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UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

MIGRANTS' ASSOCIATIONS IN GHANA: A CASE STUDY OF THE
BONABOTO AND ADUAMOAMAN ASSOCIATIONS

BY

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of Philosophy degree in Sociology

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DECLARATION

Candidate's Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own original research and that no part of it has been presented for another degree in this university or elsewhere.

Signature:..... Date:.....

Candidate's Name: Dorothy Takyiakwaa

Supervisors' Declaration

We hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of the thesis were supervised in accordance with the guidelines on supervision of thesis laid down by the University of Cape Coast.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examined the “BONABOTO” and “Aduamoaman” internal migrants’ associations in Ghana. The main objective was to examine the associations’ development process, organisation and persistence. Situated within the mixed method approach, the study utilised purposive and convenient sampling techniques. A total of 120 respondents participated in the survey while 52 key informants were interviewed. The quantitative data was analysed using SPSS (version 21), while qualitative was done manually. The results showed that more males (56%) than females (44%) constitute the membership of the two associations and members were mostly within the age brackets of 30-39 (BONABOTO) and 60-69 (Aduamoaman). There were more literates and formal sector employees in the BONABOTO than in the Aduamoaman. While the majority migrated for education or employment, some moved because of their families and social networks. The associations grew out of informal migrant networks based on common origin, and sustained by interests. The associations are organized based on laid down rules and guidelines coded into constitutions, which attract sanctions when breached. The associations perform the functions of social control, integration and contributors to social development, but are however faced with challenges of waning membership and financial commitment, elitism and clientelism, which derail their activities and intended positive impacts. The study recommends that continuous education for members and frequent interaction should be encouraged in order to maximise the benefits of the associations to members, origin areas and host communities.

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DEDICATION

To my family.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

BEAF	BONABOTO Education Assistance Fund
BONABOTO	Bolgatanga, Nangodi, Bongo and Tongo
BoT	Board of Trustees
GPRTU	Ghana Private Road Transport Union
GSS	Ghana Statistical Service
HTA	Hometown Associations
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IDB	Inter-American Development Bank
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
KDA	Kwahu Development Association
MIF	Multilateral Investment Fund
NELM	New Economics of Labour Migration
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NOVIB	<i>Nederlndse Organisatie Voor Internationale Bijstand</i>
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OXFAM	Oxford Committee for Famine Relief
PADF	Pan American Development Foundation
PMT	Project Management Team
UNDESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Introduction

Migration is not a new social phenomenon. People have always moved, especially with the growth of societies from hunting and gathering to post-industrial societies. It is as old as humanity. People have migrated in search of better opportunities, to earn a better living, and join families or friends, while others have been compelled to move, such as in the case of diseases, drought, conflicts and natural disasters (Böhning, 1978:11; Goucher LeGuin & Walton., 1998; Michael & Benjamin, 2012). Migration has reached a level where researchers have termed it as the “Age of Migration” (Castle & Miller, 2003; Awumbila & Agyei-Mensah, 2009).

In the 21st century, factors underlying migration as asserted by Goucher et al. (1998) have not changed per se but persist in different dimensions. In general terms, migration occurs as a result of the imbalances in development and economic opportunities between origin and destination areas (Tilly 1978:62: Kwankye, Anarfi, Tagoe & Castaldo, 2007). These causes are largely described as ‘Push’ and ‘Pull’ factors (Lee, 1966). Push factors are those factors that propel people to leave a particular area whilst pull factors are those that attract people to a particular destination. The push factors may include lack of services, lack of safety, high crime, crop failure, drought, flooding, poverty and war. Among the pull factors are employment opportunities, better social services, good climate, safety, less crime, political stability, fertile lands and lower risk from natural hazards. A combination of these factors usually causes migration. For instance, a combination of war as

the push factor and political stability as the pull factor may culminate in people migrating from one area to another.

Migration may be classified into many different forms and types depending on the cause and spatial dimensions involved. The forms of migration may include economic migration (moving to search for employment elsewhere); social migration (moving somewhere for a better quality of life or to be closer to family or friends or to join spouse); political migration (moving to escape political persecution or war); and environmental migration (moving to escape natural disasters such as draught). On the basis of space, it could be international or internal (Castles & Davidson, 2000; King & Skeldon, 2010).

International or external migration refers to when people move across international borders. Categorising international migration may be done on the basis of place of origin and destination. International migration can, thus, be 'North-North' (from one developed country to another), 'North-South' (from a developed country to an underdeveloped or a developing country), 'South-South' (from an underdeveloped or a developing country to another underdeveloped country) or 'South-North' (from an underdeveloped or a developing country to a developed country). Movements within the global south, that is South-South migration (82.3 million) slightly exceeds South-North migration (81.9 million) (OECD-UNDESA, 2013).

By the year 2000, the number of international migrants across the world had more than doubled to 175 million people in one generation. This number increased to 221 million in 2010 and to 232 million in 2013 (OECD-UNDESA, 2013) and is still increasing as people move day in and day out. According to the United Nation (2013), of the 232 million international

migrant population, Africa's share was 8.03%, Europe 31.27%; Asia 30.5% and for North America, 22.93% (OECD-UNDESA, 2013). In the same year, about half of all international migrants resided in the United States of America, the Russian Federation, Germany, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, the United Kingdom, France, Canada, Australia and Spain. The United States of America hosted the highest with about 45.8 million (or 20% of the global total), while Australia and Spain hosted the least with 6.5 million each (or 3% of the global total) (OECD-UNDESA, 2013).

Africa continues to be a region of net out-migration. This means that people from or with African descent migrate to countries outside Africa than people of other continents migrate to Africa. In other terms, Africa has been the origin of migrants than a destination for migrants. This pattern is portrayed in West Africa as well and Ghana is not an exception. It must, however, be noted that much of Africa's migration since the late 1980s is mainly intra-continental in the form of regional movements by nomads, refugees, seasonal labour migrants and undocumented migrants (Adepoju, 2008; Flahaux & de Haas, 2016). There is evidence of movements of refugees from Algeria, Kenya, Zimbabwe, South Africa, as a result of conflicts over political power and movement in other countries in the Horn of Africa (Kyangara, 2016).

Internal migration, on the other hand, refers to the movement of people within the borders of a particular region or state. It can be classified into rural-urban, urban-rural, rural-rural and urban-urban. Similar to international migration, internal migration is attributable to the search for better conditions for survival. These include the need for fertile lands for farming, employment opportunities, better education, as well as better infrastructure and political

and economic stability. In literature, international migration is the most researched, based on which policies are formulated. This has overshadowed the importance of internal migration, especially to researchers and policy makers. It is important however to note that, the numbers involved in internal or domestic migration outweighs that of international migration (Castaldo, Deshingkar & McKay, 2012; Deshingkar & Grimm, 2005; OECD-UNDESA, 2013). More people are rather migrating internally or domestically than externally or internationally. In the last decade, literature shows that whilst about 232 million people migrated internationally, approximately 740 million were involved in internal migration (Castaldo et al, 2012; United Nation Development Programme, 2009; United Nation Conference on Sustainable Development, 2012).

Evidence from most African countries further underpins the intensity of internal migration. To some scholars, the levels show little or no possibility of reversing (Adepoju, 2000; 2006c). In the Central African Republic for instance, Lututala (2006) presents that 97.0 percent of total migration were internal whilst a meagre three percent were international. However due to the political instability, more people are leaving the country to neighbouring Chad, Cameroon, Democratic Republic of Congo and Republic of Congo. Based on 2011 estimates (lack of data due to instability), only 2.9% of the population emigrated (World Bank, 2011). More people are still internally than externally displaced. In 2014, at the height of the political instability, international migration was estimated at 5.75% while internal migration constituted about 21% (IOM, 2014). Mostly characterised by intra-regional movements, Kenya saw a high level of internal migration from rural-urban

areas, of people in search of work due to high levels of rural unemployment (ACP Observatory on Migration, 2013). In Uganda also, evidence shows that about 3.6million people, representing 20 percent of its population in 2009 had migrated from one district to another (Rutaremwya, 2011). South Africa's urban areas became the destination areas for most rural migrants, especially during the Apartheid era. This contributed to the development of these destination areas, as rural migrants became mine workers in the urban areas (Statistics South Africa, 2006).

The prominence of internal migration is further accentuated by evidence from West Africa. A study conducted in seven countries by the Network of Survey on Migration and Urbanisation in West Africa (NESMUWA) showed high levels of internal migration in some countries in the region. In Cote d'Ivoire and Senegal, internal migration accounted for 62 percent of total migration whilst Mauritania registered about 54 percent and Mali and Guinea recorded 51 percent each. In the same study, Niger recorded 47 percent and Burkina Faso, 30 percent (Konseiga, 2005; Tanle, 2010). In a later study by Ackah and Medvedev (2010) on internal migration in Ghana, they reported that more than 80 percent of Ghanaian migrants stay in Ghana. Among these, 70 percent go to urban areas.

Specifically, Greater Accra has the highest proportion of migrants (60.3%) followed by the rural forest (51.6%). The other urban areas have 46.7 percent of migrants while rural coastal areas have 44.6 percent. The rural savannah has the least (37.5%) proportion of the migrant population. In all, 51.4 percent of the Ghanaian population is non-migrant, 17.1 percent are in-

migrants while 31.5 percent are return migrants (Ghana Living Standard Survey 6, Ghana Statistical Service, 2014).

Ghana's internal migration assumes the character of inter-regional movements, where people move from one region to the other. In north-western region of Ghana for instance, the environment does not support all-year-round agriculture due to rainfall variability and thus, pushes people to the south (Van der Geest, 2011; United Nation Development Programme, 2009; United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development, 2012). Lucas (2007, p.115) and Potts (2013) pointed out that, even though rural-urban migration persists, internal migration is still more of rural-rural in sub-Saharan Africa. They however lament that very little attention has been paid to this.

In time past, migration in Ghana was mainly internal and seasonal (Awumbila et al, 2008). Farmers migrated in search of better lands for cultivation (Addae-Mensah, 1985; Addo, 1971). Such migration occurred in Ghana at the introduction of cocoa in the late nineteenth century (Hill, 1963). In contemporary times however, it is all year round (Kwankye et al, 2007). Whether internal or international, according to Manuh (2001:17-26) migration was regarded as a 'tried and tested strategy' for dealing with the 'deteriorating economic and social conditions'. In recent times, the reasons for migrating are complex and diverse. Even though it is driven by socio-economic factors (Adepoju, 2005a; Shimeless, 2010), socio-cultural and other non-economic factors are increasingly becoming evident.

Similar to the situation in Africa and Ghana as illustrated above, studies in Asia show that internal migration is increasing. Reports show that 47 percent of Asia's population now lives in urban areas, doubled since the

1970s (Gross, Ye & Legates, 2014). China alone hosted about 221 million internal migrants in the last decade. This is against the backdrop that in the same period, only 458,000 people migrated internationally, especially in search for work (Deshingkar & Grimm, 2005; Chan, 2009; National Bureau of Statistics China, 2011). Vietnam also saw approximately 4.3 million people migrating internally in the last five years until the population census in 1999, whilst about 300,000 people migrated internationally (Anh et al, 2003). This increased to 6.7 million internal migrants in 2009 (Anh et al., 2012).

Migrants have always looked for ways to integrate into their host societies (Lopez et al, 2001:10; Owusu, 2000). Literature shows that migrants form or join groups in order to aid and facilitate their integration into the host community or group (Antwi Boasiakoh, 2010; Meier, 2005; Owusu, 2000). Studies on such associations trace their activities to as far back as the 1920's and 1930's where African-American migrants in Chicago formed churches to promote collective identity (Fitzgerald, 2004). These associations could be based on religious affiliations, alumni groups, ethnicity, national, community or area-based, charity or culture (Owusu, 2000; Silva, 2006).

There is no doubt that research on different types of migrant associations abound, albeit, in the international migration literature. These associations provide different kinds of support and benefits to their members (Burnet & Palmer, 1988; Okamura, 1983; Orozco & Rouse, 2007; Owusu 2000) as well as the places of origin and destination (Lopez et. al 2001; Orozco and Rouse, 2007). Although the presence of migrant associations is worldwide (Caglar, 2006), much of the existing literature focuses on those in

the USA, Canada, Spain, Denmark, Netherlands, UK and Germany (Babcock, 2006; Orozco, 2006; Lopez et al., 2001).

The literature has examined Latino migrants from Central and Latin America. Cases in point are the Guatemalan, El Salvadoran, Honduran and Nicaraguan diaspora associations study by Orozco (2006) while Babcock (2006) takes the case of Belizeans in the USA. Oaxacan or Mexican migrant associations in Los Angeles and other parts in USA have also been examined in different studies (Alarcón, 2002; Guarnizo, 1998; Lopez et. al 2001; Mooney, 2003). There are other studies in Canada (Owusu, 2000; Silva, 2006). There is also Okamura's (1983) study on Filipino hometown associations in Hawaii, Amelina's (2007) research on Turkish migrant associations in Germany, and Odmalm's (2004) theoretical linkages of civil society, migrant organisations and political parties in Sweden. Sardinha (2005) has also explored the integration role of Cape Verdean associations in the metropolitan area of Lisbon. These are destination-specific research trajectories in migrant association studies. In many of these studies, associations are looked at from different viewpoints. The result of this is that, migrant associations have been portrayed differently in the literature.

While some of these studies explore key issues such as membership and leadership, entitlements and benefits, ties with hometown and discords inherent in the association (Okamura, 1983; Sardinha, 2005), others focus on integration of migrants into the host communities, the involvement of the associations in the political space of the host communities (Page et al., 2010; Evans, 2010), whilst other studies celebrate the associations as development tools with emphasis on their role in mobilizing resources (remittances) and

infrastructural developments back home (Akologo, 2005; Babcock, 2006; Beauchemin & Schoumaker, 2009; Portes, Escobar & Radford, 2007; Orozco, 2006; Silva, 2006). In addition, some of these studies have focused on the involvement of these associations in the political and social development (transnational engagements) of the communities/countries of origin (Kleist 2007). Nonetheless, other studies have concurrently focused on these issues (Chauvet et al, 2015; Fitzgerald, 2004; Goldring, 1998; Liu, 1998).

In Africa, a few of such studies can be found. The earliest forms include Honey and Okafor's (1998) study on hometown associations, indigenous knowledge and development in Nigeria. The study focused on exploring the nature of hometown associations, in and outside Nigeria, and their instrumentality and involvement in the political space of the country. The study concluded that the hometown associations are means of maintaining traditional identity. It also stated that the formation of the migrants' associations was encouraged by the colonial powers, Britain, as a means to enforce colonial rule. This was done by advocating migrants' associations as a way of fostering local improvements. The colonial government did this by aligning with the objectives of the associations by becoming patron, supporters or members. Through this, their views and ideas were included in the activities of the associations. In another study by Beauchemin and Schoumaker (2009) which focused on the role of migrant associations as actors in local development, it was found that the migrant associations may not be explicit vectors of development, rather, they invest in human capital. Another of such studies conducted by Chauvet, et al (2015) explored the impact of hometown associations on the provision of public goods in Mali.

They found that communities targeted by hometown associations contributed immensely towards the provision of public goods such as schools, health centres and water (Chauvet et al, 2015). Antwi Boasiakoh (2012) studied three Nigerian migrant associations (Nigerian Women, Nigerian Committee of Brothers and the Edo State associations) in Accra, Ghana. He asserted that these associations provide social capital as well as resources to facilitate the survival of the migrants in Accra.

In Ghana, hometown or migrant associations are evident. Their presence dates as far as the 1960s, however, there exists paltry documentation about the formation, dynamics and purposes. These migrant associations in Ghana usually present themselves in church or faith-based organisations, ethnic based groups, alumni, charity and cultural associations. Examples include the BONABOTO (Bolgatanga, Nangodi, Bongo and Tongo), Builsa Ladies in Nima, Kokomba Youth Association (KOYA), Bimobas Youth Association (BIYA) and Nawuri Youth Association (NYA). Examples of studies on such early migrant associations included Busia (1950), Acquah (1958) and Little (1965). To Acquah (1958) the associations serve as fellowship platforms for the migrants and avenues for finding jobs. Little (1965) furthered that they maintain and strengthen ethnic identities as well as loyalty to the places of origin. The studies showed that the associations existed in colonial times and have become widespread in the post-independence period.

Contemporary examples include Obeng's (2010) unpublished thesis on the Oboman Kuo which is an umbrella association for the Obo migrants in Accra and Tema. He identified that the association provided a platform to

unite members from the Obo area to deal with the culture of individualism which is peculiar to most urban dwellers. Another example is seen in Tonah's (2005) study of the Bantari which is a Fulani ethnic association in the northern part of Ghana. The Bantari offered help to members in settling in communities and a source of livelihood in provision of jobs (Tonah, 2005).

Various reasons are given for the formation of these associations and why people join. Among these reasons that propel people to form or join migrant associations, issues of politics, culture, family links, material circumstances, cultural identity, and levels of integration, appear more prominent for a lot of migrants (Orozco & Rouse, 2007). Originally, these migrant associations were formed for the purpose of preserving culture and identity (Sardinha, 2005). Literature suggests that this traditional purpose is evolving as well as new objectives are emerging. These associations, especially international ones, in contemporary times are purposed to aid the migrants or members of the associations to integrate into the economic, social and cultural spaces of the host society.

These groups according to Meier (2005) are the arena of displaying cultural belongingness and for the discourse of how tradition can be fitted into modern life. These gatherings also provide the opportunity for new migrants to blend into the migrant and host groups without risking individual exposure while at the same time satisfying the emotional and social needs of members through exchange with members of the same group. Some of the migrants establish social relations with friends but in a restricted manner in order to keep themselves out of trouble or avoid conflict. This therefore facilitates the incorporation of migrants into the host society (Antwi Boasiakoh, 2009; López

et. al 2001; Massey et al, 2005) by averting or reducing the risks involved. The majority of these associations and organisations see themselves as the mouthpiece of the people whom they represent and thereby become facilitators to their development and the development of the nation as a whole.

In spite of the stated purpose for the formation of migrant associations, literature suggests that these purposes are prominently shaped by the pressing needs of the members and of society (Antwi Boasiakoh, 2009; Owusu, 2000). For the Nigerian Women's Association in Ghana for instance, its main activities are in the areas of mother care services, child development and charity works (Antwi Boasiakoh, 2009). Others are formed around the purposes of providing social networks, informal settlement information, financial support and raising funds for projects in the home country (Owusu, 2000).

The literature on migrants' associations portrays a strong bias in favour of international migration. The frenzied interest in international migration is premised on the expectation that through the international associations, collective remittances and transnational ties can be developed to harness the positive role of migration for development (Lacomba & Cloquell, 2014). This relegates to the background research interests in internal migration and the attendant association formation, integration, etc. This is lamented by Flahaux and de Haas, (2016) as they posited that descriptions about Africa's migration are often based on stereotypes rather than empirical evidence. This was earlier pointed out by Mercer and Page, (2008) when they argued that migration literature and theories are biased against internal migration and migrants. This lays the needed foundation for this present study.

Statement of the Problem

A careful look at Ghana's internal migration literature shows a robust theoretical and empirical understanding regarding the directions and the underlying factors for the movement, which is mainly unidirectional from rural to urban centres and from north to south (Hill, 1963; Nabila, 1975; Kubon, 2004; Kwankye et al, 2007; Hashim, 2007; Tanle, 2010). Others have focused on how the migrants cope, adapt and integrate into their host communities by studying their livelihoods (Addo, 1971; Awumbila et al, 2008; Potts, 2013; Tanle, 2014). Still others have looked at the evolution of migrant communities such as the '*Zongos*' (*Zongo* is a Hausa word with translates as temporary 'travellers' camp' or 'stop-over' and denoted places where Muslims travellers and traders lived during the colonial era (Schildkrout, 1978), slums and shanty towns, and suburb creation (Schwimmer, 1980; Kpormegbe, 1993; Pellow, 2001; Meier, 2005).

This follows the trends in global migration literature where increased attention on international migration has led to the bias of literature and theories against internal migration and migrants (Mercer & Page, 2008). In the case of Africa's migration in general, descriptions, as argued by Flahaux and de Haas (2016), are often based on stereotypes rather than empirical evidence. This means that there is the need to provide enough data on African migration. One aspect that seems to be ignored is the emerging phenomenon of migrants' group, associations or organisations, which are increasingly gaining permanence in developing countries like Ghana (Beauchemin & Schoumaker, 2009).

This is not to say that there is no earlier research (such as Busia, 1950; Acquah, 1958; Little, 1965) in this field. However, these are not enough to provide narratives on internal migrants' associations in the current diverse, socio-economic and political space of Ghana and how these internal migrants' associations are shaping the internal migration discourse. In the light of the pressures on primary bond/ties in cosmopolitan urban space of Accra, these associations maintain their ethnic identity through a form of negotiation. Even though research on hometown associations seems to abound in literature (see Beauchemin & Schoumaker, 2009; Antwi Boasiakoh, 2009; Lacomba & Cloquell, 2014; Chauvet et al, 2015), it is important to point out that these are diaspora groups which more often than not exist outside the home countries. The associations are formal manifestations of migrants' social networks. Awumbila et al (2016) further bemoans the lack of adequate studies on them, especially access to social networks and how migration experiences and trajectories are influenced.

As such this study is imperative, as it does not only contribute to discussions on the dynamics of Ghana's internal migration, but also sets out to provide specific evidence to the significance of these associations to the socio-economic and political development of the country. It is undeniable that these groups are springing up and as such, there is the need to provide information about this phenomenon. This study sought to contribute to both theoretical and empirical literature by focusing on the BONABOTO and Aduamoaman migrants' associations in Ghana. The questions underpinning this research are:

1. How are the migrant associations formed?
2. What are the reasons for forming the associations?

3. How does one become a member?
4. What are the benefits to members?
5. What are the benefits to both the places of origin?
6. What are the challenges facing these associations?

Objectives of the Study

The general objective of the study was to contribute to the discourse on internal migration within Africa specifically Ghana, through an examination of the dynamics of migrants' associations using the BONABOTO and Aduamoaman migrants' associations as a case study. The specific objectives were to:

1. Describe the characteristics of the migrants' associations;
2. Assess the motives for the formation of the associations;
3. Examine the benefits of the associations to members and their places of origin; and
4. Analyse the challenges facing the associations.

Significance of the Study

Migrants' associations have existed in Ghana for a long time. Nonetheless, little is known about their extent of evolvement, characteristics and their implications for the cultural, social and economic spaces of Ghana. Literature elucidates the potential of these associations to be partners to development to members, host and origin communities (López, Escalera-Rabadan & Hinojosa-Ojeda, 2001; Antwi Boasiakoh, 2010; Babcock, 2006; Caglar, 2006; Orozco, 2006; Silva, 2006). This study will not only serve as

empirical evidence on the existence, characteristics and activities of these associations, but also expose them to policy considerations and engagement by policy makers and those in authority for proper planning and policy considerations.

Moreover, the study updates literature on internal migration and migrants' associations. The study will also provide evidence to describe migrants' associations in Ghana. In this way, it places the phenomenon in the Ghanaian migration context. It thus, becomes a contribution to the solution to the gap, where migration literature and theories are biased against internal migration, as pointed out by Mercer and Page (2008), Flahaux & de Haas (2016), Awumbila et al (2016). The study will be a reference point for comparing internal and international or diaspora migrants' associations in future research.

In addition, the study will serve as a source of information to new and old migrants alike. As part of the dissemination process, other than submitting this thesis for the award of a degree, specific extracts will be made available to the associations and the development office in the origin areas. This will contribute to the migrants' ability to make informed decisions on joining these associations. It will also provide information on the impacts of these associations to the development of both places of origin and destinations.

Limitations of the Study

The first limitation was the dearth of literature on internal African migrants' associations. As a result, the researcher had to rely on literature on

international (immigrant/diaspora) migrants' associations in contextualising this study.

Secondly, the whole membership of the associations was not reached because of non-attendance to meetings. As such within the period of the data collection, the researcher relied on those available. This may affect the generalizability of the socio-demographic characters but not the other aspects of the associations which include formation and organisation, benefits for members and impacts on origin areas, as well as contributions to the public discourse.

Thirdly, the study essentially relied on non-probability sampling methods. Also cross-sectional data was collected and analysed for the study. This makes it difficult to generalise the findings to all other such migrants' associations.

Organisation of the Study

This study is divided into seven main chapters. The first chapter is an introduction to the study. It comprises the background to the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research questions, significance of the study, and the organisation of the study. Chapter two reviews existing relevant literature – theoretical and empirical – related to the study. This forms the thrust and foundation on which the study stands. This chapter reviews theoretical and empirical literature on migration, migrants' associations, and voluntary associations and associated relationships with migrants and development. Theoretically, the Social Capital theory and the Social Exchange theory are reviewed and their relevance to the study discussed. In this section,

the conceptual framework of the study is explained. The third chapter discusses the methodology for the study. It consists of the profile of the associations, research design, population, sample and sampling technique, data collection procedure and how the data was analysed. The fourth chapter begins the discussion sections of the study. It presents the background characteristics of the participants and their motivations for joining migrants' associations. In chapter five, the benefits of the migrants' associations to members, places or origin and destination are discussed. The sixth chapter presents and discusses challenges and prospects of the associations. The study ends with the seventh chapter, where summary, conclusions and recommendations are presented.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

As stated in chapter one, this study examined the dynamics of migrants' association by using the BONABOTO and Aduamoaman migrants' associations as case studies. This chapter is dedicated to the review of literature related to the topic. It is sub-divided into sections, which address the Ghanaian migration context, conceptual issues, theoretical and empirical reviews. The study draws on the social capital and social exchange perspectives. The conceptual framework, which is an adaptation of Opiniano's (2004) framework, is presented in this chapter.

Conceptualisation of Migration and Migrants' Associations

Migration and Migrants

Migration is variously defined in the literature. Guinness (2002) defines the concept as the movement of people across definite frontiers, national or international, to establish a new permanent place of residence lasting more than a year. To Geest (2004), migration could either be a temporary, semi-permanent or permanent change of residence to a place other than one's native village. Tanle (2010) defines it as a spatial movement that involves a temporary or permanent change of one's usual place of residence across a geographical or political boundary at any given time. Comprehensively, the International Organisation for Migration (n.d) defines migration as '*the movement of a person or a group of persons, either across an international border, or within a State*'. To the International Organisation

for Migration (n.d), it is a population movement regardless of its length, composition, causes, and reason for the movement.

Causes and spatial differences have categorised migration. The forms of migration may include economic migration, social migration, political migration and environmental migration. On the basis of space, migration could be international or internal. International or external migration refers to an instance when people move across international borders. Categorising international migration may be done on the basis of where the movement is from and to where – origin and destination. International migration can thus be ‘North-North’, ‘North-South’, ‘South-South’ or ‘South-North’. Internal migration, on the other hand, refers to the movement of people within the borders of a particular region or state. It can be classified into rural-urban, urban-rural, rural-rural and urban-urban (Castles, 2000; King & Skeldon, 2010).

Migration types can be categorised based on purpose, timelines and duration. Based on this classification, migration can be seasonal, temporary, semi-permanent, permanent and circular migrations. Permanent migration is when the migrant moves from one location to another with no plans of returning to his or her original home. Conversely, temporary migration is limited by time, often a season. This includes movements where the migrants are recruited to perform certain jobs for a stipulated time period with the intention to return home at the end of the employment. Sometimes referred to as temporary migration, seasonal migration is determined by changes in seasons, often agricultural seasons. This was in the case of the movement of people in search of fertile agricultural land to cultivate cocoa when the latter

was introduced (see Hill, 1963; Addo, 1971; Addae-Mensah, 1985). Also, circular migration is a form of temporary migration where the migrant moves repetitively between the home and host or destination areas, also often for the purpose of employment or study (European Migration Network, 2011; Global Forum on Migration and Development, 2008).

Migrants are the individuals involved or who undertake the movement in the migration process. The Ghana Statistical Service (GSS) defines a migrant as a person who has moved and stayed at his/her current place of residence for six months or more (Ghana Statistical Service, 2012). It is important to mention that the conceptualisation of migrants and migration and associated forms and duration are often spatial specific. For the purpose of this study preference is given to migrants who have stayed in the destination area for a minimum of five years and who are members of the migrants' associations being considered. The minimum length of stay of five years was adopted because it is assumed that staying in the destination for five years or more, the migrants will have functional knowledge of the destination area and also about the association.

Migrants' Associations as Voluntary Associations

Migrant associations have been variously defined in the migration literature. To Silva (2006, p. 2), it refers to 'social groupings formed by immigrants from the same origin or country in their host communities'. In the works of Owusu, (2000) and Lopez, et al., (2001), the term has been used to describe hometown country associations (HCAs), hometown associations (HTAs) and ethnic associations or clubs formed by migrants from a specific

community or country to cater for certain needs. Defined by Orozco and Garcia-Zanello, (2009), migrant associations, specifically HTAs are those associations formed by immigrants, living in the same community and sharing a common nationality, seeking to support their places of origin, maintain relations with local communities, and retain a sense of community as they adjust to life in their new home communities or countries (see Orozco 2000; 2003; 2005).

It is notable that migrant associations have come to be known as 'hometown associations' (Orozco & Garcia-Zanello, 2009; Mercer et al, 2008; Lopez, et al, 2001; Beauchemin & Schoumaker, 2009), especially in international migration literature. These descriptions are not different in principle to Levitt's (2001), who conceptualise migrant associations as organisations of migrants, who primarily are from the same 'town or parish or host country' who gather for social and mutual-aid. Anthropologist Fitzgerald refers to them as 'migrant village associations' which comprise migrants who have moved from villages to cities and towns (Fitzgerald, 2004).

Others refer to migrant associations as immigrant transnational organisations (Portes et al., 2005) and or diaspora-based organisations (Akologo, 2005). This description is apparent in the international migration literature where the associations are regarded as possessing important potentials to development (Babcock, 2006; Beauchemin and Schoumaker, undated; Caglar, 2006; Orozco, 2006; Silva, 2006). Thus, the term migrants' association has become an umbrella concept under which we find hometown associations, home country associations, ethnic associations, professional associations and migrants' sports club associations. According to Silva (2006),

even though the most common form of migrant associations is the hometown association, it does include area-based or community-based associations, business associations, alumni associations, church or faith-based associations, charity associations and cultural associations.

In the migration literature, it is worthy of note that the term ‘migrants’ association’ is sometimes used synonymously with ‘voluntary associations’. Voluntary association refers to ‘a group of persons relatively freely organized to pursue mutual and personal interests or to achieve common goals, usually non-profit in nature’ (Scott, 1957). This meaning sometimes overlaps with non-profit organisation, non-governmental organisation or third sector organisations (Anheier, n.d). Diverse as the meanings maybe, they share a notion in regarding voluntary associations as private membership based organisations in which membership is non-compulsory, with recognizable boundaries to distinguish members from non-members, be self-governing and non-commercial in objective and behaviour (ibid).

The evidence of migrant associations in Africa was first cited in Nigeria. In recent years, however, these associations are replicating in major cities and towns across Africa (Honey & Okafor, 1998). In Ghana, some of the migrant associations include the Kwahu residents in Accra, Builsa Ladies in Nima, Kokomba Youth Association (KOYA), Bimobas Youth Association (BIYA) and Nawuri Youth Association (NYA). It can be noted that these associations have been named ‘youth’ groups. Members of such groups may, however, not be young or youth in terms of age. Often, members are young and may be within the UN defined age range (15 to 24 years) at the founding stages of the groups and may want to maintain the name even when the

members grow older. Also, 'youth' is metaphorically used to represent vibrancy and action; qualities which the associations will want to be aligned with. Other migrants' associations include BONABOTO in United States and United Kingdom, the Fante Benevolent Society of Chicago, and the Sankofa Foundation in the Netherlands, the Nkoranza Association in the United Kingdom and the Okyeman Cultural Association with chapters in Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom.

For the purpose of this study, migrant associations will refer to any such association, voluntary or involuntary, whose membership is primarily based on place of origin. Thus, members of such associations are migrants who hail from the same origin and are now residing at the same destination.

International Migrants' Associations

Technically international migrants' associations are those that exist outside national or state borders. An example of an international migrants' association is the Nigerian Brotherhood Association in Accra, Ghana. Also, an association formed by Ghanaian migrants in the United States of America is considered as an international migrants' association. Even though not the focus of this study, it is important to differentiate international migrants' associations from internal or local ones in order to give a clear understanding to its concentration. Examples of international migrants' associations include, National Congress of Ghanaian Canadians, Ashanti Multicultural Association, Kwahuman Cultural Association, Okuapeman Cultural Association, Mampong Cultural Association, Nsutaman Cultural Association and Kwabre Cultural association, all in Canada, Ga-Adangme Kpee in New York, Ghana National

College Alumni in USA, James Town Social Club in New York and the New Juaben Association, Inc. in Brooklyn.

Internal Migrants' Associations

In contrast to the above, internal migrants' associations are those that exist within national or state borders and are formed by internal migrants. The key point is that the association exists outside the native village or ethnic origin of the members of the migrants' association. In Ghana, the Kwahumankuo in Accra, the BONABOTO (Bolgatanga, Nangodi, Bongo and Tongu), Builsa Ladies in Nima, Kokomba Youth Association (KOYA), Bimobas Youth Association (BIYA), Aduamoaman and Nawuri Youth Association (NYA) are examples of internal migrants' associations. It is important to note that even though these are identified examples, there is the challenge of limited studies on these associations. The study therefore sought to provide additional evidence by studying two of the associations. This will pave the way for extended and more in-depth studies on Ghanaian internal migrants' associations to positively bridge the literature gap.

The Ghanaian Migration Context: Pre-colonial to Contemporary Ghana

Migration presents itself as an enduring and diverse phenomenon. It has gained much importance and popularity both in research and policy circles. This is especially due to the increasing number of migrants in the world. People have sought to understand the dimensions, motivations, and intensity of migration phenomenon. However, the persistently evolving and

diversity of the phenomenon usually gives rise to equally diverse interpretations and methods of study.

Migration in Ghana and other West African countries is immemorial (Arhin 1978 in Anarfi et al, 2003). The north-south form of migration within Ghana however was disrupted by the presence of Europeans from the 1400s (ibid). The advent of the slave trade and colonialism created new routes and patterns of migration. Long before colonisation, migration in Ghana was strongly determined by the distribution of economic opportunities (Gueye & Adu Boahen, 1985). In that same period as a result of defeats in wars, political exiles moved out of the Ashanti territory to further south of the Gold Coast between 1818 and 1875. After the colonial conquests in the late 1890s and subsequent establishment of British colonial rule, individuals were attracted to southern Ghana by the supposed unlimited economic opportunities. The migrants sought employment in agricultural work while others were actively recruited by the colonial authorities (Anarfi et al, 2003). This was because the colonial government, as initiated by Governor Guggisberg, designated the northern territory to be a labour reserve from where a cheap labour force was supplied to southern mines and cities. In addition, international links, especially with the United Kingdom, the colonizer, and other English-speaking countries, were created and they persist.

From the late 1960s to the early 1980s, there were more migrants leaving Ghana than those entering. Awumbila et al (2008) attribute this trend to the political instability, due to the various coup d'états, and the decline in the economy after independence. Those that left the country were relatively few and mainly made up of students and professionals. In the mid-1960s

however, movements out of Ghana rose to high levels and number of foreigners reduced considerably. This was in the period when Ghana suffered an economic crisis mainly in the forms of balance of payment deficits and unemployment (Anarfi et al, 2000). The reduction of the number of foreigners was further reinforced by the 1969 Aliens Compliance Order where non-Ghanaians without valid documents were required to acquire them within two weeks or be expelled from the country. The Order was for the purpose of claiming job opportunities (which were believed to be taken over by the foreigners) for Ghanaians and to reduce crime. This affected Ivoirians, Burkinabes, Togolese and Nigerians who were already in the country.

The Aliens Compliance Order seemed to have not achieved its purpose of improving the economic situation of the Ghanaian people in the then volatile political situation evidenced by inflation, unemployment and devaluation of the currency (Dzorgbo, 1998). At the beginning of the 1980s, there was mass emigration of Ghanaians mainly in search of jobs. This is because, as afore mentioned, migration was regarded as a strategy for dealing with their socio-economic conditions (Manuh, 2001:17-26). The majority of the people who emigrated found destination in Nigeria and other neighbouring countries. By this time Nigeria's economy was booming after the Biafra War and the discovery of oil. The boom therefore became a major attraction for Ghanaians (de Haas, 2006). Unofficial statistics put the average number of Ghanaians who migrated to Nigeria to about 300 persons per day. A total of approximately 150000 Ghanaians had registered with the Ghana High Commission in Lagos by December 1980 (Anarfi, et al 2003:7).

After this period, another remarkable landmark in Ghana's migration history was the expulsion of about one million Ghanaian migrants from Nigeria in the mid and late 1980s. This was as a result of a revoked Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) protocol on free movement (Adepoju, 2005a:32). The reasons for the expulsion were similar to those that underlined Ghana's Aliens Compliance Order. A sharp decline in Nigeria's oil revenue due to falling prices led to the deterioration in living and working conditions, wage freeze, devalued national currency, declining real incomes and authoritarian rule forced people out of the country (Adepoju, 2005a).

Ghanaians still migrate today. A feature of the contemporary movement is the diversity in destination areas. Ghanaians do not only move to other African countries but also to other parts of the world, especially Europe and North America, purposely for employment, education and training (Nuro, 1999 in Anarfi et al, 2003). There is also evidence of return migration in the mid-1990s, even though representative studies could not be ascertained on them (p.23). The World Bank (1994) attributes this to the improvement in the Ghanaian economy at the time coupled with the restrictions on travelling abroad and deportation of Ghanaian migrants without valid documentation.

Ghana's migration situation is not without significant gender issues. Literature shows that females dominate short distance international migration with an average of 59 percent of total international migration to Ghana's immediate neighbours – Cote d'Ivoire, Burkina Faso and Togo (Anarfi et al, 2003). The female population in question is characteristically young, ranging between 15-24 years. However, long distance migration is dominated by

males. The males unlike the females are usually older between the ages of 25-35 years (Anarfi et al, 2003)

Diaspora formations have become a major evolving feature of Ghana's international migration (van Hear, 1998). Ghanaian migrants in the diaspora are finding ways to participate and influence the social organisation and development of Ghana. Individual migrants and migrant groups are investing in public goods such as schools, health centres, and water in Ghana (Owusu, 2000).

Much of Ghana's 1960s migration was internal. This was the period of internal warfare, so people moved in search of safety and also fertile lands for farming (Boahen 1975 in Awumbila et al, 2008). The search for better lands for cultivation (Addae-Mensah, 1985; Addo, 1971) began at the introduction of cocoa in the late nineteenth century (Hill, 1963). In North Western Ghana for instance, the environment does not support all-year-round agriculture due to rainfall variability and thus, pushes people to the south (Van der Geest, 2011; UNDP, 2009; United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development, 2012). Besides the environmental determinants of migration, population growth also plays a role in migration in Ghana currently. The growth puts pressure on available cultivable land and hence, migration is encouraged (Abdulai, 1999), as a strategy for survival.

Ghana's internal migration continues to grow. There is evidence of high migration levels within Ghana. Internal migration in Ghana stood at 52 percent in the year 2000, a rise from 38 percent in the 1960s as shown in the most recent Ghana's population census (Ghana Statistical Service, 2013). Similar statistics presented by the United Nations' Human Development

Report (2009) and confirmed by Castaldo et al (2012) and the United Nation Conference on Sustainable Development (2012) shows that internal migration (approximately 740 million people involved) outweighs international migration (about 232 million people involved) in other parts of the world.

Ghana's internal migration assumes the character of inter-regional movements, where people move from one region to the other. The old north-south migration pattern persists until today. Factors such as poverty, environmental degradation, food insecurity, ethnic conflicts and lack of basic infrastructure and services in the rural areas are major 'push' reasons in these movements (Black, Crush, Peberdy, Ammassari, Hilker, Mouillesseaux, Pooley, & Rajkotia, 2006). The availability of these factors and attraction of urban life become the corresponding 'pull' factors that underlie migration. The prospect of employment opportunities also attracts northern migrants to the south and it is usually dominated by young people (Mensah-Bonsu, 2003). Urbanisation is also seen as a major driver in internal migration.

Among the ten regions Greater Accra attracts the largest number of migrants (9.81 percent of total population) whilst the three regions in the north, namely Northern, Upper West and Upper East, attract the least (8.95 percent of total population for all three regions) (Ghana Statistical Service, 2012; Castaldo, Deshingkar & McKay, 2012). It is however, important to mention that places like Tamale in the Northern region is rapidly expanding in its human population (mainly because of high fertility and low mortality rates), infrastructure, business ventures (private and NGOs) and so attracts more migrants. In spite of this, available statistics shows that immigration to Tamale is one of the least.

It is in such a context that this study is situated. Ghana's migration is dominated by inter- and intra-regional movements (Awumbila, et al., 2008; Flahaux & de Haas, 2016; Potts, 2013) and the driving factors range from economic, social, and environment factors, which are nuanced in other factors such as family and personal preference. In line with this evidence, the extent to which the Neo-classical economic theory of migration and New Economics of Labour Migration theory inform migration decisions of the members of the migrant associations will be explored. Similarly, how the social networks and capital being utilised in the associations and whether decisions of movement and participation are weighed on the scale of rational choice will be examined. In the next section, literature related to conceptualising migrants' associations and related concepts is reviewed.

Theoretical Review

Several theories and perspectives seek to explain the various forms and types of migration, their development, persistence, diversities and uniformities. While some of the approaches follow a micro perspective others examine the issue from a macro perspective. However, there is no single perspective that is able to holistically offer explanations and predict types and forms of migration. Studies are still divided on the phenomenon and have failed to come out of marginality (de Haan, 2006). This section attempts to trace migration theory and propose a theoretical framework for the study, concentrating on economic perspectives (focus on classical economic theories of migration) and social perspectives of migration (sociological theories of migration).

Economic perspectives on migration

A section of the theories of migration – micro and macro – have focused on migration decision and the importance of migration to economic development (Ravenstein, 1885; Ranis & Fei, 1961; Lee, 1966; Harris & Todaro, 1970). While migration decision was predominantly based on urban-rural wage differentials, the excess labour in the rural areas is also an important resource to the urban market. This is expressed by the fundamentals of the neo-classical economic theory of migration and the new economics of labour migration.

Neo-classical economic theory of migration

Sometimes referred to as the neo-classical equilibrium perspective, the neo-classical economic theory can be traced back to Ravenstein's 'Laws of Migration' published in 1885. He attempted to establish a relation between migration and some economic variables/parameters. He postulated that economic reasons underlie migration. Placed in the 'push and pull' framework, Lee (1966) concluded that unfavourable economic conditions in one place push people out while favourable economic conditions attract migrants to certain destinations. This direction of analysis is still valid today. Another significant development in the neo-classical economic perspective was from the work of one of the founders of development economics, Arthur W. Lewis (1954) which focused on economic development and labour supply. Based on the economic factor put forward by Ravenstein, Lewis claimed that rural-urban migration in Least Developed Countries is a response to the high demand of labour by an industrial sector. The demand was further reinforced

by the expected increase in productivity and thus increased profits above what can be realised in the traditional agricultural sector.

The arguments of Lewis were developed further by Ranis and Fei (1961) who asserted that surplus labour is drawn from the traditional agricultural sector to the urban industrial sector without any economic loss to the former. Rather, the movement will serve as a bridging factor between the two economic extremes. The perspective was further expanded by Todaro (1969) and Harris and Todaro (1970). Their expansion did not change the fundamental assertion that the spatial movement of migration is from rural to urban areas and is mainly dependent on the expected urban wage. They corroborated Ranis and Fei (1961) by postulating that migration in least developed countries is dependent on the wage differentials between expected urban wage and rural agricultural wage, underlined by the probability of the migrant obtaining a job in the urban sector.

The persistence of this motivation underlying internal migration put forward by Harris and Todaro was confirmed by Yap (1977) and Williamson (1988). In their survey they found that wage differentials and expected job wages are indeed important factors underlying the decision to move. It is also expected that this explanation for the move will indeed be true only when rural dwellers rationalise the need and importance of incurring opportunity cost in acquiring the expected urban industrial wage. This assumption has earlier been put forward by Sjaastad (1962) who espoused the human investment theory which avers that the rural migrants act based on rationality of economic interest. By this he meant that people will move from the rural agricultural

sector to the modern urban industrial sector when the benefits of moving outweigh the costs.

In Ghana, the neo-classical equilibrium theory has featured in many internal migration studies (Addae-Mensah, 1985; Addo, 1971; 1981; Anarfi et al, 2000; Beals & Menezes 1970; De Graft-Johnson, 1974; Ewusi, 1977; Greenstreet, 1972; Hill, 1963; Sutton, 1983). The neo-classical economic equilibrium perspective was used considerably in explaining Ghana's internal migration, which rose considerably as a result of the increased employment opportunities (on farms) at the introduction of cocoa and the emergence of industries with its attendant higher wages (mines and ports). It is important to note that the movement was not predominantly rural-urban but also urban-rural, urban-urban or rural-rural. This was employed to explain why people move from relatively low income areas to higher ones and also from densely to sparsely populated areas which might not always be urban-rural in nature (de Haas, 2008).

While acknowledging its important contribution to the migration discourse, the neo-classical economic theory is criticised on one major front: the neglect of socio-cultural and political factors in determining migration. One major criticism is its attribution to economic factors as the main determinants of the direction of migration. This downplays the potential role of social-cultural and political factors in determining migration. In its focus on the individual as the unit of analysis, the theory takes on a micro perspective. It emphasises that the rational assessment of the economic benefits causes the individual to move. This line of analysis downplays the role of communities and larger social structures in migration decision making. It is also seen as

rigid and inflexible to accommodate the persistently diversifying and complex nature of the migration phenomenon (Stark, 1991). Studies have also shown that factors such as education and family ties can overcome the economic dimension of migration put forward by the neo-classical economic theory (Lee 1966). These criticisms gave rise to the New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM) theory.

New economics of labour migration (NELM)

In the late 1980s, the New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM) theory came about as a rebuttal to the assumptions of the neo-classical economic theory of migration by advocating the importance of social factors such as family. The NELM was primarily developed by Oded Stark (1985) and was later extended by the works of Taylor (1986) and de Haas (2008). The perspective emphasizes the prominence of household and family decisions over individual ones. The theory postulates that it is not individual decision making processes that affect the decision to migrate but rather that of the household.

To Stark and Bloom (1985), migration should be seen as a household's strategy in response to wage and income risks. The risks are usually due to the imperfections in the capitalist labour market. Due to these fluctuations the incomes on labour are not guaranteed and as such, the need arises for other strategies to augment the instability and thus stabilise incomes. Promoting the theory therefore, Taylor (1986, 1999) maintains that migration is a mechanism to overcome such imperfections. Through migration therefore, the household is able to avoid, avert, share and minimize these risk in order to improve

livelihoods and invest in productive activities. Stark and Bloom (1985) further argued that the credit and risk markets are often unavailable and as such members of the weaker groups (those who do not have access to credit) tend to migrate to areas where they have access.

To the proponents of NELM, remittances play a crucial role in migration. The prospect of remittances becomes a form of 'insurance' to compensate the risks that household will bear if members decide to migrate. Thus, in a form of contractual agreement to support members' migration, remittance becomes the reward (Stark, 1991). Based on this theory, Solimano (2003) argues that migration is a risk averting strategy with remittances playing the role of an insurance claim. This is based on the fundamental tenet of the NELM that migration is not an individual's income maximisation mechanism but that of the households or family units.

The NELM, holding on strongly to the economic motivation of the neo-classical approach, opines three fundamental principles in understanding and explaining the migration phenomenon; 1) migration should be seen as a risk aversion mechanism, 2) an income maximization strategy, and 3) a strategy to deal with the constraints imposed by market imperfections. Generally, to the NELM, the migrant seeks to diversify, secure and improve the livelihoods of rural households (de Haan, 2000).

The strength that the theory brings to this study lies in the premium placed on the household's strong influence in migration decision making. It presents a more plausible explanation to migration with regard to the sole economic motivation presented by the neo-classical approach. The new economics of labour migration goes further to include socio-cultural factors

(family, economic circumstances, availability of employment opportunities), environment factors (viability of the ecosystem, especially those who involve in agriculture) and gender dimensions, which are highlighted by anthropologists, sociologists and geographers in describing the causes and directions of migration.

In Africa and also in Ghana, family units continue to occupy a hegemonic position where members place premium on family values and norms. Contextually, therefore, the importance of the family in migration decision making cannot be underemphasised. Family sizes are relatively large in the Upper East and Eastern regions which are predominantly rural, so family traditions and values guide conduct (Ghana Statistical Service, 2012). As such, migration decision may be the prerogative of families. Mohammed and Apusigah (2005) observed that families in the Bongo district of the Upper East region encourage their male children to migrate to the south in search of employment and thus take care of the family back home. This is not only for the economic benefit but also a form of prestige. Those who do not travel are seen as lazy and irresponsible to their family needs (Adaawen & Owusu, 2013).

The new economics of labour migration perspective is also comparatively strong in its broad outlook by acknowledging the importance of economic and non-economic factors in realising migration motives, that is, to improve livelihoods of the migrants and families back at home. Livelihood is seen as the assets, capabilities and activities required for a means of living (de Haas, 2008; Ellis, 2000). The natural, social, human, physical, and financial assets proposed by the NELM and its associated livelihood theories as pre-

requisites for improved living could be achieved when migrants diversify their adaptation strategies. The failure of the economic strategies will not make the migration experience a failed one, as the migrants will have other non-economic strategies to fall back on. Such non-economic strategies include family networks and other social networks such as friends and associations.

In spite of the meaningful contributions of the new economics of labour migration theory, it is criticised in some areas. One of such criticisms is in the light of the fact that the theory, in trying to negotiate a move from the individualistic analysis presented by the neo-classical theorists, but failed to extend analysis to broader structures. It positions the family as a broad social structure thereby overlooking the influential role played by the state, individuals and groups in influencing social and economic relations with regard to ownership and use of factors of production (Lindley, 2006; Arango, 2004). Macroeconomic policies and tools may affect migration in such ways that the household will not have control. Stark and Bloom (1985) for instance acknowledges that 'weaker' groups or families are often the 'sending' ones mainly because credit and risk markets are unavailable to them. This is an indication that in as much as households may possess an influencing factor in migration decisions, the importance of state and regional factors cannot be underemphasised, especially in the destination areas.

The theory is also criticised for its assumptions about remittance and its potential to improve livelihood. As argued by Lindley (2006), there is no direct link between motives behind migration and actual consequences of migration. This is to say that people might migrate with the intention of remitting but however may not do so upon arriving at destination areas due to

a myriad of factors which include political and economic as well as weakening family ties (Arango, 2004). Another dimension is that even when the migrants remit, it is not necessarily invested in productive ventures which may improve the lives of the people in sending areas or places of origin. Studies have shown that migrant remittances are often spent on basic needs such as food, and other household maintenance rather than productive ventures (Islam, 1991; Adaawen & Owusu, 2013). Thus, the theory is seen as too simplistic and optimistic about migration and development of sending areas.

Apart from analysing migration in a 'cost-benefit' and the influence of family relations (see Stark & Bloom, 1985) models, the world systems theory and others of similar interests, based migration within a historical-structural analysis. The world systems theory proposed by Wallerstein (1974, 1980) mainly attributes migration to the core's penetration of the peripherals with capitalist expansionist ideas, through colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism, which created the foundation for people to move. The foundation was characterised by stronger transportation channels, ease in communication and military links as the core penetrated the peripheries. These have contributed to the weakening of people's attachments to their origins and made them prone to migration. According to the World Systems theory therefore, migration is as a result of the creation of markets based on the global economic structures. Theories based on the core-periphery analysis also faced oppositions. The criticisms, similar to those of the NELM, were established on the argument that individual motivations matter in migration.

The critiques of the macro and micro economic explanations paved way for meso analysis and later theories such as Network and Social Capital

theories (Bourdieu, 1998) which aimed at holistic explanations. These theories go beyond the more traditional explanations to focus on social ties and how these perpetuate migration. It is an attempt to explain what perpetuate migration. Massey (1990a, 1990b) and Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) in attempt to provide explanations, point to social ties and social capital expressed in migrant networks.

Social perspectives on migration

Social Capital theory

The concepts of personal and social networks for a long time have featured in migration studies. It grew out of the ideas expressed in the seminal work of Thomas and Znaniecki (1918-1920), the *Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, and later utilised by MacDonald and MacDonald (1964) in their work on chain migration from Italy to the ‘*little Italies*’ (suburbs populated by Italians) in American cities. Thomas and Znaniecki found that as the Polish settled in other European countries, they maintained some forms of interconnectedness with their origin communities by sending letters and money. Migration networks, referred to as “*sets of interpersonal relations that link migrants or returned migrants with relatives, friends or fellow countrymen at home*” (Arango, 2004:9) is seen as a form of social capital to the migrants (Massey et al. 1987).

Social Capital was first introduced in 1977 by Glenn Loury in his ‘dynamic theory of racial income differences’. In its original usage the term meant ‘*a set of intangible resources in families and communities that helped promote social development...*’ (Massey et al, 2005:42). The term was then

picked up and extended in the works of Putnam (1995) and Bourdieu (1998). The authors applied it to the larger society. In Bourdieu's definition, social capital is 'the sum of resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition' (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:119). In a similar vein, Putnam refers to social capital as the 'features of social organization such as trust, norms, and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions' (Castles & Davidson, 2000).

The ideas of social capital by Bourdieu and Putnam continue to feature in migration studies (Massey et al, 1993; Arango, 2004; Massey & Aysa, 2005; Awumbila et al, 2016). These ideas were further propagated by Massey et al. (1993) in the migration network theory. Massey et al. (1993; 2005:42) explained migrant networks as 'sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through bonds of kinship, friendship and same community origin'. To Massey et al (1993), network connection is a form of social capital, other than human capital such as education, skill and experience. The interpersonal ties presented by the authors is seen as a form of 'migration chains' (MacDonald & MacDonald (1964), 'auspices' of migration (Tilly & Brown, 1967) and or a form of economic 'migration capital' (Taylor, 1986).

In Massey's (2005) consideration of migration networks as a social capital, he regarded it as an important factor in the migration decision making process. The presence of migrant networks enables and inspires migration and makes the migration process less selective. This is in the light that it has an

inherent tendency to reduce costs and risks of migration. Research shows that people who have migrant friends and relatives have a higher tendency to migrate vis-à-vis those who do not (Massey & Aysa 2005). Also the potential migrants are inclined to migrate to areas where they know some successful migrants.

For Arango (2004), migration networks will be a form of social capital if they facilitate access to goods of economic significance such as employment. This is position reinforced by Lyons and Snoxell (2005) in the assertion that social capital is becoming increasingly important to secure a livelihood. This is especially true when the people are involved in petty trade and other forms of employment in the informal sector. These features characterise rural migrants in urban centres. Therefore, it is expected that the rural migrant will acquire or maintain some form of social capital to facilitate the survival in the destination areas.

Lopez et al. (2001) acknowledge migrant associations as a formal or model form of social networks. These associations go beyond familial and cultural fraternisation to provide services of economic value to members. This is in the light that the associations possess social capital resources that 'can be converted into other resources' (Bourdieu, 1986), to help find jobs, housing and provide other welfare services. Migrant associations, considered as voluntary associations in Putnam's approach, create consensus and economic welfare on the condition that the group's interests are fostered (Siisiäinen, 2000).

The social capital and its associate network theories have been criticised for a number of reasons. The theories are criticised for failing to

explain the wider structural factors which lead to migration. They fail to explain the external factors and the internal processes that may counteract the tendencies that lead to increasing migration through networks. In the assertion of Böcker (1994) and de Haas (2003), it is not always the case that settled migrants will be friendly towards prospective migrants. Some may act as restrictive gatekeepers by discouraging prospective migrants from coming to the destination area. The networks may consciously keep a section of the prospective migrants uninformed and also keep new migrants out. Portes and Landolt (1996) confirm this as they posit that networks may not be sociable to all migrants. In Putnam's analysis social network is the third element in which the elements of trust and norms operate. Thus, conflicts and contentions in the migrant network may displace trust and norms. Hence, social capital will cease to exist.

The theory is however relevant in the context of this study. As the focus of the study is migrant associations, the perspective does not only provide conceptual explanations but also is an important tool in analysing migration decision, economic benefits, and in the broader sense any other social resource that can be converted to other resources to facilitate the survival of migrants and extendedly their families back home. It is also strong in explaining the continuance of the process of migration and further gives explanation to the integration processes of the migrants, which is a part of the focus of this study. Contentions are highly probable in every group, and their occurrence may displace trust and adherence to norms as prescribed by the group. Even in occurrence of such strives the group is sustained by other

shared benefits. The Social Exchange theory is introduced to analyse these benefits other than social capital.

Social exchange theory

The social exchange theory began from the 1920s in the fields of sociology, anthropology and psychology. It further evolved from Thorndike's (1932) work on the development of reinforcement theory and Mill's ([1923] 1987) marginal utility theory. Their ideas were later influenced and expanded by the works of sociologists such as Homans (1958; 1961), Thibaut and Kelley (1959), Blau (1964a), and Emerson (1972a, 1972b). The works ranged from economics and psychology to group dynamics to arrive at the present understanding of the exchange theory. The theory focuses on the rational assessment of self-interest in human social relationships. Simply put, the theory is seen as providing an economic metaphor to social relationships. Fundamentally, the theory opines that in social situations, people will choose behaviours that maximize their likelihood of meeting self-interests. In the words of Blau (1964a) social exchange is *'limited to actions that are contingent on rewarding reaction from others'* (in Emerson, 1976). The theory does not focus only on material value but also symbolic value such as approval, care, respect, loyalty and prestige.

The theory comprises five central elements. The availability of these elements will ensure a successful decision making process of the individual. 1) Behaviour is based on rationality, 2) relationship is based on reciprocity, 3) social exchange is based on a justice principle, 4) individuals seek to maximise their gains and minimise their costs, and 5) a sense of mutual benefit

encourages social relationship rather than coercion. The theory is used both in micro and macro sociological analyses.

Simply put, following the tenets of the social exchange theory therefore, migrants will join or continue to socialise and be active in migrants' associations if they assume some benefits from the group. This is particularly so in the case of prospective and new migrants. New migrants are likely to be more committed members of migrant associations than established ones. Established or settled migrants may downplay the need for the services that the associations offer and their interests in participation may dwindle with time. This is so in the social exchange perspective in accordance to its marginal utility principle (rationality principle) that informs the continuance of a particular social relationship. This principle emphasises that the value of a reward for an action becomes less valuable when the reward is continually placed at the disposal of the receiving actor. This is a theoretical foundation for Orozco and Rouse's (2007) observation that new migrants usually form a chunk of migrant associations' membership. It can therefore be argued that the new migrants deem the rewards they may receive for participating in the migrant associations more valuable than settled migrants.

In the context of this study, the social exchange theory is employed to examine and understand the individual migrant's motivation in identifying with a particular migrant association. For instance, do the activities of the associations and the perceived benefits have some form of economic and non-economic value for the decision maker? This line of analysis is adopted based on the strengths and weaknesses presented by the theory. In as much as the

theory offers a plausible frame of analysis, especially in this study, its numerous criticisms and controversies cannot be underemphasised.

The social exchange theory is criticised for its focus on placing an economic metaphor on non-economic or social behaviours and relationships. At a point where a particular social behaviour cannot be quantified economically, its motivations to that action then fall outside the arm-reach of the social exchange theory. It is argued that human relationships and interactions are too complex to reduce to mathematical linear equations. There are relationships from which one might not benefit, but still perpetuate.

The preceding discussion shows that a study on perpetuation of migration, adaptation and integration of migrants in their host societies is more suitably analysed through a social perspective such as the network and exchange theories. However important inferences are made from the traditional classical theories.

Review of Empirical Research

In the beginning of this chapter, an attempt has been made to provide a clear picture what migrants' associations are and how the concept is operationalized for the purpose of this study. This was followed by a perusal of theories and drawing a theoretical perspective for the study. This section reviews empirical studies to further give a clearer picture of migrants' associations in extant research by focusing on research trajectories, main characteristics, formation and organisations.

Trajectories of Research on Migrants' Associations

Migrants' associations are not new phenomenon in national and international migration. In fact, studies on them abound in literature (Silva, 2006; Beauchemin & Schoumaker, 2009). Literature points to its existence as far back as the 1880s with Jewish immigrants in New York (Helman, 2006; Soyer, 1997; Klinger, 1992). The increase of such associations is positively correlated with increase in migration levels, even though there is no comprehensive knowledge on how many are in existence. Literature points to high numbers in North America and mainly formed by migrants from Latin American countries. A sample of 25 US states showed that such associations increased from 441 to 623 in just five years; 1998-2003. While estimates point to about 600–3000 Mexican migrants' associations, there were about 200 Ghanaian migrants' associations in the USA (Rivera-Salgado, Bada & Escalera-Rabadán, 2005). The existence of such associations was also known to be in Europe, Central America, Africa, Asia and South America (Somerville, Durana, & Terrazas, 2008). The dominance by Latin and Central American associations in North America and Europe started loosening with the emergence of African diaspora associations, even though the former is still quite dominant.

The Mexican associations were found to be focused on offering support systems for members such as loans, healthcare, reducing costs of deportation, battling social and job discriminations and even repatriating the remains of dead immigrants. These aims were shaped by political and economic events such as Structural Adjustment in home countries moves against migration policies such as the 1994 referendum, Proposition 187, that

sought to restrict migrants access to public service in the USA (Rivera-Salgado, Bada & Escala-Rabadán, 2005), the willingness of government to make the associations intermediaries and offer support systems to achieve aims of providing for the origins. Indeed, there were other such supports by international and bilateral organisations such as IFAD, MIF, IDB, USAID, OXFAM NOVIB and PADF. The focus of research in this era was mainly on how these associations can promote development through remittances and skilled return migrants (Portes, Escobar, & Radford, 2005; López, Escala-Rabadan & Hinojosa-Ojeda, 2001), even though this estimation is often difficult as real impact is problematic (Somerville, Durana, & Terrazas, 2008).

Research also focused on how the associations perform roles of immigrant integration. This mainly bordered on assisting new members to cope with destination environments, initiation into active citizenship especially for illiterates and the low-skilled and sharpening their skill. However, research on integration functions of the groups have been on the lower scale (Somerville, Durana, & Terrazas, 2008). The research interests were highly shaped by the socio-economic and political orientation in that particular time. This was propagated by academic circulars and periodicals which were mainly international ones. African researchers also towed the lines.

However, associations on the Africa continent were not the interest of researchers in that era – the 1990s and early 2000s. Even though there is insignificant number of published works on African migrants' associations in the international spaces, there are a few 'local' ones. It is important to mention that the few 'local' associations that were studied were regarded as '*voluntary*

group’ rather than denoting them with terms such as ‘diaspora’, ‘transnational’ and ‘hometown’ associations utilised in the international literature. The studies on such voluntary associations sought to investigate the impact of the groups/associations on urbanism (see Mande, 1996; Little, 1965; Acquah, 1958; Busia, 1950). To Acquah (1958), the associations serve as fellowship platforms for the migrants and avenues for finding jobs. Little (1965) furthered that they maintain and strengthen ethnic identities as well as loyalty to the places of origin. The studies showed that the associations existed in colonial times and have become widespread in the post-independence period. Evidence also exists in the study on Yoruba migrants in Nigeria edited by Honey and Okafor (1998), where the associations were initially formed by the indigenes and later used as a tool by the colonial powers to enhance their rule. They did this by encouraging and aligning with the purposes and activities of the group in order for the former to gain credibility and also rule through the leadership of the migrants’ associations.

Similarly, on the African continent, Burkina Faso experienced the nascent associations after the World War II (Skinner, 1974). They were primarily formed purposely for political purposes by political activists who later lost interest when they gained political power. This period was followed by droughts in Burkina Faso which presented a difficult situation of impoverishment and need. Based on this Mande (1996) concluded that the conditions changed the focus of the groups from providing cultural and adaptation needs in host communities, to contributing to local development, especially of origin areas.

Of course, the ‘international’ tag did not favour intra-country or internal migrants’ associations, mainly because they were internal. They did not also fall within the policymakers’ descriptions given to the Latin and Central American groups, as diaspora organisations (Somerville, Durana, & Terrazas, 2008). Even in the absence of such descriptions, recent research on similar phenomena has come up under the names of ‘hometown development’ associations. One of such studies is Obeng’s (2010) unpublished thesis on the Oboman Kuo, an umbrella association for the Obo migrants in Accra and Tema. He identified that the association provided a platform to unite members from the Obo area to deal with the culture of individualism, which is peculiar to most urban dwellers. Another example is seen in Tonah’s (2005) study of the Bantari which is a Fulani ethnic association in the northern part of Ghana. The Bantari offered help to members in settling in communities and a source of livelihood in provision of jobs (Tonah, 2005).

These studies are still not enough and there is a need for studies to fill the gap. This can begin with a survey on the numbers of migrants’ associations available in Ghana. Why are they even important now? Literature documents that the associations play significant roles (such as providing information to prospective migrants, adaptation needs and support in times of need) in the urban centre, the main destination of migrants (Antwi Boasiakoh, 2010; Adaawen & Owusu, 2013). The associations are further reviewed in the following sections by providing empirical literature on their development stages, memberships, aims and objectives, impacts and challenges.

Characteristics of Migrants' Associations

Development Stages

Migrants usually create some forms of social networks in their processes of settling in their host communities (Lopez et al, 2001:10; Gómez-Mestres, Molina & Hoeskma, 2012). Studies show that these associations often start as informal networks. These networks are based on kinship relationships and common identity, usually stemming from a common place of origin (Fox & Bada, 2008). The informal networks that migrants form or join may give rise to more formalised migrants' associations (Lopez, et al, 2001). These groups or associations are usually characterised by formal rules and regulations, explicit or implied expectations, and sense of belonging and a representation of the migrant community as well as allegiance to the place of origin. In another light, these associations may evolve as a result of request from authorities at the place of origin to represent the migrant community (Zabin & Escala, 1998). An example is seen in the formation of political party wings in migrant communities and the creation of shanty towns. Literature shows that the informal networks that these migrants create usually start as groups to preserve and transmit cultural heritage and reduce alienation by creating some form of a sub-culture within the dominant culture of the host community (Sardinha, 2009).

Furthermore, it is evident that the primary functions of these associations change with time. As the informal networks and groups give way to more formal ones, their functions which were mainly cultural preservation and transmission, often transform to ones concerned with community development needs. This may cause structural changes in the association in

terms of organisation, goals, objectives and thus activities. To Lopez et al (2001), 'the once-predominantly associative pre-occupation (directed towards the preservation of cultural uniqueness and inward-looking tendencies in relation to community's interests) gives way to shared goals targeted at an increased dialogue and exchanges with the host society on issues of community integration'. In essence, the isolated cultural conservative nature of the associations transforms into active participation in mediating between members and the host community, and as such aid the integration of these members into the socio-cultural spaces of the host community (Khalaf & Alkkobaisi, 1999).

This is further corroborated by Portes, Escobar, & Radford (2005). They assert that migrant associations are presently perceived as actors, seemingly taking the stead of governments in ensuring development, especially in places of origin. Evidence alludes that the associations interact with state institutions especially in the flow of remittances, knowledge and political ideas, in shaping the politico- and socio-economic states of the places of origin (Faist, 2008).

It is important to note that migrants' associations, in whichever form presented, are not homogenous in organisation, goals and objectives. The definitions of the purpose of formation, the functions they seek to perform and how their activities are organised are highly dependent on the environment in which they are located. The social, cultural and/or political environmental challenges presented by the host community in the integration and survival of the migrants often play a major part in shaping the objectives and goals of the associations (Owusu, 2000). In this light therefore, the associations largely

emerge as complementary and sometimes alternative tools to provide its members and sometimes the larger host community with what existing formal institutions have failed to provide.

As presented by Sardinha (2005), some of these associations may also be 'elite' in nature, made up of well-established migrants who seek to assist new and especially those with low level of education and professional qualifications to integrate into the host community. Migrants with low level of education and professional qualifications are usually marginalised socially, culturally and economically in the host society and thus may want to align themselves to these associations (Sardinha, 2005). Sardinha further intimates that the associations are usually found in the peripheral and or side-lined shanty housing neighbourhoods or in re-housing project neighbourhoods where the people they represent are largely found.

In conclusion, area of origin, the informal nature, voluntary structure and intermittent relationship with the places of origin are therefore the overarching defining characteristics of the migrant associations (Orozco, 2000). This is complemented by their quest to improve the development situation in their places of origin.

Membership of Migrants' Associations

The discussion so far has thrown light on what migrants' associations are and their major identifying characteristics. This section provides empirical understanding regarding who members are and their rationale for joining or forming such associations. Migrant associations are primarily formed by migrants in their host communities. Most often, members are usually

connected by a common origin and or ethnicity (Beauchemin & Schoumaker, 2009). As stated by Okamura (1983), membership in the associations is based on hometown or common origin, either a town or province. Examples are seen in Ghanaian migrants' associations in Toronto, Canada, as studied by Owusu (2000), Ghanaian groups and unions in Germany (Amelina, 2007; Schmelz, 2009), Filipinos in Canada (Silva, 2006) and Nigerian associations in Ghana (Antwi Boasiakoh, 2009a; 2009b; 2010).

However, there are some exceptions to the familial and common place of origin criteria of migrants' associations' memberships. This is so in those associations where membership is based not only on migrants from a common origin but also based on interests (Graves & Graves, 1974). Some of the associations might also open membership to those who sympathise with their goals and objectives as well as those who contribute in cash or kind to their cause. In other cases, spouses of members who are not from the same local origin may also be members.

Usually, gatherings by the associations are open to all. The laxity in who becomes a member of the association is often geared towards impressing non-association members to become members. It is also argued that this will make the migrants and their social gatherings acceptable in their host communities.

Due to the common bond of origin and sometimes interests, members of migrants' associations, according to Moghaddam and Perreault (1992), generally demonstrate a sense of belonging and common identity through their membership and participation in the activities of the group. According to Orozco and Rouse (2007), new migrants are more likely to become core

members of migrants' associations. Regarding the leadership however, more established migrants are considered (Owusu, 2000). Based on interests and preferences, members of migrants' association are likely to be members of other professional and non-professional associations.

Membership sizes of migrants' associations are fairly large. Okamura (1983) estimates membership sizes between 200 to 400 persons, when he studied Filipino HTAs in Hawaii. In Germany for instance, the Hamburg-based Ghana Union had a membership of about 550 members in 2009 (Schmelz, 2009). Amelina (2007) discovered 33 migrants' associations in Germany with a total membership of about two thousand.

In Ghana, the Oboman Kuo has a membership size of about 500 members. The group is an association for migrants based in Accra and Tema who are from the Obo rural community in the Eastern region. This large membership size is attributable to the fact that it was formed to coordinate a group of smaller associations from the area (Obeng, 2010). In spite of the larger sizes it is not uncommon to find migrant associations such as the Bantari Cattle Herders which have a membership of 25, at the time of being studied (Tonah, 2005).

Reasons for the Formation of Migrants' Associations and Motivation for Joining the Associations

Migrants' associations are usually formed to cater for the needs of members (Antwi Boasiakoh, 2009; Owusu, 2000; Hirano-Nomoto, 2014). New arrivals of migrants are often more attracted to migrants' groups and associations. As asserted by Orozco and Rouse (2007), the new arrivals or

migrants in the host communities are more likely to become core members of migrant groups. What could be the reasons and what benefits are the new arrivals likely to enjoy from forming or joining one or more of such associations?

According to Orozco and Rouse (2007), people might join migrants' associations for many reasons. Among these reasons are cultural preservation and identity, family togetherness and integration into the host societies. To Mande (1996), migrants' associations were essentially geared towards providing a supportive environment for new arrivals (cited in Beauchemin & Schoumaker, 2009). A supportive environment meant helping the new arrivals to find accommodation, jobs and assisting them with soft loans (Owusu, 2000; Hirano-Nomoto, 2014). Owusu (2000) avers that migrants find it difficult to fit into or join groups that are meant for members of the host community. Thus migrants forming groups and associations on their own, which portrays their culture, will provide them with the sense of belongingness they desire and other needs (Burnet & Plamer, 1988). These primary social benefits are transformed. Migrants' associations apparently offer informal insurances, microcredit schemes, organise cultural events and sports events.

Albuquerque et al. (2000) argue that migrants' associations serve as an environment for social organisation, socialisation, communication, solidarity, exchange of information and serve as a mediator between host country and place of origin (cited in Sardinha, 2009). To Norris (1975), migrants' associations also provide familial relations and interactions for migrants to build new lives in their host communities. Twumasi-Ankrah (1995) similarly alludes that by encouraging participation in cultural activities, the associations

maintain ties to migrants' homelands. This, to him, accounts for the smooth transition and adjustment into the host communities. This importance was also affirmed by Little (1965) in his work on ethnic and tribal associations in Ghana. In a similar study by Tonah (2005) he identified that the Bantari Cattle Herders' migrants' association offered members job opportunities, conflict resolution and other needs to help the members to settle in the Wungu community in northern Ghana.

It is important to note that these associations are not homogenous and thus may provide different benefits to their members. In fact, what a particular association will provide for its members is highly dependent on what constitutes the needs of the members (Owusu, 2000). This is also echoed by Reitz (1980) who argues that the associations represent migrants' attempts to respond to their unique circumstances.

Migrants' Associations as Tool for Development

Migrants' associations are increasingly becoming partners to development. They largely serve as actors in the local development, especially of their places of origin or sending areas (Beauchemin & Schoumaker, 2009; Portes, Escobar, & Radford, 2005). Migrant associations have attracted significant attention from both non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and international organisations in the development community (Orozco & Rouse, 2007). This has taken the form of forming partnerships in order to promote local development (ibid). This is against the background that governments, especially in developing countries, are unable to provide their people with basic needs and needed facilities for local development (Beauchemin &

Schoumaker, 2009). In another vein, these governments are perceived as unable to judiciously employ resources based on the accusations of corruption, lack of political will and commitment. Thus, migrant associations are seen as credible intermediaries to ensure that development gets to the local community (Portes, Escobar, & Radford, 2005). The development community deems these associations credible because to Jacob and Lavigne Delville (1994), they appear as structured organisations and also governments are ineffective in expending funds.

In West Africa for instance, the introduction and adoption of the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) from 1983 to 1986 led to decreased government spending and state withdrawal in providing certain basic social services. This reinforced the role of migrant associations in providing these needs to ensure local development. Honey and Okafor (1998) submits that the migrant associations in Nigeria were labelled by government as community development agencies. They further aver that the associations have become 'shadow states' which take on tasks that the Nigerian state cannot perform (ibid). It is not uncommon to find that West African governments entreat international migrants' associations to invest in development, especially in the communities of origin. This is also evident in other developing countries and communities such as those in Latin America (Portes, Escobar, & Radford, 2005).

Evidence points to the fact that the migrants' associations in their contribution to development target the vulnerable populations in society (Orozco & Rouse, 2007). Based on this therefore, interest of the development community lies in the potential of such projects, especially those geared

towards education and income generation, to promote equity. Orozco and Rouse (2007) further observe that the development activities and provision of aid where government efforts have fallen short impact more lives than remittances. Since the 1970s and 1980s when development activities of the migrant associations became known, and sometimes expected, existing associations added the development-related objective whilst new ones were created on that basis to contribute to places of origin (Beauchemin and Schoumaker, 2009).

A number of countries have already benefited from the projects of migrants' associations. In Ghana for instance, some rural communities in the Greater Accra region have benefitted from poultry projects undertaken by the Ghanaian migrants in the Netherlands. The Sankofa Family Poultry Project with contribution from migrants provided start-up capital, materials and technical training for women beneficiaries. This was done for the purpose of assisting women to start their own farms and thus make them economically independent. Similar development projects were identified by Obeng (2010) in the Kwahu area. These included water projects, market construction, street lights and roads.

In Mali also, a study conducted by Chauvet, Gubert, Mercier and Mesplé-Somps (2015) which explored the impact of hometown associations on the provision of public goods found that communities targeted by the hometown associations contributed immensely towards the provision of public goods such as schools, health centres, and water. In Mexico for instance, a 2004 study by Manuel Orozco identified over forty (40) projects that Mexican hometown associations in the USA have executed in Mexico. The projects

range from education and health to construction and improvement of public infrastructure. The four communities (Zacatecas, Jalisco, Guanajuato, and Michoacán) that benefited from these projects were predominantly rural areas.

A number of studies have been done on the impact of these associations. Some have found the associations to contribute to social change (Lopez, Escala-Rabadan, & Hinojosa-Ojeda, 2001). In other studies, migrants' associations are found to partly contribute to the gap in public investment in infrastructure and social services. However, some studies show that the associations rarely engage in productive projects (Honey & Okafor, 1998; Lopez et al., 2001).

Challenges Facing Migrants' Associations

The organisation and activities of migrants' associations are not without challenges. Various studies have highlighted such obstacles. The obstacles they face range from issues of perpetuation, politics and culture to issues of economics, especially in the associations' efforts to contribute to the development of the places of origin. It includes lack of commitment and involvement, patron-clientele relationships and other social characteristics such as age, education and location.

In studying the Filipino hometown associations in the USA, Silva (2006) noted that the interest in migrants' associations may wane as older generations fade out. This poses challenges to the persistence of the associations. As migrants get involved in their host communities and have children of their own, due to the new environment (which is different from their parents' place of origin) that the children grow, they may embrace the

new culture and may lose interest and commitment in sustaining the migrants' associations. This is also due to the circumstance that the new generation may have lost physical contact with the places of origin and hence the dwindling of commitment.

Another challenge faced by the associations in their quest to augment local development may be impeded by lack of financial commitment. Silva (2006) asserts that members cannot be forced to give. The quantum that the members can give is often dependent on the location, age, education and earnings (Beauchemin & Schoumaker, 2009; Orozco & Rouse, 2007; Portes et al., 2005). This has led to the conclusion that international migrants' associations may have a greater impact than internal or local ones. This is in the light that international migrants' associations may have access to more resources in terms of personal earnings and contact with the global community in the forms of NGOs and other development corporations.

Literature also shows that there is in existence the challenge of patron-clientele relationships which may impede the functions of the migrant associations. The associations in their process of integrating into their host communities may ride on clientelism to success. However, the same relationship might impede the potential of the associations' activities in improving the lives of their members and origin societies (Beauchemin & Schoumaker, 2009; Mande, 1996). This is mainly because the associations may be inclined to the direction and wills of the patron(s) to the detriment of achieving the association's collective aim and what is considered important. In the face of these challenges, a legitimate question that is worth posing is 'are the groups threatened with extinction?' It is however worth noting that, even

though many of such groups breakdown easily, new ones are often formed (Somerville, Durana, & Terrazas, 2008). How do these issues play out in the BONABOTO and Aduamoaman associations and what keeps them together after many years after their formation? As a way of integrating the theoretical and empirical reviews, the next section focuses on the conceptual framework.

Conceptual Framework

For this study, Opiniano's (2004) framework for transnational philanthropy was adapted. To Opiniano (2002), as shown on his original model (see Figure 1), transnational links between migrants in the host and the origin or home country are created by the exchanges that take place. This was made on the assumption that migrants group themselves in the host societies in order to pool resources (tangible and intangible) together for the benefit of the origin areas. Mainly social networks serve as channels where the migrants are linked to the origin areas. Opiniano's (2004) framework (Figure 1) suggests that the origin society, through the social contacts and networks, makes appeals and also reports to the migrants on their development challenges. These requests are responded to with donations from the diaspora-based migrants to the origin country for development projects for which the appeals were made. The essential elements for this model or framework (Figure 1) are remittances and social networks. The benefits are therefore portrayed as unilateral as only the origin society receives the migrants.

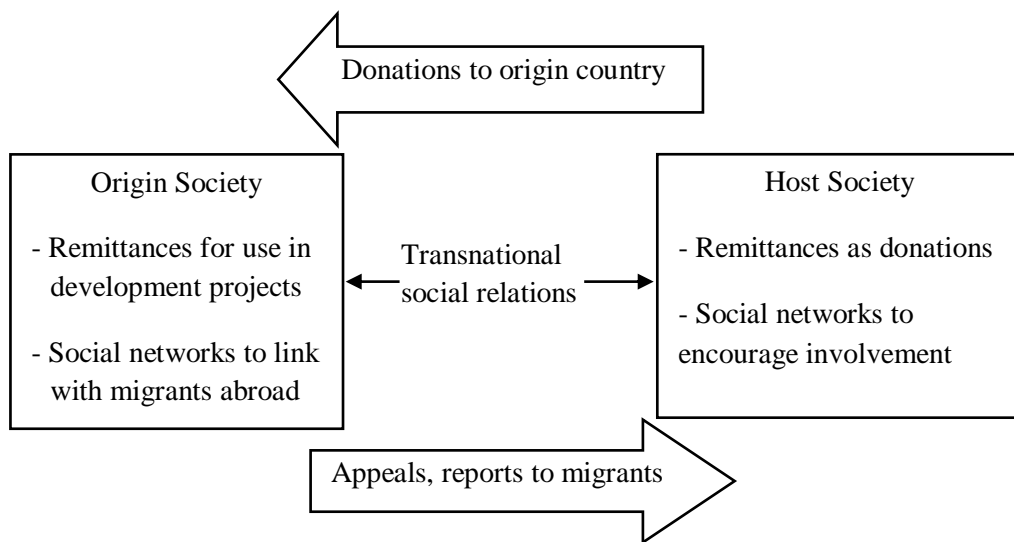


Figure 1: Migrants' Transnational Philanthropy

Source: Opiniano (2004)

The suitability of the framework (Figure 1) for this present study lies in the model's proposition that there is a relationship between migrants and their country of origin, and further, ability of the framework to link the migrants in significant ways to their origin countries. The two sides (migrants and origin countries) are significantly linked through remittances, social networks, donations and appeals and reports to the migrants.

Since the framework only presents aspects of the characteristics of migrants' associations in international migration, it needed to be adapted (Figure 2) to suit the internal migrants' association, which is the primary focus of this study. The link between migrants in the host society and the origin society transcends donations. Other resources such as technical know-how, in-kind remittances (equipment, medical consultations and establishment of business ventures) are shared through the ties and channels created. Opiniano (2004) also recognises the formation of groups. He showed this by basing the host-origin philanthropy relationship on the migrants' formation of groups in the host society. This is, however, not shown in the model.

It is also assumed by Opiniano (2004) in this model that irrespective of the characteristics of migrants' in the host society, there is some form of philanthropy to the origin through donations. Indeed, there is a link, relationship and interaction between the host and the origin society. This is, however, shaped by the background characteristics of migrants, the formation of the associations and interaction in the host society. In addition, benefits of the migrants' association to their host society also play a role. This is evidently missing from the philanthropy model. These factors were considered in adapting the model to suit this research (Figure 2).

The adapted model (Figure 2) begins by presenting the characteristics of the migrants' association (such as origin, voluntariness and informal structure), reasons for the formation and benefits gained by the membership of the associations. These characteristics influence the relationship between the associations and the origin communities. This is followed by presenting the significant ways that the relationship is expressed (see Figure 2). Mainly, the associations interact with the origin areas on four main fronts. The first is the direct contribution of the association to development projects such as schools, hospitals and libraries. Secondly the associations transfer knowledge and skills to the origin areas and also advocate for good practices in the origin areas. Lastly, the social networks built facilitate movement of people from the origin to the destination and vice versa and also expedite integration into the destination communities.

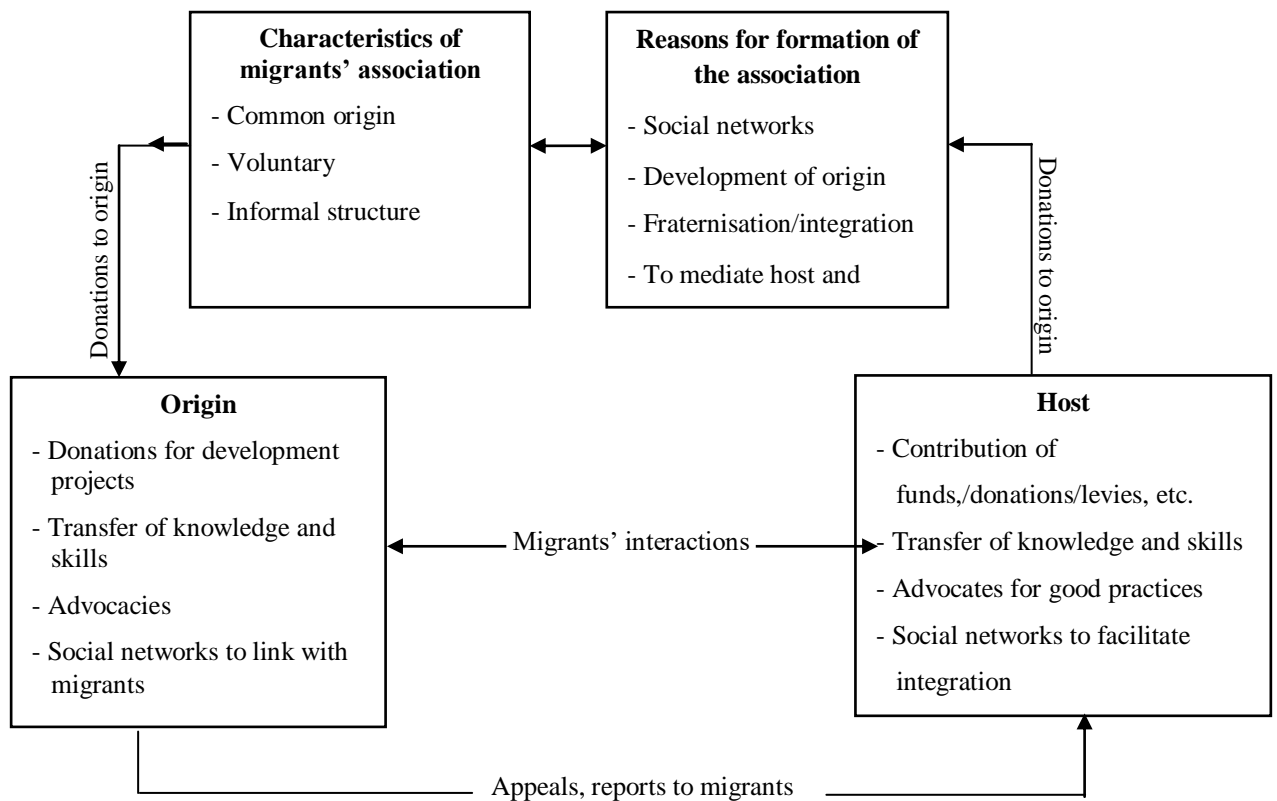


Figure 2: Migrants' Associations, origin and destination areas

Source: Adapted from Opiniano (2004)

In this chapter, the conceptual, theoretical and empirical underpinnings of the study were presented. While the associations are mainly formed around the needs of the members, they may be sustained by enabling social, cultural, political and economic environment. Generally, internal migrants' associations such as the Aduamoaman and BONABOTO and many others are inadequately represented in the Ghanaian migration narrations as more attention is given to international movements. Based on the Social Capital analysis and adaptations from the Social Exchange theory, this study is hinged on providing data on migrants' associations in Ghana. In the next chapter, the methodological framework for the study, data collection and analysis are discussed.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

Chapter two presented the conceptual, theoretical and empirical underpinnings of the study. It is important that a study on migrants' association be rooted in available literature, which shows that migrants' associations have variously been studied, mainly formed around the needs of the members and sustained by favourable social, economic, cultural and political environment. In this chapter, the profiles of the BONABOTO and Aduamoaman migrants' associations and rationale for selection are presented. This is followed by the research philosophy and design, the target population, data and sources, sampling techniques, sample size, validity and reliability of the instruments, pre-test, data collection, data handling and analysis and ethical considerations.

Profile of Study Associations

BONABOTO

Formed in the year 1991, BONABOTO is a migrants' association of citizens who hail from Bolgatanga, Bongo, Talensi and Nabdam Districts of the Upper-East Region of Ghana. The name 'BONABOTO' is an acronym taken from the first two letters of the four major towns in the above-mentioned districts, namely Bolgatanga, Nangodi, Bongo and Tongo. The group is a non-political, non-religious and development-oriented association which is premised on particularly developing the BONABOTO area and Ghana in general. The group does not support or work to promote any individual's or

group's agenda other than contributing to the socio-economic development of the four origin communities.

Geographically, the origin communities fall within the Upper East region, which is the least urbanised region in Ghana with only 21.0 percent of the population living in urban communities (Ghana Statistical Service, 2013). Within the catchment districts, Bolgatanga is the most urbanised and the regional capital. The region's main occupation is farming and is also the third (44.4% are poor) poorest in the country (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014). The region, especially its rural areas, is riddled with inadequate social infrastructure such as schools, pipe borne water and health facilities. This coupled with other factors causes a situation whereby the youth particularly out-migrate to the south to seek greener pastures.

The obvious development gap between the region and the southern parts of Ghana, on the one hand and the need to organise the citizens (especially those outside the catchment areas), on the other hand, propelled the formation of the association. Membership of the group is mainly citizens of the Bolgatanga, Bongo, Talensi and Nabdam Districts and their surrounding communities of the Upper-East Region of Ghana, who may or may not reside in the areas. People who do not hail from the catchment areas can be members if found to be well-meaning and identify with the aims and aspirations of associations. Membership can also be through marriage. The association has a membership size of about 1000 members, nationwide.

The headquarters of the association is located in Accra and the national executives are residents. The headquarters coordinate the affairs of ten branches which are located mainly in the regional and district capitals. There

are also tertiary students' branches of the association as well as diaspora branches in the USA, UK and other European countries. The association is registered with the Registrar General's Department. It has a promulgated formal constitution that guides the conduct of the members within the association. The groups meet at their branch levels once in every month. At the Accra-Tema branch, which was the focus of this study, meetings are held at the Community Youth Centre, near Nima, Accra. Once in every two years, a congress is held at Bolgatanga to deliberate on issues concerning the association.

Aduamoaman

The Aduamoaman association was formed in the early 1980's and organised around the citizens of Aduamoa-Kwahu who reside in Accra. Even though it was stabilised in the 1950s, it went through series of dissolutions and revamps, until it stabilised in the early 1980s. The name Aduamoaman *kuo* was chosen to represent the name of the town, Aduamoa-Kwahu. Its main mandate is to organise the citizens of the town who reside in the destination areas and support development. The group is also apolitical, non-religious and non-profit making.

The Aduamoa-Kwahu Township is situated in the Kwahu East District of the Eastern Region. The region is not the poorest in Ghana as its incidence of poverty is 21.7 percent, however, it is mainly agrarian. The Aduamoa-Kwahu community is also agrarian and rural in nature. The need to support the community in its development prompted the formation of the association. It

was reasoned that through the activities of the association, collective remittances will be channelled into the development of the community.

The maiden branch of the Aduamoaman association was established in Accra and that branch has remained the headquarters till now. Over the last ten years, new branches are emerging in regional and district capitals in Ghana, as well as in the diaspora. The membership is mainly through ancestry and sometimes by affiliation and marriage. The association has a membership size of about 400 members nationwide. It is not registered, however, it has laid down rules and regulations that prescribe the roles, responsibilities of members, which is known as the constitution. The group is led by chosen leaders through ‘informal’ democratic mechanisms. Aduamoaman meets once every month at the Accra Technical Training Institute in Kokomlemle, Accra.

Rationale for selecting the two Associations

Migrants’ associations are present in almost every regional capital in Ghana and are often organised in urban centres. These associations are however at different levels of formation, organisation and functionality. The degrees of these attributes were taken into consideration in the selection process. The inclusion criteria were that; 1) the association should either be of a ‘northern Ghana’ origin (the three regions in the northern part of Ghana and upper parts of the Volta) or ‘southern Ghana’ origin (Ashanti, Brong Ahafo, Eastern, Western, Central, southern parts of the Volta regions) and 2) the association should be organised (hold meetings and undertake some development activities). The dearth of literature on migrants’ associations in Ghana meant that the researcher needed to adopt an exploratory viewpoint to

gain an understanding of the phenomenon. The study utilised these two minimum conditions in order to include as many associations as possible. It is envisaged that further studies will build on this and possibly some of the findings will be the basis to research other associations.

It is noticed in the preceding paragraph that associations that may originate from the Greater Accra region were excluded. This was so because the study was conducted in the region. As such, associations that originate from the region were not considered as migrant ones and did not also fit the selection criteria of this study. The migration status of the region constitutes an important factor for the study. In terms of migration, the Greater Accra region is the most popular destination for both internal and international migrants. In the 2010 Population and Housing Census, 40.7 percent, the highest, of all internal in-migrants went to the Greater Accra region. In addition, the region recorded the lowest rate of out-migration in that same year (Ghana Statistical Service, 2013). It has been the focus of internal migration since the beginning of the last century (Anarfi et al. 2003). It was therefore preferred that both associations to be selected should be based in the city of Accra.

In the city of Accra, nine migrants' associations, including the BONABOTO and Aduamoaman, were identified, mainly through informal referral avenues such as friends and lecturers in the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Cape Coast. Among these, five had origins from northern Ghana and the remainder from southern Ghana. It is believed that there would be more of such associations in Accra, however, their informality makes them difficult to be traced. It is worth mentioning that some of the associations,

such as BONABOTO, were quite ‘popular’. All nine associations satisfied the first criterion – ‘the association should either be of a ‘northern Ghana’ origin (the three regions in the northern part of Ghana and upper parts of the Volta) or ‘southern Ghana’ origin (Ashanti, Brong Ahafo, Eastern, Western, Central, southern parts of the Volta regions). However, only two satisfied that the second criterion – ‘the association should be organised (hold meetings and undertake some development activities)’.

First of all, the Aduamoaman and BONABOTO fitted the criteria. While the Aduamoaman association is of southern origin (Eastern region), the BONABOTO was of the northern origin (Upper East). The reason for this dichotomy is to provide narratives of migrants from different socio-cultural, economic and environmental background. This will provide in-depth and diverse, as well as comparative views of what the migrants’ associations are about and how their goals are realised.

Secondly, the associations satisfied the criterion of organisation. Preliminary search and informal discussions furnished the researcher with the information that the BONABOTO and Aduamoaman are well organised, with frequent meetings and engagement in various activities. This is accentuated by the indications that they were vibrant, both within the group and in their communities.

Thirdly, upon contacting the identified groups, the BONABOTO and Aduamoaman associations were the most receptive and gave approval to participate in the study. They further gave the research assistants and the author the chance to sit in their meetings and even allocated time for us to administer the research instruments. Other than criteria of purpose, it is

undeniable that these receptions also affected the selection of the two groups. In the next section, the philosophical underpinnings of the methods to be used are presented.

Research Philosophy

A major debate in the social sciences borders on the conduct of social research. The debate focuses primarily on ontology, epistemology and methodological assumptions and practice. Ontology asks the question “what is the reality?” It focuses on the nature of reality and being, that is what exists and how it looks (Ponterotto, 2005). As defined by Grix, (2004:59) ontology is the study of “claims and assumptions that are made about the nature of social reality, claims about what exists, what it looks like, what units make it up and how these units interact with each other.” Ontology assumes that reality can be constructionist or realist. Constructionist ontology is based on the premise that reality is formed and shaped in the minds of people. The constructed reality varies from one individual to the other and from one space to another. Realist ontology, however, assumes that there is a single reality and all people in the world have the same reality. On the other hand, epistemology focuses on how we get to know what exists. Crotty (1998) puts it as a body of knowledge rooted in theoretical perspective and thereby in the methodology. It also addresses the relationship between the knower and what is known. Lastly, methodology borders on the ways of knowing what we want to know. Put differently, the processes that one goes to know what he or she knows.

Even though there are others, two major epistemological strands dominate the debate on practice of research in the social sciences. These are

interpretivist and positivist or empiricist epistemology. These major types stem from the two major ontological explanations and further inform methodology. This is to say that a particular ontology informs an epistemology and then its methodology. The interpretivist epistemology for instance stems from the constructionist ontological assumptions and also leans towards qualitative methods of research.

On the one hand, the positivist approach asserts that reality is single, tangible and objective (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The approach employs the quantitative methodology and also seeks to increase predictive understandings of phenomena. There are certain principles that guide positivism: 1) There should be the unity of scientific method, that is, the logic of inquiry is the same across all sciences, both social and natural, 2) the goal of inquiry is to explain and predict, and thereby to discover necessary and sufficient conditions for any phenomenon, 3) empiricism is upheld and as such research should develop testable knowledge, 4) the research process should be without biases, and 5) finally, science should be judged by logic and be value-free. These principles are geared towards discovering laws that govern human behaviour. Positivism basically focuses on cause and effect analyses in the attempt to discover these laws of human nature. The philosophy employs strict quantitative methods in inquiry. It is believed that quantitative methods are independent of personal experience on the parts of both the researcher and what is being researched (Gall, Gall & Borg, 2003). However, it is criticized for ignoring individual experiences and those realities that cannot be subjected to numerical observations and analyses.

The philosophical approach is criticised, especially for its strict adherence to rigid principles and processes of inquiry. It is argued that the methods of the natural scientist cannot be transplanted to the social sciences. This is argued in the light that the subject matter of the social sciences is conscious and dynamic, and hence natural science's experimental methods of inquiry are inappropriate. Based on this premise the aim of the positive philosophy to discover general laws is criticised. This is argued in the light that different individuals and settings may not be subject to the same laws of behaviour. Different conditions may cause different reactions by different people. Another criticism is in the use of quantitative methods as the way of discovering laws of behaviour. To Blaike (2010), as a result of the quest to discover laws of behaviour the quantitative methods overly objectify the human consciousness, which is a dynamic phenomenon, into numerical quantities.

Based on these criticisms of the positivist approach the second strand of the discourse of the social science inquiry process evolved. The interpretivist philosophy assumes that there are multiple realities. Based on the constructivist ontology, interpretivism assumes reality is created and shaped in the minds of people. Simply, the multiple realities mean that, what constitutes truth or reality to one individual may not be to others and also what is true and acceptable in one setting and space might be untrue and unacceptable in the others. The realities can only be assessed through shared meanings and interpretation given by people. The philosophy employs the qualitative research methodology and seeks to provide deep and insightful understanding of phenomena. The philosophy is strong in giving different points of view of a

phenomenon and makes the individual an active agent in the research (Creswell, 2003).

However, it is difficult to identify the right or wrong answer when a research adopts the interpretivist philosophy. This means that it is difficult to achieve consensus in responses. Also, anything could be just claimed without any validation of data or scientific approach. People might give their varied views and these views could be without empirical validation. In addition, qualitative methods are regarded as value-laden, context-rich and narrative-filled, thereby reducing generalizability.

With regard to data collection methods, the positivist philosophy utilises quantitative instruments such as tests or surveys to collect data, and reliance on probability theory to test statistical hypotheses that correspond to research questions of interest. Quantitative methods are frequently described as deductive in nature, in the sense that inferences from tests of statistical hypotheses lead to general inferences about characteristics of a population. Integral to this approach is the expectation that a researcher will set aside his or her experiences, perceptions, and biases to ensure objectivity in the conduct of the study and the conclusions that are drawn. This to the positivist will maximise objectivity, replicability and generalizability. On the other hand, interpretivist philosophy uses qualitative data collection methods which aid in the discovery and understanding the experiences, perspectives and thoughts of participants. Qualitative methods explore meaning, purpose or reality (Hiatt, 1986). Instruments used include case studies, ethnographic work and interview. Usually, these instruments are used in a naturalistic setting with few boundaries which results in a flexible and open research process.

In the light of the criticisms, of both the positivism and interpretivism, a third strand emerged known as mixed methods. It is a mixed methodology and thus combines both quantitative and qualitative methods. The mixed methodology is based on the principles of pragmatism. Pragmatism is of the view that what is true is what works. Qualitative or quantitative methods will not be appropriate for all research topics and even parts of the same study.

This study seeks to describe and explain the phenomenon of migrants' associations focusing on its motivations, dimensions, organisation, endurance and impacts on members, host and sending areas. In order to achieve these objectives, the study cannot be rooted in one method of research. Aspects such as eliciting the motivations for the migration and joining the migrant associations, and the impacts on sending areas could be done using quantitative methods. However, aspects such as the decision making processes are better understood using qualitative methods. This is because qualitative methods allow the respondent, in a naturalistic setting to narrate his or her experience without restrictions. Decision making processes are usually not systematic and universal and thus, may be different from one migrant to another. Allowing each respondent to narrate her or his situation will allow for a more detailed and unique version of each narrative. As stated by Hiatt (1986), qualitative methods will allow for discovering and understanding the experiences, thoughts, meaning and purpose of the respondents' situation. It also captures the social context of the respondents' lives. In addition, the study will be able to gain information where little is known (Dickson-Swift et al 2007). This is in the light that little is known about internal migrant associations in Ghana.

Therefore, a mixed method, of both quantitative and qualitative research approaches, thus allows the possibility of reducing the limitations and biases in both methods and thus, provides a holistic way of studying the phenomenon in question (Greene, Caracelli & Graham, 1989; Hammond, 2005). This is the methodological approach adopted in this study. Mixed methods of research are flexible and allow the researcher to expand the focus of a study and go further into the data to understand the meanings attached to them (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2012). Thus, the research is able to go beyond the restraints posed if an individual methodology was employed. In the end, a mixed method research provides a stronger conclusion through corroboration and convergence of research findings (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). Even though the mixed method seems a better option in comparison to choosing an individual methodology, it may not fit all research problems.

Study Population

Broadly, the researcher has a focus on internal migrant associations in Ghana. For the purpose of this study, three main categories constituted the target population. The categories were 1) the BONABOTO and Aduamoaman migrants' associations in the Accra and Tema metropolises, 2) beneficiaries (individuals, institutions and communities) of the associations, who may be within or outside the destination area, and 3) opinion leaders, who may be members and non-members of the associations. The study targeted association members in executive positions and ordinary members. The study gave priority to those members who were at least 18 years old and not less than five years in the association. This follows the assumption that individuals who are

18 years and above are able to express themselves, understand the issues of migration and the associations.

‘Beneficiaries’ represented the second category of the population. The ‘beneficiaries’, referred to individuals or organisations or communities that may have benefited from the activities of the migrant associations. The beneficiaries may be within the host region of the associations, in the sending areas/origin communities and/or in other parts of the country. This category was considered important because the researcher believed that their story would add on to the information elicited from the other categories. The last category of opinion leaders included people such as Assemblymen and women, District Co-ordinating Directors (DCDs), Chiefs/Queen mothers or women leaders. This category is selected from the host and origin communities of the migrant associations.

Data and Sources

The study made use of two main data sources; primary and secondary. Primary data was obtained from the field – from the members of the associations, key informants/opinion leaders and the beneficiaries – through in-depth interviews, structured interviews and focus group discussions. The secondary data sources included the periodic reports, minutes of meetings and constitutions or bye-laws of the migrants’ associations. Other secondary sources included national data such as the population and housing censuses, policy documents, related publications and other research works.

Sampling Procedure and Sample Size

Often, it is impractical to consider a whole population in a study due to limitations such as unavailability of all subjects, cost and time. Therefore, the convention is that a sizeable number is sampled to determine truths about that population (Neuman, 2011). In this study, three main non-probability sampling techniques were employed, namely, purposive, convenient and snowball techniques. These were applied as a form of triangulation.

The purposive sampling technique is where the researcher hand-picks subjects on the basis of specific characteristics that the researcher knows about the group as well as the purpose of the study (Palys, 2012). The associations were purposively selected based on the criteria. Using the same technique within the associations, the leaders were also selected. Leaders here refers to members of the associations who are also in the executive committee or board namely; President/chairman, Vice president/vice chairman, Secretary, treasurer, organising secretary, welfare chair (as applicable), assistant secretary and financial secretary. This was done so that the leaders could respond to a different set of questions, in order to address specific aspects of the objectives. A total of 14 leaders were selected for this category; six for Aduamoaman and eight for BONABOTO. It is important to mention that the availability of the respondents and willingness to participate played a major role.

The other category of respondents was ‘ordinary members’ – members of the association who are not in the executive committee or boards of the associations. In selecting respondents in this category, the researcher relied on their attendance to meetings. As many as attended the associations’ meetings

within the period for the data collection were approached and upon acceptance were recruited for the study. This method of selecting respondents is what Babbie (2007) refers to as convenient sampling and Walter (2010) calls opportunity sampling. This is where the researcher relies on the available selection units. By using the convenient or opportunity sampling approach, a total of 120 respondents were recruited and questionnaires were administered and same number recovered from the 'ordinary members' of the associations. To fulfil the second part of the triangulation, other key informant (the association leaders, opinion leaders and beneficiaries) interviews and discussions were conducted.

The opinion leaders or key informants for the study were also purposively selected. The key informants were mainly selected in the origin communities. These included Assemblymen and women, District Chief Executive Officers (DCEs) and Chiefs. This category was for the purposes of eliciting unbiased and independent opinions about the associations, their activities, impacts on the origin and relationship with non-members. A total of 19 opinion leaders were interviewed in depth; three in Aduamoa-Kwahu and 16 in the four BONABOTO areas of the Upper East region.

Lastly, it is evident that the associations often seek to improve the lives of people, especially in the origin communities. This made it imperative to include the section of the populace, institutions and communities that might have benefited from activities of the migrants' associations. The fourth category was beneficiaries – individual, institution or community. They could not have been known without the referrals of the members of the associations. As a form of purposive sampling method, the members, especially the leaders,

were asked to refer the researcher to anyone who is or has ever been a beneficiary of the activities of the group. The respondents were guided to make referrals of such beneficiaries, especially those outside the group at the destination or origin. The groups provided scant information on the number of beneficiaries who have benefited from their activities and as such the researcher could not obtain a sampling frame.

The beneficiaries were divided into individuals; institutions and the communities. By the end of the field work, a total number of 19 varied beneficiaries were included in the study. In the end, a total number of 120 respondents were selected for the survey and 52 key informant interviews and discussions conducted (Table 1).

It is important to mention that in selecting the samples, the various techniques were not employed in isolation but were used in complementary manner to recruit the right respondents for the study. Indeed, the combination of the methods and data types that they generated were a form of triangulation in order to increase the credibility of the findings.

Table 1: Sampling Procedures

Category	Approach	BONABOTO	Aduamoaman	Total
	Survey			
Ordinary members	Convenient	80	40	120*
	Key Informants			
Leaders of the association	Purposive	8	6	
Individuals	Purposive	3	0	
Beneficiaries	Communities	6	6	
	Institutions	2	2	
Opinion leaders	Purposive	16	3	
Total		35	17	52*

*Note: * are horizontal summations.*

Source: Fieldwork, 2016

Instruments

In-depth interview guides

Interviews are managed or directed verbal exchange. The efficacy of interviews has been argued to depend on the communicative skills of the interviewer, to a larger extent, and the setting, to a lesser extent (Lewis, 2003). The ability to stimulate trust and confidence from the respondent is also important. In the interviewing process, the researcher guides the interviewee in sharing his or her experience and knowledge. The questionings were based on guides appropriate for that particular respondent. The interview as a data collection method was appropriate for this study because of its depth and ability to capture information in detail. By the use of this method, the researcher was able to capture detailed and personal narration of the respondents on why, when and how the groups were formed, impacts of members and origin communities, relationship with non-members and the experience or perceived challenges.

Another reason for its appropriateness lies in the fact that it is flexible and permits the interviewer to ask same or similar questions differently in order to make sure that the participant actually understood the question well. In the interview process, the researcher is able to ask follow-up question which often depended on the responses given. The interview method also allowed the respondents to speak in languages that they were comfortable with. This further stimulated openness, an important factor in collecting qualitative data.

It is important to mention that the literacy level, availability and even time allowed, often by the respondent, impacted on how the interviews and

discussion were conducted. For instance, when a couple of the respondents were ready to give only thirty minutes of their time to the researcher, the interview was managed with that time. Indeed, this has an impact on the quantity as well as quality of information collected.

Four in-depth interview guides targeted at three different categories of respondents were used in this study. The categories were leaders or executive members of the associations, key informants or opinion leaders, individual beneficiaries and heads/key members of beneficiary institutions. The first guide was used to acquire information from the leaders of the two migrants' associations. Organised into six main sections, the guide concentrated on the formation histories and organisation of the associations, their relationship with non-members, impacts to origin communities, challenges and prospects. Section one inquired about the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents which included, age, hometown, occupation, marital status, number of children and highest level of education. Section two concentrated on the formation histories, aims, methods of governance and status of the associations and their members. Section three asked questions about membership sizes, qualification for members and leadership and decision making. This was followed by section four which probed into the nature and activities of the migrants' associations. Sections five and six focused on benefits of the associations to members, destination and origin, and challenges respectively.

The second interview guide was used to guide the interviews of the opinion leaders. It was organised in four main sections. While section one sought to find out socio-demographic information, sections two and three

inquired about the knowledge about the association and the benefits of the association to members and communities respectively. Section four focused on the challenges and prospects. Similar to the opinion leaders interview guide, the individual one also had four main sections. The main difference was that, while the former's third section generally explored impacts on the communities and members, the third section of the latter specifically probed the benefits the individual beneficiary has received, its nature, processes and importance.

The third in-depth interview guide was used to elicit information from individual beneficiaries. The guide was also divided into four main sections. Section one focused on eliciting socio-demographic information from the participants. Section two sought their knowledge about the association, while the third and fourth sections centred on their benefits gained from the association and the known challenges of the association.

The fourth guide solicited information from heads/key members of beneficiary institutions. Akin to the beneficiary individual's interview guide, the guide for institutions' also had four main sections. Sections one and two inquired socio-demographic information and knowledge about the associations respectively. Section three focused on the contributions made to the respondents' institutions and explored their knowledge on other such activities of the association. The section four led to the discussion on the challenges of the association in the community and sought the respondents' knowledge on how to deal with them. The guides were strictly based on the objectives of the study.

Focus group discussion (FGD) guide

Another method of data collection used in this study was the Focus Group Discussion (FGD). The FGD is a form of group interviewing based on structured, semi-structured or unstructured interview guides (Boateng, 2012). It offers the opportunity to interview several respondents systematically and simultaneously (Babbie, 2011). As an unstructured method that allows the participants to freely share their ideas in a discursive manner in a small group of about six to ten people (Rosalind & Holland, 2013), a large amount of quality information can be elicited. This is, however, dependent on the level of willingness, cooperation and even the skills of the interviewer. The responses of the participants could also be influenced by groupthink. Boateng (2012) explains groupthink to mean *“the manner of thoughts that happens when the desire for harmony in a decision-making group overshadows a pragmatic appraisal of alternatives”* (p.55). This effect was minimised as much as possible as the moderator was armed with the knowledge of its possible occurrence and as such, certain responses were elicited directly from the participants. This was followed with informal one-on-one discussions.

The FGD guide was specifically designed to collect data from the community members at the places of origin. The choice of location was guided by availability of respondents and indications of the possession of knowledge about the groups. Based on this, two group discussions were conducted; one in Bolgatanga and the other in Aduamoa-Kwahu. The FGD guide was made up of three main sections excluding the usual ice-breaker and introductions. The first section directed the discussion to the participants' knowledge about the association. The second and third explored the impacts of

the association on the community and the challenges and prospects of the association, respectively.

Structured interview schedule/questionnaire

The last of the data collection instruments was the structured interview schedule. It contained seven main sections. Section one was dedicated to socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents while the second focused on the motivations for migrating to the destination areas. The third, fourth and fifth sections asked questions of motivation for joining the association, membership and leadership characteristics and the activities of the associations, respectively. The last two sections inquired about the benefits of being members and the challenges and proposed solutions.

The questions under these categories were geared towards ultimately providing information on what motivates the members for joining the associations and participating in the association's activities. Furthermore, data on the membership dynamics, leadership and decision making, contributions and benefits were sought from the members.

The overlapping use of the instruments was a triangulation method to improve reliability and validity, and also served complimentary purpose to each other. These instruments or data collection tools have the ability to capture the social context of the respondents and flexible to explore and understand the respondents from their points of view. The data collection methods, instruments and sample of respondents are summarised in Table 2.

Training of Research Assistants and Pre-testing of Instruments

Four research assistants were recruited for the data collection process. The research assistants were graduate students of the University of Cape Coast and as such had some experience with research and data collection. They were recruited mainly to assist with data collection in the city of Accra (during the associations' meetings). Before the data collection, the assistants were taken through a two-sectioned training which consisted of explaining the research objectives, purpose and instruments, and role plays.

The instruments were pre-tested with the aim of identifying loopholes and possible concerns and thereby addressing them before the actual fieldwork. The pre-test took place on 19th June, 2016, in Accra. Three members of the Ewe ethnic migrants' group which met at the Nima Social Centre were selected for the pre-testing of the instruments – In-depth interview guide and questionnaire were tested on the day. The responses were analysed and necessary corrections made before the next meeting. Pre-testing is one of the steps taken to ensure the validity and reliability of the research tools. Other ways through which validity and reliability were ensured are explained in the next section.

Validity and Reliability of Instruments

The adherence to validity and reliability in research practice is important. It is often hailed in the practice of quantitative research while some qualitative researchers have criticised them (Onwuegbuzie et al., 2010; Stenbacka, 2001). The critics have replaced these terms with credibility, neutrality or confirmability, consistency or dependability and applicability or

transferability, when adhered to will increase quality (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). The discussion has, therefore, become a part of the dialectics of quantitative versus qualitative methods and practice in the social sciences. In spite of the criticisms, many qualitative researchers agree to observance of these requirements in the light of following due process in the research endeavour (Creswell & Miller, 2000; Creswell, 2003; Patton, 2002). It is important to mention that its adherence does not necessarily make the research sound but rather increases the confidence that the desired results were achieved. As Lincoln and Guba (1985) put it: "how can an inquirer persuade his or her audiences that the research findings of an inquiry are worth paying attention to?"

Validity is primarily the extent to which a data collection instrument measures what it is intended to measure. Validity is important because conclusions drawn are based on the information obtained using the instruments (Fraenkel & Wallen, 2003). Reliability on the other hand, refers to the consistency of the instruments over time. Thus, the instrument when used by other researchers should produce similar or the same results. Hence, replicability of results is an essential precondition for the reliability of the methods. In the context of this study, the first step in achieving validity and reliability was to infer and compare instruments with literature, both theory and practice. The conformability of the instruments and results, thus increase the validity of the instrument in measuring the objective of the study and improve consistency.

The inherent advantage of the mixed methodology used by this study, even though it was more of qualitative, constituted the second check to

achieve validity and reliability. As the mixed methodology has an advantage for limiting biases in the two individual methods, it provides a holistic option (Greene, Caracelli & Graham, 1989; Hammond, 2005; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2012). In the end, a mixed method research provides a stronger conclusion through corroboration and convergence of research findings (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004), thus improving credibility, replicability and consistency.

In addition, the instruments were reviewed by academics that have expertise in the field. The feedback given was incorporated in the design to improve the credibility and practicality of the instruments. The final practice of ensuring validity and reliability was through a pre-test of the instruments. The use of structured interviews, in-depth interviews and focus group discussion in a complimentary manner contributed to the rigour of the data collected. This improved the trustworthiness of the data collected. The results were further compared to literature in order to achieve conformity and also served as a self-check.

Fieldwork/Data Collection

For the purpose of data collection, the study relied on both quantitative and qualitative methods. Quantitatively, the study used the structured questionnaires in data collection. This was complemented by the qualitative data acquired with the use of in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. Other ethnographic methods, such as observation, were also employed.

The data collection lasted for a period of six months from July to December, 2016. The data collection instruments were administered by the

researcher and her trained assistants. The exercises took place in the destination areas, Accra and Tema, and the origin areas, Aduamoa-Kwahu, Bolgatanga, Nangodi, Bongo, Tongo and their environs. There were various meeting places as allowed or requested by the respondents, including the associations' monthly meeting places, members' homes, workplaces and even churches. A total of forty-two (42) in-depth interviews, two (2) FGDs of six (6) participants each, and one hundred and twenty (120) structured interviews were conducted.

The data collected were done on face-to-face basis. This proved very useful as it ensured prompt response and recovery of instrument, specifically in the case of the structured interviews. Even though some of the members proposed to take them away and bring them at later dates, they were encouraged to be assisted in responding to them. Another advantage was in the light that the questions were explained to the respondents before they provided responses. This increased the trustworthiness of the responses given. The credibility further improved as the respondents were encouraged to communicate in any language in which they were comfortable. At any point, the researcher was with an assistant who was fluent in the language, specifically in the BONABOTO origin areas where mainly Gurune was spoken. In such cases, the data collected and transcripts generated were double checked for consistency. The in-depth interviews, focus group discussions were tape-recorded while the structured interviews were responded to on the schedule.

Interviews

There were three main categories of semi-structure/in-depth interviews conducted in this study. The first was interviews with the leaders or executive board members of the migrants' associations. These were specifically targeted to give very detailed information and as such efforts were made to only conduct the exercises in settings and circumstances where the respondents were ready to give enough time and attention. Similar processes were done in the second category comprised the key informants or opinion leaders. These were often respected people in the communities who were assumed to be knowledgeable and had enough knowledge about the associations and their activities in the communities. The third category was made up of the individual beneficiaries and heads or core members of beneficiary institutions. The in-depth interviews lasted an average of 45minutes.

The interviews were recorded as and when the permission was given to do so. Recording was preferred because it provided the opportunity to replay the audio as the interview happened for analysis purposes. It also allowed fewer distractions because the interviewer had the freedom to keep minimal note. Nonetheless, notes were taken and other observations deemed important to understanding and analysing the data were noted.

Focus group discussions (FGD)

This method was used to elicit information from the beneficiary communities. This was as a complement to capture a community-wide knowledge and experiences about the migrants' associations. It was observed that the community leaders were often elderly and as such, there was the need

to find ways to involve the younger ones. Younger participants were therefore preferred in the FGD in order to acquire various generational views of the communities. In addition, the younger ones were easily identified and readily accepted to participate. A total number of two focus groups were conducted; one at each origin area of the two associations. The FGDs included a number of six (6) participants each. To Babbie (2011) FGDs should have the least of 6 and a maximum of 12 participants to ensure effective discussion. Discussions were based on a semi-structured FGD guide and lasted an average of 75minutes. In the next section, the use of the structured interview or questionnaire is explained.

The first of the FGDs took place on 29th August, 2016 at 1:14pm. The venue was a mechanic's workshop near a popular recreational park in Bolgatanga. The participants were six males, even though it started with eight. It was all males mainly because they were readily available and expressed interest. While some were confident to use the English language, others preferred the Frafra/Gurune languages. It was agreed that submissions should be made in the local dialect so that all will be comfortable. Intermittently, the responses were in English, Frafra/Gurune and even Twi. There was an interpreter who facilitated the process. The group discussion lasted for 75minutes.

The second group discussion took place in Aduamo-Kwahu. Similarly, it was done to explore the community's views about the Aduamo migrants' association and their impacts on the community. A group of six participants made up of four males and two females was put together. The community was relatively rural. There was a challenge as it seemed that

community members had left for businesses in the neighbouring peri-urban towns or attending to their businesses and kiosks at the time of visit. The group discussion took place on 4th October, 2016 at 2:00pm in the town centre. It lasted for an hour and sixteen minutes. Twi was the medium of communication. Since the researcher was fluent in the language, a translator was not needed. The gender mix, even though not representative enough, gave opportunity to know the views of each gender.

Structured interviews

Apart from interviews and focus group discussions, structured interviews were conducted. Structured interviews are based on schedule containing open-ended and close-ended questions. The responses were recorded (handwritten) on the questionnaire. The responses were later to be coded, entered into computer-based software and quantitative results generated. The structured interviews were mainly administered to the 'ordinary' (or non-leaders) members of the associations.

Due to the large numbers of the members, this method was used in order to reach as many as possible. The schedule was well structured, reviewed and tested to ensure a high quality. In addition, it was targeted on specific objectives, as a way of minimising extraneous variables. Information on motivation of joining, activities of the associations, benefits and entitlements were the focus. A total of one hundred and twenty structured interviews were conducted.

The structured interview schedules were administered by the researcher and her assistants. The responses were given in a language that the

respondents understood. These were administered during the monthly meetings of the groups and any other day that particular members scheduled with the researchers. Its administration often lasted a period of 20–25 minutes.

Table 2: Summary of methods of data collection and instruments

Respondents	Objectives	Methods	Instrument	Sample
Leaders of the associations	Formation and organisation	In-depth	In-depth	14
	Relationship with non-members	interview	interview guide	
	Impacts to origin communities			
	Challenges and prospects			
Members	Motivation of joining	Structured	Structured	120
	Activities of the associations	Interview	interview guide	
	Benefits and entitlements			
Individuals	Relationship with non-members	In-depth	In-depth	3
	Impacts to origin communities	interview	interview guide	
Beneficiaries	Communities	Relationship with non-members	Focus Group	12
		Impacts to origin communities	Discussion	
Institutions	Relationship with non-members	In-depth	In-depth	4
	Impacts to origin communities	interview	interview guide	
Opinion leaders	Activities of the associations	In-depth	In-depth	19
	Relationship with non-members	interview	interview guide	
	Impacts to hosts and origin communities			
	Challenges and prospects			

Challenges Encountered in the Field

The first challenge was the once-a-month meeting schedules that the associations had. This meant that members could only be interviewed during their meeting periods. This was however not welcomed by the leadership of the group. Rather, the team was given the chance to administer the interviews after the meeting. This was challenging because the respondents were often in a hurry to go home. To mitigate this challenge, only the structured interviews and individual beneficiary interviews were carried out at the destination. Other data collection such as in-depth interviews with leaders was held at later dates after appointments were made. The challenge of inadequate time given to researchers meant that we had to visit the group meetings multiple times far beyond what was projected. This put a strain on time and finance.

There were instances where the respondents expected immediate or long term benefits, mainly because they perceived that it was a government project. This was particularly so in the rural origin communities. Steps were taken to reiterate the purposes and objectives of the research to participants. While this yielded positive results in most cases, it did not in other times.

Finally, some of the respondents left midway into the conduct of the exercises. This happened in the Bolgatanga. While eight participants started the discussions, two left after they received phone calls. Along the way (20 minutes into the discussion), two others came in to join. Since the discussion had not progressed far, they were admitted.

Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations are very important in the conduct of social research. This is particularly so when human beings constitute the subject of the study. Ethics are generally ways of understanding and examining what is 'right' and what is 'wrong' in pursuance of a specific goal. It is therefore important for the social researcher to avoid bias, use appropriate methods, ensure accurate use of information and protect the rights of respondents. The study exercised the right to informed consent, anonymity, privacy and confidentiality in its data collection, handling and analysis.

To begin with, an ethical clearance was sought from the Institutional Review Board (IRB) of the University of Cape Coast. The ethical clearance was given, bearing the identification number *UCCIRB/CHLS/2017/01*. Secondly, the researcher sought the informed consent of the participants. The purpose and objectives of the study were explained to the respondents. This was to build a rapport and gain their trust which would in turn increase openness. Respondents were also given the 'informed consent form' which provided information about the study or sometimes explained to them if they were illiterates, and questions asked were addressed appropriately to deal with respondents' doubts. The prospective respondents were then asked to sign the consent forms. Based on this, the respondents had the right to or not to participate in the study and understood that they will not face any reprimand for non-participation. Respondents were also made aware about the fact that during the interview sessions, their responses would be tape recorded though the responses were mainly for the purpose of the study.

In addition, the respondents were assured that no part of the information they provide will be released for whatsoever to any third party, otherwise there would be a breach of confidentiality, privacy and anonymity. Privacy was highly adhered to as the right decisions not to participate were respected. Confidentiality was ensured by protecting the information given from third parties. Furthermore, the responses provided by the participants were recorded anonymously. Pseudonyms were used and as such no individual responses can be trace to specific persons.

The observance of these ethics did not only improve the quality of the data collected but also generated trust between the participants and researcher and also created a cordial environment for the data collection process. This boosted the confidence of the participants to give accurate information. The process of data collection was done, to a lesser extent, concurrently with the data analysis. As the process progressed, inferences were made to inform the next data to be collected. These were done by making observations, making reflective remarks and writing notes.

Data Processing and Analysis

This study made use of both quantitative and qualitative data nonetheless, the latter was more prominent. The two types of data generated were analysed differently as the data required. The results of the analysis were presented in a discursive manner and conclusions made in the end.

Qualitative data analysis

The qualitative data collected were analysed by applying the thematic analysis method (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2012), which is also known as categorising strategies (Sullivan, 2001, p.453). This approach attempts to generalise by drawing concepts and theories from raw data. This is done by creating *codes* from the data collected. Codes are categories developed as result of classifying the observations. The codes simplify the data, nevertheless, the essential meanings are retained. Within this thematic analysis method, specific template analytical approach was utilised. The template analytical approach involves the use of a preliminary a priori determined themes and/or codes that serves a guide to further coding the raw data (King, 2004). In the context of this research, the major objectives, which were driven out of the conceptual, theoretical and empirical literature, constituted a priori categories, within which other sub-themes and codes emerged from the data were classified. The challenge of the template method is that, in situations where the predefined codes or themes are too many, the researcher may lose sight of important information in the raw data (King, 2004).

Before this method was applied, the data collected from the interviews, focus group discussions were transcribed, and where necessary translated into English, in the exact *ways* that they were said by the respondents. The transcripts were read thoroughly to identify the themes. In order to provide a framework for the presentation of the results, the identified themes were further reduced in alignment with, albeit not limited to, the objectives of the study (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2000; Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2012). The final categories were the codes and pointers as displayed in Table 3.

Table 3: Summary of codes for analyses

S/N	Objective	Code
1	Describe the characteristics of these migrants' associations	Character
2	Outline the motives for the formation of these migrants' associations	Motive
3	Examine the benefits of these associations to members, the host community and their places of origin	Benefit
4	Analyse the challenges facing these associations	Challenge

Source: Fieldwork, 2016

The final codes were matched with aspects of the transcripts as they were read thoroughly again. In this process, markers were made on the transcripts to indicate which theme that a section or aspects of the section or sentence falls within a particular code. Satisfied with the theming and grouping exercise, the presentation and discussions followed. In the discussions, the general and particular ideas were presented based on the objectives of the study. In these discussions, direct quotations from the participants and their subjectivities to the issues discussed (Mauthner & Doucet, 2003) were made to give a first-hand view. This was soldered with theoretical and empirical literature to provide holistic explanations.

Quantitative data analysis

The first step was to clean the instrument because of the expected errors. Errors in data collection and data entry are expected in research process. Wrong entries were corrected and missing variables were noted and taken care of. This was followed by codification of the questions on the

schedule. This coding was different from the qualitative method. While keywords, themes or categories were used as markers in qualitative analysis, numerical attributes, called values, were assigned in the quantitative coding (Sullivan, 2001). The codes were transferred into the computer-based statistical tool. The researcher in this study made of IBM's SPSS Statistics 21 (formerly known as Statistical Product and Service Solutions (SPSS)).

In the next step, the data were entered based on the codes developed into the SPSS. After the entry, the data was further cleaned due to expected errors. This check was important because no matter how carefully the data was entered, errors such as skipping variables for some cases, entering wrong values or entering the values in the wrong column, could be expected and so it was imperative to check again. This was done by scrolling through the data to identify blank spaces and ridiculously large numbers and also running the missing values check to identify missing values. Finally, the data was run through the needed statistical tools and analyses were generated. The analysis generated frequency tables, percentages and multiple response tables. It is imperative to mention that the quantitative data for each of the associations were analysed separately and later the compared. This was done based on a rationale, driven from the purpose of this study. Even though, basically, the study sought to provide an empirical information of a neglected phenomenon of migrants' associations in Ghana's urban space, it also sought to provide a comparative between the two associations. This warranted the separated analyses of the quantitative data for the two associations.

In summary, a mixed method research design was adopted for this study. Sampling and data collection methods were mainly non-probability,

qualitative techniques. Data was mainly collected primarily from the migrants' associations and other key informants. Secondary data was acquired from reports, minutes and constitutions/bye-laws of the associations, government reports and importantly, related theoretical and empirical literature.

CHAPTER FOUR

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS AND ORGANISATION OF MIGRANT ASSOCIATIONS

Introduction

The previous chapters have laid the foundation of the study. This Chapter begins the sections that analyse the data by presenting and discussing the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents and the organisation of the two migrant associations considered in this study. This is to fulfil specific objectives one and two of the study. The first section will cover demographic characteristics such as age, sex, marital status, occupation, level of education, number of children and length of stay in the destination area. The next section will focus on how the associations are formed and organised.

Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Members of Migrants' Associations

Socio-demographic data such as sex, age, level of education, marital status, occupation and number of children are considered important in migration studies. It will aid in the understanding of the phenomenon being studied.

Sex and Age of the Members of the Migrants' Associations

The first demographic characteristic considered in this chapter is sex. By disaggregating the data based on sex, some meaning will be given as to which sex is dominant in the membership of the migrants' associations and possible reasons accounting for that. Among the 40 members of the

Aduamoaman association, 52.5 percent were females while 47.5 percent were males (Table 4). In the BONABOTO association the membership portrayed a dissimilar pattern as the former. Sixty percent of the members of the BONABOTO association were males while 40.0 percent were females. Unlike the former group, the sex gap is wider in the BONABOTO. There were more males than females.

Table 4: Sex and Age Distribution of Members of the BONABOTO and Aduamoaman Associations

Age	Aduamoaman			BONABOTO		
	Male	Female	Total %	Male	Female	Total %
20-29	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	0	1(1.3%)	5(6.3%)	7.6
30-39	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	0	23(28.7%)	11(13.8%)	42.5
40-49	0(0.0%)	1(2.5%)	2.5	15(18.7%)	14(17.5%)	36.2
50-59	2(5.0%)	2(5.0%)	10.0	4(5.0%)	0(0.0%)	5.0
60-69	15(37.5%)	15(37.5%)	75.0	5(6.3%)	1(1.2%)	7.5
70-79	2(5.0%)	3(7.5%)	12.5	0(0.0%)	1(1.2%)	1.2
Total	19(47.5%)	21(52.5%)	100.0	48(60.0%)	32(40.0%)	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2016

Age is considered as a very important social and demographic variable in determining experience and also knowledge about a particular phenomenon. From Table 4, it can be seen that the majority of the respondents were between the ages of 30-39 (42.5%) and 40-49 (36.2%) for the BONABOTO. In the Aduamoaman association however, the majority of the members were within the ages of 60-69 (75.0%). Evidence from the literature shows that the young generation tend to out-migrate (Adaawen & Owusu, 2013). It is therefore not

new to identify that a larger proportion of those within the ages of 30-49 form the core of the association and also the majority being males (47.4%). The Aduamoaman association however shows a converse dynamic. Therefore, other variables such as length of stay in the destination area may also throw more light on this.

It is vital to reiterate that the associations are formed by migrants. Migration literature shows that males tend to out-migrate more as compared to females (Adepoju, 2010). Even though this was not the case for the Aduamoaman association, it was evident in the BONABOTO association. Until recently, males have dominated out-migration from the three regions in the northern part of the country. However, young female migrants from the northern sector are gradually dominating due to the *kayayei* business (head porters) in southern market centres (Meier, 2003; Abdul-Korah, 2011; Adaawen & Owusu, 2013).

Highest level of education of members

With regard to the educational levels of the membership in the two associations, about 48 percent of the membership of the BONABOTO association had obtained some form of tertiary education, about 26 percent had secondary education, about 11 percent had vocational or technical education and 15 percent had pre-secondary education. Unlike the BONABOTO, only some 10 percent have had some form of tertiary education, about 23 percent had secondary education, 30 percent had vocational or technical education and about 36 percent had pre-secondary education, in the Aduamoaman association (Table 5).

Table 5: Education level and occupation

Highest Education Level	Aduamoaman			Occupation				
	Civil servant	Self-employed	Retired	Civil servant	Self-employed	Retired	Casual worker	Unemployed
Pre-secondary	1(2.5%)	8(20%)	7(17.5%)	0	12(15%)	0	1(1.25%)	0
Secondary	0	7(17.5%)	2(5%)	1(1.25%)	7(8.75%)	0	5(6.25%)	8(10%)
Post-secondary	0	1(2.5%)	10(25%)	5(6.25%)	4(5%)	0	0	0
Tertiary	0	0	4(10%)	31(38.75%)	0	6(7.5%)	0	0
Total	1(2.5%)	16(40%)	23(57.5%)	37(46.25%)	23(28.75%)	6(7.5%)	6(7.5%)	8(10%)

Source: Fieldwork, 2016

In earlier migration literature, out-migration is positively leaned towards the highly educated (Adaawen & Owusu, 2013). This is typically true when the origin areas are relatively rural and low in the level of economic activity (de Haan 2000; Geest, 2011). This is however nuanced with other factors such as increasing incomes, access to information and networks (Flahaux & de Haas, 2016) and is changing over the years. As reported by Ackah and Medvedev (2010), Ghana's migration is not only highly skewed towards internal movements but also towards the movement from urban to rural areas.

According to Sardinha (2005), migrants with low levels of education and professional qualifications are usually marginalised socially, culturally and economically in the host society and thus may want to align themselves to these associations. This is particularly present in the demography of the Aduamoaman association. However, there are migrant associations that may also be 'elite' in nature and made up of well-established migrants who seek to assist the new ones and especially those with low level of education and professional qualifications to integrate into the host community. In this light,

such established members of the association become social capital to the new, young members, especially those finding ways to integrate into the economic space of the host areas (Bourdieu, 1986; Lyons & Snoxell, 2005). The BONABOTO, as shown in Table 5, portrays high levels of education of members.

In addition to high levels of education, members of the BONABOTO in that category are mainly workers in the civil or public service, which includes insurance practitioners, nurses and security officers. This portrays a sort of ‘elite’ nature of the association. On the other hand, members who are with education levels below the tertiary level are mainly self-employed, traders or casual workers as shown in Table 5. This was confirmed by the interviews and discussions where members avowed that people perceive the association as an elite one, even though some regarded this as a misconception. One member emphasised:

The local people think that we, the members of the association, are the so called literates. We have tried to demystify all these thoughts and insisted that the meetings are not meant for literates only. Now I have seen some hairdressers, seamstresses and even those who are into weaving, attending the meetings. I was impressed. When they come, we don't speak English... (Male, BONABOTO, age 39)

Unlike the BONABOTO, the Aduamoaman association is relatively old and ‘less elite’ in nature. The majority (90%) of its members do not have tertiary education and are either self-employed or retired. This could be one of the reasons why the current, evolved, revamped Aduamoaman association is less attractive to the migrants from Aduamoana. The social exchange theory posits that before an engagement in social relationships, the cost and benefits

are weighed (Blau, 1964a, in Emerson, 1972a). This may explain why it is not more attractive to the younger indigenes of Aduamoa-Kwahu. This seems plausible in the light of the fact that there are two other associations, in Accra, formed by migrants from Aduamoa. The other two, Aduamoa Youngsters and Aduamoa Youth associations, are relatively younger. The multiple memberships of the members of migrants' associations are not new because they are organised based on interest and comfort, a platform to share ideas in an unthreatening manner. In spite of belonging to associations, the Aduamoaman serves as an umbrella association for all migrants of Aduamoa, and as such all citizens of Aduamoa are expected to be members.

Marital status of members

Both associations considered in this study showed that the majority of the members were married. However, some of the members were never married and others divorced, separated or widowed. Within the BONABOTO, about 71 percent of the members were married. The remainder were never married (10%), separated (8.8%), divorced (8.8%) or widowed (1.3%) (see Table 6). Within the Aduamoaman association this character was spread around three statuses – married, divorced or widowed. About 53 percent were married, 15 percent divorced and about 33 percent were widowed (Table 6).

Table 6: Marital status of the members

Marital Status	Aduamoaman		BONABOTO		Total
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	
Never married	0	0.0	8	10.0	8(6.7%)
Married	21	52.5	57	71.3	78(65%)
Separated	0	0.0	7	8.8	7(5.8%)
Divorced	6	15.0	7	8.8	13(10.8%)
Widowed	13	32.5	1	1.3	14(11.7%)
Total	40	100.0	80	100.0	120(100.0%)

Source: Fieldwork, 2016

Marital status can influence members' participation in the associations. The NELM (Stark & Bloom, 1985; Taylor, 1986) assumes that marital status and [immediate] family influences intentions to migrate and intention to stay in the destination area or return to the origin area (de Haas, 2008). In return migration literature, Zai (2011), for instance, found that most return migrants were married at the time of their return. By extension therefore married members are more likely to leave destination areas and thus may cease to be members of migrants' associations.

In a cross-tabulation of marital status and intention to return (Table 7), the dynamics in the BONABOTO corroborated literature. About 67.0 percent of those who had intentions to return to their places of origin were married. Another nuance that lay beneath this statistic is that the majority of those married were males (70.2%). Literature shows that male children are encouraged to migrate in search of greener pasture in order to take care of the family. Mohammed and Apusigah (2005) observed that families in the Bongo

district of the Upper East region encourage their male children to migrate to the south in search of employment so that they can take care of the family back home. Those who do not travel are seen as lazy and irresponsible to their family's needs (Adaawen & Owusu, 2013). The acronym BONABOTO which is translated as 'bo na boto' in the Gurune language affirms this. 'Bo na boto' simply means 'go search, find and bring'. Hence, members are literally searching so that they can contribute to their origin communities.

Table 7: Marital status and intention to return to origin area

Marital Status	Aduamoa		BONABOTO	
	No	Yes	No	Yes
Never married	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	5(19.2%)	3(5.5%)
Married	19(73.1%)	2(14.3%)	21(80.8%)	36(66.7%)
Separated	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	7(12.9%)
Divorced	0(0.0%)	6(42.8%)	0(0.0%)	7(12.9%)
Widowed	7(26.9%)	6(42.8%)	0(0.0%)	1(1.9%)
Total	26(100.0%)	14(100.0%)	26(100.0%)	54(100.0%)

Source: Fieldwork, 2016

Age and intention to return to origin areas

The BONABOTO members who had intentions to return to the origin communities were relatively young; within the age category of 30-49 years (Table 8). Similar finding was presented by Cromartie, von Reichert, and Arthun (2015), who asserted that return migrants were often in the age bracket of 30-40 years old, more likely to be married, educated and employed. It is important to also mention that in the light of achieving this objective of giving

back to the origin communities, members also saw the need to form migrants' associations to collectively, substantially develop the origin communities.

On the other hand, the Aduamoaman association portrayed a counter dynamic. The majority (75.0%, Table 4) of the members were found in the age category of 60-69 years old (Table 8). About fifty-three percent in the same category had no intention to return to the origin community (Table 8). It became evident that the older members of the association, who are more likely to be married, lived with their families in the destination area, and as such either do not intend to or have decided not to return to their origin communities. In addition, the agrarian nature of the Aduamo-Kwahu community (GSS, 2013) may also deter the migrants from relocating permanently to the origin community, as affirmed by the respondents. The fact is that, once homes are made in the destination area, the migrants adjust and become comfortable. Through the migrants' association, the migrants are also provided with an avenue to fraternise, reaffirm cultural/ethnic identity and to acquire information concerning the origin community.

Table 8: Age and intention to return to origin area

Age	Aduamoaman		BONABOTO	
	No	Yes	No	Yes
20-29	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	6(7.5%)	0(0.0%)
30-39	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	11(13.7%)	23(28.7%)
40-49	1(2.5%)	0(0.0%)	1(1.3%)	28(35.0%)
50-59	3(7.5%)	1(2.5%)	4(5.0%)	0(0.0%)
60-69	21(52.5%)	9(22.5%)	4(5.0%)	2(2.5%)
70-79	1(2.5%)	4(10.0%)	0(0.0%)	1(1.3%)
Total	26(65.0%)	14(35.0%)	26(32.5%)	54(67.5%)

Source: Fieldwork, 2016

Length of stay and intention to return

Another characteristic that was important in this study is length of stay of the migrants in the destination or host society. It is important because length of stay in the destination usually affects the migrant's intention to return, preparedness to return and actual return to the origin area. Generally, the majority of the membership (who are relatively old and have stayed in the destination for longer periods of time) of the Aduamoaman association did not entertain the intention to return to Aduamo. However, members of the BONABOTO responded positively to the intention to return (see Table 10).

Table 9: Length of stay of members

Duration	Aduamoaman		BONABOTO	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
0 – 5 years	0	0	9	11.3
6 – 10 years	1	2.5	30	37.5
11 – 15 years	4	10.0	11	13.8
16 – 20 years	12	30.0	13	16.3
21 years and above	23	57.5	17	21.3
Total	40	100.0	80	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2016

From Table 9, it can be noticed that for the Aduamoaman association, the majority of members had lived for more than sixteen years in the destination area, Accra. It became evident in the interviews and discussions with the members of Aduamoaman that, they have lived for longer periods and as such, they had joined the association so that they could give back to their origin communities. To them, the employment opportunities in Accra made it

possible to accumulate wealth and give back to the origin areas. One respondent who has lived for 25 years in Accra said:

“I do not have any business there [Aduamoa] so I will be here always except going there during festivals and other occasions.” (Female, Aduamoaman, age 74).

Membership of the BONABOTO association, which is relatively younger (see Table 4), responded positively to the intention to return to the origin areas for settlement in the future. More than two-third of the members indicated that they have intentions to return to their origin communities. On the other hand, membership of Aduamoaman, which is relatively older (see Table 4), leaned towards the decision not to return to the area of origin for future settlement (65.0%). Quotes from two respondents elucidate this finding:

I have lived in Accra for close to six years now. I have not gone since I came to school here... I will not remain here permanently but I am employed here and because of where my work is stationed, I have no choice than to be in Accra. But if I get a transfer to my hometown, I will leave. (Male, IDI, BONABOTO, age 29years)

I will continue to stay in Accra, I will not return to Aduamoa. No job for me there because I am old. I cannot do the job in Aduamoa. (Female, Aduamoaman, age 78).

These affirmations are dependent on the fact that the Aduamoa community, which is in the Kwahu East district, is relatively agrarian, relatively rural (67.1%) and low in economic activities (Ghana Statistical Service, 2013). The main occupation of residents which is agriculture may not be suitable for the older generation, since the methods of agriculture are still traditional, subsistence and labour-intensive. Specifically, the more recent population survey by the Ghana Statistical Service showed that the majority

(76.3%) of the rural population in the Kwahu East district (where Aduamo is situated) were involved in agriculture as their main source of livelihood (Ghana Statistical Service, 2013).

Table 10: Length of stay and intention to return

	Intention to Return to Origin Area			
	Aduamoaman		BONABOTO	
Length of stay in destination area	No(%)	Yes(%)	No(%)	Yes(%)
0 – 5 years	0(0)	0(0)	1(1.25)	8(10)
6 – 10 years	1(2.5)	0(0)	12(15)	18(22.5)
11 – 15 years	1(2.5)	3(7.5)	6(7.5)	5(6.25)
16 – 20 years	7(17.5)	5(12.5)	0(0)	13(16.25)
21 years and above	17(42.5)	6(15)	7(8.75)	10(12.5)
Total	26(65.0%)	14(35.0%)	26(32.5%)	54(67.5%)

Source: Fieldwork, 2016

Formation and Organisation of Migrants' Associations

The fundamental assumptions underlying the neo-classical theory of migration (migration is from rural to urban areas and is mainly dependent on the expected urban wage), the NELM (risk aversion mechanism, income maximization strategy and constraints imposed by market imperfections) (Stark & Bloom, 1985; Taylor, 1999; de Haas, 2008) social capital (networks serves as capital) (Bourdieu, 1998) and exchange theories (relationships based on costs and benefits) (Blau, 1964a) are a highly probable reasons why the members migrated to the destination area in the first instance, as shown on the conceptual framework. The fraternisation made possible through membership

in the associations contributes to maintaining continuous participation. This section focuses on the formation and organisation of the associations. These include the historical antecedents to their formation, aims and objectives, membership, leadership, decision-making and activities.

Aduamoaman

History and purpose

Migrant associations typically begin as informal migrants' social networks. Migrants usually create some forms of social networks in their processes of settling in their host communities (Lopez et al, 2001:10; Gómez-Mestres, Molina & Hoeskma, 2012). These networks are based on kinship relationships and common identity, usually stemming from a common place of origin (Fox & Bada, 2008). The Aduamoaman association followed a similar pattern. It began as far back as the late 1950s as a sequel to the informal migrants' networks of Aduamoa citizens in Accra that had developed over the years. Specific dates to its setup could not be provided by the members. The group remained informal until the late 1980s when the members began a formalisation process of enacting a constitution to guide the group.

Before it came to be known as the Aduamoaman association, the migrants' associations had gone through various processes of rebranding and revamping. The group was previously known as the Aduamoa Reformation Society in the 1950s. This group dissipated with time. In its stead was formed the Onyini Afari Association. This group was named after the Stool of Aduamoa-Kwahu under the auspices of the then chief and with similar purpose of improving the origin community and later called '*hye woho den*'

(strengthen yourself). Like the first association, it died out. Then the Aduamoaman *kuo* was formed in the early 1980s. Around mid-1980s, the chairman of the association passed on and the association seem to have died with him. Later in that period, the association was revamped and still is in operation today. The name Aduamoaman was chosen because of the intention to make the group one which would serve as an umbrella group to all the other groups in or from the community.

The group, which is headquartered in Accra and not registered at the Registrar General's Department, is a brain-child of a few educated young men who were natives of Aduamoa and resided in Accra. It came out strongly in the interviews and discussions that they recognised the development gap between their community of origin and other communities, especially the destination. This gap manifested in the form of high poverty levels, inadequate basic amenities such as roads, water, toilet facilities, education facilities such as libraries, and safety facilities such as a fire station and necessary equipment. One of the members shared:

You will only find old women and old men when you go to Aduamoa now. Because there are no jobs in the town, the majority of the younger men and women have moved to other cities. If the young men and women in cities like Accra are able to come together to form groups, they can collectively contribute to developing the Aduamoa town. In this way the community will improve and progress. (Female, Aduamoaman, age 78years)

The core mandate of the association is to develop the Aduamoa community. This is captured in the preamble of the constitution of the association as follows:

We, the citizens of Aduamoa-Kwahu, conscious of the need to develop the town through unity, brotherly love and harmony and desirous of promoting the social, economic and cultural development of the town, do hereby and hereon decide to come together as one body. (The Constitution of Aduamoaman association, 1989)

To concretise this preamble, the Aduamoaman association set out five main objectives and aims. These were 1) *to mobilise all citizens of Aduamoa-Kwahu for the development of the town*, 2) *to raise funds for the development of Aduamoa-Kwahu*, 3) *to establish relations with both local and international organisations for the development of Aduamoa-Kwahu*, 4) *to advise the Aduamoa Traditional Council on matters affecting the citizens of Aduamoa-Kwahu when necessary* and 5) *to promote brotherly love, friendship and unity among members*. The group plans to achieve these aims in consultation with the Aduamoa Town Development Committee, the Chief of Aduamoa and his elders and any other institution that might be necessary, to foster the development of the origin community. The members during the interview sessions reiterated this mandate. Some of the members intimated that:

The association as I said, is about development projects...coming together, get funds to develop our town, help education, build or provide community infrastructure...we have the fire service, we have a library, we have a community centre... (Male, Aduamoaman, age 56 years)

The motive of forming the association is for the welfare of people, Aduamoa people in Accra; gathering them in order to raise funds for the development of Aduamoa. That was the basic thing...to mobilise them and when they come together, they make their contribution. They have done a lot... (Male, Aduamoa, age 77 years)

...you benefit by feeling happy that you gave...it is good to give....it is said that there is more blessing in giving than receiving. I am always

challenged to give, especially when people need help. When I am able to give big offerings, I feel happy...it is all about giving to help your community. (Male, Aduamoaman, age 54 years)

This expression of the objective of the Aduamoan migrants' associations is no different from how the literature describes such associations. The literature points to the fact that such voluntary associations are often organised around a common interest and agenda (Lopez et al, 2001; Owusu, 2001; Silva, 2006; Somerville, Durana, & Terrazas, 2008). To the members of the Aduamoaman association, the quest to develop their community of origin was the driving force that spurred the formation of the group. It is important to also mention that the formation of the group therefore set the grounds for and encouraged mutual support for the members in times of misfortune, bereavement, illness, marriage ceremonies, and other such circumstances. In this regard, the members (100.0%) described the nature of the association as predominantly a 'hometown association'. This is in light of the fact that to them the association stems from one hometown and specifically geared towards the development of that hometown.

Other than the observable concrete benefits, the accounts of the members showed that the honour and prestige associated with contributing to the development of their communities were 'calculated' qualities that attracted them to the association. This is in line with the social exchange assumption that people rationally participate in social relationship when there are calculated benefits (Thibaut & Kelley, 1959; Homans, 1961; Blau, 1964). As stated by Blau (1964a) social exchange is 'limited to actions that are contingent on rewarding reaction from others' (in Emerson, 1976). The reasons expressed by the members point to intrinsic symbolic values and

benefits such as approval, care, respect, loyalty and prestige, places on the actions and contributions.

Membership

To be a member of the Aduamoaman association, one has to be an indigene or citizen of the origin area. Citizenship as defined by the association means that a person should be able to trace his or her ancestry from Aduamoa. In addition, people who are connected through marriage and would want to become members are also accepted. The constitution of the association clearly states this:

'Citizen' means any person whose mother or father or ancestor comes from Aduamoa-Kwahu or any person whose mother is from a patrilineal society and father is from Aduamoa-Kwahu or any person who is married to a person from Aduamoa who wishes to be treated as such. (The Constitution of Aduamoaman association, 1989)

Indeed, the Aduamoaman association is based on kinship relationships and a common identity, usually stemming from a common place of origin. This confirms the finding by Fox and Bada (2008) that the Mexican migrants' associations were formed around common village of origin. Often members of migrant associations are usually connected by a common origin and or ethnicity (Beauchemin & Schoumaker, 2009).

When asked why they joined the Aduamoaman associations, the majority (80%) of the members indicated that they joined the association because they want to contribute to the development of the origin community (Table 11). To them, there is poverty in the origin community, so as young men and women living outside the area, the onus fall on them to contribute to

its development. In spite of this popular acclamation, 20% of the members joined the association because it is compulsory for citizens of Aduamoa and also for the purposes of meeting new people and reconnecting with old ones.

Table 11: Reasons for joining the Aduamoaman association

Category	Frequency	Percent (%)
To develop my hometown	32	80.0
Meet new people and reconnect with old ones	3	7.5
Compulsory for citizens of Aduamoa	5	12.5
Total	40	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2016

In as much as about 12.5% of the members indicated that membership is compulsory for all citizens of Aduamoa residing in Accra and Tema, the group is mainly a voluntary one. This notion of voluntariness is expressed by Anheier (n.d) as he conceptualises voluntary associations to be private, membership based organisations in which membership is non-compulsory, with recognizable boundaries to distinguish members from non-members, be self-governing and non-commercial in objective and behaviour is clearly shown here. Similarly, Bradley (2002, p.1094) defines voluntary association as *“modern, secular, self-regulating philanthropic, educational, cultural, and learned societies, membership in which was voluntary rather than compulsory or ascribed and that offered new forms of sociability and self-definition”*. What then binds them together is frequent contact through the networks of members, trust in the group’s objective of contributing to the origin and the adherence to the norm of reciprocity that exists within the group.

The voluntariness is further accentuated by the non-existence of 'formal' sanctions for those citizens who decide not to join or affiliate with the group. In spite of the lack of formal sanctions for non-participation, there are informal social sanctions that may apply and are expected. However, once a member, social control becomes important and participation in activities is virtually an obligation. These informal sanctions are expressed in the forms of non-extension of support to non-members in events of calamities, bereavements and illness. As a way of distinguishing themselves from non-members, members of the Aduamoaman can go to the extent of not attending or actively participating in events of indigenes who are non-members. To the members, some citizens of Aduamoan may not want to participate in the group or any other such groups originating from the origin community because other priorities compete for their time, while others may not care about the development of the area. One member shared:

If you do not do something for the members, they will not also do it for you. We attended one of the member's mother's funeral in Aduamoan not long ago. As a group, the members contributed some money to support her. While taking such monies we kept records of the number of people and the amounts that each contributed. Those who do not attend will not find their names on the list. And those who do not find their names on the list cannot inform the group when they are faced with misfortunes such as illness or bereavements. When you do it for others then they will also do it for you. The left hand bathes the right hand and the right hand bathes the left hand. (Female, Aduamoaman, age 59 years)

Another member emphasised:

We attached a condition to the group. The condition was that; 'if you do not become a member of the Aduamoaman kuo and any of your

relations dies, do not come to the community for the funeral'. If the person comes, he/she will be fined. We will not allow the funeral to take place in the township. The deceased will be buried silently. This arrangement was approved by the Stool. (Male, opinion leader, aged 88years)

This is summarised in the constitution as follows:

"In event of death or any other misfortune, Aduamoan citizens who are not members of the Kuo shall not be accorded the privileges of the Kuo' (The Constitution of Aduamoaman association, 1989)

Membership is however not limited to only citizens of Aduamoan. People who express interest and have agreed to abide by the stipulations of the group may be accepted as members. However, the non-citizen member may be disadvantaged because all efforts by the group to promote development are geared towards the origin community, Aduamoan. Consequently, the origin communities of the non-citizen members will not benefit from the group despite their own contributions. This was evident as the members shared the purpose of the association. One of the members mentioned:

One can become a member of the association if her husband or his wife is a citizen of Aduamoan...The group was formed for the purpose of developing the Aduamoan town. As such when members are not originally from Aduamoan but will want to associate with the Aduamoaman group, they will be disadvantaged because all efforts and contributions to development will be towards Aduamoan and not their respective hometowns. We will not divert our resource to develop your town because you are a member and that will be a cheat to you. Such people can join other groups but not Aduamoaman. (Female, Aduamoaman, age 55years)

In addition to the origin criterion of qualifying as a member of the association, one has to fulfil the age criterion as well. The constitution of the association clearly states that:

“The membership of the Kuo is open to all citizens of Aduamoa-Kwahu who are 18 years and above.” (The Constitution of Aduamoaman Kuo, 1989)

This is in accordance with the constitutionally and legally sanctioned age of adulthood in Ghana. This is in the light that, persons who are 18 years and above are old enough to be able to express themselves, understand the issues of the association and contribute as such.

The membership size of the Aduamoaman association is between 200 and 300 according to its records. This is similar to what is present in literature. Some associations may be as small as below 30, as was the case of the Bantari Cattle Association (Tonah, 2005). Others are large ranging from 200–400, as was the case of the Filipino hometown association in Hawaii (Okamura, 1983), and even up to 2000 (Amelina, 2007; Schmelz, 2009). The membership of the Aduamoaman has dwindled over the years to the extent that attendance to meetings in recent times ranges between 20-30 members. The low attendance was attributable to relocation of members from Accra and attractions from other groups and responsibilities.

The group meets on the first Sunday of every month at 3pm at the Accra Technical Training Centre, near the Kwame Nkrumah Circle. The membership structure of the Aduamoaman association portrayed that the majority (97.5%) of the members had been with the group for more than ten years. Some have been members of the association for even more than thirty-

five years. This may be because the group is relatively old and the members have stayed in the destination area for long periods. This however does not corroborate Orozco and Rouse's (2007) assertion that new migrants are more likely to become core members of migrants' associations. Some of the members of the Aduamoaman Association attributed the lack of new entrants to the reason that old members are not introducing and convincing their children to join the association.

Leadership and decision making

Literature establishes that when it comes to leadership in migrant associations, more established migrants are preferred (Owusu, 2000; Somerville et al, 2008). In the Aduamoaman association the ages of the leaders ranged from 55-80years. The majority of the leaders are retired, having previously held high positions in the civil/public service. Almost all of them were or still are relatively well established. Some have built their houses in the destination area and are living with their families. In the Ghanaian community, age is often perceived as synonymous to wisdom and responsibility. As such in leadership positions that border on kinship, family, village or community, older people are considered.

In the Aduamoaman association, there exist three streams of leadership. The first is the Executive Committee, which consists of a Chairman, a Vice Chairman, a Secretary, an Assistant Secretary, a Treasurer, an Organiser, a Financial Secretary and four Elected Members. The committee members are 'democratically' elected into office at an annual general meeting. Nominations and secondment are done to select the candidates/people to be

voted for. At a general meeting, voting is done through a secret ballot. The candidates become duly elected by a consensus of majority vote. In spite of the depiction of a democratic process of selecting leaders in the association, there are no periods for campaign and other such activities that characterise democratic elections. The Executive Committee members are eligible to hold office for two years after which each can stand for re-election for an additional term only. Any member of the Executive Committee may resign from his or her post when substantive reasons are given and the vacancy created may be temporarily filled by a co-opted member by the committee (The Constitution of Aduamoaman Kuo, 1989).

Secondly, there is also a parallel Committee of Patrons (CoP). This committee acts in semblance to Board of Directors (BoD), vested with powers of an advisory body to the Executive Committee. It also settles all disagreements and crisis within the association. The CoP is headed by the Head of the Aduamo-Kwahu Community in the destination or host area. The Head of the Aduamo-Kwahu Community in Accra-Tema is often called the Chief of Aduamo-Kwahu citizens in Accra and Tema. With the exception of the Chief, other patrons shall or may be nominated by the Executive Committee to be members of the CoP. Before such nominations are accepted, the nominees must be presented at a general meeting for approval or disapproval. It is, however, unclear how many people can be nominated and approved to join the Chief on the CoP, and for many years they can be on the committee.

Thirdly, the Aduamoaman association has Appointed Sub-Committees. These sub-committees are appointed by the Executive Committee to serve in

specific areas of the association. At the time of my visit to the association and other interactions, there was one sub-committee known as the Welfare Committee. The Welfare Committee is charged with receiving, addressing as well as forwarding members' welfare issues such as health, visitations, financial benefits to members in times of death, illness, marriage ceremonies, and other such situations, to the appropriate authorities. It is important to mention that the need for the committees is often driven by the present need of the group. The number of members that can be appointed to serve on a particular sub-committee and for how long how lies in the prerogative of the Executive Committee. The existence of this three-strand leadership was known by the members at the time of the data collection. However, the majority (58.7%) were abreast with the elected Executive Committee, followed by the appointed sub-committees (31.7%) and the Committee of Patrons (9.5%) (see Table 12).

The recognition and recollection of the Executive Committee as the leadership of the association may be dependent on the fact that the committee is responsible for the day-to-day administration of the association. To ensure the smooth running of the association the Executive Committee holds meetings to set the agenda for meetings, such as presiding over meetings, keeping records of minutes, events and finances and mobilising members for meetings and other events.

Table 12: Knowledge about the executive structure of Aduamoaman

Category	Responses	
	N	Percent
Board of Directors	6	9.5%
Elected executive members	37	58.7%
Appointed executive members	20	31.7%
Total	63	100.0%

Source: Fieldwork, 2016

To qualify to be a leader in the association a member must fulfil all obligations of the association and be in good standing with the association. The obligations include registration, regular attendance to meetings and payment of dues and other financial contributions, especially for unplanned events or projects at the origin community and members' misfortunes or crises. In addition, a member has to be ready to accept nominations or nominates himself or herself for the position.

Decision making is done in a way that the members deem as a 'transparent' manner. As much as possible, the process goes through democratic phases where all members have a say and a vote in every decision that is taken by the association. The agenda for discussion is often determined by the Executive Committee. Decisions taken on such agendas are mainly through vigorous discussion, consensus or majority vote. In spite of the main topic for discussion, members are allowed to raise topics to be deliberated on, especially during the 'Any Other Business' (AOB) sessions of the meetings. This is to make sure that the voices and opinions of all members are articulated and considered in decision making. Members were however quick to add that some of the decisions are taken by the executives without putting

the issue to a general vote. In this regard, 59.5 percent of the members responded that the main decision maker of the group is the general membership. The remaining 40.5 percent affirmed that the executive committee makes decisions. In responding to the process of decision making 85.7 percent mentioned that it is done at general meetings while 14.3 percent stated that it is done arbitrarily by the Executive Committee and other leaders of the association (Table 12). Some of the members had these to say:

Sometimes it is by consensus, we do it together. We are dealing with people and so when an issue is at stake you don't have to be autocratic; you don't have to impose things on them. When we meet at a particular point in time and an issue crops up, we vote, by the show of hands. When the majority takes a decision it is binding to all members, present or absent. (Male, Aduamoaman, age 56 years)

The executive members usually set the agenda for discussion. We sometimes think about issues at the executive meetings and put them before the members at general meetings. When the members agree then the decision is adopted and when otherwise, it is discarded. We [executive members] alone cannot run the association...the members will have to know about and agree to everything; without them we don't exist and so we have to be one. (Female, Aduamoaman, aged 78 years)

The executive members take the decisions. But before the decision is put into practice it must be agreed upon during the general meetings. Once the general membership agrees, the decision is established and all put hands on deck to achieve it. (Male, Aduamoaman, age 77 years)

Activities

The association's discussions and activities mainly focus on the origin community, Aduamoan-Kwahu, and the welfare of members. Literature

establishes that migrant associations are often organised around the needs of the members and their origin communities (Owusu, 2000; Antwi Boasiakoh, 2009; Hirano-Nomoto, 2014). The issues for discussion can be further categorised into economic, social, political and cultural. Generally, the economic issues focus on employment and income generation for members and the origin community. The social concerns border on welfare of members and social interventions for the residents of the origin community. While political issues emphasise the general political administration, partisan or otherwise, of the origin community and Ghana as a whole, the cultural issues look at the preservation and transmission of culture both at the destination and origin communities.

All of the respondents indicated that the association is mainly concerned with social issues of both the members and the origin community. However, a majority also indicated that economic (72.5%), cultural (87.5%) and political (85.0%) issues are not the priority of the association. It is important to mention that the respondents explained the economic issues to mean the creation of employment, income generating activity or giving out loans and other financial support. These were however differentiated from the support given to members in times of death, illness and/or other misfortunes. As part of the group's economic activities, the respondents mentioned that they occasionally deliberate on the economic situation of the whole country and how the situation may affect their sources of livelihood and their standards of living. Indeed, such issues are not in isolation but are often linked to, if positive, the improvement in livelihoods and the likelihood to honour financial obligations to the association. On the hand, if negative, discussions are often

linked to the debilitating effects it might have on the members and their inability to honour their financial obligations. It is worth mentioning that at general meetings job vacancies are made known to the members by those in whose workplaces these vacancies are available. This is so that those members who are unemployed and are qualified will apply to such employment opportunities (this is discussed extensively in the next chapter).

The mention of politics seemed like a sore subject for discussion. This is in the light that members held the understanding that all politics are partisan in nature. Based on this understanding the topic was dismissed by the respondents with the assertion; *'we don't involve ourselves in [partisan] politics'*. The members were quick to dismiss the topic because they sought to remain unaligned. To them, the association is hometown-based and therefore, they do not want to be divided along political lines. Division along political lines will not only derail the contributions that the group is making to the origin community but also the friendship and brotherliness that they enjoy as migrants in the destination area. Some of the members shared:

Oh no, we don't do politics there, it should be avoided. But we allow people, especially those who will want to stand for elections...we allow them here in order for them to tell us what they can do. But we will not, for example invite NPP here to lecture us. No. We will not also invite NDC here to lecture us. But if any member will want to stand for election we will allow him or her to campaign and tell us who he is and what he is stands for. (Male, Aduamoaman, age 77 years)

No, no, no, we do not discuss politics here. Even if you are a known member of a political party or in other positions of power, you can still become a leader in the association because we do not discuss politics here. What we need is that the person still stands for the interest of the group. (Male, Aduamoaman, age 56 years)

I do not want to even hear politics and political parties! I support none and so I will not involve myself in politics. Someone else's husband is looking for a job and I will be toiling to follow or support him. Eventually when he gets the position and associated benefits, he will keep it to himself. I will not toil and put myself in danger to support any political party. When it comes to politics I turn into a Jehovah's Witness. (Female, Aduamoaman, aged 59 years)

In spite of this, it became obvious that the group was involved in the local politics of the origin community. There were instances where the leaders of the group encouraged some of the members to go back home, settle and then contest in the District Assembly election of the area. Two members became assemblymen on two separate occasions in the origin community. The reason given for the push was that when a member of the Aduamoaman association becomes an assemblyman in the origin community, he or she will be able to expedite or enhance the contributions made by the association in the area. Hometown associations are seen in literature as being able to get involved in the politics and affairs of their home communities (Somerville et al, 2008; Beauchemin & Schoumaker, 2009; Page et al., 2010; Evans, 2010) and may even contribute to the decision making in the political processes. Indeed, there was evidence of how the two assemblymen had worked to promote and expedite the activities of the association in the origin community (these are discussed extensively in Chapter Five).

The data indicates that cultural issues are not of particular concern to the association. This is evidenced by the fact that 87.5 percent of the members indicated that cultural issues are neither discussed nor included in their activities. In spite of this, inferences drawn from the interactions with the members of the association and other opinion leaders showed that they were

concerned about the loss of culture in the destination area. Some noted that the communal living which is present in the origin community is almost eroded among citizens of Aduamoa in Accra as they migrated to the Accra and its environs. There is therefore the concern that the cultural identity may be lost if they do not come together in the group to express and reaffirm it. The constitution of the association clearly states this in its preamble. Migration literature also corroborates that the migrant associations serve as avenues to re-strengthen cultural identity in the destination areas (Sardinha, 2005; Orozco & Rouse, 2007; Beauchemin & Schoumaker, 2009) or even create new ones for those born outside the origin. The challenge, however, is that the dynamics of the association portrays a relatively older population and hence cultural transmission may be problematic if the younger generation shy away from the group.

Social issues and activities were at the top of the association's priority list. All the respondents indicated this on the questionnaire, in the interviews and group discussions. The social issues and activities mainly focused on the welfare of members and social interventions for the residents of the origin community. These included providing relief items for members in times of calamities, supporting and attending the events of members as stipulated by the constitution, and sourcing funds from members and other avenues to develop the origin community (Owusu, 2000; Lopez et al, 2001; Somerville et al, 2008). To the members, this is the core mandate of the association and as such requires accomplishment. It is important to mention that the reliefs and development projects provided by the association are dependent on the needs

of the recipients and origin community as well as the financial stance of the association.

The main source of funding for the group is the members' contributions in the forms of mandatory dues and other voluntary contributions when the need arises. On some occasions, especially when the funds are geared towards a project in the origin community, the association seek help from other branches. There are branches of the association in Kumasi, Takoradi, Koforidua and Nkawkaw. In addition to these, there are also the diaspora branches in the USA and the UK. In the section that follows the focus is on the formation history, purpose and organisation of the BONABOTO.

BONABOTO

Formation history and purpose

The BONABOTO, unlike the Aduamoaman association, was formed by a group of students. Literature posits that migrant associations could be based on religious affiliations, alumni groups, ethnicity, national, community or area-based, charity or culture (Owusu, 2000; Silva, 2006). The BONABOTO fits into the category of an ethnic, community-based and an alumni group. During their time in the secondary school in the mid-1970s, the students formed an association of Catholic students in Bolgatanga which they called Bolgatanga Catholic Students' Association (BOCASA). The association had a Reverend Father of the Catholic Church as its patron. He encouraged the students to come together to provide friendship and to galvanise support to meet the needs of their community.

After graduating from the secondary school, some of the members continued to tertiary levels such as universities, teacher and nursing training colleges. At the University of Ghana, the tertiary students' wing of the BONABOTO was formed. This wing organised and brought together the students from the origin communities and served as a platform for exhibiting brotherliness, deliberating on issues concerning their hometowns and also depending on each other in times of need. This was necessary because they had travelled long distances to the south and needed each other to survive. Some of the students after graduation decided to form the workers' version of the association. This was around the 1991 and the association was based in Accra. It has to be noted that the graduates by then had settled in Accra and its environs, mainly because of employment.

The name BONABOTO was coined out of the four major towns of the Frafra-speaking (or Gurune-speaking) areas of the Upper East region of Ghana, by putting together the first two letters of each town. These major towns are Bolgatanga, Nangodi, Bongo and Tongo. Upon coining the name, it was realised that the name makes meaning in the Frafra language as well. '*Bona boto*' was explained by the members to mean 'exist for us', 'go and seek wealth for us' and 'stand for us'. These meanings mainly express the purpose for which the association stands. As stated in the constitution of the association, the purpose of the association is as follows:

'We the people of Bolgatanga, Nangodi, Bongo and Tongo and their environs (BONABOTO), realizing that we are a minority group in the country, impoverished and deprived through adverse geographical and historical reasons, aware of the fact that majority of our people have limited access to formal education and recognizing the important

contribution of formal education to socio-economic development of our area, mindful of the fact that we can collectively find solutions to the social and economic problems confronting our people and area collectively, desirous to contribute to the development of our community and nation, eager to seek the general welfare of our members, and hereby give unto ourselves this Constitution, which shall serve as the legal framework for the establishment of our union to be known and called BONABOTO' (BONABOTO, National Constitution, 2002).

The founders of the association saw the challenges of the origin communities and decided to contribute to its solutions. In doing so they saw themselves as those who needed to 'stand' for the origin communities. Geographically and historically, the members realised that they had to bridge the gap by contributing to the sectors where the people in the origin communities were impoverished. To bridge this gap education was used as the tool. Researches on the correlation between education and poverty often conclude that poverty is higher among households with uneducated heads (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014:20). The purposes for the formation of the BONABOTO are not different from the Aduamoaman association. Both recognised the development gap and hence, felt a sense of responsibility to mitigate it. Migrant associations and other hometown groups are always organised around the needs of the people for whom they are formed (Lopez, 2001; Antwi Boasiakoh, 2009; Owusu, 2000; Hirano-Nomoto, 2014). To achieve the purposes set out, the association inked four main aims and objectives; 1) *to bring together citizens of the BONABOTO area*, 2) *to serve as a forum for the collective search for solutions to problems confronting citizens in the BONABOTO area, in particular and the nation as a whole*, 3) *to*

contribute to the development of the BONABOTO area, and 4) to promote unity and brotherly love among members and neighbours (BONABOTO, National Constitution, 2002). Some of the members shared their views on the purpose of the association:

The main objective of forming the BONABOTO is to advance the good causes, interests and development of the area in terms of education, human resource, economic, infrastructure...buildings and access roads, provision of water, agriculture, health, etc. As a community-based organisation these are our concerns. (Male, BONABOTO, age 49 years)

Another person had this to say:

It was formed by tertiary students who felt that as a minority group there is the need to support each other in Accra. We migrate all the way from Bolgatanga to Accra; you will need assistance you face challenges such as illness. So they felt that it was good to come together so that we could support each other in times of need. But then we also thought that apart from the members' others who may not be members but may need some assistance and that is how it developed into more or less an advocacy or developmental association. (Male, BONABOTO, age 60 years)

The BONABOTO has a national spread with almost all the regional capitals having a branch, unlike the few branches of the Aduamoaman. The expansion was made when indigenes, especially those who had migrated to other parts of the country from the origin communities saw the importance of the group and the benefits it accrues to members and those back home. In addition, the pioneers of the association made conscious efforts to organise the association at the regional level in order to increase the membership and so as to generate enough resources, human and financial, to fund its activities. The

association is headquartered in Bolgatanga. However, its national executives are in Accra and its environs. In as much as the national executives are in Accra, the group maintains that the capital or headquarters should be maintained within the origin communities so as to ensure efficient implementation of its aims and objectives. This is based on the assumption that if the head office is in the origin communities the members will have the sense of ownership, the assurance that the group is working for them and as such the ability to garner support to achieve the aim of developing the origin areas. The national executive/secretariat is in Accra because the Accra-Tema branch is more vibrant and proactive.

The BONABOTO was first registered at the Registrar General's Department of Ghana in 1993. The association, however, failed to comply by the yearly renewals required by the Department. Eventually, the registration documents were untraceable and hence, there was no evidence for the registration. In 2016, one of the branches of the association acquired a plot of land and for which the registration certificates of the association were needed for proper documentation of the property. This compelled the association to reregister in that year. It is registered under the name *'Association of Citizens of Bolgatanga, Nangodi, Bongo and Tongo'* The primary meeting place for the Accra-Tema branch is the Kanda Community Youth Social Centre behind the 37 Military Hospital. To them, this venue is in the centre of town and can be easily identified. The group meets on the second Sunday of every month.

Membership

As an ethnic, migrant and a hometown association, the BONABOTO draws its membership from the origin communities; Bolgatanga, Nangodi, Bongo, Tongo and their environs. Anyone who is an indigene of the origin communities qualifies to be a member of the association. This is already established in literature (Okamura, 1983; Silva, 2006; Amelina, 2007; Beauchemin & Schoumaker, 2009; Schmelz, 2009). About 83 percent of the members indicated that the association is open to only natives/citizens of the origin areas. The remaining 17 percent were however of the view that anyone at all can be a member of the association. Whether an indigene or not, there are certain criteria that need to be fulfilled in order to become a recognised member of the association. These include acceptance of and pursuance of the aims and objectives of the group, registration and honouring all associated financial obligations agreed by the association. The constitution of the association puts it as follows:

A person shall be qualified to be a member of the union when he/she hails from the Bolgatanga, Nangodi, Bongo and Tongo areas of the Upper East Region and their environs; ii. Pays a registration fee as shall be prescribed by the Union, and iii. Is admitted by a body authorised to admit members into the Union. (BONABOTO, National Constitution, 2002).

Just like the Aduamoaman association, the BONABOTO also accept people through marriage. The respondents noted that through marriage a spouse, who is not originally from the origin communities, becomes part of the family of member partner and thus can become a member of the association. This is, however, not automatic since the non-indigene spouse will have to

express interest, become registered, pay dues and participate in the activities of the association. One of such members I spoke to was the wife of a male member of the group. I got the indication that there might be a few of such members. The BONABOTO area is patriarchal and so it was nearly expected that male members may influence their wives to join the group. Some of the respondents shared:

Once you are born from within these areas you can be a member. Apart from that we have people who are not born within our enclave but once you have the interest of these areas, once you have the interest of BONABOTO, we will incorporate you. We can even incorporate you [referring to the researcher] as an ex officio member...hahaha. You know, his [pointing to one of the members] wife is not from the area but she is part of us, that is through marriage. Sometime ago one of our godparents who was a retired regional administrative officer in the Upper East region, he was so formidable in the development of the area and so we recommended him and he became an ex officio member of the association. (Male, BONABOTO, aged 49 years)

One qualifies to be a member of the association if he/she is an indigene of Bolgatanga, Nangodi, Bongo and Tongo and the surrounding communities in the Upper East region of Ghana. My wife is not originally from the BONABOTO area but she is a registered member because of me. Sometimes our brothers from parts of the Upper East region which fall outside the BONABOTO area want to be members. We allow them to be members...they can only be members by association. (Male, BONABOTO, aged 33 years)

Another form of membership is the honorary membership. These are non-indigenes of the BONABOTO area and their environs who have contributed immensely to the promotion of the objectives of the association

and the origin communities. An honorary member is also required by the statutes of the association to pay the required dues and his or her membership is subject to the conformance with all other regulations of the group. Some of the members shared:

The association is for the four major communities and their environs but there are members who do not originate from the catchment area. A community like Kangaga is geographically not in the BONABOTO area but there are members who hail from there. Once they are willing to be part of the group, they are accepted. P. V. Obeng was a member and contributed immensely to support people in the area. He attended one of our congresses and registered and then later took on the responsibility to support some students. (Male, BONABOTO, aged 50 years)

Anyone can become a member of the BONABOTO, if only the individual subscribes to the beliefs of the group. The challenge may be the language barrier. This is because the group will not agree to speak or conduct themselves in a manner to suit members who may be different in terms of language. And so, you may not be from the origin communities, however, if you think you can cope and support the agenda of the group, you are welcomed to join. The group is for the development of the origin communities and every member, irrespective of where he/she come from, must support that agenda. (Male, BONABOTO, aged 43 years)

When inquired why they joined the association, the majority (62.5%) of the members saw the need to be part of the group in order to fulfil its purposes and thus develop the origin communities. This is followed by 21.25% of the responses indicating that, they joined the BONABOTO because they are indigenes of the origin areas (Table 13). The remainder (16.3%) saw the group as an avenue to meet new people, reconnect with old ones from the

areas of origin and also to get support in times of need. In this light, 53.8 percent of the members described the nature of the association as an ethnic one. In addition, while 42.5 percent regarded it as a hometown association, 3.8 percent saw it as a charity organisation.

Table 13: Reasons for joining the BONABOTO

Reason	Frequency	Percent (%)
To develop my hometown	50	62.50
Meet new people and reconnect with old ones	8	10.00
Because I come from the area	17	21.25
To get support in times of need	5	6.25
Total	80	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2016

Even though the members wish that all citizens both home and abroad join the association in order to promote the objectives of the association, membership in the BONABOTO is voluntary, as in the case of the Aduamoaman association. Non-participation from citizens of the origin communities who reside in Accra in the association does not attract any sanctions. In the Aduamoaman association, informal sanctions of neglect and non-attendance to non-members' events and needs are meted out to citizens who do not participate in the group. This action is effective because the Aduamo-Kwahu community is relatively small and so neglect by the group may be felt. However, the BONABOTO is a relatively large area compared to Aduamo-Kwahu. As such, the enforcement of informal sanctions that may compel members to join the group may not be feasible. In addition, Aduamo-Kwahu community is not differentiated in terms of chieftaincy, as the BONABOTO areas, because it has one chief. As such, the enforcement of

informal sanctions to encourage participation is feasible. In the light of the infeasibility of informal sanctions, the BONABOTO rely on common interests, education and volunteerism to attract its members.

Unlike the Aduamoaman association, the BONABOTO actually have honorary members whose membership criteria are carved into the group's constitution. However, the challenge remains that, as an honorary member or an associate member, the association will not channel some of its resources to promote your origin community. In addition, in cases where there may be language barriers, the honorary or association member will be at a disadvantage. This is in the light that a language barrier will impede the member from participating fully and contributing efficiently in the activities of the group.

The membership size of the Accra-Tema branch is between 100-150 members. However, the BONABOTO nationwide can boast of more than 500 members. Out of the 100-150 members at the branch, the highest attendance to meetings is often between 60-70 members. The majority (78.8%) of the members are relatively young and fall within the age bracket of 30-49 years. It was therefore expected that the length of membership will be low. Unlike the Aduamoaman association where the length of membership is relatively high (above 10 years and up to 35 years), 50 percent of the membership of the BONABOTO have been with the group for 6 years or less, 7.5 percent between 7-9 years and 42.5 percent 10 years or more. Other than the age dynamic, the young membership may be attributable to the fact that the majority (62.6%) of the members have stayed in the destination area for relatively few years (0-11years). There is a challenge of a continued

constriction of the membership size which was expressed by all the members. Some of the members are mere members by registration and do not attend meetings or participate fully in the activities of the group, while others are barred by a plethora of issues. This poses the challenge of the reduction in the financial and human resources that the association needs to execute its objectives.

Leadership and decision making

In order to run the association to the expected end, the BONABOTO has put in place a defined and stringent kind of leadership structure. There are four main streams of leadership in the association. Each stream is designated with distinct rights and responsibilities. These are the Congress, the National Executive Council (EC), National Executive Committee (NEC) and the Executive Committees of Branch Unions. There was the need for these organs of leadership as the group became larger and took on a national spread. The Congress which is the highest organ of decision-making is made up of the National Executive Council (EC), the chairpersons of all branches and secretaries of all branches, recognised by the National Executive Committee (NEC) and eight other members of good standing from each branch. The Congress meets every two years, often before the association's biennial congress. The Congress concerns itself with higher mandates such as managing the constitution and formulation of policy, auditing, budget approvals, sanction new branches, highest disciplinary body and electing National Executive Committee. These functions shall be carried out in accordance with the statutes of the Constitution.

Unlike the Congress, the National Executive Council (EC) is more permanent and meets more frequently, once a year. The EC is made up of the National Executive Committee (NEC), regional chairpersons and two representations from the student branches. The EC takes over the duties and mandates of the Congress when the latter is in recess. As such, the EC is the implementer of the approved constitution; it coordinates all branches and performs any other decision taken at the congress. It is usually from the EC that the National Executive Committee is elected.

The third organ is the National Executive Committee (NEC). It comprises of a president, a vice president, a secretary, a treasurer, a vice treasurer, an organising secretary and a public relations officer. The NEC meets at least once in every two months to deliberate and discharge mandates of implementing decision of the Congress. It administers the day-to-day running of the BONABOTO and can convene Congress or Executive Council meetings. At the end of every financial year, the NEC renders an account to the association.

At the local branch level, there is an executive board that runs the group. The local branch executive is a semblance of the NEC. This is because there are similar designations and responsibilities, however, at levels below the NEC. The branch executive structure is headed by a chairperson and the other members are the vice chairperson, the secretary, the treasurer, the financial secretary and an organising secretary. Various aspects of the day-to-day administration of the branch are managed by this group of leaders. The local executive board reports to the NEC. In discharging their duties, the local executive board can co-opt and also form interim committees as they deem fit.

In the Accra-Tema branch one of such committees is the welfare committee, presided over by the welfare chair.

Responses from the members showed that they were aware of the various leadership structures that exist in the association. In Table 14, it can be seen that 75.3 percent confirmed that elected executive officers run the affairs of the association, 8.6 percent were aware of a board of directors (the EC) and 16.1 percent knew that some of the executives are also appointed, such as those in charge of the sub-committees. It is important to note that the National Constitution of the BONABOTO which is the main legal document that prescribes how the association is operated is adapted at the branch and student level to meet the special needs of the members.

Table 14: Knowledge about the executive structure of BONABOTO

Category	Responses	
	Frequency	Percent
Board of Directors	8	8.6%
Elected executive members	70	75.3%
Appointed executive members	15	16.1%
Total	93	100.0%

Source: Fieldwork, 2016

Members of the BONABOTO who wish to be leaders in the association are often mandated to meet certain requirements. A potential candidate has to be a registered member of the branch association for at least a year, has honoured all financial obligations, has a record of regular attendance to meetings and does not hold executive position(s) in any political party.

Emphasis was laid on the fact that the association does not mingle with politics as a measure to break barriers of non-participation. Every two years, the association changes its leadership and new leaders are elected. The processes of choosing the leaders are done in a 'democratic' and 'transparent' manner. Often, the candidate is nominated by himself or another member of the association. A nomination needs to be seconded by at least one other member, and after satisfying all other requirements, will be put to a vote, usually by a secret ballot. Some of the members shared:

We elect leaders in every two years. Members are nominated, seconded and voted for, to become leaders. We do not go by the ballot paper system of voting. Members vote by just a show of the hand. On the day of the election all executive board members are regarded as ordinary members. The appointed electoral commissioner then leads the elections. This is how it done even at the national level. Usually, at the biennial congress national executives are elected. (Male, BONABOTO, age 60 years)

All the positions in the association are ascended to through elections. The national association's day-to-day management is done by the national executive committee. (Male, BONABOTO, age 33 years)

Another added:

...when the tenure of the current leadership ends one has to be nominated...we do not require people to campaign...when the time comes the person will have to be nominated, when accepted then you will have to be voted for as an executive. The voting is done at a general meeting and everyone has a vote. (Male, BONABOTO, age 43years)

Honorary members who are in good standing with the association could also be nominated, seconded and voted for to become leaders. Decision

making in the association is done in a similar way that elections are done in the BONABOTO. Every member has a vote and a say in decisions concerning the day-to-day running of the local branch union. This is however subjected to the level at which the decision is made and enormity of influence that the decision will have on the branch, regional or national levels of the association. For example, the formulation of a strategic plan or a policy that will change or redirect a major objective of association will be done at the Congress or Executive Council. At that level, ordinary members of the branch unions will not have a vote. When the scope of a matter is above the branch executive committees, approval needs to be sought at the National Executive Committee and National Executive Council levels before implementation.

A decision is made by a simple majority when a consensus is not reached. Decisions are made, except during emergencies, at general meetings. All of the respondents (100%) affirmed that indeed all decisions are made at general meetings. While 88.5 percent answered that all decisions are taken by the general membership, 11.5 percent mentioned that the executives are the decision makers. The agenda for meetings are often prepared by the branch executives. Often when issues on the agenda for the day are exhausted, members are allowed to raise one or two issues of concern for discussion. Some of the respondents shared:

There are two main decision makers. The day-to-day management decisions with respect to organisation are done by the executive committee. However, there are some issues which have to be addressed by the executive council, and for some you will have to seek approval. On the other hand, some of the decisions are taken and implemented by the executive committee. The council serves as an advisory board to the executive committee. Decisions are not taken unilaterally. That is

absolutely out of the question. Decisions are made at our meetings, we deliberate on them and we come to a consensus. If there is the need to vote, we do so. (Male, BONABOTO, age 33 years)

...even those abroad have their say: but because they are not in Ghana, they cannot not represent physically. But anytime we take national council decisions, it is circulated to all branches and inputs are made. (Male, BONABOTO, age 43 years)

Another added:

All members are involved in decision making processes. All we [executive committee] have to do is to table the issues for discussion at the meetings and they have to take the decision. Of course during the meetings there is always time for 'any other businesses' where members voice out whatever you think is relevant. We have the business for the day...we have our agenda, and after that we have other matters...you are at liberty to say what you think will be in everybody's interest and we all talk about it and if it is fitting, we accept it. (Male, BONABOTO, age 49 years)

Activities

The BONABOTO concerns itself mainly with contributing to development of the members, origin communities, the Upper East region and Ghana as a whole. To achieve this, the association focuses on sectors such as infrastructure, social interventions, activism and lobbying, and public education (Owusu, 2000, Antwi Boasiakoh, 2009; Hirano-Nomoto, 2014). This corroborates Chauvet et al's (2015) submission that the associations are concerned with the provision of public goods, especially in the origin areas. Unlike the Aduamoaman association the BONABOTO has a wider spread in terms of activities and is also more vibrant, organised and preferred. The wide

spectrum of the discussions at the meetings was highlighted by the members. Given multiple response options on the main issues discussed during meetings, 29.3 percent selected economic and/or financial issues, 40.7 percent selected social issues, 0.6 percent selected political issues, 27.5 percent selected cultural issues and 1.8 percent selected 'unspecified'. The percentages derived for the activities portrayed similar character; economic (13.9%), social (51.4%), political (0.7%) and cultural (34.0%). There are however no distinct lines drawn between these four main sectors, they are inter-sectorial. It was noted that much emphasis is placed on the society and its members and how to improve their lives.

On the economic aspect, much of the discussions is focussed on employment and other conditions in the Ghanaian economy. Many of the members who migrate to the south, Accra and its environs, do so for the purposes of seeking employment (Adepoju, 2005; Shimeless, 2010). It is based on this assumption that the association discusses and finds opportunities for its members and even the origin communities (these interventions and contributions are discussed extensively in the next chapter). The challenge however has been that, the association has not done much in the economic lives of its beneficiaries – in the origin and destination areas – due to lack of funds, will and commitment. With regard to economic issues, the respondents also classified issues of dues payments and other financial obligations.

Social issues dominate the discussions and activities of the association. These issues include interventions in education, public education and intervention on current menaces, and members' welfare. Some of the cases in point mentioned by the respondents were education and intervention on the

rising cases of armed-robbery in the origin communities and provision of loans and grants for students who are citizens of the origin communities, through the BONABOTO Education Assistance Fund (BEAF) facility. Closely associated to social issues is cultural. The cultural activities undertaken by the union are mainly the organisation of events to relive and showcase the cultural values and heritage of the origin areas. This is done through dance, fashion, food and drink. One of such events is the periodic Frafra-Dagaaba games often held at the El-Wak sports stadium in Accra. Some of the respondents intoned:

We do a lot of education. Sometimes we move into Kantamanto market, where we talk to the people about the need to educate their children. We also visit the tertiary institutions where we speak to students from the origin areas. The last place we did that was in the UEW, Ajumako campus, where the national executives encouraged the participation in the group. The association also organises games [Frafra-Dagaaba games]. There is also a form of socialisation day, every quarter of the year, where we move together after the meeting to a spot to drink and chat. (Male, BONABOTO, age 48 years)

The association is concerned with welfare issues and development issues. It also sometimes tries to reach out to the government to see how best they can do certain projects in our place [of origin] to support development. Recently, when the feeding grant was delayed the BONABOTO issued a statement to that effect. We organise friendly games with our other ethnic groups like the Dagaatis. The Dagaatis are our playmates and culturally we have similar links. Sometimes we go to the beach with our families to have time for ourselves. (Male, BONABOTO, age 38 years)

Just as portrayed by the Aduamoaman association, the BONABOTO was found to be ‘allergic’ to partisan politics. The misconception that characterised the Aduamoaman’s delineation of all political issues as partisan, also pigeon-holed the BONABOTO’s ideas about the topic. This is evidenced by the fact that an only one percent of the members mentioned that the association discusses or engages in political activities. From the interviews, there were strong signals that the association is apolitical and the group will go to every extent to remain as such. The reasons assigned were that, in the polarised Ghanaian society partisan political differentiations divides groups of people, especially those organised based on similar origin communities. To the members, political differences are secondary to ethnicity or hometown and as such, it is best to maintain the primary bond. Even though there are members who may be affiliate to political parties, the gathering of the BONABOTO is geared towards the origin communities. These position is, as expressed by the members are as follows:

The organisation is apolitical. We have members who belong to or show leaning towards or have connections with different parties, but once we come to talk about BONABOTO it is apolitical. However individual members have the freedom to choose any party they want to belong to or associate with. We have created a WhatsApp platform for the association. Some of the members wanted to discuss political issues on that platform, but we ban them. It will bring division in the association, thus we don’t tolerate it...no, no, no, we don’t tolerate it. (Male, BONABOTO, age 64 years)

We don’t do politics...you shouldn’t be a politician. We try as much as possible not to let politicians take over. To be a leader you should not be in active politics. Our past president is contesting in a political

position, but while in office, you cannot be a leader (Male, BONABOTO, age 33 years)

We are non-political. Political parties have their members in the BONABOTO, but once we go for meetings nobody talks about politics (Male, BONABOTO, age 50years)

The major source of funds for the BONABOTO is the membership dues paid by members and any other voluntary contributions. Every registered member of the association pays monthly dues of GH¢5.00. On occasions of members' events or misfortunes, such as marriage, funerals, illness, etc., the association pays an amount to the beneficiary members. Besides the constitutionally mandated amount paid, members on their own volition may contribute in cash or in kind to the members, the bereaved or the suffering members. In addition, members can afford to contribute various sums into the BEAF (BONABOTO Education Assistance Fund) which is used to support the education objectives of the association. Another source of funds is the contributions of members of the association who are in the diaspora, especially, the USA and the UK branches.

CHAPTER FIVE
BENEFITS OF MIGRANTS' ASSOCIATIONS TO MEMBERS AND
PLACES OF ORIGIN

Introduction

In the preceding chapter, the socio-demographic characteristics and the formation histories and organisation of the two migrant associations considered in this study were presented. In this Chapter, the benefits enjoyed by the members of the associations, benefits to the places of origin and the contributions of the associations to the host area, Accra and its environs are discussed. This is in fulfilment of the third specific objective of the study; *examine the benefits of the associations to members, the host community and their places of origin*. Before proceeding, the migration decisions of the members of the association and the reasons underlying them are briefly discussed.

Migration Decision and Reasons

People migrate for many reasons. Some have migrated in search of better opportunities, to earn a better living, and join families or friends, while others have been compelled to move, such as in the case of diseases, drought, conflicts and natural disasters (Michael & Benjamin, 2012). Literature shows that, in general terms, migration occurs as a result of the imbalances in development and economic opportunities between origin and destination areas (Kwankye, et al, 2007; Geest, 2011; Adaawen & Owusu, 2013; Potts, 2013), even though this is becoming more diverse (Flahaux & de Haas, 2016). This is

no different in the case of this study as the members reiterated these reasons for migrating to Accra and its environs (Table 15).

Table 15: Reasons for migrating

Reasons for migrating	Aduamoaman		BONABOTO	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Join family	0(0.0%)	16(76.2%)	0(0.0%)	6(18.8%)
Employment	17(89.5%)	5(23.8%)	12(25.0%)	20(62.5%)
Education/schooling	2(10.5%)	0(0.0%)	36(75.0%)	6(18.8%)
Total	19(100.0%)	21(100.0%)	48(100.0%)	32(100.0%)

Source: Fieldwork, 2016

From Table 16, the majority of the members cited employment and education as their reasons for migrating to Accra. From the table it can be seen that 55 percent of Aduamoaman members and 40 percent of the BONABOTO members cited employment as their reason for migrating to the destination area. The dynamic is that the membership of the Aduamoaman is relatively old (87.5% falls within 60–79) (see Table 4) and the majority (90%) have education levels below tertiary (see Table 5). The majority of the members migrated to Accra when they were at a relatively young age. This is so because a considerable number (57.5%) of the members had lived in the destination for more than twenty-one years. Literature shows that the young and educated tend to out migrate, especially to access jobs and education (Adaawen & Owusu, 2013).

According to the neo-classical theory of migration, the fundamental reason underlying migration is the difference between the rural and expected urban wage. It posits that people move from relatively low income areas to

higher ones. On this principle, Ranis and Fei (1961) emphasised that surplus labour is drawn from the traditional agricultural sector to the urban industrial sector. This is placed in a push-pull framework where better conditions in the destination areas attract people from the origin/sending areas where conditions are poor. The origin area of the BONABOTO (Bolgatanga, Nangodi, Bongo and Tongo) and its environs in the Upper East region of Ghana is relatively poor, and riddled with food insecurity, lack of basic infrastructure and services (Van der Geest, 2004; 2011; Black et al 2006; Ghana Statistical Service, 2013; Adaawen & Owusu, 2013). This is not different from the mountainous communities of Kwahu, where the members of the Aduamoaman originate from Aduamo-Kwahu is rural in nature and challenged with poor water supply, and lack of employment (Ghana Statistical Service, 2013).

This was emphasised by the respondents in the interviews and group discussions. To them, there is gap between the destination and origin areas. Descriptors such as ‘deprived’, ‘peculiar poverty’ were used to communicate this gap to the researcher. For this reason, their migration is mainly influenced by the availability of such facilities and services in Accra. One respondent shares:

In Aduamo the people are mainly peasant farmers and they are poor. Those of us in Accra have more money than them... (Male, Aduamoaman, age 56 years)

Another added:

When you go to Aduamo now you will find only old women and old men, there is no good job there too. And so if the young men and women in Accra are able to meet, each of us will contribute something small that he or she can afford. And when we are able raise something

substantial, we help the progress of the town. (Female, Aduamoaman, age 78 years)

Others shared:

There is a lot of poverty in the area. Just look at Bongo, poverty is all over. As for here we have a lot of brilliant people here and strong people, but we don't actually have sufficient raw materials to embark on businesses that will help the people. Look at this place and you see only rocks...for poverty, you should know that our people are very poor... (Female, Bongo, age 35 years)

We have a lot of challenges in this area. We have peculiar problems of poverty, poor road networks, water problems, especially in the Nangodi, Tongo and Bongo areas. The young ones always want to travel to the south, Kumasi and Accra to do menial jobs to get money... (Male, FGD, Bolgatanga, age 33 years)

As noted in the voices above, the major driver of migration in both areas is linked to the poor conditions in the origin communities and the expected better conditions in the destination areas. Other than employment, a percentage, especially in the case of the BONABOTO (52.5%), migrated to Accra for educational purposes. It is important to mention that out of this, only 7.5 percent were females. This is not surprising because literature establishes that out-migration is leaned towards males and the educated. Often after completion of their tertiary educations, they tend to stay behind to seek employment. Such was the case of most of the members in the group. Unlike the BONABOTO, only 5.0 percent of the members of the Aduamoaman migrated to Accra for education purposes. One respondent shared:

I have lived in Accra for close to six years now. I enrolled in the University of Ghana. When I entered the university I never had the

chance to go back to stay up there, I only visit sometimes. (Male, BONABOTO, age 29 years)

Other than economic factors people migrate for social reasons. One of the social reasons is to join a partner or family relations. As a critique to the economic rigidity of the Neo-classical theory of migration, Stark and Bloom (1985), Taylor (1986) and later de Haas (2008) developed a perspective to factor in family and households in family decisions. The NELM perspective emphasises the prominence of household and family decisions over individual ones. Indeed, this is corroborated in the responses given (see Table 15). While 40 percent of the members of the Aduamoaman association indicated that they migrated for family reasons, 7.5 percent of the BONABOTO respondents migrated to join their spouses. It is important to mention that all those who assigned 'join family' as their reason for migrating were females (see Table 15). This reaffirms the patriarchal nature within the family structure. Often, the men or husband are the decision makers, or at least are expected to be in marriage. It is therefore not trivial when only females selected the 'to join family' as their reason for migrating to the destination area.

When it comes to families making decisions about who migrates, especially for work, males tend to be encouraged. The male child is often placed above females in terms of strength and resilience. Studies establish that this is embedded in the understandings of masculinity in the Ghanaian culture. One of such work is Adinkrah's (2012) study on masculinity in Ghana, where he asserts that the Ghanaian culture will regard a man as esteemed when he is strong, independent, resilient and provider of his family. Mohammed and Apusigah (2005) observed that families in the Bongo District of the Upper

East region encourage their male children to migrate to the south in search of employment and thus, to take care of the family back home (Adaawen & Owusu, 2013). Here, migration is used as household's strategy in response to wage and income risks (Stark & Bloom, 1985), as argued by the NELM. This is done because of the prospect of remittances which becomes a form of 'insurance' to compensate the risks that household will bear if members decide to migrate. One participant noted:

Often during vacations, the students will like to go to the south to do menial jobs. While there the females often get pregnant. On the day of vacation, a lot of these children will head to the lorry station to board buses to Kumasi and other places. They do not have ready jobs down south and so the children may resort to lots of ways to make money. This increased the dropout rate in schools. Some of the parents are even in support of their wards travelling down south with the intention of making money. When the students are prevented from travelling down south, their parents will not understand you. They may even blame you for being all-knowing. (Male, Bolgatanga, age 33 years)

Furthermore, the respondents were asked whether they have achieved their aims for migrating to the destination areas. All members of the Aduamoaman association answered in the affirmative. However, 20 percent of the BONABOTO members, who migrated for employment purposes, indicated that they have not achieved their purpose for migrating. Could this be the reason for associating with the association in order to acquire employment? Is this a calculated decision to benefit from such relationship, as espoused by the Social Exchange theory?

The members through social networks became aware of the association in the destination area. These networks were made up of friends, classmates,

family relations and work colleagues, who either hail from the origin areas or are members of the migrants' associations. In some cases, the new migrants knew about the association before migrating to the destination area. In cases where the new migrants had no information of the presence of the groups, they created their own in the settling processes. The formation of the associations then becomes a formalised model of the social networks (Lopez et al, 2001; Gómez-Mestres, Molina & Hoeskma, 2012). Nonetheless, some of the members became aware of the groups through formalised channels like the media, mainly electronic media such as radio. Some members had this to say:

In the early 90s the citizens of Aduamo-Kwahu who were residing in Accra decided to come together, they saw the bad state of the town and decided to come together and do something about it. (Male, Aduamoaman, age 77 years)

When I came back from abroad the association had collapsed because the chairman had died. I was invited by one of the elderly citizens of Aduamo living in Accra to become a member of the association so that I can help him organise our people... (Male, Aduamo, age 88 years)

Others shared:

I knew about the association before entering the university. BONABOTO is a nationalised association which you hear of on the radio, television, etc. I was fortunate that somebody from my area used to be one of the national executives. He spoke about it often. (Male, BONABOTO, age 29 years)

In spite of the varied reasons for migrating, members of the Aduamoaman (80%) and BONABOTO (62.5%) seem to converge on the assertion that they formed or joined the association for the purposes of

contributing to the development of their origin areas. To the Social Exchange theorist, this is a rationally thought out process of weighing costs and benefits. In this instance, the benefits are intrinsic and intangible such as prestige, honour approval and respect (Blau, 1964a in Emerson, 1976). Nonetheless, the members expect to benefit and sometimes, when these benefits are not forthcoming, they might leave the group. One member shared:

People are not attending the meetings like they used to do. People join societies because they want support when in need. Sometimes when you are unable to help someone in need, he stays away. It is linked to the payment of dues, when they don't come, they don't also pay dues. Yet when they have problems, they come to us. Someone who is not even a member will come to the meeting and say, 'I have a problem, and I need your help'. Sometimes they talk to a member and instead of coming alone to tell us, will come with the person [the one in need] to try and get sympathy. And so when they come and they do not get the necessary support they go away...they do not just go away but also discourage others from coming. The other thing is, when they are sick, the member will not tell anybody. Later they bring complaints that they were not visited and assisted when they were sick. (Male, BONABOTO, age 60 years)

The associations are sources of social capital for the members. In line with Bourdieu's (1986) argument, this social capital '*can be converted into other resources*' such as employment opportunities, housing and provide other welfare services. And so when such benefits are not provided, the disappointment may cause lackadaisical attitudes towards the group or members may fall out totally. What then are the benefits that accrue to members as they join the associations? In the section that follows, the benefits that the members enjoy are discussed.

Benefits of the Associations to Members

People participate in migrants' associations for many reasons. These reasons are economic, social, cultural and even political. Generally, migrants' associations are formed to cater for the needs of members (Owusu, 2000; Antwi Boasiakoh, 2009; Beauchemin & Schoumaker, 2009; Hirano-Nomoto, 2014). The respondents intimated a variety of benefits that they gain by participating in the groups. From the structured interviews, in-depth interviews, focus group discussion and other documents of the associations, the benefits accrued to members were captured in Table 16. For the purposes of this discussion, the benefits are categorised into four main, but connected, sections namely; economic/financial, social/welfare, cultural and education benefits.

Table 16: Benefits to members of the associations

Category	Aduamoaman		BONABOTO	
	Frequency	Percent %	Frequency	Percent %
Economic/financial	9	8.4	49	18.9
Social	93	86.9	173	66.8
Cultural	5	4.7	37	14.3
Total	107	100.0	259	100.0

There are multiple responses in both cases

Source: Fieldwork, 2016

Economic/financial benefits

There is a wide array of benefits that members of the associations enjoy. This differs from one migrants' association to the other. This is because such groups are usually organised based on the need of the members and for any other purposes for which it was formed. Even though often dismissed by

the respondents, there are benefits that accrue to them as they participate in the associations, as shown on the conceptual framework (Figure 2). Such benefits range from a mere opportunity to fraternise to the giving of loans. In this section, the economic benefits that the members alluded to are explained.

The members enjoy economic benefits such as financial assistance, business advice, employment opportunities and loans. Responses, across the two groups, indicated that such economic benefits accrue to members. This was found to be so in the case of Ghanaian migrants' associations in Toronto (Owusu, 2000) and urban voluntary associations in Cameroon (Hirano-Nomoto, 2014). Firstly, the respondents indicated that through the assistance within the group, members were able to access some forms of livelihoods or employment. This finding bears on Bourdieu's (1986) argument that social capital is converted to other resources, such as employment opportunities, housing and provide other welfare services. This is especially so for those members who are new in the destination areas. Some of the members shared:

In the institution where I had my national service, I happened to meet one of the senior members of the BONABOTO, who is currently the HR [human resource] director for the institution. So after the service, I was employed on merit but I think he had an influence. If I had gone there without knowing anybody I wouldn't have known about the vacancy and wouldn't have put in my best. (Male, BONABOTO, age 29 years)

In helping members to acquire job, this happens every day, but that will not be on the level of the association itself. There are key senior members here in different positions throughout the country, so once I am a member and I know somebody I can speak to...so we help each other severally...we create business networks. Some of the members are prison officers, directors, CEOs [chief executive officers],

ministers, MPs [members of parliament] and in other high positions, and they help people to acquire employment in their institutions. Though it is through the BONABOTO it is not the association that does it, but the individual members. (Male, BONABOTO, age 29 years)

...if an employment opportunity exists in someone's organisation, they put up the advert here so that those who are interested and qualified can apply. (Male, BONABOTO, age 43 years)

...members are made aware of the job vacancies. It is therefore left to you with your job qualification to apply. We have done a lot of that. People always provide information concerning the job vacancies and give the necessary contacts and then encourage people to apply. I have personally taken people's applications to where I had hints that they will be employed. What we have failed to do is to follow up to see whether the fellow was employed or not. (Male, BONABOTO, age 63 years)

In coming together, we are also able to assist members who do not have sources of livelihoods in finding employment, earn money and then support the origin community. (Male, Aduamoaman, age 56 years)

The majority of the members, especially in the BONABOTO, indicated that the assistance is given in the forms of making information on job vacancies available to members and encouraging the qualified applicants to apply. At best, the application forms are submitted on behalf of the job-seeker. However, there were a couple of instances where the respondents indicated that they were 'favoured' above other applicants because of their close relationships (engendered in the association) with the employer or people designated by the employing institution to hire or recommend applicants for the vacant positions.

It was noticed that the assistance given is mainly for ‘formal’ employment opportunities. There is the fear in starting up businesses informally for the members, because of experienced or anticipated problems. Some of the respondents intimated that association-owned start-ups often face challenges in terms of finance and management. As a managerial challenge, it was indicated that the venture can become a source of dishonesty and misunderstanding, which will derail the unity that exists in the group. In addition, setting up such ventures also requires that the group conducts a feasibility study and also provide monitoring mechanisms. To them, this is demanding, in terms of time and resources and because members may have other priorities, they might not have the time to spare. As such, the association is very cautious with the idea of investing in informal ventures which can accommodate those members who have little or no education and hence will not fit into the formal sector. A member shared:

We have considered this at our meetings and at a point in time we considered setting up ventures. But the difficulty is how to monitor the business to ensure its profitability. We had thought about buying fridges and deep freezers for people who were ready to sell water. We have also thought about buying grinding mills and place them in our areas where people mill corn, millet, etc. and let someone manage them. The fear is that people will not be honest and that will hurt the cordial relationship we share. But we encourage people to acquire education so that when job vacancies become available, they can apply. (Male, BONABOTO, age 63 years)

Another added:

It is problematic now because of the economic situation. You cannot vouch for people in situations like that. The people might not be able to sell the goods or whatever he/she invested the money in, as quickly as

possible, because of the bad economic situation in the country. The economic situation used to be better. In recent times businesses are not profitable. If you vouch for them, in the end they will not be able to pay back. (Female, Aduamoaman, age 59 years)

Secondly, as a form of economic benefit, the members of the association benefit from business or career advice from established and successful members of the association. About six percent of the responses indicated that members enjoy this benefit. This was however not paramount in the interviews and discussions. Finally, less than two percent of members of the BONABOTO indicated that they have benefitted from receiving loans within the association. Indications were made that one-to-one informal loans can be acquired from other members and repaid later. It must be indicated that at the Accra-Tema branch, this was not found at the association level but rather from one member to another. However, in the Bolgatanga branch for instance, a credit facility has been established to give loans to members. This facility is in its nascent stages and hence is not made public for non-members to access. The group has the prospect that it will grow to become a well-established credit union. This was shared by a member of the branch:

We have established a credit union and it is operational. But then it is not publicly known as a credit union yet. We are just loaning small sums to ourselves with interest of 15percent per annum. (Male, BONABOTO, age 50 years)

From the preceding discussions, it is evident that economic activities and their attendant's benefit for members are not the priority of the associations. Nonetheless, it is undeniable that the members benefit anyway, however little. These are the tangible benefits that inform their decisions to

continue participating in the group or otherwise. In the next section, the social and welfare benefits that the members get from the association and other members are discussed in detail. It is noteworthy to state that the associations' main concern, other than contributing to the development of the origin areas, is the welfare of the members.

Social benefits

The social concerns of the associations borders on welfare of members and social interventions for the residents of the origin community (see Figure 2). The majority (56.7%) of the members indicated that members of the association enjoy some sort of social and welfare benefits within the association. The social and welfare benefits include support systems in times of misfortune and other events, avenues for settlement and integration, promoting friendship and even avenues to form other social relationships such as marriage. Indeed, these social benefits are well-engraved in the establishment of the associations and it is expected. This is actually so because migrants' associations are often organised around the needs of the members, and by extension, those of their origin communities. The expectation of these benefits mediate or influence the level of participation and the level at which members will contribute to the origin areas (Figure 2). The associations have even constitutionalised these social benefits. Some of the members shared that the benefits exist:

We recognise that the close affinity we enjoy back home is not present in Accra. That is why we support each other during outdooing and funerals. A few weeks back, we had to go to Swedru to commiserate with one of our leaders whose sister died when she visited her. We

*drove all the way there, gave some donations and then came back.
(Male, BONABOTO, age 48 years)*

We often visit individual members who have had newly born babies. During such visits the group makes donations to the member. We do the same during marriage ceremonies or weddings, funerals, where members visit the bereaved, sympathise with him or her, etc. Similar thing is done in times of sickness. (Male, BONABOTO age 33 years)

Others added:

In the Aduamo community there is unity and love, portrayed in the way we build, so close to each other's houses and sometimes sharing walls, sharing food, etc. Such was the love that our ancestors shared and so we saw it as expedient to come together to relive and share that togetherness. That has been the focus. (Male, Aduamoaman, age 56 years)

There are no significant benefits for members...all that one gets is a token during funerals. Our former chairman used to organise parties for us though, but he is incapacitated now and succeeded by a new chairman. We do not gain anything significant but we are members because of the love that we have for our town and the joy of being in the group...when any member falls sick and we are informed, we visit him and give him a token. But we do not give financial assistance such as loans to members. The group does not have enough to give. (Female, Aduamoaman, age 59 years)

Some of the members also intimated:

A member is entitled to receive the welfare package covering one spouse, one mother, one father and children. On the occasion of death of any of these immediate family members the welfare token is given once. On the occasion of illness, naming ceremony, marriage, etc. it can be given more than once when the need arises. (Male, BONABOTO, age 64 years)

You know, it [police arrest] happens everywhere...when it happens and there is the need for someone to bail the person and any member is contacted he or she needs to assist, but not to interfere with the work of the police. (Male, BONABOTO, age 43 years)

Other than the members' loud assertion (68.3%) that they participate in the associations for the purpose of contributing to the origin area's development by finding solutions to its problems, they also became members with the expectation of meeting new people and reconnecting with old ones, to get support in times of need and because they are citizens of the origin (31.7%). The responses indicated that these expectations were often met. This was confirmed by some 51.8 percent of the members whose responses showed that, they had either benefitted or are aware of other members receiving the benefits in times of illness, bereavement, marriage ceremony or naming ceremony. One beneficiary mentioned:

We support during weddings too. I remember that one brother informed us about his wedding and as a norm, we attend the ceremony and gave him a token. After then, he does not attend meetings. In such a case you cannot force him to come (Female, Aduamoaman, age 78 years)

The association came to mourn with me when I lost my brother. When BONABOTO attends a funeral you will know that they are there. They will make their presence felt. They also attended my mother-in-law's funeral and took all attendees by surprise. Up till now people recount the memories and impact that BONABOTO made at the funeral. I organised the drumming group known as the 'Gulu'. On that day the BONABOTO attended and together with the 'Gulu' they shook the funeral grounds. (Male, BONABOTO, age 63 years)

My wedding came off in 2014 and the group attended. We have a welfare that is in charge of such things. They came to the wedding and the welfare on behalf of the association gave a contribution and those who attended also made voluntary contributions for me. (Male, BONABOTO, age 43 years)

As a secondary group in the destination area, within which members share close affinity, the association also serves a purpose in the events of dispute among members and between members and the destination environment. Conflict is concomitant to human interactions and in the events of its eruption, mechanisms are put in place to resolve it. Members had these to say:

Once in a while, as human aggregates, there are misunderstandings between members and even between members and the surrounding communities where the BONABOTO had to step in to resolve such issues. (Male, BONABOTO, age 49 years)

It is normal that there will be members who will not live up to expectation. These are human factors. Mostly we have mediations, etc.... a committee is set up to resolve all such issues. (Male, BONABOTO, age 40 years)

In all this, leaders do not benefit more significantly than ordinary members. An added advantage you may enjoy as a leader is when more people attend your social functions and also lend their support in times of need. One member shared:

Some of the members think that the association massively attend the programmes of 'big' people. The number of people who will attend your event is dependent on the impact that you make in the association. If you are lackadaisical towards meetings and the activities of the association and do not also socialise, people may not know you. These

members will not also attend the family gathering events of the association. And so when funerals and other events concerning such lackadaisical members are announced members are not able to easily associate with them. In my case I have been the captain of the Frafra football team, its coach and later the organiser of the games. I have also held positions such as the national and branch secretaries. And so when I invite the association to my event you expect them to attend in their numbers. (Male, BONABOTO, age 63 years)

The benefits, as the Constitution demands, will not be given to members who are not in good standing with the association. To be in good standing means “*a member who, having been registered as a member, does not owe the union, either in dues or any financial obligations of the union and attends meetings of the union regularly*”. However, individual members can support other out of their benevolence and in their own capacities. These support systems offered by the associations provide the needed environment to necessitate the settling processes, especially of new migrants. In the words of one member, ‘*the provision of the support systems fosters healthy living devoid of frustration*’. To Adaawen and Owusu (2013), this fosters migration from the origin areas because there are already many of the migrants in the destination and also because the associations are vibrant.

Other than the economic, social and welfare benefits that the members derive from the associations, about five percent of the members of the BONABOTO and none for Aduamoaman indicated that they have enjoyed some forms of educational support. The demography of the members of the BONABOTO indicated that 47.5 percent had graduated from tertiary institutions while 46.3 are civil servants. Most of the members were registered with the association, especially the student wings, while in school. Among

them, those who had difficulties in finances often fell on the association for help. As a member, one becomes aware of the educational facility known as BONABOTO Education Assistance Fund (BEAF). From the BEAF, tertiary students are given loans which will later be refunded when they acquire jobs after graduation. The facility is for all students from the origin area, irrespective of where the person resides. One of the beneficiary members had this to share:

...I re-applied to the university the following year and had admission. I made a resolve that no matter where I find the money, I will enrol into the university. At that point I had saved enough to cover the tuition fees and so I needed to raise money for the accommodation. It was then that I sought help from the BONABOTO. The association honoured my application for a loan and I was able to pay for the accommodation. (Male, BONABOTO, age 29 years)

In addition, the general membership also benefits from public education sessions organised by the association. The public education is often given during meetings. The education focuses on current issues in the country and especially those that concern the origin communities. At the times of my visits to the BONABOTO group, they had had some education about armed robbery situations in the origin communities. Members were given some safety tips and how to protect and defend themselves from such attacks. Other issues discussed included teenage pregnancy. Apart from these, major efforts of the association towards education were geared towards the origin communities. These will be discussed in detail in the next section.

The association also served as a training ground for the members, especially the younger ones. This is in the form of a sort of ‘mentor–mentee’

relationship where the members learn from each other. In Adrian Pantoja's study (2005) of Dominicans' association in Washington, he found that the immigrant members got the skills to participate in US elections. Members also have the opportunity to hone their organisational skills (Somerville et al, 2008). One member shared:

The BONABOTO is also a training ground for leadership. It is beneficial, especially to those who joined the local branches right after graduation. It is usually difficult for such people to stand in front of people to address them. As I worked with the branch chair, I have learnt a lot from him. I translate this to my workplace and I am able to respond to my boss appropriately. (Male, BONABOTO, age 43 years)

Based on the assumptions of the social capital theory the migrants' associations, woven around a network of migrants, become a source of capital which can accrue benefits to the members. Unless the associations' social capital '*can be converted to other resources*' (Bourdieu, 1986), to help find jobs, housing and provide other welfare services, it ceases to be social capital. Similarly argued by Arango (2004), migration networks will be social capital if they facilitate the access to goods of economic significance such as employment. Indeed, it has become evident that social capital is increasingly becoming important in securing a livelihood (Lyons & Snoxell, 2005).

In spite of the array of benefits, members are cautioned not to dwell on the expected personal benefits as the motivation for participating in the association. The members should rather take pride in contributing their quotas to the origin communities. It cannot, however, be overlooked that the migrants joined the association with the expectations of the benefits, as resonated by the Social Exchange theory. These expectations presume the level of involvement

and contribution in the association as well (Figure 2). People, as rational as they are will choose to form, join or maintain relationships when it accrues to them some benefits. As put forward by Blau (1964a) social exchange is 'limited to actions that are contingent on rewarding reaction from others' (in Emerson, 1976). The benefits may not necessarily be of material value but also symbolic value such as approval, care, respect, loyalty and prestige. Some members shared:

...we are a community-based organisation and so you are not supposed to be focusing on your benefit, but the benefit of the community. We do not expect anyone to think that they joined the association for their personal benefits. We focus on the American rendition of who an American is; 'what do I have to offer my country and not what my country can offer me'...we think that the first priority is the community and so you should not allow your idiosyncrasies to overshadow the interests of the community. Members are supposed to offer some help in the identified areas where the community needs help...but then we also realise the homogeneity of our community and it needs to hold us together and so those things that we do in our communities will have to be replicated here. And if one has a problem then all of us have a problem. And so when you are in trouble we have to support you as a brother or a sister. (Male, BONABOTO, age 48 years)

While improving the lives of members, it is expected that the associations may also have an impact on the host community. However, all responses indicated that the main concerns of the associations were the welfare of members and the development of the origin communities. To the members, Accra is already developed, after all that is what attracted most of them, and as such they do not need to contribute to its development. In a

similar vein, the members lamented that the associations do not have enough funds to achieve their objectives of contributing to the betterment of lives in the origin areas and as such cannot spare any resources on Accra or Tema.

These were shared:

Not at all, as I mentioned, the main aim of the association is to develop the communities back home. We are in Accra to work and provide for those back home, and so we have not done anything here. That is not our focus. (Male, BONABOTO, age 63 years)

We do not engage in any development activities in the destination communities. This is mainly because we are not so resourceful and so cannot extend it that far. (Male, BONABOTO, age 40 years)

We have not done anything here. We don't need to develop Accra. We concentrate on the welfare of our members. During the floods in Accra, we supported people. But we did so because they were members of the association. (Male, BONABOTO, age 33 years)

We have done nothing for Accra or Tema. The government is here to develop the city. We will not even do that. We will use the little we have to develop the origin community. But we used to donate to orphanages and children hospitals. This was a long time ago, in the late 1970s. (Female, Aduamoaman, age 59 years)

We have not significantly contributed to the development of the destination or host communities. All that we do is to pay for the places that we use for our meetings. (Male, Aduamoaman, age 56 years)

Closely linked to these social and welfare benefits are the cultural benefits. Actually, these two categories are sometimes merged into one. Let us take a look at the cultural benefits that the members reported to have received.

Cultural benefits

Cultural identity, preservation and transmission are among the reasons why people participate in migrants' associations (Beauchemin & Schoumaker, 2009). In the destination area the migrants are often in new and unfamiliar environments. There is therefore the need to establish networks with other migrants and create or join groups to avert or reduce the risks. The informal networks that the migrants create usually start as groups to preserve and transmit cultural heritage and reduce alienation by creating some form of a sub-culture within the dominant culture of the host community (Sardinha, 2009). These ideas propelled the formation of the associations and they have over the years of their existence sought to fulfil this purpose.

Firstly, the group provides a platform for the members to reinforce their cultural and ethnic identity. It was acknowledged that the destination area, Accra, is different from the origin areas, in terms of cultural artefacts such as food, clothing, language, music, dance, etc. As such, migrant networks of citizens from the origin areas, become a way of identifying oneself and reaffirming that identity. To them, this bridges the gap between the migrants and their origin as a home away from home is created in the destination. This reduces any alienation and frustration that the migrants might feel in the destination areas. It then fosters an environment for the migrants to live and express themselves devoid of depression. Some of the members had this to say:

I was in Nigeria for 11years and I lived in a community where the people spoke only Yoruba and Hausa languages. I did not meet any Frafra person in the community. I saw how well-organised those tribes were...even they wrote in their language...and so when I came to

Accra I appreciated the importance of belonging to a group. Our mothers, fathers, brothers and sisters may not be here. The only person you can interact with is your fellow Frafra person at the meeting and we support each other. It makes you feel at home. I knew that it was a good thing and so I have been a member since then. (Male, BONABOTO, age 63 years)

We have an age-long affinity with the Dagaabas and the Wales and so we have a friendly relationship. We have taken it to the height that those of us who live here in Accra and Tema in every year we organise fun games between the Dagaabas and the Frafras. It has changed from being fun games and has become a cultural festival. It used to be just for a day, but now it moves into about two or three days and even a week. It has now become a cultural festival not only for us but for all people from the northern parts of Ghana. This fosters unity and our cultural identity. (Male, BONABOTO, aged 49 years)

The two associations, during meetings and other activities, insist that local languages of the origin areas should be the means of communication. Through this prescription, they are not only able to reaffirm their cultural identity but also provide familiar grounds for migrants, especially uneducated ones to feel relaxed and participate in the association. As stated by Meier (2005) these associations are the arena of displaying cultural belongingness and for the discourse of how tradition can be fitted into modern life. This is beneficial as the migrants are further integrated in the host community. Unlike the BONABOTO, the Aduamoaman does not hold cultural festivals and events in the destination area. Rather, during the Easter Kwahu festival, which is the biggest in their origin area, members of the group are encouraged to take part. This is attributable to the fact that the destination area, Accra, is relatively closer to Aduamoan-Kwahu unlike Accra-Upper East. Members of

Aduamoas, from the interactions I had with them, have frequent visits to their hometown, especially in times of festivals and funerals even though they prefer to remain migrants in Accra. They had these to say:

We do not have a distinct festival and so we have adopted the Kwahu Easter celebrations. (Female, Aduamoaman, age 78 years)

Other than the Easter celebration there is no other festival that Aduamoas commemorates. We have agreed as a group to organise a food bazaar to show the peculiar foods of our town. The symbolic food item of Aduamoas is Tiger nut. (Male, Aduamoaman, age 56 years)

In addition, through the association and interactions, the cultures of the people are preserved and passed on to the younger generation. Indeed, there are members who were born in the destination areas and had lived there since. As such, they may not have had contacts with other important aspects of their culture, other than their parents. In a cosmopolitan, nucleated and highly-economically driven society, especially in the destination area, the family may not be able to provide such aspects of the socialisation process. The association provides this through the family gatherings and festivals where various aspects of the cultures are displayed. In addition, talks on the history of the origin areas are given to the attendees. Hence, engagement in the group may represent a more permanent solution to the cultural transmission. Some members shared:

As a migrant, it is difficult to raise my children in the Traditional setting I would want them to grow up in, in terms of language, food, etc. The association exists to assist in this light. There are certain functions, for instance the family day, where members are required to attend in the company of their families. During such programmes we speak our native language and eat our foods. We try to bring to bear our culture so that the younger generation will learn. There is also the

Frafra and Dagaaba games where we relive our traditions. These avenues serve as ways of holding on to our cultural values. (Male, BONABOTO, age 43 years)

By studying such associations, Norris (1975) found that they also provide familial relations and interactions for migrants to build new lives in their host communities. Twumasi-Ankrah (1995) similarly alludes that by encouraging participation in cultural activities, the associations maintain ties to migrants' homelands. This, to him accounts for the smooth transition and adjustment into the host communities. This importance was also affirmed by Little (1965) and Tonah (2005) in their works on ethnic and tribal associations in Ghana.

Benefits to Places of Origin

After discussing the benefits that members derive from the associations, it is chronologically prudent to discuss the impacts on the origin areas. In this section therefore, the impacts of the associations on the origin areas, to satisfy the second part of the third objective of this study: *examine the impact of the associations on their places of origin*, is discussed. The data indicated that the origin communities of the groups are impacted significantly in areas such as infrastructure, education, culture and politics, and finding solutions to the former's development challenges (see Figure 2). As denoted on the conceptual framework (Figure 2), the associations interact significantly with the origin areas and vice versa. In responding to the question about the activities carried out in the origin area, the responses were categorised under four main titles namely economic (employment and income generation), social (social interventions, welfare, education, etc.), cultural (the preservation and

transmission of culture) and political (political administration, partisan or otherwise) (Table 17).

Table 17: Nature of activities carried out in the origin areas

Category	Aduamoaman		BONABOTO	
	Frequency	Percent (%)	Frequency	Percent (%)
Economic	12	23.1	18	17.0
Social	40	76.9	75	70.8
Political	0	0	6	5.7
Cultural	0	0	7	6.6
Total	52	100.0	106	100.0

There are multiple responses in both cases

Source: Fieldwork, 2016

From Table 17, it can be noted that majority of the members of Aduamoaman (76.9%) and the BONABOTO (70.8%) indicated that the groups' activities and impacts in the origin communities are mainly social in nature. This is followed widely by economic impacts with 23.1 percent by the Aduamoaman and the 17 percent for the BONABOTO. While the members of Aduamoaman association did not specify any political and cultural impact on Aduamoan-Kwahu, the BONABOTO recorded 12.3 percent in favour of political and cultural impacts in the origin communities of Bolgatanga, Nangodi, Bongo, Tongo and their environs. The impacts are discussed in the following sections.

Civic Engagement: Activism/Advocacy

To the associations, impacting positively on the origin areas forms an integral part of their aims and objectives. In fact, their whole setup and

organisation is based on the needs of the areas and their members. One of such areas that the associations impact the origin is the sphere of activism or advocacy (see figure 2). To this end, the associations act as a sort of ‘*think tank*’ who identify the challenges and publicise them in order to gain attention and solutions. Against the background that the origin areas are deprived and challenged in the spheres of development, the groups, based on their self-imposed objectives, are responsible for making these challenges known. In a similar fashion, Latin and Central American hometown associations in the US also contributed to civic engagements in the home countries (Somerville et al, 2008). The think tank status is resonated in the following:

The BONABOTO is primarily concerned with the development of the origin communities. As it progressed it took on education matters. The BONABOTO thus peruse the developmental challenges of the origin communities, for example the feeding grant and others such as roads, health, mining, etc. and make them known to the government of the day. (Male, Bongo, Opinion leader, age 59 years)

When the government releases the nation’s budget, the BONABOTO sets up a committee to examine the budget to identify proposed development concerning the area, in terms of quantity and quality. We are currently championing the establishment of the Upper East Regional Hospital in Bolgatanga. We keep reminding and pressuring the government of the need for development in the origin communities. (Male, BONABOTO, age 43 years)

The BONABOTO is a social group that criticises and seeks that the right things be done. The group tends to check the public institutions in the execution of their duties. The group will commend you for doing well and will also criticise you for the wrong. They are like a watchdog making sure that the right things be done. In a nutshell, they seek social justice. (Female, Bolgatanga, 26 years)

The origin areas of the BONABOTO (Bolgatanga, Nangodi, Bongo, Tongo and their environs), fall within the region that is the third highest in the incidence of poverty. In the Upper East region, more than four in every ten persons (44.4%) are poor (below the poverty line of GH¢1,314) (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014, p13). This is even worse when 21.3 percent of its population are further below the extreme poverty line (those who cannot meet their basic needs) of GH¢792.05 (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014, p14). This coupled with other challenges such as gaps in education levels, health, etc., are often made known so as to demand solutions from the government and other authorities. Some of the leaders lamented the challenges of the areas:

There is a disparity between the development level of the north and the south. Our area is highly deprived in so many ways. Those of us who are fortunate, we are here, then we should see how we can improve the welfare of people back home. Because we are okay but our people at home...they do not have the same opportunity...so that was the purpose of BONABOTO. (Male, BONABOTO, age 64 years)

If the southerners compare on that score, then they are better than us. There are no jobs in the north. The rainy season lasts for about five months and so whatever food that the farmers are able to produce must be enough to last for a year until another rainy/farming season sets in. The farm produce is not for only household consumption, but also for sale to meet other needs, such as sacrificing to the gods, funerals, sickness, etc. Also, the farms are made on subsistent basis and thus the produce are usually not much. This is what I mean by 'we are deprived'. (Male, BONABOTO, age 60 years)

Others added:

There is a lot of poverty in the area. Just look at Bongo, poverty is all over. As for here we have a lot of brilliant people here and strong people, but we don't actually have sufficient raw materials to embark

on businesses that will help the people. Look at this place and you see only rocks...for poverty, you should know that our people are very poor... (Female, Bongo, Opinion Leader, age 35 years)

We have a lot of challenges in this area. We have peculiar problems of poverty, poor road networks, water problems, especially in the Nangodi, Tongo and Bongo areas. The young ones always want to travel to the south, Kumasi and Accra to do menial jobs to get money... (Male, FGD, Bolgatanga, age 33 years)

This is no different in Aduamoa-Kwahu where there are manifested gaps in the forms of high poverty levels, lack of basic amenities such as roads, water, toilet facilities, education facilities such library, and safety facilities such as a fire station and necessary equipment. Members shared:

There are no good roads in our area. The roads are in deplorable state and we do not have other important amenities such as water, toilet, etc. these are some of the things that we are concerned about. (Female, Aduamoaman, age 59 years)

When you got to Aduamoa now you find only old women and old men, there is no good job there too. And so if the young men and women in Accra able to meet, each of us will contribute something small that he or she can afford. And when we are able raise something substantial, we help the progress of the town. (Female, Aduamoaman, age 78 years)

In publicising these challenges therefore, the associations become the ‘voice for the voiceless’ in the origin areas, as they speak on behalf of the minority groups – poor and vulnerable. The poor and vulnerable are marginalised and do not have the avenues to make their needs and voices known and heard, respectively. The members expressed the belief that who else can best tell their story than themselves. Through platforms such as

congresses, press releases, marches, etc. created by the associations therefore, the stories of the origin areas are articulated.

Every society has peculiar challenges which might be different from other areas. And so these associations will hype the shortfalls of their origin communities to the government with the aim of getting solutions. Some of the peculiar problems of this area for instance are poor road networks, water, poverty, etc. (Male, FGD, Bolgatanga, age 30 years)

BONABOTO is a voice for the voiceless in the sense that it helps in shaping policy implementation. That is what BONABOTO does...to lobby and influence development activities in the catchment area. (Male, Beneficiary, Accra, 29 years)

In addition to these, the associations often critique government projects and policies regarding the origin areas. A case in point is the Savannah Accelerated Development (SADA) initiative by the Government of Ghana. Established by Act 805 of 2010, the SADA is to “provide a framework for the comprehensive and long-term development of the Northern Savannah Ecological Zone” as it envisions “a transformed Northern Savannah Ecological Zone (NSEZ); a place of opportunity and free from poverty” (www.sadagh.org). The association expressed their happiness about the initiative and subsequent implementation (www.newsghana.com.gh/bonaboto-congress-to-find-ways-to-support-sada/). They continued to follow the progress of the initiative, criticised its failure, recommended solutions and admonished Ghana’s incoming government (the 2017 Akuffo-Addo-led government) to revamp the implementation of the initiative (www.1radioonline.com/2016/12/16).

They think that all that the group does is geared towards scoring political points for a certain political party. However, the association is non-partisan. A case in point is the SADA collapse. When the BONABOTO criticised and queried, some people assumed that the group was criticising government and thus to score cheap political points for the opponents. The group was fighting for something that will benefit the people but was misconstrued for scoring cheap political points for the opposition. (Male, Nangodi, age 36 years)

The BONABOTO is also currently advocating for the inclusion of the Gurune or Frafra language into the syllabi of the basic levels of education in Ghana. This is against the background that the Gurune or Frafra language, widely spoken by the people of Bolgatanga, Nangodi, Bongo, Tongo and their environs, is unfortunately not part of the basic level language syllabi of the Ghana Education Service, due to unavailability of the Gurune language primer. Nonetheless, the language is studied at the tertiary levels and Ghana has produced a number of professors in the field. This yielded results, as currently there is a primer and few students are being trained in the language for later implementation (<http://citifmonline.com/2015/01/02/make-gurune-language-examinable-in-bece-bonaboto/>). Some of the members shared:

The major thing that the BONABOTO is pushing for is the inclusion of the Gurune language in the syllabi of basic schools. The missionaries wrote primers for almost all the languages of the area except the Gurune. Now there is a primer for the language but there are no teachers for it. The BONABOTO has sponsored the course in the University of Education (Winneba) and there are two lecturers from the origin communities who are grooming the students to tutor the language. Some of the students have passed out and have started teaching the language. It is in the process of being codified for examination purposes. This was proposed to come out last year but

didn't, hopefully, it will in this year. (Male, BONABOTO, age 29 years)

The Gurune language is not included in the syllabi of Ghanaian schools and thus is not examinable. In schools in the area, the students either study the Twi or the Kasem languages. The association is advocating for the inclusion of the language in the syllabi. Several communications have been issued to the ministry of education and other authorities to seek a solution to the problem. (Male, BONABOTO, age 49 years)

Another advocacy is done in the area of running education in the Upper East region. Calls for the prompt payment of feeding grants to the various first and second cycle schools come up almost every year from the BONABOTO. There is persistent delay in the payment of the schools feeding grant. To the group, this puts unnecessary pressure on the students and the school authorities and ultimately affects the quality of education in the areas. Some of the respondents shared:

We have to hold a press release almost every year. There was a situation where the government was not paying the grant promptly. When the caterers know that the government will not pay in time, they tend to inflate the prices. In addition, the headmasters of the schools suffer. There were times that headmaster decided to close down the schools because they did not have funds to feed the students. And because the headmasters are public servants they cannot bring these issues to the public domain and demand that the government pay the providers. The BONABOTO had to step in, had a press release and pressured the government to pay the grants. The Bawku SHS students even demonstrated when the President of Ghana went to commission a project. The old resources and projects are not managed well, yet new ones are being added to them. (Male, BONABOTO, age 60 years)

A few days ago there was a press release from the Bolgatanga branch concerning the delay in payment of the feeding grants to the secondary schools. And not long after that the government paid an amount of 48million cedis to the second cycle schools as feeding grants. (Male, BONABOTO, age 33 years)

Others added:

Mostly they are welfare issues, developmental issues and we also sometimes try to reach out to the government to see how best they can do certain projects at our place to support development. Recently when the feeding grant delayed you would have heard that the BONABOTO issued a statement to that effect. (Male, BONABOTO, age 40 years)

There was a delay in the payment of the schools feeding grant to the point that the schools had to close down. In addressing such issue, we organised a press conference to criticise the leaders. We also organised a demonstration march in that light. When we did these, the appropriate authorities responded and paid the grants. The students were asked to go back to school. (Male, BONABOTO, age 50 years)

In addition to this, advocacy is also made in the area of high school dropout rates, teenage pregnancy, early marriage and migration of children from the origin areas to the southern parts of Ghana. As a backdrop to the high dropout rate in the region, the BONABOTO embarked on a programme to educate and enforce stringent measures in deterring young people, especially girls, from travelling down south for employment purposes. Closely associated with the dropout is teenage pregnancy. Teenage pregnancy and teenage parenthood puts a lot of pressure on the young parents themselves and the families at large. This further impoverishes them as sources of livelihood are not readily available, coupled with low literacy levels. Also teenage pregnancy rides on the heels of early marriage. The latter is one of the major challenges

that the BONABOTO areas faces, especially in the Bongo Traditional area.

Quotes from one focus group discussion (FGD) showed:

R2: ...BONABOTO did an advocacy programme on radio and educated the GPRTU to prevent anyone child from travelling to the south during vacations. (Male, FGD, Bolgatanga, age 28years)

R1: ...if you are a minor and not in the company of anyone the GPRTU workers will sometime lash you and send you back home when you try to get onto the bus. This is yielding fruits. On the day of vacation, a lot of these children will head to the lorry station to board buses to Kumasi and other places. They do not have ready jobs down south and so the children may resort to lots of ways to make money. This increased the dropout rate in schools. The BONABOTO cannot go to the station and prevent the children from travelling and so it was channelled through the GPRTU workers at the lorry stations. (Male, FGD, Bolgatanga, age 30 years)

It is important to mention that the two associations create different platforms in voicing out these challenges and advocating for change. The BONABOTO has a wider reach and uses the more sophisticated means as compared to Aduamo. Through media publications, press releases, press conferences and open letters, the BONABOTO advocates on issues concerning the area. This attracts wider audience and response from the appropriate authorities. In another vein, the success stories have a way of galvanising the membership of the associations to achieve. This is against the anecdotal background that people prefer to associate with success. In another light, the absence of this euphoria in the Aduamoaman association contributes to the diminishing interest and commitment of its membership and a result, the achievement of relatively little in the origin community. It should however not be disregarded that the membership size of the BONABOTO which is

dependent on the size and high levels of migration, is larger as compared to the Aduamoaman.

Lobbying

Closely associated to the activism and advocacy roles of the migrants' groups in the origin areas, is the role of lobbying. Other than just publicising and pressuring the government and other authorities to pay attention to and find solutions to the challenges of the origin areas, the association take steps to hasten their calls through lobbying. This is especially so in the case of the BONABOTO. The lobbying is done through members who are in positions of influence such as District Chief Directors (DCDs), Members of Parliament (MPs) and Assemblymen. Lobbying for the development needs is also done through known citizens of the origin areas who are not members and may not necessarily be in government but other non-governmental leading institutions, which can offer help in the area of need.

One of such lobbies was the establishment of a satellite campus of the University of Cape Coast in the BONABOTO area, specifically in Zuarungu, close to Bolgatanga. Others have been in the areas of health, education, water and sanitation. The group advocated for the establishment of a regional hospital in the Upper East region, specifically in the regional capital Bolgatanga. This saw positive reaction as the government responded and actually work began on constructing the regional hospital. Some members shared:

The group negotiate with the Central government, NGOs and similar organisations to bring development projects such as schools, boreholes, etc. A case in point is when the University of Cape Coast

wanted to build a distance education satellite campus. This became a bone of contention between the BONABOTO and the people of Navrongo. In the end, BONABOTO was able to convince UCC and also gave them a plot of land in Zuarungu to build the centre. (Male, Bolgatanga, individual Beneficiary, age 23 years)

I know a professor in my school, who in collaboration with the BONABOTO, is opening a campus of UCC in Zuarungu. (Male, Bolgatanga, age 30 years)



Figure 3: UCC CoDE Satellite campus under construction in Zuarungu, UE/R

In the area of health for instance, the group required from government the construction of a regional hospital which every regional capital has except the Upper East. This yielded results and currently the regional hospital is being constructed. The group has become a mouthpiece for the region. (Male, Bongo SHS, Institutional Beneficiary, age 59 years)

There are regional hospitals for all regional capitals except Bolgatanga. They are trying to change an old hospital to a regional hospital. These are some of the reasons why we say that we are deprived. As an individual you cannot raise these issues and even attempt to seek justice and fight for your area's share of the national cake. But as a group we can make much noise and even though they do not listen, we hope that one day we will be heard. (Male, BONABOTO, age 60 years)

In Aduamoa-Kwahu for instance, the Aduamoaman association actively lobbies through the Assembly member, District Assembly and the Regional Coordinating Council (RCC). The association on about occasions have influenced members of the group to contest for the position of Assembly member. This is so to have 'eyes and ears' in the local assembly and thus influence. To them, this will not only lobby but also necessitate and expedite projects they carry out in the township. This is done so that the Assembly member will coordinate and spearhead the implementation of the projects. Two respondents shared:

I championed the cause for a while. I was tired and decided to come home and rest. The group then asked me to come home and become the Assemblyman for Aduamoa. I came to Aduamoa and I was voted for as the Assemblyman from 1996 to 2002. During my time in office the roads, bridge to the cemetery, post office and the market were constructed. (Male, Aduamoa-Kwahu, age 80 years)

I was the secretary of the Aduamoaman when I was in Accra, but now I stay in Aduamoa. After the tenure of immediate past assembly member expired, I was encouraged to come home and contest for the slot. I left my work in Accra and came here to contest, and now I am the Assemblyman of Aduamoa. We often ask our members to be assembly members and even contest for other political position. When we have

people in there [authority] it will be easy for us to bring development to Aduamoa. As you saw I was in a meeting at the district assembly when you came. (Male, Aduamoa, age 53 years)

Just like the Aduamoaman association, the BONABOTO also lobbies in the area of political and administrative appointments in the catchment areas. This is often in the area of government appointees, both in political and administrative outfits. Quite a number of the members of the association are in positions of repute and are deemed knowledgeable to be able to criticise and recommend in appointments to outfits that run the region. As such, their inputs are taken seriously, even though sometimes tagged as political innuendo. The group has influence appointment into positions such as regional directors and headmasters. It is gradually influencing other areas. Some of the community members had this to say:

The group supports individuals in terms of appointments to various positions such departmental heads, ministers. The BONABOTO plays a role in the appointment of people into such positions. This is in the sense that, for instance, when the government appoint people for ministerial positions, especially to the catchment area, the group can protest against that decision or not. If that happens it will be difficult to be in that position. In addition, if someone is denied a position unjustly, the group can pressurise the government to appoint the person. A case in point was when the health directorate appointed someone to head the regional health administration. It became a public knowledge that the fellow had already been rejected in the Upper West Region. The BONABOTO insisted that if the Upper West had rejected him then the Upper East does not want him either. Unfortunately, the man is still at post. (Male, FGD, Bolgatanga, age 30 years)

Dr Vea was appointed as the regional minister for the Upper East and later sent to Upper West. BONABOTO also sent a word to the central government recommending the appointee and insisted that he will be a worthy servant for the region because he contributed immensely to the Upper East. (Male, FGD, Bolgatanga, age 31 years)

Through these actions, the associations 'fight' for their share of the national cake. These sometimes translate into infrastructural projects, policies and recognition. To them, this is a way that they can greatly influence the origin communities. Other than activism, advocacy and lobbying, the associations are directly contributing to education in the sending areas. These direct approaches are in the forms of giving scholarships, education grants and loans and provision of teaching and learning materials. These explained in detail in the following section.

Education

Education is one of the bedrocks for development. To the associations, it is one of the empowerment tools that yield lots of fruits. Development oriented organisations, such as the Aduamoaman and the BONABOTO, are often interested and forceful in this area. To them, when given education, it is a propeller for improving one's life and those of the immediate family and the nation as a whole. To this end therefore, the two associations focus much of their attention to education by providing scholarships, education grants and loans and teaching and learning materials, in the origin areas.

The Aduamoaman association aids student citizens of Aduamoakwahu to access a scholarship facility that is provided by the Kwahu Development association (KDA). The KDA is a form of regulatory body that

coordinates the affairs of all other migrants' and town development association in the sixteen towns of the Kwahu area. Aduamoaman is represented in the KDA by the Chair and his secretary. To the KDA, the Aduamoaman pays yearly dues of about GH¢300.00. With other sources of funding, the KDA instituted the scholarship programme that benefits the needy but brilliant student in the origin communities. One leader shared how this is done:

The Kwahu Development Association gives yearly scholarships to citizens of Kwahu. Through the Aduamoaman association, twelve children from Aduamoana have benefitted from that scholarship. Some are in the universities and other levels. They will in turn help develop the community. Usually the Aduamoaman submits the application on behalf of the applicants. (Male, Aduamoaman, age 50 years)

The Aduamoaman is not able to provide these scholarships on their own due to the large amounts of money involved. To them, the association is not able to garner much resource for that purpose and so collaborating with the KDA is the best option to fulfil this objective. Unlike Aduamoaman, the BONABOTO is relatively larger, with a national and diaspora representation, and so is able to do more in terms of monetary support in education in the origin areas. The educational supports given by the BONABOTO are in the forms of grants and loans. It has instituted a fund known as the BONABOTO Education Assistance Fund (BEAF). It is from this fund that the grants and loans are given.

The BEAF was instituted at one of the BONABOTO's biennial congresses which usually occur in December, in Bolgatanga. There, the group agreed to contribute a start-up amount of GH¢10,000.00 before disbursement.

This was achieved in the year 2006 and since then disbursement is on-going. The fund was instituted to support needy, but brilliant students, from the origin areas. The idea of the BEAF was against the background that the origin communities are deprived and such support is needed for the citizens to attend second cycle and tertiary institutions. The BEAF is funded by voluntary contributions from members, both in and outside Ghana. Additional support is sought from corporate institutions, well-wishers, Members of Parliament (especially those from the origin communities) and any other individual or group that wishes to support. The fund is managed by an instituted Project Management Team (PMT). The PMT, who are also members of the association, is in charge of the day-to-day running of the fund which includes, giving and receiving applications, conducting of investigations and recommendation of applicants for the loan or grant. All recommendations from the PMT are reviewed by a Board of Trustees (BoT) for disbursement or otherwise. Some of the leaders said:

At that congress, we took a decision to support education and thus founded the 'BONABOTO Educational Assistant Fund' (BEAF). This is because we are from deprived areas and thus children from these areas will need the support when they get admission into the tertiary institutions. The excess mobilised funds for the congress were put into that account. A dinner dance was also organised to raise money for the educational fund. We also decided that we will not disburse the money until we reach the target of ten thousand cedis...100 million old Ghana cedis. We achieved the target in 2006 and then started disbursing. (Male, age 60 years)

At the tertiary level the funds are given as a loan so that the beneficiaries will refund, without interest, after completion and when they get employment. At the lower levels, it is considered as a grant

and so the beneficiaries do not pay back. (Male, BONABOTO, age 63 years)

We formed clubs with regard to the contribution into the fund. There is club 1000 and so on. When one belongs to the club 1000 he/she contribute a thousand cedis to the BEAF annually. (Male, BONABOTO, age 64 years)

To students in the second cycle institutions, the support is given as a grant and as a loan to tertiary students. To the association, the second cycle students are not immediate potential workers and will not be able to pay back if the assistance is given as loan. In addition, the amounts needed to support second cycle students are often not so high. On the other hand, the tertiary students are given the education support as loan which they are required to pay when they acquire employment after graduation. It is noteworthy that the grant or loan is given to those in public schools. This is against the background that the fund has to reach as many people as possible. And as such if chunks of it are given to one or two individuals because they are enrolled in private schools, which are usually expensive, then others will suffer. These ideas were shared:

The BEAF is a well-structure facility that assists poor people, in terms on school fees. We focus on education because we believe that education is the key to ending poverty. (Male, BONABOTO, age 33 years)

We are not able to give much to the beneficiaries though. At the university level we support with a thousand cedis and four hundred cedis for the senior high school students. These amounts are given as support to augment the payment of their school fees. (Male, BONABOTO, age 40 years)

Importantly, the BEAF seeks to give the opportunity of education to as many poor (those who cannot afford education) people in the origin areas as possible. In addition, the founders are of the view that when an individual is educated, he or she will be empowered to obtain a livelihood. They furthered that this will eradicate poverty in the origin communities and as such spur development. The beneficiaries will also be able to contribute to the fund so that others can also benefit. Out of the interactions with the people in the origin communities and the beneficiaries, it came out strongly that the BEAF is a great resource and has enormously impacted lots of lives. Some of the respondents shared:

I have benefitted from the association. I got admission to the training college and was unable to initially pay for the admission fees to get enrolled. The challenge was that I did not know how I will be able to raise the school fees the next year and so I spoke to someone in the association about it. I was asked to pick up a form in view of applying for assistance. And so I applied, the application was reviewed and after a few months I was given an amount of GH¢800, in 2014, to augment what I had initially paid. I reapplied in 2015 and I was assisted with GH¢1000. I have also applied this year (2016) and I am looking forward to receive another sum of GH¢1000 as assistance from the association in early part of 2017. (Male, Beneficiary, age 24 years)

I was given a total of one thousand cedis. I have to reapply if I want to receive the loan the next academic year. The applicant usually states the amount of money needed. And since it is a loan the applicant should apply for an amount that he/she can repay after school. If you take so much and are not able to pay, it will be problematic. I have applied for another thousand cedis for the current academic year. This will take care of a third of my tuition fee which is three thousand two

hundred and twenty cedis. I usually get the remainder from my family members and the Afrikids NGO. The Afrikids is an NGO that supports the poor, especially, widows and orphans. I have taken a loan from there and will pay back after school. (Female, Beneficiary, age 26 years)

In addition to the scholarships, grants and loans to support education, the associations also provide educational materials. These are tangible teaching and learning materials such as computers, chalk, whiteboard markers and other reading materials. In Aduamo-Kwahu for instance, the Aduamoaman association built a library cum computer lab and furnished it with computers. This was done in collaboration with the branches abroad and an NGO.

We constructed a library in Aduamo. In the library there is also a computer lab. We go help from our brothers and sisters from abroad. When were done with the building an NGO helped us to acquire the computers for the computer lab. The facility is functioning now in Aduamo. (Male, age 56 years)

In 2006 about twenty-five sets of computers were brought by Aduamoaman in Belgium to the community ICT centre. This will help the community. (Female, age 59 years)

The BONABOTO have similarly contributed to the origin areas of Bolgatanga, Nangodi, Bongo, Tongo and their environs, in terms of education. The group donated computers to various second cycle and training institutions and the community ICT centre in Bolgatanga. Many of these institutions in the origin areas are often challenged in the teaching and learning ICT. As such, the association deemed it important to support in that light. Some of the members and beneficiary institutions shared:

We have donated computers to the Bongo SHS, Bolgatanga Nursing Training College, Kongo SHS, Zawkaw SHS. The UK branch of the BONABOTO brought the computers and they were donated to the various institutions. There is also an ICT centre in Bolgatanga where some of the computers were donated. (Male, Bolgatanga, age 50 years)

Physically the group has donated sets of computers to the school. I was the Assistant Headmaster then, in 2008 and I remember that they came in a group to donate about 10 computers to the school. The computers are still in good shape and are being used in the computer lab. (Male, Beneficiary Institution, Bongo SHS, age 59 years)

The association also contribute in terms of education. The UK branch of the association procured some used computers and shipped them down to Ghana. I was then the president. In the company of some of the members we went to the harbour to clear them and fortunately for us we did not pay duties because the computers were included on the exemption list by the Ministry of Education and Finance. We distributed the computers to the schools in the origin communities. There were about eighty computers. (Male, BONABOTO, age 64 years)

In the Kongo SHS for instance there have been improvements in facilities. I know that government provided these infrastructures but the BONABOTO plays a key role of lobbying. I also know that the group donated computers to the school. (Male, Opinion Leader, Kongo, age 36 years)

Lastly, the associations, especially the BONABOTO, provide human resource to assist the teaching in the various second cycle institutions. This is often undertaken by the tertiary students' wings of the association. They are encouraged to visit their former senior high schools, especially those who schooled in the origin areas, to offer extra class tuition to the students during

vacations. Their statuses of university and other tertiary students serve as encouragement to the younger ones to also aim higher and pursue their aims. Nonetheless, the Bolgatanga branch often goes on outreaches to the senior high schools to speak with the students encouraging them to be serious with their academics.

They have contributed by organising vacation classes for the children, reducing school dropout by preventing the school from travelling down south, and so on. (Male, FGD, Bolgatanga, age 31 years)

The student wing of the BONABOTO usually assists in teaching when they are on holidays. They also speak to the students on sustenance and commitment. As I mentioned earlier, the students here do not see the importance of education and may not also project into the future. The BONABOTO members therefore use their current levels (tertiary institutions) to encourage the students and prep them to be in the right frame of mind in order to take their studies seriously. Some listen to their advice but some also do not. One member of the BONABOTO also donated literature books written in the Gurune language to the school. The adult wing of the BONABOTO also visits the school to speak to the students. (Male, Beneficiary Institution, Bongo SHS, age 59 years)

BONABOTO is a group that helps to organise vacation classes for the children in the community, mobilising revenue for some of the assemblies, provide educational logistics to schools in terms of furniture, teacher, books and also the influence in acquiring jobs for members. The group also organises health screening exercises for the community members. (Male, Opinion leader, Tongo, age 39 years)

With the difficulties in funds mobilisation in mind, the members confidently professed that their contributions to education will reduce poverty and spur development. Other than the direct and indirect contributions to

formal education, the associations are also involved in publicly educating the citizens. The public education is done based on current issues in the communities and the country as a whole. These are explained in the next section.

Public education

Public education on current social problems and challenges is also of concern to the associations. The issues considered includes school dropout, teenage pregnancy, armed robbery and other cultural practices such as giving of tribal marks and early or child marriage. The public education is often aimed at changing behaviour in the origin communities. Firstly, the BONABOTO sought to educate the citizens about the implications of dropping out of school. This is against the backdrop of the high levels of dropout rates in the area. To them, when the children drop out of school, they are often won over by diverse vices such as pre-marital sex and theft and the engagement in '*Galamsey*', which is popular in Kongo area. Through the publicity, parents are encouraged to keep their children in school in order to avoid the effects and also because it will inure to the benefit of their families and the society as a whole.

Secondly, the association has embarked on educating the citizens about early marriage. This is one of the associated effects of school dropout. Early marriage is rampant in the origin communities. Culturally, this is not condemned. Due to high rates of poverty, some parents are even ready to hand over their daughters in marriage so as to transfer the responsibility of upkeep

to the would-be-husband. In view of the impending benefits, some parents do not appreciate the efforts of the BONABOTO to curb early marriage.

Thirdly, through the media, especially radio, the group embarked on a talk series to inform the public about the conditions of child migrants in the south. Often the students are made to believe that it is easy to gain employment and earn money quickly in the south, even if you are not educated. Most school children based on the information, dropout of school, travel down to labour for money at the peril of their education. Often, these young migrants are either employed as helps in local ‘chop bars’ or as *kayayie*. This is because they lack the requisite skills to gain employment in the formal sectors of the urban economy (Adaawen & Owusu, 2013). Members of the group decried that this does not auger well for the migrants and the origin areas as a whole.

Some few months before researcher’s visit to the origin communities of the BONABOTO, as part of this research, there had been rampant armed robbery that threatened the citizens. Some of the participants narrated how robbers, at gunpoint, robbed the citizens of their motorbikes. Due to the topography and distances between the towns and village in the area, coupled with high cost of transportation, the citizens of the BONABOTO area are accustomed with travelling on motorbikes (I had to employ the services of a biker to take me round the research field). The bikers are always the easy targets for robbers. The BONABOTO association liaised with the police headquarters in Bolgatanga to find solutions to the menace. Discussions were done and information about how to inform the police in such incidences were given to the public. Through the same medium, safety tips were also given to

the people. Fortunately, by the time I got to the area, the menace had been managed.

Finally, in the area of public education, the association sought to educate the citizenry about the practice of giving tribal marks. The group was of the view that tribal marks as identification were used in the slave trade era and hence does not befit anyone. To them, it demeans the person and may engender low self-esteem. The responses indicated that the public education is yielding results in shaping the socio-cultural, economic and political landscapes of the origin areas. Some of the respondents shared:

The association gives public education on current issues, such as teenage pregnancy, tribal marks, etc. to the origin communities. The issue of the day informs what public education is given to the communities. Currently the challenge of the communities is armed robbery. We are therefore liaising with the Police to curb the problem. (Male, BONABOTO, age 50 years)

We have not been able to organise durbars and other such gatherings with the aim of sensitising the people about the pertinent issues. However, we use the radio as a medium in trying to reach the people. The communication team goes to the radio stations from time to time to educate the people about who the group is, what it is doing. (Male, Nangodi, age 38 years)

I often hear about them on radio. They speak about community issues such as theft/robbery and bad roads. I also know that they help those in need, especially their education. (Male, Beneficiary, age 24 years)

Often during vacations, the school children will like to go to the south to do menial jobs and through that they get pregnant and so on. BONABOTO did an advocacy programme on radio and educated the GPRTU to prevent anyone child from travelling to the south during vacations. (Male, FGD, Bolgatanga, age 28 years)

Unlike the BONABOTO, the Aduamoaman reported no activity in the form of public education in the origin area. Aduamo-Kwahu is relatively small in terms of size and as such relaying public information may not necessarily be done on radio and other such wide-area platforms. Such information can be relayed during funerals, durbars or even at marriage ceremonies.

Dispute resolution

The next area in which the migrants' associations influence in the origin communities is dispute resolution. Often the associations are able to engage the stakeholders in event of disagreements. As part of their contribution to the development of the communities, the associations deemed it as their responsibility to ensure that all citizenry live in peace and harmony. This will not only deepen the unity and brotherliness but also lay the foundation for their development activities to thrive. The main areas that the BONABOTO had intervened to resolve disputes were chieftaincy disputes, student disputes and public administration issues.

There were chieftaincy disputes when the researcher arrived at the study area. There was the situation whereby the Bolgatanga and Bongo traditional areas had two chiefs at the same time. The matter was taken up by the group to find solutions. The stakeholders had been identified and dialogue was on course. A respondent elucidated:

We have chieftaincy issues. In my village for instance, there are two chiefs. We are trying to use BONABOTO to help solve the problem. We want to start a dialogue between the two sides to solve the problem. (Male, BONABOTO, age 43 years)

There were also recorded cases of student rioting in the origin communities, especially the Bongo area, specifically Gowrie. The rioting escalated to the level where public properties in the schools were destroyed. In most cases when such incidences occur, the group, through the home branch, steps in to resolve them so as to instil peace in the area. Interacting with an opinion leader in the area, he lamented that the schools' riots are problematic, leads to the destruction of property and may even engender rivalry between factions. He intoned:

The group is active in the area of conflict resolutions. A case in point is the recent school rioting. Some of the SHS in the area were fighting each other. They destroyed certain things there. The group [BONABOTO] came in to instil peace and find permanent solutions to the problem. (Male, Opinion leader, Bongo, age 57 years)

Finally, the BONABOTO plays a role in public administrative dispute resolution in the origin areas and the Upper East region as a whole. This has especially been done in the district assemblies, health directorate and education sector. A case in point was the appointment of a regional health director and the regional minister. There were public outcries and the BONABOTO stepped in to negotiate for solutions that will be accepted by all sides. A member shared:

For instance, when there was a challenge in Bolgatanga regional hospital, you know Bolgatanga is the regional capital and so it is the heart of BONABOTO, when we identify the problem then we had to discuss with the stakeholders to find solutions. (Male, BONABOTO, age, 50 years)

It has to be noted that the Aduamoaman association have not had the cause to resolve disputes in their origin town. This however does not mean

that disputes do not arise in the area. Such disputes are resolved by the chieftaincy instruments of the town and Kwahu as a whole. Other than instilling peace in the origin areas, the groups also impact in the area of infrastructure. This is explained in the next section.

Infrastructure

Infrastructural development occupies an important space in the agenda of migrants' associations. The areas the Aduamoaman and the BONABOTO had impacted were the construction of schools, libraries, street lights, fire station, health centres, water, toilet and maintenance of such structures. This is corroborated by Chauvet et al (2015) when they found that hometowns associations contributed to the provision of public goods such as schools, health centres, and water.

In Aduamo-Kwahu, the hometown association undertook the first electrification project in the whole of the Kwahu area around the year 1971. In later years, around the year 1991, the group embarked on the construction of street lighting infrastructure in the township. This feat was achieved with the help of connections that the members of the group had, especially in the then Electricity Company of Ghana. As an act of maintenance, the group often replaces faulty bulbs and poles in township. It was stated that whenever the need arises to fix any faulty light poles or bulbs, the Aduamoaman is contacted immediately by the leaders in the town. To the community members, the Aduamoaman had come to be associated with such projects and as such are expected to function in that light. Some of the respondents shared:

Aduamoa was the first place in the Kwahu area to have electricity, even before Nkawkaw, in 1971. Aduamoa was the first town in the area to have an electricity generator, even before the community was connected to the national electrification grid. (Male, Aduamoa, age 88 years)

The group was involved in tree planting, construction of KVIP, fire station, ambulance, and they also first brought street light to the community (they issued a plaque to that effect). The group established around the year 1991. The group has been of immense help to the Aduamoa community. The leaders of the society often call on us to either solve a social problem or construct something that is needed. (Male, Aduamoaman, age 50 years)



Figure 4: Commemorative plaque for the installation of street lights in Aduamoa

In addition, the group spearheaded the construction of a Fire Service Station in the township. Requests were put forward to the Central Government for the need of a fire station. The group was asked to provide a building for the project and the government will provide the other needed equipment to run the station. The association, in collaboration with the traditional authorities acquired a land and built a structure (see figure 3 and figure 4) for the said purpose. After the completion of the structure, the government followed

through with the promise by providing a fire tender and other apparatus as well as the human resource to run the station. The community members reiterated that the project had immensely improved living in the community.



Figure 5: Fire station built by Aduamoaman in Aduamo-Kwahu



Figure 6: Fire tender provided by government after completion of fire station

Another infrastructural development was in the area of providing school infrastructure. In Aduamo-Kwahu, the group undertook the role of providing prompt renovation and maintenance of school buildings in the area. The association does not have the financial strength to construct the schools and as such have taken over the maintenance of the building and sometimes extensions. This is also because the group offer prompt response than the

government through the District Assembly. There were a few times that the traditional authorities called on the group to fix ripped-off roofs, door and other such facilities in the schools. One of the leaders relayed:

The association as I said, is about the developmental projects...coming together, get funds to develop our town, community, help education, community infrastructure like...we have the fire service, we have library, we have a community centre... (Male, Aduamoaman, age 56 years)

The group also repairs the school buildings, clinic building and other such structures that need repairs. Recently, the group held a fundraising event, where monies were raised to repair the leaking roof of the school in the community. (Female, Aduamoaman, age 59 years)

The association was formed purposely to bring development to Aduamoa. The group raised money to build schools and redevelop those schools that are not in good shape. (Male, Aduamoaman, age 77 years)

In the case of the BONABOTO, lands and sites have been acquired for the establishment of a College of Education and hostels, as a contribution to education in the origin communities. The land sites are in Tamale, Wa and Bolgatanga. The College of Education will, however, be established in Nangodi. This site was chosen due to the availability of land (the old structures of the Kongo Senior High School. This is because the school has been moved to a new site) and other facilities. The group found this site feasible because of existing structures which will serve as a foundation and will speed up process as compared to the situation whereby it had to be built anew. These were said:

As a way of bringing food security to the area we embarked on planting of mangoes in the communities. That was to also provide

some form of economic venture to the local people. We have also acquired land to put up a hostel in Bolgatanga Polytechnic, Tamale UDS [University for Development Studies] and Wa UDS and UCC [University of Cape Coast] distance education in Bolgatanga. We are yet to start building. This will reduce the pressure and provide affordable housing for the students. (Male, BONABOTO, age 50 years)

There are efforts to turn this place (referring to the old structure of the Kongo SHS) into a training college. This morning I went to the DA on behalf of the BONABOTO to see the DCE and ask him to write officially to release this place for the project. All government facilities are under the control of the District Assembly and so we will need the release letter to carry on with accreditation. All DCEs in the catchment area are aware...the committee that carried out feasibility studies in Nalerigu with the aim of finding a better site for the college. The District Assembly supported us with a car and even financially to do this exercise. (Male, Nangodi, age 38 years)

Furthermore, the associations have impacted in terms of infrastructure in the area of health. The Aduamoaman constructed the current clinic in the Aduamoan Township. The group also procured hospital beds and other facilities that were needed to enhance the work of the clinic. Maintenance was also carried out by the group in the clinic when the need arose or when called upon. In addition to these, the association constructed Kumasi Ventilated Improved Pits (KVIPs), a bridge which connects the town to the cemetery. Other projects such as construction of boreholes and roads were impending. A member enlightened:

The branch of the Aduamoaman association at abroad also contributes to the community. They brought hospital beds and sometimes medicines to enhance the work of the clinic. (Male, Aduamoaman, age 50 years)

In Aduamoa for instance we constructed the clinic and street lights. We replace faulty and spoilt bulbs and also undertake major repairs in the community. The bridge that connected the town to the cemetery was in a dilapidated state. In events when corpses are being sent to the burial grounds, people had to carry it/them on their shoulders. The group constructed a new bridge, one which a vehicle is able to travel across. Because of the construction of the bridge the chief has even started selling lands and giving access to lands across the river. (Female, Aduamoaman, age 59 years)

We are discussing the construction of boreholes for the community. We are currently seeking for funds to carry that out. This is in the light that access to water is often problematic during the dry season. (Female, Aduamoaman, age 78 years)

The community needed access roads and water supply. We have also considered constructing roads from the town to Obo and Abetifi. Such projects often demand lots of money. Due to our numbers and financial strength we will not be able to carry out such projects. We are planning to construct a borehole and connect it to a tank where the water can be drawn and stored. We are currently seeking for funds to address the imperative water problems of the origin community. (Male, Aduamoaman, age 40 years)

The groups believe that they do not have to depend on the government for everything needed in the origin areas. To them, even if the government will provide, it usually takes longer periods to do so. As such, they will then get involved to provide for citizens in the origin areas the infrastructure that the group can afford. The groups also improve lives in the origin through the provision of interventions during crises.

Crises interventions

Evidence points to the fact that the associations provide some sorts of relief to the citizens of the origin communities in times of crises. Such were undertaken by the Aduamoaman in the areas of famine and water shortage in the town of Aduamoa. During the perennial water shortages in the town the group contracted operators of water tankers to supply water to the citizens of the town. The group was seeking a permanent solution by constructing boreholes, mechanised them and connect them to a water storage facility that will serve the whole community. Another intervention was when there was an incident of food shortage due to a fire outbreak that affected the farms of the citizens. Farming is the mainstay of the citizens and as expected, this affected the people and their livelihoods. The group responded by buying bags of rice for the affected persons. Some of the members recounted:

The group has been of immense help to the Aduamoa community. The leaders of the society often call on us to either solve a social problem or construct something that is needed. In times of water crisis, the group supplied water for the community. It did so by buying water in tankers and supplying the people with it. I cannot say a lot, it has really benefited the community. (Male, Aduamoaman, age 56 years)

Recently there was a fire outbreak and farms were burnt. A lot of people lost their livelihoods. Some went hungry and couldn't feed themselves. The association had to mobilise some bags of rice for the victims, so that at least they can have food. The mobilisation was very difficult, but we got a few bags for them. (Male, Aduamoaman, age 56 years)

Another of such interventions is the provision of medical screening and *pro bono* surgeries that the BONABOTO provides periodically for the citizens

of Bolgatanga, Nangodi, Bongo, Tongo and their environs. This is as a response to the high levels of poverty and unavailability of health facilities, especially in the Nangodi, Bongo and Tongo areas. Some of the respondents elucidated:

The group also organises health screening exercises for the community members. After the health screening when some conditions are found to be surgical and the patient does not have enough funds to do it, the group goes ahead to do it for free for the patients. The doctors are also members of the BONABOTO. (Male, Opinion leader, Tongo, age 39 years)

In addition to these we give medical support occasionally to the origin communities. As part of the congress we organise a medical screening exercise for the origin communities. The association assembles medical doctors who are natives of the origin community and working in various parts of the country together at Bolgatanga to give free medical screening and treatment to the poor and needy in the community. The association did that twice. The member who is a doctor and spearheaded the initiative took it up and rendered that service in his own capacity. (Male, BONABOTO, age 64 years)

The association used to organise doctors from across the country to come to Bolgatanga to offer free medical screening and treatment to the citizens. I think this last happened in 2013. (Male, Opinion leader, Bolgatanga, age 64 years)

...during the first few congresses that we organised, we had doctors and other health staff from Kumasi who will normally be in the area for about a week to offer free medical screening, consultations and medication free of charge to the people. This arrangement has changed because the BONABOTO could not fund the doctors' activities and also there were some form of antagonism from medical offers in the area. This is because the services that they could have rendered for

money is now given free by the visiting medical officers. The medical team/group is now an NGO which gives free medical services to people. Its activities do not coincide with BONABOTO's congress anymore. (Male, BONABOTO, age 60 years)

Other than impacting in the areas of advocacy, public education, lobbying, dispute resolution and interventions in education and crises, the associations shapes the socio-political discourse of the origin areas. The groups do this by participating in the discussions and decision making of the local areas.

Shaping the socio-political discourse

The associations are held in esteem in the origin areas and deemed by the traditional rulers, citizens and other government institutions and officials as credible partners in shaping discourses in the origin communities. These involvements are corroborated by Faist, (2008) who noted that migrants' associations are involved in the social and political spaces of the origin areas. Other studies (such as Jacob & Lavigne Delville, 1994; Portes, Escobar, & Radford, 2005; Beauchemin & Schoumaker, 2009; Orozco & Rouse, 2007) affirm that migrants' association are seen as credible intermediaries to ensure that development get to the local community.

These are exemplified in the involvement of Aduamoaman in taking decisions about what constitutes the responsibilities of citizens of Aduamoakwahu. The association and the Traditional leadership took a decision that all citizens of Aduamoakwahu who resides in Accra and other places should be involved in the town's migrants' associations. Non-conformance attracts

sanctions that are enforced by the Traditional leadership of the town. One member explained:

We attached a condition to the group. If you do not become a member of the Aduamoaman kuo and any of your relations dies, do not come to the community for the funeral. If the persons come, he/she will be fined. We will not allow the funeral to take place in the township, the deceased will be buried silently. This arrangement was approved by the Stool. (Male, Aduamoaman, aged 88 years)

This whips up patriotism, even if involuntarily and unwillingly. Another of such involvement is portrayed in the leadership of the association. Often, the Aduamoan Chief in Accra is an automatic member of the executive board, albeit not elected or appointed. The group is also given the privilege to advise the Traditional Council, especially on matters that directly affect the ordinary citizen of Aduamoan. This is enshrined in the constitution of the association as follows:

'Advise the Aduamoan Traditional council on matters affecting the citizens of Aduamoan-Kwahu when necessary' (Aduamoaman Kuo Constitution, 1989)

Other than involvement in the traditional decision making, Aduamoaman association participate in the formal and decentralised local government decision making indirectly, through the District Assembly. During the district assembly elections, the group encouraged one member to contest. The reason given for the push was that when a member of the Aduamoaman association becomes an assemblyman in the origin community he will be able to take active part in decision making and also expedite contributions made by the association in the area. One assembly member shared:

I was the secretary of the Aduamoaman when I was in Accra, but now I stay in Aduamoa. After the tenure of immediate past assembly member expired, I was encouraged to come home and contest for the slot. I left my work in Accra and came here to contest, and now I am the assembly of Aduamoa. We often ask our members to be assembly members and even contest for other political position. When we have people in there [authority] it will be easy for us to bring development to Aduamoa. As you saw I was in a meeting at the district assembly when you came. (Male, Aduamoa, age 53 years)

Unlike the Aduamoa, the origin areas of BONABOTO are widely divided based on Traditional areas and Skins. This is in the light of the fact that there are four different areas organised under distinct chieftaincy system and are independent. In spite of this however, the BONABOTO through its dialogue and advocacy approaches impact on the local socio-political space of the origin communities. Cases in point were the advocacy against child marriage, school dropout, armed robbery and appointment of directors of state. Indeed, the association, more often than not, are deemed credible partners of discourse and development.

In spite of the positive impacts of the associations on the origin areas, they may also be sources of division and antagonism. Sometimes, they are seen as overlooking culture and advocate for others to do same. This is particularly so in cases when the BONABOTO advocated for the stoppage of giving of tribal marks, child marriage and child migration. Indeed, some of the community members maintain that tribal marks are cultural and distinctive. Propagating it is a way of portraying cultural identity and preservation of the culture. In the case of early marriage, it is thought to be an avenue to eradicate poverty. This is in light that the wife-to-be's parents stand the chance of

receiving ‘*bride price*’ and will have ‘*less number of mouths to feed*’. The issue of child migration also poses a contention. This was confirmed by some of the respondents as they expressed their views about the advocacies of the BONABOTO. There were also tags of ‘*elitism*’ and the perception that the group want to force their ideas on the local people. One of the community members shared:

The illiteracy level may also be a challenge. The advocacies of the group are often at the elitist level and the locales may not understand. In such cases it is very difficult to explain to the locales to understand and support what is being advocated for. (Male, FGD, Bolgatanga, age 28 years)

Apart from those enumerated above, the groups also liaise with the partners and branches in the diaspora. In cases where the diaspora groups will want to reach out substantially to the origin communities, the Aduamoaman and BONABOTO receive and disseminate in their stead. It was evident that the primary functions of these associations are changing, however not fundamentally, over time. These are based on the growth or otherwise and available human and capital resources of the associations. In the case of the Aduamoaman association, membership is dwindling over the years and as result its financial strength is also diminishing. This has substantially reduced the group’s contribution to the development of Aduamoan-Kwahu, to mere fixing of light bulbs. The BONABOTO similarly, still holds on to its aims and objectives but may however be challenged in discharging them.

CHAPTER SIX

CHALLENGES OF MIGRANTS' ASSOCIATIONS

Introduction

In the preceding discussion, the socio-demographic characteristics, formation and organisation of the Aduamoaman and BONABOTO migrants' associations, the benefits that accrue to members and the impacts on the origin areas were presented. In this chapter therefore, the challenges of the associations and measures taken to deal with them, as well as prospects of the associations are discussed.

Challenges of the Associations

Dwindling membership

Groups, especially voluntary ones, are driven by their membership. This is mainly because such groups are organised based on common interests, as described by Scott (1957). As noted in the forgoing discussions, the Aduamoaman and BONABOTO migrants' associations are driven by the members' pursuance of supportive advantages needed to survive in a foreign 'land' and an 'adopted' aim of giving back to their home communities. The cessation of the common interest threatens the existence of the group and may lead to extinction. The common interest may wane out because the core carriers of that interest faded out and new members are not properly initiated. These dynamics are evident in the groups and pose a pronounced challenge.

From the data, the challenge of dwindling membership was strongly voiced. The challenge was presented in the forms of low attendance to meetings and low participation in the groups' activities, as the years

progressed. This was attributable to the waning out of the older generations. This is corroborated by Silva (2006) who noted that the interest in migrants' associations may wane out as older generations fade out. In the Aduamoaman association for instance, at the time of this research, the majority (87.5%) of the members' ages ranged from 60-79. Most people at this age may not be 'strong enough' and vibrant to participate in the groups' activities. The activities are mainly attending meetings and events such as funerals and marriage ceremonies and visiting each other may no longer appeal to the older generations.

The group is not very vibrant because those who were very interested are either very old or dead. Hence the members are each other's classmates and as such the sense of decorum and responsibility is non-existent or suppressed. The members are not accountable to each other. The rules of engagement were enforced in the past, unlike now. The rules are relaxed and the sense of commitment is also renegeing. Because of the fine that was associated with non-participation, the citizens got involved. This is also no more in existence. (Male, Aduamoan, age 88 years)

There is also the challenge of lack of commitment (in attending meetings and participating in the activities of the association), especially among the older members of the association. Often when these members retire from active service, they also tend to retire from the association's activities. (Male, BONABOTO, age 49 years)

The situation where the older generations are exiting from the groups is aggravated by the limited or non-existent initiation of the younger, second or third, generations. It was noted, at all times that the researcher visited the groups that the children of the members were not in attendance at the meetings, even though she was told on a number of occasions that the latter

are also members of the associations. It is, however, known that the members are migrants and may not live with their children because the latter might be in the origin areas, have families of their own or may be working or schooling elsewhere. It is nonetheless true, as the data showed that the groups have branches and as such, the children could be members elsewhere. In spite of this, the respondents reported that the younger generations do not show interest in the associations. The younger generation when raised in the destination areas lose touch with the origin and as such may not be committed, as the older generation, in 'fighting' for the interests of the latter. In such a situation when the older members are not able to whip up interests for the younger to appreciate, they may never be involved. Rather, they may tend to participate in other groups of their interests and generation.

The inability to initiate a younger generation, in the case of the BONABOTO, is the lack of continuity between the students' wings and the adult branches. When the students graduate from the second cycle and tertiary institutions, they do not easily join the adult group or may never join at all. Some of the respondents suggested that this is due to the perceived or real generational gap (age difference) in the association. The respondents deduced that the younger ones, second or third generation migrants, may not have a say in decisions made and cannot compete with the older members, some of whom are their fathers and mothers, this discourages active participation. Even though leadership is preferably given to old and established members, new members may consider the age of members before joining the association. The wider the age gap, the lesser the chances of participating actively in the association. This is evident in the Aduamoaman association, where it was

recognised that the younger migrants from Aduamoa-Kwahu prefer to join the Youth or Youngsters groups.

The challenge is that at the student level the association has a large membership size. But once these students graduate they do not participate in the group's activities. (Male, BONABOTO, age 63 years)

Some of the students are very strong members of the association when they were in school. They however do not join the mother groups when they graduate. It is attitudinal. (Male, BONABOTO, age 50 years)

As a social grouping the BONABOTO is democratic and that means irrespective of age, social status or position one can contribute freely and participate fully in the group's activities. But I think the age difference may be the reason why they are not joining the association. People often make the statement that members of the BONABOTO are 'big' people because they own cars, etc. I believe that should not be a problem. When I first joined the BONABOTO I walked to meetings. Later I acquired a bicycle, and then graduated to a motorbike and later a car. As young person you do not have to attend the group's meetings in a car. They have to understand that progress is gradual. (Male, BONABOTO, age 60 years)

In addition, non-participation was linked to the financial statuses of the migrants. To them, people cease to participate in the group because they do not have the financial strength to contribute towards its activities. A member who finds him or herself in such a situation may shy away from the group. Logically, they do not expect to 'enjoy' what (funeral, wedding, illness, etc. contributions) they do not give to others. Such reciprocity is entrenched in the groups. This may force them to forgo the interpersonal relationship which is supposed to be the supportive advantage needed to fit into the destination

community. Formerly, in the Aduamoaman association, migrant citizens who did not participate in the group were sanctioned by the non-attendance and ‘neglect’ on the occasions of their events such as funerals, wedding, etc. This was used to ‘compel’ migrants to be directly involved with the association. This rule is now relaxed and seldomly enforced. Some of the members elaborated:

There is now the challenge that members do not attend the meetings. The attendance is between 20 and 30. The major challenge is finances due to low membership levels and dropouts. (Female, Aduamoaman, age 78 years)

The major challenge of the group is how to retain membership. I believe it can be attributable to the economic situation in the country. (Male, Aduamoaman, ID, age 77 years)

Another challenge is the lack of employment for members. The people from our area are mainly known for their trading activities. This venture does not generate much as it used to sometime ago. (Male, Aduamoaman, age 56 years)

Others added:

If you do not do something for the members, they will not also do it for you. We went to Aduamoaman not long ago to attend the funeral of one of the members whose mother had died. As group, the members contributed some money to support her. While taking such monies we kept records of the number of people and the amounts that they paid. And so if one member does not pay and he or she is in trouble he or she cannot tell us. When you do it for others then they can also do it for you. The left hand bathes the right hand and the right hand bathes the left hand. (Female, Aduamoaman, age 59 years)

The town rules do not cover us and thus members do what they want. I believe that if the chiefs in the community place some sort of power in the hands of the association as some groups have done it will improve the association. (Female, Aduamoaman, age 59 years)

Furthermore, because of the waning interest in the groups, attendance is easily frustrated by distance. This means that the members who lived long distances away from the meeting centre are not encouraged to attend the meetings of the group. It was intimated that some of the members complain of long distances, the traffic situation and cost for their non-participation. This makes the physical meetings almost impossible. Attendance was also frustrated by the members' employments. Some were required to work on meeting days and as such may not attend. Some members shared:

Some of the members have been able to build their houses and thus have moved out of the Accra city or may have moved because of work or other reasons. They have moved to areas such as Ofankor, Kasoa and other places. This discourages attendance to meetings and hence not much is realised from the collections. (Male, Aduamoan, age 53 years)

One of the main challenges that we face as an association is the low attendance to meetings, due to the distance...because members live far away from the meeting place. Some of the members do not attend while others do not get to the meeting in time. (Male, Aduamoaman, age 49 years)

There is also the challenge where members, when they ascend to higher offices are reluctant to attend meetings. Even if they cannot attend their monies should come. Even though they may contribute financially we need the human resource to put the money into use. (Male, BONABOTO, age 43 years)

More so, members leave the associations because of unmet expectations. From the preceding discussions we saw how people join the associations because of the expected benefits in the forms of support in events of hardships and misfortunes, assistance to acquire employment and even marriage partners. When the members do not get these benefits, they are disappointed and often lead to a dropout from the group. If the expected social capital that comes with participation is available, being a member of association becomes redundant. A member shared:

On other occasions, the members do not inform the leaders when they are in need. Due to the large membership the leaders will not be able to know and associate closely with all members. And so when the needs of people are not known and dealt with, they leave the association. (Male, BONABOTO, age 54 years)

As expected in most social groupings, occasional quarrels and misunderstandings will occur. The manner in which those petty quarrels and misunderstandings are dealt with will improve or impede the growth of the associations. Often, people will fall out when these resolutions are unfavourable. In the social network thought, the trust between the contending parties may break down and social capital may cease (Arango, 2004). Such were present in the Aduamoaman and BONABOTO associations.

Waning financial commitment

The dwindling membership in the association poses another challenge of waning financial commitment. Literally, when the members do not attend meetings, they do not honour their financial commitment. Even though dues and pledges could be paid without attending the meetings, other contributions

such as 'silver collections' and other emergency payments are often dependent on who is at the meeting. The associations are voluntary and as such people cannot be forced to give (Silva, 2006). In another vein, the amount of money that the members can give is also dependent on the age, education and earnings (Beauchemin & Schoumaker, 2009; Orozco & Rouse, 2007; Portes et al., 2005).

A look at the Aduamoaman socio-demographic characteristics shows that the majority of the members are retired (57.5%). This undoubtedly casts a dent on the quantum of money that the members can give. In the BONABOTO, even though a significant percentage (46.3%) are civil servants, majority are either unemployed or do not earn much (traders, casual workers, retired) (53.7%), and may not contribute much. In these circumstances, the members will not be able to give much, if they give at all. It must be noted that some of the members also have to travel long distances in order to attend the monthly meetings, which comes with related financial costs. A member intimated:

The challenge is that the commitment of the membership is not encouraging. Our people in Accra will want to have their own interactions and socialisation somewhere else...but we have a lot [of members] and if really people want to be serious with our BONABOTO, like this hall cannot contain us...so it is about commitment. We have most of the members who are unemployed. Economic issues are very high and if you have people who are employed it be very easy for them to support the BONABOTO, especially the education fund so that we will be able to support a lot of students. (Male, BONABOTO, age 40 years)

Our attendance to meetings is a challenge. Sometimes because of the distance many of the members do not attend meetings and even when

they make efforts to attend, they are often late. The other thing is the intelligentsia...the so-called 'big people' around, because they have been in the system for a long time, they feel that they want to retire from the group. They do not attend meetings but some contribute financially to the association. (Male, BONABOTO, age 49 years)

The financial commitment of the members is also affected by the situation whereby other priorities compete for their earnings. The members have other responsibilities to family, nuclear and extended, and others who depend on them for financial support. Some also lamented that other groups such as church and alumni groups put a strain on them and affects how much they can give to support the associations' activities. One of the respondents mentioned:

Another challenge comes in the form of financial. Due to the difficulties today, members are not able to commit to and support projects of the association, as it used to be the case. Due to the work schedules of members, attendance to meetings is always low and not encouraging. Formerly, the meeting place is filled to maximum capacity, but now it is not the case. (Male, BONABOTO, age 43 years)

Another emphasised in this excerpt:

Interviewer: The BONABOTO seem to have members who are 'well to do', especially those in the USA and the UK, why do you still face financial challenges?

Interviewee: It is a misconception. People who do not hail from the origin communities do not understand. For example, my father had three wives. My mother had eight children and the second and third wives had six children. I am the only one amongst the children that attended school. After completing the university, I was able to send my mother's last child to school. My brothers and sisters are married and have their own children. And so my sisters' and brothers' children school needs are my responsibility. My wife is in a similar situation

where there are many people to be taken care of. And so if one takes care of such numbers of persons, there is always a burden/strain on the finances. There will not be enough to spare. Almost all of us are in similar situations. Maybe the third or fourth generations after us will not have such burdens and then may be able to contribute much to the BONABOTO. (Male, BONABOTO, age 64 years)

Another financial challenge that the association is faced with is the delayed or non-payment of the educational loans given to students at the tertiary levels, specifically in the BONABOTO. The BEAF supports tertiary education by giving direct loans to defray a fraction of the tuition fees. Such loans are required to be paid back when the student graduates and acquires an employment. These repayments are always defaulted because of the claim that there is unavailability of prompt employment after graduation. This makes it difficult to raise a different pool of funds from which to support others who might be in need. One member expressed this concern as follows:

We often do not get prompt repayments of the education loans that we give to the tertiary student. The challenge is that the students graduate and are not able to find employment, hence, the default in payment. (Male, BONABOTO, age 50 years)

Patron-Clientele relationships

Literature shows that migrants' associations are sometimes used as tools of gaining public recognition and power, especially political ones (Mande 1996; Beauchemin & Schoumaker, 2009). Patron-clientele relationships, perceived or real, constitute another challenge for the associations. It came out strongly in the interviews and discussions, especially in the origin communities, that the associations are often assumed to be in a 'patron-client'

relationship with political parties and other interest groups. From all the accounts given in line with this, it was noted that the respondents could not say for certain that such a relationship exists. Rather the reports were based on perception and anecdotal observations. Literature shows that as part of integrating into the destination communities, migrants' associations may develop such relationships. Okafor (1998) and Mande (1996) pointed to this in the colonial Nigeria and Burkina Faso, respectively. Both authors presented that in colonial Nigeria and Burkina Faso, the colonial forces encouraged the formation of the associations and supported them in achieving the aims of improving their areas. And as a form of reciprocity, the association will '*sing the praises of the colonial forces to the masses*'. While patron-clientele relationships may impede the potential of the associations' activities in improving the lives of their citizens and the origin areas (Mande, 1996; Beauchemin & Schoumaker, 2009), they can also be harnessed to achieve the groups' aims.

One of the major challenges that we face is that people perceive the BONABOTO to be a political association, which it is not. The association lobbies when different governments come into office and so it will not be prudent to align the association to a particular political party. Individually the members can belong to political parties but the association cannot. (Male, BONABOTO, age 29 years)

We face the challenge where people brand the association as a political group or sympathetic towards a particular political group. This was the case with the Regional Hospital in Bolgatanga. When we criticise the government for the lack of the regional hospital even though all other regions have one, people perceive that we are against the government. Such is also the case whenever you are critical about any government project in the origin communities. On the other hand,

when the government decided to build the hospital, or bring any other infrastructure to the origin communities, others might also perceive that we are in bed with the government. All that the BONABOTO does is lobbying. We work on the ground by speaking and writing to the right people. We are currently lobbying for an Airstrip in Bolgatanga. (Male, BONABOTO, age 43 years)

They think that all that the group does is geared towards scoring political points for a certain political party. However, the association is non-partisan. A case in point is the SADA collapse. When the BONABOTO criticised and queried, some people assumed that the group was criticising government and thus aiming at scoring cheap political points for the opponents. The group was fighting for something that will benefit the people but was misconstrued for scoring cheap political points for the opposition. (Male, Nangodi, age 36 years)

An avenue in the origin areas that may breed patron-clientele relationships is the direct involvement in the local politics. Other than criticising or otherwise of the appointments of local political actors such as assembly members and District Chief Executives, associations implore such officers for ‘favours’ to improve identified areas in the origin. The associations, especially in the case of Aduamoaman, use the officers as conduit to achieve their aims. In the BONABOTO for instance, an honorary membership was given to the District Chief Executive (DCE) because the latter supported the ideas of the group. For fear of criticisms, these DCEs tend to ‘agree’ and even ‘succumb’ to the requests of the group. There were instances where government resources were put at the use of the group to carry out its own agenda. Such was the scanty information that seems to point to possible *clientelism* as shown in these quotes:

There was once a DCE in the area who pushed the BONABOTO area's development agenda and so we recognised him as a member of the association. Such members are known as honorary members. (Male, aged 49 years)

This morning I went to the DA on behalf of the BONABOTO to see the DCE and ask him to write officially to release this place for the project. All government facilities are under the control of the District Assembly and so we will need the release letter to carry on with accreditation... The District Assembly supported us with a car and even financially to do this exercise. (Male, Nangodi, age 38 years)

It is noteworthy to mention that internal relationships, specifically where reputable members of the association aid 'qualified' people to acquire employment, may generate dissent. The dissent specifically generates when some members feel neglected because they were not assisted to find employment. This further creates factions within the group. This came up strongly when some of the members left the group because they felt they were neglected when they were in crisis. The response was that, some members do not or have not benefitted from employment opportunities from the members of the group because of the former's lack or reduce involvement, low popularity and the use of 'wrong' channels in communicating their concerns (such as speaking amongst themselves and failing to voice out their grievances to the right leaders). In the end, those who benefit and have large patronage of their events, such as funerals, weddings, etc. may engender patron-clientele relationship with the benefactors.

Elitism

Other than the tag of patron-clientele relationships, the associations, specifically the BONABOTO, is challenged with elitism both within and outside the group. Within the group, some of the members assume and expect that the association will be for elites – educated and in the middle or upper class in the society. In the formative years of the association, some of the members who supported this agenda had to leave because their expectations were not met. This was after the leaders of the association stood firmly by the objective to make the association a platform of togetherness and integration for all migrants from the origin areas. One member elaborated as follows:

Initially people thought that it should be an elite club. when we started and we were all attending meetings, some thought that it should be a club for only graduates and we said it is an association for...a union of any person from our towns and environs regardless of your educational background or wealth or your whatever, it is open to all. Those who had that orientation, they left, those who had the orientation that it should be for the elite where you will go and speak your big grammar, where you will spend one-hour correcting minutes...Since I joined the association, the executives have stood their grounds and said that during meetings whether you are educated or not, the mode of communication is English, Gurune, Bone, Nabdam and Talensi. Any of these languages that you feel comfortable with, can be used in communication. (Male, BONABOTO, age 63 years)

It was expressed that people outside the group hold this perception. The ideas are fuelled by the knowledge of the statuses of the members. As the socio-demographic information of the group showed, 47.5 percent had university degrees, 11.3 percent have gained other post-secondary or professional training, 46.3 percent were civil servants and 7.5 percent were

retired civil or public servants. In addition, several of such members were in 'high positions' and hence, the elite characteristics are undeniable. To them, this deters migrants, especially new and uneducated ones, from joining the group. This was however unidentified in the Aduamoaman association. Some of the BONABOTO members shared:

The major challenge is that members do not attend meetings regularly and do not pay dues as expected. Some of the people from our origin communities also perceive that the BONABOTO is an elite group and so they will prefer to attend the town meetings. They feel that their community groups are more of their level than the BONABOTO. They feel that if you are not educated or do not have cars they cannot be part of the BONABOTO. In order to correct that the association stipulates members communicate in their local dialects when at meetings. We also educate the masses about the fact that the BONABOTO is not an elite group and that anyone else from the area can be a member. It is expected that the illiterate will rather join the group so as to connect with the elite and the few in privilege positions. However, it is the opposite. (Male, BONABOTO, age 33 years)

These concerns were confirmed by the community members interacted with in the origin areas. It was noted that most of the community members who were 'illiterates' either not aware of the group or could not easily recall its existence. Others also had limited knowledge about the group. Mainly, those who had detailed information about the group were either members while they were in the senior high schools or knew members of the group. This pointed to a communication gap between the association and the citizens. An opinion leader shared:

Interviewer: If the group is doing so well, why don't all people in the communities join?

Interviewee: The poverty level here is so great. There is also a communication gap. Often in the formation of such associations, the educated people often come together to carry it out. However, they do not make it sure that the uneducated will understand them and then support them. It therefore becomes limited to the elite or the educated. The group should be publicised regularly in order to get the attention of the local uneducated people. They can do so by touring all the BONABOTO areas, showing films and other information mechanisms and explaining why the group was formed, the benefits it seeks to offer. Through these, large groups of people will be interested to join. There are employed people within the BONABOTO areas and so when things are well explained, the former will be ready to give financial support to the group. (Male, Opinion leader, Tongo, age 75 years)

Members of the students' wings of the BONABOTO are also members of the National BONABOTO. As such, upon graduation it is expected that the graduate will continue to attend meetings and be actively involved with the group. Due to the low level of education most people do not know that the group exist. In the schools, however, it very visible and vibrant. The local people here are also very busy and may not pay attention to such groups. (Male, FGD, Bolgatanga, age 30 years)

Majority of the residents are illiterate and may not know what the group stands for and so there is the need to go to the grassroots to educate the people about the BONABOTO. (Male, FGD, Bolgatanga, age 33 years)

In Aduamo-Kwahu, a relatively rural community, all those that I interacted with knew and had detailed information about the Aduamoaman association. These included the formation histories, aims, achievements and members of the Aduamoaman associations. Other than elitism, tags of

tribalism and political alignment were given to the BONABOTO. Some of the respondents shared:

In a similar way they may be tagged by people who might not be in support of what the group does, for instance, when the group vehemently opposed the fallen standards in the NHIS. Some people will not take it kindly with them. These are sometimes avenues where some people make their monies and so speak against and oppose such practices may be met with antagonism. With regard to the thieves for instance, some could target the members of the association with the purpose of harming them. (Male, Bolgatanga, age 24 years)

People, those outside the origin communities, see the group as a tribal one. Even when it speaks for the whole region, it is seen as tribalistic and unimportant. (Male, Kongo, age 36 years)

This poses challenges because the tags discourage participation and needed support and resources to achieve the collective aims of the associations. Being aware of the detrimental impact of these obstacles to achieving their aims and objectives, the associations sought measures to deal with them. The respondents suggested a number of such solutions which included the use of the media, usually electronic and continued education.

Solutions and Prospects

As a way of improving membership, the associations resorted to various means. Prominent among these was the use of local and/or community radio. The radio was seen as one of the cheapest and convenient means of reaching the members and would-be members. Through this means, a wide number, dependent on the receivable range of the particular radio station, of the members living in the destination area could be reached. This method was

however not without challenges. Both groups lamented that inadequate funds threatened the continual use of this medium. In the case of the Aduamoaman, its use was discontinued. However, it was indicated that it will resume soon, but in the meantime other tools, such as a printed calendar of the association's meeting days and upcoming events, was used. In the case of the BONABOTO, the radio as a medium of communication was in use, however, much of it is done in the origin communities. The medium was mainly used to give information about the association; their aims, objectives, activities and public education. Once in a while, press statements were issued. The group benefits from the associated reportage and TV coverage. Participants shared:

We need more members in order to bring development to the Aduamoan community. There was a recent radio announcement on Peace FM, through which members and natives of Aduamoan were invited to the meeting. Due to inadequate funds the radio announcement was terminated. Often the amount of money raised at the meeting cannot even pay for one radio announcement. I therefore designed a calendar for the group. On this calendar, meeting days are indicated. There are some who will refer to it and attend meetings while others will not look at it at all. (Male, Aduamoaman, age 50 years)

We have not been able to organise durbars and other such gatherings with the aim of sensitising the people about the pertinent issues. However, we use the radio as a medium in trying to reach the people. The communication team goes to the radio stations from time to time to educate the people about who the group is, what it is doing. (Male, Nangodi, age 38 years)

Others added:

The association also embarks on public education (outreach programmes) yearly and also when the need arises. They advocate the

need for people to send their children to school, especially people from the BONABOTO area. The association have visited the markets and radio stations. (Male, BONABOTO, age 48 years)

Often during vacations, the school children will like to go to the south to do menial jobs and through that they get pregnant and so on. BONABOTO did an advocacy programme on radio and educated the GPRTU to prevent anyone child from travelling to the south during vacations. (Male, FGD, Bolgatanga, age 28 years)

I often hear about them on radio. They speak about community issues such as theft/robbery and bad roads. I also know that they help those in need, especially their education. (Male, Beneficiary, age 24 years)

During the preparation for the biennial national congress in Bolgatanga, we institute a publicity committee which is tasked to produce an elaborate publicity plan. In the publicity for the event, we outline the issues to be discussed (usually issues pertaining to the origin communities), have radio interviews to create awareness for the event. There was a time that we have also organised a march and a clean-up exercise in Bolgatanga town to raise awareness. (Male, BONABOTO, age 63 years)

And even before that I had heard about the group on radio where it was announced that the association is organising a group of medical doctors to come to the origin communities to give out free medical services. I have not personally interacted with their executives or the members, but I do hear about them, on air. (Female, Bongo, age 35 years)

Other than the electronic public media, the associations, specifically the BONABOTO, has adopted the use of social media to reach out to their members. The BONABOTO has a functioning, active ‘WhatsApp’ group page, where the members interact outside the once-a-month meeting times.

Information is relayed easily and conveniently to a large number of people which engenders prompt response and action. However, the challenge is that those who may not be able to afford mobile phones that support the platform will be left out. Also, those who may not be able to read and write are also left out. The members may also substitute the monthly meetings with the interactions on the social network platform and this will create the challenge of low attendance and participation mentioned above. The potential lies in the ability to manage such social networks for the benefit of the group.

In addition, the associations have sought to diffuse peoples' perceptions of elitism and patron-clientele relationships through education, both in the origin and destination areas. The BONABOTO does this by visiting the student wings of the association in the various tertiary institutions, speaking to them about the importance of being active in the group and also encouraging them to join the adult groups when they leave school. The group also proposes the introduction of a clause in the BEAF loans that binds the beneficiaries to become members. To them this is yielding fruits and hence will continue. This effort in bridging the students' wings to the adult groups will perpetuate elitism unless similar action is done to reach the non-elites. The group recognises this and as such makes the effort to publicly, mainly through the FM medium, educate the non-elite. The challenge, however, remains that much of the non-elite public education is done in the origin areas. Respondents shared:

We are speaking to them so that they will attend meetings. We have designed grant/loan application forms which is filled by applicants upon request for support. We have indicated on the form that when they are assisted, they automatically become members of the

BONABOTO. Upon the consent to that clause, they are then assisted. This mechanism is yielding fruits. We currently have young men and women in the association. (Male, BONABOTO, age 50 years)

The association also visits the tertiary institutions branches of the BONABOTO to speak with them on matters arising. The association has visited the UEW Ajumako campus to whip up the interest of members and also discussed issues the student association had. (Male, BONABOTO, age 48 years)

In spite of the rises and dips in the membership sizes and participation in the groups' activities, the associations vehemently stood by the view that the groups will not collapse or become extinct. This was pegged on the basis that the perpetuation of a group is often dependent on a few committed members. However, in the case of the Aduamoaman, the members fear redundancy of the group, except measures are taken to increase its productivity. It is imperative to mention that redundancy does not mean extinction.

Every group thrives on a few committed members. The core dedicated members will always keep the association going. I do not see the group dying anytime soon. (Male, BONABOTO, age 63 years)

The few dedicated people will continue to support the association to achieve its objectives. By the achievements I believe those who have dropped out due to interpersonal reason will come back. I believe that the few dedicated people can hold the front for the association to perpetuate and prosper. Numbers does not mean much, what matters of commitment, dedication and hard work. It is better to have a few committed members than large numbers who are not committed. (Male, BONABOTO, age 64 years)

It will be in existence in name and not in actions and impacts. Another way to revamp the group is for the chiefs to get involved, by

formulating laws and enforcing them in the group. There is currently no chief in Aduamoa because he is deceased. Until we have another chief and he decides to make laws to govern the group and in a way force the group to abide by them. The law used to be there and so what it needs is a revamp by the traditional powers of the land. (Male, Aduamoa, age 88 years)

Citizens of the origin areas expressed the prospect of the group achieving more for themselves and the communities. Their existence and activities have become imperative, especially in the era where literature and available indications point to the fact that governments, especially in developing countries such as Ghana, are not committed to development and even if otherwise, there are not enough resources to provide all the development needs of the citizens (Beauchemin & Schoumaker, 2009). There is therefore a high expectation, especially from the beneficiaries of the activities of the associations, to impact positively on the development of the origin areas and the nation as a whole.

I expect them to be able to establish the training college and university that they aim to institute. This will change the whole of Bolgatanga for the better. This is in the light that the schools will bring out graduates who will work to promote the society. (Female, Bolgatanga, age 50 years)

The people back in Aduamoa expect that those of us in Accra will have enough money to use some to support development in the origin community. This is because the people back at home are mainly peasant farmers. (Male, Aduamoaman, age 56 years)

I expect that the association will not only support education but also support people to acquire skills and start careers such as tailoring, hairdressing, etc. I believe that if all people from the region, especially wealthy ones, become members and put their hands on deck to push the

BONABOTO agenda, Bolgatanga, in the next five years, will transform to look like Accra. When everyone gets involved a lot of people will be assisted to climb the social ladder. This will eradicate poverty and the dependency will be no more, because will be able to afford their own needs. (Male, Bolgatanga, Beneficiary, age 23 years)

We expect them to lobby for projects for the origin communities and for indigenes to assume important and influential positions so that they can help the catchment areas. I also expect the BONABOTO to be up and doing do that the origin communities can get their fair share of the national cake. (Male, Bolgatanga, Beneficiary, age 30 years)

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

This is the final and concluding chapter of this thesis. The chapter presents a summary of the research, draw some conclusions from the key findings and makes recommendations for policy, practice and further studies.

Summary

Generally, the socio-demographic characteristics showed that there were more males (56%) than females (44%) between the two associations. While the relatively older members of Aduamoaman were within the age bracket of 40-79years, the membership of the BONABOTO was between 20-69years. The age dynamics were positively correlated to length of stay in the destination area as well as length of membership in the migrants' associations. The older generation of the Aduamoaman showed strong leanings towards not returning to the origin area mainly because they have settled in Accra; some with their families and also are retirees. These characteristics, they claim, makes the rural agrarian Aduamo-Kwahu unfavourable for them. On the other side, members responded positively towards return, even though the movement will be dependent on their ability to achieve all their aims for migrating.

Another important factor was that only 7.5 percent of the members in BONABOTO moved to join spouse and none to join family but rather for employment or education. While 65 percent of all the members were married, 33 percent were divorced and the rest never married or widowed. Some of the

members got married and started families in the destination area while others had theirs back home. The majority of the members whose nuclear families were in the origin areas showed stronger motivation to return to the origin areas.

Between the two associations, the BONABOTO showed high levels of education (47.5% with tertiary education) while the 90 percent of the members of the Aduamoaman were below tertiary education. Those with high levels of education worked as or were retirees in the civil or public service, such as insurance practitioners, nurses and security officers. On the other hand, those members who had low educational levels below were mainly self-employed, traders or casual workers. In terms of membership sizes, the Aduamoaman was relatively small and decreasing at an increasing rate over the years, while the BONABOTO is fairly large and also gradually decreasing.

The Aduamoaman association grew out of informal migrant networks in Accra and Tema and currently has few branches in other urban centres of Ghana; Kumasi, Takoradi, Koforidua and Nkawkaw and diaspora branches in the USA and the UK. The BONABOTO was student-based and is now an ethnic association with a national spread. Both grew out of the common interests and needs of the people at the time of formation. Membership of the associations is open to both indigenes and non-indigenes, once there is a common focus. Decision makers and decision making is done based on laid down processes coded into constitutions and regulations which attract sanctions when breached. Both associations seem to be playing two major functions of integration and providers of social development.

Both associations which were mainly founded on brotherliness, fraternisation, social support systems, cultural preservation and transmission were expanding to accommodate community development needs as a response to the identified development gaps and challenges. These included the provision of public goods such as water, health facilities, education, security and toilet facilities. The associations especially the BONABOTO, is involved in building of human resources, mainly through the provision of educational interventions, which they believe will spur development. Members of the associations therefore encouraged to look beyond personal expectations and benefits and focus on and contribute towards developing the origin communities.

It was also evident that the groups actively participate in mediation between members and the host community, and as such aid the integration of these members into the host community. The groups also liaise with the partners and branches in the diaspora. In cases where the diaspora groups will want to reach out substantially to the origin communities, the Aduamoaman and BONABOTO receive the help and channel them to the intended places.

It is not uncommon for the associations to face challenges, and some may threaten their very existence. The Aduamoaman and BONABOTO migrants' associations are experiencing waning membership and financial commitment coupled with elitism and tag of patron-clientele relationships which derail their activities and intended positive impacts. The associations are primarily voluntary and as such, participation and commitment cannot be forced. While the groups depend on members' interests at a particular point in time for membership and participation, they will have to rest on members'

satisfaction for continued support. Nonetheless, the interests and satisfaction are affected by economic conditions, convenience and literacy levels. Continuous education, through various media platforms, may encourage membership.

Conclusions

On the basis of the analysis done and key findings, the following conclusions are made:

First, the Aduamoaman migrants' association was similar to the BONABOTO, in principle. Their differences are in size, age, methods of achieving their aims and kinds of external and internal support gained. The Aduamoaman migrants' association is relatively small in size and increasingly decreasing in size as well. This foretells to the possibility of extinction of the group. This stands on the background that the citizens of the Aduamo community, who live in Accra, have lost interest in the group and have also found other groups to support their needs. If the main motive of forming or joining the group is to enjoy social benefits such as companionship and help in time of, then when the association fails in this mandate the interest in it wanes. In line with Coleman's (1990) conceptualisation of what Social Capital is ('resources that can be used by the actors to realise their interests'), when the members fail to access such resources to facilitate their stay and success in the destination society, then the group is no longer of importance and as such, exit is the surest option. In addition, the Aduamoaman migrants' association tend to be homogenous in ethnicity, class and age. This weakens the ties, which is solely mechanical; where everyone is similar and does similar things.

On the other hand, the BONABOTO is relatively large with a national-spread and increasingly developing into an ethnic pressure group. The dynamics in the BONABOTO strengthens the groups and thus, its social capital. To Granovetter (1973) for instance, increased differentiation in a group makes it more persistent. This is in line with Durkheim's organic solidarity thought. To him, complex society like that of the host (Accra) is held together by the performance of very different tasks which leads to interdependence on each other. In BONABOTO, there is a fusion of lower, middle and upper classes, elites, literates and illiterates, working and non-working class. This engenders dependence of the groups on each other.

Secondly, the study concludes that the associations are organised based on the needs and interests of the members and their places of origin. These needs and interests of the members and those of the places of origin, as shown in this study, were different for each of the associations. The perpetuation of the two associations is dependent on the keeping true to these interests and achieving them. Therefore, if the purposes and objectives of both associations as enshrined in their respective constitutions will be realised, the fundamental expectations of the members need be fulfilled.

Thirdly, on the study objective of examining the benefits to members and places of origin, the study concludes that, the members of the two associations benefit from bonding social networks, which reaffirm their ethnic identities and boost their self-esteem. They also benefit from bridging network where the members have access to external assets and for information diffusion. Based on this, the two associations represent important resources to their respective membership, especially in the host communities. There was

strong evidence that the associations contribute in terms of responding to the social development challenges of the places of origin. The two associations therefore, contribute immensely to the social development of the members and the origin areas, rather than economic development.

Finally, on the fourth objective, the study concludes that, the two migrants' associations in this study were not immune from challenges, which obstruct the pursuance of their purpose and objectives, and even their existence.

Recommendations

Based on the findings and conclusions, the following recommendations are made:

Recommendation to the associations

1. The associations' leadership should adopt the strategy of continuously educating their membership, through various media platforms, about the need for participation and possibly, that impact that association can make to the members and the places of origin. This will encourage participation in the associations.
2. The leadership should also encourage frequent contact between the members outside the official meeting times, to foster shared values, reciprocal exchanges, mutual awareness and facilitate delivery of assistance to the members when in need. As the associations become formidable with committed membership, they will in turn sustain their contribution to social development.

3. The associations should find ways and means (such as setting up the associations' business ventures where some of the members could be gainfully engaged) to addressing the economic challenges of the members in the destination areas. This will contribute to reducing the dwindling membership and financial commitment to the associations.

Recommendation for policy

4. The associations provide some form of social control (mainly through their constitutional requirements and the need for the members to associate with the group) on members in the host area. The Ministry of the Interior, through the National Migration Policy should encourage the formation of migrants' associations by making them partners in instilling discipline in the city of Accra and thereby reducing the risks that the migrants face and also pose to the destination areas.
5. Secondly, the Ministry should invite and encourage the associations take active part in civic engagement. This will shape the political discourse but also direct Government and funders to targeted areas which can be improved to alleviate poverty.

Contributions of the Research to Knowledge

Literature on Ghana's internal migrants' associations is paltry and at best the phenomenon is explained away with literature on international hometown associations. This thesis has contributed to it by providing information on the Aduamoaman and BONABOTO migrants' associations. This is a valuable contribution. In addition, through this research the explanations of migration which mainly hinged on the push-pull dimension are

known to be inadequate based on the diverse factors that played out in the members' migration decisions.

Studies on migrants' associations have hitherto not utilised the social exchange theory in analyses. This is because such studies mainly focus on the social capital and network perspectives. It is however evident that, exchanges in the groups are not merely residual for participation in the groups but calculated before decision to participate and sustained by reciprocity. It is important that other studies extend this analytical perspective in other studies.

Areas for Further Research

- Even though the contribution of this thesis cannot be underemphasised, more needs to be done to provide comprehensive information about migrants' associations in Ghana. Future research by Sociologists and migration scholars on internal migrants' associations in Ghana should **comprehensively profile** and document the number and characteristics of migrants' and hometown associations.
- It was obvious in this study that like elsewhere in Mexico, Latin and Central America such associations are engaged to serve as a human and financial resource to reach the rural and hinterland communities with development. Lessons can be drawn from such examples for Ghana's development. However, such areas should be thoroughly explored and adapted to suit Ghana's socio-economic environment. In order to harness the maximum benefit from migrants' associations, further studies need to investigate **specific ways they can be partners**

for Ghana's development and provide foundation for the government policy.

- Evidences from this study and literature show that migrants' association contribute to **social discipline and modelling of 'good' citizens**. Further research is needed to identify concrete avenues where the associations could be involved to promote social control.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

In-depth Interview Guide for Association Leaders

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND LEGAL STUDIES
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR ASSOCIATION LEADERS

Topic: Migrants Associations in Ghana: A Case Study of the BONABOTO and Aduamoaman Associations

I am a graduate student of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology in the University of Cape Coast. This research is for academic purposes which will lead to the award of a Doctorate degree. The responses that you will give will be used solely for academic purposes. Your identity shall remain private and confidential. Thank you for your time and willingness to participate in this study.

SECTION 1: BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS

1. Please, could you tell me a bit about yourself? [Probe: age, hometown, occupation, marital status, number of children, highest level of education]

SECTION 2: FORMATION OF THE ASSOCIATION(S)

1. When was the association formed? [Probe: Why was it formed that time?, etc.]
2. What are the main motives for forming the association?
3. What are the goals and objectives of the association?
4. How long have you been a member of this association? [Probe: Founder, office held, if any, etc.]
5. What were your reasons for joining the association? [Probe: how did you become a member?]
6. How will you describe this association? (E.g. Hometown, Ethnic, National, migrants' association etc.)

7. What is the status of the association now? (Probe: active, temporarily inactive, permanently inactive, any renewal of registration?)
8. Is your association registered? [Probe: why registered, why not registered, location, etc.]
9. Does the association have a constitution or laid-down rules and regulations? [Probe: key themes/issues in the constitution, accessibility of constitution to members, etc.]

SECTION 3: MEMBERSHIP/LEADERSHIP

1. What is the total number of members?
2. How does one become a member? [Probe: who qualifies? Who is an active member? Who is an inactive member?]
3. Does your association have stipulations for honorary membership? (E.g. executives of other associations, spouses of members, traditional leader, member of a political group, etc.)
4. How does one become a leader in the association? (Probe if there is a voting process etc)
5. What is the executive structure of this association? [Probe: What are the official positions in this association?]
6. Who are the decision-makers of this association? (E.g. BoD, executive board, general assembly, etc.)
7. How are decisions made in this association? (E.g. arbitrary by leaders, decentralised, general meeting, etc.)
8. What are the eligibility criteria for association members to be leaders? [Probe: selection process, election, nomination, approval, etc.]

SECTION 4: NATURE AND ACTIVITIES OF MIGRANTS' ASSOCIATIONS

1. What do you know about the history of this association? [Probe: Any distinctive feature (s), etc.]
2. Where is the association's primary meeting place? (E.g. headquarters, community centre, member's residence, etc.) [Probe: why that place, meeting days/period and why]

3. What are some of the issues the association discusses at meeting? (Probe: economic, social, political, cultural, etc. Why such issues?)
4. What are some of the activities the association has carried out specifically for association members? [Probe: economic, social, political, cultural]
5. Mention some cultural activities of the association. [Probe: Why does it undertake such activities?]
6. What are some of the economic activities of the association? [Probe: Why does it undertake such activities?]
7. What are some of the political activities of the association? [Probe: Why does it undertake such activities?]
8. How often are socio-cultural and economic activities of the association undertaken? (E.g. monthly, biannually, yearly) [Probe: why these periods?]
9. How is the association financed?

SECTION 5: BENEFITS OF MIGRANTS' ASSOCIATIONS

1. How do members of the association benefit? [Probe: how do you benefit?]
2. What benefits or entitlements exist for association members in times of:
 - a. Hospitalisation? c. Death? d. Economic/financial difficulties?
 - Birth of children? Marriage?
3. What benefits exist for association members in their:
 - a. Economic life? b. Social life? c. Cultural life? d. Political life
4. What are some of the benefits or entitlements (obvious and non-obvious) that exist for association leaders? [Probe: if there are, why are the entitlements different from members?]
5. How does the association contribute to the development of the origin communities? [Probe: What precisely was done? To whom was it done? Where exactly in the community? Why to that person or place?]
6. How does the association contribute to the development of the destination communities? [Probe: What precisely was done? To whom was it done? Where exactly in the community? Why to that person or place?]

SECTION 6: CHALLENGES

1. What type of problems/challenges does the association face? [Probe: political, economic, organisational, social, cultural problems? In the past and present]
2. Any problem with attitude and behaviour of association members?

APPENDIX B

Focus Group Discussion Guide for Beneficiary Communities

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND LEGAL STUDIES
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

FGD GUIDE FOR BENEFICIARY COMMUNITIES

Topic: Migrants Associations in Ghana: A Case Study of the BONABOTO and Aduamoaman Associations

I am a graduate student of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology in the University of Cape Coast. This research is for academic purposes which will lead to the award of a Doctorate degree. The responses that you will give will be used solely for academic purposes. Your identity shall remain private and confidential. Thank you for your time and willingness to participate in this study.

SECTION 1: KNOWLEDGE ABOUT THE ASSOCIATION

1. Have you heard about this association? (BONABOTO or Kwahu, as appropriate)
2. How did you know about the association?
3. Do you know some of the members of the association? [Probe: How do you know them?]
4. Is anyone present a member?
5. Are there any benefits to being a member? Probe deeper.
6. Why are such associations formed? [Probe: why do people join such associations? Is there a selection criterion? Why are you not a member?]
7. What does the association do? [Probe: economic, political, social, cultural: what has the association done recently that you know of?]

SECTION 2: BENEFITS FROM THE ASSOCIATION

1. What are some of the activities of the association in your community? [Probe: Economic, social, political, cultural. Why such activities?]
2. Which benefits has this community received so far from the association? [Probe: what did the community receive? Where can it be located? Who received it for the community?]
3. What category of people often benefit from the association? [Probe: are there certain criteria to benefit?]
4. Which communities benefit (s) from the association?

SECTION 3: CHALLENGES

1. What are some of the challenges that the association face in assisting you and your community? [Probe: economic, political, social, cultural]
2. How can these challenges be dealt with?
3. Does the association pose a challenge or threat to your community and its members? [Probe]
4. What are your expectations of the association?
5. How can the association contribute to local develop? [Probe: Economic, social, political, cultural, etc.]
6. How can the association contribute to national development? [Probe: Economic, social, political, cultural, etc.]

APPENDIX C
In-depth Interview Guide for Individual Beneficiaries

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND LEGAL STUDIES
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR INDIVIDUAL BENEFICIARIES

Topic: Migrants Associations in Ghana: A Case Study of the BONABOTO
and Aduamoaman Associations

I am a graduate student of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology in the University of Cape Coast. This research is for academic purposes which will lead to the award of a Doctorate degree. The responses that you will give will be used solely for academic purposes. Your identity shall remain private and confidential. Thank you for your time and willingness to participate in this study.

SECTION 1: BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS

1. Please, could you tell me a bit about yourself? [Probe: age, hometown, occupation, marital status, number of children, highest level of education]

SECTION 2: KNOWLEDGE OF THE ASSOCIATION

1. Have you heard about this association? (BONABOTO or Kwahu, as appropriate) [Probe: How did you know about the association?]
2. What does the association do? [Probe: Economic, social, political, cultural]
3. What are your expectations of the association?
4. Are you a member? (reasons why and why not)
5. How is the association funded?

SECTION 3: BENEFITS FROM THE ASSOCIATION

1. Have you personally benefitted from the association? [Probe: what specifically was the benefit? Why do you think it was given to you? When did you get it? How was it given to you? How useful is it to you? Etc.]

2. Has your community benefitted from the association? [Probe: what specifically was the benefit? When did your community get it? How was it given? How useful is it to your community? Etc.] Why was it given?
3. Which people often benefit from the association? [Probe: does it depend on where you come from, family, friends, or who you are?]
4. Which communities benefit (s) from the association? [Probe: does it depend on location? Economic, political, social, cultural characteristics?]

SECTION 4: CHALLENGES

1. What are some of the challenges that the association face in assisting you and your community? [Probe: why do you consider these as challenges?]
2. How can these challenges be dealt with? [Probe: Is there something can do to make the association's activities feasible? Specifically]

APPENDIX D

In-depth Interview Guide for Beneficiary Institutions

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND LEGAL STUDIES
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR BENEFICIARY INSTITUTIONS

Topic: Migrants Associations in Ghana: A Case Study of the BONABOTO and Aduamoaman Associations

I am a graduate student of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology in the University of Cape Coast. This research is for academic purposes which will lead to the award of a Doctorate degree. The responses that you will give will be used solely for academic purposes. Your identity shall remain private and confidential. Thank you for your time and willingness to participate in this study.

SECTION 1: BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS

1. Please, could you tell me a bit about yourself? [Probe: age, hometown, occupation, marital status, number of children, highest level of education]

SECTION 2: KNOWLEDGE OF THE ASSOCIATION

1. Have you heard about this association? (BONABOTO or Kwahu, as appropriate) [Probe: How did you know about the association?]
2. What does the association do? [Probe: Economic, social, political, cultural]
3. What are your expectations of the association?
4. Are you a member? (reasons why and why not)
5. How is the association funded?

SECTION 3: BENEFITS FROM THE ASSOCIATION

1. Has your institution benefitted from the association? [Probe: what specifically was the benefit? Why do you think it was given to you? When did you get it? How was it given to you? How useful is it to you? Etc.]

2. Has your community benefitted from the association? [Probe: what specifically was the benefit? When did your community get it? How was it given? How useful is it to your community? Etc.] Why was it given?
3. Which institutions often benefit from the association? [Probe: does it depend on where you come from, family, friends, or who you are?]
4. Which communities benefit (s) from the association? [Probe: does it depend on location? Economic, political, social, cultural characteristics?]

SECTION 4: CHALLENGES

1. What are some of the challenges that the association face in assisting you and your community? [Probe: why do you consider these as challenges?]
2. How can these challenges be dealt with? [Probe: Is there something can do to make the association's activities feasible? Specifically]

APPENDIX E

In-depth Interview Guide for Opinion Leaders

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND LEGAL STUDIES
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR OPINION LEADERS

Topic: Migrants Associations in Ghana: A Case Study of the BONABOTO and Aduamoaman Associations

I am a graduate student of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology in the University of Cape Coast. This research is for academic purposes which will lead to the award of a Doctorate degree. The responses that you will give will be used solely for academic purposes. Your identity shall remain private and confidential. Thank you for your time and willingness to participate in this study.

SECTION 1: BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS

1. Please, could you tell me a bit about yourself? [Probe: age, hometown, occupation, marital status, number of children, highest level of education]

SECTION 2: KNOWLEDGE ABOUT THE ASSOCIATION

1. Have you heard about this association? (BONABOTO or Aduamoaman, as appropriate) [Probe: What do you know about the association? How long have you known the association?]
2. How did you know about the association?
3. What does the association do?
4. How is it funded?
5. What are some of the activities you have heard or seen the association engage in? (Probe: economic, political, social, cultural)
6. How does the association relate to members of this community? [Probe:]

SECTION 3: BENEFITS OF THE ASSOCIATION

1. Do you know any community that has benefitted from the association?
[Probe: Type of benefit(s), why that community, why that benefit, frequency/how often, etc.]
2. Which category of people often benefit from the association? [Probe: Why these people?]

SECTION 4: CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS

1. What are some of the challenges of the association in this community?
2. What are some of the challenges that the community face due to the presence of the association?
3. How can these challenges be dealt with?
4. What are your expectations of the association?
5. How can the association contribute to local development?
6. How can the association contribute to national development?

APPENDIX F

Questionnaire for Association Members

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND LEGAL STUDIES
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR ASSOCIATION MEMBERS

Topic: Migrants Associations in Ghana: A Case Study of the BONABOTO and Aduamoaman Associations

I am a graduate student of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology in the University of Cape Coast. This research is for academic purposes which will lead to the award of a Doctorate degree. The responses that you will give will be used solely for academic purposes. Your identity shall remain private and confidential. Thank you for your time and willingness to participate in this study.

Question	Response (Please tick (√) or write where appropriate)
SECTION 1: BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS	
Q1. Sex	
a. Male	
b. Female	
Q2. Age	
a. 18 - 22	
b. 23 – 27	
c. 28 – 32	
d. 33 – 37	
e. 38 and above	
Q3. Hometown Please specify.....	
Q4. Highest level of education	
a. Pre-secondary	

b. Secondary	
c. Post-secondary	
d. Other(s), (specify).....	
Q5. Main Occupation (specify)	
Q6. Marital status	
a. Never married	
b. Co-habiting with a partner	
c. Married	
d. Separated	
e. Divorced	
f. Widowed	
Q7. Number of Children (specify).....	
SECTION 2: MOTIVATION FOR MIGRATION	
Q8. How long have you lived here? (specify)_____	
Q9. What were your reasons or goals for migrating to Greater Accra?	Tick (✓) as many as apply
a. Join spouse	
b. Employment	
c. Education	
Q10. Have you achieved your main reason for migrating?	
a. Yes	
b. No	
Q11. If no, why not?	
Q12. Do you intend to return to your hometown in future?	
a. Yes	
b. No	
Q13. If yes, why?	
Q14. If no, why not?	
SECTION 3: MOTIVATION FOR JOINING THE	

ASSOCIATION	
Q15. Do you know of any migrant association apart from Aduamoaman?	
a. Yes	
b. No (<i>if yes, skip to Q17</i>)	
Q16. List the names of other migrants' associations that you know.....	
Q17. Why did you join Aduamoaman?	
Q18. Have you achieved these goals after joining the association?	
a. Yes	
b. No	
Q19. If no, why not?.....	
SECTION 4: MEMBERSHIP/LEADERSHIP	
Q20. What is the total number of members in this association?	
a. 0 – 99	
b. 100 – 199	
c. 200 – 299	
d. 300 – 399	
e. 400+	
Q21. How long have you been a member of the Aduamoaman?	
a. 1 – 3 years	
b. 4 – 6 years	
c. 7 – 9 years	
d. 10 years and above	
Q22. Who qualifies to be a member of the association? (Specify)	
Q23. Does the association have honorary members?	
a. Yes	
b. No	
Q24. What is the executive structure of this association? [Probe: What are the official positions in this association?]	Tick (✓) as many as apply

a. Board of Directors	
b. Elected Executive members	
c. Appointed Executive members	
d. Other(s), specify.....	
Q25. Who are the decision makers of the association?	
a. General membership	
b. Executive board members	
c. Board of directors	
d. Other(s), (specify)	
Q26. How are decisions made in this association?	
a. Arbitrary by leaders	
b. General meetings	
c. Decentralised	
d. Other(s), specify	
Q27. How does one become a leader in this association?	
a. Election by general assembly	
b. Nomination and approval	
c. Appointment by leaders	
d. Other(s), specify	
SECTION 5: ACTIVITIES OF THE ASSOCIATION	
Q28. How will you describe the association?	
a. Hometown association	
b. Ethnic association	
c. National association	
d. Alumni association	
e. Charity association	
f. Other, please specify.....	
Q29. What are some of the issues that the association discuss at meetings? <i>Please specify.</i>	
a. Economic:	
b. Social:	
c. Political:	
d. Cultural:	
e. Other (specify)	

Q30. List some of the association's activities.	
a. Economic:	
b. Social:	
c. Political:	
d. Cultural:	
e. Other (specify)	
Q31. What are some of the activities that the association has carried out specifically for origin communities?	
a. Economic:	
b. Social:	
c. Political:	
d. Cultural:	
e. Other (specify)	
Q32. How often are some of these activities carried out at the place of origin?	
a. Monthly	
b. Half-yearly	
c. Yearly	
d. Other (specify)	
Q33. What are some of the activities that the association has carried out specifically for destination communities?	
a. Economic:	
b. Social:	
c. Political:	
d. Cultural:	
e. Other (specify)	
Q34. How often are some of these activities carried out at the destination?	
a. Monthly	
b. Half-yearly	
c. Yearly	
d. Other (specify)	
Q35. What are the association's yearly activities?	Tick (✓) as many as apply
a. Annual general meetings	

b. Fundraisers	
c. Get-togethers	
d. Donations	
e. Other (s), please specify	
Q36. Who runs the association's yearly activities?	
a. Permanent staff	
b. Ad hoc officers	
c. Established committees	
d. Other (s), please specify	
SECTION 6: BENEFITS OF ASSOCIATION	
Q37. What benefits exist for association members?	
a. Economic (specify):	
b. Social (specify):	
c. Political (specify):	
d. Cultural (specify):	
e. Other (specify):	
Q38. Has the association helped you in any of these ways?	Tick (✓) as many as apply
a. Illness	
b. Death of relative or bereavement	
c. Wedding ceremony	
d. Naming ceremonies	
e. Loans	
f. Business advice	
g. Employment	
h. Dispute resolution	
i. Other (s), please specify.....	
SECTION 7: CHALLENGES	
Q39. What are some of the challenges that the association face?	
a. Organisational (specify):	
b. Economic (specify):	
c. Political (specify):	
d. Social (specify):	

e. Cultural (specify):	
f. Other (specify):	
Q40. How best can these challenges be addressed? (Specify)	

APPENDIX G

Informed Consent Form

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Title: Migrant Associations in Ghana: A Case study of the BONABOTO and Aduamoaman Associations.

Principal Investigator: Dorothy Takyiakwaa

Address: Department of Sociology and Anthropology, UCC Post Office, University of Cape Coast, Cape Coast, Central Region.

General Information about Research

The research is strictly for academic purposes, a partial fulfillment of for the award of a Doctorate degree.

The research explores the phenomenon of internal migrant associations in the Greater Accra Region, by focusing on the BONABOTO and Aduamoaman associations. It seeks to provide a description and explanation of the motivations of formation, dimensions, organisation, endurance and impacts on members, host and sending areas. The purpose is to deepen the understandings on migrant associations and provide information for migration policy. It will also serve as information for future migrants to make informed decision of forming or joining migrant associations.

As a participant you are required, if consent is given, to participate in the in-depth interviews, structured interviews and focus group discussions, as appropriate. You are expected to freely and truthfully provide answers to the questions posed by the researcher(s). The duration of your participation will be between 50 – 100 minutes. The questions that will be asked will focus on you as a migrant, a member of the migrants' association (s), a beneficiary of the association(s) and/or an opinion leader in the origin or destination area (s) of the associations.

Procedures

To find answers to some of these questions, we invite you to take part in this research project. If you accept, you will be required to:

(The following applies only to focus group discussions) take part in a discussion with 7-8 other persons with similar experiences. This discussion will be moderated by a co-researcher or myself.

(The following applies only to in-depth interviews) participate in an interview with a co-researcher or myself.

(The following applies only to questionnaire surveys) fill out a survey which will be provided by a co-researcher or myself and collected by a co-researcher or myself.

You are being invited to take part in this because as a member of the migrants' association, beneficiary of the association or opinion leader, your experience and opinions will contribute immensely to the study.

As a participant you will be asked share on areas such as: the rationale for forming these migrant associations, procedures to become a member, reason for joining, benefits to members, host and origin communities, and the challenges facing these associations.

(The following applies only to focus group discussions) During this discussion, however, we do not wish you to tell us your personal experiences, but give us your opinion on the questions that we will pose to the group based on your personal experiences and your experience within your community. If you do not wish to answer any of the questions or take part in any part of the discussion, you may say so and keep quiet. The discussion will take place in the association's meeting place, and no one else but the people who take part in the discussion and the moderator or myself will be present during this discussion. The entire discussion will be tape-recorded, but **no-one will be identified by name on the tape**. Additionally, the tape will be kept on a password-protected external storage drives. The information recorded is considered confidential, and no one else except myself will have access to the tapes.

(The following applies only to interviews) If you do not wish to answer any of the questions posed during the interview, you may say so and the interviewer will move on to the next question. The interview will take place in the association's meeting place, and no one else but the interviewer will be present. The information recorded is considered confidential, and no one else except me will have access to the information documented during your interview.

The expected duration of the discussion and interview is about 50-80 minutes.

Possible Benefits

The discussions will provide an opportunity to rethink and assess the migrants' association (s) in terms of rationale for formation and benefits.

Confidentiality

The responses that you will give will be accord the highest protection. Your identity shall remain private and confidential and as such shall not appear in any reports. The lead researcher will be the only one with access to your responses.

Voluntary Participation and Right to Leave the Research

Your participation is voluntary and you are free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences.

Contacts for Additional Information

In case you have question about this research, please you may kindly contact the Principal Investigator and/or supervisors: Dorothy Takyiakwaa (+233-24-2939864/+233-50-2560146), Prof. Mansah Prah (+233-24-4387963), Prof. Augustine Tanle (+233-24-3604141).

Your rights as a Participant

This research has been reviewed and approved by the Institutional Review Board of University of Cape Coast (UCCIRB). If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant you can contact the Administrator at the IRB Office between the hours of 8:00 am and 4:30 p.m. through the phones lines 0332133172 and 0244207814 or email address: irb@ucc.edu.gh.

VOLUNTEER AGREEMENT

The above document describing the benefits, risks and procedures for the research titled: “Migrant Associations in Ghana: A Case study of the BONABOTO and Aduamoaman Associations”, has been read and explained to me. I have been given an opportunity to have any questions about the research answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate as a volunteer.

Date

Name and signature or mark of volunteer

If volunteers cannot read the form themselves, a witness must sign here:

I was present while the benefits, risks and procedures were read to the volunteer. All questions were answered and the volunteer has agreed to take part in the research.

Date

Name and signature of witness

I certify that the nature and purpose, the potential benefits, and possible risks associated with participating in this research have been explained to the above individual.

Date

Name Signature of Person Who Obtained Consent

APPENDIX H

Ethical Clearance

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD SECRETARIAT

TEL: 03321-33172/3 / 0207355653/ 0244207814

C/O Directorate of Research, Innovation and Consultancy

E-MAIL: irb@ucc.edu.gh

OUR REF: UCC/IRB/A/2016/110

YOUR REF:

OMB NO: 0990-0279

IORG #: IORG0009096



26TH APRIL, 2017

Ms Dorothy Takyiakwa
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
University of Cape Coast

Dear Ms Takyiakwa,

ETHICAL CLEARANCE –ID :(UCCIRB/CHLS/2017/01)

The University of Cape Coast Institutional Review Board (UCCIRB) has granted **Provisional Approval** for the implementation of your research protocol titled ‘ **Migrants’ Associations in Ghana: A Case Study of the BONABOTA and Aduamoaman Associations.**’


This approval requires that you submit periodic review of the protocol to the Board and a final full review to the UCCIRB on completion of the research. The UCCIRB may observe or cause to be observed procedures and records of the research during and after implementation.

Please note that any modification of the project must be submitted to the UCCIRB for review and approval before its implementation.

You are also required to report all serious adverse events related to this study to the UCCIRB within seven days verbally and fourteen days in writing.

Always quote the protocol identification number in all future correspondence with us in relation to this protocol.

Yours faithfully,


Samuel Asiedu Owusu
Administrator

.....
ADMINISTRATOR
INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD
UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST
Date:.....

VITA

Dorothy Takyiakwa

E-mail: dtakyiakwa@yahoo.com | dorothy.takyiakwa@stu.ucc.edu.gh

Address: Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Cape Coast

Phone: +233 24 2 939 864

Education

University of Cape Coast Cape Coast, Central Region

Dates of Attendance: August, 2013 – March, 2018

Degree/Certificate: Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology (Accelerated)
(*Awaiting certification*)

University of Cape Coast Cape Coast, Central Region

Dates of Attendance: Aug 1, 2008 – May 31, 2013

Degree/Certificate: Bachelor of Arts (Sociology) (Economics minor)

Hanze University of Applied Sciences, Groningen, The Netherlands

Dates of Attendance: Feb 1, 2011 – Jun 30, 2011

Degree/Certificate: International Exchange Programme Certificate in International Communication (Creating Communication Campaigns)

Research Experience

PhD Thesis, (Principal Investigator) – August, 2014 – December, 2017

Topic: Migrants' Associations in Ghana: A Case Study of the BONABOTO and Aduamoaman Associations.

DEMETER Research Project, (Field Enumerator) - February 13 – March 7, 2017

Topic: Gender, Land and right to food

University of Cape Coast – University of Sheffield Research Project (Field leader) – January 2015 – October, 2016

Topic: Impact of Gender and Sexual Identity Acquisition on Children and Young Adults and Understandings of Sexual Violence, Power and Oppression in Ghana.

Banking on Change Impact research, Plan Ghana and Care Ghana with Barclays Bank (Field assistant) – May 30 – June 10, 2016

Topic: Banking on Change Youth Savings Group Model: Supplementary Research

IBES II Survey, Ghana Statistical Service (Field Supervisor) –November 9, 2015 – January 31, 2016

Topic: Integrated Business Enterprise Survey

Camfed Ghana Project, EFR Consulting (Field assistant) – November 17 – December 11, 2014.

Topic: Girls' clubs and retention of girls in school

Long Essay (Undergraduate Research, Principal Investigator) – January - May, 2012

Topic: The Effects of Internet Pornography Watching On the Lifestyles of Adolescents: A Case Study of the Lifestyles of Adolescents in Apewosika, Cape Coast, Ghana.

Workshop and Conferences Attended/Participated in

Academy for African Urban Diversity, Johannesburg, South Africa

Date/Period : November 6, 2017 – November 10, 2017

Organising Institution: African Center for Migration and Society, University of Witwatersrand, African Center for Cities, University of Cape Town, and Department of Socio-Cultural Diversity, Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity.

Responsibility/Position: **PhD Fellow**

Gender and Women's Studies, 2016, Istanbul, Turkey

Date/Period: November 11 – 12, 2016

Organising Institution: DAKAM (Eastern Mediterranean Academic Research Center), Istanbul Turkey

Responsibility: **Paper presentation (Virtual Presentation)**

Title of Paper: Experiences of Victims of Sexual Harassment among Undergraduate Students in the University of Cape Coast (UCC)

Cape Coast Summer School: Re-activating Gender-sensitive Research on Land, Cape Coast, Ghana

Date/Period: February 27, 2016 – March 11, 2016

Organising Institution: Centre for Gender Research, Advocacy and Documentation (CEGRAD), University of Cape Coast, in collaboration with The Theologische Hochschule Friedensau, Germany

Responsibility: **Participant**

Regional Conference on Rapid Environmental Change and Migration in Coastal Region, Accra, Ghana

Date/Period: November 17 – 18, 2015

Organising Institution: Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana

Responsibility: **Participant**

2-Day Qualitative Data Analysis Workshop, Cape Coast, Ghana

Date/Period: July 29 – 30, 2015

Organising Institution: University of Sheffield, UK and University of Cape Coast, Ghana

Responsibility: **Field Leader, Presenter on findings of the research project, and Facilitator**

Publications

Zoogah, R. B and **Takyiakwaa, D.** (2016). Experiences of Victims of Sexual Harassment among Undergraduate Students in University of Cape Coast, Ghana. *Gender and Women's Studies '16: Interdisciplinary Conference on Gender and Women's Studies, Proceedings Book*. ISBN: 978-605-9207-57-7

Ansah, J. W. and **Takyiakwaa, D.** (*In Press*). Civil Society Engagement in Ghana's Public-Private Partnership Regime: A Case Study of IMANI and Ghana Integrity Initiative (GII). *Legon Journal of Sociology*.

Work Experience

Date: Aug 1, 2012 to Jul 31, 2013.

Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Cape Coast
Cape Coast, Ghana

Designation: **National Service Personnel (Teaching Assistant)**

Referees

1. **Prof. Mansah Prah**, Senior Researcher and Associate
Centre for Gender Studies and Advocacy, University of Ghana
Legon, Accra, Ghana
E-mail: mansahprah@gmail.com
Phone: +233 24 438 7963
2. **Sam Abaidoo, PhD**, Professor of Sociology
Department of Sociology and Criminal Justice, Kennesaw State University
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3. **Prof. Augustine Tanle**, Head
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