

**ON A COURSE TO MIGRATE?
MIGRATION ASPIRATIONS AMONG
UNIVERSITY STUDENTS IN GHANA**

By Kajsa Hallberg Adu
(10334322)

THIS THESIS IS SUBMITTED TO UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON,
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE
AWARD OF THE DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (PhD.) DEGREE IN
AFRICAN STUDIES.

JULY 2015



DECLARATION

I hereby declare that, with the exemption of quotations, which I have exhaustively acknowledged, the research is a personal effort carried out under the supervision of the listed below members of the supervisory committee. This thesis has not been submitted in whole nor in part for a degree anywhere else.

KAJSA HALLBERG ADU

(CANDIDATE)

PROF. AKOSUA ADOMAKO-AMPOFO

(CHAIR SUPERVISORY COMMITTEE)

PROF. PETER QUARTEY

(SUPERVISOR)

DR. MERCY AKROFI-ANSAH

(SUPERVISOR)

ABSTRACT

This study examines migration aspirations among university students in Ghana. My interest is in undergraduate students, a group that is largely overlooked both in African studies and migration theory. The research was focused on migration aspirations, the first stage of any migration venture, and carried out at University of Ghana, a large public university, and Ashesi University College, a small private liberal arts college. A combination of methods was employed: focus groups, an e-survey (n=506), and interviews. To understand how students view the option to migrate, I argue that an Africanist or decolonial approach must be used. Understanding student migration aspirations can be achieved by letting Ghanaian students themselves explain the phenomenon as well as by contextualizing university students' migration narratives within global inequalities of knowledge production.

The findings show that students in the Global South indeed consider migration as a life option, however, migration aspirations are volatile, often driven by the ambition for further study and return, rather than being an end in itself. While other researchers have described a “migration culture” in Ghana, my findings rather point toward an “education culture”. However, financing such student migration as well as the passport and visa acquisition processes, present barriers such that although many students say they aspire to migrate, most of them have not taken action, like applying for a passport. Hence, this study confirms research suggesting there is a gap between aspiration and ability to migrate.

In addition, my research reveals other reservations to the migration option, like fear of racism and religious/moral concerns. Further, the students in my study suggest that lower-educated individuals have a stronger aspiration to migrate than highly educated individuals like themselves – I construe this view as form of “othering”, not previously found in the literature. Men and women are as likely to aspire to migrate, except for women with weak academic results who are more likely than other groups to aspire to migrate. Further, the research established that university students in Ghana use new communication tools powered by the Internet to stay in close contact with family and friends abroad. Students also discuss migration in relation to “exploring” and “enjoying” as well as describe travel similar to the “gap year” earlier described in the literature, but for students in the Global North.

These results highlight that students in the Global South are generally similar to the students in the Global North in terms of migration aspirations. However, while the latter are well covered in the International Student Migration (ISM) discourse the former are not – and this is the discourse my study contributes to. While individual considerations among Ghanaian students are similar to those of students in the Global North, I argue that the migration environment is dissimilar, and to better understand the phenomenon of student migration originating from the Global South, a more holistic approach is needed, inclusive of historical, social, and political contexts.

Keywords: migration aspirations, student, decolonial theory, postcolonial theory, Ghana, Global South, education culture

DEDICATION

To those who made this work possible:
Dinah Dawson, Baaba Aggrey-Carthy, and Margaret Danquah



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The foundation for this dissertation project was affected by globalization as it was started in a Chinese restaurant in Uppsala, Sweden where I met with **Prof. Kwame Bofo-Arthur who was** in town as a visiting researcher from University of Ghana . He strongly recommended me to contact **Prof. Takyiwaa Manuh** of Institute of African Studies.. Later, Manuh graciously offered to be my PhD supervisor and my *Okyeame* in marriage! To my luck, the new Director of the Institute of African Studies **Prof. Akosua Adomako Ampofo** was added to my very distinguished panel, as was **Prof. Peter Quartey**, then of Centre for Migration Studies (CMS) now head of the Department of Economics. When Prof. Manuh retired from academia, **Dr. Michael Kpessa-Whyte** was added to my able group of supervisors, but later in my final year, replaced by **Dr. Mercy Akrofi-Ansah**. Thank you all for your advice, encouragement and time.

This study was financially supported by **Agneta Nilsson** and **Swedish Women's Educational Association (SWEA)** and **Hewlett Foundation**; for that I am very grateful. I have had encouraging **employers and colleagues at Ashesi University College: Prof. Nana Araba Apt, Dr. Patrick Awuah, Dr. Marcia Grant, Head Librarian Nina Chachu, Dr. Lloyd Amoah, Dr. Stephen Armah** and soon to be **Dr. Ebo Spio, Dr. Shirley Sackey Martin, Mr. Eli Tetteh** and, not the least, **Mr. Kobina Graham** and **Dr. Joseph Oduro-Frimpong**.

Dr. Ameko and **Ms. Acheampong** and their **colleagues at School of Graduate Studies, University of Ghana**, have always been helpful. Fellow students in the **IAS Students'**

Network, especially: **Eric Tei-Kumadoe, Dr. George M. Bob-Milliar, Dr. Collins Adu-Brobby, Kwasi Amakye-Boateng, Dede Amanor, Sharon Benzoni** and **Dr. Kwesi Aikins** as well as fellow doctoral students around the world: **Lindsay Bayham, Dr. Marta Axner, Petra Ornstein, Dr. Mattias Wiggberg, Dr. Rachel Flamenbaum, Dr. Gabriella Korling, Emnet Adesse, Dr. Uli Beisel, Clementina Amankwaah, Brittany Sheldon, Emma Abotsi** and Alpha Abebe have made the PhD journey much more pleasant.

Thank you to my research assistants **Esther Addai, Ibrahim Baidoo, Seth Sedem, Malik Iddrisu,** and **Samuel Bewiadzi**. Your enthusiasm and hard work has added much to my work. Experts in the field of migration aspiration, **Prof. Lisa Åkesson, Prof. Jorgen Carling,** and **Ms. Jill Ahrens** have generously been of help, as have **former colleagues and professors at Uppsala University,** especially, **Prof. Peo Öberg**. I was fortunate to spend a month at the Nordic Africa Institute, where **Ms. Inga-Britt Isaksson Faris, Dr. Måns Fellesson, Dr. Paula Mählick** and **Dr. Jesper Bjarnesson** were very helpful. At ISSER, **Dr. Nana Akua Anyidoho** and at RIPS, **Prof. John K. Anarfi** and **Prof. Francis Dodoo** have shown interest in and support for my work. **Ms. Ama Dadson** and **Ms. Sapphira Adoadiji** at University of Ghana Computing Systems have been beyond helpful. My first teachers of African studies: **Prof. Per Brandström, Dr. Michael Barrett** and **Prof. Sten Hagberg** as well as my first Ghanaian teacher, **Dr. Elizabeth Garbrah-Aidoo** (Maame to me now!) have all inspired my work. Thank you to **colleagues at International Organization for Migration, Accra.**

Thanks to my parents **Sture and Ingrid Hallberg** in Visby, **my siblings,** as well as to **my family in Tema.** My deepest gratitude goes to my foremost supporter, **Isaac Kweku Adu.**

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Tables **xiii**

List of Figures **xiv**

List of Acronyms **xv**

Prelude..... **1**

CHAPTER ONE..... **3**

Introduction: Student Migration In A Globalized World..... **3**

1.0 Background **3**

1.1 Problem Statement..... **6**

1.2 Research Objectives **11**

1.3 Research Questions **11**

1.4 Expected Findings **11**

1.5 Methodological Considerations..... **14**

 1.5.1 The Ghanaian Context..... 14

 1.5.2 The Sites..... 15

 1.5.3 Interdisciplinary Approach 16

1.6 Limitations..... **17**

1.7 Significance of the Study **19**

1.8 Definitions **20**

 1.8.1 Student..... 20

 1.8.2 Migration and Mobility 20

 1.8.3 Aspiration..... 22

1.9 Summary of Chapters..... **23**

CHAPTER TWO **25**

Theoretical Framework: Migration Aspiration And Decolonial Theory **25**

2.0 Introduction **25**

2.1 Aspiration Theory **27**

2.2 Decolonial Thought **29**

 2.2.1 The Genesis of Decolonial Theory 31

 2.2.2 Scientific Dependence and “Imported Concepts” 33

 2.2.3 The Southern Academy in the Periphery of the Global Knowledge Society..... 36

2.3 Historical Development of the Interdisciplinary Discourse of Migration..... **39**

 2.3.1 Economic Theories..... 39

 2.3.1.1 Push-Pull Theory..... 40

 2.3.1.2 Human Capital Theory 41

 2.3.1.3 New Economics of Labor Migration (NELM) 41

 2.3.2 Systems Approaches..... 43

 2.3.2.1 Historical-Structural Approach..... 43

 2.3.2.2 Migration Systems Theory 44

 2.3.2.3 Network Theory..... 44

 2.3.3 Diaspora and Discourse Theories..... 45

 2.3.3.1 Culture of Migration..... 46

 2.3.3.2 Transnationalism 46

 2.3.4 Conclusions and Critiques..... 48

2.3.4.1 Carling’s Critique: The Emigration Environment and the Non-Ability to migrate.....	50
2.3.4.2 Applying Aspiration and Ability Approach to Students	54
2.4 Merging Two Fields: Decolonial Thought and Migration Aspiration.....	55
2.4.1 Northern Perspectives on Knowledge and Migration.....	56
2.4.2 Southern Perspectives on Knowledge and Migration.....	57
2.5 Student Migration Aspiration in a Decolonial Knowledge Periphery	59
2.5.1 Operationalization: Where Do Students of the Global South Fit In?.....	62
CHAPTER THREE	64
Student Migration And Its Global Context	64
3.0 Introduction	64
3.1 International Student Migration (ISM)	64
3.1.1 Categorizations of the Discourse.....	65
3.1.2 Trends in Student Mobility	66
3.1.3 Northern Bias	67
3.1.4 Role of Education in Student Migration	69
3.1.5 Seminal Works in International Student Migration.....	70
3.1.6 Conclusions.....	72
3.2 Globalization and Internationalization of Higher Education	72
3.2.1 Definitions.....	72
3.2.1.1 Internationalization of Higher Education.....	73
3.2.1.2 Migration Industry	75
3.3 The Knowledge Society and Competition for Talent.....	76
3.3.1 Return Migration and Relevance of Skills	78
3.4 Migration Policy.....	79
3.4.1 Age of Immobility?	80
3.4.2 Student Status	82
3.5 Conclusion: The Missing Migrant?	85
CHAPTER FOUR.....	87
The Migration Environment Of The Ghanaian Student.....	87
4.0 Introduction	87
4.1 Historical Context.....	87
4.1.1 History of Higher Education in Ghana	89
4.1.2 Migration History.....	92
4.1.3 Academic and Student Migration History: Five Waves.....	93
4.1.4 Data on Highly Skilled Ghanaian Migration.....	97
4.2 Political Context.....	101
4.2.1 Political Situation for Youth in Ghana	102
4.2.2 Migration Industry in Ghana	103
4.2.3 Institutional Migration Assistance	108
4.2.3.1 University of Ghana.....	109
4.2.3.2 Ashesi University College	110
4.2.4 Legal Context	113
4.2.4.1 Lack of Student Migration Policy.....	113
4.2.4.2 Student Status.....	115
4.3 Social Context	116

4.3.1 Family and Migration in Ghana.....	116
4.3.2 Cultures of Migration	117
4.3.3 Language of Migration	118
4.3.4 Feminization of Migration.....	120
4.4 Conclusions	122
4.4.1 Expected Findings.....	122
CHAPTER FIVE.....	125
Methodology	125
5.0 Introduction	125
5.1 Research Design.....	125
5.1.1 Sample Design	125
5.1.2 Research Ethics.....	127
5.1.2.1 Revealing the Researcher	127
5.1.2.2 Capturing the Student Voice.....	129
5.1.2.3 Institutional Ethical Clearance	131
5.2 Data Collection	131
5.2.1 Focus Groups	131
5.2.1.1 Focus Group Pilot.....	133
5.2.1.2 Focus Group Discussions	134
5.2.2 Survey Questionnaire.....	135
5.2.2.1 Sampling Strategy	135
5.2.2.2 E-Survey	136
5.2.2.3 Questionnaire Design	137
5.2.2.4 Pilot Survey.....	138
5.2.2.5 Final Questionnaire.....	140
5.2.2.6 Empirical Estimation Technique	144
5.2.3 Interviews	147
5.2.3.1 Interviewee Selection.....	148
5.2.3.2 Additional Interviews with Key Informants.....	149
CHAPTER SIX.....	150
Ghanaian Students' Views on Migration.....	150
6.0 Introduction	150
6.1 Findings From the Focus Groups.....	151
6.1.1 Investigate Students' Migration Aspirations and Abilities (Research Objective 1) 152	
6.1.1.1 Considering Migration	152
6.1.1.2 "Othering" of People With Less Education.....	153
6.1.2 Map the Steps of Migration For a Student? (Research Objective 2)	154
6.1.2.1 Discussing Migration and Searching for Information	154
6.1.2.2 Well-Informed through Social Media	156
6.1.2.3 Applying for Passports and Visas.....	157
6.1.3 Examine The Actors Involved In Student Migration and How They Shape Aspirations (Research Objective 3).....	158
6.1.3.1 Influencers	158
6.1.3.2 Money and Migration	159
6.1.3.3 Culture of Migration.....	160
6.1.4 Problematize Current Student Migration Discourses (Research Objective 4).....	160

6.1.4.1 Strong Aspiration Not to Migrate	161
6.1.4.2 Discrimination and Racism	161
6.1.4.3 Negative Experiences of Living/Traveling Abroad	163
6.1.4.4 Explore and Enjoy	164
6.2 Findings from the Survey	165
6.2.1 Migration Aspiration	166
6.2.1.1 Intention To Migrate	167
6.2.1.2 Future Intention	168
6.2.1.3 On a Course to Migrate?	169
6.2.1.4 Steps Toward Migration	170
6.2.2 What Countries Do Students Want To Go To?	175
6.2.2.1 Visa Applications	177
6.2.3 Socio-economic Background and Migration Intentions	178
6.2.4 Influencers	185
6.2.5 Reservations to Migration	186
6.2.5.1 Return	187
6.2.5.2 Attitudes Toward Foreign Study and Work Experience	188
6.2.5.3 Reasons For Going Abroad	190
6.3 Findings From the Interviews	192
6.3.1 Personal Stories	193
6.3.1.1 Fiifi	193
6.3.1.2 Aba	193
6.3.1.3 Oko	194
6.3.1.4 Thelma	194
6.3.1.5 Amanda	195
6.3.1.6 Magnus	195
6.3.1.7 Efua	196
6.3.1.8 Yosef	196
6.3.1.9 Irene	197
6.3.1.10 Leon	197
6.3.1.11 Senyo	197
6.3.2 Themes From Interviews	198
6.3.2.1 Student Migration Aspirations are Volatile	199
6.3.2.2 Students Aspire to Further Studies	202
6.3.2.3 Frequent Contact with Friends and Family Abroad	204
6.3.2.4 Individualism or “Post-Modern” Ideals	206
6.3.2.5 Small Differences Between Sexes	207
6.3.3 Barriers to Migration	208
6.3.3.1 Finances	209
6.3.3.2 Passports	210
6.3.3.3 Family	211
6.3.3.4 Religion and Morals	212
6.3.4 Narratives About Place	213
6.3.4.1 The Global North	213
6.3.4.2 The Global South: Ghana	214
CHAPTER SEVEN	218

Analysis And Discussion	218
7.0 Introduction	218
7.1 Migration Terminology	218
7.2 Main Findings	220
7.2.1 Migration Culture or Education Culture?	220
7.2.2 Who Influences Students' Migration Aspirations and How?	222
7.2.3 What Is the Role of Universities in Shaping Migration Aspirations?	225
7.2.4 What Is The Impact of Social Media and VOIP and Internet Access?	227
7.2.5 Do All Students Aspire To Migrate?	228
7.2.6 How Do We Understand Students' Destination Preferences?	231
7.2.7 Why Is There No Predictor For Migration Aspirations?	231
7.2.8 What Do We Know of Students Who Want to Stay?	232
7.2.9 Are There Specific Barriers to Migration for Students?	234
7.3 Synthesizing Results and Categorizing Students	236
7.3.1 The Aspiration-Conviction Model	236
7.3.1.1 Passive Resistance	237
7.3.1.2 Undecided and Underfunded	237
7.3.1.3 Aggressive Aspiration	238
7.3.1.4 Opportunistic Thinker	238
CHAPTER EIGHT	239
Conclusions: Charting A Course For Going And Coming.....	239
8.0 Introduction	239
8.1 Summary of Findings and Contributions to Knowledge	239
8.1.2 Key Findings.....	241
8.1.2.1 Investigate Students' Migration Aspirations and Abilities.....	241
8.1.2.2 Examining the Actors Involved in Student Migration and How They Shape Students' Migration Aspirations	246
8.1.2.3 Map the Steps of Student Migration.....	250
8.1.3 Student Specific Migration Environment	252
8.2 Problematizing Current Student Migration Discourses.....	253
8.2.1 Ghanaian Student Migration Aspirations	253
8.2.1.1 Reservations To The Migration Option	255
8.2.1.2 Aspiration and Conviction - A New Model	256
8.2.2 A Global South Perspective on Student Migration.....	258
8.2.2.1 The Local Context.....	258
8.2.2.2 Problematizing the Concepts: Student, Student Migration, Migration Industry and Aspiration	260
8.4 Recommendations	262
REFERENCES	267
FOCUS GROUPS.....	294
INTERVIEWS	294
Faculty and Staff.....	294
Students.....	294
Other Key Informants	295

APPENDICES.....	296
Appendix 1: Map of Tertiary Educated Population in OECD Countries.....	296
Appendix 2: Focus Group Guide	297
Appendix 3: Questionnaire	299
Appendix 4: Regression Analyses of Future Aspirations	309
Appendix 5: Interview Guide	313
Appendix 6: List of Preferred Destinations	315
Appendix 7: Adverts and Posters of Migration Industry in Ghana	318
Appendix 8: Interview Quotes	320

List of Tables

<i>Table 1: Author's Overview of Central Critiques by Decolonial Theory</i>	<i>36</i>
<i>Table 2: Author's Overview of Migration Theory.....</i>	<i>49</i>
<i>Table 3: Main Destinations and Issues in Student Mobility.....</i>	<i>66</i>
<i>Table 4: Classification of Migration Industry Actors Targeting Students.....</i>	<i>75</i>
<i>Table 5: Migration Industry Targeting Students.....</i>	<i>112</i>
<i>Table 6: Response Rates by Total Number of Students Admitted.....</i>	<i>142</i>
<i>Table 7: Distribution of Sex and Year Group for the Two HEIs (Questionnaire data)....</i>	<i>142</i>
<i>Table 8: Distribution of Sex and Year Group for the Two HEIs (Admissions Data)</i>	<i>143</i>
<i>Table 9: Description of Variables for Regression Analyses.....</i>	<i>146</i>
<i>Table 10: Selection of Interviewees.....</i>	<i>149</i>
<i>Table 11: Future Intentions for Work and Study in Ghana and Abroad by HEI.....</i>	<i>169</i>
<i>Table 12 : Steps Toward Migration.....</i>	<i>172</i>
<i>Table 13: Determinants of Migration Intentions [with travel preparation]</i>	<i>173</i>
<i>Table 14: Plans For Applying For A Visa By Year Group</i>	<i>175</i>
<i>Table 15: Countries for Which Students Have Applied for Visas.....</i>	<i>177</i>
<i>Table 16: Regression Analysis of Intention to go Abroad for More than 1 Year</i>	<i>179</i>
<i>Table 17: Influencers</i>	<i>185</i>
<i>Table 18: Return Preferences by Sex</i>	<i>187</i>
<i>Table 19: Study Abroad for Adventure.....</i>	<i>190</i>
<i>Table 20: Study Abroad for Education Quality</i>	<i>191</i>
<i>Table 21: Study Abroad for Specific Study Program Choice</i>	<i>191</i>
<i>Table 22: Students Changing Migration Aspiration.....</i>	<i>199</i>
<i>Table 23: Students' Migration Terminology</i>	<i>219</i>
<i>Table 24: Barriers to Migration for Ghanaian Students.....</i>	<i>235</i>
<i>Table 25: The Aspiration-Conviction Matrix.....</i>	<i>237</i>
<i>Table 26: Findings for Research Objective 1</i>	<i>241</i>
<i>Table 27: Findings for Research Objective 2</i>	<i>247</i>
<i>Table 28: Findings for Research Objective 3.....</i>	<i>250</i>

List of Figures

<i>Figure 1: Overlapping Literatures and Their Relationship within Author's Theoretical Framework.....</i>	<i>26</i>
<i>Figure 2: Sequencing of Migrations.....</i>	<i>27</i>
<i>Figure 3: Aspiration/Ability Model based on Carling (2002).....</i>	<i>52</i>
<i>Figure 4: Revised Sequencing of Migrations.....</i>	<i>61</i>
<i>Figure 5: Student Specific Migration Environment.....</i>	<i>62</i>
<i>Figure 6: Four Discourses in ISM adapted from Brooks and Waters (2011).....</i>	<i>65</i>
<i>Figure 7: Four Migration Pathways, Estimate of First Generation Adult Migrant Stock.....</i>	<i>84</i>
<i>Figure 8: Political Context.....</i>	<i>102</i>
<i>Figure 9: A Visit To An Education Fair In Accra.....</i>	<i>107</i>
<i>Figure 10: Migration Intention.....</i>	<i>167</i>
<i>Figure 11: Future Intentions.....</i>	<i>168</i>
<i>Figure 12. Students Indicating Choosing Their Course to Increase Chance of Migration.....</i>	<i>170</i>
<i>Figure 13: Steps for Migration Deduced from Focus Group Discussions.....</i>	<i>171</i>
<i>Figure 14: Students with Passports by HEI.....</i>	<i>174</i>
<i>Figure 15. Destination Preferences by Continents in Percent.....</i>	<i>176</i>
<i>Figure 16: Distribution of WASSCE Results Among Respondents.....</i>	<i>183</i>
<i>Figure 17: Return Preferences by HEI.....</i>	<i>188</i>
<i>Figure 18: Student Specific Migration Environment.....</i>	<i>253</i>



List of Acronyms

ACP	Africa, Caribbean, and Pacific Group of States
Ashesi	Ashesi University College
CMS	Centre for Migration Studies at University of Ghana
EPA	Economic Partnership Agreements
ERP	Economic Recovery Programs
EU	European Union
FDI	Foreign Direct Investments
GATS	General Agreement on Trade and Services
GHS	Ghana Cedi
GLSS	Ghana Living Standard Survey
GMAT	Graduate Management Admission Test
GRE	Graduate Record Examination
GYEEDA	Ghana Youth Employment and Entrepreneurial Development Agency
HEI	Higher Educational Institutions
HIPC	Highly Indebted Poor Country
HSM	Highly Skilled Migration
IKS	Index of Knowledge Societies
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IPO	International Programmes Office at University of Ghana
ISM	International Student Migration
KAM	Knowledge Assesment Methodology

KNUST	Kwame Nkrumah University for Science and Technology, Ghana
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender
LAFA	Locally Acquired Foreign Accent
NAB	National Accreditation Board
NCTE	National Council for Tertiary Education
NELM	New Economics of Labor Migration
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
ODA	Official Development Assistance
ODIP	Office for Diversity and International Programs at Ashesi
PhD	Doctor of Philosophy
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programs
SSS	Senior Secondary School
UCC	University of Cape Coast
UCL	University College London
UG	University of Ghana
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
US	United States of America
USD	United States Dollar
VOIP	Voice Over Internet Protocol
WASSCE	West African Senior School Certificate Examination

Prelude

In 2007, I was a newcomer in Ghana and I was going to see the University of Ghana campus, or Legon, “the hill of knowledge” as it is called locally. Ghana had been my new home for just a few months and I was excited about the prospects of living here. I saw many opportunities in the country that just had celebrated 50 years of independence.

I boarded a trotro¹ at the station, got a desirable window seat and waited for the vehicle to fill up so we could leave towards Medina and Legon.

“Hello obroni! Akwaaba! Eti sen?”² A smiling face appeared just to my side in the vehicle. I smiled back and responded like I always do:

“Ye nua, eye paa. Na wo nso e?”³

We asked of each other's names and I asked to know if my new friend was a student. He nodded. The conversation was not always predictable, but today it followed other conversations I had been part of in public places the last weeks and months. “Where are you from?” and “please, can you take me with you when you go?”

I was surprised that even a student at one of the most prestigious higher educational institutions in Africa would ask me this question. By asking, he was both assuming that I –

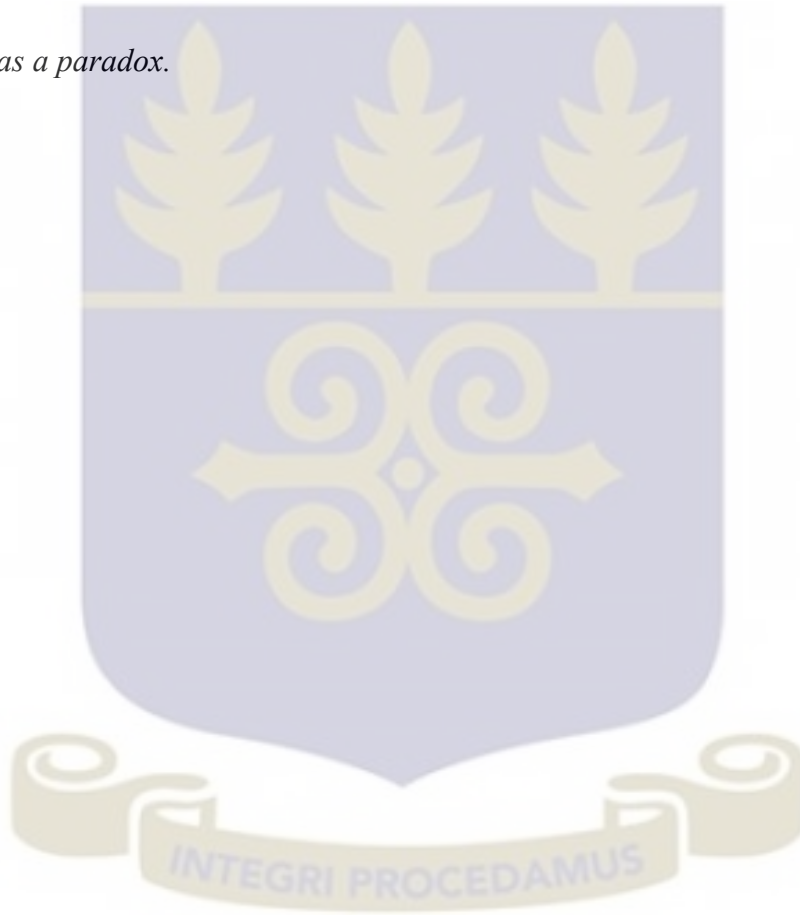
¹ Minibus that serve as public transport.

² Translation into English: “Hello foreigner, welcome! How are you?”

³ Translation into English: “I hear you, sibling [response varies depending who you are responding to, this is the appropriate response to someone your own age]. I'm fine. And how are you?”

despite my knowledge and interest in a local language, my Ghanaian wax print dress and my Ghanaian acquired name – was a temporary visitor, and that he would be better off in my cold home country, than in this warm, bustling capital with economic growth prospects and a promising democratic climate, where his family and friends lived, and that he knew like his back pocket.

To me, it was a paradox.



CHAPTER ONE

Introduction: Student Migration In A Globalized World

1.0 Background

Today's world is sometimes described as “becoming smaller” as markets for capital, goods, services and labor stand increasingly interconnected and interdependent. Simultaneously, travel and communication over national borders has become cheaper. This process of globalization ultimately leads to higher levels of migration of people. In 2010, there were 214 million international migrants worldwide, which is a significant increase from 191 million in 2005, and if the trend continues, it is estimated that there will be over 400 million international migrants by 2050 (International Organization for Migration, 2010). A growing number of the flows represent highly skilled professionals (Adams, King, & Hook, 2010; Adepoju, 2000; Teferra & Knight, 2008). Student migration is a part of this flow with 2.9 million students studying outside their country of origin in 2006 (King, Findlay, & Ahrens, 2010; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2008). It is also a multibillion-dollar industry at USD 30 billion annually or 3% of trade in services for the OECD countries (Gargano, 2009). In other words, foreign students and their academic fees and related spending make up a significant income for countries in the Global North.

In this dissertation, I use the concepts “Global South” and “Global North” to mean countries that are situated in the Southern and Northern hemispheres respectively and share similar historical experiences and social conditions (Hallberg Adu, 2014). The

geographical definition, although not “sharply bounded category of states and societies” (Connell, 2007, p. viii), of the world’s two hemispheres, the Southern and the Northern, creates a distinction also useful for historical and social sciences and avoids the pitfalls of normativity that comes with other concepts. Hence the distinction is only broadly geographical in nature, but more importantly points to geopolitical power inequalities. As an immediate application, I will review literatures on migration effects and globalization below with the critical glasses made possible by the Global North, Global South dichotomy.

The impact of emigration of moderate and low skilled individuals for sending countries has been viewed as positive, since it lessens unemployment in these economies (Quartey, 2006). On the other hand, the emigration of the highly skilled is more often seen as having negative results, often referred to as “brain-drain”. However, an increasing number of researchers are now taking into account the possibly very dynamic effects of migration on development *over time* and more positive effects have been anticipated in the medium and the long term propelling the expression “brain-circulation” and “brain gain” due to return migration, remittances, Foreign Direct Investments (FDI), acquisition of knowledge, ideas and attitudes, effects on investment in education⁴, and increased tourism. Further, the neo-liberal view of globalization suggests that it fuels modernity and the increased interconnectedness favors all. However, critics have pointed out rather that globalization is problematic with gains for some and losses for others. Connell (2007) points out that the

⁴ Also called “the multiplier effect of human capital” referring to that people educate themselves further in an environment where migration is a possibility, hence becoming a “gain” for society if not migrating or returning.

theorization of globalization, a concept that came out of the 1980s business literature, is overwhelmingly crafted in the Global North and almost inherently positive in nature, despite earlier global occurrences like colonialization being a disaster for many countries, especially in the Global South (2007, pp. 65–67).

Alas, globalization could instead be viewed as inherently unequal, “[it] divides as much as it unites; it divides as it unites” (Bauman, 2000, p. 2). If the epistemology of migration is Northern, its application in the Global South becomes one of *imported concepts*⁵ with implications on how we think about migration. For example, the migration and development discourse, regardless if it leads to brain drain, gain or circulation, obscures the agency of migrants. These concepts also conceal that migration efforts are costly and require both money and other forms of capital. Hence, middle-income countries experience more migration of the highly skilled than low income countries (De Haas, 2008; Marfouk, 2008; Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, & Pellegrino, 1999). In economics, the phenomenon of more people migrating even as GDP increases in countries with a lower GDP has been established and labeled the “migration hump” (De Haas, 2006). It comes out of that migration is also capital intensive, and even as opportunities increase in a country, that spurs migration to increase further in the short and medium term. However, how long before that “migration hump” plateaus and declines is contested. On a micro-level, the same relationship of migration and resources can be seen:

What is often lost in the literature, however, is that while agreeing that migration can result from poverty, it is not always the poorest and most destitute that

⁵ This idea was introduced to me during an Institute of African Studies Graduate Seminar on March 5th, 2015 and I am grateful for the discussion that led to this conceptualization.

migrates. The poorest are often unable to afford the costs associated with migration (Awumbila et al., 2011, p. 29)

In an overview of the migration and development debate, Skeldon (2010) suggests that the discussion between migration and development is misguided. Rather, migration is an integral part of development:

Migration is essentially a response of populations to changing development conditions and what governments need to do is to lose their fear of population migration. Migration needs to be accepted as an integral part of the development process, not feared as something unusual [...] rising prosperity brings increased population mobility and migration. (p.156)

Skeldon (2010) further points to the evidence of “developed” nations having high levels of migration. UK is mentioned as a case in point with 5.5 million citizens, or 9.2% of the total population, living outside the country and concludes that “developed” societies are “based upon systems of high mobility” (Skeldon, 2010, p. 157).

Consequently, migration is a highly contested discourse and central to the debate from a Global South point of view is the highly skilled individuals and their mobility. My initial instinct of surprise at meeting a university student who wanted to migrate, made me curious and I wondered if it would be possible to predict who was more likely to stay in Ghana, who was more likely to aspire to migrate, what and who influenced migration aspirations, and finally how globalization affected the Ghanaian student.

1.1 Problem Statement

In addition to the process of globalization discussed in the first section, higher education worldwide is also going through a process of internationalization, where student migration

is the aspect of this internationalization that is increasing most rapidly (Gargano, 2009). Thus, the International Student Migration discourse has recently received ample attention (Ahrens, King, Skeldon & Dunne., 2010; Alberts & Hazen, 2005; Brooks & Waters, 2011; Cairns & Smyth, 2011; Carlson, 2011; Findlay, 2010; Gargano, 2009; Jensen & Pedersen, 2007; King, Findlay & Ahrens., 2010; Kishun, 2009; Murphy-Lejeune, 2003; Verbik & Lasanowski, 2007; Vincent-Lancrin, 2009).

The International Student Migration (ISM) literature covers mostly European or American migrations where students either study abroad for a shorter period of time, “credit mobile students”, or for the entirety of a degree program, “degree mobile students” (King et al., 2010). The focus of many of these studies is personal, and though the reasons for migrating vary, reasons seem to diverge into improving language skills, extending career opportunities and acquiring personal gains, such as broadening horizons and experiencing other countries and cultures (Carlson, 2011; Gargano, 2009). That is, in the ISM literature, academic reasons for student migration are not among the top reasons given, not even for short term programs tailored for academic exposure (Ahrens et al., 2010). A strand of the ISM literature considers student migration as an opportunity for elite formation and migration as a social upward mobility scheme (Brooks & Waters, 2009; Ho, 2011). For the educational institutions that host international students, the students are seen as diversity additions to campuses and additionally often as a source of income (Teferra & Greijn, 2012; Verbik & Lasanowski, 2007).

However, I realized research on student migration is predominantly focused on students in Europe and North America and consequently, students from the Global South were often not studied. A possible reason for the dearth of research into migration aspirations among students in the Global South is prejudice, and a comment I have heard several times over the duration of this dissertation research project is: “Migration among Ghanaian university students? Is it not just all about the money?” Unsurprisingly, a simple statement such as the one just discussed, does not hold up to academic scrutiny. Migration is not solely about economic concerns or about poverty alleviation (Adesina, 2007; Awumbila et al., 2011). Adesina’s (2007) study on Nigerian mobility suggests an intricate underlying fabric of expectations related to identity formation and social mobility. Other notable exceptions include Anthias and Siddiqui (2008) on Bangladeshi students migrating to the UK, Drioushi (2014) on the economics of Arab region students going to the OECD, Kuroda (2007), on the trends of Asian student migration, Latif Sandbaek (2007) on “young, educated, and urban Moroccans”, Ngoie Tshibambe (2012) on Congolese students migrating to China, as well as Sell (1990) on “elite students” in Egypt.

The title of my dissertation “on a course to migrate?” can have two different meanings: having chosen a specific academic course to be able to migrate or on a trajectory to migrate. I am interested in both meanings and in this section I review current literature on the Ghanaian case. In Ghana, research on student migration have centered on the health sector (Abuosi & Abor, 2014; Anarfi, Quartey, & Adjei, 2010; Dovlo & Nyonator, 1999; Hagopian et al., 2005). In a study carried out on Ghanaian medical and nursing students in 2006, 58% of the students interviewed reported an intention to migrate. The students cited

“further training” as the most important factor influencing their migration followed by the prospect of “improved working conditions” (Anarfi et al., 2010). In addition, some courses like nursing, have high levels of out-migration amongst its graduates and it has been suggested that some young Ghanaians choose such university programs in the hope of migrating (Adjei, 2006). An exception to the focus on the health sector is a recent general exit survey on final year students at University of Ghana in which for instance migration intentions were targeted in a question on students' plans after the mandatory national service that follows completion of a first degree in Ghana. In this survey, two alternatives were given for going abroad: 27% of students said “I will travel abroad to continue schooling” and 2% said “I will travel abroad to work”. Added up, 29% or almost one third of students across disciplines expressed intentions to leave Ghana (Anyidoho, 2015).

The focus of migration research for the Ghanaian case on the health sciences has obscured the general trajectory of migration in academia, and specifically migration among university students. Despite results that suggest between a third and more than half of the student population in Ghana wish to migrate, very little research has been carried out to understand this phenomenon. For instance, there is no research into how migration aspirations are formed, or how they vary between socio-economic groups or across disciplines. Indeed aspiration often does *not* lead to migration. While many students and young professionals report an intention or aspiration to migrate, still a majority of them stay in Ghana. That phenomenon is also left unexplained.

Returning to the International Student Migration discourse, with its focus on the Global North, it excludes students from the Global South, and only explains why students from the Global North migrate. In a globalized world, where we are now all connected with the help of technologies such as the Internet, we consume the same global popular culture, and relate to the same global crises, I postulate that Ghanaian students are not much different from students in the Global North, but local historical-political-social contexts might play a role in how the migration option is valued. I suggest Ghana, in its nation-building efforts inclusive of providing a conducive environment for citizens, curbing graduate unemployment, and flight of recent graduates, needs to know the aspirations of its future leaders. This study aims to add much needed data and insights to such a policy discourse. Furthermore, exploring student migration aspirations in the Global South will help theorizing student migration aspiration from a contextualized Global South perspective, which might make visible alternative explanations and rationales. Therefore, I have asked students about their aspirations using a framework that includes decolonial thought and focuses on the students' own voices to ascertain what informs their migration aspirations.

In conclusion, the possibly unique motivations for, and pressures on, highly skilled migrants and university students from the Global South against the backdrop of an increasing internationalization of higher education, have not been adequately addressed within the literature. Hence, this study explores the migration environment for Ghanaian students, including influencing actors, migration policies, and the so-called colonial state of mind to examine to what extent those factors influence students' aspirations to migrate.

1.2 Research Objectives

1) Investigate Ghanaian student migration aspirations, 2) Map the steps of student migration, 3) Examine the actors involved in student migration and how they shape aspirations, and 4) Problematize current student migration discourses.

1.3 Research Questions

The principal research question is: *how can we understand Ghanaian student migration aspirations or the lack of them?* This primary question has been broken down in sub questions:

1. Who, in terms of demographic characteristics in the group of Ghanaian students, is aspiring to migrate, to live a transnational life, or to stay?
2. A) What are the steps in the migration journey?
B) What steps present difficulties for students?
3. What actors are involved in shaping student migration aspirations?
4. A) How do Ghanaian student migration aspirations differ from those of students from other parts of the world?
B) What reservations do Ghanaian students have about aspiring to migrate?
C) How can student migration be theorized from a Global South perspective?

1.4 Expected Findings

From my first three descriptive research objectives and the results of the studies discussed in my review of the literature, I have developed the following expected findings:

1. For the research objective “Investigate students’ migration aspirations and abilities”, the expected findings based on the literature are:

- Ghanaian students’ migration aspirations and abilities will be comparable to results from studies carried out in the Global North with self-realization and adventure constituting reasons for migration, rather than strictly economic reasons advanced in the literature for African migrants .
- Educational opportunities will be a more substantial drive for migration than what is cited for students from the Global North, due to the inadequate supply of such opportunities in the Global South.
- Social upward mobility will play a central role in the meaning of migration to Ghanaian university students, hence students with lower and middle class backgrounds will have higher migration aspirations than the socio-economic elites.
- Students will enroll in programs with high migration levels; they will choose their courses as a strategy to enhance their migration opportunities.
- Women will be as likely to migrate as men, as family life starts later in the life cycle and gender roles modernize.

2. For the research objective: “Examining the actors involved in student migration and how they shape students’ migration aspirations”, the expected findings are:

- Evidence of a campus culture of migration with information being spread locally about global opportunities through a mostly foreign migration industry looking for talent.
- Family networks will be relevant, but not central to formation of migration aspirations.
- Traditional and social media will have an impact on migration aspirations.
- Increased connectivity using Internet and telecom technology will increase information flow on the migration options for students.

3. For the research objective “Map the steps of students’ migration” the expected results are:

- Students will be informed about migration policy and therefore make well-informed decisions.
- Peers and networks abroad will play a role in information sharing.

4. For the research objective, “Problematize current student migration discourses”, it is difficult to have any expected finding as the literature is scarce on Global South student migration, and on aspiration in particular. However, I anticipate to:

- Compare Ghanaian student migration aspirations to those of students from the Global North to find differences and similarities.
- Describe the students who aspire to stay and what can be said about them.
- Explore student reservations to the migration option.

1.5 Methodological Considerations

To understand and better theorize migration aspirations among the highly educated, my dissertation research is a case study centered on students enrolled in higher education institutions in Ghana and their migration aspirations.

1.5.1 The Ghanaian Context

Ghana is a country located in West Africa on the Greenwich meridian and bordering to the Atlantic Ocean. It has 25 million inhabitants and a land area of 238,533 km², divided over 10 regions (Government of Ghana, 2014). Current day Ghana spans several historically influential nations such as the Ashanti and Fante kingdoms. From the late 1880s until 1957 the mineral-rich territory was known as the Gold Coast. The name Ghana was chosen by Kwame Nkrumah who became the first prime minister of a free Ghana: the first country in sub-Saharan Africa to break free from colonialism in 1957. The economy was in crisis in the 1970s and early 1980s with large emigration flows, especially of academics. However, the GDP is on a positive trend since Ghana re-introduced electoral democracy in 1992, but the growth is slowing down to a projected 3,5% in 2015 (International Monetary Fund (IMF), 2015) and “the economic fruits expected from a democratic form of government is yet to be fully realized” notes Leith and Soderling (2003). While that is undoubtedly true, the economy is still likely to be underrated due to a significant informal sector outside the official statistics (Jerven, 2013). The press is free and Ghanaians have increasing access to the Internet and telecommunications. Ghana is often listed among the top performing African countries in terms of freedom and growth (Lenhardt, Rocha Menochal, & Engel,

2015). Further access to higher education has in the recent years been greatly extended through the inception of private universities and expansion of public higher education (Hallberg Adu, 2014).

Taken together all these factors: historical, political, economic and social make Ghana and Ghanaian university students an interesting case to study in terms of migration aspirations, as opportunities are vast for highly educated individuals in such an environment. Hence, I expect students to have a wide range of aspirations, which warrant careful study.

1.5.2 The Sites

I have chosen two research sites: the University of Ghana (UG), a large public university and Ashesi University College (Ashesi), a small private university college. These two institutions are chosen not because they are comparable, but rather because they differ on many accounts (size, finance, location, history etc.). For instance, students in different institutions vary in terms of socio-economic background, influences and travel experience, but also in terms of majors as UG is strong on sciences and humanities and Ashesi offers only three programs: business administration, computer science and management information systems⁶. Thus, by targeting these two different institutions, I can examine my questions in two disparate contexts and get access to a diverse range of respondents.

⁶ A fourth degree program in engineering was added in 2015.

1.5.3 Interdisciplinary Approach

My study can be broken down in three stages methodologically. In the first stage, the topic is explored with the help of the target population. Themes and issues are explored through videotaped focus groups, with a variety of study majors represented. In addition, I hope to explore the steps students envision taking in order to migrate as well as to know when during the undergraduate period the “migration option” is initiated and when it is most intensely discussed. Interviews with key informants such as lecturers, student leaders and individuals within the migration industry also informed this stage of my research. The aim of the initial data collection was to explore as many different student aspiration mobility and migration topics as possible and find what issues need more data.

The second stage was a quantitative study. The insights gathered from the focus groups discussed above informed the construction of a questionnaire survey. An electronic version of the questionnaire was tested and distributed to undergraduates at UG (total undergraduate population 19,422 students) and Ashesi (592 students).

An electronic survey, compared to a paper survey, makes it possible to obtain a large sample size, N , as when the coding is automatic more answers can be included within the same budget and time constraints. With the quantitative part of my study, I obtained statistically significant insights into what proportion of students aspire to migrate, who, in terms of socio economic background, is more likely to aspire to migrate, who is more likely to stay and what actors influence migration aspirations.

The third stage of the study was a qualitative follow-up in the form of interviews. I used survey answers to find candidates for interviews. The questionnaire included an option to

leave contact information and 12 individuals with interesting (typical or atypical) migration aspiration profiles were selected for a follow-up interview. In addition, with the help of background data such as study major, age, sex, parents' education, I made sure to select a diverse sample.

Notably, in this three-pronged approach of qualitative-quantitative-qualitative data collection the student participants guided all stages of the data collection, influenced data collection instruments, provided central themes, and in the final stage contextualized earlier results. See a more detailed discussion of methodology in Chapter 5.

1.6 Limitations

This study focuses on Ghanaian university students and their international migration aspirations. Consequently I will not discuss the migration aspirations of any other social group, nor internal migration, although I do acknowledge these as part of the migration context.

More importantly, this study does not seek to map the effects of the international migration of the highly skilled. Intuitively, these migratory movements have short-term detrimental effects on development, however, I will not prove or refute “brain-drain” or “brain-circulation” hypotheses, but focus on disseminating the aspirations and mechanisms behind the large number of Ghanaian students choosing to leave Ghana each year, but also shed light on the aspirations of the majority of students who remain in Ghana. However, the brain-drain discourse will be discussed as a development in migration studies and I will

argue, it is problematic as it assumes a perspective from and for the Global North (see chapter 2).

The personal limitations I foresee include methodological constraints. Migration is an everyday issue at the same time it can be a contentious issue and there might be an inclination to provide a politically correct answer when probed. However, one leg of the study will be based on a large sample survey and the anonymization of each individual's answers will likely encourage truthful answers. Additionally, my presence at the University of Ghana as a graduate student myself and at Ashesi University College as a lecturer will hopefully build trusting relationships and further enable rich descriptions of the contexts of respondents. My involvement in the two institutions can be seen as comparable as both as a PhD candidate and a lecturer, I am seen as an authority figure, but also an insider to some extent. I believe that being aware of my dual roles is critical to understanding my impact on participants.

Furthermore, I need to be aware of my assigned role as a foreign researcher and a privileged student in Ghana, a society with a recent history of colonialism. There might be tendencies to obscure one's true feelings of the migration option to avoid any awkward situation in my presence, the researcher from the Global North. However, an advantage to my foreignness could be that Ghanaians in general tend to be very open and accommodating to foreigners, "remarkably tolerant" in the words of Kuada and Chachah (1999, sec. Preface) or "full of smiles", according to Woode (1997, p. 7) and might therefore offer me their time and candid answers freely.

1.7 Significance of the Study

As earlier described, there is a gap within the migration literature on student migration from the Global South. Even though it has been recognized that students as a group has higher ability for mobility than other groups, that they are sought after by the international community and constitute a lucrative market for higher educational institutions (HEI), we still know very little about student aspirations.

I argue that with more knowledge about students' international migration aspirations, a piece of the puzzle that constitutes talent migration can be identified. Thereby common attitudes and consequently policies, within educational institutions as well on a national level, could be revisited, questioned and possibly revised.

I suggest that the theoretical framing of migration aspirations of the highly skilled in Africa is specifically important to Africanist research due to the impacts of scarce talent migration on higher education and hence development for the continent. For Africa to be able to set the agenda, the theoretical explanations of migration involving Africa should ideally be seen through Africanist glasses or theory acknowledging geopolitics.

In 2006, the University of Ghana established a Centre for Migration Studies (CMS) to coordinate migration studies already carried out on campus, work towards furthering migration studies at the graduate level and provide data on migration for policy advice purposes ("Introducing CMS," 2014). This study aims at mapping student migration, and

using a multi-disciplinary approach, which corresponds well with the CMS objectives. Additionally, the results of this study include additional sources of migration data, which could be useful also in other research endeavors by CMS.

1.8 Definitions

1.8.1 Student

For this study, I conceptualize Ghanaian undergraduate students as knowledgeable and highly skilled. By definition students are of course highly-skilled-*to-be* and as such desirable to many countries as long-term skilled labor, but students can and should also be seen as already highly skilled labor (Marfouk, 2008; Raghurham, 2013; Salt, 1997; Tremblay, 2005). In this dissertation I employ the concept “student” as a person enrolled in under-graduate studies (if I am discussing graduate students, I will always add “graduate”). Furthermore, in a country such as Ghana, with few degree holders, being a university student also culturally defines you as a future leader (Awuah, 2012).

1.8.2 Migration and Mobility

Conceptually, migration and mobility are sometimes used interchangeably and sometimes treated as separate ideas, both in terms of duration and ability. First, “mobility” can indicate shorter periods (less than 12 months) of geographical movement; consequently “migration” then describes longer-term movements (more than 12 months). The 12 months timeframe is being used by the United Nations and adopted in many, but not all, migration databases (Anderson & Blinder, 2014; Clarke, 2012). For instance the IOM (2011) uses a definition without a set time.

I will, in accordance with the UN definition, primarily use “migration” to mean longer term, international movements (more than 12 months), as opposed to shorter term “travel”, and reserve “mobility” to mean “the ability to migrate”.

I am employing these definitions for the following four reasons:

1. This distinction puts this study in the same conceptual frame as the International Student Migration discourse, further discussed in Chapter 3.
2. The dichotomy between mobility and migration has been criticized for failing to describe how geographical movement can be initiated for one reason and continued for another, how both permanent migration and return are sometimes planned, but at other times are inadvertent (Castles, 2010).
3. Further, studying abroad is often a road to more permanent migration for the highly skilled (Katseli, Lucas, & Xenogiani, 2006). This is especially relevant to discussions on youth and student migrations. For instance, it has been noted that studying abroad, which implies a short-term movement, would not necessarily be labeled as “migration” using the above criteria.
4. In addition to the temporal definition, “mobility” at times denotes the *ability* for movement, something many scholars have argued carries increasing importance in our time (Bauman, 2000; Carling, 2002; Castles & Miller, 2003). With that definition one can have

“mobility”, but choose to not employ it. De Haas (2014) compares mobility to freedom, borrowing from Sen's (2011) conceptualization of “development as freedom”⁷.

1.8.3 Aspiration

Aspiration as the very first stage of migration, Aspiration is less researched compared to other stages of migration such as travel, integration and possible return. In addition, aspirations concern mindscape(s), ideas and dreams and as such are important to study because they constitute a normative part of the context in which migration decision-making is taking place. The idea a student has about Ghana compared to the idea the student has about “abroad”, might for instance be the ignition for a longing to leave Ghana. This longing or wish then turns into an aspiration and plans are made to migrate. However, aspiration is in my study defined as more than a mere wish or longing, aspiration is operationalized to mean a belief that migration is preferable to non-migration and some action taken to further that belief, following Carling (2002, 2008). In the methodology chapter, I experiment with the operationalization of “migration aspiration” including different actions such as having a passport, having applied for a visa etc.

In the quantitative data collection, I use the word “intention”, a concept I use to denote a wish or longing to go abroad, but not backed by any action. In the analysis of quantitative data, however, I return to the binary variable aspiration (that is either you believe migration

⁷ The capabilities framework as discussed by Nausbaum (2011) is a similar approach where abilities/capabilities are put in a social justice context.

is preferable to non-migration and have taken steps towards migration or not) as I can combine answers.

1.9 Summary of Chapters

In chapter 2, I present my theoretical framework with a starting point in aspiration theory, which I link to decolonial theory and migration theory. By drawing on concepts like geopolitics, knowledge society, center and periphery, 'indices of extroversion', ambiguity, non-migrants, migration environment, I create a theoretical framework that can be used to analyze migration aspirations. I argue geopolitics and knowledge production are a critical contexts for university students in the Global South in their life-making inclusive of migration aspirations.

In chapter 3, I contextualize the student migration phenomenon and try to capture what we know about student migration and its historical, political and social contexts. This chapter serves as a survey of the literature on student migration including the important contemporary context of internationalization of higher education.

In chapter 4, I review relevant literature on Ghanaian migration and the specific emigration environment for the Ghanaian student.

In chapter 5, I discuss choices made around methodology and data collection.

In chapter 6, I systematically present the findings from the data collection. I start with findings from the focus groups and highlight the exploratory nature of the exercise and the themes and topics that were added in analyzing the semi-structured discussion of students. Then, I share the findings from the surveys. I am especially interested in presenting data of the extent of student migration aspiration in this group as such data is currently not available. I discuss how students prepare for academic mobility and migration and what actors are involved. Finally, I share the findings from in-depth interviews that will be carried out with “typical” or “atypical” students, for instance the student that wants to migrate as soon as possible and to stay away, the student who plans to go to graduate school abroad and the student that has decided to not migrate or utilize his or her mobility, but stay in Ghana. I am hoping their individual experiences will further enlighten the discourse.

In chapter 7, I review and analyze the results and try to understand what the results mean. I compare results to earlier research and highlight important findings.

In the final chapter, chapter 8, I summarize my research and its implications as well as offer recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

Theoretical Framework: Migration Aspiration And Decolonial Theory

2.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I examine existing theoretical viewpoints in the intersection that is my interdisciplinary study. To visualize my theoretical standpoints within these literatures, I have developed a schema (Fig.1). This schema has several layers, not unlike an onion, starting with epistemology, discipline, and landing in the specific migration theory to which I subscribe. These are most of the time disparate literatures that I have brought together for my study. Simultaneously departing from these literatures creates a specific theoretical startingpoint from which I attack my research questions.

First, decolonial thought forms the epistemological homestead for my study. The decolonial grounding to my work, suggests common truths are questioned, but is also a personal challenge as my first degrees were acquired in the Global North, with epistemologies of the Global North. In my visual model, this is the background or the protective shell within which the discourse happens. Further, my work is situated in an African Studies' interdisciplinary environment, physically on the African continent in Ghana. African studies add a preference to interdisciplinary studies that have informed my methodological choices, as well as lend the site to my work. Visually, the area studies spanning disciplines link the epistemological theoretical level to the aspect of migration theory that forms the innermost core of my work. Finally, migration aspiration is the specific frame I use from the large body of migration theory

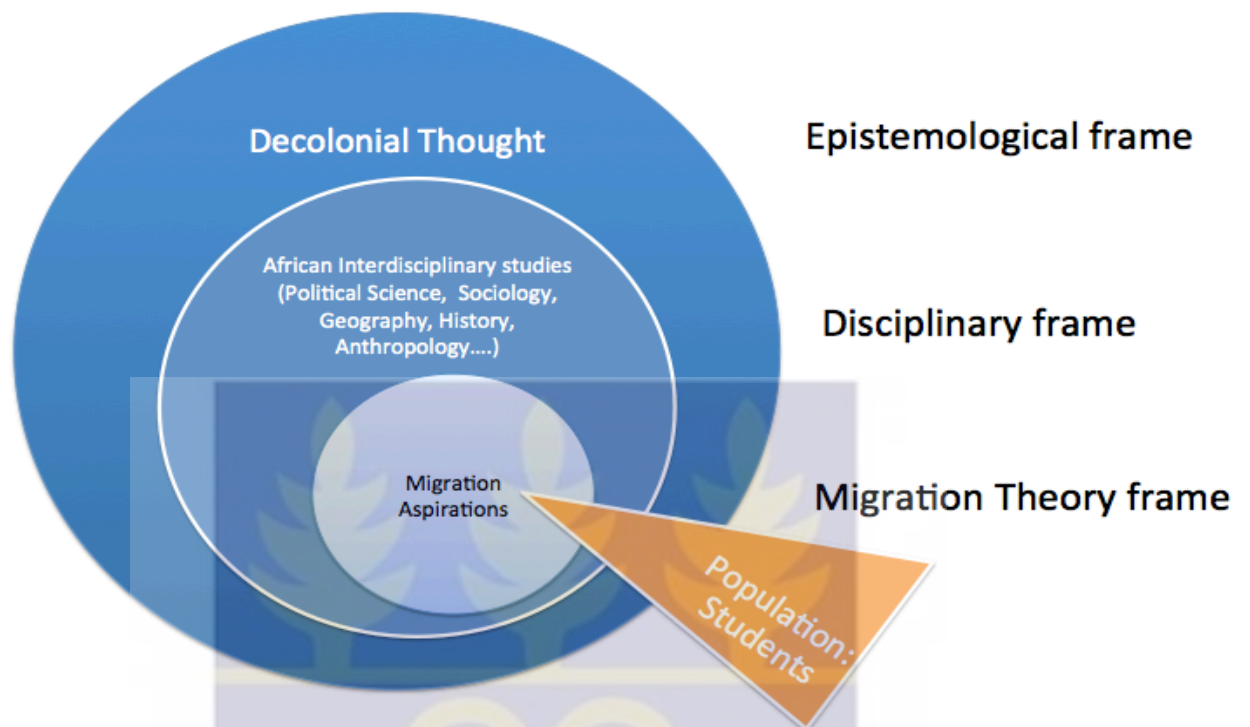


Figure 1: Overlapping Literatures and Their Relationship within Author's Theoretical Framework

The highly specific population of students is a splinter that cuts across epistemological framework, discipline and migration theory and makes me reconsider all theoretical stands from the students' perspective.

I will start this chapter from the center by introducing aspirations, decolonial thought, and finally an overview of migration theory, before using my epistemological framework, decolonial thought, to critique migration theory and bring forth something new: how decolonial thought might relate to migration aspiration.

2.1 Aspiration Theory

Aspiration to migrate is modeled on social psychology “intention theory” or “theory of reasoned action” derived from social psychology, which suggests intentions are the primary determinant of behavior. The translation into the realm of migration is “intention to move” as the primary determinant of migration behavior, along with direct behavioral constraint and facilitator factors, singling out previous migration behaviors to be of key importance, but also suggesting other expected factors play a role (De Jong, 1999, pp. 273–282). Hence, aspiration constitutes the first stage of migration. See Figure 2 for a visual representation of the sequencing.

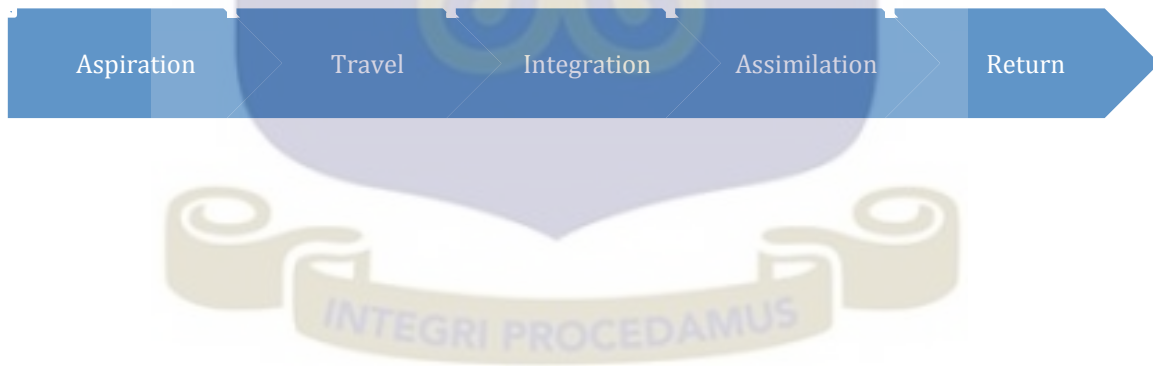


Figure 2: Sequencing of Migrations

However, it is also a fluid stage, characterized by narratives, ideas and dreams. Collier (2014) proposes:

Potentially, emigration of the talented from the countries of the bottom billion [the poorest one billion of people in the world] creates a sense that "life is elsewhere". Indeed such a sense is fundamental to the incentive and role model effects on talent (2014, p. 222).

It is this sense of that "life is elsewhere" that I am interested in capturing and contextualizing. Ideas about the future, or imagined futures, about ideals and narratives around the best life are therefore at the very core of my research undertaking.

In a study on educational aspirations among secondary school girls in Malawi, Frye (2012) posits aspirations "should be interpreted not as rational calculations, but instead as assertions of a virtuous identity, claims to be "one who aspires" (p. 1). She links the aspirations to "imagined futures" (p.1), a concept linked to culture, much similar to Appadurai's (2004) discussion on aspiration, in a general sense, not in specific relation to migration, as a valuable "cultural capacity".

Aspirations certainly have something to do with wants, preferences, choices and calculations. And because these factors have been assigned to the discipline of economics, to the domain of the market and to the level of the individual actor (all approximate characterizations), they have been largely invisible in the study of culture (Appadurai, 2004, p. 6).

Aspirations are here linked to agency and individuals' room for maneuver, but also contextualized into a specific culture. Hence, Appadurai (2004) suggests that aspirations are always collective, but "downloaded" (p. 6) to the individual. Interestingly he further argues that "the better off" have a "more fully developed capacity to aspire" as it is unevenly distributed. Both Frye (2012) and Appadurai (2004) contrast the cultural view of aspirations to the economic or rational choice school. Here the former asserts:

Unlike rational choice scholars who view future aspirations as indicative of an individual's ability to accurately predict future outcomes, pragmatists

view imagined futures as a core component of human agency, the first step in actively and creatively responding to a situation (Frye, 2012, p. 5)

That human agency or action needs ideas, dreams, and imagined futures is a revelation that makes the study of aspiration worthwhile when interested in human agency. Further, the choice to focus on aspirations brings two important distinctions: the first stage of the migration venture and the *mindscape* or set of ideas that precedes the geography of migrations. When Appadurai (2004) suggests aspirations are collective and “downloaded” to the individual, he makes these mindscapes possible to study as they are shared and will be expressed by not just single individuals, but entire cultures. Interestingly, the idea of the capacity to aspire means not everybody can “download” the aspiration, or at least not with the same speed. As students form a unique and privileged group in the Global South, there might be a specific *mindscape* or cultural capacity to aspire among university students.

2.2 Decolonial Thought

The specific student aspirations I aim to examine in this work, are physically located in the Global South. To theorize how it matters, I am drawing inspiration from the decolonialization or postcolonial debate. I am using both concepts side by side, although I am aware these labels are tied up in a conceptual Gordic knot, where certain schools of thought see differences in their use. The main critique of postcolonial theory, according to Marzagora (2016) is that it is “deeply embedded in the Western canon” (p.162) where “identity” and “difference” becomes central together with the other “posts” like postmodernism and poststructuralism. This in contrast to the more critical decolonial theory which takes a specific interest in knowledge production and power (Ndlovu

Gatsheni, 2013). This distinction is not very clear, however. For instance in Osha (1998)'s the concepts are used almost in the opposite way with decolonialism being overly dependent on "Western thought". However broadly, I see overlaps and merit in both schools of thought and will use them both, labelled in congruence with how the authors of texts cited use them. For my own theorization, I will use "decolonial theory" as my research is explicitly linked to knowledge production. In "Decolonization of the mind", Kenyan writer and activist Ngũgĩ Wa Thiong'o (1987) asks:

How did we; as African writers; come to be so feeble towards the claims of our languages on us and so aggressive in our claims on other languages, particularly the languages of our colonization? Berlin of 1884 was effected through the sword and the bullet. But the night of the sword and the bullet was followed by the morning of the chalk and the blackboard. The physical violence of the battlefield was followed by the psychological violence of the classroom (p. 6).

Wa Thiong'o (1987) is here discussing the use of the colonial English language in Africa and among African writers, but can the same argument be transferred to the "aggressive" aspirations of the Ghanaian students to migrate? Is migration aspiration a colonial state of mind? Grosfoguel (2011) suggests colonial mindsets are alive and well:

The heterogeneous and multiple global structures put in place over a period of 450 years did not evaporate with the juridical-political decolonization of the periphery over the past 50 years. We continue to live under the same "colonial power matrix." With juridical-political decolonization, we moved from a period of "global colonialism" to the current period of "global coloniality" (p. 11).

Coloniality, Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013b) argues should not be confused with colonialism. Coloniality lives on in "the minds, lives, languages, dreams, imaginations and epistemologies of modern subjects in Africa and the entire global South" (Ndlovu-

Gatsheni, 2013b, p. 11). If we accept that coloniality lives on, decolonial theory becomes the tool to deconstruct and make the global coloniality visible.

2.2.1 The Genesis of Decolonial Theory

Decolonial theory seeks to undo coloniality by promoting a non-biased study of cultures and communities in the Global South and by critiquing where knowledge is produced and by whom. There are conflicting views on how the postcolonial and decolonial debates were initiated. Was it by psychologist Fanon (1961) with his *The Wretched of the Earth* or a discussion on language use by African writers at the University of Nairobi with wa Thiong'o (well summarized in Thiong'o, (1987))? Notwithstanding, both debates pointed to the binary division of the world, humanity and culture along colonial lines with the colonies described as primitive and underdeveloped and the colonizer as modern and developed. Importantly, out of Africa more philosophical and historical literature, examining the origins of concepts and even civilization has been championed by thinkers such as Diop (1974), Gyekye (1995), and Wiredu (1998). Saïd (1978) advanced the discourse in "Orientalism" where he suggested that the academic pursuit of understanding the "Orient" or the East by the "Occident" or the West gave the occident intellectuals the power to define and therefore control the "Orient". The study of the lacking Orient, Saïd suggested, came with the added benefit of contrasting a superior Occident as the modernity of the Occident is only visible in comparison to an "other".

Clearly, postcolonial and decolonial theory have a rich foundation, however, the recent focus on knowledge production in decolonial theory (Connell, 2007; Grosfoguel, 2011;

hooks, 2010; Hountondji, 1995; Madge, Raghuram, & Noxolo, 2009; Mignolo, 2002; Mignolo, 2009; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013a; Raghuram, 2013) adds important epistemological elements to the discourse, that, I argue are important for my study. The universal ideas about the world are questioned and it is pointed out these ideas were never universal, but Northern or ideas were appropriated and given (often) European credit. Further, these “universal” ideas are repeated and reproduced. For instance Connell (2007) and hooks (2010) critique the curricula of university education, Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013a) points to the fact that African universities are modeled on European universities without concern for local sensibilities. Another discourse focus on the experience of higher education: Madge, Raghuram and Noxolo (2009) argue international students are not responsibly catered for in the Global North, suggesting a responsible pedagogy would involve deeper involvement in the internationalization process with “international teachers” and questioning all aspects of the Northern academy. Mignolo (2002) further critiques universality, and suggests the onus is rather to create “the conditions for diversity”, by moving beyond “modern epistemologies” and “locating thinking in the colonial difference” (p.27). By using decolonial reality as a starting point, the universality of Western education can be, not just critiqued, but reduced to one element of many in an education for the local student outside the metropole. In the case of my research, decolonial thought can both add new perspectives on the theories that explain student migration, but also create a framework for illuminating what perpetuates specifically students’ migration aspiration in the Global South.

In critiquing such a Global North standpoint, Comaroff and Comaroff (2012) call the binaries of the modern and non-modern “co-constitutive elements” and argue the postcolonial theoretical objective is to break the linkage: “to disrupt the Western *telos* of

modernity, to trouble the histories it presumes” (2012, pp. 115–6). Hence, decolonial thought protests against viewing the world through Western eyes. Not only does a Western gaze produce a lacking Orient, but it affects the psyche of the individual from the Orient. However, despite this being theorized since the early 20th century, particularly by Du Bois in what he called a *double-consciousness* or an internalized feeling of the colonized of being inferior or seeing the colonizer as superior, this concept has not explicitly been linked to migration.

It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one’s self through the eyes of others, of measuring one’s soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity (Du Bois, 2007, p. 7).

The quote above of course discusses the emancipated slave in the US, who while physically free, still experiences the world as both a free human being, and an enslaved object. Here the link between Saïd (1978) and Du Bois (2007) and their conceptualization of comparing worlds from an unequal starting point can be useful for my conceptual framework. The student who compares staying home or migrating to the Global North is not doing so in a historical or geopolitical vacuum, rather lingering colonial remnants, in terms of double-consciousness and possibly seeing the Global North as the “cradle of universal knowledge”, or something similar, might impact aspirations for students.

2.2.2 Scientific Dependence and “Imported Concepts”

The postcolonial presumption is that knowledge and power are critically interlinked, and that this link was the foundation of colonialism. While colonization is over knowledge and power continue to define the relationship between former colonizer and colonized.

Go (2013) posits:

From the perspective of post-colonial theory, the political decolonialization of Asia and Africa in the twentieth century or in other parts of the world was a monumental disappointment. It did not bring equality between metropolitan and ex-colonial countries; nor did it bring a decolonialization of consciousness and culture (p. 30).

But it was not just academics in Africa and Asia that felt a “monumental disappointment”; South American thinkers such as Grosfoguel, Mignolo and Noxolo have indeed been vocal in the decolonial debate. Although criticisms have consistently been presented, the “decolonization of consciousness” has made very little progress. Instead due to the recent rise of the so-called knowledge society, where knowledge production is at the heart of nation building and economic growth, the pressures are increasing in the Global South to “catch up” with the Global North (Hallberg Adu, 2014). This becomes a vicious circle where the Global South gets locked in continued economic and scientific dependency (Hountondji, 1995). To put this “lack” in a historical perspective, Grosfoguel (2011) suggests that the “othering” of peoples in the Global South is as old as colonialism itself, just with varying manifestations:

We went from the sixteenth century characterization of “people without writing” to the eighteenth and nineteenth-century characterization of “people without history,” to the twentieth-century characterization of “people without development” and more recently, to the early twenty-first-century of “people without democracy” (p. 7).

When put in a historical perspective, we can see that at the current juncture, the Global North consensus view the Global South as “people without democracy”. Furthermore, in an era of knowledge societies the lack might shift to “people without knowledge and innovation” (Hallberg Adu, 2014, p. 7). For example the Knowledge Assessment

Methodology (KAM) and the Index of Knowledge Societies (IKS) presented by the World Bank and United Nations respectively, put countries in the Global North high and Global South low on a list of “knowledge societies”, without for instance including aspects of the Knowledge Society such as the highly skilled migrants the Global South contribute to the Global North or the extent of participation in open data initiatives (Hallberg Adu, 2014, p. 9-12).

To systematize “scientific dependence”, Hountondji (1995) presents 13 “indices of extroversion” as an analytical framework: 1) Research equipment made in the North, 2) Dependency on an international scientific information system based in and controlled by the North, 3) Institutional nomadism, 4) Brain-drain is an effect of institutional nomadism, 5) Theoretical work by Southern scholars in the South separate from the reality of the South, 6) Bias against basic research in the South, 7) Southern scholars choose topics geared towards a Northern audience, 8) African scholars are often tempted to resort to empirical description, 9) Use of research further alienate the economy/agriculture, 10) In the context of domination, “traditional knowledge” is what is produced in Africa, 11) (Colonial) foreign language use in knowledge production, 12) Lack of South-South collaboration in favor for North-South exchanges, 13) Professors and heads of departments acquired their degrees in the North, a situation that might continue dependence. Similarly, Manuh (2005) presents a less exhaustive list discussed in the next chapter. Notably, all these indices relate only to faculty or researchers, however, I suggest that with a decolonial lens on the aspiration to migrate, student migration aspirations in the Global South could be

seen as “a 14th indicia” as it is another extrovert trend that is not necessarily favorable to the Global South.

At the center of this scientific dependency is the definition of modernity and the consequences of assuming that modernity is uniquely northern. Mignolo (2009) writes, “knowledge-making in the modern/colonial world is at once knowledge in which the very concept of 'modernity' rests and the judge and warrantor of legitimate and sustainable knowledge” (p. 18). Find my summary of these critiques of knowledge contribution made by the decolonial discourse in Table 1.

Table 1: Author’s Overview of Central Critiques by Decolonial Theory

	Characteristic	Knowledge Contribution
Global North	Modern/advanced/ Developed/Center	General theory (Objective)
Global South	Primitive/”Catching- up”/Underdeveloped/ Periphery	Specific inquiry (Subjective)

2.2.3 The Southern Academy in the Periphery of the Global Knowledge Society

By applying a decolonial perspective of knowledge production in a geo-political world, the aspirations and dreams of students can be contextualized both in history and politics. Including the Global South academe in my analysis of student aspirations becomes imperative in view of the decolonial critiques of the Global Knowledge Society discussed above. Ngozie Adichie (2009) has suggested that the best way of disempowering a people

is to tell their history, “and start with secondly”. That is to omit the context or historical backdrop that preceded the events. For the case of African higher education, this seems to hold true:

You can write a history of higher education in Africa that begins a millennium ago. It is now well known that there existed centers of learning in different parts of Africa—such as Al-Azhar in Egypt, Al-Zaytuna in Morocco, and Sankore in Mali— prior to Western domination of the continent. And yet, this historical fact is of marginal significance for contemporary African higher education. This is for one reason. The organization of knowledge production in the contemporary African university is everywhere based on a disciplinary mode developed in Western universities over the 19th and 20th centuries (Mamdani, 2011, p.1).

Indeed, many students in African universities might not even be aware of this rich education history. Hence, with regard to universities in the Global South, here the African case is discussed specifically, current universities are modeled on Northern Universities and few students are connected to their own epistemological history. The extreme case to illustrate this theoretical point of disconnect between education and local history, is the Nigerian parliament in 2014 deciding to discontinue teaching of the subject History in its national curriculum (“History Ends In Nigeria,” 2014). Also Ghana has discontinued History as a subject for the lower classes (A. Adomako Ampofo, personal comment, 19 June, 2015). Echoing the concerns of Mamdani (2011), Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013a) suggests that there are no African universities, only universities in Africa, as no university in Africa builds on African knowledges nor is organized around African understandings of the world, but rather copies the university from the Global North and its epistemology.

Although centers for African studies, the interdisciplinary study of the continent of Africa, were set up already in the 1960s on the continent, for instance in Ghana (Institute for

African Studies at University of Ghana) and Nigeria (Institute for African Studies at University of Ibadan), today African studies is often organized and often also funded from the Global North:

The expansion of African Studies centres in OECD-countries, the continued popularity of the African Studies Association of the UK's biennial conferences, the growing salience of the AEGIS networking Europe, and the popularity of the African Studies Association annual conferences in the United States all testify to African Studies' dynamism in UK, Europe and North America (Bryceson, 2012, pp. 283–4).

Ironically, the corresponding body in Africa, Association of African Studies in Africa (AASA) was founded in 2013 and organized its first conference in Ibadan, Nigeria in 2015.

In her paper on knowledge and acknowledgement, McConkey (2004) provides an overview of the concept of epistemic injustice and the role of acknowledgement in knowledge. Epistemology, or the theory of knowledge, is not constituted outside of our unequal world in terms of race, gender and language. She stresses the role of knowledge in quotidian life: “Knowledge is highly prized in our society, partly because of its instrumental use: it helps us achieve things we need or want” (McConkey, 2004, p. 199). Credibility, vital to anyone making knowledge claims, McConkey (2004) suggests is rooted in social *location* [my italics] (p. 199).

As my research centers around students, reproductions of academic culture and formation of (academic) aspiration, decolonial theory suggests a “geography of the mind” for understanding the aspirations to migrate out of the Global South to the Global North, or from the traditional periphery to the center of knowledge production.

2.3 Historical Development of the Interdisciplinary Discourse of Migration

In this section I will review the main strands of migration theory with the goal to identify their features and main critiques, especially around how these theories conceptualize and explain highly skilled migration. The specific strand of International Student Migration was not chosen as a central theoretical starting point as this body of work: 1) Largely focuses on international students from and in the Global North without accounting for historical, political or social contexts and 2) Cannot be understood outside the general migration theory context, in my view, hence ISM will be reviewed as relevant literature in Chapter 3.

2.3.1 Economic Theories

Since geographer Ravenstein (1885) formulated his seven “natural laws” of migration in the middle of the industrial revolution by studying early census data in Britain, migration has been a subject for theorization, predominately by the economic and geographic sciences. Castles and Miller (2003) point out that since Ravenstein (1885), the quest for “general theories” which could explain migration regardless of context has been the focus for the economic sciences. The assumption for these economic/rational schools of thought is that migration decisions are “rational comparison[s] of the relative costs and benefits” (Castles & Miller, 2003, p. 22) and that they reduce inequalities between locales as the migrations, over the long term, will create equilibrium (De Haas, 2014). Generally, the economic theories dismiss context such as migration policy as unwanted barriers for rational choice (Castles & Miller, 2003). With a view from decolonial theory, this seems

convenient for a Northern centric theoretical standpoint that does not take structural power imbalances into account.

2.3.1.1 Push-Pull Theory

Some factors “push” the migrant away, while others “pull” the migrant to new environs. Push factors often mirror the pull factor; political instability, for instance can be a push factor while political stability a pull factor. Other factors are (lack of) access to land, political opportunities etc. Lee (1966) has been credited with coming up with the term push-and-pull factors.

Many in the migration theory nexus have criticized the push-pull theories in strong terms. Skeldon (1990, pp. 125–6) commented on push-pull theories that they were “at best, a platitude” for their inability to state anything more than some factors increase migration – without being able to explain who in a population is most likely to migrate. Further, the push-pull theory cannot explain phenomena such as return migration and differences between countries of similar economic levels when it comes to migration. Furthermore, these theories are not very good at predicting future migrations. Other problems with the push-pull theories are they are overly individualistic, ahistorical, and not incorporating gender, race and class (Iredale, 2002). However, while work on doctors, nurses and teachers has been carried out, highly skilled migrants are not explicitly theorized by the push-pull theory or they are assumed to be affected by the same factors the same way as other groups.

2.3.1.2 Human Capital Theory

Human capital theory added socio-economic factors such as “skills, age, marital status, gender, occupation, and labor market status” to the determinants of migration and could thus divide a population in groups and predict who was more or less likely to migrate (Kurekova, 2011, p. 6). Rational economic thinking is still at the core of theorization and wage differentials over 30% have been proven to create migration from one place to another. However, it is with “expected earnings” that prospective migrants calculate, hence the so-called rationality is concerned with preferences and expectations, rather than facts.

According to human capital theory, people with higher education also show higher migration levels as they have more to gain, in economical rational terms, from migrating to areas with higher wages or better access to education. However, there is no room for discrimination, institutional factors and other imperfections in the labor market in this theory (Iredale, 2002).

2.3.1.3 New Economics of Labor Migration (NELM)

A more recent development of the economic explanations to migration well within the rational/economics framework is the New Economics of Labor Migration (NELM). This set of theories expands on and adds to the factors that cause migration. NELM suggests that migration decisions are not made by the individual, but by the household. The household might have other preferences than the individual and NELM theory suggests the household aims to diversify incomes, increase access to credit and reduce risk. It has been suggested that encouraging migration is a differentiating strategy of households (Castles & Miller,

2003; Massey et al., 1999). The hidden assumption here is that households are the agents, not individuals.

For highly educated migrants, the NELM theory postulates that the higher the education, the higher the migration levels as highly educated migrants have more to gain in terms of salary, access to credit and hence also will remit more to their households (Stark & Taylor, 1991). However, a household that is poorer might have more to gain from sending a member abroad (Kurekova, 2011). The idea of human capital is closely linked with this body of theory, suggesting that decisions concerning education and migration are linked and, in addition are not much different from other investment decisions. Households want the highest possible return on investment and will rationally plan for that.

The NELM strand of economic theory has been credited for adding an interesting new micro level of household as the base for migration decisions, and for adding that it is not just the labor market that is interesting as a context, but also the credit and insurance markets. An example is Mexican farmers migrating to the US not because of lack of access to land, but lack of access to credit to use the land productively (Massey et al. 1987 cited in Castles & Miller, 2003, p. 24). However, NELM has also been criticized for still oversimplifying the migration process and not including power differences, gender roles nor problematizing the rationality of the migration decision. The NELM school places the rational household at center stage, similar to the push-pull rational individual, and does not include state or structures in the theory other than as barriers to free movement. In addition, NELM operates in an ahistorical space (Castles & Miller, 2003, pp. 22–3).

2.3.2 Systems Approaches

The systems approaches to migration contextualize migration and look at the processes of migrations. Below, I discuss the historical-structural or Marxist approach, migration systems theory and network theory.

2.3.2.1 Historical-Structural Approach

From a Marxist political economy perspective, labor, capital and technology were the cornerstones of growth in a capitalist system (Williams, 2009). Within a Marxist context, migration was seen “mainly as a way of mobilizing cheap labor for capital” (Castles & Miller, 2003, p. 24). Migration is theorized as concerning mostly laborers and its effects were decidedly negative (Cohen, 1987). A legacy of colonialism, labor migration is seen to increase regional inequalities, fuel conflicts and benefit the “first world” at the expense of the so-called “third world”. The historical-structural approach comes with interesting insights by adding a historical and a geopolitical understanding of migration – but fails to explain why, if Western state interests were behind migration, their migration policies were so inadequate and the migration flows so hard to predict. The critique against the historical-structural approach points to the inadequate attention paid to individual preferences, agency and the role of networks. De Haas (2008) points out that this shift largely mirrors a general shift in social theory toward less general theories and more of hybrid, multilevel approaches.

2.3.2.2 Migration Systems Theory

The migration systems theory posits that migration changes the human condition both in sending and receiving communities⁸ and therefore will often study migrations in two sites. It often spans several analytical levels, but can also focus on one level: Macro/Institutional factors (Hollifield, 2000); Meso/Migration Industry (Harris, 1996 cited in Castles & Miller 2003, p. 114). Mabogunje (1970) linked systems theory to rural-urban migration calling it “a circular, interdependent, progressively complex, and self-modifying system” (p.16). Network theory is closely linked with migration systems theory, where the difference is its disciplinary origins, human geography for migration systems and anthropology/sociology for network theory, and that network theory more focused on the micro level where migration systems concentrate on the institutional level of analysis.

2.3.2.3 Network Theory

Network theory is not occupied with the determinants that initiate migration, instead it theorizes what sustains migration. This strand of theory also explains the uneven occurrence of migration among people who share socio-economic characteristics and that migrants’ social networks have a strong impact on the migration flows. More recently, the importance of the information that flows in these networks, rather than the connection itself is emphasized (Castles & Miller, 2003). By looking at networks, practices and information sharing, network theory suggests migration is self-sustaining and that membership in a

⁸ *Receiving* communities will hereafter be used to indicate sites that predominantly receive migrants, while *sending* communities refer to the migrants’ communities of origin.

network of migrants is a type of social capital that can be used to further migration (Mazzucato, 2008).

For highly skilled migrants (HSM), the information that is the crucial aspect to migration networks might be a factor that favors HSM and hence they have a higher mobility, although this has not been explicitly stated within the theory. Further, the fact that highly skilled migrants find it easier to acquire documents to travel is not factored in although, for students specifically, it is suggested that migration happens in steps, where by acquiring student status could be a step on the migration ladder (Herman, 2006).

A common critique of the migration systems theories is that they are too complex and hence their explanatory power is low, another criticism is that migration systems theories do not explain the decline of migration flows over time, but seem to suggest once initiated, migration will only increase.

2.3.3 Diaspora and Discourse Theories

The diaspora concept was originally used for persons displaced by force such as the Jews, the African slaves to the so-called New World, but also for traders and labor migrants. “Diaspora” signifies a group of migrants distinct from others and has an emotional charge, while “transnational community” is more neutral (Castles & Miller, 2003, p. 30). Both concepts, however, suggest a discourse around migration or a culture based on migration and memory.

2.3.3.1 *Culture of Migration*

A wide definition of *discourse* suggests that it consists of representations, practices and performances through which *meanings* are formed and reproduced (Gregory, 1995). In a *migration discourse* representations, practices and performances related to migration shape and legitimize *meanings of migration*.

The anthropological model of migration suggests that the migratory process is part of a social and cultural system. Bretell and Hollifield (2014) state:

Anthropologists who study migration are interested in more than the who, when and why; they want to capture through their ethnography the experience of being an immigrant and the meaning to the migrants themselves of the social and cultural changes that result from leaving one context and entering another (p. 5).

Hence the *experience* of being an immigrant is at the center of analysis and migrants are assumed to have agency and make sense of their migrations. Critiques of the loose group of theories under cultures of migration point to the fixation on the migration venture and suggest that this theory might have overemphasized the role of migration in peoples lives (De Haas, 2014; Kurekova, 2011). Why migration is initiated is left out of the theory.

2.3.3.2 *Transnationalism*

The influential theoretic strand of *transnationalism*, or “linkages between societies based on migration” (Castles & Miller, 2003, p. 29) highlights migrants' agency and the connections created in a globalized world. Transnationalism, defined by Basch, Schiller and Blanc (2013) as “the process by which immigrants forge and sustain simultaneous multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement” (p. 7) came out of critiquing the idea of the “uprooted” migrant (Schiller, Basch, & Blanc-

Szanton, 1992). Transnational migration theory centers on practices, and social fields shaped by transmigrants' meaning making or “sense of engagement with the world” (Carling, 2002, p. 8). For instance have the flows of money or “remittances” between localities received much attention and how transnational practices such as sending money alters both sending and receiving communities (De Haas, 2008, p.21). Transnational migration scholars agree on the dynamism and agency of migration, a focus on flows and counter flows of capital, goods and people, as well as questioning the idea of the “immigrant” in favor of agency in constantly changing “deterritorialized nationstates”⁹.

However, not every migrant is a transmigrant, Castles and Miller cautions: “inflationary use of the term should be avoided: the majority of migrants still do not fit the pattern” and pose that the labor migrant going abroad to work and sending money home does not have transnational practices as a “central part” of his her life (Castles & Miller, 2003, p. 30).

In the case of students, they have often been described as transmigrants, especially in relation to the transnational family. It has been pointed out that student mobility has both been theorized as a the beginning of transnational practices and lives characterized by continued connection between sending and receiving countries, as well as a transnational practice itself only made possible by existing transnational linkages (Raghuram, 2008, p. 146). Further, Robertson (2013) points to the “education-migration nexus” of the knowledge society and suggests students are caught in a complicated situation making the student both enabled and constrained by the current global situation. Although it is helpful

⁹ Also a title of a central transnational theory volume by Bosch (1994).

that this body of theory recognizes students, it also raises issues, as not every student migrant is a transmigrant. That is, not every international student has agency, network and resources to participate in the transnational project.

Likewise, the usefulness of the term “transnationalism” has been debated as it has come to stand for a wide range of societal occurrences, making it lose its explanatory power (Levitt, 2001). In my view, transnationalism runs the risk of theorizing only the well to do, assuming a new better-connected world order that is unreachable for most. The recent *Afropolitan* debate initiated by Ghanaian-American writer Taiye Selasi (2005) outlined a new African identity of transnational nature where the *Afropolitan* individual is leading her life spread over several continents, often metropolises, is a case in point. It was criticized for being bourgeois and describing the lives of only a few: the elite members of the African diaspora outside of Africa, thus excluding the masses (Fasselt, 2014; Wainaina, 2012). *Afropolitan* individuals could probably very well be students, and African students could very well be *Afropolitan*, however, most African students are not migrants, not mobile and thus are not *Afropolitan*. This study will look more at those who also stay behind, and it is worth noting that non-migration is also not explicitly theorized within the concept of transnationalism.

2.3.4 Conclusions and Critiques

Migration theory has since the 19th century tried to explain why individuals migrate. Distinct schools of migration theory form economic theory, systems theory, diasporan theories and holistic approaches, all discussed above. I have tried to expose their

assumptions, foci, and their specific shortcomings. In Table 2, I have summarized the migration literature and critiques of the various schools of thought.

Table 2: Author’s Overview of Migration Theory

Family of theory	Specific school	Assumptions	Stage	Highly Skilled Migration	Main contributions	Main critiques
Economic Theory	Push-Pull	Rationality	Migration	Not theorized	Factor analysis	Individualistic
	NELM	Human capital	Aspiration and migration	More likely to migrate	Family as new micro level	Ahistorical
Systems Theory	Historic-Structural		Migration	Not explicitly theorized (possibly less likely)	Historical perspective	Migrants' agency missing
	Network Theory		Migration and integration	Not explicitly theorized (possibly more likely)	Theorizing differences within socio-economic groups	Does not explain why migration decrease or stop
Diaspora and Discourse Theories	Cultures of migration	Practices and meaning	Migration and return	More likely to migrate	Bringing discourses, practices and beliefs in	
	Transnationalism		Migration and integration	- (not predictive theory)	Questioning the idea of “immigrant”	Too general, no predictive power
Holistic approaches	Aspiration /Ability		Aspirations	Not explicitly theorized (but possibly higher “capacity to aspire”)	Inclusion of non-migrants	Not theorizing HSM

The economic theories have generally been critiqued for being individualistic and ahistorical. Importantly much literature out of Ghana on migration aspiration is built on

these theoretical assumptions. Systems theory, while adding a welcome historical-political layer to explanations on migration, ignore the agency of the migrant and is not able to explain why migration flows change. Discourse theories are seen as useful for bringing beliefs and ideas into the realm of understanding migration, but lacking in terms of predictiveness. Finally, holistic approaches have added to the body of migration theory by also including the non-migrants, but my critique is that highly educated migrants have not yet been adequately theorized.

2.3.4.1 Carling's Critique: The Emigration Environment and the Non-Ability to migrate.

Carling (2002, 2008) has developed what he calls the “aspiration/ability”-model, which builds on the intention theory. However, additionally he makes a clear distinction between the aspirations to migrate from the ability to do so. Carling (2002) stresses that while migration are a growing occurrence, many people are still involuntarily immobile. In this view, migration theory should also explain why people do not migrate, since “frustration over immobility is an important backdrop to explaining actual migration flow” (Carling, 2002, p. 6). Hence, in examining factors for *not* migrating, the flows can be better understood.

This is in contrast to Castles and Miller's (2003) influential Migration Theory “The Age of Migration” which summarizes a globalization optimism where:

International migration is part of a transnational revolution that is reshaping societies and politics around the globe (Castles & Miller, 2003, p. 7).

The optimistic school along with other globalists argues that international migration exists in an increasingly international world and that we are all globally connected. This has

implications for the nation state, our identities and our interlinked economies. However, not all researchers agree with this theory. Some say migratory movements are not new occurrences, others like Carling (2002, 2008) and Bauman (2000) say there has been no inclusive revolution, rather the gap between the mobile and the involuntarily immobile has widened. Further, Carling (2002) suggests that the intent to migrate does not necessarily translate into actual migration, as the barriers for travel are insurmountable for most of the world's population.

The *aspiration to migrate* is defined by “a belief that migration is preferable to non-migration” (Carling, 2002, p. 12). The aspiration to migrate is divided into two levels of analysis. Firstly, aspiration to migrate is formed within social, economic and political contexts - a theoretical macro level - labeled the *emigration environment*. In Carling's (2002) study of emigration out of the Cape Verde islands, the same “local” emigration environment is assumed for the total population, but he states in a footnote “in more heterogeneous settings it might be incorrect to speak about *one* emigration environment” (2002, p. 39). Consequently, it is possible that the migration environment for Ghanaian university students is very different compared to other environments in Ghana. Possibly secondly, the formation of aspiration is further dependent on the individual. A micro level analysis sheds light on *individual level characteristics* of those aspiring to migrate in terms of gender, age, social status, family migration history, educational level, personality and relations to family members and others. For the case of students, class, ethnicity, major field of study might be useful concepts.

While the first step of the aspiration/ability model explains who aspires to migrate and why, it also places them in contrast to those who can be defined as “voluntary non-migrants,” the second step will single out “involuntary non-migrants” from “migrants” by concentrating on the *ability to migrate*, see Figure 3.

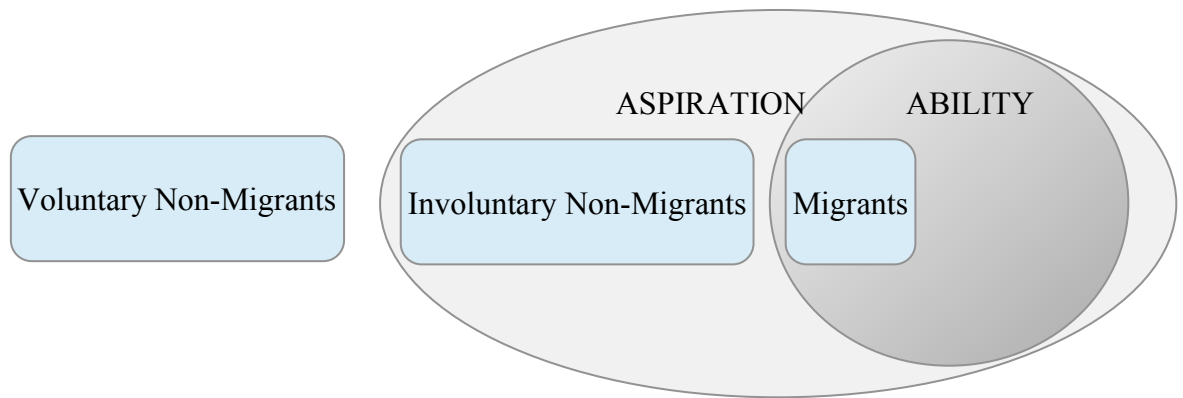


Figure 3: *Aspiration/Ability Model based on Carling (2002).*

Again, Carling (2002) suggests two levels of analysis for understanding the ability to migrate, broadly relating to the above-described micro and macro levels. The macro level concentrates on *immigration interface*, consisting of the different *modes of migration* as defined by immigration laws and regulations and their inherent costs, requirements and risks. He writes, “the available modes of migration could be legal labour migration, family reunification, political asylum, visa overstaying and illegal entry,” (Carling, 2002, p. 12). In this list, he provides an almost complete list of modes of migration, however, unfortunately leaving out legal student migration, which will be at the center of my analysis.

The costs, requirements and risks form *barriers and constraints to migration* can broadly be described under seven headings: 1) Categorical constraints (family relations, regularization programs etc.), 2) qualitative constraints (skill level, ability to obtain visa etc.), 3) social-network constraints (finding an employer abroad etc.), 4) practicality constraints (access to required paperwork, embassies etc.), 5) financial costs, 6) physical danger and 7) risk of expulsion or denial of re-entry. The modes of migration illuminate the different options for the potential migrant and are comparable “to a jungle with various paths” rather than “a uniform, insurmountable wall” according to Carling (2002, p. 26). The analytic micro level of the ability corresponds directly to the micro level for the aspiration, asking who, in terms of *individual level characteristics*, of the aspiring migrants can overcome the barriers and constraints to migration in terms of gender, age, social status, family migration history, educational level, personality and relations to family members and others.

What separates an aspiration from a mere wish is that with the former some action has been taken in the direction of the aspiration. Inspired by Carling (2002, 2008), I will look at qualifiers such as: 1) obtaining information about migration, 2) acquiring a passport and 3) applying for a visa. A student that has done all of that and in addition says s/he plans to go abroad for more than one year, in my definition aspires to migrate. To conclude, this conceptualization allows us to divide a population into three distinct groups: those who aspire to migrate and have the ability to do so; those who aspire to migrate, but do not have the ability to do so; and finally those who do not have migration aspirations at all.

While the aspiration/ability theory is not much tested outside the Cape Verde islands and does not claim any predicting power, as econometric models do; in my view, its advantages include a focus on the migration culture as a whole, inclusive of non-migrants or aspiring migrants, an approach that could very well work for another local migration culture such as Ghanaian students.

2.3.4.2 Applying Aspiration and Ability Approach to Students

In a study on young male aspiring migrants in Senegal, Bjarnesen (2007) suggests that the aspiration/ability approach is especially applicable in communities with a strong presence of migration. By focusing on aspiration and ability, including actions taken towards the realization of the described aspiration, rather than the common held *wish* to migrate, or indeed the accomplished migration, he makes another set of considerations visible, for instance stories of involuntary immobility, role of spiritualism and life-making or striving for adulthood. Another researcher employing the aspiration/ability model, Åkesson (2004), similarly comments on the complexities it allows for, mentioning that “most” of the Cape Verdean people she interviewed for her dissertation had at one or more periods in their lives grappled with aspirations to migrate. Åkesson (2004) stresses that this theoretic model includes also the non-migrants who for one reason or the other decide to remain in their country of origin as belonging to the transnational sphere created by generations of migrants and their families. The economic model, she suggests, as well as the upward social mobility explanation will both ignore this group and hence the opportunity for a fuller understanding of migration.

Most of the studies discussed above (Bjarnesen, 2007; Carling, 2002, 2008) have focused on youth, but not on university students. This specific youth group might very well have a different room for agency, as youth is not a homogenous group and agency is “exercised differently in different spheres” (Durham, 2000, p. 117). Additionally, university students often belong to middle or high-income groups in society and might therefore, as argued by Appadurai (2004), have a more developed capability to aspire.

Intentions and expectations as concepts for studying future migration represent the forefront of migration research. These are dynamic ideas that encompass dimensions such as individual/family/network, constraints and facilitators as well as gender, thus are highly suitable for discussing the complex nature of contemporary African migration processes.

2.4 Merging Two Fields: Decolonial Thought and Migration Aspiration

Developing the aspiration model into one that acknowledges the intrinsic inequality of the academic world and its possible impacts on students in the Global South means charging the “Emigration Environment”-concept with decolonial concepts to allow for that students in the Global South form aspirations in a geopolitical space. I will discuss useful perspectives on Knowledge and migration from both Northern and Southern perspectives, before suggesting a merged model of understanding student aspirations for migration in the Global South.

2.4.1 Northern Perspectives on Knowledge and Migration

Northern perspectives on knowledge and knowledge production are often not labeled “from the Global North”; instead they are presented as the norm or universal (Connell, 2007). This obscures the geopolitical context as well as (local) assumptions, as for instance “man is rational”. The decolonial perspective makes visible that both epistemology and migration theory is often crafted in the Global North with a distinct Northern perspective.

There are diverging descriptions of our world as “age of migration” or instead an “age of immobility” discussed above. Both these views of hyper-globalization and involuntary immobility, however, represent an emerging more interdisciplinary trajectory by rejecting deterministic theoretical views on migration, such as migration is bound to reach an equilibrium (neo-classical view) or that it continues along already historically drawn lines (structural historic view). By acknowledging that migration is inseparable from other socio-economic, political and cultural processes, including the self-reinforcing process of migration itself, its complexity is revealed. The two views are also examples that emphasize how macro and micro level analysis are difficult to summarize in one theoretical perspective (De Haas, 2008). Hence, more recent migration theory has moved away from the grand theory of migration of the previous decades, but there are still elements of universal assumptions underpinning also current strands of migration theory crafted in the Global North. There is the tendency towards rational-choice in decision-making, the unwillingness of dividing migrants into socio-economic groups with possibly differing aspirations and abilities and methodological determinism as well as short-term horizons.

However, among the more useful concepts out of the migration theory crafted in the Global North is Migration Industry, or on-campus agencies, companies and foreign government bureaus with the distinct aim of facilitating student migrations. In an overview of ISM, Findlay (2010) suggests that this aspect or the “the supply side” of student mobility should receive more attention exemplifying with recruiting agencies, universities, government institutions and policies impacting the flows of mobile students. It is not clear how the migration industry impacts university students in the Global South.

2.4.2 Southern Perspectives on Knowledge and Migration

Southern perspectives on knowledge are a growing body of academic work. Specifically knowledge production is at the heart of the debate as discussed earlier in this chapter. However, as the goal of decolonial thinking is to challenge the view of the Global North as more advanced, I suggest Comaroff and Comaroff's (2012) recent argument can serve as a summative comment on the importance of theorizing out of the Global South:

Regions in the South...tend to first feel the concrete effects of world-historical processes as they play themselves out, thus to prefigure the future of the former metropolis... while Euro-America and its antipodes are caught up in the same all-embracing world-historical processes, old margins are becoming new frontiers, places where mobile, globally competitive capital find minimally regulated zones in which to vest its operations; where industrial manufacture opens up ever more cost-efficient sites for itself; where highly flexible, informal economies – of the kind now expanding everywhere – have long thrived; where those performing outsourced services for the North develop cutting edge info-tech empires of their own, both legitimate and illicit; where new idioms of work, time, and value take root, thus to alter planetary practices. (p. 121)

The argument here is that the Global South as a field might offer insights for the world. Instead of the Global North theorizing the Global South as lacking behind and in need of

“catching up”, the latter can rather provide evidence from “new frontiers”, which experience the “world-historical processes” first hand.

While the Southern discourse on knowledge is rich and vast; I was expecting to find more work on Southern migration theory than I did. Unfortunately, studies I came across were either concerned with local migration flows or theoretical discussions uncritically building on “imported concepts”. Hence, there seems to be a gap in decolonial writings on international migration in particular which Adeyanju and Oriola (2011) point out:

There is no notable scholarship in the existing body of literature on African migration that deals with the influence of the colonial discourse and ideology on Africans’ desire to immigrate to the West, even though there is ample scholarship on the psychological effects of colonialism on Blacks (p. 952) .

It is a surprising lacuna, in my view, but can possibly be explained by that “imported concepts” have been largely employed to explain migration, instead of seriously thinking about what fuels migration.

Although decolonial writings largely have bypassed migration, I suggest that its *forte* of epistemology provides a useful framework for also understanding student migration aspirations. I suggest the following concepts can offer a decolonial way forward in understanding migration aspirations in the Global South: Wa Thiong'o's (1987) discovery of aggressive aspirations, Saïd's (1978) othering, Hountondji's (1995) indices of extroversion with the addition of my indices, McConkey's (2004) epistemic injustice, center/periphery and geography of the mind.

In addition, I suggest the important Southern critique of rationality is a useful tool for unpacking the economic migration theories and motivating moving away from theories focused on prediction of rational choices and turning toward theories more focused on micro-level sense-making.

2.5 Student Migration Aspiration in a Decolonial Knowledge Periphery

In crafting migration theory researchers have rarely distinguished adequately between highly skilled migrants and others, perhaps in their quest for finding general theorems. Similarly, Carling (2002, 2008) developed his aspiration/ability model without discussing and theorizing migration opportunities for students, although the secondary level students he surveyed were generally labeled as having “a wider range of options for their future” (Carling, 2002, p. 14). In my opinion, this is a serious flaw, since highly educated migrants, in this proposed study Ghanaian university students, are likely to have better access to information, thereby affecting the formation of their aspirations, and possibly also multiple goals with their migration aspirations.

I propose the following theoretical conclusions: students are a special group, distinct from other groups, there is a specific student migration environment, students are not homogenous, students might have several different goals with their migration aspirations, when including also those who stay, migration theory better reflects reality, and finally history and geopolitics matter.

First, the aspiration/ability model has not before been used explicitly for student migration, but for youth in communities with a high prevalence of migration. It is likely that student migration has a different aspiration/ability structure from youth in general, for instance students – as opposed to other groups - in the Global South easily can become legal migrants, an aspect I want to explore. Hence students are a special group, distinct from other groups.

Secondly, with the decolonial perspective of knowledge production in a geo-political world, the aspirations and dreams of students are contextualized both in history and politics. This suggests that the academic emigration environment might have different characteristics from the general population's emigration environment and adds to the special status of students. This viewpoint of localized emigration environments, in this case for students, I argue is similar to Gargano's (2009, p. 332) “student-inhabited transnational spaces”. Hence, my model involves discussing the higher educational system and the specific sites of knowledge production/campuses in my framework. Consequently, there is a specific student migration environment.

Migration aspiration and ability varies between, as well as within, socio economic groups. Students have different socio-economic backgrounds, experiences and therefore altogether different aspirations. However, also within socio-economic groups people migrate for various reasons, something that the developmental approach obscures: Students are not homogeneous. As students are not a homogenous group, their aspirations and sense-making of their aspirations may differ. As an example, student migration is often times

about further education, however, this aspect has in my view been downplayed in the ISM discourse. Therefore, I suggest it is theoretically important to examine migration theory from a Global South perspective which recognizes that student might have several different goals with their migration aspirations. In Ghana where migration is highly prevalent, I believe that it could be useful studying the phenomenon of migration, not just among migrants, but also among those who stay - the control group. It is possible that their voices can provide crucial insights to contextualizing student migration out of the Global South. The nascent returnee literature, suggests another important addition to the sequencing of migration (Fig. 4)

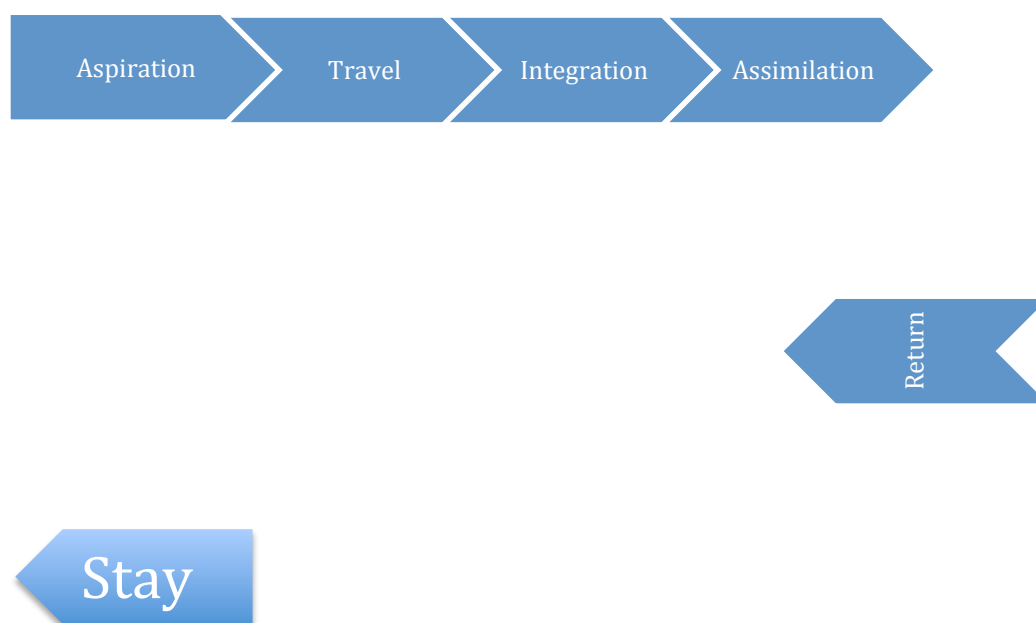


Figure 4: Revised Sequencing of Migrations

Finally, by acknowledging that migration is inseparable from other socio-economic, political and cultural processes, including the self-reinforcing process of migration itself, its complexity is revealed.

2.5.1 Operationalization: Where Do Students of the Global South Fit In?

From my theoretical discussion, I conclude that students are a specific group and possess both a unique capacity to aspire and a unique migration environment that both need to be included in a more holistic theorization on their migration aspirations. By borrowing the concept of “emigration environment” from Carling's (2002) Aspiration/Ability theory, I suggest an updated version catering to the student migration environment might look like in Figure 5.



Figure 5: Student Specific Migration Environment

This model suggests locating aspirations on a capability scale, inspired by Appadurai (2004) between four aspects: full individual agency to express individual identity; complete cultural hegemony to conform to societal ideals or pressures; full adherence to family pressures; or full influence by external migration industry.

In this suggested approach, contrary to earlier theoretical approaches, the Student Specific Migration Environment model instead allows the individual to explain his or her room to maneuver and what he or she believes has shaped those aspirations and abilities. This means the model is not deterministic in relation to the mechanisms propelling migration. In the past, rational economic reasoning, political and historical structures, or family and other networks were chosen *a priori* as determining migration. I argue, this might have created biased findings. Importantly, this is not necessarily an actor-centered approach, except that its inherent method is centered on the individual. In addition, decolonial theory posits that geopolitics and history must be accounted for as we craft theory relevant for the Global South. Further, newer strands of migration theory suggests the social pressures and the meanings given to migration is central to making strides in understanding migration. By combining the societal pressures with political and historical concerns, a more holistic understanding of student migration aspirations can be had.

In Chapter 3, I will outline the migration environment for the student in the Global South with the help of relevant literature. In Chapter 4, I will further outline the specific migration environment of the Ghanaian student inclusive of their migration environment.

CHAPTER THREE

Student Migration And Its Global Context

3.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I contextualize the student migration phenomenon by summarizing what we know about student migration. Hence, this chapter serves as a survey of the literature on student migration and its contexts, including the internationalization of higher education, the advent of the knowledge society and migration policy.

3.1 International Student Migration (ISM)

The ISM literature covers mostly European or American migrations where students either study abroad for a shorter period of time: “credit mobile students” or for the entirety of a degree program: “degree mobile students”. Focus of many of these studies is the personal reasons for studying abroad, and though the reasons for migrating vary they seem to diverge into improving language skills, extend career opportunities and personal gains such as broadening horizons and experiencing other countries and cultures (Alberts & Hazen, 2005; Cairns & Smyth, 2011; Carlson, 2011; Gargano, 2009; Jensen & Pedersen, 2007; Murphy-Lejeune, 2003).

3.1.1 Categorizations of the Discourse

In addition, ISM literature can be categorized into separate discourses, which emanate from various subject areas such as education, sociology and geography. The interdisciplinary background explains the shifting theoretical foci of work within the discourse. Brooks and Waters (2011) suggest a division of the ISM literature into studies of Employability, Social Advantage, Constructing “cosmopolitan” identities and Geographical perspectives of educational processes, see Fig. 6.

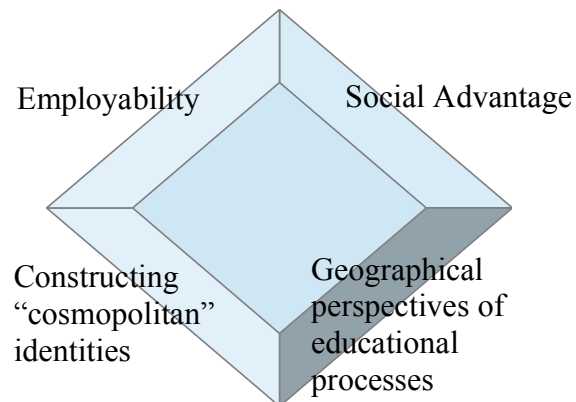


Figure 6: Four Discourses in ISM adapted from Brooks and Waters (2011)

These theoretical starting points largely overlap with the migration theories I discussed in the theory chapter, Chapter 2. Furthermore, in reading the literature, I found it interesting that the ISM describe drivers of student migration for students in Europe that are neither predominantly educational nor financial in nature. Instead, reasons for studies outside one’s own country rather include cultural influences, language learning and “adventure” (Alberts & Hazen, 2005; Carlson, 2011; Findlay et al., 2010; Murphy-Lejeune, 2003). Hence, perhaps surprisingly, academic reasons for student migration are not among the top reasons

given, not even for short term programs tailored for academic exposure. In Ahrens et al., (2010), British students were asked about their reasons for study abroad and academic reasons were not among the top explanations given.

3.1.2 Trends in Student Mobility

There is literature, which emphasizes “trends” in student mobility (King et al., 2010; Kishun, 2009; Verbik & Lasanowski, 2007; Vincent-Lancrin, 2009), other studies focus on the international demand of higher education (Cavanagh & Glennie, 2012; Findlay, 2010; Maringe & Carter, 2007; Mpinganjira, 2009; Naidoo, 2007) and mobility of academics (Ackers, 2005; Fellesson & Mahlck, 2014). The trend points to increased student mobility and challenges to meet the increasing demand. A telling example is Verbik and Lasanowski (2007) and their review of the main destinations and issues, see Table 3 below.

Table 3: Main Destinations and Issues in Student Mobility

- The Major Players: the United States, the United Kingdom and Australia;
- The Middle Powers: Germany and France;
- The Evolving Destinations: Japan, Canada and New Zealand; and
- The Emerging Contenders: Malaysia, Singapore and China
- Visa Schemes and Immigration Procedures
- The Student Experience: Expectations and Motivations
- Costs associated with an Overseas Education

Note: Verbik and Lasanowski (2007, pp. 2–3)

Table 3 shows a division of the world in major players or middle players on the one side and the emerging destinations on the other side. Where the students come from is not given the same importance. What Verbik and Lasanowski's summary hides is that students often come from the Global South: China and India are mentioned as the top source countries. The geopolitics and economics of these students going to the Global North is somehow relegated to the background: immigration policy, students' motivations for their mobility and the costs associated with it. However, this is exactly my point: it is not an overt discussion, rather despite destination countries being described as employing "impressive marketing strategies to recruit potential students" (Verbik & Lasanowski, 2007, p. 4), no geopolitical explanation is extended as a context. Even when pointing out that studying overseas has indeed new challenges, including political challenges of terrorism, such as:

the post 9/11 international climate, the higher costs associated with overseas study, increased competition in the market and enhanced opportunities in the home countries of many student (due to significant investments in the expansion of domestic capacity and increased import of transnational provision) (Verbik & Lasanowski, 2007, p. 6).

Again, no systematic or historic explanation is proffered, rather it all seems coincidental which is a hallmark of a distinctly Northern viewpoint.

3.1.3 Northern Bias

Similarly, in finding factors that drive ISM, King et al. (2010) identify macro, meso and individual scale factors. Macro factors are "the internationalization of higher education systems (Erasmus being the main example)", meso factors are type of home institutions where "research intensive, 'pre-92' universities" are more active, and individual factors where "young, female, white and middle-class... academic high-achievers" are over

represented (2010, pp. 3–4). This means that factors on different levels, such as the internationalization of higher education on a general level contribute to increased student migration, within that general movement certain types of universities accelerate that student migration and individual factors further adds to the phenomenon of student migration. In comparing levels of growth of degree international student migration over a 30-year period, they suggest it is: “low by international standards (US 40%, Canada 20.7%, Germany 42.4%, and France 49.2%)” (King et al., 2010, p. 2). Examples and comparisons reveal the study on so called *international* student migration literature, rather surveys UK literature and compares it to Northern data.

However, the truly international literature also displays a lack of historical connection. Anthias and Siddiqui's (2008) study on Bangladeshi students migrating to the UK, uses empirical data to critique the transnationalism discourse highlighting that social class and access to networks determine access to mobility and consequently transnational life. Similarly, Drioushi (2014) writes about the economics of Arab region students going to the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries, or predominantly Global North countries, and how their possible return correlates to expected incomes and living standard. With no historic irony, he finds, there is a strong correlation. Promising studies from the Global South are Latif Sandbaek (2007) who discusses “young, educated, and urban Moroccans” and frame their migration aspirations as a culture of migration but interestingly also suggests an understanding of stories of migration as a social critique. Similarly, Ngoie Tshibambe (2012) uses concepts from the Global North like “wandering scholar” but juxtaposes it to a generation of *wambayards* or unemployed. Finally Sell (1990) focusing on “elite students” in Egypt expressing various

aspects of national identity through their view of migration,. However these studies out of the Global South make little or no connection to history nor geopolitics although their studies could offer such a positioning.

For Ghana, Adjei (2006); Anarfi, Quartey, & Adjei, (2010); Anyidoho (2015) similarly adopt a contemporary perspective without criticizing Northern assumptions, concepts nor problematizing the historical context. In the innovative World Bank study by Gibson and McKenzie (2012) where top students from 13 top high schools in Ghana between 1976-2004 were tracked, it was found that migration rates among this group were “extremely high” with three-quarters of the group having migrated before the age of 35. However, many of the migrants also returned, and by age 45, almost half or 43% of the migrants had returned. There was no significant difference in either migration or return rates based on gender. Interestingly, while 92% of the population who did not leave Ghana had bachelors’ degrees, 85% of the migrants did. For postgraduate degrees, 32% of the non-migrants had them and 68% of the migrants, suggesting a mixed picture on what education means for migration. For people with a first degree, a larger share stayed than migrated, while among the group with postgraduate degrees, more than two thirds migrated. This might also be a reflection of migration policy and/or of perceived opportunities at home. Again, no such explicit link to a structural level was made.

3.1.4 Role of Education in Student Migration

Recent research confirms that further study is another important factor for highly skilled prospective migrants (Anarfi et al., 2010; Katseli et al., 2006; Organisation for Economic

Co-operation and Development, 2008). In an article on African students' decisions to study in the United States and what influences them, Keteku (2007) suggests that "money" is the most important influence on students' decisions, but later modifies to "financial aid" and "quality education". Furthermore, she quotes a student explaining, "I applied to study finance, but they gave me philosophy and archaeology instead" and notes the lack of choice of study program in many of the African higher education institutions or even "arbitrary assignment of majors" and the correlating opportunity of choice in US HEIs. (Keteku, 2007, pp. 2–5)

As most of the studies discussed above concentrated on students and their pursuit of mobility, fewer studies focused on recruitment of international students, but Ziguras and Law (2006) in a study on recruitment of international students from a perspective from Australia and Malaysia stressed the advantages of attracting international students in terms of "injection into the economy", "Creation of new knowledge" and "population growth of those developed countries that face significant declines in their domestic labor force" (2006, p. 60). The overt recruitment policies of these two countries are then compared.

3.1.5 Seminal Works in International Student Migration

While the ISM literature leaves much to be desired from a decolonial perspective, some of the research carried out on international students from/in the Global North has been exploratory in nature and methodologically quite interesting. I will discuss some of these studies below.

Murphy-Lejeune (2007) in her overview of student mobility in Europe suggests that migratory movements can be seen as linked to social capital in the way that “mobility capital” or the ability to partake in a globalized world gives students a comparative advantage to the non-mobile. This idea can be linked to the capabilities approach in the sense that it is an individual preference to be able to join the global workforce where migration experience is an asset.

Ahrens, King and Skeldon (2010) examined the attitudes and plans of final year secondary school leavers in the UK towards study abroad. They found that seven percent of the sample population said they were in the process of applying or had applied to a foreign university. Students who consider this option are high achievers (based on test scores) with parents in high socio-economic classes. They often have travel experience and females are slightly more inclined to consider study abroad than males. The idea of categorizing the most likely students to migrate, is useful in my view.

In her theoretical paper on ISM, Gargano (2009) suggests for future research that “a personal level of analysis be included in the literatures that address cross-border education policies and practices to ensure that student voices are at the core of discourses on international student mobility” (p. 342). Similarly, Carlson (2011) employed such an analysis when interviewing German degree mobile students and could thus move beyond “factors” of migration decision-making and focus on processes and events over the life course.

3.1.6 Conclusions

In my summary of the ISM discourse, I have shown that although discussing “international” student migration, researchers have predominately discussed European student migration and from an ahistorical, Northern perspective. Findings from the Global South have discussed further education as a key reason for student migration, while European studies have found reasons such as improving language skills, and extending career opportunities. Personal gains such as broadening horizons and experiencing other countries and cultures have also been identified. The ISM discourse is blind to geography, social contexts such as family and campus life are absent more often than not. Finally, historical and structural reasons for migration are often not discussed.

Therefore I argue, a larger contextualization of the issue, inspired by both decolonial thought and aspiration theory, can prove fruitful. By studying the supply side of migration, non-migrants, and the internationalization of higher education as well as migration policy can better contextualize student migration. In the next sections, I will discuss literature on internationalization of higher education and migration policy from a student perspective.

3.2 Globalization and Internationalization of Higher Education

3.2.1 Definitions

Internationalization is defined as “the process of integrating an international, intercultural and global dimension into the purpose, functions (teaching, research and service) and the

delivery of higher education” (Knight, 2004, p. 11). Internationalization is distinct from globalization, which is a process that increases interconnectedness in terms of people, goods, but also values and ideas. Globalization has led to a rapid internationalization of higher education worldwide; thus African universities compete with HEIs in the rest of the world. This development carries opportunities for individuals and organizations alike – but also comes with challenges. Globalization affects nation states, intergovernmental organizations such as the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), as well as multinational or global corporations, point to further liberalization of labor markets and a likely increasing migratory flows by individuals. Along with the globalization of labor markets, the higher education sector is also affected, with student mobility being one of its most important aspects (Effah & Senadza, 2008). So while globalization affects higher education, just like it affects other sectors and groups in society, internationalization is a chosen path by higher education, partly to remain relevant in a globalized world.

3.2.1.1 Internationalization of Higher Education

In this section I aim to define internationalization of higher education and discuss its parts: students, faculty, institutions as well as the regional, national, and institutional level. As discussed in the previous section, migration control policies favoring highly skilled migrants, might have also enhanced student mobility. What can be asserted is that the number of international students has been steadily increasing since statistics on student mobility was first collected. Today, there are a total of about 3 million international students worldwide, a relatively small component of the overall number of migrants

(Ahrens et al., 2010). An even more important aspect of student migration than its numbers and growth is that it is the most economically significant aspect of internationalization of higher education, making it an important service sector export to the tune of USD 30 billion annually or 3% of trade in services for the OECD countries¹⁰ (Gargano, 2009).

Internationalization of higher education can even be viewed as a migration policy in itself (Iredale, 2002). A striking observation is the discursive shift of international education as predominately driven by development assistance to an emerging view of education as *trade* (Kuroda, 2007; Naidoo, 2007; Teferra & Knight, 2008). Supporting the classification of education as a tradable service is the recent inclusion of education in the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS). International students, and their contributions in fees or later innovation and tax returns, are highly sought after by receiving countries. Education has become “a global business” (Naidoo, 2007, p. 287).

Interestingly, at the same time as education has been termed a service, also migration has been framed as “business”. Herman (2006) suggests that the language to discuss migration has enforced the business metaphor with sending countries “exporting” labor and people who help migrants sometimes referred to as “smugglers”. Herman (2006) discusses the role of networks and migration industry for African migrants migrating to Europe, and finds

¹⁰ France, Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States receive 49% of the international students. In Australia and New Zealand, though receiving a smaller share, international students represent more than 15% of the total student body (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development., 2008).

that the relatively advantageous student visas become options for individuals with low levels of transnational networks who want to migrate.

3.2.1.2 Migration Industry

In a globalized world, new intermediaries have emerged. Harris’ (1996) definition of “the migration industry” is “people who earn their livelihood by organizing migratory movements as travel agents, labor recruiters, brokers, interpreters and housing agents” (cited in Castles and Miller 2003, p. 114). Herman (2006) uses the term “intermediary agents” but in it also includes non-commercial migration assistance from family and friends. Although that help is shown to be very important, organizations with an agenda should be scrutinized and included in a concept employed in the study of student mobility. Hence *migration industry targeting students* includes university agencies, for-profit companies, but also NGOs and foreign government bureaus with the distinct aim of facilitating student migrations, see Table 4 below.

Table 4: Classification of Migration Industry Actors Targeting Students

	For-Profit	Non-Profit
Non-Gov.	Travel agencies, companies linking students to universities, organizations providing examinations	NGOs, University agencies
Gov.	Foreign private universities	Foreign government bureaus, State sponsored agencies

Note: “Gov.” stands for government or state sponsored actors, while “Non-Gov.” indicates private actors.

While Harris' (1996 cited in Castles and Miller 2003, p. 114) definition of migration industry was not specifically tailored to students, in my view categorizing this particular sector is a first step for analyzing it. The Table above seeks to offer a classification. Note that there are involved parties from both government and non-government sector as well as for-profit and non-profit actors. In the next chapter, I will provide examples for each category from Ghana.

Although generally unregulated in the sending countries, the migration industry provides services appreciated and sought after by its clients, the students.

3.3 The Knowledge Society and Competition for Talent

Disparities in knowledge levels between the Global North and Global South have become more pronounced. In the OECD countries about a third of the population is estimated to have attained tertiary education with levels ranging from 20 percent of the population (Mexico and Turkey) to above 50 percent (Iceland, Poland and the Slovak Republic) while in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) only 5 percent of the population has the same level of qualification (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2011). Many individuals with a tertiary education from the Global South also reside in the OECD-countries, predominately located in the Global North. See a map of the phenomena in Appendix 1. Hence, on an individual level higher education is becoming a ticket to join this globalized world, with higher salary levels and better employment opportunities, and consequently we see a growing demand for education worldwide. In SSA, enrollments

have tripled since 1990, and is growing at a faster rate (8, 7 percent) compared to the world as a whole (5, 1 percent) (World Bank, 2009).

There is an increased need for highly skilled labor or talent and it is deeply connected to the current organization of our societies as “knowledge based” (Hallberg Adu, 2014). Despite increased enrollments in HEIs worldwide, there is a limited output of talent and in this imbalance competition for highly skilled individuals world wide arises.

Recent evolution of talent programs specifically target highly skilled individuals from the developing countries. Some programs are the USA’s “Professional, Technical and Kindred programme; the UK’s “Highly Skilled Professional Recruitment”, and temporary work permit like France’s “Talent Work Permit” and Germany’s “Green Card” scheme (Manuh, 2005). Following this development, USA has recently extended their Optional Practical Training employment permit scheme from 12 to 29 months for professionals in the Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematical (STEM) fields. The EU blue card is one of the newer initiatives directed towards “third-country nationals for the purposes of highly qualified employment”. The EU Blue Card is essentially a temporary work visa (1-4 years) and at the same time a one-stop-shop for applying for residency and work permits. It is the implementation of the so-called Lisbon Strategy, which set the objective for the community of becoming “the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world” (European Council, 2009).

3.3.1 Return Migration and Relevance of Skills

Another relevant context for student migration is return migration. It is an issue with two sides, the possibility of that those who studied abroad will return, but also the possibility that students will not return. There is an increasing body of research on return migration among highly educated individuals (Alberts & Hazen, 2005; Sabates-Wheeler, Natali, & Black, 2007; Sackey, 2008; Smith, 2007; Tiemoko, 2004; Ungruhe, 2010). In addition to recent research interest in those who do return to their countries of origin, it has been discussed if knowledge acquired abroad is really useful upon an eventual return (Akesson, 2008, p. 273). Similarly, Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013a) suggests:

Most of the African academics and intellectuals are products of the Euro-American institutions where they were fully exposed to Euro-American epistemology as the only objective, universal, truthful, neutral and disembodied way of knowing. They themselves require decolonisation of the mind and introduction to decolonial epistemic perspectives, before they can produce decolonised and fully pan-African students capable of implementing the pan-African vision (2013a, p. 51)

Above Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013a) suggests that there is a miseducation of African academics that train in “Euro-American epistemology” or theories created in and for the Global North. He argues academics trained overseas are thus unable to understand, value, and work for a (pan-)African future. To support this claim he suggests it is unsustainable to send the best minds abroad, which perpetuates the lack of academics in Africa to cover even basic needs. However the radical argument here is that the training received in Euro-American institutions is not very useful upon return. The suggestion made by Mkandawire (1995) in his article on African intellectuals rather is that being trained under more

allowing material circumstances make many African intellectuals not cope once back in their home country; a much milder conclusion.

However, the situation is even more complex as HEIs in Africa and the rest of the world seek internationalization. In a joint statement of the European and African university associations in anticipation of the upcoming Africa - European Union Heads of State Summit in November 2010, suggestions were brought forward to increase internationalization. Two examples are “intra- and inter-regional student and staff mobility schemes” and “considering the resource requirements needed for structuring such mobility” (European University Association & Association of Africa Universities, 2010).

3.4 Migration Policy

In addition to the epistemological aspects of migration, politically, there is a double standard in that despite the increase, and indeed globalization, of migration, both in terms of numbers and impact, we do not have any international organization or body to regulate people's movement, instead this is “managed” on a country by country basis. Compounding this is the fact that current day migrations out of the Global South in much follow historical colonial routes (Castles & Miller, 2003, p. 139). When thinking about migration in a globally connected – and unequal – world, where living standards and job opportunities vary substantively between countries, a question that has been debated is why migration flows are not substantially larger. According to neo-classical economic theory, there should be a flow of migrants from low-wage areas to high-wage areas and with time we would

reach wage equilibrium. As this is not the case, even among the students I studied a majority seem to stay in Ghana, we need to unpack and expand on the issue of why migration flows are not much larger.

3.4.1 Age of Immobility?

The main reason why migration flows are not substantially larger is barriers for migration and this is what leads Carling (2002) to conclude that ours is an age of immobility. The opportunities for, and hence strategies of, prospective international migrants are closely linked to migration control policy of receiving countries. Increasingly restrictive immigration policies are being put in place at the same time, as free movement is the official message trumpeted. Generally, however, there is no coherent policy and no agreement on what policy produces the best results. Japan and Dubai are extreme cases where Japan accepts no immigrants and Dubai's population is 95% foreign (Collier, 2014, p. 14).

After the terror attacks of September 11th 2001, immigration laws in many traditional immigration countries were reinforced to supposedly protect them from terrorists (*Understanding Knowledge Societies*, 2005). Additionally, multilateral migration/development policies such as the statement agreed upon at the 2006 EU-AU Migration Summit in Tripoli, Libya, where aid was given in return for stricter migration controls, is also a way of controlling migration (Kohnert, 2006). Hence, our interconnected markets are regulated by contracts, like the General Agreement on Trade and Services (GATS), and Economic Partnership Agreements (EPA) carved out by the international

community. Migration flows are moreover regulated through national immigration laws and bilateral agreements.

Migration control policies of receiving countries thus pose a barrier for migration, with one exception; the strict visa regulations of the receiving countries are increasingly becoming more selective, favoring highly educated applicants or applicants with a student status (International Organization for Migration, 2006). Several countries in the Global North have initiated study visas that share similar features like the US F1 visa, like the Schengen study visa and UK Tier 4 visa. The new destinations in the Global South have followed suit and there is a South African Study Permit and a Chinese X-visa, also for student applicants.

Currently there are only a few bi- or multilateral agreements and no international regulations on north-to-south recruitment, or for talent targeting through working visas for the highly educated etc. leaving an “open field” for extractions of the highly skilled. Oyewole (2010) notes that globalization is a challenge to African universities and discusses in particular the inability for control:

The emergence of the ‘borderless’ higher education market, in which universities in developed countries promote their services in Africa. These new players include for-profit private universities, corporate ‘universities’, media companies delivering educational programmes and professional organizations, and *the capacity to regulate them is limited* (Oyewole, 2010, p. 25). [My emphasis].

Audebert and Doraï (2010) see an “ambivalent reaction to international migration” caused by the “free mobility” policy of the European Union (EU) coupled with the different groups of migrants, in their wording “the wanted vs. the unsolicited”. Furthermore,

European countries, unlike countries such as Australia, Canada, and the US, never framed themselves as “nations of immigrants” even though many of them accepted high levels of immigration – exemplified with Switzerland and Germany which both have higher immigration levels than the US (Audebert & Dorai, 2010, p. 24). As a consequence, temporary immigration schemes and ad hoc measures have signified the North-Western European migration policy debate:

Immigration was increasingly criminalised: tougher regulations by definition led to more illegality and irregularity, creating opportunities for new actors like smugglers and traffickers. International political terrorism has furthermore put migrants into focus from a security perspective. Migration thus became, first and foremost, associated with problems and threats and as such it rose to the top of the agenda in many countries in recent times. (Audebert & Dorai, 2010, p. 25)

Audebert and Dorai (2010) see a different route being taken by the Southern European countries that do not have the same migration history. For these countries, migration control policy is newer and is met with a much stronger growth of immigration than the North-Western European countries. Further, since the late 1990s, the EU has become an important avenue for the European countries for negotiating common migration policies.

3.4.2 Student Status

For the specific group of students, however, the situation is quite different. There is a movement away from the intrinsically random US Visa Lottery into targeted work permits, which reveals a tangible scramble for talent or “trafficking of intellectuals” (Manuh, 2005) or even a “war’ over skills” (Iredale, 2002, p. 16). The Center for Global Development predicts this competition for talent will henceforth intensify (Kapur & McHale, 2005). Similarly, the Observatory on Borderless Higher Education suggests:

Western economies are actively seeking to retain international students after graduation, with their industrial sector increasingly interested in recruiting overseas

talent to compensate for local skilled workforce shortages and to remain competitive in an era of globalization (Verbik & Lasanowski, 2007, p. 2).

The ethics of these practices, especially the poaching of health personnel from Africa, have been questioned. In 2003, Commonwealth health ministers signed a Code of Practice aspiring to “discourage targeted recruitment of health workers from countries which are experiencing shortages and to safeguard the rights of recruits” (Manuh, 2005). Despite these efforts, there are private recruitment agencies aiding migration that sometimes do not adhere to the ethical regulations. In Uganda, an External Employment Unit has been set up within the Department of Labor to regulate these agencies; however, other African countries are yet to follow (Economic Commission for Africa, 2006). Importantly, not only the health sector in Africa is suffering from “brain-drain”, but many other sectors are also losing skilled workers to the Global North. Strikingly, the higher education sector is one of them; yet, there is no ethical code for recruitment of university lecturers or students in developing countries. Collier (2014, pp. 226–7) explains that the Global North is receiving aid from Global South in terms of educated people, educated on the purse of the sending country. Official Development Assistance, (ODA) often amounts to less than the "implicit aid provided by countries of origin to host counties". However, the international community places the responsibility for the emigrations on the sending rather than the receiving countries and the countries in the Global South can add yet another challenge to its long to-do-list; how to regulate emigration flows of the highly skilled.

Despite a strong trend, not all countries move towards more favorable student migration policies. In an effort to curb immigration numbers across board UK in 2011 created stricter

rules for student visas, introducing English language requirements and increasing the levels of monetary sponsorship needed for college entrants (Cavanagh, 2012). In addition, Robertson (2013) discusses “student switchers” or individuals who use student status to enter a country, but switches to a permanent status later on after they have settled. This is often presented as a problem, when for most receiving countries, a student staying on is a net gain as the student first pays for education, then pays tax as a skilled worker, and of course contributes with his or her skills in line with Collier's (2014) argument.

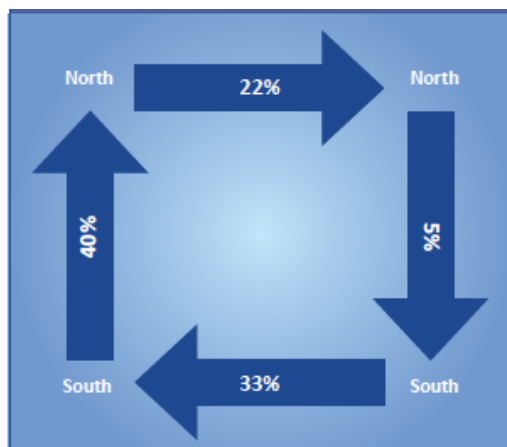


Figure 7: Four Migration Pathways, Estimate of First Generation Adult Migrant Stock.
Source: Gallup World Poll 2009-2011 (cited from International Organization for Migration, 2010)

However, there are also significant south-south flows, see Fig.7. Reports from China suggest it is becoming a popular destination for African students. According to Chinese official data, about 11,000 Africans were enrolled in courses in China in 2004-2006, many on full scholarships (Amoah, 2008). According to the World Bank, some 2000 African students were enrolled in science and engineering programs in China (World Bank, 2009, p. 21). China is taking an interest in African students and providing scholarships or affordable courses, but this South-South student migration is not captured in the ISM

literature. The economic context that makes North-South student migration different from the more common South-North student migration is also left out.

To conclude this section, there seems to be a dearth of studies regarding the impact of migration regulation policies on highly skilled and students in the Global South.

3.5 Conclusion: The Missing Migrant?

In this chapter, I have attempted to summarize the ISM literature and highlighted with the help of my theoretical perspective, how the field is skewed towards discussing European students. Generally, the field is averse to structural issues such as the commodification and internationalization of HE, and migration policy. In order to broaden the perspective on student migration now preoccupied with current trends, to also include a historical view might prove fruitful.

Although our economies are interconnected, politically we organize ourselves in separate nation states, with increasing difficulty, and try to keep track of citizens' movements or "manage" their migrations. Our interconnected markets are regulated by contracts, like the General Agreement on Trade and Services (GATS), and Economic Partnership Agreements (EPA) carved out by the international community. Migration flows are moreover regulated through national immigration laws and bilateral agreements. The Global North is seemingly trying to separate migration flows to welcome well-educated migrants and keep

less educated migrants at bay. This citizenship conflict is at the heart of the political reality in the Global North advanced by the knowledge economies' thirst for talent.

By reviewing literature on return migration among students and critical voices questioning if one can be 'miseducated' as a Global South scholar in the Global North, an important field is unearthed: decolonial voices on student migration. A critical decolonial perspective allows for questioning the historical, political and social context of migration of the highly skilled as it operates in a globalized, postcolonial world, devoid from superstructures that recognizes the gross imbalance on a macro level, but encourages internationalization even when the playing field is skewed. On a micro level, this perspective is focused on crafting the meaning of migration by the individual student in the Global South, and also listening for reservations and critiques against the migration option.

Hence the literature review reveals a lacuna: aspirations for migration in a geopolitical space from the point of view of “the missing migrant”, the student from the Global South. In the next chapter, I will discover this “missing migrant” and situate the Ghanaian student in his or her specific historical, political and social context.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Migration Environment Of The Ghanaian Student

4.0 Introduction

In this Chapter, I aim to situate the Ghanaian student in a historical, political, and social context so as to provide a rich background to my study. This is a literature review with focus on my field: Ghana.

4.1 Historical Context

Ghana has been internationally connected for thousands of years and directly to Europe since 1471 when the Portuguese arrived in what is now called Elmina, a town West of Cape Coast (Quayson, 2014, p. 41). In 1519, the free movement of artisans, laborers and travelers was overshadowed by the slavery movements, or what we now call forced migration, which lasted from 1519 until 1840. The effects of the extensive and cruel trade in humans will not be treated here, however, it is important to note that these forced migrations create a historical backdrop to modern, voluntary migrations (Williams, 2006; Zeleza, 2005).

Furthermore, Ghana has over centuries been a very rich country “both in material and human resources...from abundant mineral resources and the rich land which favoured the country with valuable forest resources, such as timber, plantation cash crops and a variety of food crops” (Buah, 1998, p. 5). Further, Buah (1998) notes that the colonial name “Gold

Coast” given to the territory by Portuguese colonialists was “most appropriate” (1998, p. 5). During the colonial era, Ghana like many other colonies became a specialized producer where raw materials were shipped out for refining and sale in the Global North (Iliffe, 2007, p. 187). I will discuss the colonial period more extensively below concentrating on two key areas: higher education and academic/student migrations.

Ghana was the first country in Africa south of the Sahara to gain independence, a process that was initiated after the First World War, escalated in the late 1940s and culminated on 6 March, 1957 (Quartey, 2012; Wrangham, 2013). With the hope of a new “Black Star” rising on the continent, Ghana experienced impressive growth inclusive of the creation of the world's biggest man made dam, generated worldwide interest and became a hub for study for future African leaders such as Zimbabwe’s president Robert Mugabe (Buah, 1998).

The positive developments were slowed down by successive coups d’état, the oil crisis that in 1975 saw Ghana's growth plummet to -14% and the successive liberal reform programs, Economic Recovery Program (ERP) and the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) in the 1980s (Aryeetey & Kanbur, 2008, p. 6). The political turmoil and the SAPs hit the educational sector especially hard, and an exodus of faculty consequently crippled the sector in the 1980s (Mkandawire, 1995, 2015). In 2004, Ghana entered the Heavily Indebted Poor Country relief program (HIPC) (Aryeetey & Kanbur, 2008, p. 6). Again, in 2015, Ghana entered into an agreement with the IMF to stabilize its economy, but now with an explicit exemption of education from budget cuts. Additionally, it was generally

highlighted that the monetary aspect of the contract was small and that advise from IMF was the main transaction (International Monetary Fund, 2015).

4.1.1 History of Higher Education in Ghana

Before returning to the issue of student migration, an overview of the Ghanaian higher education system is warranted. In this section I will briefly chronicle the history of higher education in Ghana¹¹.

The first university in Ghana was University of Ghana, initially Institute of West African Culture at Achimota. The colonial office set up education committees on the continent, after “the persistent African demand for Higher education” (Agbodeka, 1998, p. 5) from the colonies. Universities such as Gordon Memorial College in Sudan (now University of Khartoum), Makerere College in Uganda and the colleges in Yaba, Nigeria and Fourah Bay, Liberia were together with the Achimota Institute in the Gold Coast (now Ghana) chosen to join the path towards university status. These African institutions operated under the instructions of University College London (UCL). The education committees proposed “that African university colleges must proceed by stages till full university status was achieved” as was the case with English university colleges (Agbodeka, 1998, p. 5). These African (colonial) university colleges must depend on a British university for the granting of degrees. Also “British universities must assist the new university colleges in the colonies” (Agbodeka, 1998, p. 5). There was an outspoken policy that the universities in

¹¹ Part of this section was presented at the IAS conference in 2013 and made better by insightful comments which I am grateful for.

the colonies should be “modeled to run as much as possible like an English university” (Effah & Senadza, 2008, p. 209).

The African universities were made independent in the 1960s, but maintained structures and connections with UCL. In Ghana, two additional universities were added: Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST) in 1951 and University of Cape Coast (UCC) in 1962.

African universities and other tertiary institutions have recently experienced a rapid increase in demand. Ghana is no exception. Effah (2008) notes that student enrolment have more than doubled from 1999-2006. The growth in enrollments resulted in an enormous pressure on the existing HEIs, but has also opened for private actors. Interestingly, the private institutions are under instructions by the public universities in a similar format that they themselves were under UCL during the colonial period.

In 2004, the total student population for the public tertiary institutions was 88,599, and the population is steadily increasing with many more applying for admission annually. In 2001, only a third of applicants to the University of Ghana (UG), the biggest public university in Ghana, were offered admission (Manuh, Gariba, & Budu, 2007). In 2008, the picture was still the same; out of 22, 865 applicants, only 8,774 were enrolled (Hallberg Adu, 2009). The numbers above from the UG suggests that the access to tertiary education in Ghana is very limited: most applicants will never get admission, and several thousand

individuals try their luck outside the country. In 2001, there were reportedly 4,238 Ghanaian students in the OECD countries (Manuh, 2005).

Clearly, equity in admissions is still a major issue for the Ghanaian higher educational sector and the overall access to higher education in Ghana is low. In their book on change and transformation in Ghana's publicly funded universities, Manuh, Gariba and Budu (2007) devoted an entire chapter to the discussion of equitable access. They note that "equal access to tertiary education" is a promise put forward in the 1992 Constitution of Ghana and list the strategies employed to reach this objective (2007). Under the structural adjustment programs (SAP), higher education lost much of its funding and still today, universities in the Global South and in Ghana, struggle with inherited structure of colonial colleges with the following effects: high admission rates and low output of graduate students.

In 2008, Ghana had six public universities (excluding the polytechnics) and 13 private institutions¹² (Effah & Senadza, 2008). Today, Ghana has nine public universities and 63 private university colleges. Three of the private universities have the right to independently confer degrees, the remaining 60 are affiliated to public universities which ultimately confer the degrees. In addition, since 2012 developments in higher education in Ghana has

¹² University of Ghana, (UG) Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST), University College of Cape Coast (UCC), University for Development Studies (UDS), University College of Winneba (UCEW) and University of Mines (UMAT).

involved foreign private institutions¹³. Today they are ten in number according to the National Accreditation Board (NAB) (2015). These institutions market themselves as “foreign education in Ghana” and similar, see Appendix 7.

To conclude, the higher education sector in Ghana is itself in crisis due to a high and increasing demand for education, combined with a small and ageing group of lecturers – but also in motion with a quickly growing sector with a rapid deregulation of a former state monopoly. With the current rate of expansion, there are not enough academics to ensure quality in the African universities. The basic requirement for producing quality higher education is of course highly qualified staff. Additionally, continuous inadequate increase in university enrollment, especially on graduate levels, raises questions about who will train future generations of African academics. This brief historical overview suggests that Ghana's university system is closely tied in with the colonial project and that even data and new initiatives such as private higher education, rely on the Global North for important inputs.

4.1.2 Migration History

Ghana, just as many other African nations, is a country with a rich migration history. This history includes waves of forced migration starting from the slave routes through Ghana and the brutal Transatlantic slavetrade. The next major outflow was political during the 1970-80s when Ghana experienced a large outflow of political refugees (Quartey, 2009).

¹³ Goodwin College, USA; Open University of Malaysia; and Gatlin International LLC, UK are examples of such institutions.

Since the democratization process was started in 1992, Ghanaians have seen a steady improvement in living standards including broadening opportunities for higher education within the country. Still, many Ghanaians, including students leave Ghana.

A number of migration overviews or reports have been carried out on Ghana (Akabzaa, 2010; Anarfi, Kwankye, Ababio, & Tiemoko, 2003; Awumbila, 2011; Awumbila et al., 2011; Bump, 2006; Manuh, 2005; Quartey, 2006, 2009). The merits of these studies are many, but they also reveal a lack of knowledge about the *processes* of migration as well as lack of reliable empirical data on Ghanaian migrants, especially on young professionals, academics and students. However, in broad terms we are aware of historical movements of Ghana's academics, and how they seem to largely follow African trends. Below, I will discuss what is known of African and Ghanaian academic migrations and in brief, a history of higher education in Ghana.

4.1.3 Academic and Student Migration History: Five Waves

In mapping the academic migration out of Africa, Badru (2012) and Mkandawire (1995) have suggested grouping the migrations into waves or generations. Badru should be credited for the conceptualization of student migrations out of Africa as waves while Mkandawire identifies three “generations”. Building on their work, which ends around the year 2000, I will in this section argue that there have been roughly five waves of large scale academic migration out of Africa: Early student migration, 1940-50s pre-independence student migration, 1960-70 post independence student migrations, 1980s academic flight, and academic migrations after 2001. Before chronicling them, I believe it is important to

note that such waves have also been described for the Ghanaian case by Quartey (2009), but his description ends as Ghana becomes democratic in 1990s and does not specifically describe academic or student migrations. Similarly, in an effort to map migration to and from Ghana, Ghanaian researchers Anarfi et al. (2003) suggest that Ghana has gone through different stages of migration.

Ghanaian student migration has a long history. Anthony William Amo was the first black African to study at a German university, graduating with a doctorate degree in Philosophy from University of Wittenberg in 1734. Amo was also the first African from south of the Sahara to teach in Europe. During the colonial period, especially when Ghana was under the Danes, there were Ghanaians, often with Danish fathers, who studied abroad. After the dark period of forced migrations of humans sold into slavery, some of the first international voluntary migrants from Ghana were students. James Aggrey who became Director of Achimota institute, later Achimota School, studied abroad from 1898 (Buah, 1998).

The second wave took place during the pre-war era with the largest numbers of migrants, many of them soldiers, between the years 1933-45. Also a large group made up of students and future national leaders studied overseas, like Dr. Asikewe (Nigeria's president 1960), Dr. Nkrumah (Ghana's prime-minister 1957) and Kenyatta (Kenya's first president). In 1945, many of these early students joined the Pan African Conference, which came with demands of that Africa must be free and the pressures on Europe and US to decolonize began.

What influenced Nkrumah's decision to study abroad, can only be speculated in, and his biographer Rooney (2007) does that. He suggests that the experience of study at Achimota institute was key. In 1926, Nkrumah was handpicked by the first headmaster of Achimota institute, Rev. A. G Fraser, from a school in Half Assini where Nkrumah taught, and invited to join the teacher's college in Achimota. His friendships with Deputy Head, Dr. Kwegyir Aggrey and guest lecturer from Nigeria, Dr. Azikiwe, introduced him to the world of African nationalism and study abroad. When Nkrumah in 1935 failed the entrance examination to London University, Dr. Azikiwe's advised him to look West instead by applying to Azikiwe's alma mater in the U.S., Lincoln University. Nkrumah followed the advise and subsequently graduated from Lincoln with a BA in Economics and Sociology. He later studied for a doctorate at University of Pennsylvania, U.S. The story of Nkrumah playing the leading role in the Achimota Amateur Dramatic Society's play *Kofi Goes Abroad*, "a story of an African boy who trained as a doctor and went back to his village to challenge the witch doctor", might in some way have inspired his return (Rooney, 2007, pp. 23–29).

The next big wave of student migration followed these new political developments and can be included in the post-war migration of 1955-60. One example is U.S. president Barack Obama's father who came to the US in 1959 on a Tom Mbuyo Scholarship, a scholarship fund set up by a Kenyan freedom fighter and supported by prominent African-Americans like Harry Belafonte (Badru, 2012). The cold war also meant an upscaling of available scholarships (Goffe, 2014). For Ghana, both economy and political stability received

punches after 1965; students and professionals, but also other groups, left Ghana in search of economic opportunities and political safe havens.

The aim of these “early wave” student migrants was to acquire knowledge and then return; however, because of political instability in home countries, many students stayed on as professionals. The SAPs implemented in the late 1970s and early 1980s also meant a strain on higher education and made the available jobs for scientists scarce (Mkandawire, 1995). This was true for many African countries as well as for Ghana.

With the collapse of the Ghanaian economy in the early 1980s, migration grew in scale and Ghanaians migrated *en masse* to neighboring countries like La Cote d’Ivoire and Nigeria. When the instabilities spread regionally, many migrants were deported from their new countries of residence, however, overseas international migrants formed communities. Anarfi et al. (2003) label the period from mid 1980s “a period of intensification and diasporisation of Ghanaians” (p.5). A sizable number of Ghanaians, especially professionals, also migrated to southern Africa during this period (Tonah, 2007). Other destinations were: the UK, Germany, Italy and Nigeria (Anarfi et al., 2003).

Badru's (2012) last wave was 1970-present, but I see a divide around 2001 due to the democratization of Africa (Bratton & Van de Walle, 1997) as well as the intellectual shift that structural adjustment programs went through (Mkandawire, 2011) which created a better situation for African academics in particular. Ghana, as an example, was unstable during the 1970s and 1980s and according to Bump (2006), 20 000 Ghanaians applied for

asylum during this time. However, the first elections of 1992 created a whole new political situation and many academics returned. Although, this development was not for all of the countries on the continent, it was a definite trend and Zeleza (2009) calls this “the recovery era” (p.112) of African universities.

In addition, after 2001, the Global North also experienced shocks such as terrorism and economic crises, making visa regulations stricter, and costs higher for international students. At the same time, more investment and privatization of higher education in the Global South have increased the competition in the sector, making higher education more accessible and affordable at home (Hallberg Adu, 2009; Verbik & Lasanowski, 2007). However, since 10 years or so, there has possibly been a new wave of student migration, which could be described as education as business. This as increased competition for talent worldwide has led to well-informed and often self-sponsored student migrants with transnational aspirations, of which the growing ISM debate is testament. For the African student, the lure of international education is also driven by need, as education at all levels, especially tertiary and post-tertiary levels, does not meet demand nor expectations.

4.1.4 Data on Highly Skilled Ghanaian Migration

In Ghana as well as in many other African countries, there is a problem of inadequate migration data. For example, the Ghana Immigration Service only produces figures for departures from Ghana, and not the numbers of Ghanaians intending to live outside of Ghana. Moreso, this data is not published for public consumption (Ghana Immigration

Service, 2008).¹⁵ Hence for data, the Global South has to depend on the Global North. For the OECD countries, the documented Ghanaian migrants in the receiving countries can be supported with statistics, therefore we know that there were 189,461 Ghanaians in the OECD countries in 2006 (Quartey, 2006). It should be noted that this number excludes Ghanaians in other countries (i.e. most parts of Asia and all of Africa), as well as irregular migrants. Still the figure is debatable for another reason; different OECD countries have operationalized “Ghanaian” differently. For instance, a naturalized Ghanaian in the US or Canada does not count in this aggregate, as in these statistical compilations, they are now Americans or Canadians (Hagopian et al., 2005). An estimate of Ghanaians in the US alone is therefore more likely to be set around 300,000 according to Tonah (2007). Estimates that add historic outflows of migrants range between 1.5 - 4 million Ghanaian migrants around the world; however, this estimate is tentative, rather than reliable (Quartey, 2006).

Two sectors that have suffered severely from the emigration of the highly skilled in Africa and in Ghana in the short-term are the health services and higher education (Akabzaa, 2010; International Organization for Migration, 2006, p. 27; Quartey, 2006, p. 9). The “brain-drain” in the health sector has recently received ample attention (Abuosi & Abor, 2014; Anarfi et al., 2010; Dovlo & Nyonator, 1999; Hagopian et al., 2005; Nyonator, Dovlo, & Sagoe, 2005). However, a remarkably small amount of migration related research has been carried out in the Ghanaian higher education sector. Among the exceptions is a chapter in the volume on Ghanaian and West African migration, *At Home in the World* (Manuh, 2005), on the “brain-drain” in higher education. In the aforementioned chapter,

¹⁵ The GIS website, contains only three reports on their website 20150507, yearly reports for 2006-2008 where this data is not shared.

the factors leading to emigration are discussed in relation to higher education staff. These factors include “the educational system” or a system focused more on global than local knowledge; “institutional factors” or highly bureaucratic and hierarchical educational institutions, “human resources management,” with incentive schemes not managed well, “political factors,” including for example, lack of academic freedom and finally, what Manuh (2005, p. 253) calls “trafficking of African intellectuals”, or the fact that Africa’s universities and their brightest brains are targeted by the so-called donors and foundations for scholarships, often leading to permanent migration. All the factors highlighted by Manuh notably apply to university staff, but are not discussed in relation to students.

When it comes to migration of the highly skilled, students’ migration aspirations are important since students and recent graduates are likely to migrate, and as discussed earlier, these groups constitute the engine of any knowledge economy. OECD’s Migration Database shows that there are 52,370 highly skilled Ghanaians in the OECD countries, most of them living in the UK and the US (Quartey, 2009). Relative to the total number of graduates, Docquier and Marfouk (2004) estimate that 42.9% of Ghana’s degree holders migrate and call the figure a “tremendous rate of emigration” (2004, p. 29). According to Black (2004), the figure is rather 27%; notwithstanding the discrepancy between the two estimates, these are both significant proportions. It has also been noted that Ghanaian migrants tend to be more educated than migrants from other African nationalities (Docquier & Marfouk, 2004; International Organization for Migration, 2006; Schoorl, Heering, Esveldt, Groenewold, & van der Erf, 2000). However, few studies focus on students and their migrations, two recent exceptions are Adusei (forthcoming) on what students at University of Ghana know about the American Green Card, Adjei (2014) on

internationalization at Ashesi University College with a focus on students, and the exit survey carried out by Anyidoho (2015).

Another exception is Effah and Senadza (2008) who in their chapter on Internationalization of Higher Education, categorize the brain-drain in the Ghanaian context to be of two types:

- a). Students trained abroad fail to return home, and b). people trained within the country, especially professionals like doctors and nurses, emigrate abroad (2008, pp. 230–1).

Symptomatically, due to lack of data the first group of migrants along with “other professionals such as academics” who migrate abroad cannot be quantified. However, Effah and Senadza (2008, p. 231) present a table on health workers’ migration levels as percent of the number trained between the years 1995-2002: medical doctors 69%, dentists 27%, and nurses/midwives 20%. Some courses like nursing, have high levels of out-migration amongst its graduates, and it has been suggested that enrollment has risen “dramatically”, because some young Ghanaians choose such university programs in the hope of migrating (Adjei, 2006).

Another method of measuring emigration of the highly skilled is to assess the results of their absence, for instance by aggregating data on vacancies. The Ghana Living Standard Survey (GLSS) round five surveyed 2,015 Ghanaian public and private companies, and found 21,413 reported vacancies for the category “professionals” (Ghana Statistical Service, 2008). For specific professions, for example in the health sector reported vacancies are higher. Vacancy levels presented as a percent of total number of jobs were 47% for medical doctors and 57% for nurses in 2002 (Nyonator et al., 2005, p. 6).

Evidently, a large proportion of Ghanaian students and degree holders do not live and work in Ghana; many more are aspiring to migrate. Manuh (2005) summarizes the implications of this trend:

many of such students are not likely to return to take up positions in their countries on their graduation. In addition, notwithstanding some financial support received in the destination countries, substantial remittances are sent from developing countries by parents and guardians to support their studies, given the higher foreign students' fees (2005, p. 262).

For a country striving for middle-income status, producing and retaining a highly educated workforce is central to the desired development or even to maintain the *status quo*. In this, students are central and there is a need for more research into their *sense-making* of their opportunities.

4.2 Political Context

After reviewing the historical context of student migration, I will describe the current political situation for students in Ghana. I argue the following three aspects of politics are most crucial to students in Ghana when shaping their aspirations for the future with a focus on migration: the political situation for the youth in Ghana, the migration industry that allegedly fuels migration and the legal situation that supposedly hinders migration, see a visualization of these political aspects in Figure 8.

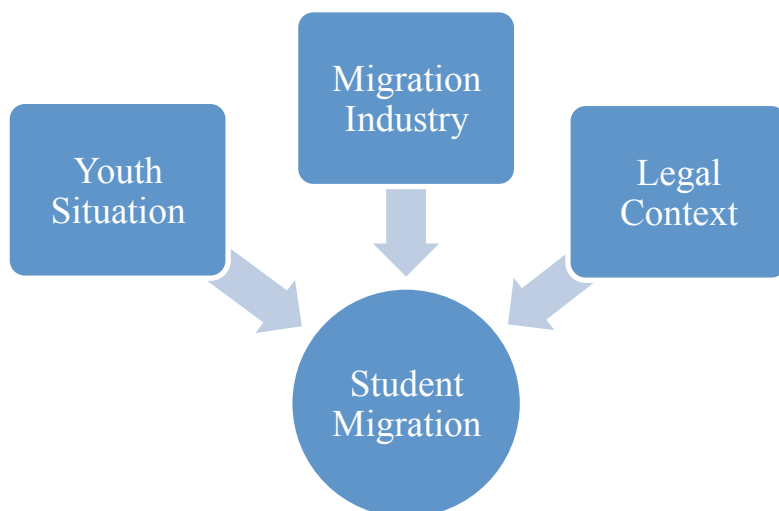


Figure 8: Political Context

4.2.1 Political Situation for Youth in Ghana

Ghana is a country with a high population growth and with a young population. As discussed above, there is a high demand for higher education and the supply has not been enough to meet the demand. More recently, the debate about youth unemployment, also affecting the highly educated youth, has informed the creation of youth employment policies such as the National Youth Employment Program (NYEP) and Ghana Youth Employment and Entrepreneurial Development Agency (GYEEDA) (Baah-Boateng & Ewusi, 2013).

For some individuals, the Ghanaian society and market is alluring, while for others opportunities await elsewhere. Most of the in-migration comes from surrounding West African countries, but Asian immigration is also increasing. Most out-migration consists of

flows to other African countries, Europe and US, but increasingly also to Asia and the Middle East (Anarfi et al., 2003; Quartey, 2006; World Bank, 2009).

Furthermore, Ghana is a country that experiences significant in-migration and about the double in out-migration and that makes Ghana both a sending and receiving country. In 2012, Ghana had an international migrant population of 359,000 and 717,000 migrants originating from Ghana¹⁶, which makes Ghana rate as the 78th biggest sender of migrants and as well as the 78th biggest receiver (“Maps of Immigrants and Emigrants Around the World,” 2012).

4.2.2 Migration Industry in Ghana

There is no comprehensive research or report covering the number of travel agencies, scholarship facilitators or organizations of migrants in Ghana. However, newspapers are replete with adverts of educational fairs for overseas schools, foreign bureaus of information often associated with embassies or cultural institutes such as the British Council, German DAAD, French Alliance Française and American Education USA to mention a few as well as private companies facilitating travel for students. See Appendix 7.

Migration industry targeting students have an obvious physical presence in student *milieus*. A visit to any tertiary campus in Ghana offers abundant visual proof. The many offices providing services to Ghanaian students in their migration efforts suggest that the migration

¹⁶ Data on migrants is indicative rather than reliable, as discussed earlier in Chapter 4.

industry is also profitable. The university agencies with a mandate to aid students in career development and migration could be career centers, mentoring programs, career fairs etc.

The receiving countries' targeted programs for the highly skilled are relatively new, and rapid recruitment to these programs is mediated by agencies, often situated on the university campus. For example, EducationUSA has four full-time employees in Ghana distributing information about study opportunities in the US, some of them housed in campus offices. Every month, EducationUSA gives six introductory information sessions in their library on the American Embassy premises in Accra, and has 1500 contacts (session participants, visitors, phone calls and emails) with aspiring student migrants out of Ghana. EducationUSA has 400 offices in 176 countries in the entire world (N. Keteku, personal comment, September, 15, 2010).

There are also for-profit organizations: traveling agencies, organizations providing short courses for entrance examinations needed. However, there is no register or organization that lists all of these organizations. Conspicuously, there are also outright criminal elements, in Ghana called *connection men* or *visa contractors* (Adomako Ampofo, 1997). They currently operate in unregulated spaces, often with information materials such as flyers, banners or even signposts on Ghanaian campuses. See Appendix 7 for examples. Keteku (personal comment, September, 15, 2010) from EducationUSA comments on visa contractors, "our competitors are the people who put up signposts on trees".

In Fig. 9, I present exploratory data I have collected in the form of research notes on the migration industry in Ghana at a visit to an education fair. These comments should be seen as complementary to the data presented in the figure below.

It is a cloudy day at the end of June. About 40 students have gathered in the posh conference room of an Accra hotel, according to the event flyer, to “explore worldwide educational opportunities”. Two of them are cousins Ama and Kofi. They sit in a waiting area flipping through colorful brochures from universities in the UK, US, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Dubai. An “international education consultancy” company called “Preparation for Life” organizes the event. Next to their table is a whiteboard with the message “all types of visa information” and the company slogan “get it right, first time!”

Ama has just graduated from senior secondary school and is looking for an undergraduate program in a country that will allow her to stay and work when she is done with her degree. Her first choice is Canada and then New Zealand. Her cousin Kofi is a second year student of Cape Coast university, a public university in Ghana, and says he is traveling to be able to learn more about actuarial science, a course that she says is not offered in Ghana¹⁷. He is looking for a university that will allow him to transfer from

¹⁷ Actuarial Sciences is offered at the Department of Statistics at University of Ghana, the statement above reflects the understanding of the student I interviewed.

Ghana and give him a scholarship for a graduate degree. He says he is now looking through the information he has gathered to find the right place.

“It is not so much about leaving , it’s about the opportunities you will get over there” he says and smiles hopefully. He aims to come back after completing his studies. “There is no point of staying out there”, he says.

Ama is equally determined of her program of choice: she will study food science. Clutching a university catalogue she says dreamily, “I really want to go there...” When quizzed on why, after all food science is a course in several Ghanaian universities, she finds it hard to answer what the longing is about. Finally she says: “They are a developed country, here we are still developing...if I go there, I will get skills. You’ll get a new idea and bring it back here...also I want change, see something different”. She says she hopes to spend 4-5 years getting an education and about the same time working abroad before returning to Ghana.

At the registration desk, a company representative takes participants’ contact information and hands out a leaflet outlining the services PFL offers. Under the headline “Your passport to study in the UK, Our Success Stories”, four stories are shared. Catherine Mensah’s story reads:

“In 2010, I was confused as to what kind of university to attend and the course to pursue. On the internet I found PFL and the services they offered, I went there and they were able to secure the right college for me, they also helped me through the visa processing and by His grace I am in West College London studying Business Administration...I personally

recommended PFL to all my friends and family and they all made it here to the UK...So I would recommend PFL for every student that wants to travel out of Ghana". (Field Notes 20130628)¹⁸

Figure 9: A Visit To An Education Fair In Accra

This visit to an education fair shows that there is indeed a successful migration industry, however, its audience is not always restricted to university students, but often also include secondary school pupils and individuals wanting to travel abroad for a first degree.

Another context is the imbalanced access to information on opportunities. Ghanaian Higher Educational Institutions (HEI) are less visible compared to foreign HEIs. A professor at the University of Ghana suggested that:

Why students know more about what is happening in US compared to Ghana? We don't have the websites for instance! We are not plugged in to what is happening globally: social media, branding and so on, right, so I have heard of students who want to come to University of Ghana and they go to the website but might not find what they are looking for, I mean they want to come here, there is very little you can find! But you are in Ghana and want to find out about LSE [London School of Economics], everything is there! You can just get on the website, you know who to call, when to call and all of those things
(A. de Graft, personal communication, July, 18, 2013).

Further, I spoke to former students, one who graduated in the late 1990s and one who migrated abroad for a self-financed degree program in Eastern Europe. Both currently live in Ghana. However, these informants do not put migration industry central to their experience:

¹⁸ A abridged version of these notes has earlier been published in Hallberg Adu (2014)

There was just a place or two places in Accra that organized admissions programs (e.g. SATs, GRE and GMAT). We knew that all of our lecturers had had their Masters outside the country, but they never said anything. We would also not go seek their advice, that time it wasn't like that (Former student at a Ghanaian university who wishes to remain anonymous, personal comment, February, 28, 2012).

How did I get information? Online. I had friends there and also talked to them. Yes, Ghanaian friends. I know middlemen, yes, Ghanaians who have been there, help recruit Ghanaian students. But I don't know any of them (M.J. Djegadjor, personal comment, March, 20, 2014).

The sector itself consists of both businesses and government or university sponsored bureaus. Keteku (2007) from the US student information bureau Education USA reports that students who use their services “enjoy 95% visa issuance, a clear sign that well-prepared students can get visas”. The student visas called “F-1 visas” issued to sub-Saharan African countries by the US administration, increased by 1%, to 11,655 in 2006. In 2014 23,094 students from SSA were given visas, showing a doubling of visas issued over the period. For Ghana, 1,015 student visas were issued in 2014. US student visas have also increased in total from 411,317 in 2010 to 627,704 in 2014 (US Department of State, 2015).

4.2.3 Institutional Migration Assistance

The institutional migration assistance at the two institutions where I carried out my study at a first glance seems similar: they both have a type of career center and an office for internationalization. However, when studying the Counseling and Placement Centre (UG) and Career Services (Ashesi) as well as the International Programs Office (UG) and Office of Diversity and International Programs (ODIP) there are some differences discussed below.

4.2.3.1 University of Ghana

The assistance from the former Career Advisory Centre, now Counseling and Placement Centre is limited to handing out attachment letters, and hopes that the National Service Secretariat takes care of further career placements within Ghana (A. K. Wiafe, personal communication, September, 24, 2010). At the University of Ghana, the Counseling and Placement Centre offers such services. It has three full-time staff in their Counseling and Placement Centre, working with connecting almost 40,000 students to the Ghanaian job market and providing advice on graduate studies, although predominantly counseling students on “emotional, psychological and educational problems” (A. K. Wiafe, personal communication, September, 24, 2010).

Since 2011, University of Ghana has had an International Programmes Office (IPO), which aims to facilitate Ghanaian students going abroad as well as international students coming to Ghana. The Dean of the IPO suggests, however, that the emphasis has been on incoming students for financial reasons:

K – Is there a university focus on sending or receiving students?

PA – It is supposed to be sending and receiving, but sending is a bit more problematic, so we tend to do more of the receiving.

K – Why is sending more problematic?

PA – Because of money issues. Generally, if you are going to send students, either you have tuition waiver agreements, so students can come...bilateral partnerships, students are exchanged. But differences in cost of living, the economies of different countries, become an issue, because if a Ghanaian student is going to go to the US, where we have most of our partners, you’ll find that even with tuition waived, accommodation is an issue. The US student from the partner institution can easily come to Ghana, but the Ghanaian student cannot easily go to the US. And the idea is not to send rich students, the idea is to send students on merit. So it becomes difficult.

(N. Adamafio, Personal communication, December, 10, 2013).

Still, there is work for IPO to do to help Ghanaian students. Prof. Adamafo stresses in the excerpt below, that students are not interested in migrating *per se*, but studying.

PA. I know about students want to study outside, but I haven't come across students wanting to migrate, yet. But maybe if they wanted to migrate, they wouldn't confide in me. *Laughter*. They come to me for references, for letters of recommendation, wanting to study outside.

K – ...and what do they say? Are thy passionate about studying abroad?

PA – Yes, very. Anybody who can, will. That is the picture I get.

(N. Adamafo, Personal communication, December, 10, 2013).

4.2.3.2 Ashesi University College

Similarly, Ashesi has one office catering for career services and one international office. While the Career Services office was part of the university from the beginning, the Office of Diversity and International Programs (ODIP) was set up in 2012.

The Career Services office has two full-time employees and organizes programs and a yearly fair for employers to meet the students. The Career Services aims to prepare students for working life and pairs students up with employers in internships. To prepare students for these internships there are also “career workshops, student forums and the interview prep sessions” (Ashesi University College, 2015a). An important aspect of the work of the Career Services' is tracking students after university.

The ODIP at Ashesi has the following focus:

- Orienting the international community present at Ashesi to succeed while studying and living in Ghana through pre-arrival, onsite and re-entry orientation programs.
- Provides onsite cross-cultural counseling services and support especially on issues of diversity and adjustment challenges.

- Creating a campus ethos that promotes awareness of, respect for and an attitude of celebrating diversity through various programs.
- Developing and offering international educational opportunities for students, faculty and staff through teaching, research, academic and study abroad exchanges.
- Organizing and hosting yearlong, semester and summer programs.
- Providing advice on regularizing immigration status while studying in Ghana (Ashesi University College, 2015a)

OIDP importantly offers opportunities also for Ghanaian students to study abroad. The Associate Director of the OIDP, Millicent Adjei, explains her strategy:

I have really been intentional about negotiating for exchanges and not just studying one way. Students get to – it is really affordable – students get to pay tuition, room and board here and will just swap places with our counterpart universities. [...] When I am negotiating any partnership, I sit and put the realities on the table: beyond tuition, room and board, all five partnerships that we have, I have had the universities commit to supporting our students with their insurance and their textbooks and some go on to give scholarships, so every now and then, if there is a financially incapable student, they will supplement their flight fare.
(M. Adjei, personal communication, May, 14, 2015).

We can see here how the OIDP can negotiate on behalf of students and create further opportunities to go. These types of structured opportunities might have a better outcome for the sending country as return is planned for.

Just like for her counterpart at UG, Adjei has also not come across students who want to migrate, rather students who are interested in education and “experience”:

MA: We do an extensive application and selection process. You never get a student who wants to go and be there in the US. Most of the time, it is “I am doing computer science here, I would want a different perspective that I am not getting here and I feel that would give me a richer experience”.
Kajsa: Are you saying you have never heard a student saying “I want to go and live in the US”?
MA: No, no.
(M. Adjei, personal communication, May, 14, 2015).

The interviews show that students in Ghana make their decisions within a context of internationalization of higher education and indeed recognize their student position as a privileged position. To the officers, students focus on the educational and experiential aspects of study abroad, not on the migration itself.

To conclude this section, I want to present my typology of migration industry targeting students, now with the Ghanaian examples I discussed above. See Table 5 below.

Table 5: Migration Industry Targeting Students

	For-Profit	Non-Profit
Non-Gov.	Travel agencies, companies linking students to universities, organizations providing examinations E.g.) Preparation for Life, visa contractors, travel agencies	NGOs, University agencies E.g.) Counseling and Placement Centre, IPO, ODIP
Gov.	Fairs organized by governments and private universities E.g.) Education UK Exhibition	Foreign government bureaus, State sponsored agencies E.g) EducationUSA, DAAD

Finally, the discourses of migration on campuses in Ghana deserve thorough study, but an early observation is that the migration industry is largely informal. In the formal aspect of the sector, local universities play a minor role and for-profit organizations and foreign agencies are more visible. In describing the university agencies at the two sites of my study and interviewing students and university faculty, I find the formal discourse is growing and internationalization is gaining ground; however, officially, the topic of migration is still not part of the curriculum.

4.2.4 Legal Context

In a previous section, I discussed the global legal structures that both invite students as preferred guests, and at the same time reject students and/or make it very difficult for them to stay after completing their programs. The global context of course also applies to the Ghanaian student who for instance seems to acquire student visas more easily than tourist visas. In addition, the desirable student status might not be enough, therefore strategies such as acquiring traveling experience and building up one's passports are features in the Ghanaian migration landscape. However, the Ghanaian case is also interesting from a local migration policy point of view. Below I will discuss Ghana's apparent lack of a coherent migration policy and local strategies to control the migration sector.

4.2.4.1 Lack of Student Migration Policy

The Ghanaian government does not have a policy on outward student mobility. However, as some students are directly sponsored by the state, although not supported regularly¹⁹, studying abroad can be seen as endorsed by the state. Effah and Senadza (2008) in addition point out that “there does not seem to be any clear and coherent internationalization strategy in place at either the national or institutional level” (p. 234). Consequently, foreign educational fairs operating in Ghana can operate as any business entity. They are not registered in any way or pay any particular fee. Also there are no national guidelines to what they can or cannot do. For example, during one focus group discussion held in the

¹⁹ Reports of “stranded” students on state scholarships are almost a yearly occurrence in Ghanaian media. For instance news reports in March 2012 revealed that students on government scholarships in Serbia, Macedonia, Turkey and Bulgaria were not receiving their bursaries and found themselves deprived and in distress in their host countries (“State sponsored students now ‘beggars’ in Serbia,” 2012).

spring of 2014, while the conflict in Ukraine was brewing, a student told me students studying health sciences had been approached by an organization recruiting for medical school in Ukraine.

Another piece of the puzzle that confirms the mixed picture of Ghana's internationalization of higher education is that the Government of Ghana also provides a limited number of scholarships for studies abroad, with 88 students receiving scholarships in this scheme in 2005/06 (Effah & Senadza, 2008). While an audit report of the program as early as 2006, directed harsh critique at outcomes of the program: that “beneficiaries do not return”, the practice has continued (Dua Agyeman, 2006).

Within the National Development Plan, migration has been mainstreamed, however, international migration is not mentioned, and rather rural-urban migration is the focus. Kleist (2011) in her working paper on Ghanaian migration policy, summarizes the recent history of Ghanaian migration policy to today, including views from high level state officials, diaspora and academics on those policies and finally the implementation of them. Kleist frames them as performative in nature, rather than practical. What is new in migration policy, is that migration is not only seen as a threat, but also as an opportunity to increased development. In accordance, migrants are seen “as development actors”, Kleist suggests in the paper. Coupling the two streams of discourse: migration and development, is part of an international agenda, as discussed in the introduction.

While the state has no official position, Ghana's traditional leadership through the king of Asante, the Asantehene Nana Otumfuo II, has taken a strong position on the issue. In a speech to celebrate 15 years on the throne, Otumfuo said:

I cry in my heart when I see and hear thousands of abled bodied (sic!) youth from Africa, including Ghana perishing in the desserts and atrocious(sic!) seas in their efforts to escape poverty at home and seek greener pastures in Europe and other lands...the spirit of creativity and innovation is prevalent in every corner of Ghana and in every corner of the African continent; the tragedy is that we have either allowed it to remain dormant or are applying it to the wrong purpose. (Effah, 2014)

The comment was widely discussed online, indicating perhaps that a strong public position on migration, central to many Ghanaian families, is not very common in the public space.

4.2.4.2 Student Status

Even for the lucky minority who gain admission to universities in Ghana, it might at the same time be a step on the migration ladder. Different immigration rules apply to individuals with “student” status. A substantial share of the student population at University of Ghana spends vacations abroad working, visiting relatives and studying. Some of these students traveling for holidays do not return, and university registration procedures as well as class attendance suffer, due to absent students. Others return when the summer is over (E. Ayensu, personal communication, March, 14, 2012.). This could be viewed as a strategy to acquiring “traveling experience”, something (informally) required by many foreign embassies in order to obtain visas in the future. Hence acquiring a student status could be a strategy to enable migration. Demands from the knowledge society in the Global North make students attractive immigrants.

To summarize, the lack of migration policy pertaining to students in Ghana, coupled with a more lenient visa regime for students compared to other groups, creates a legal context that likely favors student migration.

4.3 Social Context

In this section I will discuss the societal pressure within the issue of migration aspiration. What is the role of family and the campus environment in shaping migration aspirations. This section reveals that although there are several studies on the cultures of migration, none has focused on highly skilled individuals.

4.3.1 Family and Migration in Ghana

In Ghana, family connections inclusive of extended family bonds are often stressed, and quite a number of migration studies have highlighted the role of family in migration. Notable studies on family and migration in Ghana are: Coe's (2011; 2012) examination of children in transnational families; Cadwell's (1965) discussion of family obligations in education and migration; Mazzucato's (2008) review of family networks connected between countries and continents; and Abdul-Korah's (2011) analysis of migration and its impact on gender roles within Dagaaba families in the Upper West region of Ghana. However, all of these studies are focused on migrants who are not highly educated and I suspect student migrants might report different family influences.

4.3.2 Cultures of Migration

Cultures of migration are created in environments where migration is prevalent. Those environments are not necessarily tied to geographic places as the discursive approach extends beyond the units of analysis used by economists, political scientists and geographers. Sharing this view, Appadurai (1996) has suggested in his discussion on cultural dimensions of globalization the impact of media;

Those who wish to move, those who have moved, those who wish to return and those who choose to stay rarely formulate their plans outside the sphere of radio and television, cassettes and videos, newsprint and telephone. For migrants, both the politics of adaptation to new environments and the stimulus to move or return are deeply affected by a mass mediated imaginary that frequently transcends national space (1996, p. 6).

Additionally, with the advent of the Internet – which in itself is a transnational tool – we can postulate that transnational imagination thrives in online forums, social media spheres and applications. Academic study in this field is still in its initial phase.

Nonetheless, meanings can be contradictory as has been noted by Nieswand (2003, cited from Tonah, 2007) in relation to Ghanaian migrants in Germany. In Ghana, migrants have a high status, thus the meaning of migration is highly positive, while in Germany migrants have a low prestige. Consequently, migrants live with a “paradox of migration” assigning them different meanings depending on location. However, the assumption behind this paradox is that it supposedly affects all migrant groups in the same fashion, while I believe it is likely it could be less pronounced for highly skilled migrants.

This methodological starting point has been employed for cases from around the world, including Ghana. Martin (2007) suggests there is a “historically grown southern Ghanaian culture” (1993) consisting of ideas of the returning migrants and aspirations of the migrants-to-be, including language, music and literature. How the migration culture on campuses differs from a more general southern migration culture in Ghana is yet to be determined.

4.3.3 Language of Migration

In Ghana, there are specific labels for migrants like “been-to” and “burger”, commonly and often positively used. On the same note, Adepoju (2003, p. 52) suggests, “Migration is a way of life in West Africa”. It has even been suggested that migrating is a “rite of passage” for young people who want to prove themselves responsible and ready to take on adult responsibilities (Reichert, 1982 cited from Massey et al., 1993). Using foreign attributes such as foreign clothes, foods and even accents have a dual understanding in Ghana. On the one hand, these are desirable markers; however, if an individual goes over board, for instance by adopting a “Locally Acquired Foreign Accent” (Lafa), it becomes comic and many individuals would like to distance themselves from such practices. Indeed, there is ambivalence toward Lafa, especially among university students (Shoba, Dako, & Orfson-Offei, 2013). In addition, there is a counter-culture involving young people adopting Ghanaian first names (rejecting foreign first names in the recent past often used as official first names, called “school names”), wearing local clothes, and listening to local music in local languages or pidgin (Oduro-Frimpong, 2009; Shipley, 2013).

Several self-published books cover the experience and meaning of migration of Ghanaians. Only one of them, Nkrumah-Boateng (2008), chronicles the student's way to education abroad: “Whilst in school back home, one is usually fired by glossy, foreign university brochures depicting picturesque manicured lawns, endless banks of computers and well-stocked libraries [...] The lure of the 'Abrokyir University'²⁰ is therefore simply irresistible, and quite normal” (2008, p. 108). He also points out that four out of six elected leaders in Ghana were PhD holders, Nkrumah, Busia, Limann and Mills, but not that all of those PhDs were acquired abroad²¹. Other books discuss primarily non-skilled workers' migration. Savage (2007) in “An African in Antwerp” covers integration issues in Belgium and Nsodu's (2004) “Black Angels in the White Man's Country” discuss reasons for travel and pitfalls in making a new life in a new country. On the wish to migrate, it is suggested:

For many West Africans traveling abroad appears to be the best of events in their lives. People regardless of their social stratum they find themselves (sic!) may have the passion for nothing but travel. [...] Traveling abroad seems to be like a fever that is almost transmitted to many West Africans youth (sic!). In my case the fever almost infected me. (Nsodu, 2004, pp. 36–7)

Again, the voices of the highly educated migrant and the student aspiring to migrate are missing.

²⁰ “Abrokyir” is a Twi word for “abroad” (literally beyond the horizon), hence the “Abrokyir University” is the imagined ideal foreign university.

²¹ Nkrumah in 1943 completed coursework for a PhD at University of Pennsylvania, US; Busia studied Anthropology where he was the first African student at University College, Oxford, UK in 1947; Limann in Politics and Constitutional law at University of Paris, 1965; and Mills received a PhD in Law in UK, School of Oriental and African Studies year 1968.

4.3.4 Feminization of Migration

In the migration literature historically there has been evidence of women being less likely to migrate, compared to men, the so called “gender gap”. Although Ravenstein (1885), the father of migration studies, actually found women more likely to migrate than men.

However, recent literature suggest that a feminization of migration is taking place due to changing family traditions and women taking up work outside the household (Castles, 2014; Castles & Miller, 2003; International Organization for Migration, 2006; Puwar, 2004). This is true especially in the Global South. In a recent study on transnational mobility of Asian women, Kim (2010) concludes that “studying abroad has become a common career move for relatively affluent women in their 20s” (2010, p. 25). Likewise, a study looking at migration aspirations in Bulgaria concluded that women were more likely to migrate than men. Women are also more often highly skilled and have “specific aspirations and expectations” in terms of professional development abroad (Makni, 2011, p. 204). In, the project on “Gender and Brain Drain from South Africa” an attempt to explain “emigration potential” in relation to gender was carried out. The study showed that there are significant differences between men’s and women’s behavior when it comes to migratory movements, and most importantly women, regardless of level of education, have a lower emigration potential compared to men (Dodson, 2002). Similarly, in a study of Africa, Carribean, and Pacific (ACP) nationals and their mobility within Europe, it was suggested, although noting that data were poor, that student migration is predominately a male occurrence (Daniels 2004, cited from Manuh, 2005).

Moreover, recent studies into internal migration in Ghana show a possible changing trend towards more independent female migration (Awumbila et al., 2011). In a study of African migrants into Europe, it was shown that Ghanaian men and women traveled on the same type of travel documents: tourist visas, residence permits or student visas, to a larger extent than other African migrants suggesting more female independent migration on less advantageous visas (Herman, 2006). Studies on female cross-border migration for Ghana often focus on traders (see for instance Senah & Alhassan, 2007), and not on highly skilled women. Former head of the Ghana Immigration Service, Elizabeth Adjei (2006) concludes that very little research has gone into analyzing the gender dimension of migration. A 2010 study among secondary school graduates, showed no significant differences between men and women in terms of migration (Gibson & McKenzie, 2012).

Additionally, students belong in a higher education setting where women are still a minority. However, following the global pattern, the number of females at undergraduate level is increasing. In higher positions, women occupy smaller proportions to men, both at the level of the faculty and professoriate. As an example, University of Ghana has 40.3 percent female undergraduates, but only 7.1 percent female professors (Manuh et al., 2007). Research suggests that women in HEIs in Ghana have to struggle both at work and at home against patriarchal structures (Adusah-Karikari, 2008). Looking at the numbers above, it is clear that women in the higher ranks of the university are few. The relationship is inverted for higher levels of study as well as for lecturers and permanent faculty. Having a gender imbalance might have several negative effects on the institution. The discrepancy implies that gender is more important than skills for promotion. While that is a problem on its own, failure to address it might impact migration aspirations among a younger

generation of women. Not removing a glass ceiling could for instance lead to future “self-discrimination” where young female students leave as they feel their HEI is not a place for them. It would be interesting to know how students view this particular aspect of university life and with regard to migration. To conclude, it is unclear if the general feminization of migration is also affecting the student group.

4.4 Conclusions

The literature overview focusing on Ghana reveals a rich body of migration research, however, while there is a growing related field of study concerning topics such as: youth and employment, health professionals and their migration, there is not much research on the Ghanaian student, their possibly specific societal pressures or culture of migration. Further, this chapter can be summarized in a series of hypotheses:

4.4.1 Expected Findings

From my first three descriptive research objectives and the results of the studies discussed in the two literature chapters, I have developed the following hypotheses:

1. For the research objective “Investigate students’ migration aspirations and abilities”, the expected findings based on the literature are:

- Ghanaian students’ migration aspirations and abilities follow results from studies carried out in the Global North with self-realization and adventure

constituting reasons for migration, rather than strictly economic reasons advanced in the literature for African migrants .

- Educational opportunities are a more substantial drive for migration than what is cited for students from the Global North, due to the inadequate supply of such opportunities in the Global South.
- Social upward mobility plays a central role in the meaning of migration to Ghanaian university students, hence students with lower and middle class backgrounds have higher migration aspirations than the socio-economic elites.
- Students enroll in programs with high migration levels; they chose their courses as a strategy to enhance their migration opportunities.
- Women are as likely to migrate as men, as family life starts later in the life cycle and gender roles modernize.

2. For the research objective: “Examining the actors involved in student migration and how they shape students’ migration aspirations”, the expected findings are:

- A campus culture of migration with information being spread locally about global opportunities through a mostly foreign migration industry looking for talent.
- Family networks are relevant, but not central to formation of migration aspirations.
- Traditional and social media have an impact on migration aspirations.
- Increased connectivity using Internet and telecom technology increase information flow on the migration options for students.

3. For the research objective “Map the steps of student migration” the expected results are:

- Students are informed about migration policy and therefore make well-informed decisions.
- Peers and networks abroad play a role in information sharing.

These hypotheses derived from the surveyed literature will serve as a focus for my data collection and subsequent analysis.

CHAPTER FIVE

Methodology

5.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I will discuss choices made around methodology and material collection. I begin by introducing the interdisciplinary research design, sampling and ethical considerations, before discussing the three-pronged data collection in detail.

5.1 Research Design

As explaining migration is a complex issue, there is a need for an interdisciplinary approach to accurately analyze the migration phenomenon (Brettell & Hollifield, 2014; De Haas, 2008; Kurekova, 2011). Also, different methodological approaches need not be contradictory as has been suggested by Massey et al. (1993), but can rather provide more suitable answers to the complex migration issues. Hence, I will draw on triangulation, or the approach of using different types of data and methodology to study the same phenomenon, thereby reducing the impact of potential biases that may exist in a single method study (VanderStoep & Johnston, 2009, pp. 179, 282).

5.1.1 Sample Design

The units of analysis are university students as they often are aspiring migrants, with a higher ability to migrate than a crosscutting sample of the population. Hence the research

design follows a most likely case where students, because of their unique set of opportunities, are more likely than other groups in society to have to take a stand on migration. If this assumption holds true, research on students will provide a rich pool of data on migration aspirations or the conscious lack of it. The research design is consequently exploratory, using a most likely case structure to find reasons to how students contextualize and strategize their migration aspiration or lack thereof.

The combination of qualitative and quantitative methods in a research design is likely to produce valid and reliable data. Additionally, by surveying, observing and interviewing Ghanaian university students - both aspiring migrants as well as non-aspiring migrants (voluntary and non-voluntary) - I will be able to expand the understanding of migration aspirations and the lack of migration aspiration among university students.

The target population is the total population of Ghanaian university students in Ghana, however it is not possible for practical reasons to target all of them. Since I know there are both private and public institutions, I chose students at University of Ghana (UG) as a model for public and Ashesi University College (Ashesi) as a model for private universities. UG is Ghana's oldest higher educational institution and largest in terms of students and faculty. UG is a public university. Ashesi constitutes an opposite to UG in being a very young and small private institution. Although this is not a comparative study, I believe including students from the two institutions will provide rich data and capturing aspirations and abilities from diverse groups of students. I foresee diversity of respondents in terms of socio-economic background, influences and travel experience, but also in terms

of majors: UG is strong on sciences and humanities and Ashesi offers only three programs: business administration, computer science and management information systems.

This design and approach allows for obtaining rich data from a large population, controlling aspirations for background variables, comparing university environments and finally finding a diverse set of individuals who can provide qualitative data on migration and mobility of Ghanaian university students.

5.1.2 Research Ethics

In this section, I will discuss my theoretical approach to research as outlined in the introduction as well as procedures for appropriate ethical clearance that I have passed.

5.1.2.1 Revealing the Researcher

I subscribe to feminist research ethics that suggest the research endeavor cannot be objective, but in order to be fair and reliable should first declare who the researcher is, where (s)he is “coming from” and discuss possible limitations to having the body (s)he has. Haraway (1988) calls it “situated knowledges” and argues the feminist perspective should not succumb to relativist pressures, but rather ascertain the usefulness of the specific or partial “practice of objectivity” (p. 585). In addition to feminists criticizing the objective, all-knowing, invisible, (male) researcher, decolonial thinking has added to the critique of what Colombian philosopher Santiago Castro-Gomez calls “the hubris of the zero point” (cited from Mignolo, 2009, p. 2) or what I understand as the often ignored geo-political and

historical aspect of any research undertaking. Mignolo (2009) suggests we need to examine not just the content of research, but also the “knower” or the researcher:

The basic assumption is that the knower is always implicated, geo- and body-politically, in the known, although modern epistemology (e.g. the hubris of the zero point) managed to conceal both and created the figure of the detached observer, a neutral seeker of the truth and objectivity who at the same time controls the disciplinary rules and puts himself or herself in a privileged position to evaluate and dictate (p. 4)

Secondly, the attitude towards the study objects should be as non-hierarchical as possible with the distinct aim of capturing the voice of whoever is studied. To contrast the feminist / decolonial approach to the traditional research endeavor, which was much like shining a 1000 watt spotlight on the study *objects* and drawing their shadow, I see this new approach more like sitting face to face to the respondents or *subjects* in broad daylight and asking them to draw a self portrait at the same time as I draw mine.

Hence, several strands of “critical theory” have criticized the western, male dominance in academia: feminist theory, postcolonial theory and (stand point) anthropology. Power relations between the researcher and the examined, the writer and the reader are at heart of the critiques. Indeed, these starting points offer “constant interrogation of knowledge production, particularly about who gets to write what about whom” (McEwan 2001, p. 101, cited from Noxolo, 2009). In practice, standpoint theory or self-positioning theory or reflexivity or auto-ethnography urges the researcher to include him/herself into his/her research and derive from this inclusion of identity a methodological advantage, rather than denying, “having a body” or “being located” as has been the practice of so called “objective” research. In studying Ghana as a white woman from the Global North, these

are specific debates I need to be aware of and incorporate. Hence, in the prelude I revealed my initial position towards this research and placed myself within my research site. Throughout my work I reminded myself of the power of the researcher in relation to the examined.

5.1.2.2 Capturing the Student Voice

In this tradition, Gargano (2009) writes in her paper on the potential of transnational social fields to re-conceptualize student mobility, that studies are needed where focus is not on national statistics, but rather “illuminates student voices and the impact of cultural flows and processes on student-inhabited transnational spaces” (p. 332). Further, she discusses understanding of “international student sense making“ while stressing the importance of not generalizing away the different experiences of border-crossings that the group experiences (Gargano, 2009, p. 331). I would like to build on these insights with the addition of being culturally/ethnically an outsider which means I have to listen intently to the students I am studying. This means questioning my own assumptions and designing my study in a way that creates opportunity for the respondents to lead the way. Below, I will discuss how the data collection is designed with capturing the student voice in mind. However, for a detailed description of the data collection process, read more under the heading “data collection”.

The primary data collection was divided into three stages: exploration, statistically viable data and individual contextualization. In the first stage, the topic was explored with the help of focus group discussions or group interviews with the target population. Gillham (2005) notes that group discussions are especially “valuable as an initial, exploratory

technique” and “provides early indication of a range of views” (2005, p. 69). By videotaping the exploratory focus groups, analysis of the discussion was facilitated. I also wanted to know when in the undergraduate period the “migration option” is initiated and when it is most intensely discussed.

Interviews with key informants such as lecturers, student leaders and migration industry personnel also informed this stage of research. A list of the interviewees can be found under “References”. The aim of the initial data collection was to explore as many different student aspirations and migration topics as possible and find what issues need more data.

Second, a relatively large quantitative data set was gathered to provide statistically viable answers to the scope and direction of the migration phenomenon among university students. Since there was also a need for rich data capturing the complexity of the aspirations and abilities of the migrating individual, the quantitative data collection was again followed by qualitative data collection..

The third stage was a qualitative follow-up for individual contextualization. The questionnaire described above also included an option to leave contact information for a follow up interview and as the questionnaire includes background data, individuals with interesting (typical or atypical) profiles were selected for a follow up interview, which offered further contextualization and rich description of students' migration aspirations or lack thereof.

Notably, in this three-pronged approach of qualitative-quantitative-qualitative data collection the student voice is heard at all stages of the data collection, influencing central themes and in the final stage contextualizing the results.

5.1.2.3 Institutional Ethical Clearance

The Human Subjects Review Committee at Ashesi University College reviewed the research tools in 2013. In a letter dated 12 November, 2013 the research project was approved and it stated that “Approval by this committee means that international standards for the protection of human subjects in the research process have been fully met.”²² At the time, there was no equivalent at University of Ghana, but since 2013/14 an ethical clearance board has been established.

The ethical guidelines postulated that thorough information was provided to research participants at all three stages of data collection on their voluntary nature, the anonymity of participants and the opportunity to withdraw from the study at anytime.

5.2 Data Collection

5.2.1 Focus Groups

The focus groups were organized at the two campuses with a variety of majors represented, and through semi-guided questions, themes and issues were explored. Students were selected based on basic demographic data, e.g. Level, sex, major – a purposeful sample

²² Read more on ethical clearance procedures for Ashesi University College at ashesi.edu.gh.

(VanderStoep & Johnston, 2009, p. 208). I wanted to be sure I covered a range of opinions and backgrounds. Therefore I needed to have representation of both males and females as well as a range of majors in the focus groups to make sure I covered as many experiences, opinions, and themes as possible. Balancing this aim with my resources, I decided to do two focus groups at each location and as I have two sites for my research, it made four groups in total.

As stated in the introduction, my focus is undergraduate students, levels 100-400. Initially, I thought it might be useful to separate year groups, as to make sure students feel comfortable speaking up as there was a concern that mixed year groups could inhibit individuals from junior year groups. However after a pilot focus group with mixed year groups carried out at Ashesi on 8th May 2013, I realized that for the topic of migration aspirations, this did not hold true. Rather, the mixed group seemed to encourage discussion and participation by all respondents, see detailed discussion below. I have thus decided to employ mixed groups in terms of year groups, sex and major. Thus, the plan was to carry out four focus groups, two at each location, with 6-8 students in each, a number that allows for some diversity, but also gives enough time for each student to voice his or her views during a 1-hour session. I planned to find the students through my networks and possibly through the student councils if my networks did not deliver. I intended to offer the participants a snack and a beverage as a thank you for their input in my study as well as an email with a summary of my findings when I got to that stage.

In the focus groups I hoped to explore my research questions from the student's point of view: 1) Who is more likely to aspire to migrate? To "go and come" ? To stay? Why? 2)What actors influence the student's stand on the "migration option"? 3) What are the steps of migration for a student? 4) Do Ghanaian students have reservations about the migration option? I also hoped students would share their personal aspirations and thereby broaden my understanding of migration aspirations.

5.2.1.1 Focus Group Pilot

A focus group pilot was carried out on the 8th of May, 2013. The group of nine individuals was assembled through an email to the entire population at Ashesi University College and the first to respond were chosen to participate. They came from three year groups – only seniors were missing as it was late in the semester and they had already vacated.

From the pilot, I realized students had so much to say on the topic that limiting the group size to maximum 6, instead of the projected 6-8 seemed suitable. The session was videotaped and, as a back-up, sound was also recorded. Video worked well for transcription, however, for future groups I decided to create separate smaller video and sound files for each topic instead of one big file for the entirety of the conversation. However, the questions were too structured and students often waited for the researcher to ask another question, hence questions were revised towards a more open-ended style to allow for more discussion and less steering from the researcher. I felt it was important to encourage a broad discussion, as I was looking to possibly unearthing new topics.

Especially freshmen seemed confident and had no problems speaking up in the mixed group, as I had feared. I decided to move forward with mixed groups.

5.2.1.2 Focus Group Discussions

Eventually focus group discussions were carried out for in total 29 students; 17 males, 12 females. The ages of students participating ranged from 17 to 24 years and the average age of the focus group participant was 20,54 years. All four year groups were represented, although the share of level 200 students were significantly higher (44% or n=13) compared to levels 100 and 400 (21% or n=6) and level 300 (14% or n=14). For UG, two initial focus groups were carried out on the 11th and 19th of October, 2013. For Ashesi, two focus groups were carried out on the 14th of November, 2013. Those two groups covered all three majors at Ashesi. For UG, I decided to add one focus group to capture more majors, notably engineering, medicine and nursing that all have reported high emigration rates (see for instance Anarfi et al., 2010; Gibson & McKenzie, 2012). Due to students' busy schedules the extra focus group was divided into two and held at two different dates, 12th of February and 19 of February 2014. Hence, in total six focus group discussions were held. For all sound was recorded, the first three were also video-taped. Because of technical difficulties not all discussions could be video taped, else that was very good for transcriptions when several people were discussing. Finally, all discussions were transcribed and coded in qualitative research software Dedoose²³. The focus group guide that was used can be found in Appendix 2.

²³ Dedoose is an online tool for qualitative and mixed methods data available on <http://dedoose.com>

5.2.2 Survey Questionnaire

Quantitative data was gathered in an e-survey. The questionnaire was constructed on an Internet platform, LimeSurvey²⁴ and hosted online by LimeService. E-surveys allow for large samples and random sampling as all respondents have the same chance of answering the survey they have been sent. The goal was to administer the questionnaire to randomly selected students at UG and at Ashesi, however, that was not technically possible so instead the total population at both institutions were targeted. I will discuss the sampling strategy below.

5.2.2.1 Sampling Strategy

There are several ways of obtaining representative samples, and I chose my sampling strategy in two steps. Initially, I used purposive sampling when I chose UG and Ashesi as proxies for public and private universities respectively. Second, within my research sites, I adopted random sampling where all individuals of the population undergraduate students were part of the sampling frame. The randomization process was facilitated by that I was given access to send emails to the total undergraduate population at the two universities. Hence the total undergraduate population at the two HEIs was given the chance to partake in the study. While this means that theoretically every individual in the population had the same chance of participating in the survey, in reality it is not so as access to computers, Internet, and so on varies. This random sampling strategy might hence get more responses from students that check their emails more often for a variety of reasons. The alternative

²⁴ LimeSurvey is an open source online survey system for creating online surveys for research available on <http://limesurvey.com>

option of paper-based questionnaires was considered, however the advantages in terms of cost-effectiveness made me choose an e-survey that could be distributed to the total population.

5.2.2.2 E-Survey

An E-survey is suitable for an environment where all possible respondents, here students, are literate and have access to a computer. Else a common bias is the respondents with better access to technology will be more frequent respondents (VanderStoep & Johnston, 2009, p. 38). A study comparing response rates in mail and e-surveys, suggested college students as a group were more likely to answer e-surveys than other groups (Shih & Fan, 2008). E-surveys also allow for privacy in responding to the questionnaire, a positive feature in research generally and specifically for the Ghanaian case (K. Aikins, personal comment, 24 January, 2011). Further, the electronic survey makes it possible to obtain a large N as the allocated budget spans many more answers when distribution costs are small and the coding automatic. An electronic survey also allows for real time results and underrepresented groups can be targeted specifically within the collection period. Data that is collected by asking respondents to answer questions on their own is called “self-report”-data. Advantages are the efficiency and it lends itself well to collecting attitudinal and behavioral data, such as migration aspirations. However, the researcher must be aware of the “self-serving bias” that will make respondents skew their answers, often in a more positive light than reality (VanderStoep & Johnston, 2009, pp. 66–7).

With this part of my study, I can obtain quantitative insights into my research question from a quantitative point of view: What proportion of students says they aspire to

migrate/to stay? What proportion of students have taken steps towards migration like researched the option, applied for passport, visa? Who, in terms of socio economic background, year group, course/major, university, gender, network access, is more likely to aspire to migrate? Who is more likely to aspire to stay? Who is more likely to return? What actors influence migration aspirations? What are some reservations to the migration option and to what extent do students aspire to return?

5.2.2.3 Questionnaire Design

The questionnaire was designed to corroborate the questions listed above, especially relating to research objectives 1, 2 and 4. Each section of the questionnaire was designed answer or to shed light on a research objective. For some objectives more than one section was needed. Earlier research utilizing questionnaires were also consulted, both to be able to find points of comparison and to avoid null answers or other pitfalls (Ahrens et al., 2010; Anarfi et al., 2010; Sell, 1990). I also added a few questions on from similar surveys, two from a recent Nigerian student survey on attitudes toward foreign trained individuals (question 2.6 and 2.7) conducted by Adepoju & van der Wiel (2010). The formulation of the question “why do you want to study abroad?” (3.3) and its alternatives were copied from a survey carried out on 560 university students from the UK studying abroad in 2008 (Findlay et al., 2010). The question on reservations (4.5) was also modeled on this survey, but with alternatives of racism and patriotism added as these came up as possible options for reservations in the focus group discussions.

Finally the questionnaire had four sections, one for general demographic data and one each for the three objectives. The demographic section included questions on background, education and thoughts on and eventual earlier experiences of migration²⁵. This type of information will reveal who in terms of background, gender, age, class, ethnicity, educational major, etc. has aspirations, and who believes they also possess the ability to migrate in regression analyses and cross-tables. Most of the questions were close-ended questions, facilitating a timely appropriation of data from respondents, some also had room for short answers and a few questions allowed for more elaborate answers.

5.2.2.4 Pilot Survey

A pilot survey was carried out among 15 students as I wanted to test the feasibility of an e-survey and test the specific wording of the questions.

Pilot surveys are useful in testing the suitability of a questionnaire, or to test a target group's attitudes or reactions to an impending survey. Results of a pilot survey may lead to a considerable amendment of the questionnaire. (Kumekpor, 2002, p. 111)

After weighing the benefits of the pilot being taken from the main study site against the risks for data contamination, I decided to deploy the pilot survey at the main study site. The main reason for doing so was that the success of the survey was dependent on Internet infrastructure, which varies between campuses. Comparing this gain with the risk of data

²⁵ The questionnaire did not have any demographic question on family living abroad or parents' experience with migration. The only question where family abroad is mentioned is 4.6 where students were asked a direct question on who they think influenced their aspirations. I recognize this is a weakness as much migration research out of the Global South focuses on family or group decision-making. Indeed, it would have been interesting to be able to test if those theories hold for influencing migration aspirations in also this group.

contamination from a pilot study of 15 in a student body of close to 20 000 is minimal. However, there were no checks or filters to prevent a student from partaking in both the pilot and the final survey, hence I acknowledge there is a possible data contamination in the final survey data.

The pilot was carried out on 9 March 2012 at the ICT department at University of Ghana. Students present for a computer class open to the entire university student population were asked to fill the online questionnaire. I decided to use students from the target population and not from a similar population as one of the main concerns was Internet access at UG that has proved to be unstable during my years as a graduate student. I considered the statistically small risk of targeting some students twice for the survey, but concluded the benefits of understanding the practicality of an e-survey on the targeted campus was a worthy reason to take the risk. This can be said to represent a convenience sample. Over the course of the day, 11 men and four women filled the survey. The researcher was available to answer questions during the duration of filling the questionnaire and upon completion of the questionnaire; the researcher approached the students and asked of additional comments. Most respondents reported that the questionnaire was easy to understand and complete. The questionnaire took between 7-25 minutes to fill for the pilot group. The Internet connectivity posed no problems.

In this case, only smaller amendments were necessary and then mostly additions of demographic questions and closed question alternatives. For some questions, answers came out ambiguous; hence wording was changed to make sure answers could only have one possible connotation.

5.2.2.5 Final Questionnaire

The final survey questionnaire²⁶ was launched on 25th of March 2014. The online survey was disseminated in three ways; 1. by email, 2. through information sessions in classes and 3. thorough posters on campus (from ways to improve survey participation discussed by Nulty, 2008). To encourage participation, a raffle was organized with movie tickets (value about 40 GHS or 20 USD) as prizes. After the initial email, a reminder was sent out on 14th of April, 2014. I hung posters in students' residence halls, computer labs and study spaces. In exit polls, students were generally positive towards the online format and suggested it was “faster” and “easier” to fill, even when the Internet connection was slow or they took more than 20 minutes to fill the survey. The main challenge proved to be power availability and Internet connection, that on some days was unstable to the point of many students not being able to finish the survey, which led to a relatively high number, 361, of incomplete responses.

Ultimately, 506 students filled the final questionnaire; out of them 35,7% (n=180) were female and 64,3% (n=326) male. Almost 7 out of 10 of respondents came from the larger University of Ghana (69,4% or n=352) and the rest from smaller Ashesi University College (30,4% or n=154). The median time for filling the questionnaire was 16 min 40 s. The mean age was 21,4 years with a standard deviation of 3,23 years. The oldest respondent was 52 years and the youngest 17 years. All 10 regions in Ghana were represented. The response rate was calculated by dividing the total number of answers with the total number of undergraduate admissions. The response rates for online surveys are often much lower

²⁶ The questionnaire can be found in Appendix 3.

than paper surveys, especially if sent out by email. Response rates of 10-15% are considered high for mail surveys (VanderStoep & Johnston, 2009, p. 110). The response rate for Ashesi was 26.0% and for UG 1.8 %. The difference can likely be because of different institutional reliance on email, which I tried to mitigate by employing several additional strategies in addition to the invitation to participate via email. As all students, however, had the same chance of receiving the emails and answering the survey, hence although the response rates were low or extremely low for UG, the sample can be said to be random as all students had the same chance at responding to the e-survey.

In relation to analysis, Nulty (2008) suggests response rate is not the only important aspect of a survey; on the contrary, we always have to apply caution:

Thus, when interpreting survey results, it is important to think about what was asked, how it was asked and how these variables may have resulted in bias in respect of who responded, what they said *and* how these responses may have differed if the survey itself, the mode of administration and the resultant pool of respondents had been different (Nulty, 2008, p. 311).

The advice concerns electronic surveys (for teaching evaluations), which is the same target group as my survey has: students, making the guidance particularity pertinent. Further, considering what the non-respondents would have stated or what the respondents would have stated if the survey had been designed differently is also important. With low response rates, we must be careful in assuming the answers are representative of a whole population – but in line with his argument also a larger response rate will warrant the same caution. Considering the non-respondents, it is possible they hold some characteristics in common, however, on the two sites all possible respondents have access to computers and

Internet, hence it is safe to say there are no apparent socioeconomic commonalities of non-respondents (or respondents).

Table 6: Response Rates by Total Number of Students Admitted

HEI	Total Admissions (Year)	Total Responses	RR
Ashesi	592 (2013/14)	154	0.26
UG	19422 ²⁷ (2011/12 ²⁸)	352	0.02
Total		506	

I compared my distribution of year groups and sex among the respondents (presented in Table 7) with distributions of year groups and sex in the HEIs by accessing admission data of the institutions (presented in Table 8) and found the levels were similar enough to assume my sample is fairly representative of each institution.

Table 7: Distribution of Sex and Year Group for the Two HEIs (Questionnaire data)

	Men (as % of total)	Women (as % of total)	Year 1 (as % of total)	Year 2, 3, 4 (as % of total)	Total Responses
Ashesi	79 (53,3)	75 (48,7)	80(51,9)	74 (48,1)	154
UG	207 (70,2)	105 (29,8)	141 (40,1)	211(59,9)	352
Total	326 (64,3)	180 (35,7)	221 (43,6)	285 (56,4)	506

²⁷ This number is for the central campus and hence excludes distance and city campus students.

²⁸ Unfortunately the most recent data on admissions available from the University of Ghana is 2011/12, it is hence a proxy for the data of admissions of 2013/14.

Table 8: Distribution of Sex and Year Group for the Two HEIs (Admissions Data)

	Total admissions (year)	Men (as % of total)	Women (as % of total)	Year 1 (as % of total)	Year 2, 3, 4 (as % of total)
Ashesi (2013/14)	592	315 (53,2)	277 (46,8)	169 (28,5)	423 (71,5)
UG (2011/12)	19 422	11122 (57,3)	8300 (42,7)	4487 (23,1)	14935 (76,9)
Total	20014	11437 (57,1)	8577 (42,9)	4656 (23,3)	15358 (76,7)

Sources: Admissions' data from UG Statistics, 2011/12, Ashesi Admissions office

In the final sample, the sex distribution was similar to in the total population, but with males being slightly more represented than females: 35,1% (n=164) females and 64,9% (n=303) males in the sample compared to 42,9 % females and 57,1 % males in the total population. The distribution of first year students compared to continuing students presented a bigger difference with first year students having a larger share than the total population: 43,6 % in the sample compared to 23,3% in the total population. However, I decided to keep all answers and rather keep in mind that more of the respondents were freshmen when analyzing the results.

Finally, I operationalized “Ghanaian student” as an undergraduate student of either UG or Ashesi who was born in Ghana²⁹, hence individuals not matching these criteria were

²⁹ “Born in Ghana” as I wanted to capture the experience of those students who’s aspirations predominately have been formed in Ghana. Possibly, this meant I lost a few responses of students who had this experience, but for instance were born in the US or then come live in Ghana, however it was the best operationalization available.

removed from the database. The remaining responses were 467 students: 340 from UG and 127 from Ashesi (which has a higher level of international students).

The mode of research of email questionnaires was the best available option for this study. Although all the benefits expected in terms of affordability, accuracy and privacy materialized, I also discovered challenges even for a population accustomed to computers and with (assumed) access to Internet.

5.2.2.6 Empirical Estimation Technique

In line with specific objectives 1 and 2, we examine, econometrically, the factors that influence migration aspirations. As the aspiration to migrate can be said to be binary: either you have an aspiration to migrate or you do not, I decided to use a binary dependent variable estimation technique for instance, the probit model. To highlight that the aspiration to migrate can be operationalized in various ways (verbal aspiration or intention, intention with various actions, etc.), I created several binary dependent variables to test the correlation with other independent variables. This technique allows for theoretical testing of the concept of “aspiration” which did not have a fixed operationalization when starting the data collection. For this reason, I employed the term “intention” in the quantitative data collection.

As presented in Table 9, the dependent variable (i.e. intention to migrate) is binary in nature. It assumes a value of 1 if the individual has an intention to migrate to work abroad and zero otherwise. Given the binary nature of our dependent variable and the aim of the

study to find correlations between aspiration to migrate would employ. We assume an unobserved/latent continuous response variable, N_i^* and thus, the natural regression model for N_i^* is the index function model:

$$N_i^* = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 D_i + \alpha_2 C_i + \varepsilon \quad (1)$$

Where:

“i” is the i^{th} individual i; N_i^* is the latent variable that depicts the i^{th} individual’s migration intention; D_i denotes a vector of socio-demographic factors associated with individual ‘i’ such as parent’s educational attainment, university attended by individual i, sex, level of study, age and travel experience; and C_i is contextual variables such as region of birth of the i^{th} individual. α_i represents the vector of parameters to be estimated, and ε is the standard vector representing the stochastic error term.

The dependent variable (i.e. N_i^*) is observed as:

$$N_i = \begin{cases} 1 & \text{if } N_i^* \geq 0 \\ 0 & \text{if } N_i^* \leq 0 \end{cases} \quad (2)$$

(2)

On the basis of the binary measure of the dependent variable, a probit regression estimation technique is adopted to explore the factors that influence migration intentions as:

$$Pr(N_i = 1 | X_i) = Pr(N_i = 1 | D_i, C_i) \quad (3)$$

(3)

Where N_i is the dependent variable and X_i represents different set of explanatory variables that capture socio-demographic and contextual factors. The estimated probability model of the factors influencing an individual's intention to migrate is specified as:

$$Pr(N_i = 1 | X_i) = \Phi(\alpha_0 + \alpha_1 D_i + \alpha_2 C_i + \varepsilon) \quad (4)$$

Where Φ is a cumulative standard normal distribution function. Four separate estimations are conducted using various measures of migration intention as shown in Table 9. Also, for each estimation, we conduct a full sample estimation (model 1), followed by a separate estimation for males (model 2) and females (model 3).

Table 9: Description of Variables for Regression Analyses

Variable	Description
Father's Education	This is a categorical variable. It takes values from 0 to 4; 0 = no education, 1=Less than MSLC/BECE, 2=MSLC/BECE/VOC, 3=Secondary, 4=Tertiary.
Mother's Education	This is a categorical variable. It takes values from 0 to 4; 0 = no education, 1=Less than MSLC/BECE, 2=MSLC/BECE/VOC, 3=Secondary, 4=Tertiary
University Attended	This is a binary variable. It takes a value of 0 if Ashesi and 1 if UG.
Travel Abroad Experience	This is a binary variable. It takes a value 0 if no travel abroad experience and 1 otherwise.
Sex	This is a binary variable. It takes a value of 1 of male and 0 otherwise.
Level of Study	This is a categorical variable. It takes values from 0 to 3; 0 = 1 st year, 1=2 nd year, 2=3 rd year, 3=Final year.
Travel preparation_bought passport forms	This is a binary variable. It takes a value 1 if bought passport forms and 0 otherwise.
Travel preparation_own valid passport	This is a binary variable. It takes a value 1 if own valid passport and 0 otherwise.
Travel preparation_applied for visa	This is a binary variable. It takes a value 1 if applied for visa and 0 otherwise.
1year	This is a categorical variable derived from the question, "Do you

Intention	have any intention to go abroad for more than 1 year?" It takes values from 0 to 3; 0= "no", 1= "Yes, to study", 2="Yes, to work", 3="Other". This is a binary dependent variable created from the variable 1year. Those who responded "other" were dropped from the sample. It takes a value of 1 if "Yes, to work" and zero otherwise.
5years	This is a categorical variable derived from the question, "where do you see yourself in 5 years". It takes values from 0 to 3; 0= "working in Ghana", 1= "working abroad", 2="studying in Ghana", 3="studying abroad", 4="Other".
Future Intention (Work)	This is a binary variable created from the variable 5years. Those who responded "other" were dropped from the sample. It takes a value of 1 if "working abroad" and zero otherwise.
Future Intention (Work and Study)	This is a binary variable created from the variable 5years. Those who responded "other" were dropped from the sample. It takes a value of 1 if "working abroad" or "studying abroad" and zero otherwise.

5.2.3 Interviews

Qualitative data was obtained in interviews with eight individuals who had an interesting profile – typical or atypical – from the survey and who had voluntarily provided contact information for an interview. Open-ended questions were used initially, thereafter leaving the conversation to the individual. This method provided more information on the students' realities by foregoing imposed questions and alternatives. This way of gathering qualitative data lends itself especially well to revealing discourses and general stories told. To get a contextualized account, even if highly subjective, is useful as a component in understanding Ghanaian students' sense-making of their migration aspirations or lack of them. In anthropology, narratives are often the preferred method for understanding complex phenomena:

through narratives people weave their experiences into a coherent whole, documenting both their successes and their failures and drawing conclusions from these that help to explain the life choices they have made. Undoubtedly they also help the ethnographer to understand how people make sense of their world (Brettell, 2003, pp. 24–5)

Similarly, a study within the ISM discourse that inspired this methodological choice is Carlson (2011) who followed German international students over a period of time to understand how students were “made mobile” focusing on a process behind student mobility rather than a “one-off decision”, rejecting a rational-choice approach (2011, p. 2). Using Narrative-biographical interviews, situations that lead to student mobility were classified. These situations were “an encounter with others (foreigners)...being part of a partnership project...processes of identity boundary drawing (individual search for identity)...attending a specific school setting” (Carlson, 2011, p. 17). Methodologically, this approach is experimental and the analysis rich and very helpful for understanding migration as a process. While my study was not able to follow students, I carried out interviews inspired by Carlson’s view: that migration aspirations are made and made in contexts.

5.2.3.1 Interviewee Selection

I created a criterion based on my theoretical framework: I was interested to find and talk to students who were *not* aspiring to migrate, as they are not well represented in the literature, but also those aspiring to migrate. I started out by choosing eight university students who earlier answered my survey and showed divergent aspirations and backgrounds: four with low aspiration to migrate (operationalized as no expressed intention to go abroad for more than a year and no valid passport), four with high aspirations (operationalized as intention to go abroad to work for a year and holding a valid passport), see Table 10. In terms of background I wanted to find individuals from different institutions, major, gender, socioeconomic background and hence spread the sample on these criteria.

Table 10: Selection of Interviewees

Aspirations	Sex	Parents With (W)/ Without (W/O) Tertiary Education	HEI
HIGH 1	M	W	UG
HIGH 2	F	W	Ashesi
HIGH 3	M	W/O	Ashesi
HIGH 4	F	W/O	UG
LOW 1	M	W/O	Ashesi
LOW 2	F	W/O	UG
LOW 3	M	W	UG
LOW 4	F	W	Ashesi

In April, 2015 potential interviewees were contacted on phone, if they had provided a number, and by email if that was the only means of contact. Meetings were scheduled and interviews carried out in person, except for one interview, which was held on phone as the interviewee had relocated.

5.2.3.2 Additional Interviews with Key Informants

Additionally, key informants in Ghanaian universities, embassies, NGO's were also interviewed on their experiences with international student migration out of Ghana. Also key informants among students, like formal or informal student leaders, provided insights into the individual processes and discourses. See a complete list of the 11 individuals interviewed under the References section.

CHAPTER SIX

Ghanaian Students' Views on Migration

6.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I systematically discuss the findings from the data collection. I start with findings from the focus groups and highlight the exploratory nature of the exercise and the themes and topics that were added in analyzing the unstructured discussion of students.

Secondly, I share the findings from the surveys. I am especially interested in presenting data of the extent of student migration aspiration in this group, as such data is currently not available. I also discuss differences between demographic groups and the public and private universities targeted. Through quantitative data, I can describe how students prepare for life after university and possibly migration, what actors are involved and what considerations are taken.

Finally, I share the findings from in-depth interviews that were carried out with “typical” or “atypical” students, for instance students who want to migrate as soon as possible and to stay away, students who plan to go to graduate school abroad, and students who have decided to not migrate, but to stay in Ghana.

6.1 Findings From the Focus Groups

The transcribed focus group discussions were first carefully read by looking for recurring themes in accordance with my theory and later coded using Dedoose software. Through this method, I found the following themes: “othering” of less educated individuals; considering migration; influencers; money and migration; culture of migration; searching for information; well-informed through social media; passports and visas; strong aspirations not to migrate; negative experiences of living/traveling abroad; critical examination of abroad; and, explore and enjoy. I will discuss them below and provide quotes from the students, with signifiers for the students such as sex, age (17-24), level of study (100-400), and program of study. For some longer quotes that could not be shortened, I have bolded the part of the quote that caught my attention and will be discussed in that section.

In addition, results from the focus group discussions were used for revising the questionnaire for the next research step, especially by creating exhaustive alternatives for close-ended questions. As an example, for influencers, I had not provided the alternative “religious leaders” before the focus groups. After realizing that money was a more significant issue than I had anticipated, I also added a question for the questionnaire: “Who pays for your tuition and living expenses currently?”. Alternatives were “myself / family / friends/ government scholarship / foreign scholarship / bank loan / employer / other”. Below, I have organized the results after the research objectives.

6.1.1 Investigate Students' Migration Aspirations and Abilities (Research Objective 1)

When investigating students' migration aspirations and abilities the focus was on determining how students discuss migration, if at all and what demographic group among students was more likely to aspire to stay or migrate. The focus group discussions revealed that all students discuss and consider migration. However students could not agree on what group among students is more likely to migrate, perhaps in terms of course chosen, socio-economic status, but rather suggested the most likely to migrate were not students at all, but rather individuals with less education.

6.1.1.1 Considering Migration

I found that my hypothesis that all students consider migration to hold true, however a share of the students expressing very strong aspirations not to migrate. I will discuss that further below. Students were forthcoming and interested in talking about the topic and seemed to have devised strategies and be curious about fellow students' thoughts on the topic. In the following quotes it is suggested that all students in some way consider migration. One student, discussed the position that international migration is a wideheld aspiration for all Ghanaians.

For a student in Ghana when you talk about migration it means going from a third-world country to if I should say, a middle-income country, **this is something everyone wants to experience. ... Everyone wants to do it.**

- Male, 20 years, level 200, Medicine

However some students discussed how they might belong to a different group in terms of migration aspirations as students have “aspirations for the future”. Further, students have access to information:

“so based on **what they’ve also heard about the place and what others have told them**... you are sometimes enticed and then we would be like ‘that would also be a great idea if I get the opportunity to go outside’.

- Male, 21 years, level 200, Nursing

Some students frame the issue of migration more critically. Such students might, as in the quote below, distinguish between “going to work there” and migration, perhaps for study, with return.

I will say that sometimes some of us think that **we shouldn’t go there to work because our country is a developing one** and to make our country a better place for the generations to come we all must get involved...I have never thought of going to work there...The plan is to come back to the country. - Male, 22 years, level 300, Political Science

The language for discussing migration is simple and an expression like “going outside” or “going there” was often employed. This points to that migration is a common place topic that students discuss often.

6.1.1.2 “Othering” of People With Less Education

Interestingly, several students suggest that individuals with less education than themselves are more likely to have a strong aspiration to migrate . Here are four examples from the focus groups:

A higher income family will have a stronger tie [to Ghana] in my opinion. **A lower income family**, anything goes for them. So as far as the person is even going to Accra to make money for them it is fine and if the person is going outside Ghana it is ultimate.

-Male, 24 years, level 400, Computer Science

I think it is **the lower class** because if you go to a place like Kumasi, a very small town there, everyone wants to leave the country

- Female, 19 years, level 300, Undecided Major

My perception on those who want to migrate is **they don't really know** what the world out there is like. So they have this perception that everything there is set-up...you can easily make it through life

Male, 22 years, level 400, Psychology and Information Studies

For example, **if you are a cleaner** and you just clean you will not live comfortably [in Ghana], but if you are outside and you just clean two hours a day you are able to take care of yourself and your apartment. I think it is **the people who have nothing to lose** [who are likely to migrate].

- Female, 19 years, level 200, Medicine

I have bolded the students' classifications of who is more likely to migrate above. I construe this as a form of "othering", not previously found in the literature. Othering is when one group sets itself apart from another group, often by giving different, sometimes negative, characteristics to that group. In these examples students discuss how having a high migration aspiration is connected to belonging to a "lower class".

6.1.2 Map the Steps of Migration For a Student? (Research Objective 2)

The steps of migration for a student were discussing migration and searching for information, applying for documents such as passports and visas and finally organizing travel. I discovered much of the information is received online through web search and social media.

6.1.2.1 Discussing Migration and Searching for Information

Students shared that migration is first discussed with someone and that one has to be quite specific in one's aspirations to be able to secure papers. Hence there is extensive work to be done before booking the ticket to go.

In the discussion below, three students talk about the sequencing of the process to go abroad and how deciding the country of destination often comes early in the process.

Student 1: Well first thing I would have to do is **talk to my parents**. Listen to them, if I get a go ahead, then start the application process, **then I would think about the visa**.

- Male, 23 years, level 400, Management Information Systems.

Student 2: To add to that, after **speaking to my parents**, the application process involves **choosing schools**, choosing schools also involves choosing schools that will give you good **financial aid** a lot of times before I **think about what I want to read in the university**. Then I think about **visa** and the **plane ticket**. And then **money** and maybe **a job you can do there while in school**.

- Male, 24 years, level 400, Computer Science.

We can see here that students agree on that talking to parents is an important first step. Then visa issues and strategical issues on how to afford university abroad.

The traditional destination countries are labeled as expensive and the students talk about what countries their peers are now going to, and mention new destinations in Europe and Asia as well as South Africa. One student shared his personal journey:

I wanted to do engineering in the US so I started researching on universities and I had cousins who were there already so I talked to them. I didn't really research to the visa part, but about how I had to write an exam and how they would give me if I pass and how they would give me full funding or half scholarship and they would give me a letter of recommendation.

Kajsa: Did you talk to a human being or you only did online research?

Student: **I did online research and I talked to my relatives**.

- Male, 17 years, level 100, Food Processing Engineering

In this quote, the student explains how online research and discussions with family are the first steps to migration.

6.1.2.2 Well-Informed through Social Media

Students receive direct information from friends and relatives abroad over VOIP (like Skype) and social media (like Facebook): new venues for migration narratives. The cheap cost of staying in touch means that more frequent interactions can take place. Students are able to ask questions and see photos from their friends abroad and in the quotes below discuss how these influence their aspirations. This student is in close contact with a peer abroad who is very positive about his experience abroad.

Personally I have a friend ... we talk about how he is studying and working. He is also doing an engineering course (electrical engineering). He is studying and working at the same time and the pay is good and he has time also for his studies. **And there [are] more opportunities, more on the job than here, even he decides to further to know how technology has increased in USA...**we always chat on Facebook recently, I think this January. We chat for a very long time, we talked at length so I believe friends also influence.

- Male, 20 years, level 200, Biomedical Engineering

Students compare their campus life in Ghana with that of their friends abroad; weather, level of personal freedom, educational system, time for partying are some points of comparison:

Sometimes through phone calls, Skype, there are so many means. When they call you they tell you about, ok the weather isn't that nice over there. But they tell you that **they are not so free to do things** as we have it here, but **their educational system is better than ours and they have a lot of time partying**. So you will be here and you go for lectures from morning to evening, there is no break and even they want to take my evening time, but with them they close and after that they go for parties and they enjoy.

- Female, 21 years, level 200, Nursing

In discussions on the role of social media, some students also were quite critical of the stories shared by their peers. In the first quote, a student questions the rationale for going abroad when a friend was in a prestigious program at home.

When I Skyped with him, I asked him “Why did you leave? You didn’t even tell me you were leaving?” And he said,” After all of you have left, all of them are going why wouldn’t I go.” And he had the option to stay because **he was already reading an undergraduate course in Legon, a very good course.**

- Male, 20 years, level 100, Undecided major

In the second quote, a student discusses the accuracy of the “Internet edition” of his peers’ lives abroad.

The pictures that will come on Facebook from some people...From here you yearn for that lifestyle because you do not know the daily details of whatever hassle they are experiencing. You are here today and you go home. You live a hassle-free life and **because you see the Internet edition of their lives you feel like, “Wow that is what I want”.**

- Male, 20 years, Level 200, Computer Science

6.1.2.3 Applying for Passports and Visas

Many students do not own a passport, perhaps suggesting that aspiration is not always backed by preparations as suggested by Carling (2002). In the three quotes below, students discuss how they have planned to acquire a passport, but not actually completed the process:

No, when I was going for the interview, that was when I applied for a passport, but I never followed up on it, but **I am planning to do one this year.**

- Female, 20 years, level 200, Psychology and Theatre Arts

I have **only thought of it**, but I don’t have one [passport]

- Male, 22 years, level 300, Political Science

Ok, let’s say **I haven’t applied for a passport or a visa, but I have read through various kind of advertising** and stuff like that about education of the world.

- Male, 21 years, level 200, Nursing

I also asked if getting a visa was easier for a student. Many students had no opinion on this, however, one student who had gotten a passport for an opportunity abroad that did not work out said:

Although the education prospect did not work out, I was able to get the passport fast because it was more of an education[al purpose]. So I believe in terms of education, passports are usually given out much easier

- Male, 20 years, level 200, Biomedical Engineering

This points to that students do not see themselves as a group that easily will get a visa.

Rather the focus is on Ghanaian passports, where some students think it comes easier for educational travel purposes.

6.1.3 Examine The Actors Involved In Student Migration and How They Shape

Aspirations (Research Objective 3)

I listened after who and what influences the migration aspiration, and in addition to finding that parents, religious leaders, friends and lecturers influence migration aspiration, students shared how money plays a role, as well as norms.

6.1.3.1 Influencers

The literature suggests that parents are the most important influencers for migration, my findings from my focus group discussions support that.

I think the decision comes down to **who is paying for the trip** out there.

- Male, 20 years, level 200, Computer Science

Parents. If I want to go they are the ones who will fund me, they are the ones who will find a place for me to stay; they are the ones who will make sure I have something to live on, they are the ones if it is education or work, who will take me through the whole process. Basically them, **if they want me to go I will go, if they want me to stay I will stay.**

- Female, 20 years, level 200, Psychology and Theatre Arts

If **a pastor** speaks of Nigeria as the place to go, I think it will push a lot of people to Nigeria. So when people want a visa and they go to a pastor and he prays for them and there is no advice from the pastor like, " How about maybe this is where God wants you to stay." I think they can have that influence but I don't think they have used it.

- Male, 24 years, level 400, Computer Science

Students highlight that parents decide as they are the ones who hold the resources needed to migrate – both in financial and network terms. Other important influencers mentioned by students were religious leaders, friends and lecturers.

6.1.3.2 Money and Migration

Students stress that migrating is a costly option. When you migrate, you often become indebted and might have to do hard work, repay parents or sponsors, as discussed below.

If you go, you are branded **the rich kid** or something because I remember in SSS, we heard that a friend had left and we were all wondering that, “Eeeii was she that rich?” Like how did she get the money? Everyone is thinking about the wealth, the prestige, no one is thinking about whether she is going to scrub or work that one is beyond the point.

- Female, 20 years, level 200, Business Administration

Yeah, because even though your friends would be telling you all the nice things about that place, they cannot send you there, it’s your family so I think **money plays an important role**.

- Female, 21 years, level 200, Nursing

In last semester we had a group from Ukraine they came around and then they really wanted to find out if we are interested in going there to study medicine and most of [our] colleagues showed interest but then I think it also has to do with the money, yeah **the money is a factor**. Male, 21 years, level 200, Nursing

The last quote also suggests recruitment efforts, in the quote by a Ukrainian medical school. These recruitment efforts happening on campus were discussed in combination with cost of migration. Perhaps recruiters are seen as sponsors that just like parents can influence where you can go, as long as they have funding available.

6.1.3.3 Culture of Migration

Students also mention a strong “norm” or culture to migrate. Migrating is seen as a part of life and a desirable path for most.

Sometimes when I am angry with my sister and we are going back and forth the only thing she can say to put me down is **‘have you ever seen a plane seat before?’ and that it is I have lost.**

- Female, 20 years, level 200, Psychology and Theatre Arts

Since I was born, I don’t know about other families, but **in my family it is kind of like a norm that you must get some kind of education outside Ghana.**

- Male, 23 years, level 400, Management Information Systems

The whole issue is that what we have in our mind is that **anything coming from outside is good.** In Ghana if someone should make a phone like this no one will buy it. They will say it is fake. Anything coming from that side is good. Should I travel outside to do my masters or PhD and come back I will be a hot cake.

- Male, 22 years, level 400, Geography

Or is it really migration that is seen as desirable? First of all this is contradictory to the othering discussed above where students say people with less education are more likely to aspire to migrate. Secondly, a detailed analysis suggest the students highlight the experience of traveling “have you seen a plane seat before?” or studying abroad: “you must get some form of education outside Ghana” and “travel outside to do my Masters or PhD”.

6.1.4 Problematize Current Student Migration Discourses (Research Objective 4)

When discussing migration aspiration with students, I also sought to listen for diverse ideas toward the migration option, to problematize and question the common held idea that “everybody wants to migrate”. I found some Ghanaian students held strong aspirations not to migrate, some had negative experiences from abroad. Finally, Ghanaian students

expressed the goal of going abroad to explore and enjoy, something that questions earlier research focus on strictly economic reasons for student migration.

6.1.4.1 Strong Aspiration Not to Migrate

Another theme I was looking for was what reservations the students held against the migration option. In the next quote a student discusses reservations linked to family, culture and morals:

I don't want my children to grow up there, maybe it might be the ideology thing you were talking about. Watching movies, looking at the way things are going now **I really don't think I will want to raise my children in such an environment.** I prefer them to be where my mother will watch them.
-Female, 20 years, level 200, Business Administration

Other students also shared critical views of "everybody" wanting to migrate and stressed their wish to individually make up their mind. The last student highlights her personal aspiration of traveling, having mobility, but not leaving Ghana permanently: migrating.

It is like everyone is swimming this way and I am not.
- Male, 20 years, level 200, Computer Science

Everybody likes traveling, "I want to go abroad, I want to study abroad", they are always praising abroad but what is there? Everyone is going there I don't want to go. Like what you said, **everyone is saying I want to go there so I want to stay here.** I just want to stay here because I don't want to go there because everyone is going there...I just want to go there and have fun; have a vacation, shopping and come back to Ghana and let everyone know that I can go anywhere I want to not to just go and live there. It is something I have always thought of. I think it is more fun to be just traveling, "I went to New York, I went to Paris".
- Female, 20 years, level 200, Business Administration

6.1.4.2 Discrimination and Racism

Some students also expressed worry about discrimination or racism in destination countries. One student discussed if racism stoppes people from leaving Ghana, he thought it would not.

I hear Italians are racists but scores of Ghanaians go to Italy because it is outside Ghana. So I think racism is a factor people consider but it doesn't stop them. It is just one of those things you have to deal with. It is like getting a passport.

- Male, 24 years, level 400, Computer Science

Students in relation to racism discussed experiences of friends and relatives and the first student here strongly states that she does not want to be discriminated against.

A friend of mine went to France one year abroad and she said that they asked her that do you guys sleep on trees and I was like "Aaaahhh!! How do you ask that?" I think it is really unfair because when they come here we treat them nicely so if I go there I think I will be really heartbroken...**I hear some places they still discriminate against Africans and I don't want anyone to do that.**

- Female, 20 years, level 200, Psychology and Theatre Arts

My uncle told me of an experience years ago where he got ill and **he was taken to the hospital and they were confining him because they said he had brought a disease from Africa.** I think it was malaria and they weren't too conversant with it so they put him in a secluded place as though if he touches you, you get infected with malaria. It took a while for people to adjust to him.

- Female, 22 years, level 400, Business Administration

A student of dual nationality suggested while biases exist in both Ghana and abroad, discrimination – in his example – having to show an ID card repeatedly was a feature of “abroad”.

I am Swiss Ghanaian. So here I am considered to be a white man, there I am considered to be a black man. It is a very strange feeling, but you get used to it overtime. But what you don't get used to are certain incidents when people treat you a certain way. **In abroad you need your ID card a lot**, so when you are treated in a certain way and you don't really mind because you are used to it and then they ask for your ID and they look at the card and they recognize you are Swiss and they apologize ...Why should it be that I need that citizenship for you to completely accept me?

- Male, 21 years, level 100, Undecided Major

6.1.4.3 Negative Experiences of Living/Traveling Abroad

Some students reflected upon the negative aspects of living abroad. The two stories below chronicle a personal experience of living abroad under an exchange program and one student's thoughts on political instability in a possible host country:

I spent a year doing an exchange program and I went to Washington...It wasn't so pleasant because it was my first time, I went there alone, I wasn't with parents. I had to live with a foster family and they didn't have any child. I was like an only child and I didn't really have a lot of friends, I was now getting to know people. It was fun though, but **the adjusting was quite difficult. I had always dreamed of migrating permanently outside the country because of the movies I have watched**, but [getting] a first-hand experience, I realized it was quite different in movies than in real life situations there.

- Female, 19 years, Level 300, undecided major

The first student talks about loneliness. The experience of abroa has not left her completely uninterested in a going abroad, but she concludes her story "I had always dreamed of migrating permanently". She makes it clear that she has now changed her mind. The second student discusses fear of violence:

I think for me, I have also realized that some students might not like the idea of migrating outside because of what is happening outside now. Even the foreign trend is not playing a part, because for what is said of Ukraine, and now there is political instability there. **So what if I get there, a foreigner who does not know any part of Ukraine, the people there see me and start to hurt me.** Because of that insecurity, some students may not like to migrate if conditions are favorable here.

- Male, 21 years, level 200, nursing

The second student does not have a personal experience, and also makes a very different conclusion: "some students may not like to migrate if conditions are favorable here". Reservations and negative experiences might have a negative influence on students' migration aspirations, but conditions and opportunities at home might be more influential.

6.1.4.4 Explore and Enjoy

As discussed above, the discourse on migration for students in the Global South often presupposes an economical/practical slant to their migration aspirations. Quite the opposite, the ISM discourse points to the exploration and enjoyment of studying in a country other than your country of origin. I suspected that students in Ghana felt the same, although this has not been captured in the migration literature. I found ample evidence in my focus group discussions that exploring the world and enjoying are key objectives for anyone wanting to go abroad.

You want a new place, a new atmosphere, a new way of doing things. When you are going outside the country maybe you have a stereotypical mindset. So maybe you want to know how things will be done. **As young people we like to explore** and know a lot more about the world.

- Female, 19 years, level 100

For me, it is work experience or **enjoying the world**, seeing other places of the world that you haven't seen before.

- Male, 22 years, level 200

Recently, [among] friends, we were talking and **we intend to do some traveling** when we finish with university. We have this three month break before service and we were thinking we will just *borga* as the word is, come back to do our [national] service and if later we want to do our masters outside we go and do that.

- Male, 22 years, level 400

The last quote here even suggests that the “gap year”, or a year out to enjoy life in an unproductive manner such as backpacking, is something the well-to-do youth in Ghana engage in, but for a shorter period. In the quote below, the student suggests the time to do this is between one's graduation and the beginning of the mandatory one-year national service.

The term for discussing traveling here is “borga” from “burger” - a slang term for a Ghanaian living abroad/living a transnational life discussed in depth by Martin (2007). However, here it is used as a verb and not a noun, describing a person. I will further discuss migration terminology as used by Ghanaian university students in Chapter 7.

6.2 Findings from the Survey

In this section I am presenting results from the e-survey conducted. I will present descriptive statistics and, where applicable, regression analyses. For the majority of my statistical analyses, I have chosen the logit estimation technique. When the dependent variable is continuous the ordinary least squares estimation technique (OLS) is suitable. However, if you have a limited dependent variable such as a binary dependent variable, then the logit or probit estimation techniques are a better fit. The latter techniques have superior qualities in terms of relevance in dealing with limited dependent variable estimations.

For organization, I will attempt to answer the questions derived from my research objectives (RO) and listed in the introductory chapter, in the following order namely:

1) What proportion of students says they aspire to migrate/to stay? (RO 1); 2) What proportion of students have taken steps towards migration like researched the option, applied for passport, visa? (RO 2); 3) Who, in terms of socio economic background, year group, course/major, university, gender, network access, is more likely to aspire to migrate? Who is more likely to aspire to stay or to return? (RO 1&3); 4) What actors

influence migration aspirations? (RO 3); 5) What are some reservations to the migration option and to what extent do students aspire to return? (RO 4). I will also compare the results from the questions I repeated from other surveys with the feedback those questions got in Nigeria and the UK respectively (Adepoju & van der Wiel, 2010; Ahrens et al., 2010).

6.2.1 Migration Aspiration

I explored the issue of migration aspiration from several angles in my survey to increase the validity. First, I asked a question on the migration aspiration defined by “the belief that migration is preferable to non-migration”. I agree with Carling (2002), that in quantitative data collection, the idea or dream or wish of migrating can be substituted for aspiration – a concept that presupposes some activity behind the dream. However, the question in my survey was phrased “Do you have any intention to go abroad for more than 1 year?” (Q 3.2) I chose to use “intention” instead of “wish” ,contrary to Carling, as “intention” was more clear to understand for the respondents. To them “wish” sounded lofty. Later in the survey I followed up on steps towards migration, following Carling's idea on separating aspiration from ability. For example, I asked if students had chosen their specific major to increase their chances to migrate, and finally a question on future aspiration where the student was asked where they see themselves in 5 years (Q4.3). This means that I have both a direct question on going abroad for more than one year and several indirect questions. Hence, when I discuss students’ migration aspiration from the quantitative data, I will use “intention” or the same word as in the data collection instrument, but in the analysis, I will collapse them with steps taken into “aspiration”.

Finally, I was not able to strictly follow Carling's Aspiration/Ability framework as few students had ever applied for a visa and many did not have a passport. The discrepancy between the “wish” or “intention” compared to “aspiration” hence is an important finding, which I will discuss further in my analyses.

6.2.1.1 Intention To Migrate

A large majority reports an intention to go abroad for more than one year; a large majority (91,86%, n=429) say yes, either to study or to work. Broken down, almost three in four say “yes, to study”, one in seven say “yes, to work” and less than one in 25 say “other” (a majority of these answers suggested they had an intention to go for both study and work). On the other hand, one in 12 say they have no intention to go abroad for more than one year. (Fig.10)

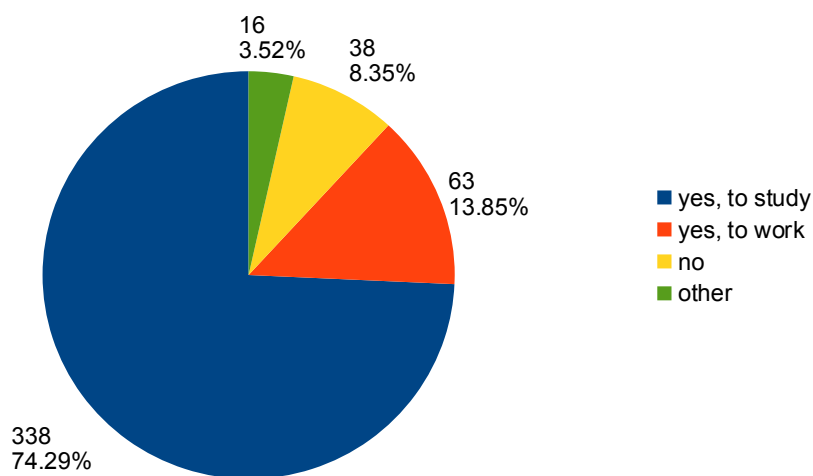


Figure 10: Migration Intention

Note: The pie chart describes the distribution of answers “Do you have any intention to go abroad for more than 1 year?”

6.2.1.2 Future Intention

I also had a question in my questionnaire measuring intentions for the future. The alternatives to the question “Where do you see yourself in 5 years?” were “working in Ghana”, “Working abroad”, “studying in Ghana” and “studying abroad”. In five years’ time, all students targeted by the study would have graduated. Here, few students (15.42%) see themselves working abroad, compared to working in Ghana (40.04%) or studying abroad (40.26%) (Fig. 11).

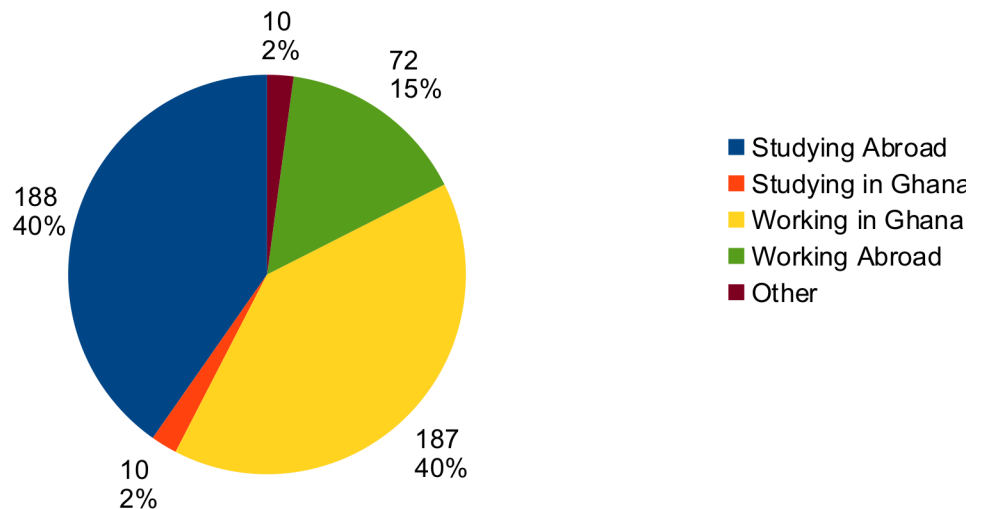


Figure 11: Future Intentions

Note: The pie chart describes the distribution of answers for the question: Where do you see yourself in 5 years?

Less than one in seven see working abroad as an aim and as few as two in 100 intend to study in Ghana. The intention for studying abroad is higher for students from UG than from Ashesi, however, the overall intention to in 5 years be studying is higher among UG

students. Almost half of Ashesi students (44.09%), see themselves working in Ghana in 5 years, compared to just over a third (38.53%) of UG students. (Table 11).

Table 11: Future Intentions for Work and Study in Ghana and Abroad by HEI.

	Ashesi in % (n)	UG in % (n)	Total in %(n)
Studying Abroad	36.22 (46)	41.76 (142)	40.26 (188)
Studying in Ghana	1.57 (2)	2.35 (8)	2.14 (10)
Working abroad	16.54 (21)	15.00 (51)	15.42 (72)
Working in Ghana	44.09 (56)	38.53 (131)	40.04 (187)
Other ³⁰	1.57 (2)	2.35 (8)	2.14 (10)
Total	100 (127)	100 (340)	100 (467)

The two measurements of migration intentions show that a majority of students (91.86%) intend to go abroad for more than one year, but in five years, a little over half of the students (55.66%) see themselves abroad.

6.2.1.3 On a Course to Migrate?

On the direct question whether a student chooses his or her current course in order to be able to migrate, only less than one in five students answered “yes”, one in seven answered “maybe” and almost 7 out of 10 answered “no”, see Fig. 12. Hence a majority of students in Ghana say they are not on a course to migrate. However, this might also be because students do not always get to choose their courses in Ghana., At the private university where students choose their courses freely the number of respondents saying no was higher with 81.9% (n=104) and only 7.1% (n=9) saying “yes” and 11.0% (n=14) “maybe”. This

³⁰ Other was checked by 10 individuals and nine of them provided explanations such as “I have absolutely no idea”, “studying either in Ghana or abroad”, and “I am not quite sure, I have lots of plans...”

suggests that only one in five of students at Ashesi actively chose or maybe chose majors to increase their chance of migrating. Female students were slightly less likely to choose majors to increase their migration: about one in six (15.9%, n=26) of female students said “yes”, compared to closer to one in six (18.2%, n=55) of the male students.

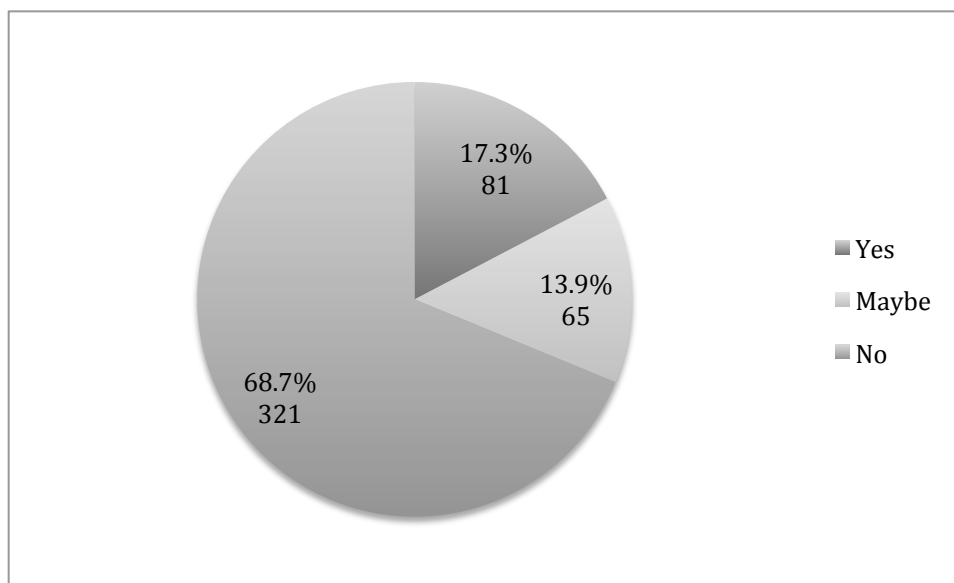


Figure 12. Students Indicating Choosing Their Course to Increase Chance of Migration

6.2.1.4 Steps Toward Migration

One question for the focus group discussion was on the process of migrating. Students were eager to tell me it involved researching options, countries and HEIs, discussing with family members and religious leaders and finally applying for papers. Their answers laid the foundation for the survey questions on migration steps, see a schematic overview illustrated in Fig. 13. This is a general overview of the steps involved although there might be alternative trajectories and several loops instead of a linear progression. As discussed, a share of students are also not interested in migration.

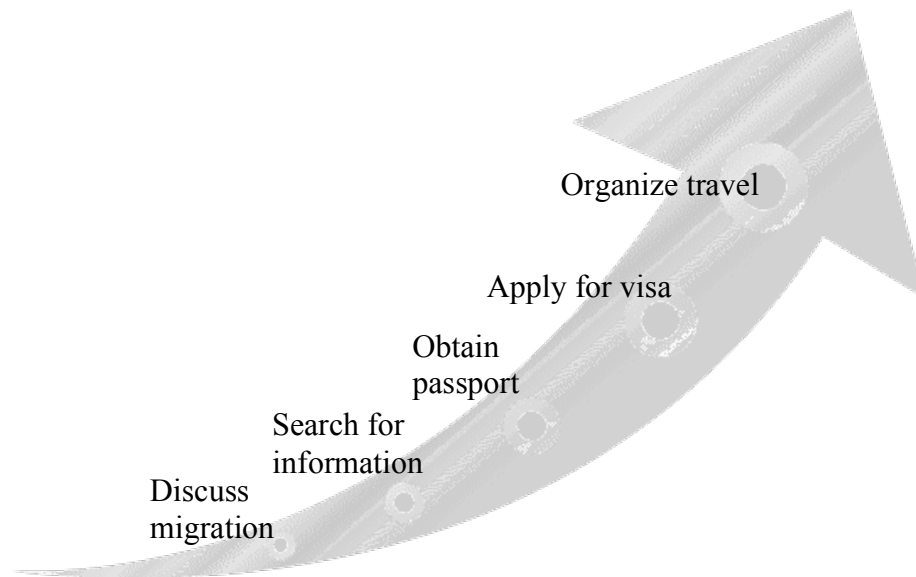


Figure 13: Steps for Migration Deduced from Focus Group Discussions

Interestingly more than half of the students answering the survey had taken no steps in preparing to migrate. A majority had discussed migration as an option, but notably one in four (25.3%) answered they had not discussed migration as an option with anyone since entering university. Less than one in five of the respondents (17.1%, n=80) had an experience of traveling abroad.

Further, four out of 10 owned a passport, but only one in 20 had ever applied for a visa. Among the 18 students who in the survey answered “other” when prompted about travel preparations, all pointed towards the tedious and expensive process of acquiring a passport in Ghana. See Table 12.

Some comments were:

Now planning my birth certificate
 processing passport
 working on my passport
 I await my passport after submission
 [I] am about to buy passport forms
 I am yet to own a valid passport
 I have applied for a passport and waiting

Table 12 : Steps Toward Migration

Survey Question (Q)	Percent	n	Comment
Researched the migration option (Q2.3)			
Migrate, not primarily to study	31.65	144	More students have researched the opportunity to study abroad, than to migrate not primarily to study. The most popular degree to find information about is a Masters degree abroad.
Study abroad, shorter period	52.31	238	
Study abroad, BA	40.88	186	
Study Abroad, MA	71.65	326	
Study Abroad, PhD	47.03	214	
Discussed migration (Q2.5)	74.7	349	Most discuss migration with family (45,4%) and friends (39,6%), but one in four have not discussed migration with anyone.
Bought passport forms (Q3.7.1)	12.53	57	The process of acquiring a Passport in Ghana can be cumbersome, however, some believe that the student status helps in the processing and therefore go for a passport even when no definite plans for migration exists.
Own a valid passport (Q3.7.2)	37.9	177	
Have applied for a visa (Q3.7.3)	1.71	8	Very few have ever applied for a visa compared to the share of students that hold a passport.
Have a valid visa (Q3.7.4)	2.36	11	
Made no preparations to travel (Q3.7.5)	50.75	237	A majority of students has not made any preparations to

When it comes to travel preparation, I ran a binary logistic regression analysis to see if parents' education plays a role in for instance their ward having a valid passport. An early test showed that mother's education is a determining factor on you holding a valid passport. The test was only significant for mothers with tertiary education (p value=0,039) on 95% confidence interval.

Further, I ran a regression analysis where I compared the answers for the question "Do you have any intention to go abroad for more than 1 year?" to "what, if any, travel preparations have you made?", see the results in Table 13. I ran a probit model for male and female respondents separately and one pooled model as discussed in Chapter 5. Significant relationships are marked with bold font below.

Table 13: Determinants of Migration Intentions (marginal effects) [with travel preparation]

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Dependent variable:	marginal effects	marginal effects (Men)	marginal effects
Intention	(Pooled)		(Women)
Travel abroad experience	-0.032 (0.048)	0.005 (0.043)	-0.091 (0.124)
Travel preparation_bought passport forms	0.056*** (0.019)		0.018 (0.094)
Travel preparation_own valid passport	0.056** (0.022)	0.057** (0.028)	0.141** (0.070)
Travel preparation_applied for visa	-0.053 (0.117)	-0.135 (0.217)	
Travel preparation_have a visa	-0.011 (0.078)		-0.105 (0.231)
Observations	436	243	111

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

Not surprisingly, both having bought passport forms and owning a valid passport had a positive relationship with high intention to go abroad (significant for $p=0.05$) More surprisingly, there was a negative relation with both “having applied for” and “having a visa”. However, that relationship was not significant.

In addition, I was curious to see if students at public and private HEIs showed significantly different levels of migration preparation. I found there was a significant difference when it comes to holding passports; a majority of the students at the private university (Ashesi) held them while only a third of students at the public university (UG). (Fig.14).

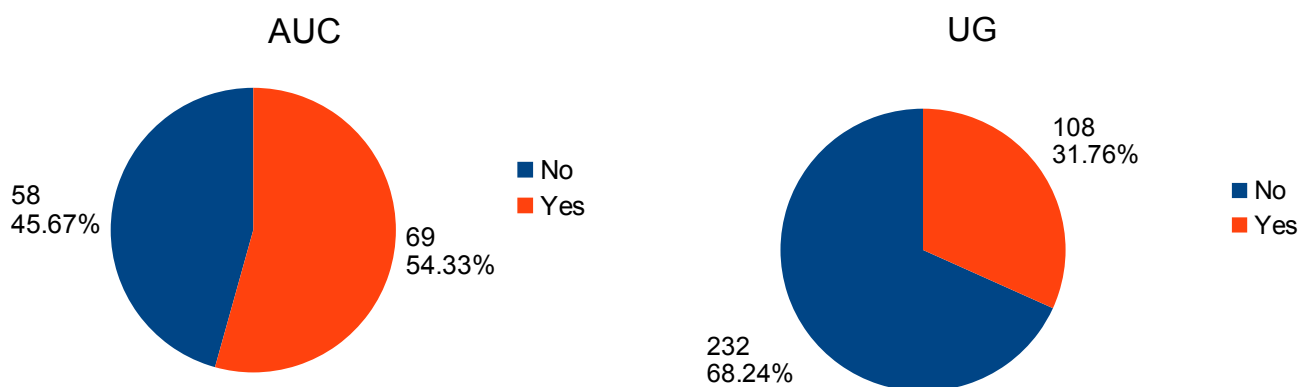


Figure 14: Students with Passports by HEI
 Note: “Yes” indicates holding a valid passport (Q 3.7.2)

Out of the students at UG, a third (31.76%, $n=108$) have valid passports compared to students at Ashesi where more than half of students (54.33%, $n=69$) have passports. Further, among UG students just one in hundred (1.18%, $n=4$) answer they have applied for a visa and share is just slightly higher for Ashesi students with three of 100 (3.15%, $n=4$). Among UG students only one student in my pool of respondents (0.29%) hold a valid visa

compared to about one in 13 (7.87%, n=10) students at Ashesi. Consequently there were differences in applying for visas and holding valid visas. However, in terms of making no travel preparations at all, differences narrowed. At UG more than half of students (53.82%, n=183) and four in 10 (42.52%, n=54) of Ashesi students have made no travel preparations.

Still, more than three in four students (74.09%, n=346) plan to apply for a visa as a student, see Table 14. Interestingly, plans to apply for visa declined over the course of study. The result was controlled for already holding a valid visa. For UG, 72.06% of students have plans to apply for a visa and 79.53% at Ashesi. For the entire population 74.09% have plans to apply for a visa. Eight in 10 of the first year students plan to apply for a visa or 82.41% , 81.65% of the second year students, 66,67% of the third year students and for final year students 52.22%. There is an obvious decline in plans to apply for visas over the course of undergraduate study.

Table 14: Plans For Applying For A Visa By Year Group

Level of Study	% of Students (n)
100 (First Year)	82.41 (164)
200	81.65 (89)
300	66.67 (46)
400 (Final year)	52.22 (47)
Total	74.09 (346)

6.2.2 What Countries Do Students Want To Go To?

In the survey, the open question “What is your preferred destination?” sought to answer where students aspired to go. Answers differed greatly in detail, from “Harvard Business

School” to “an English speaking country for instance USA” which meant that I had to manually code the answers. I found 397 responses that I could categorize and chose to break them down by continent or geographical area: Africa, Asia, Australia and Oceania, Europe, Middle East, North America, Russia, and South America. Where students gave several preferable destinations, I coded only the first. (Fig. 15).

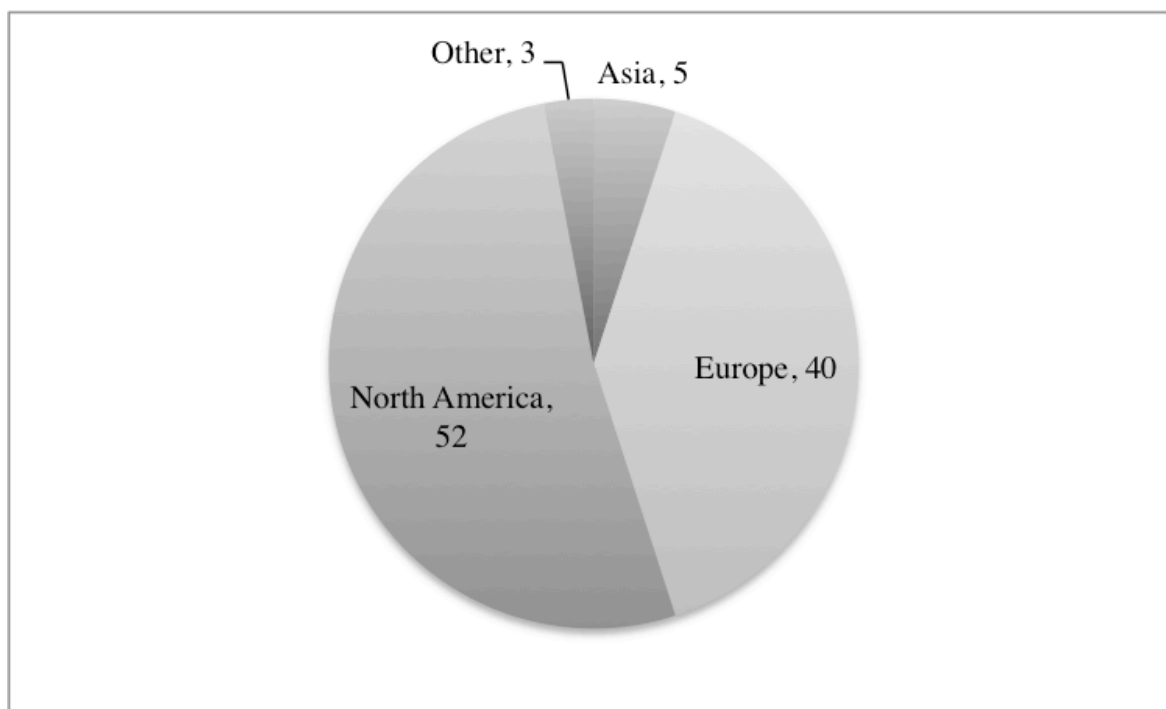


Figure 15. Destination Preferences by Continents in Percent

Russia was the first choice of only one student, Africa (South Africa) of two, Australia and Oceania as well as South America both three, the Middle East four students. Together these destinations make up only 3% of the student population's preferred destinations. On the contrary, the most popular geographical area was North America, including Canada and the United States of America , which drew 202 individuals or 52%, Europe 40% (n=153) and Asia 5% (n=19). The most frequent specific destinations were “London, UK” (n=61) and

unspecified “USA” (n=115). See the full list of answers of preferred destinations in Appendix 6.

6.2.2.1 Visa Applications

I also asked to what countries students had applied for visas and if they ever had a visa application denied. Initially, eight students (1.7%) said they have applied for a visa and 11 students (2.4%) indicated that they had a valid visa. The countries students have applied to were US, UK, Canada and South Africa. I also asked how many students had had visa applications denied, 27 students (5.8%) indicated they had. When I asked what countries had denied them visas, the same four countries that students had applied for visas were cited, but also Schengen/Germany and Saudi Arabia. From this data it seems a majority of visa applications get denied and more students said they had been denied than said they had ever applied! This could be due to the fact that questions were conditioned in a way that allowed even those who had not stated in Q 3.7 they had applied for a visa to answer Q 3.9 “Have you ever gotten a visa application denied?” while the question Q 3.8 “If you have ever applied for a visa, for what country/-ies did you apply?” demanded a positive answer to Q 3.7 on having applied for a visa. (Table 15).

Table 15: Countries for Which Students Have Applied for Visas

Country	Visa applications, n	Denied visas, n
US	9	11
UK	5	15
Canada	1	3
South Africa	1	0
Schengen	0	4
Saudi Arabia	0	1
Total	16	34

In addition, I asked about attitudes toward visa applications. 6 out of 10 students (57.99%, n=294) say it is easier for a student to obtain a visa than for other groups. This result appeared to me as lower than expected as I have also chronicled the migration industry and its efforts into recruiting students.

Furthermore, contrary to expected results, students' familiarity with student visa regulations was very low, with the exception for the US Green Card which is strictly not a student only type of visa³¹. The question (Q3.14) listed different countries' student visas, asked how familiar the student was with it and allowed for the following answers: "Very familiar", "Familiar" and "Not heard of before". Familiarity with the UK Tier 4 Visa was low. Almost three out of four students (72.39%) said they had "not heard of" it, but an even larger proportion (83.04%) of students had not heard of the European Schengen Visa, and almost nine out of 10 (86.39%) had not heard of the Chinese X-Visa. The exception, as noted above, was the US Green Card with which 90.6 % (n=423) of students were "Very familiar" or "Familiar".

6.2.3 Socio-economic Background and Migration Intentions

I created a binary variable (labeled: intention) for the question "Do you have any intention to go abroad for more than 1 year?". 1 represented a "yes" answer (grouping of variables "Yes, to study", "Yes, to work" and "other" – which in the comment section most of the

³¹ In the survey, the US F1 visa and the Green Card were included, but not the J1 visa as it is for students in certain programs and thus more specialized. As I was interested in general knowledge, I included only the basic visa types. The limitation with this omission is of course that I could have had a student who was aware of the J1 visa, but could not indicate that in the survey.

time was given as "Yes, to study and work") and 0 if the answer was a "no". This binary variable was made the dependent variable in a series of regression analyses.

By using this binary dependent variable model, i.e. a logit or probit model, I can estimate the effect of socioeconomic variables like sex, parents' education, the effect of location or region of region, on the propensity to intend to migrate. See Table 16 for a summary and brief explanations below the table for each socioeconomic variable. Significant results are marked with bold font.

Table 16: Regression Analysis of Intention to go Abroad for More than 1 Year

		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Dependent variable:		Pooled	Men	Women
Intention to migrate				
Father's Education ³²	Less than MSLC/BI	-0.058	-0.004	-0.896***
		(0.115)	(0.072)	(0.027)
	MSLC/BECE/VOC	-0.274	-0.224	-0.917***
		(0.181)	(0.163)	(0.024)
	Secondary	-0.164	-0.147	-0.959***
		(0.146)	(0.142)	(0.038)
	Tertiary	-0.128*	-0.097	-0.590***
		(0.076)	(0.077)	(0.134)
Mother's Education ³³	Less than MSCL/BI	0.065***	0.057**	0.140*
		(0.025)	(0.027)	(0.077)
	MSLC/BECE/VOC	0.104***	0.086***	
		(0.021)	(0.025)	
	Secondary	0.089***	0.073***	0.191*
		(0.028)	(0.028)	(0.107)
	Tertiary	0.069*	0.051	0.168
		(0.036)	(0.031)	(0.198)
University Attended ³⁴	UG	-0.022	-0.022	-0.035
		(0.027)	(0.026)	(0.088)
Travel Abroad Experience	Yes	-0.028	0.003	-0.052
		(0.043)	(0.037)	(0.112)
Sex ³⁶	Male	0.034		

³² Base group is fathers with no education.

³³ Base group is mothers with no education.

³⁴ Base group is Ashesi.

³⁵ Base group is respondents who answered "no".

³⁶ Base group is Female.

		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
		(0.026)		
Level of Study ³⁷	2 nd year	0.022	0.022	0.056
		(0.027)	(0.029)	(0.073)
	3 rd year	-0.009	-0.052	0.132**
		(0.034)	(0.045)	(0.065)
	Final year	0.039	0.030	0.101
		(0.029)	(0.032)	(0.100)
Age	Age	-0.000	0.000	-0.020
		(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.034)
Region ³⁸	Western	-0.025	-0.038	0.020
		(0.056)	(0.068)	(0.125)
	Upper East	-0.030	-0.037	
		(0.104)	(0.099)	
	Eastern	0.050*	0.025	
		(0.027)	(0.038)	
	Central	0.040	-0.004	
		(0.034)	(0.060)	
	Ashanti	0.016	0.005	0.050
		(0.030)	(0.036)	(0.074)
Observations		436	283	114

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

When it comes to the influence of parents' educational level, I found that when a mother's education is higher it increases the likelihood that her child/the student intends to go abroad for one year, while the opposite is true for the father's education: the more education one's father has, the less likely one is to migrate. However, while “mother's education” was statistically significant for all levels in the pooled model, “father's education” was only statistically significant for the highest level of education, tertiary, and strongest correlation was for female students. These results suggest that fathers' education does not play a role for their dependents migration intentions, unless he is tertiary educated and then his influence is negative on the migration intention. Mothers' education is positively correlated

³⁷ Base group is 1st year students.

³⁸ Base group is individuals from Greater Accra, note the regions with few responses were not included like Volta. Upper West and Brong Ahafo regions.

with migration intention from the basic education level, suggesting that the more education one's mother has, the more likely one is to intend to migrate.

For university attended, a student at Ashesi is more likely to intend to migrate than a student at UG. Note this includes study abroad.

To the question: "Have you ever traveled abroad?" 17.1% (n=80) answered "yes" and 82.9% (n=387) answered "no". For the two HEIs in my sample, the answers varied greatly on this with 51.2% of Ashesi students or 65 individuals, having traveled abroad compared to 4.4% at University of Ghana or 15 individuals. In a regression analysis, there was a negative relationship between travel experience and intention to migrate. When controlled for sex, women with travel experience were less likely to intend to migrate, however, results were not significant. Sex was not a significant determinant of intention to go abroad for more than one year.

I was also interested to see how migration aspiration changed over the four years of undergraduate study. In order to test that, I chose first year students as the base group. The regression analysis show that second year students are slightly more likely to intend to migrate than first year students; women slightly more likely to intend to migrate than men. For third year students overall, they are less likely to intend to migrate than the base group, men especially. Contrary to this, female third year students are more likely to intend to migrate, and the effect is significant at $p=0,05$. Final year students are again more likely to intend to migrate, not surprisingly this group shows the strongest probability of intending to migrate compared to the other year groups. Interestingly, women in the final year group

shows a three time higher likelihood of intending to migrate compared to men. However, it is worth noting these are not strong predications and the only significant relationship is for female students in the third year.

Regional effects were generally insignificant, with the exception of that a student from the Eastern region is more likely to aspire to go abroad for more than one year compared to the Greater Accra base group. It is however not a very strong effect at p value = 0.050 with a standard error of 0.027 and at a confidence interval of 0.1. The only two regions negatively associated with migration aspirations were Western and Upper Eastern regions.

Finally, I was interested to see the impact of academic success on migration intention. In the survey I had asked for the results in the West African Senior School Certificate Examination (WASSCE) exams, which serve as entrance exams to universities in Ghana. The students who responded to the survey reported WASSCE results ranging between aggregate 6-28 and 13 students did not report valid results, see Fig. 16.

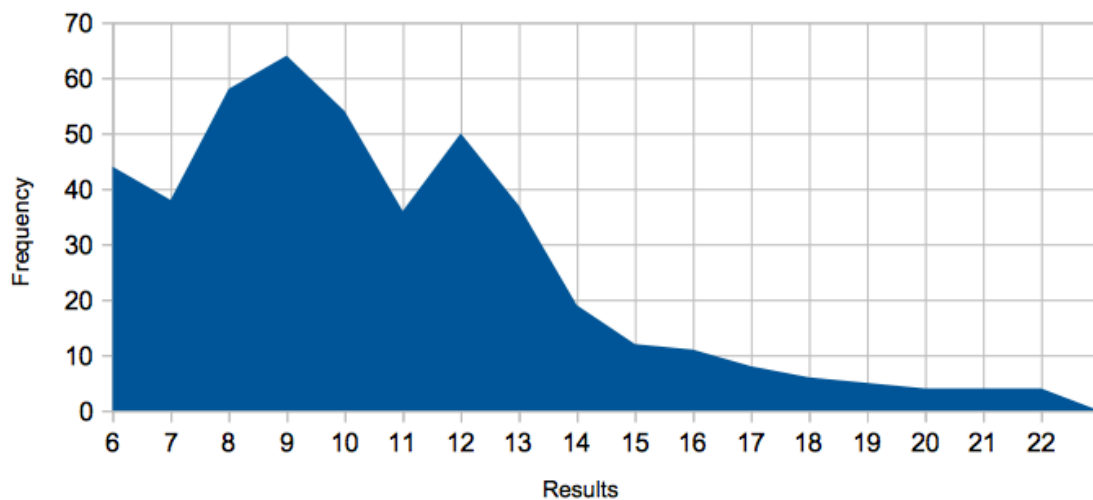


Figure 16: Distribution of WASSCE Results Among Respondents

Note: The higher the number on the Results axis, the poorer the result. Aggregate 6-9 is considered excellent results.

I created groups for the continuous variable on WASSCE results where I grouped 6-9 into group 1 (excellent), 10-14 into 2 (very good) and 15-19 into 3 (good) and 20 and above into group 4 (poor). 13 individuals were dropped from the dataset for failing to answer the question or provide an invalid answer. The new total number of students for which there was WASSCE data was N=454. I ran a logistic regression estimation. I used the WASSCE group 1 as a base group and the independent variable was the "intention to migrate" from the question "do you have any intention to go abroad for more than 1 year?".

I found that migration aspiration is negative related to group 2, but positive related to group 3, suggesting that people with very good grades (but not excellent) are less likely to have migration aspirations compared to group 1. Group 3 is the group most likely to have

migration aspirations. This interesting finding was, however, not statistically significant (p value= 0,425 for group 2 and 0,401 for group 3). To see if there were differences between individual grades, I used the continuous variable and found a correlation between WASCCE results and migration aspiration: the weaker one's results, the more likely one is to aspire to migrate. This relationship is, however, not significant.

When controlling for sex, I found that males are less likely to aspire to migrate when their WASSCE result is poorer (not significant) and women with a weak performance are more likely to aspire to migrate (p value=0.033 at a confidence interval of 95%). The significant result for women with weak WASSCE performance, suggests that WASSCE results are an important predictor for women's migration aspirations. It also suggests, contrary to what we might have pre-supposed, that stronger students (in terms of WASSCE results) are more likely to stay, especially women with stronger results.

For the regression analysis of future migration aspirations a binary variable was created by combining “working in Ghana” and “studying in Ghana” into one variable (0) and similarly combining “working abroad” with “studying abroad” (1). The nine individuals who had answered “other” were dropped for this probit regression analysis. The regression analysis, presented in Appendix 4a, did not reveal any significant or even noticeable results.

I redid the binary variable and conceptualized only “working abroad” as a migration option (0). All the other options concerning Ghana as well as the studying abroad – which could be intended to be temporary - were set to one variable (1). However, also this did not result in any tangible outcome or significant results. Find the results in Appendix 4b. This means

no particular group of student was more or less likely to provide a particular answer to the question.

6.2.4 Influencers

For Ghanaian university students in my study, family is by far the strongest influencer of migration aspirations, interestingly followed by the university through lecturers and programs. Family abroad has less of an impact than expected – although this result should be read carefully as the question asks the students to rank the options. (Table 17).

Table 17: Influencers

Answer	n	%
Family in Ghana (1)	254	50.10
Family Abroad (2)	34	6.71
Partner (3)	24	4.73
Friends in Ghana (4)	20	3.94
Friends Abroad (5)	25	4.93
Your Current University (through lecturers, programs) (6)	130	25.64
Religious Leader (7)	20	3.94

Note: I asked students to rank alternatives above with this prompt: Thinking about your answers above, what individual/organization/group do you think most influenced your plans for the future?

When pooling the first and second ranks of influencers (see Table 17), the results persist: “Family in Ghana” comes out as the most important influencer (75.50% say this is the most or second most important influencer), followed by “Your current university” (40.60%), “Friends in Ghana” (25.00%) and “Family Abroad” (21.70%).

As students in the focus groups had stressed that influence comes from those who provide the finances, I also asked “who pays your tuition and living expenses currently?”, and I got

some telling results. Family pays for tuition and living expenses in most cases (85.21%, n=432) while university scholarships, guardians and partial scholarships listed under “other” account for about one in 13 (7.30%, n=37) students, followed by foreign scholarships (6.31%, n=32). Individuals who put themselves through university (alternative “myself” including of “bank loan”) represent a meager one in 15 (6.31%, n=32) of students. Government scholarship holders were few with 2 individuals or only 0.39% of my respondents.

In a regression analysis where “intention to migrate” was the dependent variable, and “most important influencers” the independent variable, with “Family in Ghana” as a base group, the results show that those who are most influenced by “Family abroad” are less likely to aspire to migrate, the same is true for those who are most influenced by religious leaders. However, those most influenced by “friends in Ghana” or “partner” are more likely to aspire to migrate. The relationships are not significant.

6.2.5 Reservations to Migration

Main reservations for leaving Ghana include costs like school fees, where about half of the students indicate that this hinders migration (53.25% answered “very important”), further supporting the claim that migration is not an option for the poor. Just over one in four say “patriotism” is a reservation and one in six (15.98%) say “racism” in the destination country is a deterrent. Few students reported reservations like “do not want to leave my boyfriend/girlfriend” (4.1%) or “foreign certificate not recognized” (8.2%) as well as “wary of living in another culture/country” (10.0%).

6.2.5.1 Return

Almost all students (97.9% or n=457) want to return to Ghana; the largest proportion (27.8%) within three years and an almost similar sized group (26.7%) want to live transnational lives and divide time between home and abroad. Women are more likely to want to lead transnational lives (35.0% compared to 22.1% for men) while a third of men (30.6%) would like to stay for 4-10 years compared to a sixth (16.6%) of women. (Table 18).

Table 18: Return Preferences by Sex

Preferred Return	Sex					
	Female		Male		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
After 1-2 years	24	14.7	32	10.9	56	12.3
After 2-3 years	23	14.1	48	16.3	71	15.5
After 4-6 years	21	12.9	63	21.4	84	18.4
After 6-10 years	6	3.7	27	9.2	33	7.2
I would like to return for shorter visits	20	12.3	43	14.6	63	13.8
I would like to return to work and live in Ghana and then live abroad again	57	35.0	65	22.1	122	26.7
I would like to return when I retire	4	2.5	3	1.0	7	1.5
Other	8	4.9	13	4.4	21	4.6
Total	163	100	294	100	457	100

There were very small differences between HEIs; the most pronounced differences were for early return where about one fifth (18.4%) of Ashesi students wanted to return within 1-2 years and one tenth (9.9%) of UG students. The early return alternatives are seen in the bottom of the stack-diagrams in Fig. 17.

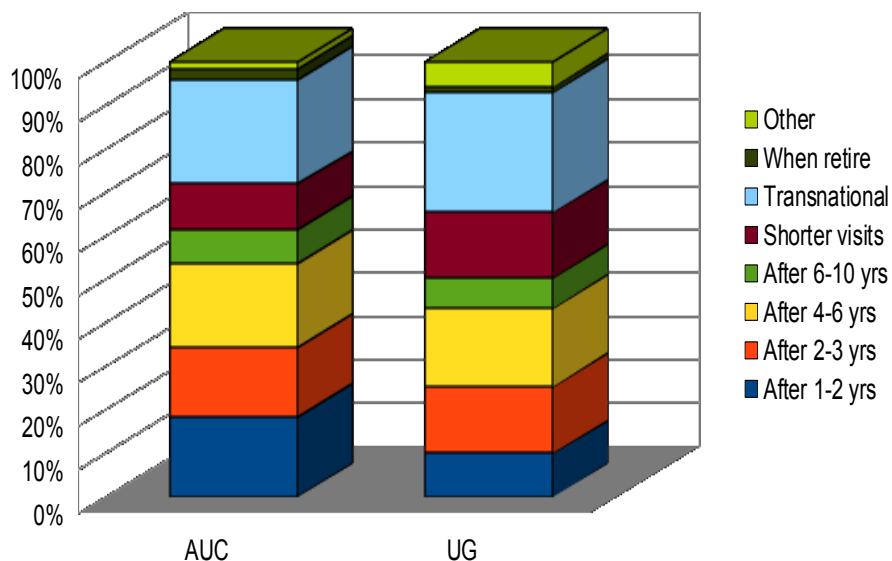


Figure 17: Return Preferences by HEI

Note: Early return alternatives start from below.

6.2.5.2 Attitudes Toward Foreign Study and Work Experience

A majority of the students (56.1% or n=262) felt that a person who is best positioned to gain employment is a person who has studied both in Ghana and abroad compared to the option “only abroad” that was chosen by about one seventh of respondents (14.1%, n=66) or “only in Ghana” by just three in hundred (2.6%, n=12). Students from UG were slightly more positive towards students' opportunities if studied only in Ghana or to the idea that this does not matter (the option “anyone”). Further, just three in 100 (2.9%) believed that a

student who had studied only in Ghana was best positioned to gain employment, compared to half of that (1.6 %) in Ashesi students answering the same. At UG, a third (31.2%) of the students believed “anyone” could find employment, compared to again half of that (16.5%) answer among Ashesi students. Advantages with foreign training were “hands-on training and experience” said four in 10 (40.0%) and “better exposed” three in 10 (28.6%).

This question was a repeat question from a Nigerian survey carried out among 126 undergraduate students at state universities (Adepujo & van der Wiel, 2010). Nigerian students were slightly more positive toward Nigerian higher education and one in 20 (4.9%) of them answered they thought a person who had studied in Nigeria would be better positioned to gain employment, compared to the Ghanaian equivalent response of one in 50 (2.6%). At the same time, the Nigerian students were more positive towards studying abroad as eight of 10 (82%) of the respondents thought a person who had only studied abroad would be best positioned to gain employment. When combining the Ghanaian alternatives of study abroad, 14.1%, and studying abroad and in Ghana (an alternative not available in the Nigerian questionnaire), 56.1%, it adds up to seven out of 10 (70.2%) of the respondents and the Nigerian level is not reached. Nigerian students stressed the reason for why foreign trained students are preferred over locally trained students were “employers prefer foreign certificates” (most popular answer with a third or 32.8% of respondents) compared to “hands-on training and experience” (most popular answer with two fifths or 40.0 % of respondents) for Ghanaian students.

Hence it seems Nigerian students do not necessarily question the quality of Nigerian higher education, but the perception of it, while Ghanaian students prefer a mix of education at home and abroad, and believe the education abroad is of practical use.

6.2.5.3 Reasons For Going Abroad

The literature is divided on the reasons for student migration. A UK study by Ahrens et al. (2010) used a question to address the reasons for student migration, and I thought repeating their question in my survey would be interesting as to making possible a comparative analysis. Hence I included the question “why do you want to study abroad?” with opportunity to answer on a three-level Likert scale: “Very important” (1), “Slightly important” (2), “Not important” (3), and “Not applicable” (0). I added two sub questions for catering to the Ghanaian case, one on rising costs of schooling in Ghana and another on gaining “travel experience”. The answers that scored the highest number of “very important” responses were: I see study abroad as an opportunity for adventure (presented in Table 19), I am determined to attend a world-class university (Table 20), and to study my favored discipline (Table 21).

Table 19: Study Abroad for Adventure

Answer	n	%	Cumulative %
Very important (1)	194	51.46	51.46
Slightly important (2)	140	37.14	88.60
Not important (3)	27	7.16	95.76
Not applicable (4)	16	4.24	100.00
Total	377	100.00	

Note: The question was Why do you want to study abroad? [I see study abroad as an opportunity for adventure], a repeat question from Ahrens et al. 2010 (3.6. alt SQ001).

Table 20: Study Abroad for Education Quality

Answer	n	%	Cumulative %
Very important (1)	202	53.58	53.58
Slightly important (2)	111	29.44	83.02
Not important (3)	47	12.47	95.49
Not applicable (4)	17	4.51	100.00
Total	377	100.00	

Note: The question was Why do you want to study abroad? [I am determined to attend a world-class university], a repeat question from Ahrens et al. 2010 (3.6. alt SQ003).

Table 21: Study Abroad for Specific Study Program Choice

Answer	n	%	Cumulative %
Very important (1)	222	58.89	58.89
Slightly important (2)	96	25.46	84.35
Not important (3)	31	8.22	92.57
Not applicable (4)	28	7.43	100.00
Total	377	100.00	

Note: The question was Why do you want to study abroad? [To study my favoured discipline], a repeat question from Ahrens et al. 2010 (3.6. alt SQ006).

Students in the UK answered the same question, and also rated “quality education” high: almost nine of 10 (88.7%) said it was very or slightly important. “Adventure” was rated second most important reason, with 87.9% of students labeling it as very or slightly important, and finally choice did not make the UK students top three list. On the other hand among UK students, about a third (33.9%) cited “high student fees in UK” as a very or slightly important reason to want to study abroad (Ahrens et al., 2010). In comparing the results with the students from UK, Ghanaian students are slightly more interested in study abroad as “adventure” compared to their UK counterparts, as 88.6% of Ghanaian students compared to 87.9% of UK students say “adventure” is a very or slightly important factor. It is also worth noting that “adventure” is the strongest reason to study abroad for Ghanaian students.

6.3 Findings From the Interviews

After carrying out about half of the eight interviews I had projected to do, I decided to adjust the scope and add four more students. The reason was that after the initial interviews, I realized the migration aspiration students had stated in the survey (categorized as “high” or “low”), the basis of selection for the interview, for a majority of students interviewed had changed. This led me to divert my interest from just the students with high respective low migration aspiration to all students again and I then needed students who did not necessarily fall into the “high” or “low” migration aspiration categories. I wanted to make sure that as many types of student views as possible were covered, hence I added also two “confused” students (operationalized as intention to go abroad to work, but not holding a valid passport) as well as two students saying they were interested in going abroad to study. Out of these additional four, one student was only available for a phone interview where the recording unfortunately was of too poor quality to be transcribed. Hence in total 11 successful interviews were completed and transcribed.

The demographics of the final group of 11 interviewed students are as follows: six male, five female; four from UG, seven from Ashesi; five from level 100, two from level 200, three from level 300 and 1 from level 400. The interviewees were also diverse in terms of parents' education which varied from mother and father with university degrees to parents with less than BECE, as well as in terms of interests and field of study where the following majors were represented: Business administration (4), Computer science (2), Psychology

and Study of Religions, Agricultural Sciences, Economics, Russian/Sociology, Management Information Systems.

6.3.1 Personal Stories

In this section I will introduce the students I interviewed with brief biographies and a quote that summarize their current migration aspiration. To keep the students anonymous, I have changed their names and removed their institutional affiliation.

6.3.1.1 Fiifi

Fiifi is the youngest of four siblings in a family from Northern Ghana that he himself describes as poor. He grew up in Accra and lost his father a few years ago. He is currently a third year university student studying computer science. In the survey, he had indicated that he was interested in going abroad for more than one year, to work. He also owned a passport. He was therefore categorized as having “high migration aspiration”. However, in the interview, he discussed how the opportunities of having been able to go abroad during university impacted him to aspire to stay in Ghana, possibly after a brief period of “building skill” abroad. “I feel that right after my undergraduate study, I should start doing something instead of going to enjoy what others have done.”

6.3.1.2 Aba

Aba is the youngest in a family of three siblings growing up in a middle-income family in Accra. She studies Russian and Sociology, a combination she has chosen both to be able to travel and to be employable in Ghana. Now in her second year, she is working hard towards the one-year scholarship that six students will receive after their third year of

Russian, but she is determined to return to Ghana after that. In the survey, she indicated that she was interested in going abroad to work, but did not own a passport, and was therefore categorized as having “confused migration aspirations”. In the interview, she maintained her position: “I said I will work there for a couple of years, I might come down here and share my experience” and told me of having gone to purchase the passport forms and hence started the process of acquiring a passport.

6.3.1.3 Oko

Oko grew up in Accra with his sister and mother in a middle-income household and recently graduated with a degree in economics and statistics. Currently, he is doing his national service with an insurance company. In the survey, he indicated that he was not interested in going abroad for more than one year and did not own a passport. He was therefore categorized as having a “low migration aspiration”. Then, in the interview he told me he had changed his mind: "When I [go to] live abroad, I think I am going to explore my ideas...I think I will live up to my full potential, rather than living in Ghana".

6.3.1.4 Thelma

Thelma is the older of two children and grew up with her brother and parents in Accra although she was born in the Volta region. She wanted to study medicine, but her grades did not take her there so she settled for Animal Science and will graduate later this year (2015). In the survey, she indicated that she was interested in going abroad to study and was thus categorized as having “student migration aspirations”. She has since signed up to be a Teaching Assistant, partly as she believes that might take her closer to her aspiration

of going abroad. However, in the interview she also shared her ambivalence about the migration option: "I like to travel, just that sometimes you are scared of going to a place where you don't know how you are going to fare" and a little later when I asked if she feels strongly about her aspirations: "I am so so very not sure".

6.3.1.5 Amanda

Amanda grew up in Takoradi with her grandmother. Her mother re-married, and so Amanda now has four younger siblings. She is currently a third year student studying Business Administration. She has travelled before to relatives abroad. In the survey, she reported she was not interested in going abroad for more than one year, and was thus categorized as having "low migration aspiration", but in the interview she talked about how "I would like to experience a different environment", only to later suggest "I have not actually decided for my future, what it is going to be like".

6.3.1.6 Magnus

He is a second year student studying Business Administration and from a lower income family. His mother is self-employed and his father a pensioner of the civil service. He has two older sisters, and one younger brother. No family abroad. He has indicated in the survey he wanted to go abroad to work, and was consequently put in the "high migration aspiration" category. However, in the interview he said he had changed his mind: "I had wanted to go abroad after writing the SAT, but I changed my mind because I knew my parents could not support me with that because of financial challenges".

6.3.1.7 Efua

She is a second year student and has grown up in Accra, although the family has moved around quite a bit, and for a while she was living with a family friend. Now the family, which has roots both in the Eastern and Ashanti regions, has settled in an eastern suburb of Accra. She has gone abroad before to visit relatives. She has three brothers and two sisters. In the survey, she reported she was interested in going abroad to study, and was categorized as having “student migration aspirations”, but in the interview she no more mentioned going to study, but stressed the aspiration of staying in Ghana, or if work demanded, she was happy living a transnational life: "I am not really aspiring to leave Ghana and go work abroad. But I see myself working in Ghana or Africa, like if I end up having a job that requires me to be moving around a lot, I wouldn't mind that."

6.3.1.8 Yosef

He is a second year student of Computer Science, born in Accra, but raised in the Central region. He grew up with his grandmother, as the only child between his parents, an illiterate woman and a father who currently lives abroad and has no contact with his son. He has five younger stepsiblings. In the survey, he was categorized to have “student migration aspirations”, but in the interview he stressed that he is passionate about not just being a student abroad, but working and living there for an extended period of time before returning: "Now I really want to migrate and get the experience, it's all about international experience."

6.3.1.9 Irene

She is a second year computer science major with well-educated parents, her father is a lawyer and her mother a teacher, but from an economically modest background. She is 19 years old and has no aspiration to go live abroad, and was thus categorized as having “low migration aspiration”. However, in the interview she talks about maybe doing further studies. She said about going abroad: "maybe to study, but I don't want to live there...I think I like Ghana and I think I should put the skills acquired and knowledge acquired in good use here in Ghana."

6.3.1.10 Leon

He is from the Northern region of Ghana and has four sisters. He grew up with his sisters and parents in Accra, and is a final year Management Information Systems student. In the survey, he indicated he wanted to go abroad to work, but did not have a passport, hence he was categorized as having “confused migration aspirations”. In the interview, his position had changed slightly, and he had opened up for also staying in Ghana. "It all depends on what I get. If I get a job outside...if I don't get a job, then I am going to stay in Ghana". He still had not acquired a passport. “I want to go, but then, I have not made any preparations for it. So then, I am just waiting for a trigger, something that will make me go”.

6.3.1.11 Senyo

He grew up in Northern Accra before the family relocated to a western suburb of Accra. He grew up with his mother and younger sister after his father passed on. His mother is a university educated woman and organized a passport for her son early. Senyo is currently a

final year student studying Psychology and Religion. He was initially categorized as having a “high migration aspiration”, but in the interview it sounded like he had changed his mind and was rather interested in studying abroad and then returning: "I would like to further my education outside, get a Masters degree and some kind of business related course, and then come back and help here".

6.3.2 Themes From Interviews

The study was not intended to be a longitudinal study, but as I had panel data from the survey for all the interviewees, and chose them based on their answers, a comparison of their survey answers with interview answers became inevitable. Initially there was no plan for a time lapse between survey and interviews, however, due to personal reasons of the author, the data collection was spread over one year with the survey happening between March and May 2014 and interviews taking place in April 2015.

In the interviews certain themes emerged: first, a majority of the students had changed their aspirations. Secondly, many were keen to discuss furthering their education, it was almost like that taking place abroad was secondary. Third, when following up on social media use, I found most interviewees had family and/or friends abroad that they talked to, a majority of them daily or weekly! I will discuss these and other key findings with quotes from the interviews in the section below. In the quotes, I use first name initials to signify who is speaking. When I, the researcher speak, it is marked “K” for “Kajsa”. I also bold information that I later analyse for clarity.

6.3.2.1 Student Migration Aspirations are Volatile

At the time of the interviews, nine of 11 of the students had changed their minds from the time they took the survey on the central aspect of my study: migration aspiration. I considered if this could be due to the different methodology. However, what weighs against that is that e-surveys have been reported to be the most suitable for truthful answers; the interviews appeared candid and when probed, students openly discussed having changed their minds. In the table below, nine students are categorized as having changed their minds, one could not clearly be defined as a change of mind as the positions are not mutually exclusive and hence is categorized as not having changed his mind. Only one student did without doubt *not* change her mind on this variable.

Table 22: Students Changing Migration Aspiration

Student	Aspiration in survey 2014 ³⁹	Aspiration in interview 2015 ⁴⁰	Changed Aspirations
Fiifi	Yes, to work	No	Yes
Senyo	Yes, to work	Yes, to study	Yes
Magnus	Yes, to work	No	Yes
Yosef	Yes, to study	Yes, to work	Yes
Thelma	Yes, to study	Undecided	Yes
Oko	No	Yes, to work (now with passport)	Yes
Irene	No	Yes, to study	Yes
Efua	Yes, to study	No/transnational job	Yes
Amanda	No	Undecided	Yes
Leon	Confused (Yes, to work, but no passport)	"good job in Ghana or abroad" (still no passport)	Unclear
Aba	Confused (Yes, to work, but no passport)	Yes, to work (still no passport)	No

³⁹ The question was “Do you have any intention to go abroad for more than 1 year?” and the alternatives “yes, to study”, “Yes, to work”, “No” and “Other” with an option to add text to that answer.

⁴⁰ The aspiration has been deduced from the interview, see support in biography with corresponding quote.

In Table 22, it can be read that in 2014, there were three individuals in each of the following groups: “aspiring to work abroad”, “study abroad”, and “stay in Ghana” and two “confused” or contradictory responses. One year later, two want to study abroad and three want to work abroad, three are undecided and three want to stay in Ghana, all but one student had somehow changed their mind. I am not sure how to categorize Leon who in the interview did not answer the question straightforward, but rather suggested a good job would determine his whereabouts. From six students in total aspiring to go abroad (for study or work), the number in 2015 fell to five.

I could categorize the change of mind into two groups, individual decisions and ambivalent aspirations. The first three students below will articulate their individual decision-making:

When I started university I still wanted to go to MIT. I was still in a way working towards it. I thought maybe I should finish [undergraduate studies] and then go for another degree. But then **when I travelled and came back**, I just felt that there is a lot...someone has to sacrifice...we have to get it that Ghana is at a low level, we shouldn't be thinking, “Ok, we are at that high level” and it just has to be inspiration. (Fiifi)

A: Ehm, I don't; I think I have actually said everything that influences my decision to just stay in Ghana or leave. My future; I have not actually decided for my future, but it is going to be like...**I have been indecisive for a very long time.**

K: And what do you think ultimately will make you put down your foot?

A: Well, I am now here, definitely, when I thrust into the real world, I actually have to put my foot down and say hey, I have to find out my next step; because right now my parents cannot make that decision for me; I have to actually make that decision for myself and I think actually; that is when they need my eyes to actually open (Amanda)

K: Since you did the survey, you have actually graduated and what has happened to you for you to so radically change your mind? From my remembrance you did not have a passport and you were not interested in going abroad for more than one year and that was one year ago.

O: Yes, **when I started my service, I looked at the corporate environment and I studied the whole mental situation of Ghanaians. And I also had a deep religious change, sort of.** So I began thinking seriously about living independently and also exploring myself. (Oko)

These students highlight their personal agency in their stories. Experiences of earlier travel (Fiifi), making decisions independently of parents (Amanda) and independent thinking, both in terms of religion and lifestyle (Oko) were given as reasons for the change of migration aspiration.

Then I recognized a group of students with very ambivalent aspirations:

K: The only thing I know about you, from the survey you filled, is that you are not so much interested in migrating. Is that still true?

T: No, I think I am actually interested now...[laughter]

K: Why?

T: I like to travel, just that sometimes you are scared of going to a place where you don't know anyone, you don't know how you are going to fare, but actually traveling is something I would like to do, just see places and people.

K: So you are traveling, is it for study, work, vacation?

T: Basically study, maybe subsequently for vacation.

K: How about staying in Ghana?

T: Yeah, it is ok, if you have a nice job that will take care of you, its also cool...

K: Do you feel strongly about your aspiration at this point or are you not sure?

T: **I am so so very not sure.** (Thelma)

I: I mean, you would earn a higher income and you will have better opportunities for your children, better health care, better education there [abroad] than here [in Ghana]. So, I don't know. Maybe in terms of extended family, maybe your mother could help; that is where I see it from.

K: Maybe even with all those things, living abroad is not your plan?

I: **I don't know, well, it could change.** (Irene)

L: **It all depends on what I get.** If I get a job outside, abroad, then yeah; I am going to make it my occupation; then; so it is still counting on, it all depending on what happens. **If I get a job outside, if I don't get a job, then I am going to stay in Ghana.** (Leon)

The ambivalent students seem to lack someone to discuss their aspirations with (I will discuss that further below under “individualism”) and were happy to explore their different options with me in the interviews. They weighed their options and compared advantages and disadvantages of migrating or remaining in Ghana in terms of adventure and security (Thelma), income, healthcare and family help (Irene) and job opportunities (Leon).

Together, this suggests migration aspirations are much more fluid than I had anticipated and is discussed in the literature. From the survey, I know it does not seem to be a specific background that makes students more or less prone to aspire to migrate. Rather, students are adaptable and take in large volume of information and cues about their opportunities. Some students suggest they will go “if there is an opportunity” or if they “get a job”. Others are more intentional about it, but the fact that a majority of interviewees had changed their mind over the course of one year was a surprise and an insight.

6.3.2.2 Students Aspire to Further Studies

In the interviews, another important finding was substantiated. It appears, the focus of the Ghanaian student is not migration or even traveling, it is furthering of education. Possibly, we can even talk of an education culture⁴¹.

If you are looking for students who want to migrate or leave Ghana, maybe you could be looking at **people who want to go and get a higher education** outside? ... and maybe at the back of their minds, if they do get the higher education, they will more experienced or learn from wherever they are going and they would be able to come back and change Africa, like how we are all being taught to do. Because that is what Ashesi is based on. So maybe you could be looking at people

⁴¹ Credit to Jesper Bjarnessen for pointing this out to me after seeing an early draft.

who are itching to come back, I mean go and learn something and come to help change or help the country. (Amanda)

K: So Ideally how long would you stay?

A: If I am able to get what I came for: **school, work a little bit, have the experience**, so the time would depend on if I get what I want to achieve. If I leave the country at 23 years, then maybe, lets say 4-5 years outside would do, then I'll come back. Finish everything: **Masters, PhD, everything and at least work a little bit, one or two years.** (Aba)

My mother is someone dear to my heart, she is a very strong woman and then she is always pushing you and she believes you can always reach out for that ultimate goal. She is always there to support you and she is so much concerned about **education that is the ultimate**, so. (Senyo)

A: My mother who is always asking me [about my courses]: Are you researching into it? Do you want to continue? ...just let me know if you are interested.

K: So what would she think about going abroad?

A: She would not mind. If it means that **the best schools** are over there. (Amanda)

Amanda helps me out when we talk about who is more likely to want to go abroad by pointing me to those who want to study abroad. The education, not the destination or university is the central issue, suggests Efua and Senyo.

Students discuss how generally graduate school is not good in Ghana, hence students would like to go abroad for that:

Yes, so I want to have an educational experience abroad. So I've schooled in Ghana from primary to university, so currently **I want to have an international educational experience**, so that I could experience how learning is done outside the country and also how different our educational system is, from other people. And test the environment, I mean if you get the opportunity to be in an Ivy League school, let's say for instance the environment and the network. (Yosef)

If you are academically good and you want to further your education, staying in Ghana is not a...I mean you want **a better quality education** and I don't think Ghana offers that opportunity for someone who wants more challenging environment [than] here. (Irene)

Other aspects of education abroad that students discuss and appreciate are the experience of something different (Yosef) and specializing in a field not adequately covered in Ghana (Irene).

The interviews also clarified that becoming a university student is not the only route for a young Ghanaian to go abroad. Other routes as described in discussions with students and informants are: 1) Straight from senior secondary school, 2) Through a summer job abroad, for instance after the first or second year of study, 3) After one's first degree, one can apply for a Masters program abroad, 4) After one's first degree, one can apply for teaching assistant position and apply to graduate school with help from the lecturers with whom one works.

6.3.2.3 Frequent Contact with Friends and Family Abroad

From my focus group discussions I knew that students are in touch with friends and relatives abroad using social media, Voice Over Internet Protocol (VOIP)⁴² or messaging services. However, in the interviews it became clear just how frequent this contact is. Two of the interviewees reported daily contact, five reported being in touch several times a week. A student who said he talks to relatives abroad "every month", made the least often connection, all the other students have more frequent contacts with family and friends abroad. Only one student out of the 11 interviewees said she had no friend or relative abroad. Thelma, Senyo, and Aba discusses modes of contact and frequency. Senyo and Aba's responses can be found in Appendix 8.

⁴² Tools for using Internet for voice calls, such as Skype or Viber.

K: How often would you say you talk to your friends?

T: Very often, as often as possible using WhatsApp and Facebook, especially. Almost daily, there is one, almost daily, yeah.

K: What does she tell...

T: It's a he [laughter]

K:...Ok, what does he tell you?

T: We really don't talk much about what is there, but sometimes he sends me pictures, of snow and like videos of walking around central park so, I have a whole picture of New York City in my mind. He is living in Brooklyn. (Thelma)

The frequent connections give Ghanaian student access to rich information on their fingertips, however, it should not be construed as a one-way promotion of emigrant lifestyle. Ghanaians abroad also report on difficulties, or when they do not, students anticipate them. The quotes below represent the breadth of influences that come through social media: neutral impact (Efua), negative reports (Fiifi, Efua) and positive influence (Leon). Find Efua's comments below and the other respondents' comments in Appendix 8.

K: In your view, how does the opportunity of staying in touch with people who live abroad...how does that impact your aspirations personally, but also maybe generally?

E: Ehm, I cannot really, I have never really thought about it but I guess being able to talk to them makes me see what is going on; how similar; it is not really different, how, what people are experiencing over there and what I am experiencing over here, it is basically the same and it is just in different places I guess. (Efua)

In addition, through social media, students report about the daily life in Ghana to their friends and relatives abroad (Aba, Fiifi). Students also carry out favors in Ghana for their relatives abroad (Efua). It is possible such information, is important for Ghanaians in the diaspora when deciding on return. Find Aba's response below and the other respondents' answers in Appendix 8.

K: OK, so what do you talk about?

A: Oh, home. One auntie, the one in the States, she likes asking “what is going on?”, “What am I doing” something like that . Almost all of them. And my cousins who have never been to Ghana too, they always want to now about Ghana. “What is Ghana like?: And we talk about school a lot. My cousins are all done with their Masters and everything, telling me how it is. (Aba)

These quotes illustrate how commonplace the topics for discussions are and how the students also share their everyday lives in Ghana with friends and relatives abroad. The last quote explicitly links the information given with plans to return. It is interesting to note that since the study started, the frequent power cuts or *dumsor*, due to insufficient supply of electricity, have intensified greatly affecting the Ghanaian economy.

6.3.2.4 Individualism or “Post-Modern” Ideals

Another theme was that students emphasized their freedom and individual decision-making. In relating this to the research, it ties in with “post-modern” ideals of self-sufficiency, freedom and adventure, quite opposite of the relational family culture often stressed by migration scholars. In some interviews students shared that they do not discuss migration with their close families. The following students: Aba, Magnus, and Yosef emphasized how their decision to migrate, or not to migrate, was an independent one. Find Aba’s account in full below, refer to Appendix 8 for the other two.

K: So how does your family feel about that?

A: Well, they don’t have a say! Because it is my life. And I’m sure, at that time, they wouldn’t still be taking care of me, so I should be able to decide what I want. (Aba)

Aba says “it is my life!”, Magnus: “This decision is personal” and Yosef states “I have full responsibility for my life”. Some students also shared how future plans are independent,

maybe not because they wish to be independent, but because life issues are not discussed in their families.

K: If we get a bit more detail, like in your family, do you talk to your father about these things?

L: I don't talk to my father about anything.

K: Why?

L: I am quiet, he is quiet, so we don't have that relationship.

K: How about your mother?

L: I am quiet so I don't talk about those things. Unless they ask me and she doesn't normally ask me anything. (Leon)

Another student, Oko, when pressed, signifies the “personal decision” and the need to “live independently” as deriving from the need for space from a “strict religious upbringing”:

O: It is because of a personal decision. A personal decision stemming from a deeper fact as in “I really want to live abroad”, you know. I really don't know how to explain this to you. It is not because of my background or anything, it is because of I really want to be abroad and experience newer things, I don't know if you understand, and live independently.

K: Live independently? Can you talk more about that?

O: I want more space from family and from my strict religious upbringing. (Oko)

In these interviews, Ghanaian students highlighted their independent decision making in relation to their migration aspiration.

6.3.2.5 Small Differences Between Sexes

From a starting point of the current feminization of migration as discussed in Chapter 2, I looked for differences in answers on gender basis, but found in line with the expected results that male students' responses do not significantly differ from female students'. For instance, on the issue of romantic relationships affecting aspirations, female students did not report a higher propensity. Rather both sexes, here exemplified with Yosef and Aba,

seemed quite determined that romantic relationships do not/should not interfere with life aspirations.

Y: With the long term relationship, I think right now what will prevent me from going abroad is the issue with my grandmother because of her heart condition, I have to reconsider and I live with her alone but for my girlfriend... I mean, I had a friend, when we came [to university] the first year, he had a serious girlfriend and he left the second year to a college in the States and he broke up with the girl before he went.

K: So you will do the same?

Y: Yes, because of the exposure, I will meet more people and people with diverse interest and personalities, so I will surely get in touch with someone there. (Yosef)

K: So how does the possibility of a future romantic relationship fit with your plans?

A: Well, I think I might get married here and have children here. If I get a chance to leave Ghana just after school, I would or even after my [national] service, I would.

K: And if you have a boyfriend?

A: He can wait! [laughs] (Aba)

However, some respondents differed and suggested romantic relationships could be an important factor.

The quotes (in Appendix 8) show that a romantic partner can be of influence in the migration decision, however, as this was not the focus of the study, there is a need for more data before it can be concluded. Also here, both men and women respondents were represented on all scales on how to combine a romantic relationship with migration aspirations.

6.3.3 Barriers to Migration

In the interviews, I also paid attention to students' stories of possible barriers to migration.

Students reported that barriers are: finances, difficulties in obtaining or renewing passports,

relationships, both with romantic partners, but especially with family (hence, I discuss romantic relationships under a different heading later in this chapter). In addition, the lack of discussion around the migration option might also be a barrier to migration and the perceived difference in religion and morals.

6.3.3.1 Finances

When it comes to funding migration, it occupies many students' thoughts.

With that [financing] I will say if I would travel to abroad I think I will need financial aid ...just even visa application the four hundred dollars or five hundred dollars they can't and that might even pull them back. (Yosef)

Students in these quotes (see them in full in Appendix 8) discuss both that it takes money to migrate and that aspirations to migrate do not belong to any specific group. Looking at how students with different backgrounds discussed migration in the interviews, I find no specific pattern based on class, operationalized as your parents' educational level. The only issue that more students with highly educated parents discussed more was the issue of patriotism and migration critique. But high/low aspirations did not belong to any specific socio-economic group. Even some upper and middle class students suggest money is not a factor at all:

K: So what type of socio-economic background do you come from and do you think your background in those terms make you more likely to go abroad or less?

A: Well, I am from a middle-class family. My daddy provides for us, my mom also works, so, even if I need anything, I have external relatives, my aunties, uncles so I really don't think I am too stressed in terms of economic considerations that I want to run away! No, it's not that! I am taken care of quite well, so I wont say that has influenced me to go abroad. (Aba)

The fact that some money comes from “external relatives” or relations abroad does not seem to influence Aba. Afua suggests because of her middle-class status, “there are a lot of opportunities in Ghana”. See her full quote in Appendix 8. This perspective of the comfortable middle-class African, happy to stay in Ghana, has not been adequately covered in earlier literature on migration.

6.3.3.2 Passports

Another barrier to migration is getting a Ghanaian passport. I asked in the interviews why some students say they want to go abroad and yet have not taken any steps to do so. The question came from the survey results and I was canvassing for discussions on a rift between aspiration and ability. Instead, I found horrific stories on how difficult it has become to get a passport in Ghana. See Yosef’s story below, Amanda and Leon’s in Appendix 8:

K: So I wanted to ask you about something that came up in the survey and that was that some student say they want to go abroad, but they do not hold a valid passport. To me that’s a bit of a, you want to go, but you haven't done anything to prepare...

Y: ...prepare for it...

K: Why could that be?

Y: So as at last year, I did not even think of a passport until I had this paradigm shift about the whole thing... So now I apply for it July last year and you won’t believe it! Up till now, I still haven't received the passport. I go there every time and they tell me that you should go and come. The machine got spoilt, or this, or that. Since July last year [2014] and I’ve not received my passport up till now [April 2015]. Two weeks ago, I went there and they told me that someone has come for my passport. I was, I was like, “who has come for my passport?” So they like they should believe the passport is missing in their archives, what they’re going to do, I should come with a letter to the head office to see how they are going to trace...So right now I’m just discouraged now because there were a lot of opportunities I wanted to apply for, but because my passport was not ready.

K: You must have been upset.

Y: Very upset. (Yosef)

Above, Yosef shares having to go to the passport office multiple times over nine months without securing a passport; Amanda worries about renewing her passport; and Leon talks about hearing that the process of getting a passport is cumbersome.

A few students, who already had passports were open about the need for connections at the passport office. Here is Oko's story.

K: How was the experience of getting a passport?

P: Ehm, my mother knew someone in the passport office so we contacted him and then he helped us.

K: How long time did it take?

P: Three weeks.

K: Did you pay anything extra?

P: Yeah, we paid extra, we paid him extra. (Oko)

Oko's story and Magnus' story (see Appendix 8) show that getting documents from one's home country, like a passport, can be an issue for students in the Global South who are aspiring to migrate.

6.3.3.3 Family

Students talked about how family relationships were strong barriers against migrating or staying away. Irene and Senyo here link family and return. That is, family might support students going abroad, but they also expect students to return.

Even if I would have to go abroad to study, I will definitely come back, because I feel that I owe it to my parents and my grandparents to continue what they have started. So I will definitely come back. (Irene)

K: So do you talk to her [your mother] about the option of going abroad?

S: Yeah, I have spoken to her about going abroad and she feels a bit hesitant about it, you know mothers...but then she is like, “Well, if it is for education, why not?” She is then ready to help me to go and come back. (Senyo)

In these quotes, the complexity of barriers to migration can be seen. In addition, some issues, like finances and family concerns differ from what is suggested in the literature. Moreover, acquiring a Ghanaian passport can apparently also create a barrier for migration.

6.3.3.4 Religion and Morals

From the Focus Group discussions I knew that Ghanaian students appreciate Ghana on religious and moral grounds. The interviews confirmed this. Below, Fiifi and Yosef talk about how cultural and in these cases religious differences are stark between Ghanaian friends abroad and their new communities. A similar story shared by the UG professor in charge of the International Programme Office (see Appendix 8).

K: How about any negative aspects of living abroad, do they report those?

F: Ok, so yeah I have this friend in ASU that complains about some of her room mates having sex even in her presence.

K: Where is that?

F: ASU. Arizona State University in the US. Yeah, culture difference. She is a Muslim, trying to...it will be difficult for her...yeah. (Fiifi)

Y: One of my friends in University of Pennsylvania was telling me how he went there and he heard that there was an LGBT club in his college, he was so, ... “what is this” and immediately he made that comment people saw him as someone who is not enlightened. He was like, Yosef when you come here the way people will look at you, so I realized that there people are more liberal, I mean Africans here are, up till now tradition holds some of us back even in education. You won’t believe that up till now people still think that if you are a very good student and you teach your friend, your friends might take your knowledge from you and you will no longer be a good student. So if you know something just keep it to yourself. ...When he got

there, he see that some people are very vain, you know when a religious person says someone is vain you understand what the person is trying to say. That what they tell me about, that when you come here, especially in college, if you don't take care you might lose your faith. So that [was] what he was talking to me about. (Yosef)

The perceived differences in religion and morals here being exemplified with the story of a young Muslim woman sharing a room with someone engaging in sex in their dorm room (Fiifi); and engaging with the LGBT and gay community on campuses (Yosef and N. Adamafo). These are all aspects of student migration not covered by the migration discourse.

6.3.4 Narratives About Place

6.3.4.1 The Global North

In the interviews, I moved away from asking direct questions about how students perceived the Global North, but the students brought it up:

A: I wanted to do some kind of science, and I thought maybe abroad is more of practical and more of research, yeah, it is oriented towards; future oriented and it is more of you see the result here. So why not go there and do the science that I really want to do.

K: What do you mean by “you see the results here”?

A: So they take their sciences seriously and then their research produce results as in medicine. They produce technology; they produce software for computers.(Magnus)

Magnus, Yosef, and Oko (the latter two's words can be found in Appendix 8) talk about three different levels of relating to “abroad”. The first quote borders on admiration, where the other place is “future oriented” and high-tech. The next quote shows a reflective stance, where the student discussed why parents aim to send their children abroad and the prestige that comes with having a child abroad, even in your funeral announcement. The final

comment contrasts “abroad” to a Ghana that offers less “overall wellness”, but with some balance as Oko points out that “it would be harder in the beginning”. Other students also mention the hardships of life abroad:

People have opened their eyes now and they have seen that it is not really milk and honey, roses abroad. Because in the past, people go; if you are going abroad, you are just going to make money and come back. But people have learnt that going abroad is not; it is actually more difficult. Because you are going to struggle to get a job, and make money and you are going to come back and help your family. (Amanda)

The “struggle” or “hustle” that Amanda and Fiifi (see Appendix 8) talk about is interestingly connected to life at home where the people who live abroad have the added responsibility of providing for family members in Ghana.

6.3.4.2 *The Global South: Ghana*

As discussed in the theory chapter, “the other” only exists in relation to the well known. Already in the statements above, Ghana has appeared. However, these quotes deal more explicitly with conditions in Ghana:

A lecturer told us in class: “With the way Ghana’s economy is going, [if] you get a chance to go outside, don’t come back!” He said it! So, we were all laughing about it, [and the lecturer said] “All of you shouldn’t go-o! Some should remain”, jokingly. So you see that even here in the university, you have flyers everywhere if you want to go abroad, so the university environment itself, it is like we know that if we are out there, there is minimum work, I mean there is no work for us, so people are finding ways and means that... Someone is here in level 200, in the room next to mine, there is a girl there, she is in level 200, she applied for a school abroad and got it and she is going to start all over again, she doesn’t mind, because she is going abroad! Yes, so the environment here, we know that it is difficult at our school so we are finding ways and means to get out of it even before we get out of school. (Aba)

These quotes (Efua and Aba's quotes can be found in Appendix 8) describe negative aspects of Ghana: how a lecturer jokingly suggests students should leave Ghana, because of poor economic outlook; work in Ghana is described as tedious and slow; and in the final quote an auntie wants to "help" Ghana, but "the level of technology over there does not match what we have over here". However, not all the stories about Ghana are negative:

K: Any aspect on the Ghanaian culture that you cannot live without?

I: Ehm, food, ehm people generally being more friendly and nice than outside; I don't know, I have not lived outside but from my perception about it, it is kind of colder in terms of relations, yeah and I don't think I will like that for a long period of time. (Irene)

Here relations are described as "more friendly and nice" in Ghana. I also found some students discussing the good life. The good life, in the view of students had to do with being able to "have everything you want" and "live a very comfortable life", outcomes that could very well happen in Ghana:

K: Yeah? And what is the good life for you?

T: Well actually, the good life, having, should I say, having everything you want. Not begging, not, yeah, being able to take care of yourself without asking for anyone's help, yeah that's a good life.

K: Can you get it in Ghana?

T: Possibly. (Thelma)

K: Do you feel strongly about wanting to go abroad to work?

A: Well, I think so because now I don't see Ghana as a place where I can really really achieve what I want to achieve...

K: And what do you want to achieve?

A: I want to live a very comfortable life [laughs] Yeah and then I want to be a lecturer. So I think with that...

K: But higher education is growing in Ghana and now many more students want to study at university level, do we not need many more lecturers here?

A: Well, I said I will work there for a couple of years, I might come down here and share my experiences with my Ghanaian students, yeah.(Aba)

However, not just material comfort was discussed. Good life can also be fulfilling one's potential or giving back to the society.

Personally, I realized that staying out there permanently wouldn't be the best for me, because even though I would be able to adjust and all of that, and I be working and making all the money, but what happens to my people here? Why don't I work there, if anything, work there for some years, come back, come and establish and creating opportunities for others and then so that they can also have the opportunity of then go outside and work and that circle can continue, thereby helping to create work here and then volunteering services here....(Senyo)

I also looked out for markers of colonial thinking around the good life and found a few comments:

A: But as much as I want to [have] fair-colored children, it actually is, it is important for me, to marry a Ghanaian man. I have not had any experience with someone who is not a Ghanaian so I am just saying this based on what I have seen or heard.

K: When you say you want fair-colored children, where does that come from?

A: I always wanted to have children with really nice hair that I can brush it. that is it. (Amanda)

M: I don't consider myself so much of an African person and so, for Africa, I consider, I consider ladies, normally, they are overly, overly, I think they like to display womanly qualities; they like to take care of you and I don't like that much. I like a bit of, yeah, be yourself, a bit of individualism. Yeah I think, ehm people outside, that is people from western countries, they have the idea of yeah, let people have their space, let people have their way but I can; you know, we actually want to find your way for you, we get it find your way (laughing)

K: Ok, so this is interesting, to me it is almost contradictory, it is like you want to stay in Ghana here, but you are also open to maybe even having a wife from abroad.

M: Yes.

K: So how does that...

M: So I will say since growing up, I have not been in much of contact with African culture, so reading novels and stories, I think I have built much of my ideas on that. My ideas may be of individualism and yeah, building of nuclear family culture, yeah (Magnus)

However, while Amanda wanted "fair-colored children" with "really nice hair" and Magnus (see full quotes in Appendix 8) equated "being yourself" and letting "people have

their space” with the Global North, both stress their allegiance to Ghana in the same sentence. Amanda wants to marry a Ghanaian man and Magnus, while open to marry a foreigner clearly states he wants to live in Ghana. In this balanced fashion there were few idealized pictures painted of the North in the interviews, except for when discussing the education system. Rather I found accounts, outlining migration much similar to the ISM discourse: adventure, experience and newness. In this quote Thelma focuses on how other countries let you experience different weather and being the minority, however, she also touches on the information gap where she is drawn to these places because of cultural influences, books, movies and so on. This view could be said to conform to a more individualistic set of goals for migration, than has earlier been advanced by migration theory for migrants from the Global South.

T: I would like to go to Europe or the States, yeah.

K: Why?

T: Ehm, lets say I know more about that place. From reading, watching movies, yeah, so. That is one of my influences, just want to see how the place is like from what I have been seeing all this time and what I have been hearing.

K: What interests you about those places, like what have you seen that you like?

T: I think the environment and a change of weather, in Ghana it is almost like...at least you like to experience snow and something like that and the people, what it is like when very few black people ‘be walking around, just like I don’t know what people will be feeling here when there is mostly black people and you are white, yeah. (Thelma)

In this chapter, I have synthesized findings from my data collection in a chronological order. I first covered the results from the focus group discussions, then from the e-survey and finally from the interviews. In the next chapter, I will relate this extensive presentation of data to earlier research and discuss what implications these findings have.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Analysis And Discussion

7.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I will review and discuss the main findings presented in Chapter 6. The analysis starts where the data conflicts with expectation, and through a series of questions that arise from the findings, I discuss these findings and compare the results with earlier research. I begin with a short note on migration terminology. The chapter is concluded with synthesizing results and categorizing students.

7.1 Migration Terminology

Student: I have been told by people that if you don't have a masters *from outside* the country, your CV is almost dead and I like to explore so that is another reason. I doubt I am going to stay *here* to do my masters.

Kajsa: People often call "*abroad*" "*outside*". Why is that?

Other student: Because it is outside. [All laugh]

Some migration terminology that was specific to Ghanaian students is presented in Table 23.

Table 23: Students' Migration Terminology

Term	Explanation	Example
Borga (verb)	Travel around (from “burger” - person living abroad, many Ghanaians migrated to Germany and Hamburg in the 1970-80s)	“Just borga and you come back “
Get bounced (verb)	Get visa application denied	“Someone who does not have any reason for going, he might be bounced”
Go and come (verb)	Travel and return (unclear duration)	“I think I will go and come”, “Maybe five years, going and coming, because I like to travel”
Outside (noun)	Abroad	“I had interaction with someone form the American Embassy and they said if you want to go to any school outside”, “even if I don’t study outside I want to be in a place where I will learn new things”
Over there (noun)	Abroad	“I don’t really like vegetables so thinking about some of the things I will be eating over there”, “They may travel for pleasure but not migrate over there”
There (noun)	Abroad	“There are more opportunities there”
Travel (verb)	Travel/migrate	“They may travel for pleasure but not migrate over there”, “For me parents play a major role when it comes to traveling”

Note : The examples are taken from the focus group discussions.

The terms above are examples of strikingly simple language, which suggests that discourse around migration aspiration, and travel opportunities come up in everyday discussions. However, not making use of distinctive conceptualizations – or indeed choosing to employ ambiguous concepts - the difference between migrating, traveling and going and coming become blurred. What is the advantage of at times using these

concepts interchangeably and other times sequenced and weighted? I argue that the language is at the core of the issue of student migration, and that the clouded terminology points to the observation that there is much uncertainty around student migration and migration aspirations. Possibly, that is why these issues are best captured in everyday, vague terminology.

7.2 Main Findings

7.2.1 Migration Culture or Education Culture?

A majority of Ghanaian university students have an aspiration to go abroad for more than one year, most of them to study (74.29%). This raises serious queries on the migration label for this group. Is it really migration if a student going abroad to study? Three in four have plans of applying for a visa as a student. Interestingly, in the three quotes from the focus groups I used to discuss migration culture, two of them are clearly about *education* abroad, italicized below:

Since I was born, I don't know about other families, but in my family it is kind of like a norm that *you must get some kind of education outside Ghana*. - Male, 23 years, level 400

The whole issue is that what we have in our mind is that anything coming from outside is good. In Ghana if someone should make a phone like this no one will buy it. They will say it is fake. Anything coming from that side is good. Should I travel outside *to do my masters or PhD and come back I will be a hot cake*.
- Male, 22 years, level 400

Ghanaian students are also very ambitious with 42.38% of the students saying they still see themselves as students in 5 years time, however, only 2.14% of them would want to do their studies in Ghana. We can compare this result on future aspirations (Q.4.3) with the exit survey done on senior students at University of Ghana in 2012- 2013 (n= 3,414) where 41% of the students said they planned to start a post graduate program in Ghana or abroad after graduating. In this sample, 14%, however, said they would do a MA/MPHIL in Ghana. The survey had one question on the students' "aspirations after graduation". In this group 27% said they would travel abroad to continue school, 14% said they will do a MA/MPHIL in Ghana, and only 2% said they would travel abroad to work. 41% said they would look for work in Ghana, which is an exact overlap with my study (Anyidoho, 2015, p. 9).

Further, parents' education played a role in migration aspiration, curiously in contrasting ways for mothers and fathers: mothers' increasing education encouraged migration aspiration and fathers' increasing education discouraged migration aspiration. Possibly, as much migration aspiration might be educational aspirations, my results are consistent with literature on mothers' education and its positive influence on children's education, for a recent example from Ghana, see for instance, Iddrisu (2014).

Further findings supporting the "education culture" are the aspiration to return. When asked, almost all students (97,9%) want to return to Ghana if they were to migrate, and almost half (46,2%) within 6 years. This again suggests that when we talk about migration, we are many times talking about education.

Yet another finding that possibly points to the premium Ghanaians, and Ghanaian students in particular, put on education is the results that suggest Ghanaian students do not seem to chose an academic course to have better chances of migrating. 68.7% of students say they did not choose a course to migrate. Possibly, because they are not all that interested in migrating. In the interviews, the only student who discussed her choice of course in terms of migration, Aba, explicitly chose to do a double major to be marketable both in Ghana and abroad.

However, the results are ambiguous and could also indicate expected answers as the reality is students do not always choose their course or major field of study at all. This is historically true for the public HEI's in Ghana and sometimes the case still today, especially for students who do not qualify for their choices of course. Further, there might also be family involvement in the choice of course. Students at the private university do get to chose courses freely, and Ashesi has a higher share of students saying they did not chose majors or courses to increase their chance of migrating, which seem to indicate that even when students have the free choice to increase their migration opportunities, they do not. Hence, I conclude that many students do not strategize their choice of course at all in terms of migration. However, more research is needed here.

7.2.2 Who Influences Students' Migration Aspirations and How?

Before discussing results on what groups and individuals are likely to influence students' migration, I will attempt to dissect the migration aspiration. The results as presented in the

previous chapter show that rather than being a fixed aspiration one acquires at some point and makes a life goal, migration aspiration seems to more be of a fleeting companion, sometimes present and other times relegated to the background. First, in the survey, it was easy to find students who had presented a “confused” profile: saying they were interested in going abroad for more than one year or migrating, but having taken no steps towards that goal, such as obtaining a passport. Several students in the interview situation explained they were not sure at all whether to go abroad or not. Others however hinted they would simply go where a good job presented itself. This is reminiscent of the Gallup World Poll that established that “what the whole world wants is a good job”(Clifton, 2008, p. 3). The finding that migration aspirations are volatile among university students is interesting, especially when discussing who influences them – apparently students are very open to changing their minds.

Family, and especially parents, is the strongest actor to influence migration aspirations and decisions followed by university lecturers. This result confirms my hypothesis that there is a specific migration environment for students. Although the group “family abroad” is not a strong influence for most students, when “family abroad” does influence students, they often influence students’ migration aspirations negatively. This is a surprising result as network and transnational theory suggest that family abroad helps one to migrate. Maybe family abroad has a different influence on a student (seeing their opportunities at home, expecting high cost for them abroad etc.), again confirming the specific emigration environment for students. Adusah-Karikari (2008, p. 94) in her study of women in higher education, found a generational change in support among parents around 1979. While

women who studied before then did so despite their parents' views, it seemed that after 1979, it was rather the parents' support that made the difference. Adusah-Karikari (2008) notes: "It is clear then that sociocultural practices, belief systems and support of family members impact girls' career paths" (p. 94).

However, the findings also reveal that many students see their decision-making with regard to migration, and possibly other big life-decisions as personal. With the background on anthropological writings, especially the network theory on migration, these are surprising results. It seems to suggest that we are encountering a new generation of Ghanaian youth who are more "post-modern" or individualistic in their behavior.

Just like family, religious leaders had a similar negative effect on migration aspiration, perhaps contrary to popular beliefs. Religion or morals also have other roles to play that often seem to impact negatively on migration aspiration. The Ghanaian society is highly religious, and not only are decisions taken in collaboration with religious leaders, but narratives of immorality abroad seem to be a deterrent for some students. For others, however, an unsupervised life is desirable and promises adventure.

Further, "Friends in Ghana" and "Partner" were positive, although not significant, influences on migration aspiration according to the survey. In the interviews, most students maintained the same narrative – that friends have little impact and that romantic relationships can wait or be abrogated if an opportunity to travel presented itself. However, I wonder if that is reflective of a norm more than the reality. Some of the students that had

romantic relationships at the time of the interview admitted that it had an impact on their decision-making around migration.

7.2.3 What Is the Role of Universities in Shaping Migration Aspirations?

The study did not intend to compare the two universities in the study, and checks done also show little differences in attitudes and actions between students at the two universities. However, on one point the students differ greatly: their experience of travel outside Ghana. Among Ashesi students, more than half of the respondents had experience from travel abroad compared to less than one in 20 at UG. Further, a student at Ashesi is more likely to aspire to migrate than a student at UG. Note this includes study abroad, which might skew the result. However, while Ashesi tracks its students after graduation and takes specific note if they are working/studying on the African continent, UG does not do the same (Interviews with N. Adamafio 2013 and M. Adjei 2015). International program offices, both relatively new, at the universities have the opportunity to encourage study abroad among their students. The role of universities in students' return and reintegration into the labor market is less clear.

From the students' point of view, the university is an influencer, although not just by lecturers who encourage students to follow in their footsteps and go abroad. Lecturers are also role models (further discussed in the next paragraph), networks are forged, and programs organized in university like job fairs and internships encourage some students to stay in Ghana. My results show that migration aspiration declines with progress in the studies with freshman having the highest level of migration aspiration (82.41%) and

seniors the lowest level (52.22%). The interview results supported this result of declining migration aspiration with progress in university with a slightly lower aspiration to migrate among the students when interviewed a year later. This might be a result of increased insight, perhaps knowing more about the cumbersome migration process. It could also point to something that happens at university that influences migration aspiration negatively.

Further, lecturers are mentioned by students as both being role models: “we knew that all of our lecturers had had their masters' outside the country” (Interview with male informant who graduated from a Ghanaian university in 1998, 2012) or as explicitly discussing opportunities abroad with their students: “A lecturer told us: “with the way Ghana's economy is going, [if] you get the chance to go outside, don't come back!” (Aba). As a lecturer myself, however, I am not aware of any directives or training from the university where I teach on how to approach the topic.

As I found the migration industry concept not to be adequately developed for students, I would like to note that universities, both local and foreign, in addition to being HEIs, conceptually are actors in the migration industry, for instance through international program offices as discussed above. To add to that, the study sought to find out more about the migration industry generally. The role of businesses, embassies, and even illegal actors seeking to influence students to go abroad has not received much attention in research. However, the focus group discussion revealed that migration industry is not so important from a student point of view. Whoever pays for the migration venture has the final say,

students claimed. And from the survey, the researcher learned that most of the time, it is parents or family who pays tuition and living expenses, and hence is likely to support the student abroad.

Some students also expressed mistrust toward the migration industry, most claimed to never have been in contact with organizations facilitating migration out of Ghana. However, from interviews with other informants, I know such a sector is active in Ghana. There are some possible explanations: 1) their prime market is not university students, 2) students under-report such contacts for some reason, 3) the migration industry to a higher extent now has gone online. To test if the last explanation is true, future research must explicitly link migration industry to Internet activities, such as Facebook ads, newsletters, and similar online platforms.

7.2.4 What Is The Impact of Social Media and VOIP and Internet Access?

Yet another important aspect of life on campus that might have much higher impact than earlier captured in the literature is that university campuses are a highly unique environment in the Global South. This since campuses are hot-spots with availability of free Internet of decent speed and critical digital literacy support (Flamenbaum, forthcoming).

In line with the connectedness of the campuses, students reported surprisingly intense contact with friends and relatives abroad. Seven out of 11 interviewees said they talk to someone abroad several times each week or more often. Out of the 11, only one student

reported she does not have friends and family abroad. Most likely this frequent contact is made possible by the improvement in Internet access on campuses in Ghana.

It is even possible that this increased access to information and Internet, is a game changer in that it allows both students to initiate contact, but it also allows friends and relatives abroad to research opportunities in Ghana for possible return. In addition, it opens up new, unmapped territories for the migration industry, which now has access to Ghana's university students on social media, for example. It can therefore be argued that Internet access adds to what sets the student migrant apart from other migrants out of the Global South.

7.2.5 Do All Students Aspire To Migrate?

Although a majority of students say they have an intention to migrate, about one in 12 say they do not have any intention to go abroad for more than one year and a quarter of students have not discussed migration with anyone since enrolling in university studies. In addition about half of the students (50.75%) had taken no steps towards migrating (acquired a passport, applied for a visa etc.). Four out of 10 owned a passport, only one in 20 had ever applied for a visa. At the private university, Ashesi, the majority of students had a valid passport possibly due to a strong presence by the Office of International Development Programs and the more affluent family situation of about half of the student population which pays full fees. More than double the share of students at Ashesi compared to UG had ever applied for a visa (1.18% and 3.15%). However, when it came to making no travel preparations at all the importance of the institution did not matter,

possibly further supporting the explanation that the well-to-do students at the private institution (and not the other half) are the ones who make travel preparations.

From my quantitative data, most visa applications from students are denied. This is surprising as the literature suggests that it is easier for a student to obtain a visa than virtually any other group. The knowledge society and its demand for highly skilled individuals *should* make easier visa applications to the Global North for students from the Global South. Also when asked, students also confirm that students easily get visas than other groups, but many of them are also not sure. Hence, on students' visa acquisition, data points in different directions.⁴³ There could be many explanations, but I would have to postulate⁴⁴. Students also show a surprisingly low familiarity with student visa regulations in general. This is also true for the most popular destinations, like the UK.

Regression analyses for determinants of having taken migration steps revealed that one's mother's educational level, has an effect on one holding a passport (only significant for

⁴³ To interrogate the visa issue, I took several steps throughout my research project. However, the data collected cannot easily be concluded. While I asked students in the focus groups about the process of migration (discussed the findings under 6.1.2.3. Applying for passports and Visas), asked eight questions relating to visas in the survey, (discussed under 6.2.2.1 Visa Applications) – in hindsight only one of them was a “knowledge on visa”- question and, while space is always limited in a survey, it is a limitation to my study. Finally, I did follow up on visas and travel experience in the interviews, but as few students had applied for visas, it was not possible to find more information within my limited scope.

⁴⁴ For instance: Could it be that one better remembers negative experiences and forgets to report successful visa applications? Could it be that the students who were successful in their visa application permanently left the country and hence are not part of my sample? Maybe the majority of students leave between SHS and university, or if not accepted into a Ghanaian university and that a student is less likely to leave if the student have been lucky enough to get admission to a local university?

mother's with tertiary education). Other relationships were not significant, but it is interesting to note that travel experience had a negative effect on migration intention, as well as having applied for and holding a visa. In the focus group discussions and interviews, students' stories of life abroad, both experienced and retold by others, included negative aspects like racism, loneliness and lack of morality. These negative aspects recurring when discussing migration, show that Ghanaian students are not unreservedly interested in a life abroad. I can only speculate about the weak relationship here, but maybe getting a first hand experience of life abroad and the processes involved is an eye opener and lessens a student's migration aspiration.

Even the students who expressed positive notions of whiteness like wanting "fair-colored children" with "really nice hair" or thinking of the Global North as a place for "being yourself", stressed their allegiance to Ghana. Pierre (2013) in her book about race in Ghana notes a "general conviction that mixed-raced babies are desirable by young women" (p.115) and that some university students in Ghana express views similar to the student I talked to in terms of appreciating the Global North. Pierre (2013) links this aspiration and other practices like skin bleaching to an incomplete decolonialization and a halted deracialization process. However, I found it interesting that the racialized comments are mitigated, in the same sentence nevertheless, with the first student stressing she wants to marry a Ghanaian and the second that he still wants to live in Ghana. That suggests students are thinking critically about the Global North and their life plans.

7.2.6 How Do We Understand Students' Destination Preferences?

Students predominantly want to go to an English speaking country. The former colonial power, the UK, is however not as popular as USA and Canada. This finding is confirmed by Adusei's (forthcoming) research among Ghanaian university students' migration aspirations. The increasing flows to Asia and other African countries were discussed, but most often not as students' first choices of destination. Furthermore, destinations are often discussed early in the migration process and it is possible there are lock-in effects where a destination is chosen based on very little information, like for instance having one's relative abroad.

These results also point to that historical links might be much more important than earlier thought as for instance US has been an important destination for 80 years for Ghanaian intellectuals. New destinations such as China and South Africa are not yet making inroads with Ghanaian students. A decolonial perspective on this would be that the destinations students aspire to go to are in the Global North and closely connected with an idea of being the knowledge center of the world. Moving from the knowledge periphery, one would aim to go to the center, not to a different periphery.

7.2.7 Why Is There No Predictor For Migration Aspirations?

Sex was not a significant predictor for migration aspirations, except for females in the third year of study. With the background of WASSCE results, I checked to see in terms of academic performance, which is more likely to aspire to migrate. It seems it is not the academically strongest students who aspire to migrate, however, this finding was not

statistically significant. Nevertheless, when controlling for sex, I found that for women, WASSCE results are a significant predictor of one's migration aspirations and that female students with stronger results are more likely to aspire to stay.

Region of origin was not also a strong predictor. However, students from the Eastern region were slightly more likely to aspire to migrate compared to those from the Greater Accra region base group. Finally, students from Western and Upper Eastern regions were slightly less likely to aspire to migrate.

For the future migration aspiration question, I did not find any significant determination among background variables suggesting that any student group being more, or less, likely to aspire to migrate in the next 5 years. Yet it might be that this question is about projecting into the future, and as such amounts to guess work or even a random answer.

To conclude on why it appears difficult to find a good predictor for migration aspiration among students, a reason might be that education is a leveler. With a bachelors' degree, all students are now as qualified to travel abroad, and to some degree have access to resources and information.

7.2.8 What Do We Know of Students Who Want to Stay?

A contribution to knowledge by this study is that it encompasses the whole population: students who want to migrate, those wanting to go abroad for a shorter stay, as well as students who want to stay. A focus on those who aspire to stay provides useful insight into

the migration environment and gives a better picture of the phenomenon. I therefore thought it important to see if interviews and stories from those preferring to stay have any particular features or similarities. As discussed above, I only realized in the latter stages of my research how volatile the aspiration to migrate or stay is, this also meant that the students in my interview sample had changed their mind, especially those who initially reported they were not interested in going abroad for more than one year. Only one student maintained that she did not want to migrate.

However, I realized from the survey that more students report they intend to travel than have taken steps. One typical example from the data is that the group planning to apply for visa is the majority (73%), but the group that holds a valid visa is a small fraction (2.58%) or has applied before (2.00%). Students discussed the prestige that comes with a period of time abroad, so possibly there is a bias toward migration, not always acted on.

On the other hand, experiences of living/traveling abroad had an interesting and significant impact. The focus groups gave an initial insight around critical thinking derived from traveling abroad. The survey further showed that students who have been abroad are less interested in migration. In the focus groups and interviews, students who had been abroad (Fiifi and Afua) were not interested in living and working abroad. Maybe experiences of living/traveling abroad can account for the decline in migration aspiration over the course of study. This, as with time, more students would have experienced life abroad. In the quote below from one of the focus group discussions a student talks about how “a first-hand experience” created a different impression than the movies earlier seen about life abroad:

I spent a year doing an exchange program and I went to Washington...It wasn't so pleasant because it was my first time, I went there alone, I wasn't with parents. I had to live with a foster family and they didn't have any child. I was like an only child and I didn't really have a lot of friends, I was now getting to know people. It was fun though, but the adjusting was quite difficult. I had always dreamed of migrating permanently outside the country because of the movies I have watched but a first-hand experience I realized it was quite different in movies than in real life situations there.

- Female, 19 years, Level 300, undecided major

In addition, the students who aspire to stay also talk about Ghana with optimism and carving out a niche for themselves. In the quote below, Afua discusses how her socio-economic class influences her to stay in Ghana:

K: How will you categorize your own background? Where do you come from? Well to do family or middle income family? or working class family?

A: I think middle class. **Initially working class then middle class.** Yes.

K: Ok, so do you think as such; you are more likely to stay or you are aspiring to go abroad?

A: I think because of that, it is what inspires me to stay. Because you can do well in Ghana. **There are lots of opportunities in Ghana. I have seen it happen and so I think I can also do the same thing in Ghana. I don't have to go out and get it made.** (Afua)

7.2.9 Are There Specific Barriers to Migration for Students?

The seven headings of barriers and constraints to migration discussed in the theory were “Categorical constraints (family relations, regularization programs etc.), ii) qualitative constraints (skill level, ability to obtain visa etc.), iii) social-network constraints (finding an employer abroad etc.), iv) practicality constraints (access to required paperwork, embassies etc.), v) financial costs, vi) physical danger and vii) risk of expulsion or denial of re-entry.” (Carling, 2002)

In this conceptualization, almost all barriers are external or related to travel, presupposing “everybody wants to travel” and obscuring that many legal barriers to migration for students are non-existent in a knowledge society where students are valuable. In addition, the existing categorization of barriers to migration ignores the emotional and administrative barriers locally. That is for a student, obtaining a visa should not be a problem (although it was for some, possibly due to their lack of knowledge about the regulations), and truly the students I talked to rather stress obtaining a Ghanaian passport as a hurdle. In a study in 2005, Ghana was listed as a country where acquiring a passport was relatively easy and cheap (McKenzie, 2005). That seems to have changed, however, not by any official policy decision. Other local hurdles for migration are finances, relationships with family and partner at home, patriotism, indecision and religion. External barriers to migration, or deterrents, I found were racism and discrimination. See a summary of barriers to migration for students in Table 24.

Table 24: Barriers to Migration for Ghanaian Students

In Ghana	Abroad
Finances	Discrimination
Indecision	Racism
(Knowledge of) visa application process	
Passports	
Patriotism	
Relationships	
Religion	

7.3 Synthesizing Results and Categorizing Students

My research design involved presenting the interviewees under Carling's headings: voluntary non-migrants, involuntary non-migrants and migrants. However, I realized that students had not only changed their minds about aspiring to migrate, but also talked about studying abroad or working abroad, that is when given more room to express their views they stressed the activity, rather than the migration. In addition to the change of the migration aspiration, some still spoke with a large degree of uncertainty and many had taken few steps towards migrating. Hence, it would be hard, for instance, to label any of them as an involuntary non-migrant, as the students were not decided. It seems to me that Carling's model assumes that the migration aspiration is stable.

Possibly, as students and highly skilled as a group have a larger chance of one day traveling or migrating, they can afford to really think through if they want to be migrants or not, while Carling's sample of youth in general, can safely aspire for migration and then stay at home. Rather than trying to categorize my interviewees into Carling's model, I have created my own model.

7.3.1 The Aspiration-Conviction Model

I found out that whereas some students have a strong aspiration, others harbor a weak or ambiguous aspiration, and the direction of the migration aspiration is either to stay or go. This adds a new dimension to aspiration: conviction, or strength of will.

To illustrate how migration aspiration and conviction correlate, I have created a matrix. Where the conviction meets migration aspiration four distinct groups are created: passive resistance, aggressive aspiration, undecided and underfunded, and opportunistic thinker, see Table 25.

Table 25: The Aspiration-Conviction Matrix

		Aspiration	
		Stay	Go
Conviction	Strong	Passive resistance	Aggressive Aspiration
	Weak	Undecided and underfunded	Opportunistic Thinker

Below I discuss these four ideal types or distinct groups more in depth. I also add one of the interviewees to each category as an illustration of the group.

7.3.1.1 Passive Resistance

The student who wants to stay at home for the long term and is sure about his or her conviction is often also a student that talks about studying abroad. While this might appear contradictory, the “passive resistance”- student is relatively well-informed and focused. The student might have some experience of traveling that further convinces him or her to stay in Ghana. The passive resistance individual is not necessarily from high socio-economic background, but could be. Example: Fiifi

7.3.1.2 Undecided and Underfunded

The undecided and underfunded student displays low levels of loyalty to Ghana and often comes from a poor socio-economic background. The student is not well-informed about

opportunities and therefore unsure of his or her next step. Among the interviewees, Thelma, could be categorized to belong to this group.

7.3.1.3 Aggressive Aspiration

The student with the aggressive aspiration sees mostly problems with his or her home country and definitely wants to go live abroad. The aspiration might have a link to a specific event. Interestingly, many students distance themselves from this group and give these characteristics to an uneducated “Other”. While the popular belief is that many students belong to this group, on the contrary, among those I interviewed, few expressed an “aggressive aspiration”. An example is Oko.

7.3.1.4 Opportunistic Thinker

The opportunistic thinker is interested in “a good job”, but not so much concerned where that job is located. Hence she or he displays low levels of patriotism, but also high levels of flexibility and is open to changing his or her mind. An example of an “opportunistic thinker” is Aba.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Conclusions: Charting A Course For Going And Coming

*“Mefrɛ sika a, sika ngye sɔ; mefrɛ agude a, agude ngye sɔ;
mefrɛ ntama a, ntama, ngye sɔ: nimpa ne asem!”*

*“I call out gold, gold is mute; I call out jewellery, jewellery does
not respond; I call out cloths, cloths are silent: it is man who counts!”⁴⁵*

8.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I summarize the results as they pertain to the research objectives, research questions, and the expected findings I posed. The chapter ends with recommendations for further research and theorization around student migration as well as for policy.

8.1 Summary of Findings and Contributions to Knowledge

I approached my research with four objectives, viz. to: 1) Investigate Ghanaian student migration aspirations, 2) Map the steps of student migration, 3) Examine the actors involved in student migration and how they shape aspirations, and 4) Problematize current student migration discourses. From these research objectives, I developed research

⁴⁵ Ghanaian proverb as presented by Buah (1980 p. xi), however, the idea to include a proverb in my work comes from Professor Emeritus J. U. Gordon holder of the Kwame Nkrumah Chair 2013-15 at the Institute of African Studies at University of Ghana.

questions. In the literature review, I showed that 1) the migration aspirations of the “missing migrant” or student in the Global South has not been adequately addressed within decolonial thought, migration theory, or the international student migration (ISM) discourse (Chapter 3); 2) there is a specific migration environment of the Ghanaian student (Chapter 4). The more theoretical objective of problematizing current student migration discourses was expanded in Chapter 2. After the extensive literature review, the descriptive research objectives and questions were rephrased as expected findings. In my methodology chapter (Chapter 5), I described the mixed methods approach that placed the student participant at the center of the research endeavor. The methodological decision to let the students assist in focussing the study allowed a new and overlooked perspective to be heard in migration, African, and decolonial studies.

In sum, my framework proposed that students in the Global South possibly have similar goals with their migration as described in the ISM literature for students in the Global North; adventure and exposure. However, students in the Global South possess both a unique capacity to aspire and a specific migration environment in terms of historical, political and social contexts. The historical context includes a university system with colonial remnants modeled on institutions in the Global North along with a longstanding history of student migration. The political situation for the youth in Ghana includes high levels of unemployment and a geopolitical reality which allows countries from the Global North to recruit in the Global South. Also legally, a student have very different ability to migrate due to student visa and work schemes. Socially, a “culture of migration” has been suggested for Ghana with migration being driven not from the individual, but on a family

level. While a “culture of migration” has been discussed generally it has not been tested on the unique group of university students with a very different political, legal and social migration context. Below, I will present the most important results of the study dictated by the expected findings and for the last objective, I will discuss my results as they relate to existing theory, again organized by the research questions.

8.1.2 Key Findings

8.1.2.1 Investigate Students’ Migration Aspirations and Abilities

The findings for my first research objective are summarized in Table 26 and discussed in detail below the table.

Table 26: Findings for Research Objective 1

Research Objective	Expected Finding based on Literature	Finding
“Investigate students’ migration aspirations and abilities”	Ghanaian students’ migration aspirations and abilities will follow results from studies carried out in the Global North with self-realization and adventure constituting reasons for migration, rather than strictly economic reasons advanced in the literature for African migrants	Found support, but migration aspirations are highly volatile. Students are more focused on education. Abilities for migration in a globalized knowledge society were less than anticipated, suggesting there are barriers for migration also among students.

Educational opportunities will be a more substantial drive for migration than what is cited for students from the Global North, due to the inadequate supply of such opportunities in the Global South.

Social upward mobility will play a central role in the meaning of migration to Ghanaian university students, hence students with lower and middle class backgrounds will have higher migration aspirations than the socio-economic elites.

Found support, we can even talk about an “education culture” in the case of Ghana.

Did not find support, socio-economic background does not seem to be a determinant of migration aspirations, possibly because higher education is a potent social leveler.

Students will enroll in programs with historically high migration levels among students and graduates (e.g. nursing, engineering); they will choose their courses as a strategy to enhance their migration opportunities.

Did not find support, however, the recruitment efforts of students might be focused on medical and nursing students for instance.

Women will be as likely to migrate as men, as family life starts later in the life cycle and gender roles modernize.

Found support, women are equally likely to aspire to go abroad compared to men. However, the group of women with weak study results are more likely to aspire to migrate and women with strong results more likely to aspire to stay.

First, it has to be said that characterizing the aspiring student migrant in Ghana was a more slippery task than I had anticipated as migration aspirations turned out to be volatile and ever-changing among students over time. Secondly, the ISM discourse had suggested that students in the Global North are motivated by “adventure”, the desire to broaden horizons and other “post-modern” and personal reasons in their migration ventures (Ahrens et al., 2010; Alberts & Hazen, 2005; Carlson, 2011; Findlay et al., 2010; Murphy-Lejeune, 2003). I found evidence of the same “post-modern” or individualistic attitude to migration among Ghanaian university students as they stress "adventure" and "experience" as reasons for migration. In addition, fewer scholarships are available and the (self) financing of migration further cements the individualistic nature of the migration venture. However, in addition, a majority of Ghanaian students stressed higher education as reason for migration. That was to be expected as the literature discusses the inadequate supply of education in Africa (Hallberg Adu, 2009; Manuh, 2005; Mkandawire, 1995; World Bank, 2009) paired with deliberate recruitment efforts of the Global North to satiate its so called Knowledge Economies (Hallberg Adu, 2014; Iredale, 2002; Manuh, 2005; Oyewole, 2010; Verbik & Lasanowski, 2007). In Chapter 7, I discuss if this finding of the education focus (74.29%

say they will go abroad to study) and high ambition of Ghanaian students (42.38% see themselves as students in 5 years time) could even be labeled an “education culture”, rather than a “migration culture” as has been suggested for the case of Ghana (Martin, 2007). I conclude that Ghanaian students are not necessarily interested in migrating, most say they intend to return if they go, but students are indeed interested in furthering their education.

Among the factors that had significant positive impact on migration aspirations are: mother's education level (father's rising education level discouraged migration, but significant only for women), attending Ashesi, being a female student in the third year of study, being a female student with weak WASSCE results, being a student from the Eastern region. Parents' education has in earlier research been linked to children's education, so a positive relationship was to be expected if many aim to go abroad to study. Possibly the reverse result for fathers' education indicates that if a student's father is well-educated the student has higher chances of leading a comfortable life in Ghana through his aid and contacts, hence migration becomes less desirable. The result that a female in the third year of study and with weak results is more likely to migrate is more difficult to understand, however possibly plans for Master's programs take form in year three or thereabout, and students with lesser grades have to be more flexible. Importantly, I could not find a link between strong performance and high migration aspiration, suggesting that the idea that “the best students leave” is not always substantiated. On the contrary, a student with strong WASSCE results, especially a woman with strong results, is more likely to aspire to stay in Ghana.

However, anticipated links between socio-economic background and migration aspirations could not be found. Possibly university education in itself is a socio-economic class leveler and that would explain why class is not an important factor in the survey results. Nevertheless, in the interviews, students from lower socio-economic backgrounds shared how finances pose serious hindrances to even aspiring to go abroad. I will discuss further barriers to migration later in this chapter.

Relating to one of the meanings of the title of this dissertation “On A Course To Migrate?”, a large majority of students (68.7%) claimed not to have chosen their academic courses with the thought of making themselves more attractive on the international market. One of the students⁴⁶ rather suggested in her interview that she chose a double major to be sure of a job in Ghana. However, medical and nursing students spoke about being approached by migration industry representatives, hence even if the students do not chose an academic course with migration in mind, the migration recruitment industry appear to be focused on students who take certain courses, for instance the health sciences, as prospective clients for their services.

In addition, the literature on Global South migration was divided on the factor of sex. Whereas some studies had found women more likely to migrate (Kim, 2010; Makni, 2011), others had found the opposite to be true: women were less likely to migrate compared to men (Dodson, 2002). However, recent studies on Ghana had found men and women migrating to about the same extent (Awumbila, 2011; Herman, 2006; Gibson and

⁴⁶ Aba

McKenzie, 2012). Based on the previous research and the relatively egalitarian view of gender roles among educated people in Ghana, I had suggested in my expected results that sex would not be a significant factor for migration aspiration and my results support this expectation. Hence, my findings suggest that among students at Ashesi and UG, men and women are equally likely to aspire to migrate.

Finally, while most students considered international migration in the formulation of their life plans, some of them also expressed strong aspirations *not to* migrate, based on a mix of personal, family, and cultural reasons. In a global coloniality, this shows that students are in a specific and possibly differing group compared to other migrants out of Ghana. Further, participants in my research constructed migration aspiration within an “othering” framework where they suggested that lower-educated individuals are more likely to have a strong aspiration for mobility. This can be linked to the decolonial literature that suggests that “othering” of the Orient constructs the Occident. In this case, it seems *the student* is created by othering individuals with less education in relation to migration aspiration.

8.1.2.2 Examining the Actors Involved in Student Migration and How They Shape

Students’ Migration Aspirations

The second research objective focused on the actors, which influence student migration. Find a summary of the results for this objective in Table 27 and a detailed discussion in the section to follow.

Table 27: Findings for Research Objective 2

Research Objective	Expected Finding based on Literature	Finding
“Examining the actors involved in student migration and how they shape students’ migration aspirations”	I will expect to find a campus culture of migration with information being spread locally about global opportunities through a mostly foreign migration industry looking for talent.	Found some support, the migration industry is present, but students do not give it much significance in terms of influencing migration aspirations.
	Family networks will be relevant, but not central to formation of migration aspirations.	Did not find support, family and friends abroad through VOIP and social media become very important for the formation of migration aspirations.
	Traditional and social media will have an impact on migration aspirations.	Found support, possibly VOIP and social media are especially important.
	Increased connectivity using Internet and telecom technology will increase information flow on the migration options for students.	Found support, and students are in very frequent communication with contacts abroad. I also found information flow in reverse, on Ghana.

Against the backdrop of our current global knowledge society, I had posited that the migration industry would be an important influence, however, despite students recognizing the migration industry's presence on campuses in Ghana, they consistently claimed not to be in contact with those actors, and/or not be very much influenced by them. The exception was students in the health sciences who had been approached more aggressively by migration industry like recruiters from universities overseas. From other informants, such as clients at an education fair in Accra and representatives of the migration industry, I gathered that the migration industry possibly does not have university students as their main audience, but sometimes is more focused on secondary school leavers. In addition, the universities in the study have international offices that could be seen as formal participants of the migration industry, but again students do not report that they are a major influence on aspirations.

In the literature, there was disagreement on the impact of family involvement on the aspiration to migrate. The ISM discourse argued for “post-modern” motivations behind migration, in other words adventure and experience for the individual. On the other hand, the network-theorists of the regular migration theory claimed family, and especially family networks abroad, play a central role in shaping aspirations. I hypothesized along the line of the ISM school and expected that family occupy less of a role. However, what I found was that students suggested that those who pay for a student’s education, get to decide where that student studies, and when asked, 85.21% of students indicated they were sponsored wholly by their families. In the focus group discussions, parents especially were described as playing an important role in shaping aspirations. In the interviews, however, a new aspect emerged: a student’s closeness with family and friends abroad, facilitated by

Internet solutions, such as Voice Over IP (VOIP) (like Skype, Viber etc.) and social media (like Facebook, Twitter and Instagram). Students were often in touch with their family and friends abroad daily or several times a week (7 out of 11 respondents). Hence, family both at home and abroad, have contrary to my prediction a strong impact on formation of aspiration to migrate. In line with the argument advanced by Comaroff and Comaroff (2012), this indeed suggests Ghana, and possibly the Global South, is hypermodern in its globalized interconnectedness and possibly warrants rethinking of how migration aspirations are formed.

I had hypothesized that traditional and social media would influence the students' migration aspirations, however, I had not appreciated the frequency with which students were in contact with family and friends abroad and its possibly enormous impact. To conclude, the Internet has enabled connections between Ghanaian students and their family and friends. In the extract below from my interview with Fiiifi, a third year computer science student from Northern Ghana, friends ask about conditions in Ghana to prepare them for a visit or plan to return home for good:

F: They ask me of updates, how Ghana is doing. Especially *dumsor* [local expression for frequent electricity cuts]. They ask me, because they know they are coming this summer. And they want to know what plans they should make to meet *dumsor*. (Fiiifi)

Hence, students' frequent communication offers more information about life abroad for students, but also provides relatives and friends abroad the opportunity to obtain updates from Ghana.

8.1.2.3 Map the Steps of Student Migration

Find a summary of results for the next research objective in Table 28 and a discussion on the results in the section to follow.

Table 28: Findings for Research Objective 3

Research Objective	Expected Finding based on Literature	Finding
“Map the steps of student migration”	Students will be informed about migration policy and therefore make well-informed decisions.	Did not find support. Students are remarkably ill-informed and suggest obtaining a Ghanaian passport is a first hurdle.
	Peers and networks abroad will play a role in information sharing.	Found some support. When asked directly, students claim friends do not influence them as much as family, but they are at the same time in close contact with friends abroad, which suggests information sharing. Some families also discourage migration.

In the focus group discussions, which I carried out before I did the survey and the interviews, I found out that the steps leading to student migration followed the ensuing trajectory: it started with discussions with family, continued with finding information, then obtaining a passport, and finally applying for a visa and organizing the travel itself. In Chapter 4, I argued that students are legally in a very different position compared to other

aspiring migrants from the Global South, since they belong to a group that can easily secure the documents required for international travel. However, that was not what students reported. Students were remarkably badly informed about migration policy and various destination countries' visa regulations. For example, in the survey, seven out of 10 (72.39%) students said they had “not heard of” the UK Tier 4 Visa. The exception to the rule was the US green card with which nine out of 10 (90.6%) students were “familiar” or “very familiar”. Only four out of every 10 students owned a passport (more on this in the next section) and less than half of them had ever applied for a visa. The intention to apply for a student visa declined from eight in 10 first year students to half of all final year students surveyed.

These results, in my view, indicate that migration is not a major priority in Ghanaian students' lives as they have not gathered much information about how to migrate, nor, for a majority of the students, begun taking action towards making migration aspirations a reality. Students also report that applying for a passport is a barrier to migration as the process is time-consuming and complicated. Further, Ghanaian students seemingly are not aware of their desirability on the international job market, again suggesting that their aspirations are rather geared towards the local job market.

When I tried to pin students down to exactly how migration information was received, students across the focus groups, survey and interviews, argued that friends were not influential; however, the frequency of social media and other Internet enabled contacts, in my view, provide reason to question this. Culturally, a Ghanaian young person is part of an

extended family in which older family members will make decisions for him or her. However, a student also belongs to a unique group as students have access to more information – not the least through increased Internet connectivity on campuses – and more opportunities than other groups, which possibly creates increased individual agency. In addition, I found that some family members discourage migration, as do some religious leaders. This goes contrary to economic ideas on migration where families are believed to aspire to diversify income streams, and hence encourage family members to go abroad. In my data, that happens sometimes, but more often family members are described as being only reluctantly supportive or not at all supportive of migration plans. To speculate, that might be due to lack of control of the person who moves away. One student, Oko, explicitly stated that he wanted to move abroad to escape a controlling family situation. This dynamic is an example of a new explanation for (lack of) migration aspiration, which would be obscured by using “imported concepts” when discussing migration in the Global South.

8.1.3 Student Specific Migration Environment

To summarize the descriptive findings schematically, Figure 18, shows the four aspects of the Student Specific Migration Environment from Chapter 2, now with a gradient. The dark color on the individual agency and family pressures side show these are very important for the formation of student migration aspirations. Conversely, societal pressures, including social, political and historical backdrop, as well as migration industry, were reported by students to be less important.

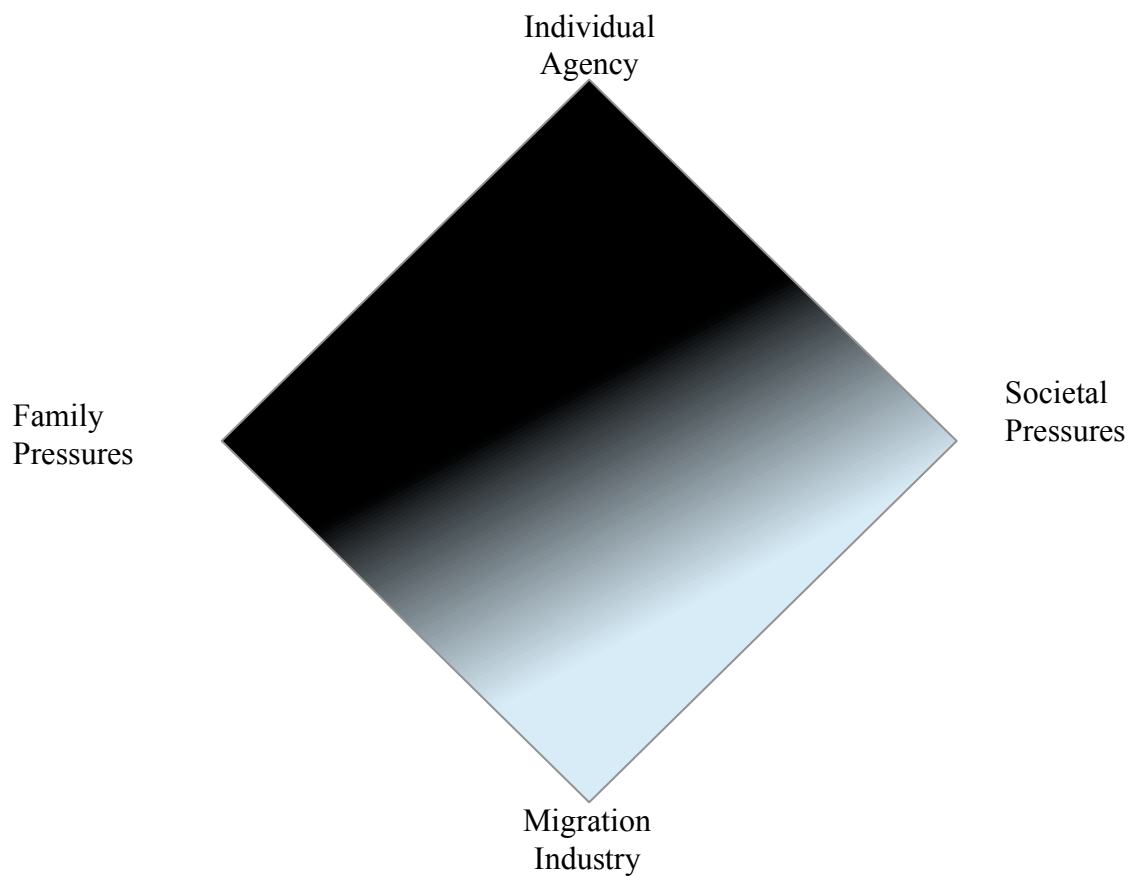


Figure 18: Student Specific Migration Environment

Note: Dark color signifies strong impact and light color weaker impact.

8.2 Problematizing Current Student Migration Discourses

8.2.1 Ghanaian Student Migration Aspirations

The Ghanaian student migration aspirations differ from the aspirations of students from the Global North in the following three ways: First, Ghanaian students are highly dependent on family and especially parents; second, they are also extremely ambitious and many aspire

to go to graduate school overseas; third, Ghanaian students' to a large degree understand their historical, political, and social context as one that encourages migration⁴⁷.

Many Ghanaian students desire international experience and assert that graduate school in Ghana does not meet their quality demands. In the interview quotes below, two students discuss furthering their education: Yosef discusses the benefits of international experience, and Irene quality education:

Yes, so I want to have an educational experience abroad. So I've schooled in Ghana from primary to university, so currently I want to have an international educational experience, so that I could experience how learning is done outside the country and also how different our educational system is, from other people. And test the environment, I mean if you get the opportunity to be in an Ivy League school, let's say for instance the environment and the network. (Yosef, second year Business Administration student)

If you are academically good and you want to further your education, staying in Ghana is not a...I mean you want a better quality education and I don't think Ghana offers that opportunity for someone who wants more challenging environment [than] here. (Irene, second year Computer Science student)

However, there is no reason why Ghanaian university education could not provide an international and quality experience. Indeed, universities strategize their internationalization and aim for increased quality. Hence, possibly, the historical-political-social context of the Ghanaian student plays a role here: historically, a Ghanaian student travels abroad to further his or her education; politically, students in Ghana are desirable abroad as knowledge workers, but face threats of unemployment and weak support at

⁴⁷ This conclusion is based on what students have told me, and not by weighing facts about the current situation in Ghana. As stated in the prelude, my personal view is that the Ghanaian historical-political-social context is favorable for highly skilled individuals and students.

home; finally, there is social pressure or even a norm that some students describe around migrating, especially for further study. Within academia in the Global South, Houtondji (1995) conceptualizes this norm as “indices of extroversion”. Despite a context that in much favors migration, this study has also discovered students’ reservations to the migration option.

8.2.1.1 Reservations To The Migration Option

This research has revealed that university students in Ghana consider migration, but students’ reservation to the migration option has also become apparent. Some students display a strong aspiration not to migrate, others have negative experiences of living/traveling abroad or have heard about racism and immoral behavior and are therefore not interested in a life abroad. There are also those who display ambivalence: they say they intend to migrate, but have taken no steps to realize that aspiration.

For those interested in migration, there are also barriers to migration, even for students who should be desirable on a global knowledge society job market: practical barriers like finances for initial travel, passport acquisition, (knowledge about) the visa application process, and emotional like relationships at home, patriotism as well as fear of racism and discrimination at the destination.

Ghana has in the literature sometimes been described as a “migration culture” and several students mentioned pressures from family and Ghanaian society to migrate. However, in focus group discussions, students revealed what I call “passive resistance” strategies, a

spectrum of strategies to defy family and societal pressure to migrate. Examples of reservations raised by students include morality arguments and raising the issue of racism in destination countries as well as examining the role of money and power in migration decisions.

Some students demonstrate their identity and elite status by choosing a life-path that does not involve migration, or as is often the case, involves a shorter period of a few years of further education abroad before returning.

8.2.1.2 Aspiration and Conviction - A New Model

However, after realizing that not all students had a strong aspiration either to stay or migrate, I have included the aspect of conviction in my conceptualization of migration aspirations,; here conviction describes the intensity of aspiration. Consequently, the new model is called the Aspiration/Conviction Model. In it, I apply labels for different groups of students. These summarize *ideal types*⁴⁸ of students. The first group is “undecided and underfunded” highlighting how migration aspiration is related to funding, but also information. The group “opportunistic thinkers” has a focus on opportunity generally, not migration. Overall, I argue that “aggressive migration aspirations” and “passive resistance”, “undecided and underfunded” and “opportunistic thinker” are concepts that migration scholars can use to understand the contemporary student migration out of Ghana,

⁴⁸ Ideal types or *idealtypus* in German is a way of constructing theoretical models advanced by Max Weber. Ideal types are theoretically perfect parts that creates a whole, but only represent reality cursory as reality will never exactly fit the ideal types.

and perhaps out of the Global South. The model is described in detail in Chapter 7 (summarized in Table 25).

Interestingly, my student informants convey a form of “othering” when they discuss the “aggressive migration aspirations” (my concept inspired by wa Thiong’o (1987)) of individuals with less education. Those “aggressive aspirations” are juxtaposed to their own “passive resistance”. Here are two examples of such “othering” from the focus group discussions:

A higher income family will have a stronger tie [to Ghana] in my opinion. **A lower income family**, anything goes for them. So as far as the person is even going to Accra to make money for them it is fine and if the person is going outside Ghana it is ultimate.

- Male, 24 years, level 400, Computer Science

For example, if you are **a cleaner** and you just clean you will not live comfortably [in Ghana], but if you are outside and you just clean two hours a day you are able to take care of yourself and your apartment. I think it is **the people who have nothing to lose** [who are likely to migrate].

- Female, 19 years, level 200, Medicine

The impact on further research is twofold: migration aspiration has a conceptual anti-thesis, the wish to stay at home. That is migration is limited not just by external barriers, but also lack of interest in the migration option. The finding that students are less interested in migration and less informed than popularly believed is a new reality for decolonial thinkers to grapple with. A new reality is a student from the Global South who has no desire to go to the Global North. I suggest this poses a challenge to the decolonial paradigm. Students who consider their choices and critique the migration norm perhaps suggest a crack in the stronghold of colonial mental oppression. Secondly, migration aspiration should not be seen as a constant, but a rather fluid aspiration where conviction varies over time, possibly

especially for highly educated individuals who have more opportunities at home, possibly possess *double-consciousness* to a higher degree, and critical thinking skills from passing through the higher education system.

8.2.2 A Global South Perspective on Student Migration

The narrow and almost exclusively Northern-centric focus of the ISM discourse on the individual student and his/her motivations and aspirations, is problematic for understanding students' migration aspirations on a global scale. In addition, there are historical, political and social contexts including legal migration barriers for instance in terms of visa acquisition. I will synthesize these contexts below. Further, use of "imported concepts" or concepts created in and for the Global North, further obscures the Global South perspective and I discuss alternatives and shifts to existing concepts in the next section.

8.2.2.1 The Local Context

The knowledge societies, internationalization of higher education and local access to higher education, I argue are crucial backdrops for students' life-making, inclusive of migration aspiration or staying aspiration, in Ghana and possibly in all of the Global South. Importantly, both mobility and internationalization happen in a historical space. Teferra (2008) suggests: "the internationalization of higher education in Africa dates from the advent of higher education on the continent and is linked to its history of colonialization" (p. 515). With this in mind, decolonial theory (Grosfoguel, 2011; Kebede, 2004; Mkandawire, 2011, 2015; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013a; Thiong'o, 1987) can be an important

lens to understand, critique, and possibly challenge a centralized knowledge production in the Global North. For instance, I show in my literature review that higher education in Ghana is modeled on the colonial system where for instance academics go to graduate school predominantly abroad. Furthermore, in a global knowledge society, having a degree it is not just a door to a better job, but also to the ability to travel and live abroad, mobility. In the focus group discussions, several students stress wanting to travel and experience the world: in the survey, when asked about reasons for wanting to study abroad, Ghanaian students also reported “adventure”, even to a higher degree than UK students in a similar study.

While the imaginations and stories about the Global North are often positive, in line with what the decolonial literature suggests, students also mention reservations like: religious concerns about an immoral North, fears of discrimination, racism and loneliness, as well as comfort and recognition issues where Ghana represent a safe, well-known and positive “home”.

While students say they make up their minds on migration in a space devoid of the migration industry, Ghanaian students have a clear *mindscape* of the world and the Global North, derived from their migration environment in which the migration industry does exist. Further, the migration industry in certain sectors appears to operate unregulated. This is also a geopolitical issue: in the era of knowledge economies, to give the sole responsibility for student mobility on the individual countries in the Global South is unfair and a recipe for increased global inequalities.

From the students' perspective, the migration industry in Ghana seem to not be particularly influential. Perhaps, here is a missed opportunity for Ghanaian universities and employers. Instead of leaving an open field to foreign actors in the migration industry, now with easy reach to student both physically on campuses as well as online where Ghanaian institutions are not as strong, Ghanaian institutions can better advertise local opportunities to university students in Ghana to complement family and friends who currently do most of the information sharing. More and more of migration information is shared online, so this is where Ghanaian institutions also need to make inroads.

In addition to the structural level, I have also identified a new wave of student mobility signified by individualism, "post-modern" aspirations such as "adventure" with a greater reliance on self-finance. There is very little difference in aspiration between male and female students. In addition, Ghanaian students encounter barriers for migration like delays at the passport office that make migration unnecessarily difficult.

Hence the driving forces behind individual mobility can be linked not only to factors relating to systematic changes in higher education, but also the rise of "post-modern" ideals, the aspiration to stay, and locally specific barriers to migration. If a decolonial perspective is applied, academic mobility has promise, in that it could help decentralize knowledge production by having academics and students enrolled in bilateral, large scale exchanges that produced international experiences in campuses all over the globe, not just expensive "high quality" courses in the Global North for the lucky few.

8.2.2.2 Problematizing the Concepts: Student, Student Migration, Migration Industry

and Aspiration

This study has made reference to many frameworks: migration literature, decolonial epistemologies, internationalization of higher education. I have also problematized how these literatures consist of “imported concepts” to the Global South context. Perhaps the attempt to straddle several literatures is why the key concept in this work appears ill-fitting and maybe even problematic: Who is a student? I have consistently argued that a student belongs to a specific category. More so as very few individuals have access to higher education, with the result that a student is not just an individual enrolled in an academic program leading to a degree, but also: 1) symbolically the future of the country, 2) a central asset in a knowledge society, 3) a trendsetter among the youth in general as education gives them access to capital, and 4) legally different as a student possesses their own categories of visas. 5) Historically, for Ghana, a student has also been one who goes abroad. Nevertheless, students are not theorized in existent decolonial theory nor in migration theory, except for as transmigrants which is an ill-fitting label as students do not necessarily spend their lives continuously linking societies of origin and settlement as discussed in Chapter 2.

The migration concept is also itself problematic. Following this extended definition of what a student is, the widely adopted definition suggests migration occurs when someone crosses state borders or regional borders for a duration longer than one year. This is problematic for the category students as most academic programs and certainly all degree programs span more than one year, but being away for longer than one year does not in any way suggest that the student intends to stay in the country of study. Students discuss this as

“go and stay” and report intentions to return after the study period. In addition, if one gets a student visa, one typically does not have the right to stay in the country of study after the program is completed. There are several possible ways to solve this issue of students being labeled migrants:

- A) Conceptually include student migration in the academic migration/mobility concept, for the following reasons: migrating students constitute the financially most important aspect of internationalization of higher education, students are highly skilled with central importance in the knowledge society, the effects of mobility of academics is similar to mobility of students in the Global South, and it highlights the imbalance of the current system.
- B) Exclude student migrants from the migration definition.
- C) Re-conceptualize student migration.

Finally, migration industry is a concept that I find very useful. However, important differences in practices between non-profit and private for-profit migration industry suggest that the concept needs further elaboration and classification. A simple classification of formal and informal, profit or non-profit institutions such as presented in Chapter 3, might offer a fruitful starting point.

8.4 Recommendations

This study reveals that students from the Global South and their aspirations, dreams and imaginations have been overlooked by both migration research and decolonial studies,

including African studies; as such there is much more research that needs to be undertaken.

I suggest that:

- Future research should extend the questions to also include other African countries and possibly other countries in the Global South, to test whether Ghana might present a unique case or not. A longitudinal study could provide much insight in variations in migration aspiration over time with the same cohort.
- Future migration research should give students from the Global South more attention as aspiration constitutes only one stage of migration, hence other aspects such as visa acquisition, travel, integration, return, “go and come”, of the student is still unmapped.
- Future decolonial theory must include the resistance or disinterest in the migration option that my research has revealed. How can this be explained within a decolonial framework?
- Research on migration of students must include the historical-political-social context of students.
- Scholars in the Global South can further theorize migration and mobility for the Global South context without “imported concepts” such as “brain-drain” and “migration culture”, which present conceptual barriers rather than explanations.
- My study reveals that students in Ghana are often daily connected to their friends and relatives abroad, which possibly creates a whole new field for research. Hence, I suggest researchers need to deepen the understanding of the role of the Internet

and social media in formation of migration aspirations, as well as in other aspects of life.

- Future research should also study South-to-South student migration, like the relatively large population of Nigerian students in Ghana. These migrations could offer more insights into alternative aspirations of students in the Global South.
- Finally, future migration research must interrogate aspirations to stay and narratives of “making it in Africa”. In line with findings pointing to students being optimistic about opportunities at home, further research could play an important role in understanding the near future in Africa.

Furthermore, student migration does not happen in an institutional vacuum. However, universities and nation states must be pro-active and formulate policy to create desired outcomes. Here are my recommendations in terms of policy:

- Universities in the Global North to formulate policy that ensures equitable exchange programs with universities in the Global South.
- Universities in the Global South to engage with lecturers, students and staff on how to discuss the role of the highly skilled individual in development, including the option of study abroad/migration/return. Some ideas on programs or initiatives are: the model of campus job fairs to highlight local opportunities; tracking alumni to see what programs might be over-represented in producing migrants; and including in syllabi the rich history of Africa’s knowledge production, waves of student migration, decolonial critique of current knowledge production in the world.

- Universities in the Global South to actively organize to present a united front against extractive practices in exchanges and collaborations with Universities in the Global North.
- Universities in the Global South and other institutions in the Global South to enhance their online presence for better balance of information directed at students from home compared to from abroad fuelled by the migration industry.
- Nation states in the Global South to actively take a positive stand on student migration and facilitate migration for educational purposes and return for professionals in particular.
- International community to regulate migration industry, especially the for-profit type, to ensure ethical practices that does not cause harm to individuals or disrupt higher education in the Global South.

The starting point of my research endeavor was that leaving Ghana as a student was a paradox. Indeed not just for Ghana, but I argue for students in all of the Global South, student migration is a two edged sword; on the one hand it provides increased access to education for individuals thirsting for it, but on the other hand, it risks taking highly skilled people away from their homelands, maybe for the rest of their productive years. This of course has implications for development, as the Akan proverb suggests: “gold is mute [...] it is man who counts!” Many students initially travel to further their education and, at least in the case of Ghana, state that they have every intention to return home. We know that does not always happen, but we know little about what goes into those types of decisions.

This dissertation has examined one piece of that puzzle, the starting point for any journey; the formation of migration aspirations among students on two campuses in Ghana.

REFERENCES

- Abdul-Korah, G. B. (2011). "Now If You Have Only Sons You Are Dead": Migration, Gender, and Family Economy in Twentieth Century Northwestern Ghana. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 46(4), 390–403.
<http://doi.org/10.1177/0021909611400016>
- Abuosi, A. A., & Abor, P. A. (2014). Migration Intentions of Nursing Students in Ghana: Implications for Human Resource Development in the Health Sector. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 1–14. <http://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-014-0353-5>
- Ackers, L. (2005). Moving people and knowledge: Scientific mobility in the European Union1. *International Migration*, 43(5), 99–131.
- Adams, J., King, C., & Hook, D. (2010). *Global research report Africa*. Leeds: Evidence, a Thomson Reuters business.
- Adepoju, A. (2000). Issues and Recent Trends in International Migration in Sub-Saharan Africa. *International Social Science Journal*, 52(165), 383–394.
- Adepoju, A. (2003). Migration in West Africa. *Development*, 46(3), 37–41.
- Adepoju, A., & van der Wiel, A. (2010). *Seeking greener pastures abroad: A migration profile of Nigeria*. Safari Books Ibadan,, Nigeria. Retrieved from <http://www.acpmigration-obs.org/node/3667>
- Adesina, O. A. (2007). "Checking Out": Migration, Popular Culture and the articulation and formation of class identity. In *Paper to African Migrations workshop on "Understanding migration dynamics in the continent"*, Accra, Ghana.

- Adeyanju, C. T., & Oriola, T. B. (2011). Colonialism and Contemporary African Migration: A Phenomenological Approach. *Journal of Black Studies*, 42(6), 943–967. <http://doi.org/10.1177/0021934710396876>
- Adjei, E. (2006, June). *From Origin to Destination: Policy Perspective on Female Migration: Ghana Case Study*. Presented at the Symposium on International Migration and Development, Accra.
- Adjei, M. (2014). Internationalizing a Private Liberal Arts College in Ghana. In L. Seawright (Ed.), *Going Global: Transnational Perspectives on Globalization, Language, and Education* (pp. 49–66). Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Adomako Ampofo, A. (1997). *To be or not to be a prostitute. The Example of Ghanaian prostitutes in the Netherlands*. Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana.
- Adusah-Karikari, A. (2008). *Experiences of Women in Higher Education: A Study of Women Faculty and Administrators in Selected Public Universities in Ghana*.
- Adusei, S.A. (Forthcoming). Migrating Under the Diversity Visa Lottery program: Intentions of University of Ghana Students. (Unpublished MPhil thesis). University of Ghana.
- Agbodeka, F. (1998). *A history of University of Ghana: half a century of higher education (1948-1998)*. Accra: Woeli Pub. Services.
- Ahrens, J., King, R., Skeldon, R., & Dunne, M. (2010). Motivations of UK Students to Study Abroad: A Survey of School-Leavers. *Sussex Center for Migration Research*. *Sussex: University of Sussex*. Retrieved from http://sro.sussex.ac.uk/37004/1/SCMR_WP_64_Motivations_of_UK_Students_260511.pdf

- Akabzaa, T. M. (2010). *Migration and economic development in Ghana*. [Accra]: Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana.
- Akesson, L. (2004). *Making a life: Meanings of migration in Cape Verde*. Göteborg University,. Retrieved from <http://swepub.kb.se/bib/swepub:oai:services.scigloo.org:38426>
- Akesson, L. (2008). The resilience of the Cape Verdean migration tradition. *Transnational Archipelago*, 269.
- Alberts, H. C., & Hazen, H. D. (2005). “There are always two voices...”: International Students’ Intentions to Stay in the United States or Return to their Home Countries. *International Migration*, 43(3), 131–154.
- Amoah, L. (2008). At Confucious’ Feet. *BBC Focus on Africa*. Retrieved from https://www.academia.edu/5256608/Africans_and_higher_education_in_contemporary_China
- Anarfi, J., Kwankye, S., Ababio, O. M., & Tiemoko, R. (2003). Migration from and to Ghana: a background paper. *University of Sussex: DRC on Migration, Globalisation and Poverty*.
- Anarfi, J., Quartey, P., & Adjei, J. (2010). Key Determinants of Migration among Health Professionals in Ghana. *Report Prepared for the Sussex Centre for Migration Studies, Sussex, UK*.
- Anderson, B., & Blinder, S. (2014). *Who Counts as a Migrant? Definitions and their Consequences*. Retrieved from http://www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/sites/files/migobs/Briefing%20-%20Who%20Counts%20as%20a%20Migrant_0.pdf

- Anthias, P., & Siddiqui, S. (2008). Student Migration from Bangladesh to the UK. *RMMRU: Dhaka*. Retrieved from http://www.migrationdrc.org/research/projects/Student_Migration_from_Bangladesh_to_the_UK.pdf
- Anyidoho, N. A. (2015). The employment expectations, preferences and aspirations of final-year Ghanaian university students. Presented at the Codesria Youth Employment in Africa Conference.
- Appadurai, A. (1996). *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Vol. 1). University of Minnesota Press.
- Appadurai, A. (2004). The capacity to aspire: Culture and the terms of recognition. *Culture and Public Action*, 59, 84.
- Aryeetey, E., & Kanbur, S. M. R. (Eds.). (2008). *The economy of Ghana: analytical perspectives on stability, growth & poverty*. Oxford : Accra, Ghana: James Currey ; Woeli Publishing Services.
- Ashesi University College. (2015a). Discover. Connect. Transform. Retrieved April 21, 2015, from <http://www.ashesi.edu.gh/academics/odip.html>
- Ashesi University College. (2015b). Partnering for Career Success. Retrieved April 21, 2015, from <http://www.ashesi.edu.gh/student-life-5/career-services-4/for-students.html>
- Audebert, C., & Doraï, M. K. (2010). *Migration in a Globalised World: New Research Issues and Prospects*. Amsterdam University Press.
- Awuah, P. (2012). Path to a New Africa (SSIR). Retrieved June 11, 2015, from http://www.ssireview.org/articles/entry/path_to_a_new_africa

- Awumbila, M. (2011). *Socio-cultural dimensions of migration in Ghana*. [Accra]:
Published for the Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana by Woeli Pub.
Services.
- Awumbila, M., Manuh, T., Quartey, P., Antwi Bosiakoh, T., & Tagoe, C. A. (2011).
Migration and Mobility in Ghana: Trends, Issues, and Emerging Research Gaps.
Woeli Publishing Services. Retrieved from
http://works.bepress.com/thomas_antwibosiakoh/7
- Baah-Boateng, W., & Ewusi, K. (2013). Employment: Policies and Options. In K. Ewusi
(Ed.), *Policies and options for Ghana's economic development*. ISSER, University
of Ghana. Retrieved from [http://www.researchgate.net/profile/William_Baah-
Boateng2/publication/269402669_Employment_Policies_and_Options/links/54bd0
4a40cf27c8f28133c4e.pdf](http://www.researchgate.net/profile/William_Baah-Boateng2/publication/269402669_Employment_Policies_and_Options/links/54bd04a40cf27c8f28133c4e.pdf)
- Badru, P. (2012). Waves of Student Migration out of Africa [Presentation]. Presented at the
Migration and Development Conference 19-21 June, 2013, Accra, Ghana.
- Basch, L., Schiller, N. G., & Blanc, C. S. (2013). *Nations unbound: Transnational projects,
postcolonial predicaments, and deterritorialized nation-states*. Routledge.
- Bauman, Z. (2000). *Globalization: the human consequences*. New York; Chichester:
Columbia University Press.
- Bjarnesen, J. (2007). On the Move: Young Men Navigating Paths towards Adulthood in
Gueule Tapée (Dakar). Retrieved from [http://www.diva-
portal.org/smash/record.jsf?pid=diva2:398764](http://www.diva-portal.org/smash/record.jsf?pid=diva2:398764)
- Black, R. (2004, November). Migration and pro-poor policy in Africa [Monographs].
Retrieved June 27, 2016, from <http://eprints.soas.ac.uk/18177/>

- Bratton, M., & Van de Walle, N. (1997). *Democratic Experiments in Africa: Regime Transitions in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge University Press.
- Brettell, C. B. (2003). *Anthropology of migration*. Wiley Online Library. Retrieved from <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/9781444351071.wbeghm031/full>
- Brettell, C. B., & Hollifield, J. F. (2014). *Migration theory: Talking across disciplines*. Routledge. Retrieved from <https://books.google.com/books>
- Brooks, R., & Waters, J. (2009). International higher education and the mobility of UK students. *Journal of Research in International Education*, 8(2), 191–209. <http://doi.org/10.1177/1475240909105204>
- Brooks, R., & Waters, J. L. (2011). *Student mobilities, migration and the internationalization of higher education*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave macmillan.
- Bryceson, D. F. (2012). Discovery and denial: Social science theory and interdisciplinarity in African Studies. *African Affairs*, 111(443), 281–302. <http://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/ads001>
- Buah, F. K. (1998). *A history of Ghana* (Revised updated ed). London: Macmillan.
- Bump, M. (2006, March 1). Ghana: Searching for Opportunities at Home and Abroad. Retrieved November 22, 2014, from <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/ghana-searching-opportunities-home-and-abroad>
- Cairns, D., & Smyth, J. (2011). I wouldn't mind moving actually: Exploring Student Mobility in Northern Ireland: Student mobility in northern Ireland. *International Migration*, 49(2), 135–161. <http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2435.2009.00533.x>

- Caldwell, J. C. (1965). Extended family obligations and education: A study of an aspect of demographic transition amongst Ghanaian university students. *Population Studies*, 19(2), 183–199.
- Carling, J. (2002). Migration in the age of involuntary immobility: theoretical reflections and Cape Verdean experiences. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 28(1), 5–42.
- Carling, J. (2008). The human dynamics of migrant transnationalism. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 31(8), 1452–1477. <http://doi.org/10.1080/01419870701719097>
- Carlson, S. (2011). *Just a matter of choice? Student mobility as a social and biographical process*. (SCMR Working Paper No. 68). University of Sussex: Sussex Centre for Migration Research. Retrieved from <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/migration/documents/mwp68.pdf>
- Castles, S. (2010). Understanding Global Migration: A Social Transformation Perspective. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36(10), 1565–1586. <http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2010.489381>
- Castles, S. (2014). International migration at a crossroads. *Citizenship Studies*, 18(2), 190–207. <http://doi.org/10.1080/13621025.2014.886439>
- Castles, S., & Miller, M. J. (2003). *The Age of Migration, Third Edition: International Population Movements in the Modern World* (Third Edition). The Guilford Press.
- Cavanagh, M. (2012, 01). Migration review 2011/2012. Retrieved from http://www.ippr.org/images/media/files/publication/2012/01/migration-review-2011-12_Jan2012_8431.pdf

- Cavanagh, M., & Glennie, A. (2012). *International students and net migration in the UK*. IPPR London. Retrieved from <http://fjj.inovawork.net/NL483/ippr.pdf>
- Clarke, A. (2012, July 11). To be or not to be... a migrant? Differing definitions and public perceptions of migrants in the UK. Retrieved from <http://themigrationist.net/2012/11/07/to-be-or-not-to-be-a-migrant-differing-definitions-and-public-perceptions-of-migrants-in-the-uk/>
- Clifton, J. (2008). *Global migration patterns and job creation*. Retrieved from <http://media.gallup.com/poll/pdf/GallupWorldPollWhitePaperGlobalMigration.pdf>
- Coe, C. (2011). What is love? The materiality of care in Ghanaian transnational families. *International Migration*, 49(6), 7–24.
- Coe, C. (2012). Growing Up and Going Abroad: How Ghanaian Children Imagine Transnational Migration. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 38(6), 913–931. <http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2012.677173>
- Cohen, R. (1987). The new helots: migrants in the international division of labour. Retrieved from <http://www.ponline.org/node/355172>
- Collier, P. (2014). *Exodus: How Migration is Changing Our World*. New York: Oxford University Press, USA. Retrieved from <http://www.myilibrary.com?id=507112>
- Comaroff, J., & Comaroff, J. L. (2012). Theory from the South: Or, how Euro-America is Evolving Toward Africa. *Anthropological Forum*, 22(2), 113–131. <http://doi.org/10.1080/00664677.2012.694169>
- Connell, R. (2007). *Southern theory: the global dynamics of knowledge in social science*. Cambridge; Malden, MA: Polity.

- De Haas, H. (2006). *Turning the Tide?: Why “ development Instead of Migration ” Policies are Bound to Fail*. International Migration Institute. Retrieved from <http://www.heindehaas.com/Publications/>
- De Haas, H. (2008). *Migration and development A theoretical perspective* (Working Paper No. Paper 9). International Migration Institute, James Martin 21st Century School, University of Oxford.
- De Haas, H. (2014). *Migration Theory: Quo Vadis?*. IMI Oxford University. Retrieved from <http://www.imi.ox.ac.uk/publications/working-papers/wp-100-2014>
- De Jong, G. F. (1999). Choice Processes in Migration Behavior. In K. Pandit & S. D. Withers (Eds.), *Migration and Restructuring in the United States: A Geographic Perspective*. Rowman & Littlefield.
- Diop, C. A. (1974). *The African Origin of Civilization: Myth or Reality*. (M. Cook, Ed.) (First Edition edition). New York: Chicago Review Press.
- Docquier, F., & Marfouk, A. (2004). Measuring the international mobility of skilled workers (1990-2000): release 1.0. *World Bank Policy Research Working Paper*, (3381). Retrieved from http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=625258
- Dodson, B. (2002). *Gender and the brain drain from South Africa*. Cape Town; Kingston, Canada: Idasa ; Southern African Migration Project ; Southern African Research Centre, Queen’s University.
- Dovlo, D., & Nyonator, F. (1999). Migration by graduates of the University of Ghana Medical School: a preliminary rapid appraisal. *Human Resources for Health Development Journal*, 3(1), 40–51.

- Driouchi, A. (2014, September 24). Economics of Migration of Students from the Arab Region to OECD countries [MPRA Paper]. Retrieved November 20, 2014, from <http://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/58830/>
- Dua Agyeman, E. (2006). *Report of the Auditor-General on the Management of Foreign Scholarships*.
- Du Bois, W. E. B. (2007). *The souls of black folk*. Oxford University Press.
- Durham, D. (2000). Youth and the social imagination in Africa: Introduction to parts 1 and 2. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 73(3), 113–120.
- Economic Commission for Africa. (2006). *International Migration and Development: Implications for Africa*. United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA).
- Effah, E. (2014, May 11). ““No pastures greener than our green field” – Otumfuo tells youth”. Citifmonline. Retrieved from <http://www.citifmonline.com/2014/05/no-pastures-greener-than-our-green-field-otumfuo-tells-youth/>
- Effah, P., & Senadza, B. (2008). Ghana. In D. Teferra & J. Knight (Eds.), *Higher education in Africa: The international dimension*. African Books Collective.
- European Council. COUNCIL DIRECTIVE 2009/50/EC of 25 May 2009, Pub. L. No. L 155/17 (2009).
- European University Association, & Association of Africa Universities. (2010, October 21). Joint Statement of the Association of African Universities (AAU) and the European University Association (EUA) on the role of higher education in the Africa-Europe Strategic Partnership - for submission to the Africa EU Summit. Retrieved from http://www.accesstosuccess-africa.eu/web/images/finalconference/eua_whitepaper_eng_web.pdf

- Fanon, F. (1961). *The wretched of the earth*. New York: Grove Press.
- Fasselt, R. (2014). "I'm not Afropolitan — I'm of the Continent": A conversation with Yewande Omotoso. *The Journal of Commonwealth Literature*, 0021989414552922. <http://doi.org/10.1177/0021989414552922>
- Fellessen, M., & Mahlck, P. (2014). Academics on the Move. Mobility and Institutional Change in the Swedish Development Support to Research Capacity Building in Mozambique. Nordic Africa Institute.
- Findlay, A. M. (2010). An Assessment of Supply and Demand-side Theorizations of International Student Mobility. *International Migration*, 49(2), 162–190. <http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2435.2010.00643.x>
- Findlay, A. M., King, R., Geddes, A., Smith, F., Stam, M. A., Dunne, M., ... Ahrens, M. J. (2010). *Motivations and experiences of UK students studying abroad*. University of Dundee, Department for Business, Innovation and Skills. Retrieved from <http://cicreg.gov.uk/assets/biscore/corporate/migratedd/publications/b/bis-rp-008.pdf>
- Flamenbaum, R. (forthcoming). *Digital Literacy and Codes of Transformation in the "New Ghana" (Tentative Title)*. University of California, Los Angeles.
- Frye, M. (2012). Bright futures in Malawi's new dawn: Educational aspirations as assertions of identity. *AJS; American Journal of Sociology*, 117(6), 1565.
- Gargano, T. (2009). (Re)conceptualizing International Student Mobility The Potential of Transnational Social Fields. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 13(3), 331–346. <http://doi.org/10.1177/1028315308322060>

- Ghana Immigration Service. (2008). *Annual Report for 2008*. Retrieved from <http://www.ghanaimmigration.org/ANNUAL%20%20REPORT%20FOR%202008.pdf>
- Ghana Statistical Service. (2008). Report of the Fifth Round (GLSS 5). GSS.
- Gibson, J., & McKenzie, D. (2012). The Economic Consequences of “Brain Drain” of the Best and Brightest: Microeconomic Evidence from Five Countries*. *The Economic Journal*, 122(560), 339–375.
- Gillham, B. (2005). *Research interviewing: the range of techniques*. Maidenhead ; New York: Open University Press.
- Goffe, L. (2014, February). Friends salute Mboya’s American airlifts 50 years ago. *New African*, 48(536). Retrieved from <http://www.newafricanmagazine.com/features/diaspora/friends-salute-mboyas-american-airlifts-50-years-ago>
- Go, J. (2013). For a postcolonial sociology. *Theory and Society*, 42(1), 25–55.
- Government of Ghana. (2014). Ghana at a Glance. Retrieved from <http://www.ghana.gov.gh/index.php/about-ghana/ghana-at-a-glance>
- Gregory, D. (1995). Imaginative geographies. *Progress in Human Geography*, 19(4), 447–485.
- Grosfoguel, R. (2011). Decolonizing Post-Colonial Studies and Paradigms of Political Economy: Transmodernity, Decolonial Thinking, and Global Coloniality. *Transmodernity*, 1(1), 1–36.
- Gyekye, K. (1995). *An Essay on African Philosophical Thought: The Akan Conceptual Scheme*. Temple University Press.

- Hagopian, A., Oforu, A., Fatusi, A., Biritwum, R., Essel, A., Gary Hart, L., & Watts, C. (2005). The flight of physicians from West Africa: Views of African physicians and implications for policy. *Social Science & Medicine*, 61(8), 1750–1760.
<http://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2005.03.027>
- Hallberg Adu, K. (2009, 28). Ghana: Private higher education on the rise. Retrieved May 18, 2012, from
<http://www.universityworldnews.com/article.php?story=20090626115442537>
- Hallberg Adu, K. (2014). What is the opposite of a knowledge society? A critical reflection from Ghana. In L. Amoah (Ed.), *Impacts of the Knowledge Society on Economic and Social Growth in Africa*. IGI Global.
- Haraway, D. (1988). Situated knowledges: The science question in feminism and the privilege of partial perspective. *Feminist Studies*, 14(3), 575–599.
- Herman, E. (2006). Migration as a Family Business: The Role of Personal Networks in the Mobility Phase of Migration. *International Migration*, 44(4), 191–230.
<http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2435.2006.00384.x>
- History Ends In Nigeria. (2014, March 12). *Vanguard News*. Retrieved from
<http://www.vanguardngr.com/2014/03/history-ends-nigeria/>
- Ho, E. L.-E. (2011). “Claiming” the diaspora: Elite mobility, sending state strategies and the spatialities of citizenship. *Progress in Human Geography*, 35(6), 757–772.
<http://doi.org/10.1177/0309132511401463>
- Hoffman, D. M. (2009). Changing Academic Mobility Patterns and International Migration
 What Will Academic Mobility Mean in the 21st Century? *Journal of Studies in*

International Education, 13(3), 347–364.

<http://doi.org/10.1177/1028315308321374>

Hollifield, J. F. (2000). The politics of international migration. *Migration Theory: Talking across Disciplines*, 137–85.

hooks, bell. (2010). *Teaching critical thinking: practical wisdom*. New York: Routledge.

Hountondji, P. J. (1995). Producing Knowledge in Africa Today the Second Bashorun MKO Abiola Distinguished Lecture. *African Studies Review*, 38(03), 1–10.

Iddrisu, A. M. (2014). The Effect of Poverty, Household Structure and Child Work on School Enrolment. *Journal of Education and Practice*, 5(6), 145–156.

Illiffe, J. (2007). *Africans: the history of a continent* (2nd ed., New ed). Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press.

International Monetary Fund. (2015). *IMF Readies Loan for Ghana to Support Reform Plan* (IMF Survey). Retrieved from <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/survey/so/2015/car022615a.htm>

International Organization for Migration. (2006). *World Migration 2005 Costs and Benefits of International Migration* (Vol. 3). International Organization for Migration (IOM).

International Organization for Migration. (2010). *World Migration 2010. Managing labour mobility in the evolving global Economy*. International Organization for Migration (IOM).

Introducing CMS. (2014). University of Ghana. Retrieved from <http://www.ug.edu.gh/cms/about/introducing-cms>

- Iredale, R. (2002). The Migration of Professionals: Theories and Typologies. *International Migration*, 39(5), 7–26. <http://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2435.00169>
- Jensen, P., & Pedersen, P. J. (2007). To Stay or Not to Stay? Out-Migration of Immigrants from Denmark. *International Migration*, 45(5), 87–113.
- Jerven, M. (2013). *Poor Numbers: How We Are Misled by African Development Statistics and What to Do about It* (1 edition). Cornell University Press.
- Kapur, D., & McHale, J. (2005). *Give us your best and brightest: The global hunt for talent and its impact on the developing world*. Center for Global Development.
- Katseli, L. T., Lucas, R. E., & Xenogiani, T. (2006). *Effects of migration on sending countries: what do we know?*. OECD Development Centre. Retrieved from <https://www1.oecd.org/dev/poverty/37053726.pdf>
- Kebede, M. (2004). *Africa's quest for a philosophy of decolonization*. Amsterdam; New York: Rodopi.
- Keteku, N. (2007). *Africa's Push-Pull Factors – or Is It Pull-Push? Influences on African Students' Decisions to Study in the United States*. Education USA.
- Kim, Y. (2010). Female Individualization?: Transnational Mobility and Media Consumption of Asian Women. *Media, Culture & Society*, 32(1), 25–43. <http://doi.org/10.1177/0163443709350096>
- King, R., Findlay, A., & Ahrens, J. (2010). International student mobility literature review. *Report to Hefce and Co*.
- Kishun, R. (2009). Measuring international student mobility trends: In and out of Africa. *Unpublished Mimeograph*. Retrieved from <http://cees.mak.ac.ug/sites/default/files/projects/Roshen-bwanika.pdf>

- Kleist, N. (2011). *“Let us rebuild our country”*: migration-development scenarios in Ghana. Copenhagen, Denmark: Danish Institute for International Studies.
- Knight, J. (2004). Internationalization Remodeled: Definition, Approaches, and Rationales. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 8(1), 5–31.
<http://doi.org/10.1177/1028315303260832>
- Kohnert, D. (2006). On the Benefit of African Immigration to Europe: Turn in the EU Immigration Policy? Retrieved from
http://papers.ssrn.com/soL3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=949704
- Kuada, J., & Chachah, Y. (1999). *Ghana: understanding the people and their culture*. Accra: Woeli Pub. Services.
- Kumekpor, T. K. B. (2002). *Research methods and Techniques of Social Research*. Accra: SonLife Press and Services.
- Kurekova, L. (2011). Theories of migration: Conceptual review and empirical testing in the context of the EU East-West flows. In *Interdisciplinary conference on Migration. Economic Change, Social Challenge*. Retrieved from https://cream.conference-services.net/resources/952/2371/pdf/MECSC2011_0139_paper.pdf
- Kuroda, K. (2007). International Student Mobility for the Formation of an East Asian Community. Retrieved from
<http://dspace.wul.waseda.ac.jp/dspace/handle/2065/12816>
- Latif Sandbaek, M. (2007). *“Everybody wants to go abroad” An ethnographic analysis of migration motivations in Morocco*. University of Copenhagen.
- Lee, E. S. (1966). A theory of migration. *Demography*, 3(1), 47–57.

- Leith, J. C., & Soderling, L. (2003). Ghana-long term growth, atrophy and stunted recovery. Research Report No. 125, Nordic Africa Institute.
- Lenhardt, A., Rocha Menochal, A., & Engel, J. (2015). *Ghana, the rising star. Progress in political voice, health and education*. Overseas Development Institute. Retrieved from <http://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/9553.pdf>
- Levitt, P. (2001). Transnational migration: taking stock and future directions. *Global Networks, 1*(3), 195–216.
- Mabogunje, A. L. (1970). Systems approach to a theory of rural-urban migration. *Geographical Analysis, 2*(1), 1–18.
- Madge, C., Raghuram, P., & Noxolo, P. (2009). Engaged pedagogy and responsibility: a postcolonial analysis of international students. *Geoforum, 40*(1), 34–45.
- Makni, V. (2011). Student Migration Potential: The case of Bulgaria. *South-Eastern Europe Journal of Economics, 2*.
- Mamdani, M. (2011, 21). Pambazuka - The importance of research in a university. Retrieved May 18, 2012, from <http://www.pambazuka.org/en/category/features/72782>
- Manuh, T. (Ed.) (2005). *At Home in the World: International Migration and Development in Contemporary Ghana and West Africa*. Accra: Sub-Saharan Publishers.
- Manuh, T., Gariba, S., & Budu, J. (2007). *Change and Transformation in Ghana's Publicly Funded Universities: A Study of Experiences, Lessons and Opportunities*. Oxford : Accra: James Currey.

- Maps of Immigrants and Emigrants Around the World. (2012). Retrieved March 4, 2014, from <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/programs/data-hub/maps-immigrants-and-emigrants-around-world>
- Marfouk, A. (2008). *The African brain drain: scope and determinants*. Dulbea l'Université Libre de Bruxelles. Retrieved from <http://www.abdeslammarfouk.com/uploads/1/6/3/4/16347570/am.pdf>
- Maringe, F., & Carter, S. (2007). International students' motivations for studying in UK HE: Insights into the choice and decision making of African students. *International Journal of Educational Management*, 21(6), 459–475. <http://doi.org/10.1108/09513540710780000>
- Martin, J. (2007). What's New With the "Been-To"? Educational migrants, Return from Europe and Migrant's Culture in Urban Southern Ghana. In H. P. Hahn & G. Klute (Eds.), *Cultures of Migration: African Perspectives*. LIT Verlag Münster.
- Marzagora, S. (2016). The humanism of reconstruction: African intellectuals, decolonial critical theory and the opposition to the "posts" (postmodernism, poststructuralism, postcolonialism). *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, 0(0), 1–18. <http://doi.org/10.1080/13696815.2016.1152462>
- Massey, D. S., Arango, J., Hugo, G., Kouaouci, A., & Pellegrino, A. (1999). *Worlds in Motion : Understanding International Migration at the End of the Millennium: Understanding International Migration at the End of the Millennium*. Clarendon Press.

- Massey, D. S., Arango, J., Hugo, G., Kouaouci, A., Pellegrino, A., & Taylor, J. E. (1993). Theories of international migration: a review and appraisal. *Population and Development Review*, 431–466.
- Mazzucato, V. (2008). The double engagement: Transnationalism and integration. Ghanaian migrants' lives between Ghana and the Netherlands. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 34(2), 199–216.
- McConkey, J. (2004). Knowledge and Acknowledgement: “Epistemic Injustice” as a Problem of Recognition1. *Politics*, 24(3), 198–205.
- McKenzie, D. (2005). Paper walls are easier to tear down: Passport costs and legal barriers to emigration. *World Bank Policy Research Working Paper*, (3783). Retrieved from http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=873863
- Mignolo, W. (2002). The geopolitics of knowledge and the colonial difference. *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, 101(1), 57–96.
- Mignolo, W. D. (2009). Epistemic disobedience, independent thought and decolonial freedom. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 26(7-8), 159–181.
- Migration. (2011). *IOM's Glossary on Migration*. Geneva, Switzerland: International Organization for Migration. Retrieved from <http://www.iom.int/cms/en/sites/iom/home/about-migration/key-migration-terms-1.html#Migration>
- Mkandawire, T. (1995). Three generations of African academics: A note. *Transformation*, (28). Retrieved from <http://history.ukzn.ac.za/ojs/index.php/transformation/article/viewFile/682/498>
- Mkandawire, T. (2011). Running While Others Walk: Knowledge and the Challenge of Africa's Development. *Africa Development*, 36(2), 1–36.

- Mkandawire, T. (2015). *Africa: Beyond Recovery*. Accra, Ghana: Sub-Saharan Publishers.
- Mpinganjira, M. (2009). Comparative analysis of factors influencing the decision to study abroad. *African Journal of Business Management*, 3(8), 358–365.
- Murphy-Lejeune, E. (2003). *Student mobility and narrative in Europe: The new strangers*. Routledge. Retrieved from <https://books.google.com/books>
- Murphy-Lejeune, E. (2007). *Student Mobility and Narrative in Europe* (annotated edition). Taylor & Francis.
- Naidoo, V. (2007). Research on the flow of international students to UK universities: Determinants and implications. *Journal of Research in International Education*, 6(3), 287–307. <http://doi.org/10.1177/1475240907083197>
- National Accreditation Board, Ghana. (2015). Registered Foreign Institutions. Retrieved June 10, 2015, from <http://nab.gov.gh/web3/registered-foreign-institutions>
- Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. (2013a). Decolonizing the African University. *The Thinkers*, 46–51.
- Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. (2013b). Why decoloniality in the 21st century. *The Thinkers*, 48, 10–15.
- Ngoie Tshibambe, G. (2012). Academic Mobility and Migration and the Offer of the Internationalization of the Higher Education Institutions in the Globalized World. The Case of the DRC's Students. [Presentation]. Presented at the International Conference on Migration and Development: Opportunities and Challenges in a Globalized World, Accra, Ghana: Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana.

- Ngozi Adichie, C. (2009). *The Danger of a Single Story*. Retrieved from http://www.ted.com/talks/chimamanda_adichie_the_danger_of_a_single_story?language=en
- Nkrumah-Boateng, R. (2008). *Abrokyir nkomo: reflections of a Ghanaian immigrant*. Accra: R. Nkrumah-Boateng.
- Noxolo, P. (2009). “My Paper, My Paper”: Reflections on the embodied production of postcolonial geographical responsibility in academic writing. *Geoforum*, 40(1), 55–65. <http://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2008.06.008>
- Nsodu, M. (2004). *Black angels in the white man’s country*. Accra: Mbinglo Nsodu.
- Nulty, D. D. (2008). The adequacy of response rates to online and paper surveys: what can be done? *Assessment & Evaluation in Higher Education*, 33(3), 301–314.
- Nyonator, F., Dovlo, D., & Sagoe, K. (2005). The health of the nation and the brain drain in the health sector. *At Home in the World*, 227–249.
- Oduro-Frimpong, J. (2009). Glocalization Trends: The Case of Hip-Life Music in Contemporary Ghana. *International Journal of Communication*, 3, 1085–1106.
- Osha, S. (1999). Kwasi Wiredu and the problems of conceptual decolonization. *Quest*, 13(1/2), 157–164.
- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2008). *Education at a glance 2008: OECD indicators*. Paris: OECD.
- Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. (2011). *Education at a Glance 2011*. Retrieved from https://www.autistici.org/magia/sites/default/files/Allegati/OCSE-PISA_2011-00_1.pdf

- Oyewole, O. (2010). Africa and the global knowledge domain. *Higher Education and Globalization*, 19.
- Pierre, J. (2013). *The Predicament of Blackness, Postcolonial Ghana and the Politics of Race*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Puwar, N. (2004). *Space invaders: Race, gender and bodies out of place*. Berg.
- Quartey, P. (2006). *Migration and Development: Challenges and Opportunities for Sending Countries. Ghana Country Case Study*. Washington, USA.: The German Marshal Fund of the USA.
- Quartey, P. (2009). *Migration in Ghana: a country profile 2009*. Geneva: Internat. Organization for Migration. Retrieved from http://publications.iom.int/bookstore/free/Ghana_Profile_2009.pdf
- Quartey, K. (2012, June 6). How West Africa Helped Win World War II - FPIF. Retrieved May 6, 2015, from http://fpif.org/how_west_africa_helped_win_world_war_ii/
- Quayson, A. (2014). *Oxford Street, Accra: city life and the itineraries of transnationalism*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Raghuram, P. (2008). Migrant women in male-dominated sectors of the labour market: a research agenda. *Population, Space and Place*, 14(1), 43–57.
- Raghuram, P. (2013). Theorising the spaces of student migration. *Population, Space and Place*, 19(2), 138–154.
- Ravenstein, E. G. (1885). The laws of migration. *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 167–235.
- Robertson, S. (2013). *Transnational Student-Migrants and the State: The Education-Migration Nexus*. Palgrave Macmillan.

- Rooney, D. (2007). *Kwame Nkrumah: vision and tragedy* (2nd ed.). Accra, Ghana: Sub-Saharan Publishers.
- Sabates-Wheeler, R., Natali, C., & Black, R. (2007). Migration, legal status and poverty: Evidence from return to Ghana. *Development Research Centre on Migration, Globalisation and Policy, Working Paper T, 19*. Retrieved from <http://r4d.dfid.gov.uk/pdf/outputs/migrationglobpov/wp-t19.pdf>
- Sackey, H. A. (2008). *Private returns to education in Ghana: implications for investments in schooling and migration*. Nairobi: African Economic Research Consortium.
- Saïd, E. (1978). *Orientalism: Western Representations of the Orient*. London: Penguin.
- Salt, J. (1997). International movements of the highly skilled. Retrieved from <http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/content/workingpaper/104411065061>
- Savage, J. (2007). *An African in Antwerp*. [Antwerp]: J. Savage.
- Schiller, N. G., Basch, L., & Blanc-Szanton, C. (1992). Transnationalism: A new analytic framework for understanding migration. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 645(1), 1–24.
- Schoorl, J., Heering, L., Esveldt, I., Groenewold, G., & van der Erf, R. (2000). Push and pull factors of international migration: a comparative report. Retrieved from <http://www.popline.org/node/180911>
- Selasi, T. (2005). Bye-Bye Babar | The LIP Magazine. Retrieved from <http://thelip.robertsharp.co.uk/?p=76>
- Sell, R. R. (1990). International affinities in modern Egypt: results from a social distance survey of elite students. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 22(01), 59–84.

- Sen, A. (2011). *Development as Freedom* (Reprint edition). Anchor.
- Senah, K. A., & Alhassan, A. S. (2007, 02). Research into Female Cross-Border Migration in Ghana. Accra: International Organisation for Migration.
- Shih, T.-H., & Fan, X. (2008). Comparing response rates from web and mail surveys: A meta-analysis. *Field Methods*, 20(3), 249–271.
- Shipley, J. W. (2013). *Living the Hiplife: Celebrity and Entrepreneurship in Ghanaian Popular Music*. Durham and London: Duke University Press Books.
- Shoba, J. A., Dako, K., & Orfson-Offei, E. (2013). “Locally acquired foreign accent”(LAFA) in contemporary Ghana. *World Englishes*, 32(2), 230–242.
- Skeldon, R. (2010). Migration and Development dver 20 years of research: progress and prospects. In C. Audebert & M. K. Dorai (Eds.), *Migration in a Globalised World: New research Issues and Prospects*. Amsterdam University Press.
- Skeldon, R., & others. (1990). *Population mobility in developing countries*. Belhaven Press. Retrieved from <http://www.cabdirect.org/abstracts/19901878307.html>
- Smith, L. (2007). Tied to migrants : transnational influences on the economy of Accra, Ghana [Book (monograph)]. Retrieved June 24, 2014, from <https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/handle/1887/12898>
- Stark, O., & Taylor, J. E. (1991). Migration incentives, migration types: The role of relative deprivation. *The Economic Journal*, 1163–1178.
- State sponsored students now “beggars” in Serbia. (2012, August 19). *Joy FM*. Retrieved from <http://edition.myjoyonline.com/pages/news/201203/83327.php>
- Teferra, D., & Greijn, H. (Eds.). (2012). *Higher Education and Globalization: challenges, threats and opportunities for Africa*. Edulink. Retrieved from <http://www.acp->

edulink.eu/project-news/higher-education-and-globalization-challenges-threats-and-opportunities-africa

Teferra, D., & Knight, J. (2008). *Higher education in Africa: the international dimension*. African Books Collective.

Thiong'o, N. wa. (1987). *Decolonising the mind: the politics of language in African literature*. Harare, Zimbabwe: Zimbabwe Pub. House.

Tiemoko, R. (2004). Migration, return and socio-economic change in West Africa: the role of family. *Population, Space and Place*, 10(2), 155–174.

<http://doi.org/10.1002/psp.320>

Tonah, S. (2007). Ghanaians abroad and their ties home. Cultural and religious dimensions of transnational migration. Retrieved from [http://pub.uni-](http://pub.uni-bielefeld.de/download/2318357/2319942)

[bielefeld.de/download/2318357/2319942](http://pub.uni-bielefeld.de/download/2318357/2319942)

Tremblay, K. (2005). Academic Mobility and Immigration. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 9(3), 196–228. <http://doi.org/10.1177/1028315305277618>

Understanding Knowledge Societies: In Twenty Questions and Answers with the Index of Knowledge Societies. (2005). United Nations Publications.

Ungruhe, C. (2010). Symbols of success: Youth, peer pressure and the role of adulthood among juvenile male return migrants in Ghana. *Childhood*, 17(2), 259–271.

<http://doi.org/10.1177/0907568210365753>

US Department of State. (2015). *Report of the Visa Office 2014*. Retrieved from [http://travel.state.gov/content/visas/english/law-and-policy/statistics/annual-](http://travel.state.gov/content/visas/english/law-and-policy/statistics/annual-reports/report-of-the-visa-office-2014.html)

[reports/report-of-the-visa-office-2014.html](http://travel.state.gov/content/visas/english/law-and-policy/statistics/annual-reports/report-of-the-visa-office-2014.html)

- VanderStoep, S. W., & Johnston, D. D. (2009). *Research methods for everyday life: blending qualitative and quantitative approaches*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Verbik, L., & Lasanowski, V. (2007). International student mobility: Patterns and trends. *World Education News and Reviews*, 20(10), 1–16.
- Vincent-Lancrin, S. (2009). Cross-border higher education: trends and perspectives. *Higher Education to 2030. Volume 2: Globalisation*, 63–88.
- Wainaina, B. (2012). *Why I am a Pan-Africanist, not an Afropolitan*. Presented at the ASAUK. Retrieved from <http://africasacountry.com/the-afropolitan-must-go/>
- Williams, A. M. (2009). International Migration, Uneven Regional Development and Polarization. *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 16(3), 309–322.
<http://doi.org/10.1177/0969776409104695>
- Williams, P. K. (2006). The Impossibility of Return: Black Women’s Migrations to Africa. *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, 27(2), 54–86.
<http://doi.org/10.1353/fro.2007.0009>
- Wiredu, K. (1998). Toward decolonizing African philosophy and religion. *African Studies Quarterly*, 1(4), 17–46.
- Woode, S. N. (1997). *Values, standards, and practices in Ghanaian organisational life*. Accra: Asempa Publishers, Christian Council of Ghana.
- World Bank. (2009). *Accelerating Catch-up: Tertiary Education for Growth in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Retrieved from <http://openknowledge.worldbank.org/>
- Wrangham, E. (2013). *Ghana during the First World War: the Colonial Administration of Sir Hugh Clifford*. Durham, North Carolina: Carolina Academic Press.

Zezeza, P. T. (2005). Rewriting the African diaspora: Beyond the Black Atlantic. *African Affairs*, 104(414), 35–68. <http://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/adi001>

Zezeza, P. T. (2009). African Studies and Universities since Independence. *Transition: An International Review*, 110–135.

Ziguras, C., & Law, S.-F. (2006). Recruiting international students as skilled migrants: the global “skills race” as viewed from Australia and Malaysia. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 4(1), 59–76.

FOCUS GROUPS

Ashesi University College, 12 Nov, 2013.

University of Ghana, 11 and 19 Oct, 2013, 12 and 19 Feb, 2014.

INTERVIEWS

Faculty and Staff

Interview with Prof. N. Adamafo, Dean of International Programmes, University of Ghana
10 December, 2013.

Interview with Ms. M. Adjei, Associate Director, Office of International Development and
Programs, Ashesi University College 14 May, 2015.

Interview with Dr. E. Ayensu, Senior Fellow Institute of African Studies, University of
Ghana March, 2012.

Interview with Prof. A. de Graft Aikins 18 July, 2013.

Interview with Dr. A. K. Wiafe, Assistant Registrar at Career and Councelling Placement
Center, University of Ghana, 24 September, 2010.

Students

Interview with “Aba”, 15 April, 2015.

Interview with “Adoma”, 20 April, 2015.

Interview with “Amanda”, 2 April, 2015.

Interview with “Efua”, 17 April, 2015.

Interview with “Fiifi”, 9 April, 2015.

Interview with “Irene”, 16 April, 2015.

Interview with “Leon”, 2 April, 2015.

Interview with “Magnus”, 9 April, 2015.

Interview with “Oko”, 12 April, 2015.

Interview with “Senyo”, 22 April, 2015.

Interview with “Thelma”, 1 April, 2015.

Interview with “Yosef”, 2 April, 2015.

Other Key Informants

Interview with Mr. M.J. Djegadjor, former student of Ukraine, 20 March, 2014.

Interview with Ms N. Keteku, Head of EducationUSA, US Embassy, Ghana 15 September, 2010.

Interview with representative of the Migration Industry, Employee of Prepared for Life, Accra, 28 June, 2013.

Interview with a former student of a Ghanaian university who wishes to remain anonymous, 26 February, 2012.

Interview with “Kofi” and “Ama”, prospective study abroad students with Prepared for Life, 28 June, 2013.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Map of Tertiary Educated Population in OECD Countries



Figure: Percent of Tertiary Educated Population in OECD Countries

Notes: Map from Katseli, Lucas and Xenogiani (2006). In the map, countries that have a substantial part of their highly skilled living abroad are shown in darker colors. Most countries in Sub-Saharan Africa show levels over 20%, signifying more than a fifth of the population with tertiary education is residing in OECD countries.

Appendix 2: Focus Group Guide

Housekeeping Checklist

- Introduce yourself to group and thank for participation.
- Share letter and consent form
- Information to provide students:
 - the purpose of the discussion
 - how they were chosen (after criteria)
 - how data will be handled (issues of anonymity, confidentiality, data protection etc).
 - how students will be informed of the outcomes of findings
 - how the discussion will work – rules of engagement, who speaks when, e.g. one at a time, indicate want to speak, speak clearly
 - the amount of time the discussion is anticipated to take (1h)
- Seek consent to record conversation on video and transcribe
- Answer any questions students may have with regard to the focus group activity.

The Discussion

1. Explore student ideas of migration.

Who is more likely to aspire to migrate? To “go and come” ? To stay? Why would a student want to migrate? To stay?

Explore the concept...migrate/”go away”/travel....

2. Explore what actors influence migration aspiration among Ghanaian students.

When it comes to deciding to migrate, who has a say? What actors are more important – the family, friends, institutions? The ones on campus, the ones in Ghana or the ones who have left? Why?

3. Explore what the students know about the migration option and what their own experiences are.

What are the steps for a student that aspires to leave Ghana? Do you have a passport? Did you ever apply for a Visa? What do you know about the visa application processes for different countries? Have you researched opportunities to study abroad?

Where will you be in 2-5-10 years from now?

4. Explore reservations to the migration option.

Do you have any reservations about the migration option? Why do some people not wish to migrate? Is it for ideological reasons or personal circumstances?

Are you aware of the so called brain-drain that for instance has led to many medical doctors and nurses leaving Ghana? Do you feel a commitment to your country?

Scenarios: a full scholarship at Legon including an attractive allowance for living expenses or the option to go abroad (US/UK/China/Denmark/Bulgaria), but you have to pay and fees are not cheap.

Rounding up

What else does a researcher interested in Ghanaian student migration aspirations need to know? Is there anything further anyone would like to add about any of the issues we've already discussed, that you feel you've not had a chance to say? Is there anything anyone would like to add about any issue we've not really covered which you feel reflects an important aspect of student and the migration option?

End of Discussion

- Thank students for attending and giving feedback.
- Remind them of consent and confidentiality issues.
- Collect signed consent forms.
- Give students email contact details so they can feedback anything else they would like to add. Give timescale for this feedback.

Note: This document was modelled on a focus group guide from Sheffield University, retrieved from <http://www.sheffield.ac.uk/lts/strategy/resources> in October, 2008.

Appendix 3: Questionnaire

Dear Student,

In collaboration with the Institute of African Studies, I am conducting a study on the career aspirations of Ghanaian university students towards my Phd. **Your answers cannot be traced back to you all information collected from this study will be kept strictly confidential.**

Win movie tickets by entering your phone number in a raffle after completing the survey.

Thank you for your participation,
Kajsa Hallberg Adu, PhD Candidate, UG

There are 45 questions in this survey

1. Background Information

Please note that your personal information cannot be traced back to you.

1.1 Sex of respondent *

Please choose **only one** of the following:

Female Male

1.2 Your age in years *

Please write your answer here:

1.3 Marital status *

Please choose **all** that apply:

Single Married Separated Divorced Widowed

1.4 In which region were you born? *

Please choose **only one** of the following:

Greater Accra Central Western Eastern Brong-Ahafo Upper West
Upper East North Volta Ashanti Not born in Ghana (Fill in country in the comment box)

Make a comment on your choice here:

If not born in Ghana, check the last alternative and write the country in the comment box.

1.5 What ethnic group(s) do you belong to?

Please choose **all** that apply:

Akan Ga-Adangbe Ewe Guan Mole-Dagbon Gurma Grusi
 Mande Other:

1.6 Who pays your tuition and living expenses currently? *

Please choose **all** that apply:

Myself Family Friends Government Scholarship Foreign Scholarship
 Bank Loan Employer Other:

Check two or more answers if it is a shared venture.

1.7 Your Mother's Educational Level. *

Please choose **only one** of the following:

Never been to school Less than MSLC/BECE MSLC/BECE/VOC
 Secondary Tertiary/University

Indicate which is the highest completed level.

1.8 Your Father's Educational Level. *

Please choose **only one** of the following:

Never been to school Less than MSLC/BECE MSLC/BECE/VOC
 Secondary Tertiary/University

Indicate which is the highest completed level.

1.9 Your Guardian's Educational Level (if different from that of parents).

Please choose **only one** of the following:

Never been to school Less than MSLC/BECE MSLC/BECE/VOC
 Secondary Tertiary/University

Indicate which is the highest completed level.

1.10 What university do you attend? *

Please choose **only one** of the following:

- University of Ghana Ashesi University College I do not attend university
Other

1.11 What level are you currently in? *

Please choose **only one** of the following:

- 100 (freshman) 200 (sophomore) 300 (junior) 400 (senior)
(100, 200, 300, 400 or freshman, sophomore, junior or senior)

1.12 Which is your major field of study in the university? *

Please write your answer here:

- E.g. engineering, English, nursing. etc

1.13 Have you ever traveled abroad? *

Please choose **only one** of the following:

- Yes No

1.14 To what country / countries have you traveled?

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:

Answer was 'Yes' at question '13 [12]' (Have you ever traveled abroad?) Please write your answer(s) here:

- Country 1
Country 2
Country 3
Country 4
Country 5

Write the countries below, one in each box.

1.15 Have you ever lived in a country outside of Ghana for 6 months or longer prior to your current studies? *

Please choose **only one** of the following:

- Yes No

1.16 In what country / countries have you lived for more than one year?

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:

Answer was 'Yes' at question '15 [14 UK]' (Have you ever lived in a country outside of Ghana for 6 months or longer prior to your current studies?)

Please write your answer(s) here:

Country 1

Country 2

Country 3

Write the country/ ies below, one in each box.

1.17 What was your results in the WASSCE? *

Please write your answer here:

Enter aggregate, eg. 17

2. Finding Career Information

2.1 Have you searched for information on career / job opportunities in Ghana since you first enrolled in university? *

Please choose **only one** of the following:

Yes No

2.2 If yes, where did you find the information?

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:

Answer was 'Yes' at question '18 [1]' (Have you searched for information on career / job opportunities in Ghana since you first enrolled in university?)

Please choose **all** that apply:

Family in Ghana Friends in Ghana University lecturer University activity

Advertisement NGO Local companies specializing in career advice

Social Media like Facebook, Twitter etc. Internet search like Google.com

Websites on local opportunities like jobsinghana.com TV Radio

Newspapers and Magazines Other:

2.3 Have you searched for information on the following since you first enrolled in university?*

Please choose the appropriate response for each item:

Traveling for vacation (going abroad for less than one year) Studying abroad for a shorter period Studying abroad for a Bachelor's degree

Studying abroad for a Master's degree Studying abroad for a PhD

Migrating (going abroad for more than one year, not primarily to study)

(chose all that apply)

2.4 If yes, where did you get information?

Please choose **all** that apply:

Family in Ghana Family abroad Friends in Ghana Friends abroad
 University lecturer University activity Advertisement Study abroad organizations (Ex. DAAD, Education USA, British Council etc) Companies specializing in helping migrants (ex. School admission consultants) Social Media like Facebook, Twitter Internet search like Google.com Websites on traveling/migration like StudyinUK.co.uk Radio TV Newspapers and Magazines Other:

2.5 Have you discussed migration with any of the following since you enrolled in university?*

Please choose **all** that apply:

Family Family abroad Friends Friends abroad Class mates Room mates/hostel mates etc Lecturer(s) Teaching assistants
 International Programmes Office on campus Counseling and Placement Centre on campus Religious leader Religious group/mates I have not discussed migration with anyone Other:

2.6 Who is better positioned to gain employment? *

Please choose **only one** of the following:

One who studied in Ghana One who studied in Ghana and abroad One who studied abroad Anyone

2.7 What is the main reason why foreign-trained students are preferred over locally trained students?

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:

Answer was 'One who studied abroad' or 'One who studied in Ghana and abroad' at question '23 [Nig 1]' (Who is better positioned to gain employment?)

Please choose **only one** of the following:

They are better exposed Employers prefer foreign certificates They are well-trained and specialized They acquired hands-on training and experience Do not know

3. Preparing to Travel

3.1 Did you chose your major to increase your chances of migrating? *

Please choose **only one** of the following:

Yes No Maybe

3.2 Do you have any intention to go abroad for more than 1 year? *

Please choose **only one** of the following:

Yes, to study Yes, to work No Other

3.3 Why do you want to study abroad? *

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:

Answer was 'Yes, to study' at question '26 [2 Intention to mig]' (Do you have any intention to go abroad for more than 1 year?)

Please choose the appropriate response for each item:

Very important Slightly important Not important Not applicable

- I see study abroad as an opportunity for adventure
- My family is very keen for me to study in a specific country
- I am determined to attend a world-class university
- I want an international career and this is the first step towards it
- Rising fee levels in Ghana made me look at other study locations
- To study my favoured discipline
- To learn a new language
- To increase employability later in life
- To gain "travel experience" for future travel/migration
- To experience other cultures

3.4 On what level would you like to study abroad?

Please choose **all** that apply:

For a exchange between 6 -12 months To pursue a first degree/Bachelors
To pursue a second degree/Masters To pursue a research degree/ PhD I don't know Other:

3.5 What subject would you like to study?

Please write your answer here:

3.6 What is your preferred destination?

Please write your answer here:

Please indicate the geographical location. Eg. London, UK etc.

3.7 What, if any, travel preparations have you made? *

Please choose **all** that apply:

I have bought passport forms I own a valid passport I have applied for a Visa I have a valid Visa I have not made any traveling preparations Other:

3.8 If you have applied for a Visa, for what country/-ies did you apply?

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:

Answer was ' I have applied for a Visa' or ' I have a valid Visa' at question '31 [7]' (What, if any, travel preparations have you made?)

Please write your answer(s) here:

Country 1

Country 2

Country 3

Country 4

Country 5

3.9 Have you ever gotten a Visa application denied? *

Please choose **only one** of the following:

Yes No

3.10 If you have gotten a Visa application denied, for what country/ -ies were they?

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:

Answer was 'Yes' at question '33 [9]' (Have you ever gotten a Visa application denied?) Please write your answer(s) here:

Country 1

Country 2

Country 3

Country 4

Country 5

3.11 If you currently have one or several valid Visas, for what country/-ies did you obtain it/them?

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:

Answer was at question '31 [7]' (What, if any, travel preparations have you made?

) Please write your answer(s) here:

Country 1

Country 2

Country 3

Country 4

Country 5

3.12 Do you plan to apply for a Visa as a student? *

Please choose **only one** of the following:

Yes No

Between now and the time you intend to graduate, will you apply for a Visa.

3.13 In your opinion, how would you describe the process to obtain a Visa for a student compared to a non-student?

Please choose **all** that apply:

Easier for the student, compared to the non-student The same Harder for the student, compared to the non-student Do not know Other:

3.14 How familiar are you with the following: *

Please choose the appropriate response for each item:

Very familiar

Familiar

Have not heard of

before

- US F1 visa
- Schengen Visa
- South African StudyPermit
- Chinese X-visa
- UK Tier 4 Visa
- Blue Card
- Green Card

4. Planning Ahead

Last section, almost done! **Reminder: When you complete the survey you can enter a raffle as a thank you for participating.**

4.1 If you were to migrate, would you want to return to Ghana?*

Please choose **only one** of the following:

Yes No

4.2 When would you like to return? *

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:

Answer was 'Yes' at question '39 [3pre]' (If you were to migrate, would you want to return to Ghana?) Please choose **only one** of the following:

After 1-2 years After 2-3 years After 4-6 years After 6-10 year
I would like to return to work and live in Ghana for periods and then live abroad again I would like to return for shorter visits I would like to return when I retire Other

4.5 Where do you see yourself in 5 years? *

Please choose **only one** of the following:

Working in Ghana Working abroad Studying in Ghana Studying abroad Other

4.6 Thinking about your answers above, what individual/organization/group do you think most influenced your plans for the future?*

Please number each box in order of preference from 1 to 7

Family in Ghana Family Abroad Partner Friends in Ghana Friends Abroad Your Current University (through lecturers, programs) Religious Leader

The group that most influenced your decision should be placed at the top, then the group that next influenced you, etc. If you do not have for instance "Friends abroad", place that group at the bottom of your ranking.

4.7 What are some of the reservations you have for leaving Ghana? *

Please choose the appropriate response for each item:

Very important Slightly important Not important Not applicable

- Not confident enough with language
- Difficult to leave parental family
- Wary of living in another culture/country
- Do not want to leave my boyfriend/girlfriend

- Not enough financial means to pay foreign fees
- Concern about other costs (health insurance, living, travel etc.)
- Foreign certificate not recognised
- Racism at destination
- Patriotism ("I am needed in Ghana")

4.8 Would you be available for a follow-up interview about your aspirations, please leave your email address below.

Please write your answer here:

[]

Your contact information will be handled with confidentiality.

4.9 Do you want to parttake in a raffle as a thank you for your participation. If yes, enter your phone number in the box below.

Please write your answer here

[]

If you provided your phone number you will be contacted if you win the raffle.

Thank you for your participation in this study!

Submit your survey.

Thank you for completing this survey.

Notes: The sign **[]** indicates space for an answer, while ***** indicates a mandatory question. The information below the questions was displayed in an information box. Further, conditions were not displayed to respondents, but performed automatically.

Appendix 4: Regression Analyses of Future Aspirations

Table A: Determinants of Future Migration Aspiration (Work and Study)

		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Dependent variable: Future Intention (Work and Study) Migrantp		marginal effects (Pooled)	marginal effects (Men)	marginal effects (Women)
Father's Education ⁴⁹	Less than MSLC/BECE	0.043	-0.034	0.221
		(0.140)	(0.154)	(0.399)
	MSLC/BECE/VOC	0.169	0.119	0.374
		(0.119)	(0.129)	(0.315)
	Secondary	0.117	0.071	0.274
		(0.126)	(0.138)	(0.418)
	Tertiary	0.102	0.061	0.260
		(0.130)	(0.137)	(0.447)
Mother's Education ⁵⁰	Less than MSCL/BECE	-0.031	0.011	-0.288
		(0.107)	(0.116)	(0.244)
	MSLC/BECE/VOC	0.084	0.064	0.015
		(0.107)	(0.119)	(0.295)
	Secondary	-0.060	-0.055	-0.214
		(0.112)	(0.127)	(0.268)
	Tertiary	-0.085	-0.036	-0.298
		(0.116)	(0.133)	(0.273)
University Attended ⁵¹	UG	-0.020	-0.090	0.133
		(0.067)	(0.085)	(0.111)
Travel Abrc Experience ⁵²	Yes	0.011	-0.066	0.202
		(0.080)	(0.106)	(0.125)
Sex ⁵³	Male	0.072		
		(0.053)		
Level of Stu 2 nd year		-0.063	-0.053	-0.105

⁴⁹ Base group is fathers with no education.

⁵⁰ Base group is mothers with no education.

⁵¹ Base group is Ashesi.

⁵² Base group is respondents who answered "no".

⁵³ Base group is Female.

		(0.064)	(0.083)	(0.117)
	3 rd year	-0.048	-0.056	-0.022
		(0.077)	(0.094)	(0.142)
	Final year	-0.129*	-0.134	-0.168
		(0.075)	(0.092)	(0.141)
Age	Age	-0.000	-0.003	0.009
		(0.009)	(0.011)	(0.018)
Region ⁵⁵	Western	0.083	0.130	-0.047
		(0.101)	(0.115)	(0.223)
	Upper West	0.150	0.254	
		(0.192)	(0.168)	
	Upper East	0.130	0.114	
		(0.180)	(0.181)	
	North	-0.077	-0.099	-0.037
		(0.154)	(0.177)	(0.326)
	Eastern	-0.045	-0.066	0.037
		(0.090)	(0.108)	(0.172)
	Central	0.137	0.053	0.303*
		(0.105)	(0.138)	(0.156)
	Brong Ahafo	0.329***	0.063	
		(0.086)	(0.217)	
	Ashanti	0.136**	0.138*	0.191
		(0.067)	(0.083)	(0.118)
	Observations	457	295	153

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Find descriptions of variables in Table 9.

⁵⁴ Base group is 1st year students.

⁵⁵ Base group is individuals from Greater Accra.

Table B: Determinants of Future Migration Aspiration (Work)

Dependent variable: Future Intention (Work)		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
		marginal effects (Pooled)	marginal effects (Men)	marginal effects (Women)
Father's Education ⁵⁶	Less than MSLC/BECE	-0.008	-0.024	0.221
		(0.096)	(0.096)	(0.399)
	MSLC/BECE/VOC	0.065	0.042	0.374
		(0.100)	(0.098)	(0.315)
	Secondary	0.008	-0.006	0.274
	(0.087)	(0.090)	(0.418)	
	Tertiary	0.005	-0.035	0.260
		(0.084)	(0.090)	(0.447)
Mother's Education ⁵⁷	Less than MSCL/BECE	0.053	0.112	-0.288
		(0.080)	(0.090)	(0.244)
	MSLC/BECE/VOC	0.130	0.201**	0.015
		(0.091)	(0.102)	(0.295)
	Secondary	0.050	0.076	-0.214
	(0.085)	(0.094)	(0.268)	
	Tertiary	-0.008	0.082	-0.298
		(0.083)	(0.108)	(0.273)
University Attended ⁵⁸	UG	-0.047	-0.077	0.133
		(0.053)	(0.070)	(0.111)
Travel Abroad Experience ⁵⁹	Yes	0.039	0.053	0.202
		(0.060)	(0.080)	(0.125)
Sex ⁶⁰	Male	-0.023		
		(0.038)		
Level of Stu	2 nd year	0.015	0.032	-0.105
		(0.047)	(0.061)	(0.117)
	3 rd year	0.071	0.028	-0.022
		(0.063)	(0.071)	(0.142)

⁵⁶ Base group is fathers with no education.

⁵⁷ Base group is mothers with no education.

⁵⁸ Base group is Ashesi.

⁵⁹ Base group is respondents who answered "no".

⁶⁰ Base group is Female.

⁶¹ Base group is 1st year students.

	Final year	0.003	0.016	-0.168
		(0.054)	(0.067)	(0.141)
Age	Age	0.006	-0.000	0.009
		(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.018)
Region ⁶²	Western	0.018	-0.016	-0.047
		(0.079)	(0.074)	(0.223)
	Upper West	0.115	0.125	
		(0.223)	(0.236)	
	Upper East	0.346*	0.336*	
		(0.204)	(0.200)	
	North	-0.082	-0.042	-0.037
		(0.072)	(0.100)	(0.326)
	Eastern	-0.015	0.043	0.037
		(0.059)	(0.081)	(0.172)
	Central	0.074	0.037	0.303*
		(0.093)	(0.106)	(0.156)
	Brong Ahafo	0.124	0.137	
		(0.135)	(0.240)	
	Ashanti	0.011	-0.088*	0.191
		(0.051)	(0.046)	(0.118)
	Observations	457	295	153

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Find descriptions of variables in Table 9.

⁶² Base group is individuals from Greater Accra.

Appendix 5: Interview Guide

Housekeeping Checklist

- Introductions and thanks for participation
- Explain to interviewee:-
 - the purpose of the interview
 - intended recipients of findings and how they will be used
 - format of the interview
 - the amount of time the interview is anticipated to take
- Seek consent to record, transcribe and circulate data provided by the interviewee to intended recipients.
- Answer any questions the interviewee may have with regard to this evaluation activity.

The Interview

Warmup/Background

1. Could you tell me a little about yourself? [Brief life history in student's own voice]
2. Do you have family members abroad?
3. As you know, my research is about migration and student's aspirations to go abroad. Do you personally aspire to go abroad to work? To study? Remain in Ghana for now? To "go and come" ? Why? Why not?
 - a) (If migration aspiration) Do you want to return? Why? Why not?
If yes, what is your dream destination and why?

Part One: Exploring Meaning and Aspiration

4. Do you feel strongly about your migration aspiration? Why?
5. What does it mean to be a migrant, to you? To have mobility? To be a traveller?
6. Some students say they want to go abroad, but do not hold a valid passport, in your opinion, why is this so?
7. A). Are you a student with strong academic performance?
 - A). As such do you think you are more or less likely to aspire to go abroad *to study*? Why?
 - B). *To work*? Why?
8. A). What type of socio-economic background do you come from?
 - A). Does that make you more or less likely to go abroad *to study*?
 - B). to go abroad *to work*?
9. A). Has your gender influenced your aspiration to go abroad?
 - A). Is there a difference between men and women's aspiration for going abroad to work? To Study? To Stay? What is the difference in that case?

Part Two: Influence

10. Who do you think influenced your migration aspiration?
11. Did your father and mother influence your aspirations to go abroad differently?
12. I know from my university environments events on campus, lecturers, teaching assistants influence your aspirations to go abroad, is that true for you? [Also explore how, when and where]
13. I also know from my earlier results that students say "friends" are not important influencers when it comes to going abroad or not, what is your reaction to this information?

14. How does a future or current romantic relationship fit with your future plans? With going abroad?
15. A). Have you been to any office/events/companies arranging trips abroad/study abroad programs etc.?
B). How do you think it has influenced your aspiration to go abroad?
16. Do you have a role model and have you thought about if that person is a migrant or returnee?
17. Is there a norm or culture around migration, in your view? If yes, what is the right answer if someone asks you if you are staying in Ghana or going abroad?
18. Have you thought about your own opportunities in terms of brain-drain?

Part Three: Role of Internet

19. What is your current level of use of technology such as phones, computer, Internet? [Explore proficiency, access, type of use]
20. What apps or sites have you checked in the last three days? [Ascertain the level of Internet use of the informant]
21. Do you keep in touch with anyone abroad online? [Explore new ways Internet is being used to impact migration aspirations]
22. How do you think Internet connections impact on your aspirations for going abroad? To stay?

Rounding Up

23. What else does a researcher need to know who is interested in student aspirations for going abroad?

Housekeeping Checklist - End Of Interview

- Thank the interviewee for their time.
- Remind the interviewee of consent and confidentiality issues.
- Check whether the interviewee wishes to withdraw any information provided in the interview from being shared with the intended recipients of a report.
- Check whether the interviewee wishes to see transcript and make changes (if one is planned).
- Give students email contact details so they can feedback anything else they would like to add. Give timescale for this feedback.
- Collect release form.
- Hand over token

Note: This document was modelled on an interview guide from Sheffield University, retrieved from <http://www.sheffield.ac.uk/lets/strategy/resources> in October, 2008.

Appendix 6: List of Preferred Destinations

1	1.China 2.Australia 3.Germany 4.USA 5.UK 6.Japan 7.South Africa	33	China (2)	69	LONDON OR NEWYORK
2	AMERICA (3)	34	China, Japan and France	70	LONDON OR UK
3	ANY WHERE IN EUROPE	35	China,Hong Kong	71	LONDON UK OR NORWAY
4	AUSTRALIA	36	Columbus, USA	72	LONDON, CANADA OR USA
5	America (3)	37	Dubai	73	LONDON, UNITED KINGDOM
6	America,cambridge	38	Dubai, Germany and maybe UK	74	LONDON,UK (2)
7	An English speaking country for instance USA	39	Dubai, UAE	75	LONDON,UK. USA,NEW YORK
8	Any where in United State of america	40	EUROPE	76	Liverpool United Kindom
9	Asia	41	England	77	London (7)
10	Asia Pacific	42	England or France	78	London UK
11	Australia	43	Europe	79	London or Canada
12	BOSTON	44	Europe or North America	80	London, USA France Switzerland Dubai
13	BRITAIN (uk)	45	Europe to study medicine or Germany to study engineering	81	London, England, UK.
14	Britain	46	Europe(london),Asia(C hina, India,Japan,Korea) and USA(Texas)	82	London, India or China
15	Britain U.S Spain	47	Europe,UK	83	London, UK
16	Brussels	48	Florida USA (2)	84	London, UK Cambridge, United States New Haven, United States
17	CANADA (6)	49	Florida, United States	85	London, UK New York, Virginia, Boston, Miami, USA Ontario, Canada
18	CANADA OR UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	50	France (6)	86	London, UK U.S.A Sweden
19	CANADA UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA	51	France, USA	87	London, USA,
20	CANADA, FRANCE, UK	52	GERMANY	88	London, United Kingdom
21	CHARTERED ACCOUNTANT	53	Germany	89	London,UK (2)
22	CHINA (2)	54	Germany, Norway,Turkey	90	London,UK and USA
23	CHINA AND FRANCE	55	Ghana	91	London,u.k
24	Cambridge, U.S.A	56	Great Britain	92	London,uk (2)
25	Cambridge,USA	57	HARVARD,LONDON, UK	93	London.UK
26	Canada (6)	58	Harvard University	94	Los Angeles,USA
27	Canada USA UK	59	Harvard,USA	95	MANCHESTER
28	Canada, Asia, Australia , US	60	Havard University	96	MEXICO
29	Canada, Germany ,u.s.a	61	Houston	97	MEXICO, COLUMBIA, USA OR UK
30	Canada, UK, US	62	ILLINOIS,USA	98	Manchester, UK Anywhere in USA
31	Canada,usa	63	ITALY/UK	99	Massachusetts, USA
32	Chicago	64	Illinois,USA	100	Massachusetts,USA
		65	In an Korea		
		66	JAPAN USA		
		67	Japan (2)		
		68	LONDON (7)		

101	Massuchette Institute of Technology Cambrige, United states	137	U. S. A	174	United Kingdom or United States America
102	Mexico, USA	138	U.K	175	United States (11)
103	Michigan, USA or California, USA	139	U.S.A (14)	176	United States America
104	NEW YORK,USA	140	U.S.A. South Africa	177	United States Of America (3)
105	NORWAY, ENGLAND	141	UK (29)	178	United States of America (3)
106	NORWAY, USA AND GERMANY	142	UK New York	179	United States of America UK South Africa China
107	NY , USA	143	UK USA	180	United States of America, UK, Israel, Finland
108	New York (2)	144	UK USA South Africa	181	United kingdom
109	New York city,USA	145	UK or USA	182	United state of American (2)
110	New York(USA) London(UK)Malaysia and China	146	UK, Singapore, Australia	183	United states of America (3)
111	New York, US (2)	147	UK, South Africa, USA	184	University of Chicago- booth school, US
112	New York, USA	148	UK, USA, Canada	185	Us (5)
113	New York, United States of America	149	UK, USA, Japan or China Preferably London, UK.	186	Usa or England
114	No specific place but UK is ok.	150	UK, USA.	187	VIRGINIA, USA
115	Noway	151	UK,LONDON,DENM ARK, ITALY, JAPAN,CHINA.ETC.	188	VIRGINIA, USA.
116	Oklahoma	152	UK/India	189	Vancouver,Canada California,United States of America London,United Kingdom
117	Ottawa,Canada.	153	UNITED KINGDOM	190	Virginia, US
118	Oxford,UK	154	UNITED STATE OF AMERICA (2)	191	Washington D.C, USA
119	Paris, Milan, New york	155	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (3)	192	any
120	Pennsylvania, USA	156	US (5)	193	any cool place will do, well say UK
121	Phoenix	157	US maryland	194	australia
122	SPAIN CHINA ENGLAND	158	USA (31)	195	Canada (3)
123	SPAIN ENGLAND OR CHINA	159	USA ,South Africa ,London ,Germany	196	canada, london,uk ,usa
124	Saudi Arabia	160	USA OR LONDON	197	china
125	South Africa	161	USA OR UK	198	europa or japan
126	South Africa, UK and USA	162	USA OR UNITED KINGDOM	199	fRANCE
127	Southampton, UK	163	USA or UK	200	france
128	Stanford	164	USA,	201	france or any other french speaking country
129	Switzerland	165	USA, CANADA	202	harvard business school
130	TOKYO	166	USA, London	203	have not really thought about it
131	TORONTO CANADA	167	USA, UK OR CANADA	204	india
132	Texas, USA, London,UK , Paris, France	168	USA,Canada,South Africa	205	London (8)
133	The U.S.A	169	USA,LONDON	206	london or canada
134	The United Kingdom and Mexico.	170	USA,LOS ANGELES	207	london or usa
135	The United States of America (2)	171	Uk,Canada,South Africa	208	london,uk
136	Tokyo,Japan	172	United Kingdom		
		173	United Kingdom Canada		

209	mathematics	217	uk (8)	225	united states,Colorado.
210	miami,usa	218	uk or norway	226	us or canada
211	ottawa,canada	219	united kingdom (4)	227	usa (6)
212	russia	220	united kingdom london	228	usa or london
213	texas, United states	221	united states (3)		
214	the United States of America	222	united states of America		
215	tokyo	223	united states of america		
216	u.s.a.	224	united states or london		

Note: All entries entered once, if not otherwise indicated in brackets after the entry. Entries 21, 55, 203 and 209 could not be categorized.

Appendix 7: Adverts and Posters of Migration Industry in Ghana



Figure A. “Study in UK, USA, Canada”, Banner for Education Fair in Accra, June 2013.

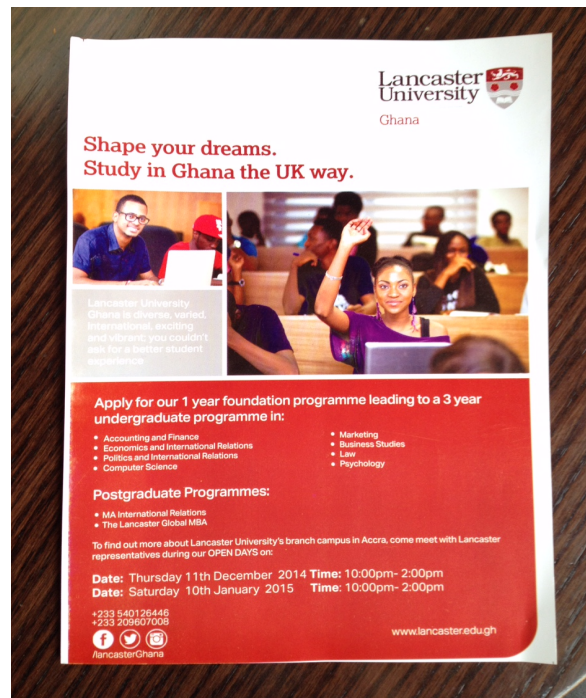


Figure B. “Study in Ghana the UK way” Education Brochure, Ghana, 2015.



Figure C. “Acquire a United Kingdom visa for GHC 400”, Migration Industry Posters on a Noticeboard at University of Ghana Campus, August, 2010.



Figure D. “Study Abroad Opportunities”, Official Poster for IPO, University of Ghana, 2010.

Appendix 8: Interview Quotes

Find interview sections in full below referred to in Chapter 6.

6.3.2.3 Frequent Contact with Friends and Family Abroad

Modes of contact and frequency:

K: Do you keep in touch with anybody abroad using the Internet?

S: Yes, two of my uncles in Germany and one is in the US, both of them are Viber [a free VOIP service] freaks.

K: How often do you talk to them?

S: We talk, like almost like every two days. Even yesterday, I was speaking to my uncle in Germany, in Weimar. (Senyo)

K: How often do you talk to your family abroad?

A: Very often, my cousins, my aunties, very often, very, very often. Even last night, I spoke to one of my aunties and my cousins, I'll say one out of every three days. (Aba)

Breadth of influences:

K: How about any negative aspects of living abroad; do they report those?

F: Ok, so yeah I have this friend in ASU that complains about some of her roommates having sex even in her presence.

K: Where is that?

F: ASU. Arizona State University in the US. Yeah, culture difference. She is a Muslim, trying to...it will be difficult for her...yeah. (Fiifi)

E: Ehm, ok for my friend, initially, she was in Ukraine and then, where she was, I think there was this fighting or something and she had to change school and she is now starting all over again. So basically she is like really like she is taking the same course all over again (Efua)

K: So how do you generally think of the Internet impact on the aspirations of students abroad?

L: I think it really has an impact. People are really affected by what they see. So people are really affected by what they see, so now that Facebook, YouTube, this social media has given us the world in one's finger, you will be able to see what is happening out there. Some of these things that happen, they will encourage you that you want to be there and to do what they are doing. (Leon)

Topics:

K: So what types of topics do you discuss with them?

E: Basically, we just check up on each other or sometimes, the last time my cousin checked on me was last evening. She, she is getting married to someone in Ghana and she is planning her wedding so she was asking me about if my mum had told her that I had to go with my mum and her mum to go taste cakes like, and she was mentioning it and I said, I have exams and she was like, no, so why am I leaving the older people to go and taste the cake what if it is not a fun cake she was like and I said, I will try my best (Efua)

K: Do you also share about your life here?

F: Sometimes [laughs]. They ask me of updates, how Ghana is doing. Especially *dumsor* [local expression for frequent electricity cuts]. They ask me, because they know they are coming this summer. And they want to know what plans they should make to meet *dumsor*. (Fiifi)

6.3.2.4 Individualism or “Post-Modern” Ideals

K: Ehm, I was interested in your parents’ influence. Have they influenced you at all? First you were interested in going abroad and now you are no longer interested, have they played a role.? Do you discuss this with them?

M: This decision is personal.

K: Ok, so they do not play a role?

M: I discuss my dad and so my passport, my dad paid for it and my mum took me to town for it. so basically, I decide and they help me to go about it. (Magnus)

K: How about your family? Do you discuss...

Y: [interrupts] Yeah, my family would be glad! The [relatives in the] US like my uncles, they send money to some of my aunties, yeah so being at the receiving end I know they will enjoy it, but I have full responsibility for my life and my family thinks I am matured enough, so...(Yosef)

6.3.2.5 Small Differences Between Sexes

K; How about a future or current relationship, how does it fit with your plans? Is it something you have thought of?

F: Hm, I have never thought of that, but my current girlfriend is in the US, because she studies in the US, but she’s gonna come back when she graduates. So, there is the sort of long distance thing. Yeah, but she is not a white, she is a Ghanaian studying outside. There was a time we had a discussion, she doesn’t want to live in Ghana, she would rather like to live in the West. US, Europe or UAE. But she doesn’t speak of that anymore, she is also talking of *dumsor* and pain...Ghana of late, and I feel she is sharing the same sentiments that I have. So I see it as , if things work out, us living in Ghana. (Fiifi)

It is like a choice, you have to choose between going and leaving the person or if the person is also rich or something, you could go together, but that's not very likely, because maybe the person already has their life here and you are also pursuing yours. It would be very conflicting. I have thought of it, but I haven't come to a conclusion as to what exactly I would do. Maybe it depends on the opportunity you get, maybe it is a one time opportunity. You might end up leaving the relationship and then...(Thelma)

6.3.3.1 Finances

It takes money:

With that [financing] I will say if I would travel to abroad I think I will need financial aid some financial backing for it to enable me to go outside the country. And most of the [other] students are financially sound I mean they can travel without any.. so that really makes it easier for them because for these international opportunities here all that they need is to apply and get chosen for it, so as to when it comes to visa they can afford it. But some they can be selected but when it comes to just even visa application the four hundred dollars or five hundred dollars they can't and that might even pull them back. (Yosef)

K: But do you think other people with your background or situation will they go or many of them think like you and would like to stay?

S: Some of them may not even give it a try, yeah.

K: Not even give it a try? Why?

S: Because they are scared maybe there could be any type of...financing maybe along the way, then, they will not be able to afford. Or perhaps, just the idea of "maybe I am from a poor family" you don't see yourself, you know traveling. (Fiifi)

K: How about the socio-economic background. Do you think that plays a role if we take you as an example. Your background, would you say you come from a rich family, a middle class or the working class family and do you think other people from that same group think like you do?

I: Hmm, ehm I would say I am from a lower economic background, but I think generally, Ghanaians...I don't know, even people from the upper class would still want to go abroad and they have the opportunity to go abroad, so they go. But those from the middle and lower income class; they might not have the opportunity, but they still would want to go if they have the opportunity. So I think generally people...it does not depend on your economic background. (Irene)

K: Can we say something about if you are coming from a specific socio-economic background. Are you more or less likely to aspire to migrate?

L: From what I have seen, it makes no difference. Because I have seen people coming from a very good background who are really aspiring to go abroad and those, some from the other side, who are also aspiring to go abroad. So from what I have seen around, I think it is really balanced. I don't see any difference. (Leon)

Middle-class:

K: How will you categorize your own background? Where do you come from? Well to do family or middle-income family? or working class family?

A: I think middle class. Initially working class then middle class. Yes.

K: Ok, so do you think as such; you are more likely to stay or you are aspiring to go abroad?

A: I think because of that, it is what inspires me to stay. Because you can do well in Ghana. there are lots of opportunities in Ghana. I have seen it happen and so I think I can also do the same thing in Ghana. I don't have to go out and get it made. (Afua)

6.3.3.2 Passports

Ehm, I think getting a passport is a long process in Ghana and we just recently my passport got expired; so am really thinking about how to do it since I am old enough to do it myself. I am actually thinking about how I am going to do that. So I think it is the process; I don't know if it is expensive. (Amanda)

L: I think it is because of financial constraints and the whole process of obtaining a passport of really tiring and tedious so.

K: What about it?

L: What about it? Like most of the time, from what I have heard, sometimes you need to know someone in the Foreign Affairs; I don't know where they do the passport. But, like where they do it, you need to know someone to be able to do it. Otherwise, you may send the request and do the registration, but it will take long time for you before you get it. So I think it is the process of getting a passport that is hindering people from getting it. (Leon)

Need for connections:

K: Some students have told me they want to go abroad, but then when I look at them, they have not prepared anything; like they don't even have a passport. Why is this in your view?

M: In my view, I think it is because of the system of getting a passport in Ghana. So for me, when I got mine, I knew somebody who knew the person who was supposed to work on my passport. The person called the person to give priority attention to getting me a passport. (Magnus)

6.3.3.4 Religion and Morals

When interviewing faculty I shared the topic with them too for reflections and found one very similar story.

K- I am trying to look at this from a student perspective and one of the issues I found in my focus groups, but have not encountered in the literature, was one of their reservations. They are talking about religion and morality and how they would not like to raise their children outside of Ghana, because they feel that the Ghanaian community is morally more suitable to their needs and their situations. I thought that was interesting, have you heard anything like that?

PA – I have heard some reservations like that, in fact even from students we have sent on exchange. Some students have come back to complain that “yes, it was a nice experience in the sense of study opportunities, and being exposed to different pedagogical methods and so on and so forth, but they did not like the morals”. Some thought in the schools there was far too much emphasis on homosexuality and protecting the rights of transsexuals, to the point that the school was actually promoting it. They thought it was highly abnormal and did not want to study in such an environment. And I can understand that. In my case in Australia, I did not get the sense that the school was promoting it, but I know I was astonished on the very first...orientation week when all societies could set up desks and recruit and I walked into the student union to find the homosexual club desk with posters “have you ever considered if you are a homosexual?” I was like “What? Huh?” I just couldn’t handle it!

K: Is that not that diversity training?

PA: It is! So I can live with them, but I certainly did not like it, you know.

(N. Adamafio, Personal communication, December, 10, 2013).

6.3.4.1 The Global North

If you’ve been to America, it means: you are civilized, it means: you have seen the world. So there is this perception we have about everyone in America, in particular, and everyone wants to go there, because that’s the developed place and people who have been to America command respect in the society as we call them “borga”. I mean parents will love their children to go abroad. And personally, one thing I find very funny in our community is when there is a funeral announcement and they post the photo of the deceased, they say this is UK, this is USA, this is Canada. They are so proud there that they have their kids outside the country. The first time I saw this I said this is so vain; it is USA and so what? So it’s not about prestige that I want to go there but it’s all about education and exposure but I still feel that there is this mentality among people that if you have been to abroad, then you are self-actualized. (Yosef)

O: I don't feel, I don't feel secure living in Ghana. I think I will feel much secure living in abroad. Even though it would be harder in the beginning, I think long-term, it's going to be much more secure and fulfilling.

K: When you say "secure" what do you mean?

O: Secure in terms of, I don't know how to put it, in terms of job security, financial security, overall wellness, you know. (Okoko)

Hardships of life abroad:

So I have an uncle in the US, in New York, and he has his entire family there, so they are no more Ghanaians, I think. The entire family lives in the US. And I have another uncle in Germany, he is living there alone, he has his family at home. Usually, he spends about a year and then he comes to see his family and goes back to hustle [laughs]. Yeah. (Fiifi)

6.3.4.2 The Global South: Ghana

A lot of people I have spoken to just feel like Ghana especially in the public sector, you don't do any work, you just sit there and you don't do anything and you get paid and some people find it very boring. So those who want to stay are people who want to do their own thing here in Ghana but if whatever it is they want to do, they cannot do it in Ghana; that is where I hear people say if I stay in Ghana, nothing will come over, so I have to go somewhere where it is more quick. (Efua)

A: I have an auntie or a cousin and she is working in London, she has a clinic and she is doing really well. but all she wants to do is just come back to Ghana and just come and establish her hospital and help people. But the level of technology over there don't match what we have over here. That is what she is finding difficult. That is why she is still there trying to come up with a way she can help. So I totally disagree with people who actually move out and decide to stay and I also have families who have moved out but have not come back.

K: And what do you think about that?

A: I think it is, I think they should not do that. If you have moved out of the country and you have worked for a really long time, you have had enough experience and enough money, I think you should come back and come and set up a business, help with some of the problems that we have, employment; lessons or things that you have learnt outside, come and impact them on our society. That is what I think. (Aba)

Markers of colonial thinking around the good life:

A: But as much as I want to [have] fair-colored children, it actually is, it is important for me, to marry a Ghanaian man. I have not had any experience with someone who is not a Ghanaian so I am just saying this based on what I have seen or heard.

K: When you say you want fair-colored children, where does that come from?

A: I always wanted to have children with really nice hair that I can brush it. that is it. (Amanda)

M: I don't consider myself so much of an African person and so, for Africa, I consider, I consider ladies, normally, they are overly, overly, I think they like to display womanly qualities; they like to take care of you and I don't like that much. I like a bit of, yeah, be yourself, a bit of individualism. Yeah I think, ehm people outside, that is people from western countries, they have the idea of yeah, let people have their space, let people have their way but I can; you know, we actually want to find your way for you, we get it find your way (laughing)

K: Ok, so this is interesting, to me it is almost contradictory, it is like you want to stay in Ghana here, but you are also open to maybe even having a wife from abroad.

M: Yes.

K: So how does that...

M: So I will say since growing up, I have not been in much of contact with African culture, so reading novels and stories, I think I have built much of my ideas on that. My ideas may be of individualism and yeah, building of nuclear family culture, yeah (Magnus)