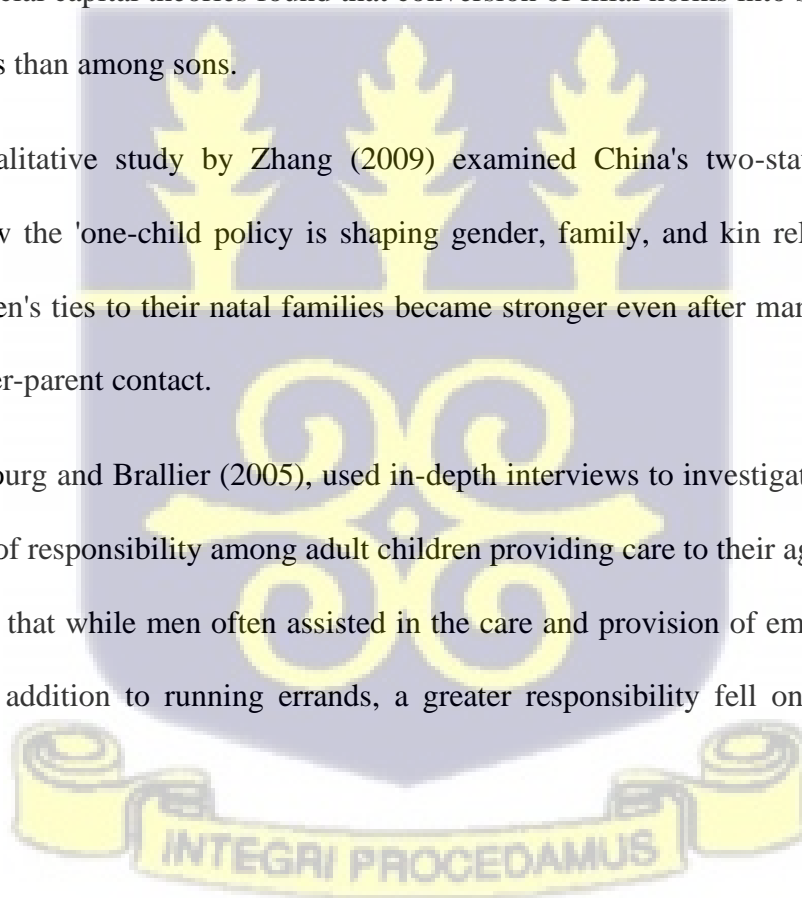
Some scholars have argued that women's traditional role as homemakers and caretakers has created opportunities for them to create a special relationship with their children which makes mothers have stronger bonds with their children relative to fathers (Silverstein et al. 2006).

Also, the social construction of gender norms relative to division of labour among siblings influences the kind of support they offer to their ageing parents where women are more likely to engage in care work which involves practical and emotional support compared to men (Wolf and Soldo 1988; Hequembourg and Brallier 2005). Also, children's availability to provide support to their parents depends on if they have more sisters around (Wolf et al.,1997, Tolkacheva et al. 2010).

A qualitative study by Silverstein et al., (2006b) examining how norms of filial responsibility influence adult children to provide social support to their ageing parents using intergenerational solidarity and social capital theories found that conversion of filial norms into support is stronger among daughters than among sons.

Similarly, a qualitative study by Zhang (2009) examined China's two-state policy, market reforms and how the 'one-child policy is shaping gender, family, and kin relations. The study found that women's ties to their natal families became stronger even after marriage, resulting in frequent daughter-parent contact.

Also, Hequembourg and Brallier (2005), used in-depth interviews to investigate the influence of gender division of responsibility among adult children providing care to their ageing parents. The study concluded that while men often assisted in the care and provision of emotional support to their parents in addition to running errands, a greater responsibility fell on the shoulders of women.



2.6 Support exchange between migrants and their ageing parents

Under the intergenerational solidarity theory which distinguishes between structural, associational, functional, affectional, consensual and normative solidarity, support exchange is a key aspect of functional solidarity (Bengtson and Robert, 1991). According to Eggebeen (1992), intergenerational support exchange between parent and children is interpreted on one side, as an interplay of needs and on the other side, the ability of each generation to provide a certain kind of support.

In developing countries, most studies on intergenerational support tend to liken family support to co-residential living arrangements (Knodel, et. al., 1996; Zimmer and Kwong, 2003; Zimmer, et. al, 2008). And this idea has been significant in our understanding of the degree to which generations take care of each other (Laguna and de Valk, 2013). Because of this notion, exchange of support turns to revolve around the prevailing concept of proximity and the assumption only members of the family who live close to each other can exchange support (Rossi and Rossi, 1990; Finch and Mason, 1991; Knodel, et. al., 1996; Agree, et. al., 1999).

However, due to the recent increase in migration where adult children engage in either internal or international migration influenced mainly by economic gains, Laguna and de Valk (2013) have called for the reexamination of the centrality of the proximity of support change and international relations.

Although there is enough reason to assume the importance of distance and separation on family life and relation, the focus of the literature on family relations has been limited. The literature has turned to focus more on transnational parenting (Mazzucato, 2010; Mazzucato and Schans, 2011). However, the literature has been silent on the views of migrant children with responsibility and expectations to provide parental care in addition to their duties as parents and

spouses and the role of their ageing parent left behind in providing continued support (Laguna and de Valk, 2013).

The parent-child relationship is built on a mutual expectation of support and transfer flow is based on the idea of altruism and reciprocal exchange. According to Gans and Silverstein (2006), engagement in social support is strongly connected to norms of filial responsibility. Among migrants, the normative dimension of intergenerational solidarity predicts support exchange between migrants and their parents.

A study by Janet Finch (1989) has grouped the main types of migrant children exchange with their ageing parents. They include economic; emotional and moral; accommodation; practical and childcare; and personal care.

Economic support: Finch (1989) found Dutch migrants did not regularly send money because their parents were well-off or were taken care of by the Dutch welfare system. The only financial contribution the Dutch migrants made was financing the plane ticket parent(s) who want to visit them. However, the study found that occasional financial transfers from parents to migrant children were common.

Emotional and moral support: Finch (1989) found that emotional and moral support was the most common form of exchange of support between Dutch parents and their migrant children. It was given via phone calls, letter writing, frequent visits home although the cost of travel is sometimes high. It was also present in gestures of love exhibited in the sending of gifts. Emotional support was particularly significant during times of crisis, first months of separation, illness and hospitalization.

Accommodation: Accommodation is a major form of support between parents and migrants when they visit each other. Parents who visit their adult migrant children in the destination often stay with their children while migrants who visited the home stayed with their parents although they sometimes also stayed with siblings or friends, (Finch, 1989). Finch also noted that while accommodation was a significant support exchange, it diminishes over time between migrants and their parents.

Practical support and care: Finch (1989) found that Dutch parents provided more practical support than their migrant children did. Such practical support included renewing migrant's driving license, handling other outstanding bills as well as managing the bank accounts of migrants retained in the origin. Also, they looked after properties that belong to their migrant child. Finch (1989) also notes that mothers sometimes gave their daughters recipe advice and how to deal with newborn babies thanks to telephone calls and emails. Also, mothers babysit their grandchildren when their migrant children engage in a return visit. While fathers also occasionally engaged in babysitting, they engaged in a more traditional male task such as helping their son with building a house or obtaining business permits.

While practical help from migrant children was difficult, they usually took the form of advice on matters relating to health, income and accommodation. Other practical help is delivered during return visits and such assistance includes carrying out repair works in the house, the use of fax machines or email (Finch, 1989).

Personal care: Finch (1989), notes that personal care between parents and their migrant children was difficult due to the physical distance between them. For instance, personal care such as bathing, feeding, assisting with personal hygiene is difficult to imagine from a distance. However, Finch notes some personal care took place during the return visit both on the parents

and their migrant children. The study found that a parent expressed worry she will not be available to help and support her daughter who suffers from migraines. Also, another parent who was repatriated from Australia expressed guilt that she would not be available to take care of her daughter who has cancer. The study also found that some migrants returned home to take care of their sickly parents although they could not stay for long.

2.7 Migration and changing nature of family solidarity in Nigeria

The modern era in the West ushered in industrialization, but in Nigeria, it brought about colonialism and the introduction of the specialized profession, wage-labour, new socioeconomic statuses, rural-urban migration, and separation of the extended family system (Dokpesi, 2010). As more Nigerians acquired professional careers after the introduction of western education, their social and economic standing changed and to live up to their new status, they moved to the urban areas in such jobs. The desire for modern occupations, along with the aesthetic life in areas occupied by the colonial settlers became a pull factor for rural-urban migration. This subsequently led to the migration and disengagement of the able-bodied workforce from family indigenous economic activities and in re-investment of labour-power in urban work organizations (Dokpesi, 2010).

Pre-colonial Nigeria was largely an agrarian economy in which the family was the basic unit of production and consumption. Family members constituted the labour force and whatever they harvested determined the survival of its members when it comes to nutrition and well-being of family members. Fathers also had the responsibility to choose a wife for their male children, keep them in the same household to increase the domestic workforce. According to Ajomale (2007), this was to serve as a form of social insurance for old age.

However, the production function of the family dwindled following modernization and urbanization following colonisation. This created a social effect where everyone wanted to migrate to the urban centres to work with the white man. It resulted in a situation where older adults were left in the villages with no proper care.

Ajomale (2007) notes that the structural changes in the family further deepened the economic woes of the older adults and also created a social and physical distance between children and their parents. According to Okoye (2004), the social and physical distance resulted in a situation where married people living in urban areas were not willing to send their children to the villages to stay with their aged parents. Asiyabola (2008) attributed the phenomenon to the attainment of western education which has reduced the caring role of the grandchildren concerning their grandparents.

Dokpesi and Osunde (2014) have observed an interesting trend in contemporary migration in Nigerian modern Nigerian society where the younger generation migrates to the urban centres in search of greener pastures and/or to further their education and older adult who spent their youthful years in the cities embark on homeward migration to spend the rest of their lives with their kinsmen. According to Dokpesi and Osunde (2014), older adults survived the harsh conditions in the rural areas by relying on their adult children to fulfil their filial obligations through regular communication and remittance.

As of 1963, the population of Nigerians who are aged, thus from 60 years and above, constituted three percent of the country's population, translating into 1,937,000 people in absolute terms (Akukwe, 1992). Then, Nigeria's population was categorized as young as there were not many who were 60 years and above. Life expectancy at birth before 1960 was 40.5 years; therefore, the

few aged were valued and treasured while those who could not take care of themselves were taken care of by the extended family system (Akukwe, 1992).

However, in recent times, the aged are getting more visible in urban and rural communities as a result of improved healthcare system and technology, living and working conditions, food, transportation, education, income levels and new beliefs. All these factors have contributed to reducing infant mortality and giving people a chance to live to later years (Akukwe, 1992).

By 1970, the number of people who are 60 and above had increased to 4%, translating to 2,330,000 people in absolute terms. By 1992, per Nigeria's census figures, the number has gone to up 3,560,000 people aged 60 years and over today living in Nigeria. Also, the population of elderly in Nigeria is expected to increase from 5.9 million in the year 2000 to 14.3 million in 2025 (United Nations, 1998).

In Nigeria, the aged are cared for within the extended family system and the community. Their major needs are also catered for by their children and relations. This was the case in the traditional Nigerian society although traces of these practices still pertain. Half a century ago, the prevalent traditional family values, norms and roles in Africa shaped the lives of older people today. Then, parent-child ties and kinship networks sort to integrate and protect the old (Oppong, 2006).

However, care and support for the elderly have evolved worldwide to suit the prevailing socio-cultural conditions of the time (Okoye and Obikeze, 2005). In the case of Nigeria, the informal traditional care support system, where the family provides support to the aged parents is adopted (Okoye and Obikeze, 2005). However, according to Ajomale (2007), the care of older relatives

which is rooted culturally and highly respected, has seen a decline in the care of the aged in recent times due to economic problems, migration and adoption of foreign culture.

While in the developed world, the aged have a wide range of welfare systems for their wellbeing, older persons are restricted in the range of economic opportunities and support systems available to them in developing countries, including Nigeria (Apt, 2001). The existence of welfare services like health care, income, housing, security and legal aid can have a good impact on the elderly's well-being and health (Oladeji, 2011). However, there is no social policy to provide an economic buffer to the elderly in Nigeria. The Nigerian government in 1989 developed a national social development policy to cater to the needs of the aged but the policy is yet to be effectively executed by any federal agency (Abdulkadir, 2016). Also, Ajomale (2007) has observed that the irregular distribution of pension funds to retirees coupled with the lack of adequate social support to the elderly poses a serious threat social and national security.

Due to scanty resources available in developing countries including Nigeria to cater to the needs of the aged, the public sector provision focus has largely been on the family as the key agency in meeting the ageing crisis (Apt, 2001). A more recent study on the role of the family in meeting the needs of the aged in Nigeria has found a decline in provision of support to the elderly. The study by Onwuzuruigbo (2014) found that ties between members of the extended family were diminishing and also observed a growing social distance between parents and adults children. The study attributed these developments to social changes caused by westernization, emerging nuclear family and decline in income of caregivers due to the fall of the Nigerian economy.

Also, the lack of or inadequate state support towards the welfare of the aged has resulted in a situation where the family, particularly children, provides the needs of their ageing parents, including emotional, physical, financial, social support and so on. According to Akukwe (1992),

children are culturally bound to support and respect the aged. Ajiboye et al. (2012), also note that family caregiving and support is a reciprocal activity involving children, spouses, older parents, and family members.

Gaps and summary

This chapter reviewed some important literature on intergenerational solidarity within the context of migration. The literature showed ways families separated by international borders maintain ties. It was evident in the literature that migrants and their families in the origin face distinctive challenges in maintaining those relationships across geographical distances, nonetheless, they find ways to do so. The literature reviewed was not evidently grounded in the intergenerational solidarity theory but highlighted the importance of and challenges to maintaining relationships across generations in a transnational context. In addition, evidence of six dimensions of the intergenerational solidarity model was found in the literature but was not explicitly named. They are structural, geographical, affectual, associational, functional and consensual solidarity. Also, the literature review focused on north-north and south-north migration but solidarity between generations in south-south migration was silent.

Following this lacuna, the study aimed to apply the intergenerational solidarity theory to identify examples of intergenerational solidarity among Nigerian migrants and their ageing parents in Nigeria.



CHAPTER THREE

STUDY AREA AND METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

The premise of this study was to examine how adult Nigerian migrants in Ghana enact intergenerational solidarity with their ageing parents in Nigeria. This chapter describes the study area, the methodological procedures adopted to achieve this aim. The study adopted the in-depth interview qualitative method approach to better understand from the migrants how they maintain ties and fulfil their filial obligations across borders.

3.1 Profile of the study area

The study area is the Korle Klottey Municipal Assembly (KoKMA). This study was selected for the study because according to the Ghanaian international migration literature, the Greater Accra region, in which the Municipal Assembly is located, is the most preferred destination of Nigerian migrants (Bosiakoh, 2006). Many Nigerian migrants can be traced to Kwame Nkrumah Circle because it is one of the major economic hubs in the Greater Accra Region. The sheer visibility of Nigerian migrants engaged in petty trading cannot be overlooked.

The Korle Klottey Municipal Assembly is one of the two hundred and sixty (260) Municipal, Metropolitan, and District Assemblies (MMDAs) in Ghana. It is also among the Twenty Nine (29) MMDAs in the Greater Accra Region. KoKMA was carved out from the Accra Metropolitan Assembly in February 2019 with the Legislative Instrument (LI) 2365. Before that, it was one of the sub-metros under the Accra Metropolitan Assembly (www.ghanadistricts.com, retrieved on 10/10/2021).

The study area is located in Accra with its administrative capital being Osu. Currently, the assembly's administrative offices are located at Kwame Nkrumah Circle. The Municipal is bounded in the North by Ayawaso Central, the South by the Gulf of Guinea, the East by La Dade-Kotopon Municipal, and the West by, Accra Metropolitan Assembly. Korle Klottey Municipal Assembly has a land size of 12sqkm, which is 0.37% of the total land size of the Greater Accra Region. It has a population of 121,736 with 10,136 houses and 35,508 households with males constituting 48.1% and females 51.9%, according to the 2010 Population and Housing Census. Some of the communities within the Municipal are Osu, Ringway Estates, Circle, Asylum Down, North Ridge, West Ridge, Ministries, Gold Coast City, North Adabraka, Tudu (GSS, 2018).

According to the 2010 Population and Housing Census, the Municipal has over 48, 689 people who are economically active with the majority of them either engaged in wholesale or retail businesses. The Municipal's economy is largely informal due to rapid urbanization, massive unemployment, and poor land-use planning. Makeshift structures such as smaller kiosks, containers, sheds, canopies, mats, tables, and chairs in open spaces and sometimes at junctions and smaller food vendor joints (GSS, 2010)

3.2 Research Methods

3.2.1 The research approach

This study adopted the semi-structured interview to gather the relevant empirical data to address the objectives of this study. This method of qualitative data collection approach was adopted because it provides an opportunity for the researcher to get the intimate experiences of the

participants, the meaning they develop about the problem under study, and to discover variables (Corbin and Straus, 2008).

This method of qualitative data collection also allowed follow-up questions to further probe the claim of the respondents. This gave the researcher the chance to properly weigh the truthfulness of the information he was being provided with during the interview. According to Rubin and Rubin (2005), a semi-structured interview allows the interviewer to seek a detailed understanding of the phenomena under study by probing further the responses of the interviewee.

As a qualitative research study, reflexivity is a central approach used to understand the complexity and interpretations of the answers of the respondents (Setrana 2010). Reflexivity is a researcher's "conscious and deliberate effort to be attuned to one's own reactions to respondents and to the way in which the research account is constructed, it helps identify and explicate potential or actual effect of personal, contextual, and circumstantial aspects on the process and findings of the study and maintain their awareness of themselves as part of the world they study" (Berger, 2015, p. 221). As an internal migrant who also maintains ties and provides care and support to ageing parents, I am aware that when I am interviewing immigrants on how they maintain ties with their ageing parents, I need to maintain a neutral posture by setting aside my own views and to listen from the perspective of a researcher. However, remaining neutral was difficult for me as I could not set aside my own experiences of providing care and support to be my ageing parents.

3.2.2 *Identifying participants*

For this study, I interviewed twenty Nigerian immigrants (fifteen men and five women) on how they maintain ties with their respective elderly parents in Nigeria. While this study sought quality and understanding instead of generalization, the sampling was guided by time frame within which I had to submit my work and the principle of saturation. On time frame, Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) note that factors such as time, quality, quantity and money must be considered for a researcher to decide the number of subjects for interviews. This position has been confirmed by Davis (2007) who suggested a small sample size of 5 and 15 for qualitative research. On the principle of saturation, Schutt (2018) notes that it allows for changes in sample size if the researcher was convinced that the saturation point has been reached in terms of identical answers and in such instances, the data collection can be discontinued. Similar themes were observed in the responses of the participants of this study by the fourteenth interview but interviewing continued for confirmation. Nonetheless, the interviews were terminated after it was found that saturation has been attained by the twentieth interview.

The experiences of Gmelch (1992) and Cullum (2003) as captured by Setrana (2010) have shown that the early stages of data collection can be untidy and bewildering. Identifying suitable participants for this study was a daunting task, particularly regarding who to contact, how to locate them and the approaches that can be relied upon to ensure their interest and participation. To address these challenges, Setrana (2010) has suggested a very moderate approach of adopting the multiple uses of methods and the spontaneous approaches like the family, friends, and ‘community gossips.’ In this regard, the “snowballing” method was selected as the most appropriate for this study.

According to Bryman (2004, p.102), where “there is no accessible sampling frame for the population from which the sample is to be taken... the difficulty of creating such a sampling frame means that ... [snowballing] is a ... feasible [approach].”

Also, Biernacki and Waldorf (1981, p. 141) argue that, “the method is well suited for a number of research purposes and is particularly applicable when the focus of the study is on a sensitive issue, possibly concerning a relatively private matter, and thus requires the knowledge of insiders to locate people for the study.” To buttress the views of Biernacki and Waldorf (1981), this study teases out information from participants of the study that is potentially sensitive and private as it centres mainly on their relationship with their parents.

In snowball sampling, the researcher engages the initial participant after which he or she is asked to recommend another person who fits into the criteria for the study (Van den Hoonaard, 2015). This method works like a chain referral and it was used by me, after interviewing the first participant, to assist me to reach other participants with similar traits of interest, thus Nigerian immigrants who live or work within the study areas—Kwame Nkrumah Circle and Adabraka—and have at least one parent alive who is 61 and above.

In methodological discussions in qualitative research, careful and considered informants are usually promoted (Setrana 2010); nonetheless, bias in “collecting data” is unavoidable (Kvale, 2009). The potential of skewing the research by engaging in conversation with respondents who are familiar or knew each other lingered in my mind. However, according to Cullums (2003), this ‘act’ is ‘unavoidable’ because I wanted to locate and contact immigrants in the same region. And to further buttress the point of Cullums (2003), these immigrants are people who in one way or the other connected through work, familial and country.

3.2.3 Ethical consideration

In line with the objectives of the study, ethical protocols were developed by the researcher and approval sort from the University of Ghana Ethics Committee for Humanities. The researcher subsequently received approval with reference “ECH 171/20-21” to undertake data collection from the University of Ghana ethics committee.

In this regard, the researcher ensured the rights and well-being of the participants were protected by seeking their consent and also explaining the nature and purpose of the research to them. Also, the participants were assured that their data was purely for academic purposes, participation was optional and they could withdraw at any point if they felt uncomfortable or were unable to continue. Participants were also made to understand before the interview that pseudo-names would be used to represent their actual names to protect their identity, ensure privacy and confidentiality. Also, their consent was sought to record the interview for transcription.

For easy referencing of statements, interviews were recorded through handwriting and audio recording. The interviews were done as the workstations and homes of respondents as it was desired by them. Having the consent of the respondents created a conducive atmosphere for the interviewees and also eliminated any form of suspicion.

3.2.4 Interviewing process

The semi-structured interviews used in this study focused on intergenerational solidarity. The interview guide used for the data collection had a set of questions that covered the profile of the respondents, trends of intergenerational solidarity, gender differences in maintaining ties across

generations, level of exchange of support across generations and challenges as well as the coping strategies of fulfilling filial responsibilities. According to Kvale and Brinkmann (1996, p.129), “an interview guide indicates the topics and their sequence in the interview.”

The interview guide helped in keeping the interviewees on track where necessary and made sure that important issues were covered (Setrana, 2010). It is important to point out although the interviews were numbered and suggested that they followed a chronological order, the interview questions did not necessarily follow the sequence as presented on the paper during the interview. Nonetheless, all the questions on the guide were addressed.

3.2.5 Other primary and secondary sources of data

Secondary data was collected to support the primary data through the interviews solicited and also gave the researcher an in-depth understanding of the topic under study. The relevant literature based on the objectives of the study was used. To this end, literature on intergenerational solidarity, migrants’ ties with their ageing parents were used to tease out the broader questions and analysis. The literature was derived through books, journals and other scholarly sites of the internet like jstor.org, database and Google scholar.

3.2.6 Data handling

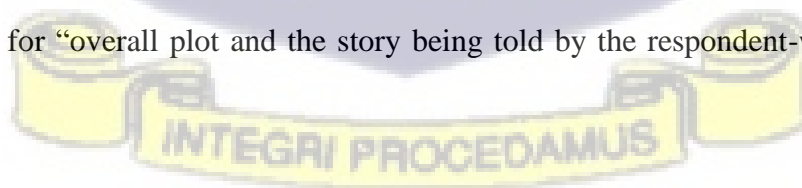
A wide range of meanings was made out of what the individual respondent said during the interview. Critical reflections were made on what the respondents meant, wanted to say, had “forgotten” or simply did not want to talk about it. I read the transcript several times to have a comprehensive grasp of the data following which the data was analyzed based on the objectives of the study. According to Mauthner and Doucent (1998), the struggle to analyse and interpret clearly means attempting to understand one’s own personal and intellectual autobiography as a

researcher and thus making explicit one's own social and historical location. Therefore, through the process of reflexivity, I have acknowledged and made clear my place in 'creating, interpreting and theorizing.'

3.2.7 Transcription

Grove (1999) posits that qualitative data analysis happens in three stages: description, analysis and interpretation. Voiced recorded data captured on a voice recorder was transcribed manually into English language, edited for clarity and organised in alignment with the objectives of the study for analysis of the data. After I had completed transcribing the interviews, I read the transcribed data while listening to the recording and made corrections to any spelling or other errors detected. Generally, I avoided editing and cleaning up the grammar because respondents have a right to have their accounts told without cosmetics (Padgett 2008).

The transcripts were referenced with pseudonyms. Transcription methods and conventions have led to different interpretations and to the creation of different worlds. As Riessman (1991, pp. 11-12) points out "meaning is constituted in very different ways with alternative transcriptions of the same stretch of talk." The transcription phase of each conversation produced a new understanding of the ways in which respondents' use of language and speech patterns constituted themselves and their worlds as "good subjects" of this study. Many of these notations led me back to moments of interest in the interviews. Mauthner and Doucet (1998, p.28) describe this stage as reading for "overall plot and the story being told by the respondent-what are the main events..."



3.2.8 Editing

At this stage of the work, I pulled together the broken pieces of the responses of the respondents and organized them in order to identify consistency and differences and neatly arranged in the order they appeared on the interview guide, thus their demographic characteristics, how they show the dimensions of intergenerational solidarity, gender disparity in the enactment of solidarity, level of support exchange and challenges and coping strategies in fulfilling filial duties. Also, the connections and relationships between questions were explored. The transcripts have also been edited to enhance clarity and to eliminate materials that are unimportant to the understanding of either the migrants' backgrounds or their enactment of intergenerational solidarity. A series of coloured card files were created to contain these observations. Out of these coloured card files, notations were made for each theme. In order to have a full grasp of the card files created, I continued to read the broad themes which helped me in discerning different social locations and positioning of the individual interviewees.

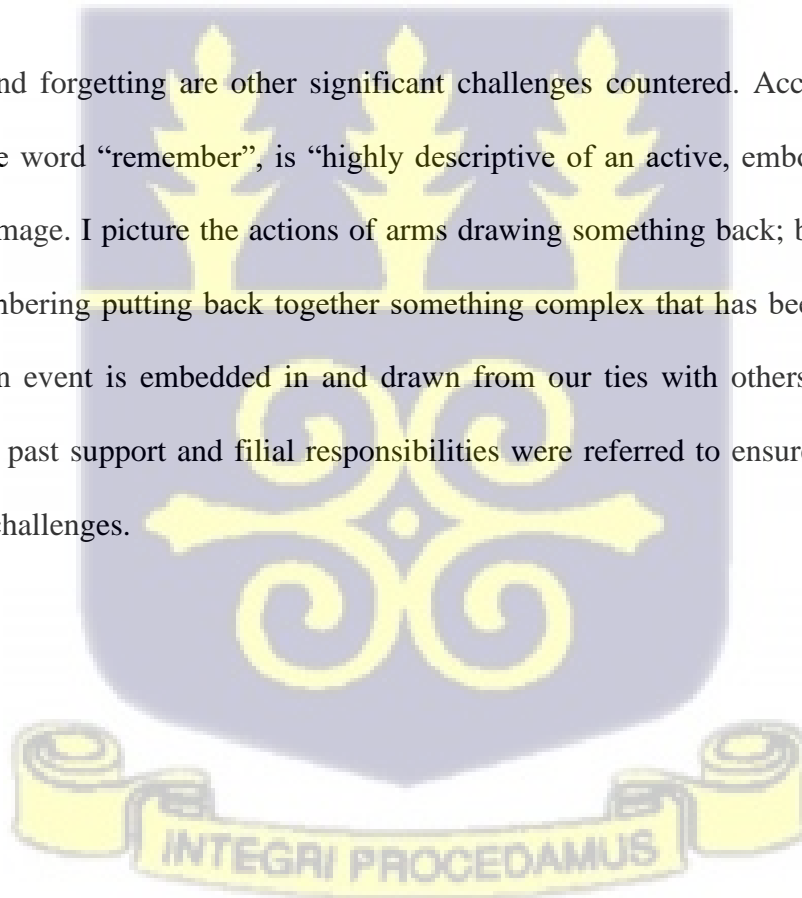
3.2.9 Analysis and Interpretation

Case study or interpretive human analysis (Tesch 1990:58 cited in Dey, 1993) and narrative analysis defined by the Concise Oxford English Dictionary as a spoken or written account of connected events or a story' (Soanes & Stevenson, 2004) during analysis was also used. The analysis and interpretation of the data were aimed at making reading simple by reducing complex human beings to a few identifying words on a page as I often referred to this chart during my writing and discussion. Finally, conceptual frames or questions were developed out of the larger themes in order to organise my analysis.

3.2.10 Challenges

A number of challenges were encountered in the interview sessions as not all went smooth and comfortable. I encountered people who declined to participate in the study after initially consenting to it. Also, some withdrew from the interview halfway through it because they deemed the question to be too intrusive into their “private lives.” According to Callum (2003), one way of dealing with such experiences of refusal in academic research is to eliminate such respondents from the inquiry, rather than taking them as important moments for analysis in the research process. In order to ensure the credibility of the work and the researcher’s competence, the study did not make use of such respondents.

Remembering and forgetting are other significant challenges countered. According to Cullum (2003, p. 50) the word “remember”, is “highly descriptive of an active, embodied process that creates a vivid image. I picture the actions of arms drawing something back; bring it in close to the body, remembering putting back together something complex that has been dismembered.” Remembering an event is embedded in and drawn from our ties with others. Significant past experiences like past support and filial responsibilities were referred to ensure that participants overcome such challenges.



CHAPTER FOUR

NATURE OF INTERGENERATIONAL SOLIDARITY OF NIGERIAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE GREATER ACCRA REGION

4.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings of the study focusing on the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the 20 Nigerian immigrants interviewed for this study. Using the Push and Pull theory, the background of the migrants and reasons for migrating to Ghana was explored. Also, the trends of intergenerational solidarity of Nigerian immigrants are discussed.

4.1 Profile of Respondents

Twenty (20) respondents were interviewed for this study. Of the twenty respondents, fifteen were males and five were females. The reasons for the high number of male respondents were that female respondents were not readily available and some had to request permission from their male partners to participate in the study which was often turned down. Five face-to-face in-depth interviews were conducted at Adabraka, twelve face-to-face interviews were conducted in Kwame Nkrumah Circle and three more interviews were conducted via telephone interview due to COVID-19 restrictions. All three participants who were interviewed via phone call were residents of Adabraka.

The respondents were between the ages of 21 and 46. Three (3) of the respondents were between the ages of 20 and 24, another eleven respondents (11) were between the ages of 25 and 29 while six (6) respondents were 30 years old and above.

The educational background of the respondent was generally high, ranging from basic education to post-graduate degrees. Five of the respondents have a university degree; four have a bachelor's degree and one has a post-graduate degree. Twelve of the respondents have secondary

education certificates while three of the respondents were secondary education dropouts. Seventeen of the respondents obtained their highest level of education in Nigeria while three obtained their highest level of education in Ghana. The gender distribution of the respondents' educational backgrounds was quite interesting. There was a disparity in the gender of respondents who with postgraduate qualifications as there was only one male respondent with a master's degree and no female respondent had a postgraduate qualification. There was no disparity in the gender of respondents with bachelor's degrees as there are two males and two females each with a first degree.

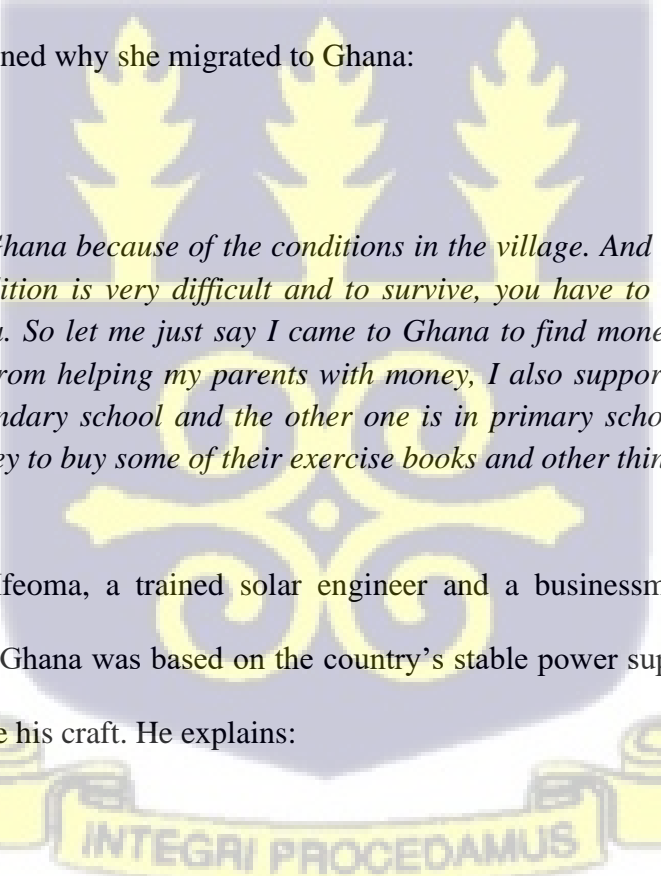
All respondents except one were economically engaged in Ghana. They were mainly involved in the sale of mobile phones and mobile accessories. A few of them were formally employed in Ghana. Fifteen (15) respondents said they earned less than \$159 in their economic trade per month and five (5) respondents said they earned more than \$160.

4.2 Reasons for migrating to the Greater Accra Region: the Push and Pull factors

This section examined the respondents' decision to migrate to Ghana and settle in the Greater Accra region. The respondents said they chose to trade at Adabraka and Kwame Nkrumah Circle in the Greater Accra region because it is a hub for the sale of mobile phones, laptops and phone accessories. In addition, it is a place many Nigerians reside or trade. According to the World Migration Report (2018), economic, political/religious/social and education are some of the important reasons people migrate. The most important reason the respondents gave for migrating to Ghana was in search of a job and other economic opportunities, followed by education for themselves, conflict and tensions in Nigeria, pastoral and cultural experience as well as love and fond memories of Ghana. The factors accounting for Nigerian migration to Ghana is examined below using the Push and Pull theory.

According to Lee (1975), push factors are certain events that induce people to migrate from the origin or their old place of residence. Lee identified such push factors to include economic, cultural and environmental factors. Some of the notable push factors within these groups include war, conflicts, education, loss of family wealth and few economic opportunities.

The respondents gave various push factors influencing their decision to migrate to Ghana. One of the main push factors the study found was limited economic opportunities in Nigeria. Some of the respondents lamented on the lack of economic opportunities in Nigeria and in order to make money and provide for their personal needs and that of their families, they decided to migrate to Ghana in order to find work. Adaeze, of the respondents, who sells Nigerian dishes at Kwame Nkrumah Circle explained why she migrated to Ghana:



I travelled to Ghana because of the conditions in the village. And the way Nigeria is, the economic condition is very difficult and to survive, you have to move so that is why I came to Ghana. So let me just say I came to Ghana to find money so I can support my family. Apart from helping my parents with money, I also support my younger siblings. One is in secondary school and the other one is in primary school. I normally support them with money to buy some of their exercise books and other things they need.

Another respondent, Ifeoma, a trained solar engineer and a businessman explained that his decision to migrate to Ghana was based on the country's stable power supply which he believes could help him practice his craft. He explains:

I migrated to Ghana due to one important reason. I am a businessman and a solar engineer. I dream of exploring the world and implementing my ideas as an entrepreneur. So I chose Ghana because they have light and I can practice my craft as a solar engineer. Also, I have a laptop and gadgets shop. So I came to Ghana for business purposes.

Aside from migrating to search for work, others, particularly those from Igbo-land (or south-east Nigeria), said they came to Ghana because of recent activities of some separatists who are stoking tensions in the state. According to them, the tension and pockets of conflicts have made their communities unsafe to pursue economic ventures as they turn to live in constant fear. One of the potential threats to their business in the region, which was highlighted, was the attack and ransacking of their businesses by some separatists and the Nigerian security forces. The attacks make them record losses in their business and make them unable to repay loans they took to start their business.

Taiwa, who hails from the South-East of Nigeria, said prior to migrating to Ghana, he was a business owner. However, his business was ransacked by some separatists resulting in the collapse of his business. In his quest for a peaceful environment to trade, he decided to migrate to Ghana. Taiwa sells phone accessories at Kwame Nkrumah Circle and explains his decision to migrate to Ghana:

Today in my hometown, I come from Biafra where there is constant confusion. You know some people say they want to separate from Nigeria and because of that, they have been fighting. When I was doing business there, one day, they attack my business and I lost my money. I couldn't repay the loan I took and I had no money on me. Things were really difficult for me and so with the consent of my parents, I told them I was coming to Ghana to work and find money so I can send them some. And Glory be to God, I have been able to start something and send them money every month. Although things are not yet good, I thank God I am surviving.

Education was another reason some of the respondents gave for migrating to Ghana. The respondents said the academic calendar in Nigeria is often truncated or destabilised by strike

actions of lecturers. To have smooth tertiary education, the respondents said their parents brought them to Ghana. Alaba was advised by his parents to move to Ghana for his university education after he completed secondary education in Nigeria because of rampant lecturers strike.

Alaba stated:

I came here for my academics. When I finished secondary school in Nigeria, I was just advised by my parents to come to Ghana for my tertiary education because, in Nigeria, lecturers are always going on strike. I came here in 2014 and I did my first degree here and graduated last two years, in 2019. I went to Sikkim Manipal University now Academic City College.

Aside from the push factors which were highlighted above, there were also pull factors that influence the respondents to come to Ghana. Just like the push factors, the pull factors are divided into three: economic, cultural and environmental. Some pull factors include job opportunities, better living conditions, attractive climate and security.

One of the pull factors that attracted some of the respondents to Ghana was the country's peaceful co-existence and security. The respondents said in Ghana, they are able to go about with their economic activities without any major threat to their lives and business. Generally, they found Ghana to be peaceful compared to Nigeria. Nneka, who sells second-hand clothing at Kwame Nkrumah Circle, said he found Ghana to be very peaceful compared to Nigeria where he said there are cult groups fomenting trouble thereby posing a danger to his safety and his ability to pursue economic ventures. He shares his experience:

Ghana is a very peaceful country, unlike my country. In Nigeria, there are all these cult groups and boys who are causing all kinds of trouble. One group will attack the other and the next day, another also attacks. You know, it is not making the country safe for some of us. Here [Ghana], I have the peace of mind to do my business. At least peace is better than war. For me, I will say it is one of the reasons I came to Ghana and for business purposes. And since I came, I have been leaving peacefully, I have no police case and I am doing my cloth business.”

Another pull factor some of the respondents gave for influencing their decision to migrate to Ghana was because of the strength of the Ghana Cedis compared to the Nigerian Naira. The respondents explained that selling phone accessories in Ghana was economically sound than the cost of doing the same business in Nigeria. One respondent explains that when he sends GHC100 to his parents in Nigeria, that translates to 6, 700 Nigerian Naira. For him, there was no way he could send that much to his parents if he was selling phone accessories in Nigeria. Chi is a master’s degree holder who has been in Ghana for three years now. He sells mobile phones and phone accessories at Adabraka. According to him, the strength of the Ghana cedis against the Nigerian Naira influenced his decision to migrate to Ghana. Chi further explains:

The depreciation of the currency made me come to Ghana. You know the [Nigerian currency] is not that strong and so when you sell in Nigeria, you don’t make much. In Ghana, although costs of things are expensive, I can make something small to send my parents. Like, when I send 100 cedis to them, something I usually do every month, it becomes big money for them. That is over 6,000 Naira and that is good money to send to your parents. So our currency is not helping us to do business and the Ghana currency is strong and that is the reason why I came to Ghana.

Some respondents also highlighted the friendly nature of Ghanaians as another pull factor. They professed their love for Ghana and doing business with Ghanaians. Ife explains that prior to migrating to Ghana, he had Ghanaian business partners and he found doing business with them

to be cordial. It was this cordial rapport between him and his Ghanaian partners that influenced him to migrate to Ghana. Ife noted:

The reason why I decided to migrate to Ghana is that I love Ghanaians. Even when I was in Nigerian, I liked to do business with Ghanaians in Nigeria and I used to tell them that one day, I would like to be in their country to see how things go there. But it is business that brought me here.

The findings of the study support claims by Bosiakoh (2006) that contemporary Nigerian migration to Ghana is motivated by several factors that encompass political, economic and historical considerations. It is also consistent with a study by Mberu (2010), in which he noted that the major causes of Nigerian international migration were principally economic and also in pursuit of further education.

4.3 Nature of solidarity of Nigerian immigrants

The study showed evidence that all the six dimensions of intergenerational solidarity were found during the data analysis. However, some were more pronounced among the respondents than others. Examples that illustrate each dimension are presented below.

4. 3.1 Associational solidarity: frequency and pattern of contact of the respondents

Associational solidarity refers to the frequency and patterns of contact in shared activities among family members (Bengston & Robert, 1991). Such contact with family members can take different forms such as face-to-face interaction, telephone, mail, e-mail and texting (Lefkowitz, Vukman & Loken, 2012). Migrants within the transnational space utilize technology to remain in touch with their parents back home. Visiting is also another way migrants maintain intergenerational interaction with their ageing parents. The study found significant associational changes occasioned by international migration.

4. 3.1.1 Using technology to stay in touch with parents

Associational change found between adult children and their ageing parents was the degree of phone and internet calls (WhatsApp call) in their relationship. Because of their inability to have regular face-to-face contact with their parents, migrants enacted associational solidarity through phone and WhatsApp calls. Respondents regularly initiated phone calls to their parents which runs contrary to the narrative in the literature where parents usually initiated phone calls to their adult children. Initiating phone calls to elderly parents was to compensate for one's absence and also to take up the bill of the call in order not to financially burden parents. In a period of emergency, immigrants maintained daily contact with their parents and family to remain updated on the issues.

Dada, a phone seller at Kwame Nkrumah Circle, commenting on how frequent he calls his parents noted:

I communicate with my parents twice a week depending on what is at hand. Like if there is an issue, we communicate very often. But on a normal level, [we communicate] once a week or once in two weeks.

On his part, Lolade calls his father twice a week because of the high cost of call credit and usually rely on call bundles offered by his network provider. He summarizes the frequency of calls to his father:

I communicate with my father often, like two times in a week. I usually call him on phone... and because call credit is expensive when calling Nigeria, I rely on call bundle. I subscribe to this Nigeria call bundle before I can be able to speak for long with my [father].

Adamma, who works as a waitress in a restaurant at Kwame Nkrumah Circle also revealed communicating with her parents “once or twice in a week” but was quick to add that calling her parents did not follow a particular order and that she could place a call to them any time. While the respondents usually call their parents so as not to burden them with the cost of airtime, in the case of one of the respondents, Adamma, calling was a two-way affair. In other words, her parents call as often as she also calls them.

In the literature, adult children explored other channels of communication like using emails, text messages and usage of social media platforms like Facebook. On the contrary, making phone calls to ageing parents in Nigeria was generally the main channel of communication. Some of the respondents also combined phone calls with social media messaging applications like WhatsApp because it uses internet data, which makes it comparatively cheaper to use to make phone calls than making direct phone calls. Also, through the application, some of the respondents of the study were able to exchange photos and make video calls to see the physical appearance of the elderly parents.

Funanga recently graduated with a nursing degree in Ghana and communicate with her parents using WhatsApp. Although she finds the cost of internet data expensive in Ghana, she believes it is quite cheaper than call credit. Funanga tells her experience about using WhatsApp:

I make WhatsApp calls than a direct phone call because calling from Ghana to Nigeria is very expensive, so I mostly do WhatsApp call. Although [internet] data is also expensive in Ghana, compared to call credit, it is better. At least with that one, you call to speak to your relatives for long. If I have data and I make WhatsApp, I interact with them [parents] for long.

Similarly, Uche calls her mother virtually every day on WhatsApp because she finds it cheaper and convenient.

I call my mother virtually every day via phone and WhatsApp call, but mostly on WhatsApp, we chat, make video calls, and exchange photos. We discuss what is happening in Ghana, Nigeria, family, politics, anything.

For those whose parents had no WhatsApp-enabled mobile phones, some of the respondents reported relying on special call packages which allowed them to have long conversations with their parents. Chi, who sells mobile phones and phone accessories, said:

Normally I do this Airtel-Tigo Nigerian call subscription which is three cedis for five minutes call credit. I buy five cedis one for 11 minutes and when I buy it, I use it and call them [parents].

Oni sells phones at Kwame Nkrumah Circle. He also relies on call packages offered by his network provider and describes how important such airtime offers are crucial to him in enacting associational solidarity:

We Nigerians, we mostly we use Glo network in Ghana. Once you recharge, we can subscribe to some call packages to call our parents in Nigeria. Without the call packages, your call credit will just finish. Once I subscribe to the call packages, I communicate with them for long before the credit runs out.

Usually, the conversation centered on varied topics. Adult children often inquired about the well-being of their ageing parents and family matters. Parents, on the other hand, inquired from their adult children about the success of their business and also offer advice.

From the views expressed by the participants, it may be concluded that migrants leverage cheap modern communication technology to maintain regular contact with their ageing parents. This is in agreement with the positions of Bacigalape and Lambe (2011), Baldassar (2002), Parreñas (2005), and Wilding (2006) that geographical distance makes it difficult for transnational migrants to maintain regular face-to-face contact with their families but they surmount this challenge by adopting modern communication technologies such as phone and internet calls. Phone calls are initiated by both the migrants and their families. However, in this study, the respondents usually initiate phone calls.

4.3.1.2 Visiting as a way of enacting face-to-face contact and physical assistance

Visiting is also another way migrants maintain associational solidarity with their ageing parents. Visiting allows adult children to have face-to-face contact with their parents. It also facilitates migrants' ability to provide physical assistance when needed. The majority of the respondents have been in Ghana for between two to seven years.

The majority of the respondents said Ghana is the first international country they have visited while a few of them said they had previously migrated to countries like the Benin Republic and Togo before deciding to migrate to Ghana. The respondents said they got financial support and other assistance from their families to migrate to Ghana. Usually, financial support is used to cover the cost of transportation and feeding. While in Ghana, they either stay with a friend or a relative until they get their place of accommodation.

Before migrating to Ghana, a significant majority of the respondents said it was easier for them to visit their parents and have face-to-face contact with them. However, due to geographical distance, the respondents said they are unable to regularly visit their parents. They also reported

visiting their parents at least once a year, usually during the Christmas period. A few of the respondents said they visit their parents twice a year.

Also, the last two years (2020 and 2021) have been challenging for many of the respondents in their quest to visit their parents. The respondents usually commute back to Nigeria through the land borders and with the closure of Ghana's borders as a result of COVID-19, the majority of the respondents said they couldn't travel to visit their parents.

Uche, who has been in Ghana for seven years, said prior to the closure of Ghana's air border which was occasioned by COVID-19; she used to travel to visit her retired mother twice every year. According to her, she couldn't visit her parents, particularly her mother, in 2020 and 2021 because she has not been "vaccinated" and in addition to her airfare, she has to run COVID-19 tests when she arrives in Nigeria and also makes a return trip to Ghana. She found the cost involved in travelling to see her parents at this period too expensive and would rather explore WhatsApp video calls.

Before COVID-19, I use to [go] home twice every year. ...and now with the borders being closed, I [haven't] been able to go home. And now that the [air] border has been opened, the [COVID-19] vaccine is now restricting me from going home like would have loved to be going. And now..., you are not only talking about vaccines but you are talking about the COVID-19 tests back and forth so yeah, it is now more financially high to travel back.

Chi also made a similar observation about visiting his parents. He explains:

"Before the COVID, sometimes [I visit] my parents once in a year. Sometimes I visited them twice a year. However, because of the COVID-19 restrictions, I have not been able to travel to Nigeria [in 2020 and 2021]."

Aside from the border closure which has made it difficult for some of the respondents to visit their parents in the last two years, other respondents also said the distance between Ghana and Nigeria and the cost of transportation has also been daunting for them, as the majority of them earn below \$160 a month from their business.

4.4.2 Structural solidarity: structures enhancing and affecting interactions

Structural solidarity refers to the structures that enable or constrain interactions between generations (Bengtson & Robert, 1991). The health of family members, proximity between generations and number of siblings are such structures for intergenerational interaction and exchange. Geographical proximity acts as a constraining factor in the opportunity for interaction between two generations because they live in two different countries. The health of parents and the presence of siblings act as an opportunity for interaction.

4.4.2.1 Living in two countries

Living in two countries is found to be a major constraining factor for physical interaction between the generations. In the case of the respondents, the distance between Ghana and Nigeria constrained face-to-face interaction and assistance between them and their parents because they live in two different countries. Economic opportunity was the overwhelming reason most of the respondents gave for leaving Nigeria to work in Ghana. Adaeze explains how distance affects her ability to visit her parents.

“The reason I don’t visit often is that it is all about money. From here to Nigeria, to Lagos, is a big money. Lagos to East is another long-distance, from that East to your village is too much. So, I don’t go often. I have visited only once since I came here [Ghana]. This year I am not going so maybe next year and will try and go and see them.

4.4.2.2 Presence of siblings

Siblings play a crucial role in enacting structural solidarity across the two countries. Due to the respondents' inability to be with their parents, siblings acted as migrants' agents in the fulfilment of their filial duties. The majority of the respondents had some of their siblings living with their parents in Nigeria and they usually rely on them to fulfil some responsibility to their parents. One of the respondents of the study, Adamma, explains that when she sends money to her mother, her younger brother usually goes to withdraw the money for their mother. Adamma explains how her siblings help her to interact with her mother.

When I send money to my mother, my younger brother goes to cash it for her. I send her money every month to support herself and to support her business. Also, my brother and sister, I make sure they support her in domestic chores. For example, they sweep the house, wash the dishes and help her cook.

Another respondent, Alaba also explains how his siblings in Nigeria help facilitate interaction between him and his parents.

The distance is some kind of barrier. I have some of my siblings that are there in Nigeria. Almost all my siblings are there and I am the only one outside the country. So, those [in Nigeria] they visit her [mom]. [Usually] during the weekend when they don't have much doing, they visit her. But for me, looking at the distance involve from Ghana to Nigeria, you know what it takes, the cost and the challenges on the road.

These assertions find expressions in studies by Parrena (2001), Faist (2004) and Baldock et al. (2016) that proximity is not an absolute condition needed to facilitate interaction between family members and that families overcome these challenges through the use of modern communications and presence of other siblings.

4.4.2.3 Health of parents

A significant majority of the respondents' parents were in good health. However, one respondent, Ifeoma, explained how his mother's sickness acted as an opportunity for more interaction. His mother is a cancer survivor and as a result, he had to frequently call to check up on her. Aside from regularly calling his mother to check up on her, he also visited Nigeria regularly to support her emotionally since he was the main provider for his parents. This, Ifeoma believes, contributed to his mother's improved health condition. Ifeoma explains how his mother's sickness facilitated frequent contact and regular visits.

“My mom is a cancer survivor... Because of the support from me and the family, because of the love, we showed her, that is why she is still alive. I was also the only one taking care of them and before I left Nigeria to return to Ghana, both my father and mother are stronger than now. I left them in God's hand and some people to take care of them.” – (Respondent 10, 2021)

Generally, the findings under structural solidarity contradict the claims by Rossi and Rossi (1990) that geographical distance reduces the rate of all forms of assistance due to reduced communication which ultimately impacts the exchange of support between adult children and their elderly parents. The respondents said they leverage modern communication to mitigate the impact of distance on their ability to interact with their parents. This allowed them to know the needs of their parents and provide assistance. Also, the respondents relied on their siblings or other relatives living with their parents or close to their parents to resolve other challenges that require physical assistance.

4.4.3 Affectual solidarity: emotional ties between generations

According to Bengtson & Roberts (1991), affectual solidarity refers to the positive sentiments felt by adult children or older parents. Previous studies have highlighted the significance of affection or positive sentiment for exchange and social support for gaining parents. According to Rossi and Rossi (1990), the more intense the emotional connection between parents and their children, the more contact and support transfer between them. The respondents of the study demonstrated affectual solidarity by expressing their love, support and concern for their parents although a decline in emotional attachment to parents emerged. Longing and enduring also emerged among some of the respondents.

4.4.3.1 Emotional closeness

The majority of the respondents felt very close to their parents despite the distance between them and the lack of physical contact in months or years. The study revealed that through regular phone calls, the respondents managed to establish strong bonds with their parents. Chidi, a respondent who sells mobile phones accessories at Adabraka, explain how frequent communication with his parents has made deepen the bond between him and his parents. He notes:

Because of my constant communication with them, they still feel I am with them, close to them. That is because I constantly communicate with them. I do that for them not to feel lonely or maybe, they will think something has happened [to me].

A few of the respondents said the distance between Ghana and Nigeria has reduced how close they felt to their parents. One respondent, Lolade explained:

Yes, since I migrated to Ghana, it has reduced the closeness between us. We have never seen ourselves, face-to-face, since I migrated. We talk only on phone. And you know, talking on the phone cannot replace being with your parents and interacting with them.

4.4.3.2 Emotional support

Emotional support was the biggest support elderly parents offered to their adult children. Elderly parents' support to their children was mostly in the form of encouragement, prayers, advice, and inquiring about their welfare. One respondent, Oni, who sells phone accessories at Adabakra narrates the kind of support his mother offers him:

[My mom] supports me with prayers. She advises me. Like, 'as you are in Ghana, don't fight. Don't cause trouble because if police arrest you, I don't have money to release you. Don't keep bad friends.

The majority of the participants felt it was their turn to support their parents and were not open to the idea of receiving financial support from their parents as that will amount to the dereliction of filial duty on their part. This is buttressed by the African proverb: "When your elders take care of you while you cut your teeth, you must, in turn, take care of them while they are losing theirs." Funango, a phone repairer at Kwame Nkrumah Circle, tells the kind of support he receives from his mother:

Sometimes, my mother, she calls me and advises me. 'You know this place is not your country. You need to be careful. Know the way you will be following friends; know the way you do things and so.' Even my father, sometimes he will dream and tell me based on his dream not to go to certain places or I shouldn't go to work. It is part of the encouragement.

Also, some respondents said although they regularly call their parents and discuss several issues with them, their parents were not overly satisfied with them trying to enact affectual solidarity

from a distance. A respondent, Kayin, recounted how her mother has been trying to get her to return to Nigeria because she misses her and wants to see her.

My [mother] is even begging [me] to come back. [She] is even begging, 'come and visit me this Christmas. Since I came to Ghana, I have not visited her and she is worried, or let me say she misses me. She misses me a lot. I plan to visit her soon.

4.4.3.3 Longing and enduring

Although respondents of the study did maintain regular contact with their ageing parents in Nigeria and by extension, affectual solidarity, they expressed mixed views about emotional attachment, relational love. While some of the respondents expressed satisfaction about their attempt to enact affectual solidarity from a distance, others were not. Nonetheless, a sense of longing was evident in the narratives of the respondents. Ime made the following observation:

“I like seeing [my parents]. I like seeing my family. I like seeing them. As I am talking to you now, I have missed them. I like staying with [my parents]. Though we [siblings] are scattered in different countries, we still communicate with them.” – (Respondent 13, 2021).

4.4.4 Normative solidarity

According to Bengtson & Roberts (1991), normative solidarity refers to the strength of commitment to perform familial obligations. According to Nauck and Steinbach (2009), normative solidarity refers to the degree of obligations to filial and parental duties by the individual members of intergenerational relations. It is also defined as the expectations of children to provide for their ageing parents (Seelbach, 1984).

A strong norm of filial obligations emerged in the dimension of normative solidarity in this study. Respondents of the study expressed the importance of family and how much their parents mean to them. The norm of filial obligation was strongly influenced by the principles of reciprocity, religion and among the male respondents; a strong norm of filial obligation was a sign of manhood. Asked why they feel bound to support their parents, the respondents made the followings remarks. Alaba, Chimamanda and Ime made the following comments respectively:

This one is an entitlement for me. To me, I am entitled to do that. Because I know she gave me the best. I know how much I paid when I was in school here [in Ghana]. Imagine as a foreigner I was paying about \$1, 2000 per semester. For one year you pay \$2, 400. Do you know how much the value is right now? But this woman was paying it with her husband and her husband died. She was also doing it till I graduated. She never gave up. So, I don't think nothing is too big for me to give her.

Because they are my parents so I feel bound to support them. They supported me when I was a child. They made me who I am today so I also have to support them. So, yes, it is my duty to support them.

The bible says children are the heritage from the lord. They are a reward from the lord. Before I was brought to this world, she had a mother. It is like a coin, you throw it. What you do to me, somebody else will do it to you. It is like the law of karma. What you do to me, somebody else will do it to you. So, I feel joy in supporting her because without her bringing me to this planet earth, I wouldn't have existed. If maybe she didn't want to bring me, she would have aborted me. She found joy in giving birth to me so that when she is old, at her grey hairs, I can take care of her. So, I see it as a great joy for me to help my mother. Blessings are attached. Anything I send [to] her, she says, 'God bless you. There is no way that blessing wouldn't count. Without my mother blessing me, somebody cannot bless me. I find it a thing of joy supporting her.

Some of the support the respondents offered to their ageing parents included monetary support and emotional support in the form of words of encouragement. The emotional support often took the form of assuring their parents that their business was doing well and that they are not in the company of bad friends.

4.4.5 Functional Solidarity: remittances and practical support

Functional solidarity refers to help and support exchange between generations through the exchange of resources (Bengston and Robert, 1991). It includes mutual assistance between the young and the old (Luo and Zhan, 2011). The exchange of help and support changes in the course of life as parents transition from the role of givers to receivers (Luo and Zhan, 2011).

The study found that there was an upward and downward transmission of support. There was a flow of support from adult children to their ageing parents and from parents to their adult children in Ghana. While the support from children to their ageing parents was in the form of remittance and other material support, that of parents was often emotional support.

4.4.5.1 Remittances

Remittances emerged strongly as an aspect of functional solidarity. For the respondents of the study, sending remittances was in fulfilment of their filial obligations and it also symbolically represented an act of showing love and care to one's parent. The immigrants believed that sending money for the upkeep of their parents back home was one of the expected outcomes of migrating to Ghana. Alaba explained why sending money to his elderly parents back home was one of the reasons he came to Ghana:

In as much as what we are doing is not an easy job but at least I can afford to give them come certain things they need now. I can afford to give them money. Not that maybe that money is too big like that but at least I can afford to give them money to buy foodstuffs

and other things. I don't think I would be able to do some of the things I do for my parents if I were still in Nigeria. So that is it. They are seeing the benefits of me migrating to Ghana.

Similarly, Adaeze said:

As a man, you need to move out and fend for yourself. And to do that, you cannot be in one place. And when you go out to search for money, you also have to find some for your parents. So migrating to Ghana has not helped only me. But it has benefited my parents and some others. Because I send them money, I send my mother money and they use it to take care of themselves.

The responses of the respondents show the significant role of sending money as one of the expected outcomes of migrating. The responses support assertions by Carling (2008) and Osili (2008) who noted that the prospects of remitting home were one of the reasons people migrate in the first place.

Also, the study found that remitting homes was based on pure altruism. In other words, they remitted because they were concerned with the consumption of their families. This is similar to the observation made by Luca and Stark (1985) that the motivation by migrants to remit home is driven by the desire to improve the welfare of their families and their loves, thereby incorporating the utility of these people in their own utility.

In addition, sending of money compensated for their inability to provide physical assistance to the parents as a result of migration. The respondents explained how he used remittances to compensate for his inability to provide physical assistance. Ayo, a phone seller at Kwame Nkrumah Circle narrates how he uses money to compensate for his absence.

“Yes, I support my parents financially. I think for now, since I am not there, the only way I can assist them is financial since I am not there in Nigeria. I send roughly [\$16] weekly.”

Another respondent, Ime, also explains sending money to her mother every month for her upkeep and also to support her food business. This modest contribution from her is to compensate for her absence. She explains:

I send her [mother] money every month to support herself and support her business. She sells food as her business. It is my contribution to her. It is to support her to do her business since I am not with her. Maybe, if I was with them, I may not be able to give her money but I can assist her with preparing and selling food. But since I am not there, I am not living with her now, at least sending her money is also my contribution to her.

Money sent home to parents was mostly used for their upkeep like buying food and paying for utility bills. The majority of the respondents remitted to their parents at least once a month and in periods that there are issues to be resolved financially, they could remit twice or thrice in a month.

The findings above support Lee and Xiao (1998) and Zimmer and Kwong (2003) position that in developing countries, financial transfers often flow from adult children to their ageing parents. The findings also contradict the claim of Cooney and Uhlenberg (1992) that financial resources often flow from older parents to their children.

This is so because of the absence of state support care for the elderly and the influence of cultural norms of filial piety. In addition, functional support from adult children to their ageing parents is need-based and altruism-based (Cong and Silverstein, 2000; Silverstein et al., 2006, Sung 2000).

4.4.5.2 Exchange of practical support

The distance was a barrier to providing practical support to one's parents. However, Respondents of the study provided practical support to their parents when they visit home. The female participants reported assisting the mothers to prepare food, fetch water or sweep the room and the compound. Abebi, a female respondent, tells the kind of assistance she offers to her parents on return visits:

When I travel to Nigeria for instance, I perform certain functions to my parents. You see, as I am in Ghana here, as you know, because of distance, I cannot do anything physically to assist them but I go back, that one I am able to support. For instance, the last time I went to them, I help fill the gas. I am the one who also weed the backyard. So from, those are physical assistance.

4.4.6 Consensual Solidarity: an agreement in opinion and family/cultural values

Consensual solidarity refers to the level of agreement in opinion, values, and lifestyles between generations. The majority of the participants of the study reported that their parent viewed their migration to Ghana worthwhile as they were either coming to do business, school or both. Some participants said they shared similar values and culture, adding that migrating to Ghana has not affected how they were raised or brought up. Chi has been in Ghana for three years but still holds dear his family values despite admitting to being exposed to different cultures and lifestyles in Ghana. He explains:

"You know when you move outside your country, somehow there are some certain things, and you will not be seeing it the same way as when you are there with your family. That is exposure, which is when you get to be exposed and meet new people and try to reason with them and know the difference. Not that you will throw away your family values but

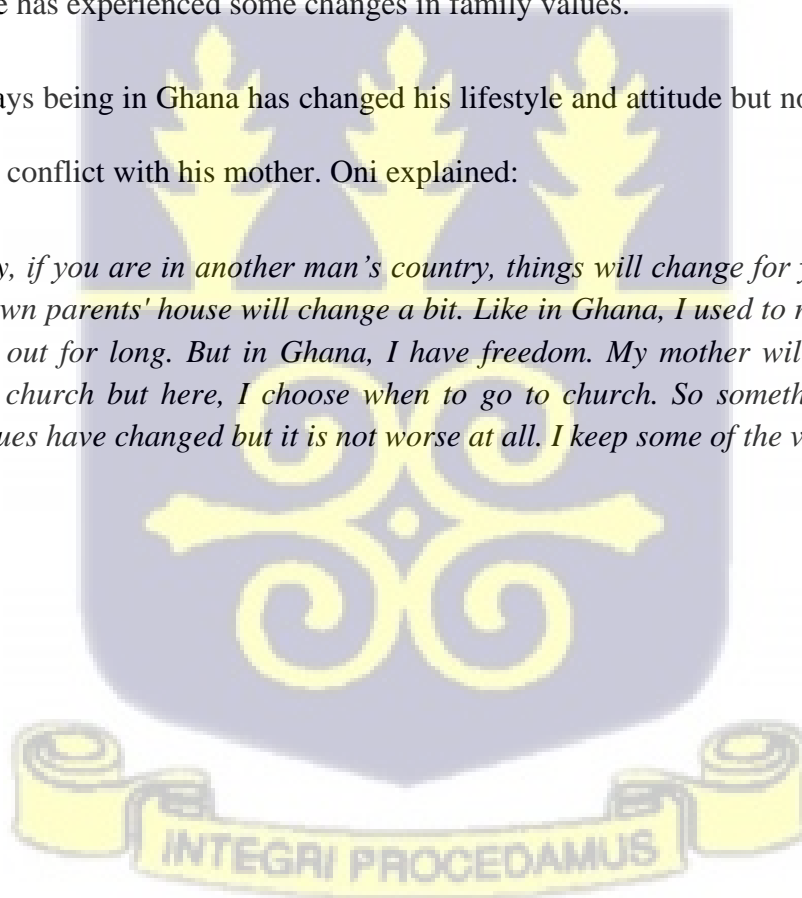
you also add them to your own. In as much as it is a favourable one and it will help you in every way.

This is consistent with the findings of Nesteruk and Marks (2009) over how Eastern European transnational families maintained their beliefs and cultural norms that emphasized family connection and interdependence.

However, a few of the respondents observed a change in their family values, lifestyle and attitude. Uche explains that Ghana and Nigeria have similar cultural values but was quick to point out that she has experienced some changes in family values.

Similarly, Oni says being in Ghana has changed his lifestyle and attitude but noted that it has not degenerated into conflict with his mother. Oni explained:

Definitely, if you are in another man's country, things will change for you. How you live in your own parents' house will change a bit. Like in Ghana, I used to not go out at night and stay out for long. But in Ghana, I have freedom. My mother will always insist on going to church but here, I choose when to go to church. So something has changed, some values have changed but it is not worse at all. I keep some of the values.



CHAPTER FIVE

GENDER DIFFERENCES IN THE ENACTMENT OF INTERGENERATIONAL SOLIDARY

5.0 Introduction

The study also aimed to examine how gender affects intergenerational solidarity. Sons and daughters are recognized with different expectations in the family regarding parental support. Gender theories have opined that gender roles are socially constructed by society (Quarshie, 2019). In a patriarchal society like Nigeria, men and women are expected to perform different filial duties to their ageing parents. However, this has not been explored in detail within the south-south migration literature.

5.1 Gender disparity in the enactment of intergenerational solidarity and case study illustrations

This study found a disparity in the enactment of intergenerational solidarity among both male and female respondents. Both male and female respondents maintained frequent contact with their parents through a mobile phone or WhatsApp call. However, the study found that the respondents of the study called their mothers often than their fathers. This is because they had a strong bond with their mothers than they have with their fathers.

In addition, female respondents usually had long phone call conversations with their parents than the male participants. The men were generally interested in calling to know the wellbeing of their parents and also updating them of their own wellbeing and solving specific problems.

Although the cost of airtime was a general challenge to the respondents, women in particular leveraged WhatsApp to have long conversations with their elderly parents. Aside from calling

through WhatsApp, the application also has features that allowed for video calling and the exchange of photos, which they often explored when communicating with their parents.

Unlike their male counterparts, the female respondents reported calling their parents on daily basis and often found themselves offering their parents emotional support. From the findings above, it can be concluded that women enacted affectual solidarity and associational from a distance more than men. The conclusion drawn, support the findings of Martin (1990) that frequency of contact was high among women than men. And according to Robert et al. (1991), this reflects the “kin keeping” role women usually undertake.

The study also found that male respondents remitted more than their female counterparts in terms of quantum and frequency. The female respondents reported sending money to their parents once a month while the majority of the men reported sending twice a month and in a period of emergence, they remitted more. One of the reasons for this trend could be that the male respondents earned more in their economic activities than the female respondents, thereby putting them in a safe financial position to support their parents.

Also, strong remittance obligations were found among male respondents than female respondents. The male respondents regarded sending money to their elderly parents for their upkeep and other household expenses as one of their major obligations. While the female respondents had similar sentiments, it was more pronounced in men than women.

Furthermore, the study found that among respondents with both parents alive, they usually remit through their mothers or female siblings. This pattern of remittance was largely influenced by the frequency of interaction between the respondents and their mothers. In this regard, the respondents interacted more often with their mothers than with their fathers.

The findings on how gender affects remittances contradict the popular narrative in the literature that migrant women remit more than men as reported by Lopez-Ekra (2011) and Orozco et al. (2009). However, the findings are consistent with a recent study of 1,128 overseas Pilipino workers that found that men send more money than women and attributed the phenomenon to the gender gap in earnings where men earned more than women and therefore have more income at their disposal to remit more (Semyonov and Gorodzeisky, 2005).

Besides remittances being influenced by a strong norm of filial obligations, female respondents provided physical assistance to their parents often by relying on other siblings and relatives staying with them. They ensured siblings living with their parents performed domestic chores and other supporting chores for their parents.

The male respondents, on the other hand, often concerned themselves with sending money home.

5.1.1 Case study illustration of gender disparity in the enactment of intergenerational solidarity

Besides teasing out the general gender disparity in the enactment of intergenerational solidarity among the respondents, and since this study is more concerned with the individual experiences of the respondents than generalization, one male respondent and a female respondent will be used as a case study to explore how gender affects intergenerational solidarity within the context of international migration. The respondents below are represented by their pseudo names so hide their identity.

Case Study 1: Uche

Uche is a male, 29 years old. He migrated to Ghana after completing his master's degree program in Nigeria. He has been in Ghana for more than three years now and sells mobile phones and phone accessories at Adabraka. He is single. Uche migrated to Ghana because of the

depreciation of the Nigerian Naira and also to engage in the sale of mobile phones and accessories. In a month, he makes an average of GHC1000 (less than \$130).

The study inquired from Uche how he maintains ties with his ageing parents in Nigeria. Uche said his both parents were alive. His father is 76 and his mother is 61. His parents are taken care of by a hired domestic servant since his other siblings have also migrated to countries.

Frequency of contact with parents “I call my parents every day...”

Uche is unable to have regular face-to-face communication with his parents due to geographical proximity. He has leveraged new technology to maintain regular contact with his parents. He mainly uses a mobile phone to call them. Often, the nature of the conversation centres on inquiring about the wellbeing and health of his parents. His parents also inquire about his health and his business. In the course of the conversation, they sometimes make certain requests, usually money to either pay for services, buy foodstuffs or settle medical bills.

I call my parents every day. When I call, I mostly look out for their health by asking them how they are feeling, if they were okay and whether my father, in particular, has been taking his medication. They also do ask me about my business and how it is doing. As for monetary requests, it is not all the time that they ask me for money. My parents don't want to stress me like that because they know I am in someone's country and so they don't put pressure on me on the financial side. But, when they need money to buy something like food, medicine or pay for something, they do ask me and I provide it.

Usually, the duration of the phone calls is short, sometimes between one minute to five minutes. Uche explains that the purpose of his phone calls was to solely inquire about the health of his parents and also find out from them if they needed some financial support. According to him, this account for the short duration of the conversation between him and his parents. He also cited

the cost of call credit as “very expensive.” He explained that calling Nigeria from Ghana was quite expensive and he sometimes had to rely on call packages to call his parents. Therefore, the cost of the call credit affected his ability to engage in several minutes of conversation with his parents, something he wished he could do.

Since arriving in Ghana three years ago, Uche has been visiting his parents once or twice a year. However, he could not return home this year because of the COVID-19 restrictions and the closure of Ghana’s land borders. Using flight was not an option for him because it is expensive and in addition to that, he has to run the COVID-19 test before leaving Ghana and upon arrival in Nigeria.

Sometimes I travel once in a year. Sometimes I travel twice in a year but some it also depends on certain issues at home [Nigeria] of my finances. If I make enough money, going home to see my parents is not difficult for me. As I said earlier, I do visit them once or twice a year. But this year, because of the COVID and the restrictions by the Ghanaian government, I have not been able to visit them.

‘Distance has not contributed to less frequent contact and support’

Uche says before migrating to Ghana, he had regular physical contact with his parents because he was co-residing with his parents and that allowed him to have regular physical interactions with his parents and also offer physical assistance when it was needed. However, Uche explains that even though he is currently not residing with his parents, he still maintains regular contact with his parents through phone calls. In terms of assistance, he is unable to provide physical assistance but offers monetary support, which also compensates for his absence. He further explained that any time he returns to Nigeria, he offers physical assistance like sweeping the compound, weeding the backyard and sometimes fetching water.

They are my parents and I have to check upon them. So whether I am close to them or not, I still have to call them or visit them and find out how they are doing. As I told you, I call my parents virtually every day and give whatever assistance they ask of me. I am not able to meet all their demands but I do my best to provide for them. They are my parents, if I don't do it, who will do it for me.

'I am still very close with my parents'

Uche says distance has not affected his emotional closeness with his parents. He explains that he is still very close to his parents and whenever he does not call them, they get worried.

"We are still very close. Whenever I don't call them, they get bothered. At least, somebody, you are talking to every day; you are close to the person irrespective of the distance."

He revealed that he was emotionally attached to his mother than his father and also added that most of the support he gives goes to his mother. He explained that he has been very close to his mother since childhood.

'I send some money home regularly'

Uche says there is an exchange of support and assistance between him and his parents. He explained that his support to his parents was usually in the form of financial assistance. Uche recalled an instance where his mother had her mobile phone damaged. And because he was into the sale of mobile phones and accessories, it was easy for him to replace it for her. He noted that he sent the phone to a friend who was going to Nigeria for him to give it to his mother. When he visits his elderly parents, he continues to help them as and when they required his assistance.

Aside from him giving support to his parents, they usually support him with prayers and advice. He also revealed that before migrating to Ghana, his parents supported him financially.

I mostly send them money. You know, being in Ghana, that is the only help I can give for now. But there was this time my mother's phone broke down and replaced it for her because I sell mobile phones and accessories. They also pray for my business to grow and advise me not to keep bad friends. So, I can say those are the support and help we give to one another.

'I feel bound to support my parents'

Uche explains that supporting his parents and also being there for them is to fulfil his filial obligations. He noted that he feels bound to support them because they are his parents, they cared and provided for him when he was young and now it was his turn to reciprocate for the past care and support.

It is a necessity to support them because they trained me and I think I owe them every obligation to whatever thing, to support them in whatever way that I can. It is very necessary. So, I feel bound to support them in any way that I can support.

Case study 2: Amaka

Amaka is a female, 26 years old and had his secondary education in Nigeria and his first degree in Ghana. She said coming to pursue secondary education in Ghana was a joint decision between her and her parents. The decision was influenced by Ghana's peaceful environment. Her parents are retired now but are separated. While she communicates with both of them, she engages her mother most of the time. After graduating from the University in 2017, Amaka did not return to Nigeria. She is formally employed in the private sector and earns a monthly salary.

'We communicate virtually every day'

Amaka communicates with her mother virtually every day and occasionally checks up on her father. She usually makes direct calls to them and sometimes relies on the mobile application, WhatsApp, to communicate with her mother. She notes that using WhatsApp allows her to have a video call with her mother, which for her, creates a seeming sense of having face-to-face interaction. In addition, she says WhatsApp allows her to have quick and snap conversations with her mother using text messages in periods she has a tight work schedule at work.

I call my mother virtually every day through mobile phone and WhatsApp call. WhatsApp allows me to also make video calls with her and also we chat with her, like, text messages. Because I am not with her when I make a video call with her, I get to see her, she also sees me. You know, it creates this sense that we are physically close to each other. As for my father, we don't talk that much. Once in a while, I call to check up on him or he calls me to ask how I am doing in Ghana.

Usually, the phone calls centre around various topics of interest. The call duration lasts between five to at least one hour. She explained that she does not call only to check up on her mother but to also discuss issues she finds interesting, particularly issues in the family, politics in both Ghana and Nigeria and other general issues. Regarding her father, the call duration is usually short and according to Amaka, it was because they don't have much to talk about.

We talk for long. It could range from five minutes to at least one hour. We discuss what is happening in Ghana, Nigeria, family, politics, anything. For me, I just don't call her [mother] to check up on her. When we are talking, other issues come up and we discuss them. As I said early, we talk politics, family matters and others. Conversations with my father are short. But sometimes it is long but often it is just a short conversation because we don't have much to talk about.

Since 2017, Amaka has been visiting her parents twice a year and she usually goes by flight. However, in 2020, she could not visit her parents because of lockdown measures in Ghana and the closure of Ghana's air space in order to contain the spread of the coronavirus particularly in

Accra. When the air border was reopened, the cost of air transport became too expensive for Amaka to afford. She explained that she had to conduct COVID-19 tests in both Ghana and Nigeria and thought it wasn't worth it to travel at all since she usually spends between one to two weeks with her mother.

Obviously last year there was COVID, with the borders being closed, I couldn't go home. And then now that the borders have been opened, and the vaccine is now restricting me from going home like I would have loved to be going. Now, you are not only talking about vaccines but you are talking about the covid test back and forth so yeah, it is now more financially high to travel back.

'Distance has only affected physical interaction '

Amaka says migrating to Ghana has only affected physical interactions between her and the mother. She also admits that geographical proximity has widened the emotional attachment she had for her father. While she found her situation helpless because she desires to be in the company of her mother, she has improvised for her absence by leveraging technology to remain in touch with her.

As I explained earlier, we [Amaka and mother] talk often but because of the distance and me not being able to see her often, since I have a phone and she also has one, we communicate every day. These days, everyone has a phone and we use the phone to remain in touch. I am okay with it, for now. For now, because I wish I was with her now. As for my father, the distance has not helped matters. Because in Nigeria I stay with my mother so once I came to Ghana, it kind of, has created a distance between us.

'We are close but I wish I could see mother daily'

Migration has the potential to disrupt close family relations due to distance. For Amaka, migrating to Ghana seven years ago has not disrupted her relationship with her mother. She further adds that it has not affected how close and emotionally attached she is to her mother even though she would have wished to see her daily. According to her, because of the constant

interaction between them, they have built mutual trust and understanding. Concerning her father, Amaka notes that it has reduced how close she felt to her father because she does not see him often and they do not call each other often.

No, coming to Ghana has not affected my close relationship with my mother. But it has with my father. Like I told you, we don't communicate much and now we don't see ourselves often. But for my mother, is still the same as when I was in Nigeria. Those times I see my father, I see my mother every day except when I am in school. And we talk and chat. Even now that I am in Ghana, we are still close and emotionally attached. . But my only wish is for me to see her every day.

'Financially, I take care of my mom'

Amaka has been in Ghana for seven years. She found a job in Ghana after graduating from one of the nation's universities. According to Amaka, her job has put her in a better financial position to take care of her mother, something she says she has been doing since 2017. She remits to her monthly for her mother's upkeep, including her younger sister, who stays with their mother. Sending money was the main support she gives to her mother. However, she relies on her younger sister to provide physical assistance to their mother. On return visits, she provides physical assistance to her mother like helping her in the kitchen, getting foodstuffs from the market and doing her mother's laundry. Concerning her father, she notes that her father had a business he was doing and since she came to Ghana, her father has not asked her for support. She was quick to add that on return visits, she buys "something" for her father. According to her it could a shirt, shoes or a watch.

Exchange of support does not only follow from Amaka to her parents. According to her, she also gets support from her parents and such supports are usually in the form of advice, counselling, prayers and advice.

Financially I take care of my mother although I have other relatives who are in different countries. When I got a job in Ghana, things have been better and I send money, like every month to her [mother]. Money is the main thing I send to her when I am in Ghana but I return to Nigeria, I help to cook, wash for her and sometimes help her go to the market. My mother also supports me but her support is like prayers, advice. And you know, there is no better support than a mother's prayers and advice. My father has not asked me for money before, maybe my elder siblings, but for me no. But I do get him something when I go to Nigeria. Shoes, watch or shirts. I have not asked him for support since I got a job but he also advises me.

“It is my filial duties”

For Amaka, taking care of her parents as part of her filial duties. According to her, it is driven by care and love for one's parents. Taking care of her mother means a lot for Amaka. According to her, if she does not, no one else would do it for her and it wouldn't speak well of her and her other siblings.

My mom, she is retired so if I don't take care of her, I don't know who I am expecting to take care of her. I do things for my father as well. And it is part of my filial duties, so yes, it is driven by love and care for one's parents.

‘Yes there is a change in lifestyle’

Amaka does not always agree with her mother on most issues they discuss on phone but that has not created any conflict between them. According to Amaka, her father is indifferent to her lifestyle, maintaining her cultural and other family values. In terms of her lifestyle and cultural

values, she says being in Ghana for seven years has “definitely” impacted how she was raised and socialized in Nigeria. Citing an example, she said when she visits her mother; she cannot attend programmes and stay out late. However, in Ghana, staying out late is something she has been doing frequently.

I think the two countries are very similar in terms of values, the culture so there are a lot of similarities so I would say my values have changed from hers, like how I was brought up. Lifestyle? I think yes, I am young and I go out a lot. I stay deep into the night and stuff like that. I am living on my own and I can go out at any time.

Summary of the case study findings on how gender affects intergenerational solidarity

This section used a case study approach to examine how gender affects intergenerational solidarity. The researcher was interested in how adult male and female migrants enacted the dimensions of intergenerational solidarity from a distance. This is important because the literature has established that there are differences in how male and female migrants maintain ties with their parents/family from a distance. However, there is a lacuna in the literature on how the ties are maintained using the intergenerational solidary model.

In the enactment of associational solidarity, the study found that both male and female migrants regularly maintained contact with their parents via mobile phone or WhatsApp call. However, the study found that they called their mothers often than their fathers. This is because the participants of the study had a strong emotional attachment to their mothers than they have to their fathers.

The results of this study confirm the findings of Shearer et al. (2005) that children often turn to be more emotionally connected to their mothers than to their fathers. And according to Buchanan

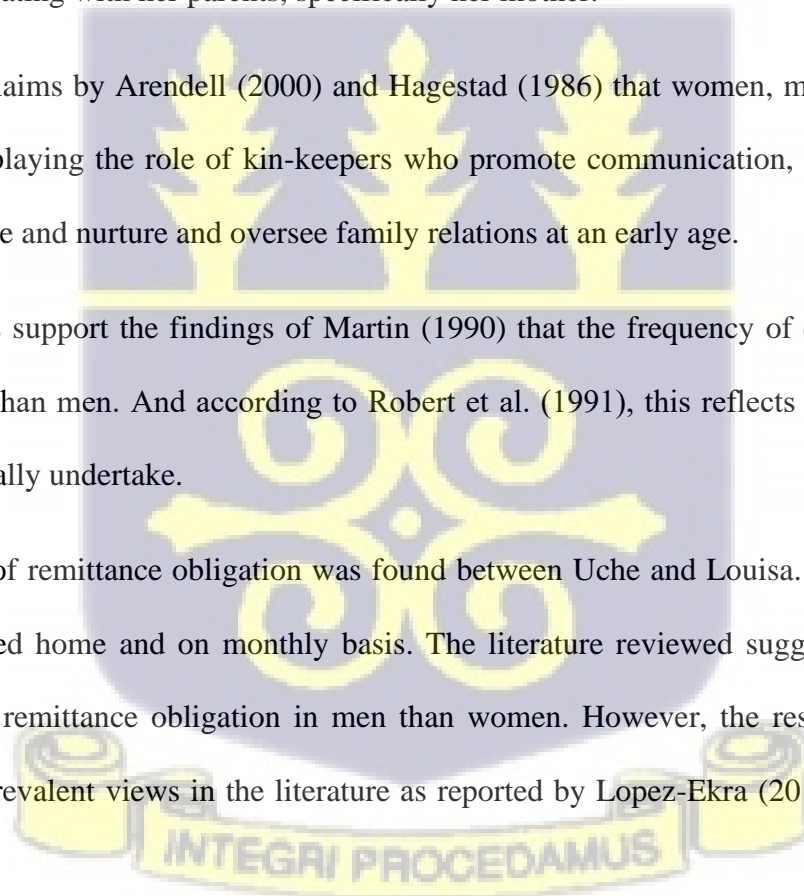
et al. (2016), this is because mothers most often provide warmer and supporting parenting roles while fathers tend to engage in directional and results-oriented parenting (Buchanan et al., 2016).

In addition, the study found that Amaka usually had long phone call conversations with her mother than Uche. Uche was generally interested in calling to know the wellbeing of his parents and also updating them of his wellbeing and solving specific problems. Although the cost of airtime was a general challenge to the respondents, Amaka leveraged WhatsApp to have long conversations with her parents. Aside from calling through WhatsApp, the application also has features that allowed for video calling and the exchange of photos, which Amaka often explored when communicating with her parents, specifically her mother.

This confirms claims by Arendell (2000) and Hagestad (1986) that women, more than men, are socialized into playing the role of kin-keepers who promote communication, contact, exchange of resources, care and nurture and oversee family relations at an early age.

Also, the results support the findings of Martin (1990) that the frequency of contacts was high among women than men. And according to Robert et al. (1991), this reflects the “kin keeping” role women usually undertake.

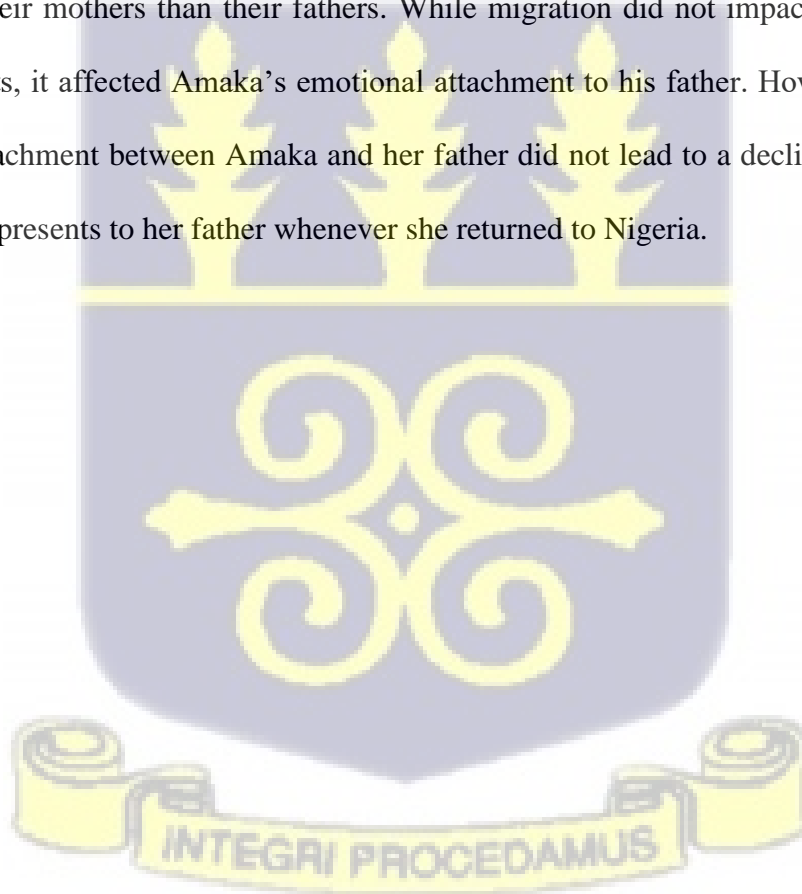
A strong sense of remittance obligation was found between Uche and Louisa. Both respondents regularly remitted home and on monthly basis. The literature reviewed suggested there was a strong sense of remittance obligation in men than women. However, the results of this study contradict the prevalent views in the literature as reported by Lopez-Ekra (2011) and Orozco et al. (2009).



Also, the study established that remittance behaviour was largely influenced by the frequency of interaction between migrants and their mothers. In this regard, the migrants interacted more often with their mothers than with their fathers hence the regular sending of money to their parents.

Norms of filial obligations were found to be strong among both respondents. Both of them felt compelled to support their parents, viewing it as one of the reasons for their continual stay and working in Ghana. The filial obligation was influenced by their love for the parents and reciprocity.

Concerning affectual solidarity, this study found that both respondents had a strong emotional attachment to their mothers than their fathers. While migration did not impact how close Uche felt to his parents, it affected Amaka's emotional attachment to his father. However, the decline in emotional attachment between Amaka and her father did not lead to a decline in exchange of gifts as she sent presents to her father whenever she returned to Nigeria.



CHAPTER SIX

EXCHANGE OF SUPPORT BETWEEN ADULT CHILDREN AND THEIR AGEING PARENTS

6.0 Introduction

This chapter addresses the level of support exchange between the respondents of the study and their ageing parents in Nigeria. To properly examine the support exchange between adult Nigerian migrants and their elderly parents, the study used the typology of support exchange developed by Janet Finch (1989) to examine the support exchange between the respondents and their ageing parents. Finch (1989) examined the main types of migrant children exchange with their ageing parents under economic; emotional and moral; accommodation; practical and childcare; and personal care. Also, this chapter addresses the challenges the respondents face in fulfilling their filial duties and their coping strategies.

6.1.1 Economic care

It was abundantly evident in the study that respondents regularly remitted to their ageing parents for their personal upkeep and other problems that required money to solve. Some of the respondents reported that the amount they sent to their parents was dependent on the money they have on them and the urgency of the issue at hand. Also, the respondents said since their arrival in the Greater Accra region, they have not received any financial support from their parents. However, the only instance of financial support from parents to their adult children came by way of supporting their transportation cost to Ghana. Dada, a respondent, gave the following response when they were asked about the economic support exchange between them and their elderly parents.

The major support is money. Since I am not close to them there, there is no other support I can give apart from money. Or, the other support I can give is unless if something is happening, I can call someone to rush down to my house to check on them. Maybe try and solve that particular challenge they want to solve. Maybe something they cannot solve themselves as elderly people. You know there is something a young person can solve but an elderly person cannot solve.

Similarly, Ifeoma said:

They were selling land in our community and my father called me to come and also get my share. I see that as support. Also, my mother connected me to some people to do business with my solar company. So, they might not count money and give it to me, but connecting me to people to do business with and the input my father also gave me, I see that as big support.

6.1.2 Emotional and moral support

Emotional and moral support was also evident in the support exchange between adult children and their ageing parents. Participants reported providing emotional support to their parents and vice versa. From the study, the emotional and moral support usually took the form of phone conversations and video calls via WhatsApp. During such phone calls, both adult children and their parents offer words of encouragement and hope to one another. Parents also admonish their children to shun bad company since they are not in their own country. In addition, respondents reported that their parents always kept them in their prayers and some attributed their seeming business success to the prayers of their parents. Monifa, who deals in phone accessories at Kwame Nkrumah Circle, explained the support he receives from his parents:

Let me say that the support [my parents] usually give me is prayer since they cannot support me with cash or finance. Being here in Ghana, I know they cannot afford to give me money so the only support I requested from them is to pray for me.

Another respondent, Chimamanda, explained that prior to migrating to Ghana his parents supported the cost of his trip. Since then, the support he gets from his parents is mostly in the form of advice and prayer. He said, “They supported my trip to Ghana. And since I have been in Ghana, sometimes they advise me and also pray for me. That is the support they give me.”

Another respondent, Oni explained the support he gets from his mother:

My mother supports me with prayers and advice. She advises me not to fight or cause trouble in Ghana because if the police arrest me, she does not have the money to bail me. She also advises me not to keep bad friends, that is her number advice for me. And for me, I do not keep friends that cannot advise me.

Emotional support was also present in the sending of gifts during Christmas when a significant majority of the respondents said they visited their parents. Ife explains that whenever he visits his parents during Christmas, he brings gifts to his parents as it makes them happy. Ife stated:

My parents prefer Ghana wears because they believe materials from Ghana are of high quality compared to the ones in Nigeria. Also, they like cosmetics from Ghana so they prefer using Ghana cosmetics. So whenever I visit them, I make sure I gift them Ghana wears and cosmetics.

6.1.3 Accommodation:

Accommodation is a major form of support between parents and the respondents when they visit each other. It is one of the major support exchanges elderly parents exchange with their adult children in enacting intergenerational solidarity. The study did not establish elderly parents visiting their adult children in Ghana. However, a significant majority of the respondents said they visit their elderly parents when they return to Nigeria. According to them, they live with

their parents when they return to Nigeria before proceeding to check up on other relatives. The fact that their parents allow them to live with counts for something. For them, that is accommodation support.

Abebi travels to his father's house anytime he visits Nigeria. For him, that is a form of support he still enjoys from his parents.

Yes, I do visit them. I travel every year. Anytime I travel, I travel to my father's home. That is where my mother. Unless, maybe, when I have a problem somewhere. Apart from that, I have not stayed anywhere apart from staying with my family.

Chi also explained that he has his own apartment but prefers to lodge at his mother's anytime he visits them. His decision is largely influenced by his family norms.

In the past when I visited, I stay with them [my parents] even though I have my apartment. The reason is that you have travelled to someone's country. You have returned to your country and so it is only proper that stay with your parents for some time and gist them about my journey and my business. Traditionally, it will not be proper for me to say I won't stay with my parents or my mother after travelling to another man's country.

Alaba, on his part, notes that he has finished putting up his own house. Nonetheless, he is housed in his parent's house anytime he returns to Nigeria.

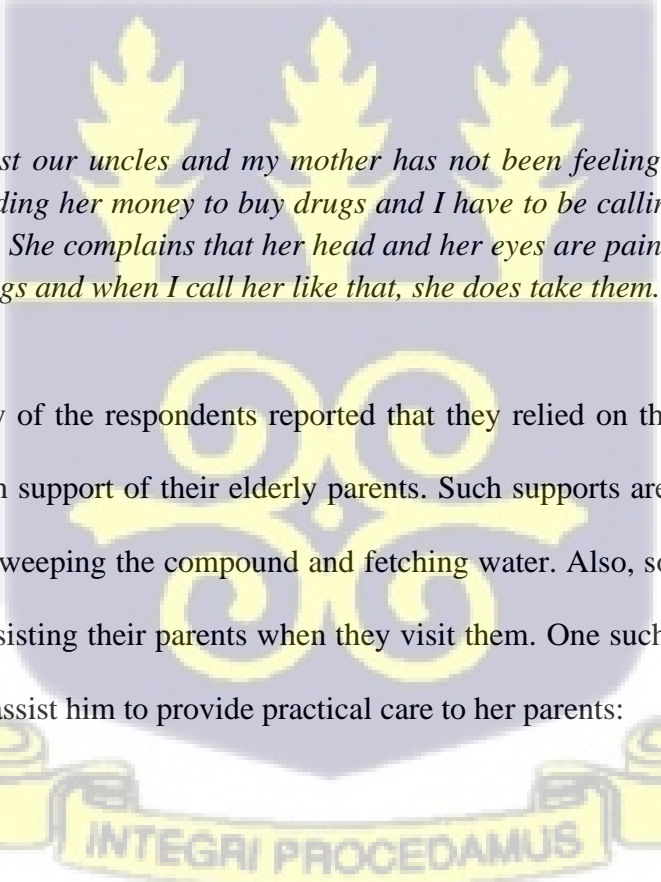
My mother lives in our family house but since I completed my own house, I made her move in and stay in that house. She has been living in the house with one of my younger sisters. When I visit Nigeria, stay with her, greet her and greet other family members before I return to Ghana.

The study also contradicted Finch (1989) that accommodation diminishes over time between elderly parents and their adult children. The findings did not establish that the exchange of accommodation diminished over time even though some of the migrants had their own house in

Nigeria. The respondents noted that each time they visit their ageing parents, they lived with them until they decide to return to Ghana.

6.1.4 Practical care and support

Due to the distance between Nigeria and Ghana, providing practical care and support was difficult for the respondents. A few of the respondents reported providing practical care and support from a distance to their ailing parents. Abebi, who has been in Ghana for two years now and works as a shop attendant narrates how she provides practical care and support from a distance:



We recently lost our uncles and my mother has not been feeling well. Because of that, have to be sending her money to buy drugs and I have to be calling her to remind her to take her drugs. She complains that her head and her eyes are paining her. Sometimes she forgets her drugs and when I call her like that, she does take them.

However, the majority of the respondents reported that they relied on their siblings to perform some tasks for them in support of their elderly parents. Such supports are mostly in the form of domestic chores like sweeping the compound and fetching water. Also, some of the respondents reported physically assisting their parents when they visit them. One such respondent is Ife. She tells how his siblings assist him to provide practical care to her parents:

Some of my siblings stay with my mother. And they assist her with a lot of things, You know, she is old and not strong like first. So her children with her support her. But when I go to Nigeria, I do support her as well. I do support in terms of doing some of the house chores.

6.1.5 Personal care

Providing personal care was equally difficult for the respondents of the study due to the geographical proximity between the two countries. However, a significant majority of the respondents reported that their parents were in good health and did not require assistance in bathing, cleaning, feeding, and other personal care needs. However, some of the participants reported visiting home in situations where their parents were unwell. Others also reported providing personal care from a distance through phone calls and inquiring about their health and their medication. Funanga explains:

My parents are old but they are still strong. It is not like they require assistance to bathe, clean or feed. No, they have not gotten to that stage. They can take care of themselves but you know due to old age, it is not everything they can do like first. Now, the least thing and they are tired but those things like bathing, eating and so on, they do it themselves. When my father was young, he use to weed our compound but now, I don't; think he can do it. So the onus falls on me and my brothers and sisters. If I am with them alone, for sure, I have to do those tasks for them so they can also rest.

6.2 Challenges adult Nigerian migrants encounter in performing their filial duties to their ageing parents in Nigeria

Filial responsibility refers to the societal norms that place a duty on adult children to meet the needs of their parents (Valk and Schans, 2008). On his part, Rossi and Rossi (1990) defined filial obligation as rights and duties that are culturally defined, outlining ways in which family members are expected to behave toward each other as well as the obligation to provide exchange and support to one another.

International migrants are still expected to perform their filial responsibilities to their parents in the spirit of reciprocity. In other words, children are traditionally expected to take care of their ageing parents for previous support. However, due to geographical proximity, they encounter varied challenges in forming their filial duties to their parents. According to Roberts et al. (1991), factors such as geographical proximity of relatives, number of relations, work and filial demands enable or constrain intergenerational interactions.

The study aimed to find out the challenges migrants encounter in performing their filial duties from a distance. This is important because migrant at the destination faces challenges that constraint the enactment of the dimensions of intergenerational solidarity. The respondents of the study enumerated several challenges affecting their ability to perform their filial duties while in Ghana.

Constraining face-to-face communication

Migrating to Ghana has resulted in the inability of the respondents to have regular face-to-face communication with their elderly parents. Instead, they used mobile phones to communicate with their parents. Using mobile phones does not come cheap as migrants would have to buy call credits to place a call to their parents. Those who use call credit and internet data (due to the usage of WhatsApp) incur additional costs to call home. The respondents said calling their parents in Nigeria was expensive, adding that local calls are comparatively cheaper. The majority of the respondents maintained that the high cost of call credit has become a constraining factor in their ability to call their parents in Nigeria. They further explain that they are unable to explore avenues like the use of Emails, messaging applications like Telegram, WhatsApp and social media applications like Facebook and Twitter because it is not largely popular with their ageing parents. As a result, placing a direct phone call is the most preferred channel of communication

although some of the respondents have parents who are tech-savvy and could use social media and messaging applications. The respondents also said due to the high cost of call credit, they rely on special call minute packages offered by the telecom companies to call their parents.

Lolade calls his parents twice a week due to the high cost of call credit. He explains:

I communicate with my father often, like two times a week. I usually call him on phone... and because call credit is expensive when calling Nigeria, I rely on the calling bundle offered by my network. I subscribe to this Nigeria call bundle before I can be able to speak for long with my [father].

Similarly, Funanga said because of the high cost of call credit, she usually prefers calling his family through WhatsApp.

I make WhatsApp calls than direct phone call because calling from Ghana to Nigeria is very expensive, so I mostly do WhatsApp call. Although [internet] data is also expensive in Ghana, compared to call credit, it is better. At least with that one, you call to speak to your relatives for long. If I have data and I make WhatsApp, I interact with them [parents] for long.

While Uche did not mind the cost of airtime in Ghana, she was moderate to admit was expensive hence her preference for WhatsApp calls.

I call my mother virtually every day via phone and WhatsApp call, but mostly on WhatsApp, we chat, make video calls, and exchange photos. We discuss what is happening in Ghana, Nigeria, family, politics, anything.

High cost of transportation

Migrants can engage in face-to-face communication with their elderly parents when they engage in return migration. Although the respondents engaged in return migration independently, they usually returned home during festive seasons like Christmas and Easter. Such occasions allow them to spend time with their parents and also offer physical assistance. However, due to the high cost of bus transportation both in Ghana and Nigeria, some of the respondents who are not making much from their business find it difficult to visit their parents. Some of the respondents reported that they come from remote areas in Nigeria adding that when they get to Lagos from Nigeria, they had to embark on another journey to villages where they could spend a day or two on the road doing so. And according to them, such travel does not come cheap.

Some of the respondents also said the COVID-19 pandemic has affected their ability to visit their parents due to recent hikes in bus transportation. Those who managed to visit their parents during the pandemic alleged that immigration officials at Ghana's Aflao border and Nigerian immigration officials extort money from them to allow them to use the border. Chimamanda explained how the high cost of transportation has made visiting home difficult for him.

Since the virus came, I mean the coronavirus, I have managed to go home to see my parents and it wasn't easy. You know because of the border closure, it is very risky to travel by land and when I did, the Ghana immigration at the Aflao border, they took money from us. They made us pay money before we could go and when we got to the Nigeria border, another immigration people, the Nigeria one, also took money from us. So travelling this time around to Nigeria, I won't advise it. It is very expensive and risky.

Geographical proximity

The respondents reported that the distance between Ghana and Nigeria also affected their ability to regularly visit their parents. Some of the respondents said if they lived close to their parents, they would have visited their parents weekly but due to the distance, they visit once or twice a year and such visits are usually on festive occasions. Adaeze explained how travelling back home is tedious for her.

The reason I don't visit often is that it is all about money. From here to Nigeria, to Lagos, is a big money. Lagos to East is another long distance, from that East to your village is too much. So, I don't go often. I have visited only once since I came here [Ghana]. This year I am not going so maybe next year and will try and go and see them.

Ime also added that considering the distance between Ghana and Nigeria, it wouldn't be economically sound to be visiting regularly. She explains:

If my father is in Kasoa, and I am here in Circle, I can be visiting him every day. So, you know, distance can make you visit once a year. If you calculate the transport money and the things to be done, you would say 'no, it is a waste of transport, why am I even going.' Another example is, if your father is in the Western North and you are here in Greater Accra, you cannot be visiting every day, because of the distance. So instead of me travelling often to Nigeria, I can give them the money and they will say 'God bless you, my son.'

Adapting in Ghana

Some of the respondents reported that they were now adapting to the Ghanaian society. As a result, they find themselves in a situation where they could not readily assist their parents when they require financial assistance because they are still adjusting to their new environment and also exploring business ventures that could bring in more money. Ayo, who first settled in

Tamale before migrating to the Greater Accra region, explained how challenging it has been for him to adapt to life in Ghana.

You know, surviving in someone's country is not that easy. To come around, get used to some things going on, have a balance, like settling as a man, starting a business, making a profit and all that, it has not been easy.

This confirms a phenomenological study by Adewunmi (2015) that found that migrants go through a painful experience of adjustment, substantial interpersonal obstacles during acculturation, including victimization, discrimination, communications difficulties, and significant lack of support.

Closure of Nigerian businesses

The respondents, the majority of them who are into the sale of mobile phones, mobile phone accessories, and laptops, said in recent days, they have been recording low sales due to the locking of their shops by members of the Ghana Union of Traders Association (GUTA). The respondents said it has affected their ability to send money to their parents for their upkeep and other urgent needs. Taiwa, who deals in the retail of mobile phone accessories at Kwame Nkrumah Circle explained how the locking of his shop has affected his livelihood.

The challenge now is all this locking of our shops by Ghanaian traders. They like locking our shops and they will be threatening us. Like two weeks now we have not been selling. It is today that we started selling and it affects how we take care of our parents. Once the shop is working, you will be all means sell and support them.

In addition, other respondents mentioned that in periods where they were not making enough sales, it affected their ability to financially support their parents. One respondent, Monifa, reported that it usually puts him in a situation where he has to give his parents excuses because he does not have money readily available to give to them. Monifa narrates:

The challenge is, as we are all doing business here, a that will come, there will be no customers to patronize you and when that time comes and no customer is coming to buy your business, maybe when your parents call you for money or something like that, you have to tell them stories.

Border challenges

The respondents said the coronavirus pandemic has escalated extortion and harassment at some borders in West Africa, particularly the Aflao border. This, the respondents said, does not encourage them to visit Nigeria as they would have wished since it will also allow them to engage with their parents. Alaba shared some challenges he has encountered at the Aflao border:

I attended university in Ghana and on holidays, sometimes I visited my parents. When I completed and started this phone business and laptop business, I have been visiting home during Christmas and Easter. There is one thing at the border that Ghanaians and Nigerians are not addressing and that is the Afloa border. They take money from us and harass us and in a situation like this, you don't want to even go back to Nigeria unless there is something urgent and serious. And for me, since my parents have phones, we call and we chat so I don't have to always to go Nigeria. The border situation for me is serious and if the Ghanaian government can address it, it will like it. We can't be risking our lives like that. And all this thing, if I had money, I would have used flight.

High expectations

Respondents said another challenge they faced was high expectations from their parents. Expectation from elderly parents is one of the factors that constraint intergenerational ties. When adult children are unable to meet the financial demands and other demands, it has the potential of affecting other dimensions of solidarity like emotional closeness and frequency of contact.

When asked about some of the expectations of their parents, Kayin explained that financial demands from his mother are usually high although he sees it as his responsibility to provide for her.

In as much as I see it as my duty to provide for my parents, sometimes the demand from my mother is high and I am not able to meet it. Sometimes because of that, I switch off my phone and when I get money, then I call her because I know when I call her, she will talk about money. Sometimes when I call her she does ask me whether it was because of money that I switched off my phone. Then she would say I shouldn't let money separate her and me. So the expectations, I am trying to meet them but you this is not my country. Secondly, she also wants me to get married. I have a boyfriend and my mother knows [him] so when things are better, we will get married.

For Chi, the expectation of his parents is for his business to grow so he can make enough money to take care of them.

Some of the expectation from my parents is for my business to grow. And work hard, which is a good thing because a parent is supposed to pray for the child to be successful. I told you that I call them every day but it is not easy. Always calling and recharging [call credit] is costly in Ghana. Sometimes you to work and you have not sold anything, you have not eaten yet but you to use the little money you have to buy credit and call them. I am always thinking I should call because if I don't they will get worried, you get me, so it is not easy with the calling.

6.3 Coping strategies of Nigerian migrants in the performance of their filial duties to their ageing parents

Despite the challenges, the respondents of the study faced in the performance of their filial duties, the respondents of the study developed several coping strategies to see to both the monetary and non-monetary needs of their elderly parents in Nigeria. Some of the respondents belong to hometown associations and they usually rely on such groups for support when they are in difficulties. Support from such organizations is usually in the form of soft loans and good supplies. They explained that they are credited with phone accessories to sell and repay the cost of the goods within a stated period. This support, they explained, has helped them to make some profit and also remit to their parents. Some also reported getting loan support. One respondent, Adeaze, recalls taking a loan from a group she belongs to support the medical bills of her mother.

Another coping strategy some of the respondents have adopted in maintaining regular communication with their parents is to rely on call bundle packages from their telecom network providers. Such call bundles help reduce the cost they incur in making phone calls to their parents in Nigeria. Others also leverage WhatsApp to call their families. For those whose parents have WhatsApp enabled phones, it has become the preferred tool of communication since the cost of involved very low.

Also, some of the respondents have migrant siblings in other countries. They take turns to support their parents, particularly, when it comes to remitting home. One of the respondents, Chidi, notes that he has siblings in the United Kingdom and America, adding that all of them “contribute to supporting our parents back home.” He added that he is not always in the position to support his parent and relies on his siblings in the West to assist.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.0 Introduction

The study aimed to understand from Nigerian immigrants in Ghana how they maintain intergenerational solidarity with their ageing parents in Nigeria using the intergenerational solidarity model. The study adopted the qualitative research method. The goal was to explore the meaning and understanding people ascribe to a social or human problem (Crewell, 2009). A total of twenty (20) individual interviews were conducted. Of the 20, 15 were males while five were female respondents.

For this study, both primary and secondary data were used. A semi-structured interview guide was developed to guide the in-depth interviews. The secondary data for the study was gathered from various online academic journals and books. Some of the online journals reviewed included Jstor among others.

7.1 Summary of key findings

In examining the intergenerational solidarity of Nigerian migrants in the Greater Accra region, four objectives guided the study. First, the study examined the solidarity patterns among Nigerian migrants in the Greater Accra region. Secondly, the study analyzed how gender affects intergenerational solidarity among adult Nigerian migrants in the Greater Accra region. Thirdly, the support exchange between adult Nigerian migrants and their ageing parents was investigated. Finally, the challenges adult Nigerian migrants encounter in performing their filial duties to their ageing parents in Nigeria and their coping strategies were also investigated. The profile of the migrants was also examined. Here, the ages of the respondents, sex, their level of education, employment status, income levels, marital status and reasons for migrating to Ghana were highlighted and examined.

The findings indicated that the majority of the respondents of the study were within the age cohort of 21 to 46. The study also found that except for one respondent, all of them were engaged in economic activities in Ghana. A significant majority of them were engaged in the sale of mobile phones and accessories.

Nineteen respondents were single while one was married. Twelve respondents had completed secondary school/A-Level, four have completed bachelor's degree, and one had a master's degree while three of them were dropped out of basic school. Trader and economic opportunity were the major reasons the respondents gave for migrating to Ghana.

7.1.1 Pattern of intergenerational solidarity

The main channel of contact was through phone calls due to the distance between Ghana and Nigeria. In the literature, there was evidence of other channels of communication of migrants used to maintain ties with their parents like email and Facebook. The respondent of this study only used mobile phones and WhatsApp to establish contact with their parents. Also, respondents of the study were often the initiators of phone calls because it is expensive and they don't want to financially burden their parents.

Visiting was another way respondents of the study used to enact associational solidarity as they can engage in face-to-face conversation with them.

Although migrants could not engage in face-to-face communication and exchange of practical support, the study found that geographical proximity was not the only condition needed to enact structural solidarity. Migrants relied on modern communication tools and their siblings to continue interaction with their parents as well as provide practical help. Also, respondents who had parents with health challenges, the condition of their parents rather facilitated more

interactions and practical support as they (the respondents) wanted a regular update of their parents' condition.

The distance between Ghana and Nigeria had little impact on affectual solidarity. The study showed that migrants were still close to their parents and often exchange emotional support. Elderly parents' support to their children was mostly in the form of encouragement, prayers, advice, and inquiring about their welfare. Adult children also provided emotional support by sending well wishes and words of encouragement to their parents during phone calls.

Migrants viewed sending money to their parents as not the only way to ensure that they have food to eat but as a demonstration of their love as well as returning the favour for past support.

Normative solidarity was perhaps the strongest dimension of solidarity shown by the migrants. The respondents said it was their duty to take care of their elderly parents since they took care of them when they were young. Normative solidarity was found to be more pronounced among male respondents than female respondents and influenced by the principle of reciprocity, religion, and demonstration of manhood. Normative solidarity was also found to influence functional solidarity, associational solidarity and Affectual solidarity

Both migrants and their parents exchanged support. However, support from elderly parents to their adult children was mostly in the form of advice, encouragement, and emotional support. Adult children, on the other, remitted regularly to their parents in addition to providing emotional and moral support such as encouragement and goodwill wishes. Also, when they visit their parents, they provide physical assistance like helping with house chores and personal care.

The study found that migrants had not departed completely from their cultural norms, attitude and lifestyle thought them by their parents. A few of the respondents reported adopting lifestyles

that did not agree with what they were originally taught. Also, the respondents said they did not always agree with their parents on certain issues particularly concerning community development and politics in Nigeria. However, such disagreement did not lead to ambivalence.

7.1.2 Gender disparity in the enactment of intergenerational solidarity

The respondents interacted more often with their mothers than with their fathers. In terms of remittances, strong remittance obligation was found among both respondents. Female respondents enacted physical assistance from a distance by relying on other siblings and relatives staying with them. They ensured siblings living with their parents performed domestic chores and other supporting chores for their parents. The male respondents often concerned themselves with sending money home.

7.1.3 Support exchange between adult Nigerian migrants and their ageing parents in Nigeria

The study found that the exchange of support, which falls under functional solidarity, was influenced by geographical proximity, norms of filial responsibility, and mutual expectation of support. The study also found that it was based on the idea of altruism and reciprocity. Immigrants usually send money to their parents while older parents support their adult children through advice, prayers, and words of encouragement.

7.1.4 Challenges adult Nigerian migrants encounter in performing their filial duties to their ageing parents in Nigeria and their coping strategies

Geographical proximity was found to be one of the major challenges affecting migrants' ability to perform their filial duties. Also, the cost of call credit, the distance between Ghana and Nigeria, and the locking of the shops of Nigerian migrants were found to be a challenge affecting their filial duties to their parents. In addition, the closure of Ghana's borders emerged as a challenge to the migrants as it affected their ability to perform their filial duties like visiting their parents and providing physical assistance.

Despite the challenges the respondents of the study faced in the performance of their filial duties, the respondents of the study developed a number of coping strategies in order to see to both the monetary and non-monetary needs of their elderly parents in Nigeria. . Some of the respondents belong to hometown associations and they usually rely on such groups for support when they are in difficulties. Support from such organizations is usually in the form of soft loans and good supplies. Another coping strategy some of the respondents have adopted in maintaining regular communication with their parents is to rely on call bundle packages from their telecom network providers.

7.2 Conclusion

The study used the intergenerational solidarity model to examine the ties immigrants maintain with their elderly parents in Nigeria.

The findings of the study showed that immigrants' ability to show all the dimensions of intergenerational solidarity was predicated on modern communication tools such as mobile phones, mobile phone applications such as WhatsApp, available and cheap transportation means.

The study found migrants relied heavily on phone calls to enact the majority of the dimensions of intergenerational solidarity from a distance. This was previously not the case when they were in Nigeria where they often had face-to-face interactions with their parents and also provided physical and practical support where necessary.

The findings of the study also showed that the majority of the immigrants have been in Ghana for at least two years. However, that did not significantly lead to a decline in how close they felt they were to their parents. This is because they maintained close bonding with them using phone calls and WhatsApp video calls.

Also, a significant finding of the study was how money is used to compensate for the immigrants' absence and their inability to provide physical assistance to their ageing parents. Money was the major support exchange that was offered by the adult children while parents, in turn, offered emotional and moral support such as prayers, advice, and words of encouragement.

Gender was also found to influence intergenerational solidarity. Women desired to have a regular conversation with their ageing parents than men, who are often interested in knowing the well-being of their parents. This also suggests that women had a deep sense of longing and belonging than men.

Lastly, the immigrants listed several challenges that affect their ability to show intergenerational solidarity. However, they maintained that the challenges were not so grave so as to prevent them from regularly calling their ageing parents, visiting them, ensuring a close bond with them, sending them gifts, and fulfilling their filial obligations.

7.3 Policy recommendation

The study provides an insight into the enactment of intergenerational solidarity. The findings reveal the importance of parents and by extension, family, in the daily lives of respondents of the study. From a distance, they maintain ties and complex emotions in order to fulfil their filial responsibilities to their ageing parents. This study recommends a comprehensive policy on migration that will facilitate a good relationship between immigrants and their families. The study results can also be used by employers to provide a better work environment for their employees who are members of transnational families.

7.4 Future research

The study looked at the intergenerational solidarity of Nigerian immigrants in the Greater Accra Region. The study explored from the perspective of the immigrants, how they showed intergenerational solidarity with their ageing parents in Nigeria.

Future research could also explore the perspective of both adult Nigerian immigrants and their parents on intergenerational solidarity. Also, future research could examine intergenerational solidarity by comparing immigrants in Ghana and citizens. Another area of future research could also examine the role of norms in intergenerational support.



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APPENDIX A

Table 1: Profile of Respondents.

| Respondent | Sex | Age | Marital Status | Children | Religion | Education | Occupation before departure | Current occupation | Profession/Trading |
|------------|--------|-----|----------------|----------|-----------|------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| Chie | Male | 29 | Single | 0 | Christian | Master's | Trader | Trader | Management |
| Alaba | Male | 28 | Single | 0 | Christian | Degree | Student | Trader | Communication |
| Uche | Female | 25 | Single | 0 | Christian | Degree | Student | Event planner | Communication |
| Dada | Male | 22 | Single | 0 | Christian | Elementary | Farmer | Trader | Trading |
| Chidi | Male | 27 | Single | 0 | Christian | Degree | Student | Trader | Trading |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|------------|--------|----|---------|---|-----------|------------------|----------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| Funanga | Male | 30 | Single | 0 | Christian | Elementary | Trader | Trader | Trading |
| Chimamanda | Male | 26 | Single | 0 | Christian | Elementary | Trader | Trader | Trading |
| Ayo | Male | 27 | Married | 1 | Christian | Drop out | Farmer | Trader | Trading |
| Ife | Male | 30 | Single | 0 | Christian | Elementary | Trader | Trader | Trading |
| Ifeoma | Male | 36 | Single | 0 | None | Technical skills | Solar engineer | Solar engineer/trader | Solar engineer |
| Kayin | Male | 46 | Single | 0 | Christian | Elementary | Trader | Trader | Trading |
| Abebi | Female | 27 | Single | 0 | Christian | Elementary | Trader | Trader | Trading |
| Ime | Female | 36 | Single | 0 | Christian | Degree | Student | Unemployed/trader | Industrial Chemistry |
| Lolade | Male | 25 | Single | 0 | Christian | Elementary | Trader | Trader | Trading |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|------------|--------|----|--------|---|-----------|------------|--------|--------|---------|
| Monifa | Male | 33 | Single | 0 | Christian | Elementary | Trader | Trader | Trading |
| Nneka | Male | 25 | Single | 0 | Christian | Elementary | Trader | Trader | Trading |
| Adaeza | Female | 21 | Single | 0 | Christian | Drop out | Trader | Trader | Trading |
| Oni | Male | 26 | Single | 0 | Christian | Drop out | Trader | Trader | Trading |
| Taiwa | Male | 26 | Single | 0 | Christian | Elementary | Trader | Trader | Trading |
| Adamm a | Female | 23 | Single | 0 | Christian | Elementary | Trader | Trader | Trading |

Source: Field Work, October, 2021



APPENDIX B

University of Ghana
Center of Migration Studies

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Topic: **Intergenerational solidarity of Nigerian migrants in the Greater Accra Region**

Dear respondent, I am a student at the University of Ghana Centre for Migration Studies, pursuing an Mphil Degree in Migration Studies. This field research is in partial fulfilment of my Mphil Degree. I would, therefore, be very grateful if you could please participate in this study by providing some insights and sharing your knowledge on the topic above. Data from this study is confidential and will only be used for academic purposes.

Thank you.

1. How old are you?
2. Sex?
3. Why did you migrate to Ghana?
4. How long have you been in Ghana?
5. What is your marital status
6. What is your highest level of education?
7. Place you obtained highest education
8. How much do you make in a month (GHC)
 - a. Less than 1,000
 - b. 1,001 – 3,000
 - c. 3001 – 5000
 - d. 5,001 – 7,000
 - e. 7,001 – above

9. Are your both parents alive?
10. How old is/are your parent(s)?
11. Who takes care of your parent(s)?
 - a. [Sister] b. [Brother] c. [Hired domestic servant] d. [other family relatives....please specify]
12. Is there a primary caregiver for your elderly parent(s) back home?
13. What is the relationship between your parents and the caregiver?
14. What do you think of the care your parent(s) is/are receiving?
15. How often do you communicate with your parent(s)?
 - a. [Every day] b. [Once a week] c. [Twice in a week] d. [Thrice in a week] e. [Not at all].
16. How do you keep in touch with your parent/s?
 - a. Telephone
 - b. Social media ([Whatsapp], [Facebook], [Instagram], [Twitter]
 - c. Mail
 - d. Other..... (Please specify)
17. How often do you visit your ageing parents in Nigeria?
18. What are some of the challenges affecting your ability to regularly visit your parents?
19. Is distance a barrier to visiting your ageing parents in Nigeria?
 - a. Yes (Please explain)
 - b. No (Please explain)
20. Do you think that your migration has benefited your parent(s)?
 - a. Yes (Please explain)
 - b. No (Please explain)
21. Please list all items/support you give to your parents?
22. How do these items/support get to your elderly parents?
23. Do your parent(s) also support you in any way?
24. What is/are (some) of the support you receive from your parent(s)?
25. Do you view your stay in Ghana as beneficial to your elderly parent(s) left behind in Nigeria?
 - a. Yes. (please explain)
 - b. No. (please explain)
26. How close are you to your parent(s)?
 - a. Please explain
27. Do you have issues with (any of) your parent(s)?
 - a. If yes, (please explain the issues)
28. Do you think your parent(s) is/are losing your traditional family support?
 - a. Yes (Please explain)
 - b. No (Please explain)
29. Do you think your elderly parent/s is/are suffering from isolation?
 - a. Yes (Please explain)
 - b. No (Please explain)
30. Why do you feel bound to support your ageing parent(s)?
 - a. Yes, (please explain)

- b. No, (please explain)
- 31. What are some of the expectations your ageing parent(s) of you?
- 32. Are you able to meet their expectations?
 - a. Yes, (please explain)
 - b. No, (Please explain)
- 33. Do you think your absence has caused a decline in the emotional well-being of your elderly parent/s?
 - a. Yes (Please explain)
 - b. No (Please explain)
- 34. Has your views on certain family values changed from that of your parents?
 - a. Please explain
- 35. How has your attitude about life changed from that of your parents
 - a. Please explain
- 36. What are some of the challenges affecting your ability to perform your filial responsibility (Please explain)
- 37. How do you overcome these challenges?

