

TO GO OR NOT TO GO:

**Assessing the “*Borga*” image as a factor in the decision-making process of the prospective
Ghanaian migrant**

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ABSTRACT

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Ghana plays an active role in international migration by contributing significant numbers to the pool of migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa invading European shores legally and illegally. By and large, many more Ghanaians are desirous of leaving the country to seek greener pastures elsewhere. This research, therefore, examines the representation of the *Borga* in the Ghanaian context and the role it plays in the prospective migrant’s decision to either move abroad or stay at home in Ghana. The *Borga* is a folk term used to describe returned migrants and people with international travelling experience. Using the qualitative research method, the data of this thesis consists of audio recorded and transcribed interviews of 28 prospective Ghanaian migrants. Relying on the cumulative causation theory as its main theoretical framework, the research data has been analyzed and interpreted using the thematic content analysis approach. The results of this thesis show that by constantly being represented in a positive light, the image of the *Borga* serves as an additional impetus to the desires of the prospective migrant to move abroad too. Additionally, it emerged that the persistence of the positive representation of the *Borga* image serves as evidence to the social beliefs around migration and provides positive values that make the cost-benefit calculations of the prospective migrant yield positive results. The study concludes that the *Borga* image is an important stimulus for Ghana’s international out-migration.

Key words: Ghana, *Borga*, Migration, Prospective migrant, Decision-making

LIST OF ACRONYMS

BARCC	Brong Ahafo Regional Coordinating Council
GIMMA	Ghana Integrated Migration Management Approach
GSS	Ghana Statistical Service
GTZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (German Technical Cooperation Agency)
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IOM	International Organization for Migration
MPCU	Municipal Planning and Coordinating Unit
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
SIHMA	Scalabrini Institute for Human Mobility in Africa
UN	United Nations

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Background to the study

“I will go! Even if I am arrested and kept in a detention camp, I will get a nicer skin”.

Memoir from a work trip

The movement of people across international boundaries is an act that has been around for a long time. According to Donato & Massey (2016, p.7), the movement of humans from place to place is just a natural instinct that comes about because man has to look for opportunities unavailable in his immediate environment but may be present elsewhere. In the 21st century, the risks that many people face each passing day are enormous. Because of the enormity of risks and the limited opportunities available to people, the occurrence of migration in our contemporary time is unmatched both in its intensity and composition. It is against this background that the number of people moving from country to country has been rising since the 1980s (Campbell, 2010, p.169).

Like many countries in Africa, Ghana has seen her population increase without a corresponding economic development to meet the employment needs of its citizens. The government is unable to employ many people partly due to the International Monetary Fund’s (IMF) conditionalities. Similarly, the private sector which has been touted by many as the engine of growth has been unable to fill the void. The increase in the number of private tertiary educational institutions has contributed to the swelling numbers of graduates the country produce each year. This coupled with the fact that the Ghanaian economy is unable to provide adequate employment opportunities has led to a number of frustrated young men and women either unemployed or underemployed. (Aryeetey & Baah-Boateng, 2007, p.1, 5.)

Because of conditions such as the unemployment and underemployment at home and other known causes of international migration, many Ghanaians have joined the global bandwagon in search of opportunities elsewhere. This is because “migration has increasingly become an important survival mechanism” (Adepoju, 2010, p.16) for many people. When a Ghanaian travels abroad, he or she acquires “an identifiable social status” and identity and becomes known as a *Borga* (Bakuri, 2018, p.565). The “*Borga*” is used to describe Ghanaians living abroad, returned home from abroad or

people who have experienced international migration. “Such people have often lived flamboyant lifestyles that became the talk of the town” (Bakuri, 2015, p.238). The observations of such persons leave images in the minds of society and influence the way the *Borga* is represented and portrayed.

The way in which the international migrant, whether returned or still domiciled abroad is represented may play some form of role in the desire of people to replicate or avoid his or her actions. As seen in the opening quotation, the *Borga* is seen by some as one with a relatively “nicer skin”. A nicer skin is one angle through which the *Borga*'s life is represented. A representation that suggests that the *Borga* has escaped the hustle and bustle of the local hardship and conditions to a condition of comfort. A condition that has made his skin better than the non-migrant and suggests that the *Borga* is living well. For this reason, this study seeks to examine the importance of the image of the *Borga* in the decision to out-migrate from Ghana in addition to the better-documented reasons for which people move.

In modern times, international migration, especially to Europe has been topical on the agenda of many governments and global actors. This is because human mobility to Europe has seen significant increase so that immigration has become an albatross on the necks of many policy makers and governments. (de Haas, 2007, p.820.) On many occasions, the media reportage on people trying to reach Europe especially through the Mediterranean Sea has been heart-wrenching. This image of international migration cannot stand without the consideration and contribution of the waves of Ghanaian and African migrants who struggle daily to make it to European shores. According to the International Organization for Migration's (IOM) Missing Migrants Project (2019), more than half of all migrant deaths recorded worldwide have occurred in the Mediterranean as people try to reach Europe. The recorded deaths by region of origin have continuously shown that a large proportion of the dead are of African origin.

Irrespective of the news of these migrant deaths going far and wide, coupled with the fact that many nations have put in stringent migration policies to stem the tide of migration coming into

their countries, human mobility, whether regular or irregular¹ has continued unabated and the numbers involved is increasing. According to IOM (2008, p.12), there are many Africans waiting for their turn to come to Europe. These waiting bands are either in North Africa or in their home countries. Such reflections confirm the projection that human mobility will still be a hot policy issue in the future (Çaro, 2011, p.2).

The social world is complex, and the things that happen in it may not be attributable to a single factor. Like the opening quotation at the beginning of this chapter, the motivations for which people migrate and will migrate may be diverse and different. Accordingly, if international migration is expected to involve a lot more people in the future, there is the need for a more comprehensive understanding of contextual contributory factors to this human mobility in its current form and the expected increase. It is for this reason that this study explores the image of the *Borga* in the decision-making process of the prospective Ghanaian migrant.

1.2 Research Question

It is the aim of this study to examine and understand the role and or impact of the image of the *Borga* in the migration decision-making processes of the prospective Ghanaian migrant. For effective data collection and analysis purposes, the main question is divided into two sub-questions.

Main research question and the two sub-questions are as follows:

In what way does the image of the *Borga* cumulatively play a role in the decision-making process of the prospective Ghanaian migrant?

- a. How does the image of the *Borga* make the context within which migration decisions are made different from the context within which past migrants made their decisions?
- b. In what way does the image of the *Borga* impact the cost-benefit calculations of values in the decision to go or not to go?

¹ "International migrant movements and residence in non-origin countries without possession of valid travel and/or residence documents have been referred to by various epithets, including 'illegal', 'irregular', 'undocumented' and 'clandestine'". (Campbell, 2010.p.169)

In what way does the image of the *Borga* cumulatively play a role in the decision-making process of the prospective Ghanaian migrant?

As an expression used in place of migrant, the *Borga* is associated with “prestige and respect” (Bakuri, 2018, p.565) in the Ghanaian society. Additionally, the *Borga* is identified with enormous economic capital. He or she is set apart from non-migrants by “wealth and buying power” (Bakuri, 2018, p.565). On his return to Ghana from his sojourns abroad, the *Borga* shows off with expensive clothes and jewellery often outside the reach of the non-migrant. While away, he takes care of his personal businesses and interest and “shows care to his family in the form of remittance, building and helping other family members to travel abroad or become economically better” (Bakuri, 2018, p.574). Although life abroad may not be all rosy for the *Borga*, family and friend have their hopes set high on the *Borga* waiting for assistance and support from him (Nieswand, 2008: cited in Bakuri, 2018, p.565). These expectations have come about as a result of the representation of the *Borga* in the Ghanaian social setting. A representation that suggests life is good for the *Borga*.

Among the preoccupation of migration researchers is the question of motivation and why the comparatively smaller number of the world’s and Africa’s population migrate. Consequently, a plethora of reasons has been given to explain such movements. For example, Adepoju (2010, p.255) has listed economic pressures and the lack of hope in Africa’s future as some of the push factors accountable for the mass exodus of Africans to Europe and other places. In Ghana, the reasons for which people migrate is attributed to a number of factors (IOM, 2009, p.73).

The research question, therefore, seeks to find answers to how the image of the *Borga* (may) join forces with the glut of reasons that have been suggested for the cause of human mobility. For the purpose of this thesis, cumulative role(contribution) refers to how the *Borga* image join forces with the other causes to influence the decision to out-migrate. This question seeks to discover in what way the image of the *Borga* cumulatively adds up to and reinforce the other factors that have been identified as causes of migration especially from the African continent and Ghana in particular. Essentially, this is to help identify in what way the *Borga* image contribute to making subsequent migration inevitable, and more likely.

Question a: How does the image of the *Borga* make the context within which migration decisions are made different from the context within which past migrants made their decisions?

The circumstances that form the setting for an event is important to our understanding of the event. As the context under which initial migratory moves changes, the quantum of subsequent migrations or the likelihood of future migrations changes too. As the cumulative causation theory suggests², human mobility brings changes to the circumstances that surround the migration decision-making process. The change in conditions may cause people to migrate too. (Massey et al., 1993, p.448.) Past migration alters the socio-economic context and the macro environment under which the individual makes his or her decision with regards to whether ‘to go or not to go’. Such changes in context affect the likelihood or otherwise of future migration.

To help in understanding the effect of the image of the *Borga* on the decision-making process of the prospective Ghanaian migrant, this question is aimed at finding out the ways in which the *Borga* image makes the context of current and or future moves differently from the context of past migratory moves.

Question b: In what ways does the image of the *Borga* impact the cost-benefit calculations of values in the decision to go or not to go?

As can be seen later under the section value-expectancy, for every action taken by an individual, there is an expectation of favourable results. This means that before an action is taken, the individual compares the total expected cost and the total expected benefit and determine whether the benefits outweighs its cost (cost-benefit analysis) and the probability of his expectations coming true.

Like all humans, the prospective migrant is a rational human being. He is therefore expected to weigh options before a decision is finally made. To decide to travel outside Ghana, the prospective migrants are expected to have carried out a cost-benefit analysis of migration and the outcome that

² See section under cumulative causation theory

will accrue to him either in his home country or country of destination. This question is expected to help find out the way(s) in which the *Borga* image affects this cost-benefit calculation of the prospective migrant in the decision-making process.

1.3 Objectives of the study

Using Ghana as a case study, the principal objective of this thesis is to explore the importance of the image of the *Borga* in the decision-making process of the Ghanaian migrant. Castles (2004, p.207) posits that the factors behind the many reasons why people decide to migrate can be attributed to different conditions: conditions in migrants' home countries and conditions that pertain in their intended destinations. People from different places may be motivated to migrate due to different reasons. To this end, I believe that to get a holistic view of the causes of human mobility, in addition to the already identified causes of international migration, there is a need to pay attention to country-specific cultural and social space. This study, therefore, is aimed at researching the relationship between the image of the *Borga* and the decision-making process of the prospective Ghanaian migrant.

1.4 Significance of the study

Although the world is globalized, interconnected in many ways and similar things may happen in different places, it is important to comprehend the social world in terms of contextual spaces and circumstances. This is against the backdrop that, although the causes of many incidents could be similar or the same for many places, there may be some specifics that could be related to context and thus peculiar to certain geographical spaces. As have been stated already, many studies have been carried out in relations to international migration. Irrespective of this, however, the most widespread accounts related to international migration have been those collected from migrants who have successfully made it to European shores and other countries. Data, therefore, is mostly collected in receiving countries rather than in sending countries. (Beauchemin, 2015, p. 7.) Relative to this shortfall in data, Dako-Gyeke (2016, p.725) explains that although some researches have been carried on the Ghanaian migrant, greater attention has been paid to those who have already made it outside the borders of the country. By this assertion, Dako-Gyeke (2016, p.725) suggests that researchers have not really investigated the prospective Ghanaian migrant. For this

reason, there have been suggestions that more migration-related data must be gathered in migrant-sending countries (Townsend & Oomen 2015, p.1).

Additionally, all the works that have been reviewed so far have produced results that have pointed to economic reasons as the reasons for which people move. In most of the situations, no results have been produced in the direction of, or attention paid to the social and cultural space and the impact they have on the decision to go abroad or stay home. Because the issues that cause people to leave their homes for other places vary and come from different aspects of life (Anarfi et al., 2003, p.15), it is important that we pay attention to the socio-cultural space. This is especially so as economic reasons should not necessarily be present before one thinks of migration. Sagynbekova (2016, p.15) supported this assertion when she posited that even though economic issues are important in the migration decision-making process, it is not the only item people consider before they move. This is not, however, disputing the fact that economic conditions and for that matter people's finances and the quality of life they live play critical roles in whether 'they go or stay at home' (Vargas-Silva, 2012, para.6).

This limited focus has to some extent limited our understanding of the motivations for which human mobility has been on the increase. The economic reasons are undoubtedly critical in this era of international migration. Similarly, context-specific factors which may not be economic offer important additions to our understanding of human mobility, its sustenance and or increase. The study, therefore, contributes knowledge to international migration discourse by providing a country-specific migration motivator to the already known causes of migration. This is achieved by highlighting the importance of the *Borga's* image and the role it plays in the decision to move out or stay at home.

1.5 Structure of the study

The thesis is organized into six chapters. Chapter one comprises the introduction to the study, the research questions for which the study seeks to find answers to, objectives of the study, and the significance of the study. In chapter two, I present a review of the literature on migration issues and patterns in the Ghanaian context. This shall encompass also a presentation on the *Borga*

phenomenon and a description of the study area. Chapter three explains the theoretical frameworks that are used in this study: the cumulative causation theory, value expectancy, and social status and social mobility. Chapter four looks at the methodological approach used during the fieldwork and analysis. Chapter five is a presentation of the analyses and results. The conclusion of this study is presented in chapter six.

CHAPTER TWO: CONTEXT OF MIGRATION IN GHANA

This chapter presents the historical overview, patterns of migration in Ghana and how migration has evolved from the pre-colonial time till now. This presentation brings to the fore the changing patterns of Ghana's migration path and her role in international migration circles. In this chapter, the *Borga* phenomena which serve as a form of identity for the international migrant is discussed thoroughly. The study area for this study is presented in this chapter as well.

2.1 Patterns of Ghanaian Migration

Like many other countries on the African continent and elsewhere, human mobility and for that matter international migration has been characteristic of Ghana's history. In this present era, migration continues to play an important role in the matters of state. In Ghana and West Africa, the movement of people from one place to another and from one country to another has become a phenomenon that can be described as a part of the people's way of doing things and living. Whereas some of the countries served as receiving countries, others were sending migrants. Some served as both receivers and senders while others provided the thoroughfare for people to move around. (Adepoju, 2003, p.37.) In reality, however, no one country can be identified only as a sending or receiving or even a transit country. Ghana and the countries in the sub-region, therefore, serve in all 3 capacities (Adepoju, 2003, p.37, 38).

Ghana has been and is a major player in human mobility both within Africa/West Africa and outside the region. The role of Ghana in international migration cannot, therefore, be overemphasized. For example, together with Nigerians and Senegalese, migrants from Ghana are heavily represented in Africa's migration flow to Europe and America (IOM, 2008, p. 24, 47).

Ghana has a place in the list of top 10 migrant-sending countries in Sub-Saharan Africa whose nationals live in Europe (Pew Research Center, 2018, para.10). Similarly, according to the Pew Research Center (2018, para.5), “more than half (51%) of Sub-Saharan African migrants living in the United States as of 2017 were born in just four countries: Nigeria, Ethiopia, Ghana and Kenya”.

Based on the available evidence, Anarfi et al. (2003, p.5) have identified “four distinct phases” in Ghana’s participation in international migration. These phases are presented in the figure below:

Figure 1: Ghana’s Migration Pattern (Anarfi et al., 2003, p.5)

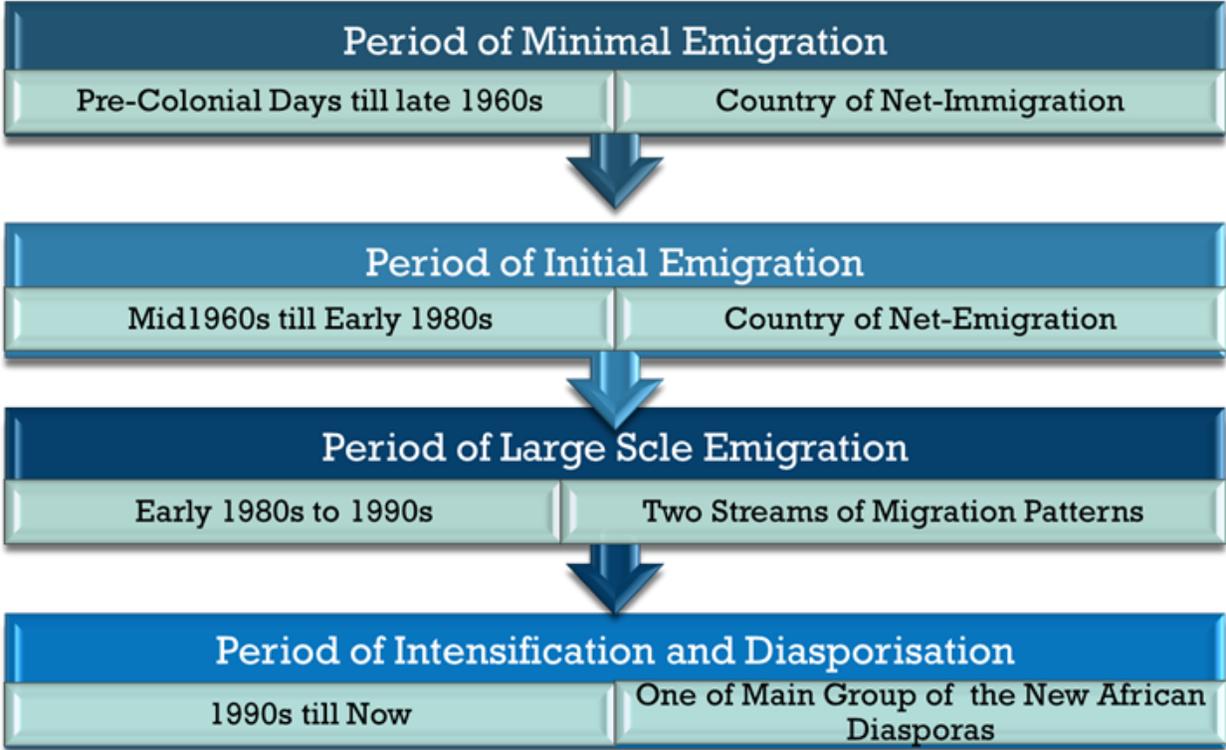


Figure: Author’s creation, 2019

The first phase of Ghana’s history in international migration ranges from the period before the country was colonized to the latter parts of the 1960s. At that period in time, Ghana’s economy was doing well compared to other countries in the sub-region. For this reason, Ghanaians did not migrate to other places outside the country’s borders because of economic reasons. Instead, the country served as a major destination for labour migrants from places in the West African sub-region such as Burkina Faso and Nigeria. (IOM, 2009, p.30.) The first few years after Ghana’s

independence from colonial rule in 1957, it was still a favourable choice for labour migrants as the economy was still relatively better than her neighbours in the West African sub-region. Additionally, because of the country's pan-Africanist foreign policy, many migrants from different African countries were attracted to Ghana. (Schans et al., 2013, p.3.) At this time, the few Ghanaians who left the shores of the country did so because of educational purposes, foreign service or because they were professionals (Schans et al., 2013, p.3: IOM, 2009, p.30). In general terms, this period of Ghana's participation in international migration was characterised by few departures and massive arrivals (IOM, 2009, p.30).

The second phase of Ghana emigration trajectory started in the mid-1960s when Ghana's economy had begun to falter. Because the economy was losing strength, Ghanaian began to look for opportunities elsewhere. This increased the number of people who left the shores of the country for relatively better places near and far from home. (IOM, 2009, p.30.) With the loss of its economic strength, the country was no longer appealing to its citizens and the labour force from other countries. Consequently, the number of immigrants in the country reduced drastically from "12.3 % in 1960 to 6.6 % in 1970". (Anarfi et al. 2003: cited in Schans et al., 2013, p.3.) During this time in history, most of the Ghanaians who left the country were made up of people with specialized skills who went to other African countries because those countries needed their services (IOM, 2009, p.31). Within this period of Ghana's economic decline, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) was formed. The formation of ECOWAS gave Ghanaians the opportunity to move freely in the West African sub-region. This free movement propelled and facilitated the movement of Ghanaians to other parts of the region. (Schans et al., 2013, p.4).

By the earlier parts of the 1980s, many more Ghanaians were migrating because, migration had become a mechanism through which they could ameliorate the effect of the economy on their lives (IOM, 2009, p.31). This was because the economic fortunes of Ghana had dwindled immensely. Whereas in the first two phases, emigrants from Ghana were basically skilled, people leaving Ghana at this period comprised both people with specialized skills and people with no skills. (Anarfi et al., 2000: cited in IOM, 2009, p.31.) This was the beginning of the third phase of Ghana's migration trajectory. Under this phase, people did not move within the ECOWAS sub-

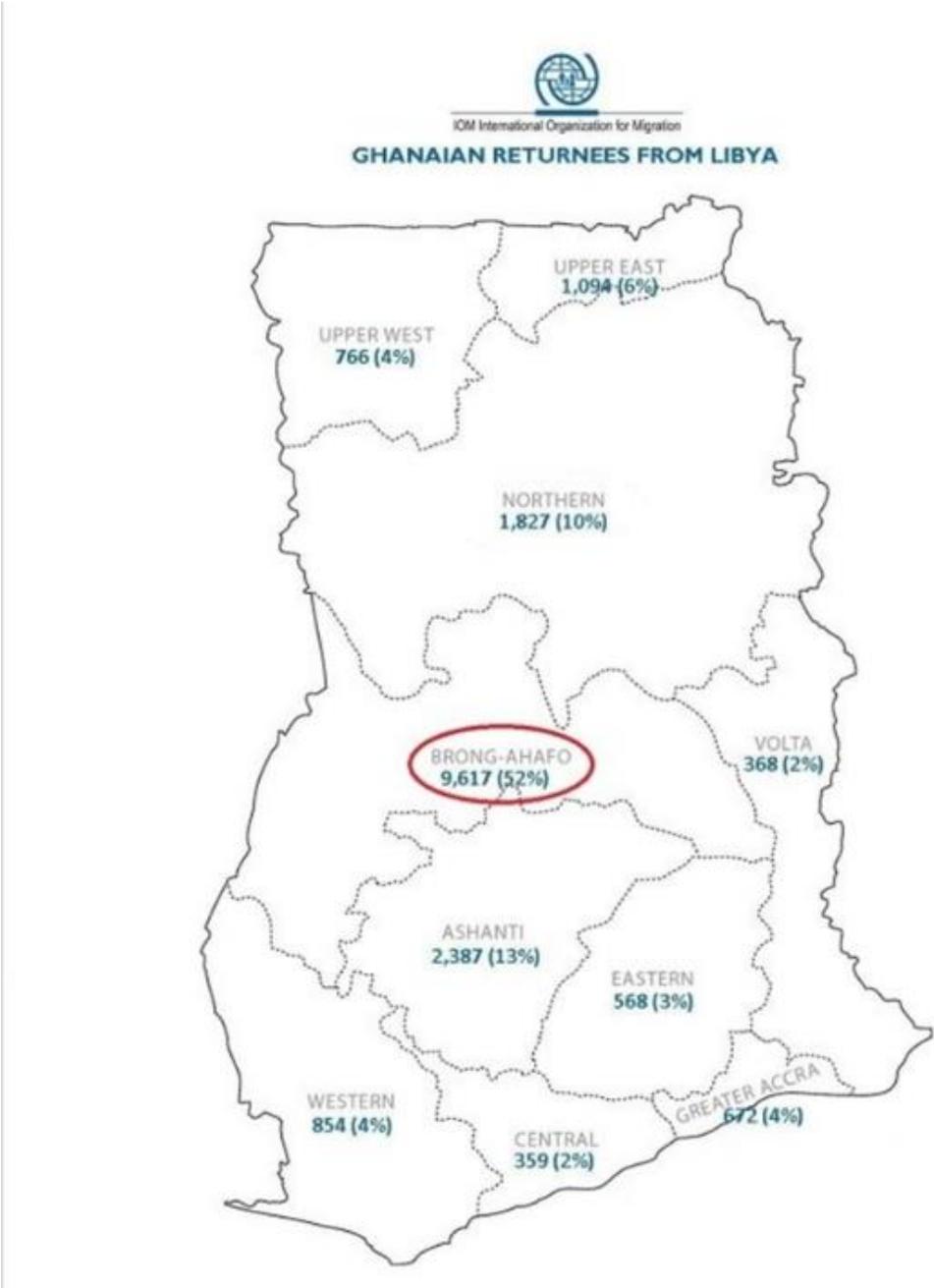
region alone. Emigrants went to far more distant places like the Americas, Europe and North Africa. Measures to put the economy back on its feet resulted in more hardships and more exits. (Schans et al., 2013, p.4). The third phase was, therefore, characterised by Ghanaians exiting the country on a large scale (IOM, 2009, p.31).

By the fourth phase, the large-scale exit of Ghanaians that begun under the third phase had not reduced. Ghanaians continued to move so much that by the 1990s, they had become a prominent feature of the “new African diasporas” (Koser, 2003; cited in Schans et al., 2013, p.4). Although the number of destination countries had increased under the fourth phase and have become more diversified, most Ghanaians involved in international migration choose to go to West African and African countries. By and large, the fourth phase of Ghana’s international migration pattern has been a “period of intensification and diasporization of Ghanaians”. (IOM, 2009, p.31.)

These four phases indicate an increasing trend in emigration from Ghana. The shift from net immigration to net emigration country is linked to economic downturn in Ghana. In present times, the number of Ghanaians leaving the country has not reduced. According to a Pew Research Center study in 2018 (para.11), 75% Ghanaians stated that they would migrate abroad if given the chance. This against the backdrop that many Ghanaians are unable to move out of the country due to strict visa requirements. For this reason, exit from Ghana is largely based on access (Peil, 1995; Grillo & Mazzucato, 2008: cited in Schans et al., 2013, p.4). Due to the inaccessibility of foreign travel, many Ghanaians resort to the use of unsafe means as the way to reach Europe especially (Carling, 2007: cited in SIHMA, 2014, p.7). This unsafe way of moving has mostly been through the Sahara Desert or by stowing away.

Many people in all the regions of Ghana engage in international migration. The Brong Ahafo Region is, however, touted as the most migrant sending region of the country (IOM/GIMMA, 2013, p.7). During the height of the Libyan crisis in 2011, the IOM and the Government of Ghana assisted about 18,000 Ghanaians to return home from Libya. Of the about 18 000 returnees, 52% returned to the Brong Ahafo Region alone. See details of the regional distribution of the returnees in the map below (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Map showing regional distribution of Ghanaian returnees from Libya



Source: IOM, 2011

In the map (Figure 3) detailing migrant routes from Ghana through the Sahara Desert issued by IOM in 2015, the major actions points were all located in that region. Ghana does not have accurate data of Ghanaian migrants. This is partly because many people leaving the country do not follow approved ways. This notwithstanding, the Brong Ahafo Region is an action point for international

abroad to be called *Borgas* too. According to GTZ (2009, p.12), the term is used to describe migrants.

Nieswand (2014, p.403) explains that the *Borga* refers to any person who has gained some sort of social status upgrade by virtue of the fact that he or she has lived and worked in Europe or North America. Usually, such people while living abroad are employed in wage paying and labour intensive jobs. The term *Borga* may have originated around the third phase of Ghana's migration pattern discussed earlier. This is because it was around that period that unskilled people joined the migration bandwagon into far-off place including Germany. It is suggested that the *Borga* term, also spelt 'Booga' or 'Burger' got its name from the German city of Hamburg (Martin, 2005: cited in Nieswand, 2014, p.404). The term, therefore, takes its root from the name 'Hamburg' (GTZ, 2009, p.12). Hamburg, at the time the term *Borga* emerged in the Ghanaian lexicon was a popular destination for many Ghanaians (Nieswand, 2014, p.404). Although initially, the term was used in reference to returned migrants from Western Europe and North America, it is common today to hear the *Borga* reference being made also to returned migrants from many other parts of the world. It is not rare for example, to hear of Libya *Borgas* on the streets of Ghana.

The *Borga* is distinct from "the educational migrants" who left Ghana in the very early stages of Ghana's participation in international migration. The courtesies the *Borga* gets is, however, synonymous to the attention that group of migrants, otherwise known as the "Been-Tos" received. (Martin, 2005: in Nieswand, 2014, p.404.) Usually found in sporty cars and opulence, the *Borga* has become an unconventional way of attaining social recognition and status. The *Borga* status propels the hitherto "nobodies" to "somebodies".

Notwithstanding the fact that the *Borga* is documented to only refer to the returned migrants, it is synonymous for today's generation to label migrants who are yet to return to Ghana as *Borgas*. I have been referred to as *Borga* in some instances even though I am not a returned migrant yet. In the remit of this assignment, the use of *Borga* will encompass migrants who have returned home for good, those who go home occasionally and those yet to return. Although the original usage of the term *Borga* was a description of migrants who did working class and blue-collar jobs abroad,

the modern usage of the term refers to all international migrants irrespective of the kind of work one does abroad or the length of ones stay.

Nieswand (2014), Yendaw (2014) and Tanle (2012) made the *Borga* (returned migrants) the focus of their studies on migration in Ghana. Specifically, Nieswand and Yendaw sought to describe how the *Borga* is able to enhance his social status by engaging in international migration. Tanle examined the motives, achievements and main reasons for the return of irregular migrants³. Although the *Borga* is of importance to this study, the focus of this study is distinct from the three studies. This study seeks to assess the role of the *Borga*'s image in the decision-making process of the prospective migrant. For this study, respondents were prospective migrants and not the returned migrants.

2.3 Study area

As already stated above, although Ghana is an active player in the field of international migration and contributes hugely to the Sub-Saharan migrants' pool, the Brong Ahafo Region of Ghana has increasingly been tagged as “the main migrant sending region of Ghana” (IOM/GIMMA, 2013, p.7). Data for this thesis was therefore collected from that region.

2.3.1 Brong Ahafo Region

Located in central Ghana, the Brong Ahafo Region has a total population of 2,310,933 representing 9.4% of Ghana's total population (GSS, 2013: cited in BARCC, 2017, p.1). The total land size of the region is 39,557sq.km. (16.6% of the total national area) making it the second largest region in Ghana by landmass. Apart from sharing boundaries with five other regions in Ghana, the Brong Ahafo Region is bordered in the west by the La Cote D'Ivoire/Ivory Coast. (BARCC, 2017, p.1-2.)

Of the region's entire population, 55.1% are engaged in economic activities. This figure brings the region's economically active population just below the national average of 56.9%. As it is in most parts of Ghana, a greater number (61.3%) of the region's inhabitants engaged in economic

³ Also known as undocumented or illegal migrants.

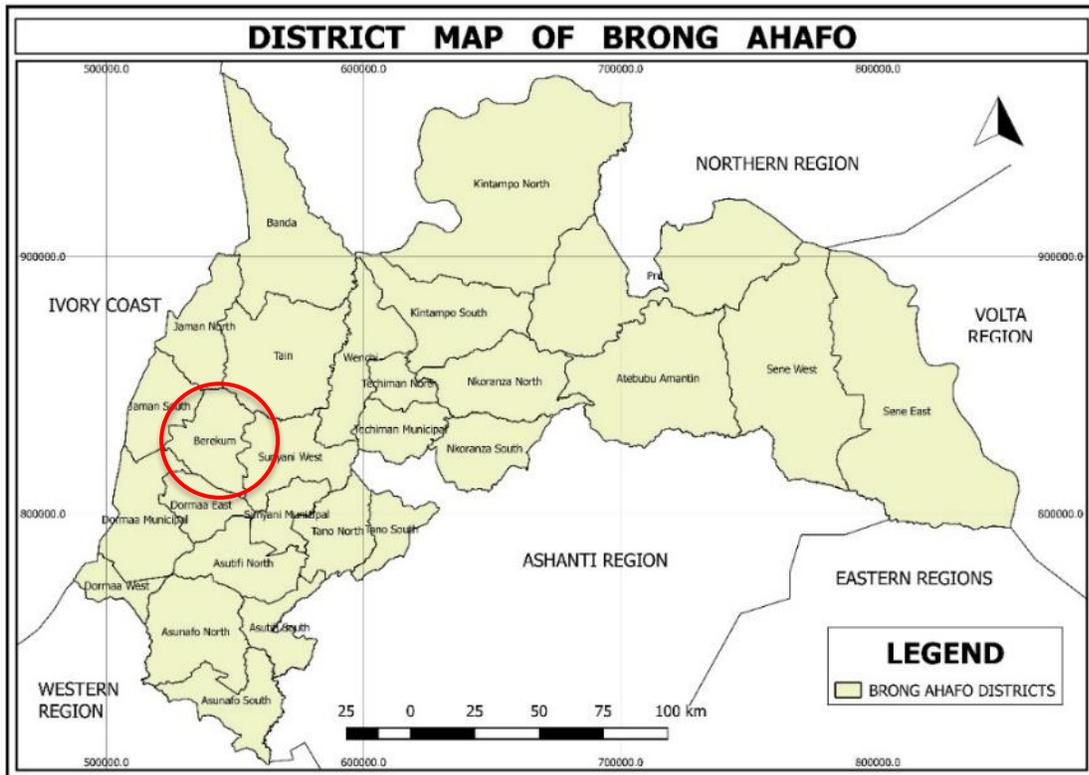
activities are involved in agricultural and agricultural related activities. The importance of agriculture to the economy of the Brong Ahafo Region cannot, therefore, be overestimated. Like the national agricultural structure, the region's agriculture is characterised by crude and labour intensive methods of farming. Most people engaged in agricultural activities do so to feed themselves and only sell a comparatively smaller portion of their produce. The Region is to a large extent rural in character with close to 60% of its population residing in rural areas. (BARCC, 2017, p.3-4.)

The centrality of the region makes access to other towns in the West African Sub-Region easier. With a major ECOWAS highway passing through the region, migrants are able to make their way out of Ghana by joining Nigerien, Malian and Burkina Faso bound buses and trucks. As shown in Figure 3 above, the major action points for out-migration in the Brong Ahafo Region include Kintampo, Sunyani, Nkoranza, Techiman, Dormaa Ahenkro, Drobo, and Berekum. For this thesis, the Berekum Municipality was chosen for data collection. It must be noted that a municipality or district in Ghana is made up of several towns and villages. In most cases, the district is named after the capital town of the municipality.

The importance of the Berekum municipality in the spheres of migration in Ghana cannot be overestimated. It is for this reason that in the year 2014 Yendaw in his bid to find out if international migration represents a channel for status gain or status loss used that municipality as his study area. Although the returned migrant (*Borga*) is a common factor in Yendaw's study and this study, there is a marked difference in the focus of these two studies. In his study, Yendaw used returned migrants (*Borga*) to access status gain or loss. (Yendaw, 2014.) For this thesis, I used the *Borga* image as a yardstick in assessing the prospective Ghanaian migrants' decision to migrate or stay at home.

Below is a map (Figure 4) of the Brong Ahafo region showing the position of the Berekum municipality.

Figure 4: District Map of the Brong Ahafo Region of Ghana



Source: BARCC, 2017

Berekum Municipality

The Berekum Municipality can be found on part of the Brong-Ahafo Region close to the Ghana/Ivory Coast border. According to the District Analytical Report of the 2010 Population and Housing Census, the Berekum Municipality has a total population of 129,628. The municipality's population makes up 5.6 per cent of the total number of people resident in the Brong Ahafo Region. (GSS, 2014, p. X.) The population as of 2018 was, however, estimated to be about 142,120 (Berekum MPCU, 2017, p.24). The Berekum Municipality is predominantly urban in nature. Nearly 70 per cent (65.5%) of the people resident in the municipality are urban dwellers. The population of the municipality can be described as youthful. The proportion of the municipality's population who can be designated as elderly is only about 4 per cent (3.7%). (GSS, 2014, p. X.) Compared with other municipalities in the Brong Ahafo Region, the Berekum Municipality has

the highest female population as a proportion of its total population. This can be attributed to the prominence of outmigration in the municipality. (BARCC, 2017, p.3.)

The Berekum Municipality is an economically active municipality. Almost 70 per cent (67.3%) of the municipality's residents who are 15 years and older are engaged in one economic activity or the other (GSS, 2014, p. XI). As characteristic of the Brong Ahafo Region, 56.4 per cent of these economically active residents are engaged in agriculture. This situation makes agriculture very important to the economy of the Berekum Municipality. Irrespective of the economic importance of agriculture in the municipality, it is not technologically advanced. People engaged in agriculture still employ crude and labour intensive methods in their activities. Farmers in the Berekum Municipality are mainly peasants cultivating food and cash crops. (Berekum MPCU, 2017, p.54.) The Berekum Municipality's closeness to Ivory Coast "promotes economic and commercial activities between the Municipality" (Yendaw, 2013, p.299) and that country. In the circles of international migration, the Berekum Municipality is an area notable for migrants. In this municipality, emigration is generally thought of as a coping strategy for many people (Yendaw, 2013, p.299).

CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Since Ravenstein put forward the push-pull theory of migration in his work, *Laws of Migration* in the 1880s, different schools of thought have contributed to the development of diverse types of theories in their bid to explain the reasons and motivations for which people migrate. These theories have yielded many different arguments from many different discussions. Resulting from these numerous arguments and discussions, many theories have been suggested to give reasons why international migration happens. Notwithstanding that the theories are many, each one of them provides valid explanations for the reasons why people choose to leave their home countries for other places. (Dako-Gyeke, 2016, p.726.) From different angles, the theories provide reasons why human mobility occurs and are perpetuated over time. In this chapter, I discuss the cumulative causation theory in the mix of migration theories and my justification for its use as the main theory upon which I write this thesis.

3.1 The cumulative causation theory in the mix of migration theories

The cumulative causation theory belongs to a group of migration theories known as perpetuation theories. Massey et al. (1993, p.448) explain that the circumstances under which earlier people migrated may be different from the conditions under which present or future generations will move. It is against this background that this group of theories have been put forward to explain why human mobility persists and continues after it has been initiated. The focus of this group of theories is not about what starts migration but rather what keeps migration going after it has been started (Kurekova, 2011, p.10).

The cumulative causation theory is built on the premises that, migration is sustained and perpetuated because each movement causes more people to migrate (Massey et al., 1993, p.451; Massey, 1999, p.45). The theory suggests that migration causation is cumulative because any time somebody engages himself in international migration, the social context in which prospective migrants make decisions on migration is changed. The changes made to the social context will make future migration more probable. (Massey et al., 1993, p.451; Massey, 1999, p.45.) The cumulative causation of migration theory submits that as more and more people from a society get themselves involved in migration, the community members' knowledge of migration increases. This increase in knowledge will make it more probable that other people in the community will undertake their own migration project. (Fussel, 2010, p.162.) This is because, as people begin to take part in foreign wage labour, their income increases. This improvement in income makes people with relatively lower income feel relatively deprived. The feeling of relative depravity induces other people to migrate. As more people migrate, "inequality is further exacerbated and the sense of relative deprivation among non-migrants increases" (Massey, 1999, p. 45) and encourage more people to migrate.

The growth in migration within a particular locality changes the way local people see and understand migration. The more the people get exposed to acts of migration, the more migration impacts their ideas and perceptions in ways that make future migration probable. The increasing possibility of more future movements is because "migration becomes deeply ingrained into the repertoire of people's behaviours, and values associated with migration become part of the community's values" (Massey et al., 1993, p.452-3; Massey, 1999, p.46). This eventually creates

a culture of migration which together with social networks, and relative deprivation make migration self-perpetuating and self-sustaining (Kurekova, 2011, p.10; Arango, 2000, p.292). International migration, therefore, becomes “self-sustaining because it alters sending community environments in ways that make future migration progressively more likely” (Massey, 1990, 1999: cited in Fussel, 2010, p.162).

De Haas (2010a, p.1595) further explains that the more migration becomes synonymous with success, more and more people will like to migrate too because not migrating may mean the non-migrant is not hungry for success. For this reason, after the initial acts of migration, leaving home for places far and near in search of success will become a frequent activity among people in the community (Massey, 1999, p.45). This response will not, however, be the same for every place and at all times because conditions differ at any point in time and at different places (Fussel, 2010, p.162),

Another theory that explains the self-inventing nature of migration is the network theory. The network theory suggests that when an appreciable number of people from a community move to another location or country, it puts in place structures that make future migration of non-migrants in the home community more likely. According to the proponents of this theory, it by such means that migration sustains itself and is perpetuated. (de Haas, 2010a, p.1587-1588.) This is because networks are formed between the migrants in the destination country and those at home. According to Massey et al. (1993, p.448), “migrant networks are sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin”.

In the migration decision-making process, networks are very vital ingredients that people fall upon in finalizing their decisions to go or stay at home. This is because networks in destination choice countries of the prospective migrant promise to make the journey and settlement easier and free from encumbrances (Massey et al., 1993, p.448). This because social networks provide information from which non-migrants learn of opportunities and contacts along the migratory routes, money, and help the migrant to find jobs and housing (Arango 2000, p. 291). Such

assistance offered by social networks has the likelihood to lower “the economic, social and psychological costs and risks of movement” (de Haas, 2010a, p.1590) and convince the non-migrant that his own migration project will be a success (Massey et al., 1993, p.448). According to the tenet of the social network theory, for every single new person who joins the fold of migrants, the cost and risks associated with migration are reduced for other people in the home country who did not have connections previously. Some of these new group of persons may be convinced to migrate too. By migrating, this new set of migrants increase the number of people with links abroad who may also be induced to migrate. Over a certain period, many people in the sending country will have links abroad and migration will spread (Massey, 1999, p.45). In addition to the fact that networks play vital roles in migration decision-making, the existence of such interpersonal ties contribute to the eventual destination choices prospective migrants make too (Kurekova, 2011, p.10).

According to the dictates of this theory, as the cost and risk of migration reduces, international migration increases. This consequently creates more network and more people get involved in international migration. Migration will, therefore, lead to more migration. As Arango (2000, p. 291-292) puts it, social network is an important factor in human mobility. For this reason, when people decide to leave their home countries for other places, networks play very critical roles in the decision to go or stay at home. The significance of networks in migration is reflected in the fact that many of the world’s migrants became migrants because people they know and are connected to migrated before. In this era when many countries have very strict and rigid entry procedures, many more people will rely on networks to make their move.

In examining the importance or role of the image of the *Borga* in the decision-making process of the prospective Ghanaian migrants, the social network theory could not be used in its entirety. This is irrespective of the fact that the subject matter of this study reflects some form of network especially on the bases that the *Borga* and the prospective migrant share the same community of origin. The inability of this thesis to rely on network theory stems out of the fact that the theory “mainly focuses on the vital role of personal relations between migrants and non-migrants” (Kurekova, 2011, p.10). For this emphasis, prospective migrants with no prior links are excluded from migration because they are unaffected by social networks and cannot benefit from it. The

“the aggregate of the actual or potential resources” (social capital) that results from migrant network is limited only to members of a group or people with mutual acquaintance and recognition (de Haas, 2010a, p.1589).

The complexity and multidimensional nature of migration have resulted in another group of theories that prescribe explanations for why migration happens. Known as the initiation theories, this category of theories provide general explanations on why human mobility is initiated. Even though each one of these theories explains migration initiation, they do so by using different approaches and from different angles (Massey et al., 1993, p.432). Notable among the initiation theories is the neo-classical theory, new economics of labour migration theory, and the dual labour theory.

The neoclassical theory proceeds on the premise that people migrate because of well-calculated economic expectations and outcomes that may accrue to the migrant (Kurekova, 2011, p.4). The new economics of labour migration theory suggests that migration begins because it is a risk management strategy (de Haas, 2010b, p.242, 243). For the dual labour market theory, migration begins as a result labour shortages in industrial economies. Below is a discussion of the initiation theories.

Coming from the realms of economics, the neoclassical theory’s main focus is on wages received for labour. The theory suggests that human mobility is primarily a response to the different wages that are paid for labour in different locations. According to the proponents of this theory, people move because they react to the labour demand and supply from different markets and the wages paid for labour in the markets. Accordingly, people will be moved to migrate to places where they will be paid high wages for their labour for doing basically the same kind of work. (Kurekova, 2011, p.5.) Arango (2000, p.285) explains that markets with lots of capital but little labour pay more for labour and markets with more labour than capital pay less for labour. Labour, in response to this situation move from the market with abundant labour but little wages to the market with the relatively higher wages. People, therefore, move to places where they will receive higher wages for their labour and the overall net returns is higher than the one they get at home. In essence,

migration occurs as “the result of decisions by rational actors who seek to improve their well-being by moving” (Arango, 2000, p.285). Therefore, people will move from poor countries with excess labour but poor wages to rich countries with scarce labour but higher wages than the wages they receive at home. As explained by Kurekova (2011, p.5), according to the neoclassical theory, international “migration is driven by geographic differences in labour supply and demand, and the resulting differentials in wages between labour-rich versus capital-rich countries”. The primacy of economic motivation for human migration is emphasized by this theory.

The theory has come under some criticism for the explanations it gives. For example, Arango (2000, p. 286) asks why despite the fact that labour abounds in large quantities in many places with low wages and welfare, only a few people move? According to him, if human mobility follows the explanations of the neoclassical theory, a far greater number of people would be involved in international migration than what persists now. Another question that comes to mind is the fact that, in spite of the fact that conditions related to abundant labour and low wages, and shortage of labour and high wages are similar in many countries, emigration and immigration are not the same for countries with same or similar characteristics. Kurekova (2011, p.7) explains that although differences in wage is an important reason for people to move, it is not the most potent reason why people engage in international migration. The theory is criticized for been too economic minded as it ignores other crucial factors that cause people to move (Wickramasinghe & Wimalaratana, 2016, p.26).

Another theory that seeks to explain the cause of migration is the new economics of labour migration theory (NELM). This theory rather than making the individual the actor, makes the household unit the actor in the migration decision-making. Migration, therefore, happens in the context of what is good for the family rather than an individual’s effort at getting a higher wage for his labour. There is a shift from personal autonomy in the migration decision-making to “mutual interdependence” (Kurekova, 2011, p.7). Like the neoclassical theory, economic incentive is the major cause of migration according to NELM.

As explained by Arango (2000, p. 288), the NELM posits that migration happens because it is the family's strategic plan to put some of its members in different markets as a means of spreading its income sources and insure itself against market shocks in the home country. Although there is an emphasis on economic motivation, unlike the neo-classical theory, wage received for labour in different markets is not the emphasis of this theory. The motivation here is the household's strategic effort to diversify income and risks even when the reward for labour is same at other locations. For this reason, human mobility will not "necessarily stop when wage differentials have been eliminated across national boundaries". (Massey et al., 1993, p.439-440.)

The new economics of labour migration "highlights the role of families and households and underlines the importance of remittances" (Arango, 2000, p. 288). The role of the household in relation to its importance to the NELM seems to me, something that does not exist, at least in contemporary times. As Arango (Arango, 2000, p. 288) puts it, "the contexts of migration it describes seem to be rather peculiar ones, characterised by decades-long migration relationships". Although people may migrate with the hope of diversifying family income and risks, those moves are not at the instance of the family. Personal independence is still paramount.

The dual labour market theory is yet another theory that suggests meaning to why human mobility takes place. According to this theory, labour markets in advanced economies are basically divided into two; capital-intensive job market and labour-intensive job market. Because natives of these economies are prone to taking jobs in the capital-intensive market, they refuse to take up the jobs in the labour-intensive market. For this reason, foreign labour is required to fill those positions rejected by the natives. Because of this segmented labour market, there is a constant demand for labour from elsewhere and immigration becomes the only solution available. (Kurekova, 2011, p.9.) As Arango (2000, p. 288) puts it, "international migration is caused by a permanent demand for foreign labour that stems from certain intrinsic characteristics of advanced industrial societies". International migration is, therefore, a solution to structural problems in advanced economies. For this reason, condition at home is not necessarily the reason for international migration but rather "pull factors in receiving countries-a chronic and unavoidable need for foreign workers" (Massey et al., 1993, p.440). Although this theory reflects reality, its one-sidedness has brought it up for criticisms. The theory does not consider happenings at the sending countries.

The migration initiation theories brought forward in this chapter put a lot of emphasis on the role of economic factors as the reason for which human mobility takes place. Although the importance of economic motivation cannot be overemphasized, it does not explain migration motivations solely. This sentiment is aptly presented by Arango. As he explains, “economic disparities are important, but by no means sufficient for migration flows to take place. In fact, they do not explain much nowadays” (Arango 2000, p. 286). In trying to assess the importance of the *Borga* image in the migration decision-making process of the Ghanaian prospective migrant, initiation theories are not appropriate.

Even though the causes of migration as enumerated by the initiation theories above may still be present and motivate people to migrate, migration gives rise to new conditions that cause people to partake in international migration. For example, social networks grow and spread, and institutions that support migrants and seek their welfare develop. (Massey et al., 1993, p. 448.) The alteration in the context in which migration happens “occurs through economic and social dynamics that vary across communities and therefore produce different rates of increase in the probability of migration over time” (Fussel, 2010, p.162). The cumulative causative theory lays emphasis on the conditions that make subsequent migration inevitable, more likely, or easier.

When looking at the image of the *Borga* as a migration perpetuation factor, the cumulative causative theory is important to the success of this study. It is the most obvious one of the theories that have been put forward if the *Borga* factor in the decision to “go or not to go” is to be explained. Although the economic factors (may) still play a significant part in the motivation for migration, the focus of this study is not on the economic factors but the socio-cultural determinant of the image of the *Borga* in the migration decision-making process. It is therefore not out of place to consider a theory that is basically all-encompassing and considers migration causation as one that is cumulative. For this reason, this thesis adopts for use the cumulative causation theory.

3.2 Value expectancy

There is a reason for everything. Humans, as rational as we are do not take actions in vain. All actions are taken with the hope that in the end, we get some form of satisfaction and the consequences of those actions would be valuable. According to De Jong et al. (1983, p.473), the probability that an individual will perform an act is dependent “on the expectation that the act will be followed by a given consequence (or goal) and the value of that consequence (or goal) to the individual”. This is the core of the value-expectancy approach.

The value-expectancy approach suggests that before an individual takes an action, whether good or bad, he does an analysis of what the expected outcome of that act would be. Once the individual is satisfied with the expected outcome of the act to be carried out, he takes the action. Outcomes and consequences do not, however, always come as expected. De Jong et al. (1983, p.473) further explains that “decision making is based on a cognitive calculus of costs and benefits that involves subjective, anticipatory weighting of the factors in attaining certain goals”. The individual who is the action taker thus makes a mental calculation of the outcomes of a set of alternatives from which he can make a choice. The basis of such calculations is essentially what the individual expects to gain from performing the act(s) under consideration.

According to the tenets of the value-expectancy approach, people will decide to migrate or stay at home after they have made calculations with regards to what they will gain or lose if they migrated. For example, before the prospective Ghanaian migrant decides to move out of Ghana, he considers what he will lose if he left and what he will gain. Once he is convinced that the value of what he will gain out of leaving home would be higher than the value of what he will lose, he will migrate. In essence, “the value-expectancy approach provides a viable basis for determining the cost-benefit calculations of the economic and noneconomic goals (values) and the subjective probabilities (expectancies) that underlie the decision to move”. (De Jong et al., 1983, p.476.)

3.3 Social status and social mobility

Nieswand (2014) and Yendaw (2014) in their studies on migration in Ghana have shown the relationship between international migration, social status and mobility along the social structures

of the Ghanaian society. Their studies suggest that the international migrant's (*Borga*) social standing(status) in their communities raise after making the journey abroad. In trying to assess the role of the *Borga* image in the decision to out-migrate or stay at home, this study looks at the *Borga*'s social status, his social mobility and its role in the prospective migrant's decision to stay at home or travel abroad.

Social status, according to Hollingshead, refers to "the positions individuals or nuclear families occupy in the status structure of a given society" (Hollingshead, 2011, p.21). In the social world, people are given values. The value that an individual is given determines where he is placed on the hierarchical social structure. A person's social status, therefore, refers to his rank in society. When an individual occupies a status, he has rights, undertake obligations and is expected to lead a lifestyle that is commensurate to the position he occupies. According to Encyclopedia Britannica (n.d.), "status may be ascribed—that is, assigned to individuals at birth without reference to any innate abilities—or achieved, requiring special qualities and gained through competition and individual effort". Ascribed status is, however, reserved for a very small percentage of the world's population. For the large majority of the world's populace, social status is allocated based on their ability and special qualities. Rules for assigning values to people or families vary across the world. There is, therefore, no universal rules for determining a person's social status although similarities exist.

When a group of people occupy the same social status, they are said to belong to the same social class. Social class, therefore, refers to persons categorized into a group by virtue of common socio-economic characteristics and status. For most of the world's population who have to achieve their rank in society through competition, their level of education, the work they do, and their income levels are the determining factors upon which society gives them a value (Lee et al., 2009, p.35). For most of the discussions, it is argued that these factors are closely related. This because it is assumed that, the type of work one does is dependent on his level of education and the income levels of an individual is reliant on the type of work he does. For this reason, Foster (1980, p.201) suggests that "schools and universities of sub-Saharan Africa are perhaps the most important contemporary mechanisms of stratification and redistribution on the continent".

Although education and occupation are major factors in deciding where one fits in the social hierarchy, there have been significant cases of inconsistencies. Status inconsistency occurs when a person's "position across important social criteria such as education, income, and occupational prestige differs significantly from the expected patterns of a society" (Lee et al., 2009, p.35). Example of such inconsistencies occurs when a lowly educated person occupies an important position in a society.

For most people without education, securing "proper" jobs and a higher social standing is almost impossible. For the lowly educated, the chances of ascending from the lower levels of the social structure to higher levels will, therefore, remain a dream that may never happen in their lifetime. This notwithstanding, however, the transcontinental migrant, the *Borga*, "is able to achieve a middle-class status in Ghana by having working-class jobs in Western Europe or North America" (Nieswand, 2014, p.403). This is what Nieswand (2014, p.403) refers to as the "Status Paradox". Their ability to ascend the social structures of the society is because, by partaking in relatively higher paying jobs abroad, they can acquire enormous wealth over and above the non-migrants at home (Nieswand, 2014, p.403). For the lowly classified individuals such as the lowly educated, people employed in socially categorized demeaning jobs, etc., the knowledge of migration as an alternative way to attaining prominent social status could play a motivating role in their decisions to migrate.

Westoff et al. (1960, p.376) have defined social mobility as the "movement, either upward or downward, between higher and lower social classes; or more precisely, movement between one relatively full-time, functionally significant social role and another that is evaluated as either higher or lower". This mobility is either vertical (moving up or down the of the social structure) or horizontal (movement within the same level). Worthy of mention is the fact that the mobility of an individual is relative; relative in terms of its positionality as intergenerational or intra-generational. Inter-generational in that it involves an assessment of people who belong to different generations. For example, a comparison between a son, father, and even grandfather. It is intra-generational if is "restricted to occupational changes and refers to the mobility of the same individual from the time of his first full-time job through his working lifetime" (Westoff et al., 1960, p.377).

Increasingly, studies in social mobility have “treated occupation as an adequate single index of social class and to employ the terms social mobility and occupational mobility interchangeably” (Westoff et al., 1960, p. 378). Irrespective of this, however, is that fact that migration may be playing a crucial role in this sphere of mobility; whether inter-generational or intra-generational. It is evident that one’s status in society or ability to move up or down the social stratification ladder is associated also with the kind of job one does. Accordingly, like elsewhere, in the Ghanaian context, education places people in white collar jobs which are more prestigious and higher placing than blue collar jobs. But travelling abroad and “doing working-class and blue-collar jobs” makes the *Borga* mobile along the social structures of societies in Ghana (Nieswand, 2014, p.403).

Although the ability of the *Borga* to rise through the ranks to an appreciable position on the social structures of societies in Ghana does not correspond with the often-acceptable determinants of mobility like educational level, occupation, or descent, it does not dispute their status in the social construction of the Ghanaian society. This certainly raises from the fact that the *Borga* is able to “convert his economic capital into symbolic capital” (Nieswand, 2014, p.405.) through which he able to ascend the social ladder and increase his social status.

Operationalization of Concepts

In Table 1 below, I present the explanation of the concepts that were used in the examination of data obtained from this study’s participants.

Table 1. Explanation of concepts

CONCEPT	MEANING
Cumulative causative	Conditions that make subsequent migration inevitable, more likely, or easier.
<i>Borga</i>	An international migrant who has returned to his country of origin either for good or briefly. It also includes migrant yet to return home and anybody who has an international travelling experience.
<i>Borga</i> image	The social and individual representation of the <i>Borga</i> . This may come about as a result of exposure to the actions and demeanour of

the *Borga* as well the relationship that is established between society and the *Borga*.

International migrant Any person, who has moved to “another country or region to better his/her material or social conditions and improve the prospect for themselves or their family” (IOM, 2004, p.40).

Migration “A process of moving, either across an international border or within a state. It is a population movement, encompassing any kind of movement of people, whatever its length, composition and causes” (IOM, 2004, p.41).

(For this study, Refugees are not included in this definition)

Prospective migrant Any person who would like to migrate permanently or temporarily to another country if the opportunity arose.

Social status The position an individual occupies in relation to the entire society. It refers to status achieved through individual efforts such as education, occupation or accomplishment.

Social mobility The “movement, either upward or downward, between higher and lower social classes” (Westoff et al., 1960, p. 376). This upward or downward movement is relational to both intergenerational and intra-generational positionality. The movement is both in comparison with peers and with parents and or grandparents.

Demonstration effect Effects on the behaviour of individuals caused by observing the actions, behaviour or outlook of the *Borga* and their consequences.

Relative deprivation Deprivation that arises in comparison with the *Borga*’s life or behaviour. It could be economical, social, physical or behavioural.

Alteration of social context Changes in the circumstances forming the background for initial migration.

Social network “Interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas” (Massey et al., 1993, p.448) irrespective of the presence or absence of prior links.

Social capital	The social bond that people share because they live in a particular society.
Culture of migration	Beliefs and social patterns that influence people to migrate.
Feedback Signals	Information about the <i>Borga</i> that comes about as a result of the image the <i>Borga</i> portrays.
Cost-benefit analysis	An analysis of the benefits that will accrue to the potential migrant as a result of his participation in international migration.
Value expectancy	Expectations about goals that may come about as a result of international migration.
Social consequence	The effect of international migration on the individual's relationship with society.
Social value	The value society places on an individual as a result of his position on the social structure of the society.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, I discuss how my research work began, the methods I used in producing the data, and the role I played during my fieldwork. Data was mainly gathered qualitatively through the use of semi-structured interviews which provided some form of flexibility. In addition to the interviews, however, some observations were made to accrue more facts for the study. The thematic analysis procedure was used to analyze the data.

4.1 Sampling strategy

Like the work of Yendaw (2014) on the *Borga* and return migration in Ghana, the study area for this thesis was in the Brong Ahafo region of Ghana. Specifically, Berekum which serves as the commercial and administrative capital of the Berekum Municipality was selected due to the important role it plays in migration in Ghana. As already stated, the Berekum Municipality is an area well-known for international migration and *Borgas*. The Berekum township which is the biggest and busiest town in the municipality is the place where most of the action in the municipality is located.

Although the Berekum municipality and for that matter, the Berekum township may be home to a lot of prospective migrants, it was not possible for me to talk to every one of them. As it is done in research, it was necessary for me to pick a few of the prospective migrants so that they “provide clarity, insight, and understanding” (Neuman, 2011, p.247) about the *Borga* image and migration decision-making. Suri (2011, p.63) posits that “informed decisions about sampling are critical to improving the quality of research”. This implies that the quality of work done in research and the subsequent results that are produced is seriously compromised if the sampling process and procedures are not done right. The focus of the study must, therefore, inform the sampling choice of the study. As Flick (1998) rightly puts it, “it is their relevance to the research topic rather than their representativeness which determines the way in which the people to be studied are selected” (cited in Neuman, 2011, p.247). For this reason and for this study, it was appropriate that I use a non-probability sampling technique because requiring each person in the population to have the same chance of being included in the sample would be problematic for the study. Rather than doing a random selection of respondents for this thesis, I resorted to selecting unit who better fit the specific purpose of the study. Participants were, therefore, selected based on the relevant information they could give. Consequently, I used the purposive sampling method, a method that prescribes the selection of respondents who are rich in useful information; information “from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the inquiry” (Patton, 2002: in Suri, 2011, p.65). According to Neuman (2011, p.274), the purposive sampling strategy is used to “select members of a difficult-to-reach, specialized population” such as the prospective migrants this study focuses on. Through the purposive sampling technique, I was able to select people who had plans or harbour plans of migrating.

My sample population was 28 respondents comprising 7 females and 21 males. There were more males than females as is characteristic of international migration figures. According to IOM (2009, p.73), statistics on “Ghanaians employed in OECD countries tend to be predominantly in their productive ages (20-45 years old)”. This trend suggests a high probability that people within that age range were more likely to migrate. For this reason, the age range for the participants of the study was between 19 to 43 years.

Because of the difficulty in identifying prospective migrants, the snowballing sampling strategy was used to get access to the 28 respondents who were involved in the study. Snowball sampling “involves seeking information from key informants about details of other ‘information-rich cases’ in the field” (Suri, 2011, p.65). I was first introduced to one person who my contact person knew had the desire to migrate. He, in turn, introduced me to others and from there I was able to get access to the other persons who had the desire to migrate. In Ghana, it common for most prospective migrants to know each other. This is because prospective migrants sometimes (or most times) share information and may organize their trip together.

Table 2 below presents the details of the respondent of this study. APPENDIX 1, however, presents a more detailed view of the study’s respondents.

Table 2: Details of Respondents

GROUP OF RESPONDENTS	SEX		AGE RANGE	EMPLOYMENT STATUS		TOTAL
	MALE	FEMALE		EMPLOYED ⁴	UNEMPLOYED	
Group with more than Senior High School education	10	3	19-43	11	2	13
Group whose level of education is at most Senior High School education	11	4	20-28	12	3	15

Source: Fieldwork data, 2017

4.2 Data collection

After the research problem had been identified, it was obvious that the type of data needed for this study was primary data since my search did not point to the availability of any secondary data. The data collection methodology adopted for this study was the qualitative data collection method.

⁴ Employed here also includes people engaged in apprenticeship. This applies only to the people belonging to the group whose level of education is at most Senior High School.

Strauss and Corbin (2008, chap 1, p.13) explain that “qualitative research allows researchers to get at the inner experience of participants”. This is partly because the qualitative research method does not restrict the research participants to a set of options prescribed by the researcher. The absence of such restrictions allows the respondents to express themselves freely. The freedom of expression bestows on the researcher “endless possibilities to learn more about people” (Strauss & Corbin, 2008, chap 1, p.13) and the meaning they ascribe to situations.

According to Walliman (2017, p.92, 97), there are several methods used in collecting primary data. These methods include among other methods conducting interviews, observing, administering questionnaires, and doing experiments. Within the qualitative data collection methodology, this research used the face-to-face interview method to gather the required data from the participants. Under a research context, an interview is a dialogue between a researcher and a respondent in which the researcher mostly asks questions related to a topic and the respondent provides answers (Schostak, 2006: cited in Alshenqeeti, 2014, p.40). It is a person-to-person “conversation, whose purpose is to gather descriptions of the life-world of the interviewee” (Kvale, 1996: cited in Alshenqeeti, 2014, p.40). Through interviews, a respondent to a study is able to give their views and opinions on the phenomena under discussion. To this end, Alshenqeeti, (2014, p.40) explains that an interview “facilitates obtaining direct explanations for human actions through a comprehensive speech interaction”. Through interviews, the researcher is able to acquire and discover detailed information about the issue he is studying (Gill et al., 2008, p.292).

Interviews like normal conversations, allowed me to push for explanations when there were ambiguities in the answers respondents gave (Alshenqeeti, 2014, p.40). This process also allowed me to aptly clarify ambiguous answers and when appropriate, sought follow-up information. Additionally, the interview process allowed the respondents the opportunity and freedom to express their opinions in their own terms. To eliminate any obstacles that could remove the freedom of especially the interviewees to freely express their views without any restrictions, I sought to remove any obstacle that could obstruct the free flow of information. With this in mind, I established a rapport with participants and therefore gained their cooperation as much as possible. This created an atmosphere in which the interviewees felt at home and thus shared their opinions with no hesitation.

The one-on-one interview adopted for this study used the semi-structured approach. Although there were key questions to guide the ‘exploration’, this approach unlike the structured type allowed for flexibility from which the “interviewer or interviewee could diverge in order to pursue an idea or response in more detail” (Gill et al., 2008, p.291: Alshenqeeti, 2014, p.40). The approach did not make the interviewing process rigid. It allowed interviewees to bring up new things and ideas that resulted in the “discovery or elaboration of information that is important to participants but may not have previously been thought of as pertinent” by me (Gill et al., 2008, p.291). On occasions where respondents brought up issues not previously thought of by me, the interview process gave me the chance to delve deeper into the new area if it was relevant to the course of the study.

4.3 Challenges

At the beginning of the study when we (Research Assistant and I) had touched base and had had contact with our contact person and were trying to recruit people to participate in the study, words got around some areas that somebody (reference to me) had come to town and was recruiting people to take abroad. Word got to me that people were looking for me because they wanted me to take them abroad. This misconception about the purpose of my presence in town had to be defused in a quick manner.

Since most of the recruitment was done by using the snowball method, respondents for the study were virtually recruited by other persons. Together with my brother turned research assistant, we spoke to the potential respondents on the phone and then fixed the date and venue. Some of the initial conversations they (initial contact and research participants) had before we spoke to them required that before and on the day of the actual interview, I had to let them know I was not there to take them abroad. The situation was handled without any problems as the respondents understood the situation after I had explained issues to them.

One other challenge that the study faced was the unavailability of the identified respondents of the study. This was related especially to participants with a relatively lower education who worked as artisans or were in apprenticeship learning to be artisans. Due to the nature of their work, they

were either away on building sites or were busy at their apprenticeship learning sites. This meant that for some participants, appointments had to be cancelled and rescheduled.

4.4 Positionality

Research is a process that is made up of two categories of people: the researcher and the people whom his research is about. There is, therefore, a common space on which they interact. (Bourke, 2014, p.1.) For this reason, the way a person sees others and his perceptions about the way others may see him have an effect on the research process. As Bourke (2014, p.1) puts it, “the identities of both the researcher and the participants have the potential to impact the research process”. Our ideas and perceptions about the other person are influenced by our characteristics and the characteristics of the other person. Such characteristics as age, gender, political and educational background, political beliefs, etc., affect the way we see others and interact with them. (Teye, 2012, p.380; Bourke, 2014, p.3.) These perceptions about others may shape, for example, the willingness of a research participant to give the necessary information to a researcher. This may be especially so if the respondent sees the researcher as an outsider; one who does not belong to his group or share in his beliefs. Teye (2012, p.388) explains that “researchers who study a group to whom they belong (insiders) have an advantage because they are more likely to be trusted by respondents and can, therefore, get access to information that would not be given to an outsider”. Irrespective of this, however, is also the fact that insiders may also lose vital information. This may arise from the feeling of the interviewee that the interviewer knows and for that, there is no need to repeat. When a group of people feels or perceive one to be of not their group or have characteristics different from theirs, the “we-feeling” and “they-feeling” may set in. Under such conditions, when respondents categorize the researcher as an outsider, they may not be open enough and may not give off their best responses.

Language is a feature that binds people together and makes them “one”. When the researcher is able to communicate in the language of the respondents, all things being equal, they feel at home. This is because the common characteristic of language makes them feel as belonging to one group. Layder (1998, chap 4, p.8) posits that the researcher's ability to speak and communicate with the language of his study’s respondents “affect the researcher's ability to render accurately and adequately the lived experiences of those studied”. My study area is an Akan community where

the Bono/Brong Twi is spoken. My ability to communicate in the local language was a great tool as it did not make me look like an outsider.

Additionally, my nationality as a Ghanaian made me an insider. Due to this, respondents were not economical about the truth and responded to me without restrictions. This is probably because they thought that as a Ghanaian, I was aware of the issues already and there was no need trying to hide the truth. In one of the sessions, one respondent did not mince words when he told me categorically that “*you are a Ghanaian, so you know*”.

Another issue that bothers on positionality is power relations. The age of the researcher was not different from the age range of respondents. This common feature of age also played to the advantage of the research. Since the respondents and the researcher saw themselves as virtually of the same age, it made the conversation flow as it is normal of a conversation between and among colleagues. This notwithstanding, however, there is a likelihood that some or all respondent may have given me some “respect” due to the fact I was a *Borga*. As respondent shared their opinions on the *Borga* and how society treats and hold them in high esteem, they may have treated me like society does, albeit covertly. During our interactions, there were no such signs.

4.5 Ethical issues

As is normal for human behaviour to be directed by rules and regulations, the research process has rules that guide the researcher and his behaviour in the field. This is to ensure that a researcher acquires his data in an honest way (Guthrie, 2010, p.15). The importance of following rules and dealing honestly with research participants is highlighted in the words of Walliman. According to Walliman (2017, p.42), “research, however novel its findings, is only valuable if it is carried out honestly”. The results of research cannot be trusted if the researcher is suspected to have acted without integrity (Walliman, 2017, p.42). For this reason, when conducting research, one critical issue to be taken seriously is ethics. In line with this, Guthrie (2010, p.15) explains that “we have no authority to direct the subjects of our research, and we must ensure that their engagement in our work is done freely”. Irrespective of the people involved in research, especially in social science research, issues such as power relations, informed consent, anonymity, courtesy, and

confidentiality must be held in lofty heights. Like in everyday human interactions, research must be carried out in a way that the rights and freedoms of the people who chose to participate or not to participate in the study are not trampled upon. Parties in the research process must be treated with dignity “before, during and after the research” (Walliman, 2017, p.42).

In accordance with research ethics and as a commitment to individual autonomy, the researcher must get informed consent from the participants of the research before the study is carried out. For this reason, the researcher is obliged to provide the respondent with all the information needed; information regarding among other things the purpose or aim of the study. The provision of information according to Christians (2000, p.144), must be done because “research subjects have the right to be informed about the nature and consequences of experiments in which they are involved”. Based on the information given, an individual or group of people will give their informed consent and agree out of their own free will to take part in a study or decline to do so.

To gain the informed consent of participants, I followed the six points put forward by Guthrie (2010, p.17). Guthrie suggests that “before starting interviewing, the researcher should briefly do the following:

1. Tell participants the purpose of the research.
2. Tell them what you will do with the results.
3. Answer their questions about the research.
4. Ask their permission to continue.
5. Respect their right to refuse to participate.
6. Respect their right to withdraw at any stage”.

Additionally, I asked of their consent to audio record the interview before the start of every session. This was to make the respondent relaxed and get fully involved in the conversation. No deceptive manoeuvres and overtures were adopted for this study.

Another thing that is critical in conducting fieldwork is confidentiality and privacy. According to Christians (2000, p.145), “codes of ethics insist on safeguards to protect people’s identities and those of the research locations and thus confidentiality must be assured as the primary safeguard against unwanted exposure”. All respondents were assured that the data I was collecting was only for academic purposes. Although some persons were sceptical about the audio recording, after I had given them the assurance that their voices would not be played on the airwaves, they agreed to be audiotaped.

4.6 Data analyses procedure

Although all activities in the research process are important, in my own estimation, to conduct research with no results is tantamount to no work done. To get the much-needed results, a researcher must analyze data carefully and systematically. Maguire & Delahunt (2017, p. 3351) assert that “data analysis is central to credible qualitative research”. To produce a credible result from data, therefore, the researcher must be able to “understand, describe and interpret experiences and perceptions” (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017, p. 3351). Attride-Stirling (2001, p.386) added to this view when she posited that “to yield meaningful and useful results it imperative that data is analyzed in a methodical manner”. For this reason, I relied on the use of thematic content analysis approach. Maguire & Delahunt (2017, p. 3352) describe the thematic analysis process as “the process of identifying patterns or themes within qualitative data”. The patterns which were identified were “interesting or important” (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017, p. 3352) to the aim of this study. Consequently, the themes were used to address the questions this research seeks to answer (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017, p.3353). The analyses process (explained below) took into consideration the “six-phase guide” for doing thematic analysis prescribed by Braun and Clarke (cited in Maguire & Delahunt, 2017, p. 3354)

To begin the process of analyses, I first transcribed the data I had gathered from interviewing my research participants into a word document. Although transcribing the whole text was time-consuming, the entry process served as an opportunity to look over participants’ views which “ignited my thought process about patterns and connections in the data” (Guthrie, 2010, p.160). After the transcription was done, I got myself immersed in the data by “continually reading the transcript to familiarize myself with the content” of the various interviews I had conducted

(Belotto, 2018, p.2624). The transcription process thus became the first instance of “reading and re-reading the transcript” (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017, p. 3355). This according to Maguire & Delahunt (2017, p. 3355) is “the first step in any qualitative analysis”.

After transcription of recorded interviews was completed, the data was coded (See APPENDIX 2 for an overview of the codes and how the thematic analysis process was carried out). The importance of coding in analyzing qualitative data cannot be overemphasized. To code is to “reduces lots of data into small chunks of meaning” (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017, p. 3355) units. Going through the transcripts of participants, words, sentences or even group of sentences that said similar things were giving codes (Belotto, 2018, p.2624). It must be noted, however, that not all words and sentences were given codes. I only coded participants’ responses that were “relevant to or captured something interesting about the research question” (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017, p. 3355). Since I did not have any pre-set codes, I adopted the open coding method: I generated and fine-tuned codes as I went through the coding process (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017, p. 3355). For instance, the code “nurture” came up when a participant opined that growing up, it had always been on his mind to go abroad and there was no good reason for his initial desire to migrate. After I had gone through all the transcripts and allocated codes to sections of the data, I put the codes into groups to form themes. (Belotto, 2018, p.2624.)

According to Maguire & Delahunt (2017, p. 3356), “a theme is a pattern that captures something significant or interesting about the data and or research question”. While I examined the codes that have been generated, those that fitted together were put together to form a theme. For example, upon careful consideration and review, wage differentials, exchange rate, job market comparison, job opportunities, and hard living standard came together to form one theme: Macro-level economic consideration. As shown in Appendix 2, these preliminary themes were put together under the heading initial themes.

The next step in the process was to review all the initial themes. This was to make sure that, I got themes that were not overlapping but were coherent and distinct from each other. For this reason, I brought together groups of preliminary themes that echoed particular views and fitted them into

what I termed organizing themes (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017, p. 3358). Organizing themes took the level of understanding higher. For instance, micro-level economic consideration, meso-level economic considerations, macro-level Economic consideration, institutional push and pull considerations, social push factor, and educational advancement considerations were fitted together to form the organizing theme, “current desires”: reasons for the current desires to migrate.

Finally, the themes were refined to “identify the essence of what each theme was about” (Braun & Clarke, 2006: cited in Maguire & Delahunt, 2017, p. 33511). This was done by assessing the link between the organizing themes, research questions and the theoretical frameworks with which I try to find answers to the questions. By putting these themes together, they presented assertions about issues within the confines of this study. Because the outcome served “both as summaries of the main themes and a revealing interpretation of the texts” (Attride-Stirling, 2001, p.389), I named them “Global Themes” (Attride-Stirling, 2001, p.389). The global themes served as unifying frames resulting from hints that emerged from the entire process of analysis. By engaging in continuous interaction with outcomes from the analysis process: from coding through to organizing themes, emerging trends were linked to factors that influence the migration decision-making process. This eventually led to the identification of the cumulative causality of factors that influence the migration decision-making process and the role of the *Borga* image in this sphere of causality.

Once this core idea (of cumulative causality) emerged through the themes that came out as result of the thematic analysis of the interview data, all other categories got tied to it and resulted in the grouping of themes into global themes and the names that were given each global theme. For example, many participants listed the famous push and pull factors listed in the migration discourses as reasons for which they intend to migrate. Irrespective of this, however, they spoke of the *Borga* in ways that suggested the *Borga* image played diverse roles in their decision to emigrate.

The research question and the theoretical framework of this study informed the thematic analysis. As already stated, this thesis sought to find out the role of the *Borga* image in the prospective

migrant's decision to stay at home or go abroad. The study sought to do this by finding out how the *Borga* image made the context within which decisions are made different from the context of past migrants, and how the *Borga* image influences the cost-benefit analysis of in the migration decision-making process. In view of this, the study opted to use the cumulative causation theory as the main theoretical framework through which the role of the *Borga* image in the decision-making process was to be assessed. Since the cumulative causation theory suggests that migration preserves itself by altering the context within which subsequent migration takes place, while coding and classifying codes into themes, I looked out for ways through which the representation of the *Borga* may alter context and affect individual motivations to out-migrate.

With reference to the research question, the codes basically reflected the representation of the *Borga*, messages generated from the representation of the *Borga*, and participants' reasons for the desire to migrate. As explained earlier, groups of codes formed initial themes and initial themes proceeded to form the organizing themes. With clues coming from the analysis process backed by the theoretical concepts such as social network, relative deprivation, and demonstration effect, groups of organizing themes were brought together to form the global themes. The various global themes served as the unifying frame through which the analysis and results chapter of this thesis is based. For example, emanating from the representation of the *Borga*, codes such as *ubiquity of the Borga*, *Borga narratives and trust issues*, *conspicuousness*, *connections and networks*, *within reach*, and *prior links and barriers* were developed. Because these codes were unique, they formed also the initial theme. Relative to the theoretical concept of social network and looking at the characteristics of these codes, they formed the organizing themes of *network facilitating* and *network barriers* respectively. The global theme of *social network* was developed from that line of thought and analysis.

Consequently, from the global themes that resulted from the thematic analysis, two main angles from which the image of the *Borga* plays a role in migration decision-making process emerged. This concerns the changing of the context in which migration decision are made and the choice of destination after the decision to migrate is made. Resulting from the cumulative causation theory, the image of the *Borga* was analyzed by looking at the manner in which it alters context and makes migration more likely. Accordingly, from the global themes that emerged from the thematic

analysis, the first subchapter: *the Borga image, alteration of context and the migration decision-making* emerged. This subchapter is discussed through the following topics: demonstrations and demonstration effect, social networking within and without interpersonal connections, moving up or down the social ladder, and highlighting relative deprivation. The image of the *Borga* was also analyzed based on how it plays a role in the choice of destination. This is seen under the subchapter, *following the Borga's lead*.

See APPENDIX 2, for a comprehensive presentation of the analytical process and categories.

CHAPTER FIVE: ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

Introduction

Migration motivations have become more complex in the modern era. Time presents to man different motivations to move from one place to another. As has been mentioned earlier, the reasons for which people migrated in earlier times are or may be different from the motivations of today's migrants. The context under which yesterday's migrants moved may have changed as well. The motivations for migration like any other human endeavours can be overt and covert. For this reason, the drivers of migration may be fully or partially conspicuous. In other instances, the reasons for which people desire to migrate could be fully or partially obscured.

Because the "social world is ontologically plural" (Layder, 1998, chap. 7 p.5), man's understanding of life and the meanings he ascribes to life's occurrences come in different forms. To provide a dynamic knowledge of reality concerning migration decision-making, questions were asked in relation to the social space of the prospective Ghanaian migrant. This was aimed at getting an understanding of the possible role of the image of the *Borga* in the decision-making processes of the Ghanaian prospective migrant.

The results and analysis of this study reveal that, although the overt motivations of the prospective migrant are or may be the economic push factors at home and pull factors from abroad as suggested

by the neoclassical theory of migration and other migration initiation theories, the views expressed by respondents show that the image of the *Borga* acts in ways that alter the circumstances under which past migration decisions were made. This makes the *Borga* image both an independent motivating factor and a contributing factor to other factors that motivate the prospective migrant to desire a move abroad. Under the broad heading of the “*Borga* image and context alteration”, I will discuss the *Borga* image in relation to how it alters the context in which migration decision-making of the prospective Ghanaian migrant is made. I use the concepts of demonstration effect, relative deprivation, social networking, and social status and mobility to analyze the ways in which the image of the *Borga* contributes to making available conditions that make subsequent migration inevitable, more likely and easier in the Ghanaian society.

5.1 The *Borga* image, alteration of context and the migration decision-making

It is of no doubt that when a path has already been beaten, followers of the beaten path do not encounter the same kind of difficulty the person or persons who beat the path faced. In the deciding to go abroad or stay at home, the importance of antecedents that serve as reference points and guides cannot be overemphasized. In the migration decision-making process, antecedents in the form of the *Borga*, his image and the illustrative signals it sends to the prospective migrants is important to the eventual decision to go or not to go.

As the cumulative causation and other migration perpetuation theories suggest, international migration sustains itself due to its ability to alter “the sending community environment in ways that make migration progressively more likely” (Massey, 1990, 1999: cited in Fussell, 2010, p.162). Fussell (2010, p. 163) goes on to say that much of the arguments around the cumulative causation of migration has been based on “social network dynamics”. People will not, however, decide to leave their homes to some unknown far off place just because they have social connections in that place. The decision of an individual or a group of people to move to foreign lands is typically influenced by gains from the prior migration projects. In most cases, it is the people’s quality of life and financial wherewithal that cause them to seek greener pastures elsewhere. (Fussell, 2010, p. 163.)

When participants of this study were asked for the reasons for which they wanted to migrate, 23 out of 28 (82%) respondents wanted to resettle in other countries because of economic reasons. Eight (29%) wanted to leave Ghana because they wanted to further their education⁵. Like the initiation theories discussed under theoretical framework suggest, the economic motivation to move is strongly backed by the belief of respondents that, there are jobs waiting for them out there and that, while abroad they will receive better wages for same or similar work done in Ghana. Irrespective of this, however, this study's respondents were also moved by what they see from the actions and demeanour of the *Borga*. With the *Borga* in the picture, the prospective migrant has a source of reference from which to make his cost-benefit analysis, catch glimpses of the value expected of his migration project and or base his decisions to migrate on. This is unlike the circumstance under which earlier migrants made the move. Certainly, with the *Borga* in the picture, the context under which the prospective migrant makes his decision to go abroad or to stay at home is altered and thus different from the ones under which his "grandfathers" made the decision to move.

But in what ways does the *Borga* image alter the contextual basis for the migration decision-making process? Below I discuss the ways and means through which the *Borga* image change migration decision-making context and make migration-decision making easier and migration more likely.

5.1.1 Demonstrations and Demonstration effect

Often used in the literature on tourism, "demonstration effect consists of host population emulation of the behaviour and especially the consumption practices of the tourists who visit them" (Monterrubio, & Mendoza-Ontiveros, 2014, p.98). The concept of demonstration effect expresses the idea that people may want to do things or have something because they see that other people are able to do or have them. In relation to migration, demonstration effect is an effect on the behaviour of individuals caused by observing the actions, behaviour or outlook of the *Borga* and their consequences.

⁵ Some respondents gave more than one reason

In many situations, humans are expected to replicate an action when other people have done that act and have demonstrated that it is worth doing. This is especially so when the outcome of the act is better than the conditions of the person who wants to repeat the activity. For the prospective migrant, what the image of the *Borga* demonstrates is expected to have an impact on the way he thinks about replicating the act that has been undertaken by the *Borga*, travelling abroad. The action or inaction of the prospective migrant, however, depends on the demonstration effect of the *Borga*'s image on his thought and calculations. That is to say, the prospective migrant's actions would be based on the way and manner in which he interprets what he sees from the actions and demeanour of the *Borga*. Depending on whether the image of the *Borga* sends positive or negative signals, the prospective migrant decides to repeat the *Borga*'s action by also deciding to migrate abroad or choose to stay. The more the prospective migrant interprets the *Borga*'s image as one that is positive and worthy of repeating, the more he desires and plans to migrate too. If the interpretations are negative, he is dissuaded from imitating that act, lest he becomes a fool.

In the narratives of all the respondents of this study, the image of the *Borga* demonstrates a proven success of migration and provides a demonstration effect that leads or may lead others/prospective migrants to desire and or attempt to emulate that success. All participants of the study irrespective of age, gender and educational attainment level expressed similar views about what the Borg image demonstrates and how they see it. The question that arises then is, what does the image of the *Borga* demonstrate for which the prospective Ghanaian migrant may want to replicate his migration behaviour?

Participants of this study shared opinions that showed different ways through which the image of the *Borga* is demonstrated. As can be cited in Appendix 2, respondents' views suggested that the image of the *Borga* is conceptualized through the *Borga*'s economic posture and dealings, the social benefit of migration to the *Borga* as well as his physical, behavioural and psychological outlook. From respondents' accounts, the economic posture of the *Borga* is the one that excites a lot of interest. Although participants responses unearthed five ways through which the *Borga* image is demonstrated, these ways are not mutually exclusive to each other. The representation of any *Borga* is not strictly confined to one category. Consequently, the image of a *Borga* is demonstrated in all five ways.

Nineteen out of the twenty-eight participants expressed views that showed that the activities and demeanour of the *Borga* demonstrate and reflect one that is in good standing financially. A common line that represented respondents' idea and expression of the economic prowess of the *Borga* was that they were doing something at home or came home with something. The act of doing something at home represented the very tangible aspects of the *Borga's* economic life that people easily see and identify with him. Such aspects include among other things building or owning a house, having a car, and setting up businesses. According to Respondent S⁶ 8, most of the ones (*Borgas*) he knows had nothing before they went abroad. On their return, however, most of them now have houses, cars that work for them for all to see. Respondent S14 corroborated this view when he posited that all those who have returned home from abroad, came home with something. Those who have not yet returned are doing something at home. Like many other respondents of this study, respondent T⁷1, claimed that he knew some *Borgas*, who were still abroad. These *Borgas* were building houses and setting up business. Respondent T9, speaking of his younger brother also suggested that since he went to Italy, he has been able to undertake some projects at home. Adding on to these views, respondent T10 said "...I know one Italian *Borga*. It has not been long since he went but the things he has done in this short while, it is not easy. He has built a nice house, opened up shops where people are working and getting paid".

Linked to the demonstration effect that may arise from the economic posturing of the *Borga* is the reflection of the image of the *Borga* in a way which affects the psychology of the prospective migrants. Although participant T12 suggested that on his return, the *Borga* does not tell them about the realities on the ground, eleven of the study's twenty-eight respondents expressed views that show the *Borga's* image demonstration effect psychologically. For example, respondent T7 believes that returned migrants or migrants are moving on in life. In his estimation, *Borgas* are able to accomplish whatever they want to achieve. To participant T9, when they (*Borgas*) come home, one can see that they have advanced and moved forward in life. For Respondent S11 what he sees from the demonstration of the *Borg's* image is a message that says that the person is really leading a very comfortable life. Linked to respondent S11 view is the opinion of Respondent T1.

⁶ S represent respondents with at most a Senior High School education

⁷ T represent respondents with at tertiary education

According to respondent T1, the *Borga* image has managed to convince him that the little a person does (abroad) will make his or her living better than living in Ghana.

Although the *Borga*'s demonstration of financial strength was dominant in how the prospective migrant saw the actions and demeanour of the *Borga*, some respondents saw the *Borga* in a manner that his physical attributes may have a demonstration effect on their decision-making process. From such demonstrations, the prospective migrants may make conclusions just like the opening statement of this thesis. According to some participants, the *Borgas*' physical appearance is one that sets them out and makes them different from the non-migrant. Participant S11 posited that on their return, some of the *Borgas* exhibited characteristics that showed they have become nice and beautiful as compared to how they looked before they left. According to this respondent, the difference between the *Borga*'s "then and now" physical posturing showed a marked difference. To participant S9, when the migrants return home, everything they do is different. The way they dress and everything about them is different from the non-migrants. For participant S3, apart from the fact that the *Borga* has properties when he sees their bodies, he has the feeling that they are living well and are comfortable in life.

In addition to the economic, psychological and physical demonstration effect that may come as a result of the *Borga*'s image, there is a possibility that the behaviour of the *Borga* may have a demonstration effect on the prospective migrant too. Out of the twenty-eight respondents, six saw the demonstration of the *Borga*'s image in this light. Some participants believe the act of migration transforms the *Borga*'s behaviour. For example, participant S9 showed real excitement about the new nature of the *Borga*. The choice of words in describing the *Borga* showed admiration for the *Borga*. In presenting his opinion on the image of the *Borga*, participant S9 in his most logical conclusion intimated that because of the fact migrants get access to a different environment, the *Borga*'s life is decent. According to him, "these *Borgas* normally refrain from the lives they used to live before migrating. The new environment changes them and their behaviour becomes better".

The behavioural demonstrations of the *Borga* do not always appeal positively to the prospective Ghanaian migrant. Whereas some respondents showed admiration, others showed disapproval for

the *Borga*'s behaviour. For some respondents, the *Borga* behaviour changes for the worse when he returns home from his journeys abroad. Participants T4, 7 and S15 were particularly not happy about the new person the *Borga* has become. To them, the *Borga* has become proud, arrogant and bad. These participants showed that they were not happy about the new behaviour adopted by the *Borga*. As participant T7 explained, his uncle who is resident abroad on his occasional return to Ghana only takes Guinness⁸ and changes women at will. To Participant S15, some *Borgas* are filled with pride on their return home. They talk with no respect because of the feeling that they have been elevated above the other person/people.

...on their return, they do not show good character, especially the men. Even for the females, they become proud on their return especially in the area they live. When they come back home, they do not see the people they used to live with as humans anymore. They pass by without exchanging greetings when they meet them. Before they travel, they are very open but on their return, they see themselves as higher than you (Participants T4).

This negative review of the image of the *Borga* may be linked to the issues of the *Borga*'s new status in society (discussed later). The negative review will translate into a negative demonstration effect. This is reflected in the statement by Participant T5. According to him, because some *Borgas* do not show good character on their return, if it were left up to the image of some *Borgas* alone, he would withdraw that decision to also migrate. In the presence of a stronger economic/financial demonstration effect, however, the other demonstrative effects of the image of the *Borga* cannot compete.

I have illustrated above, how the study's respondents presented their views on how they interpret the demonstrations from the images portrayed and shown by the returned migrants, migrants yet to return or returning intermittently. The image the *Borga* portrays is one of good living, a living better than in most spheres of life in Ghana especially in the study area and areas not highly urbanized. This image of good living shown may or may not be exactly so because of the possibility that the *Borga* is only creating an impression and or living a fake life. Whether the demonstrations of the *Borga* image are interpreted in economic, physical, psychological or

⁸ Guinness is an Irish dry stout very popular in Ghana

behavioural terms, the messages they send are quite similar; messages that say life is better on the outside, life is worth living abroad and living abroad is the option if one has to attain that goal of getting a good living. To participant S8 for example, when he sees their bodies and how nice the *Borga* has become, he gets the feeling that the *Borga* is living well and comfortably. From this assertion, the conclusion he comes to is that the *Borga* has been able to make a living even though it wouldn't have been easy for him to do that while in Ghana.

Through the demonstrated effect of the image of the *Borga*, the prospective Ghanaian migrant is convinced to repeat the act of travelling abroad because the *Borga* image, actions, and demeanour, whether real or fake is positive and demonstrate to the prospective migrant the goodness in travelling abroad. From the *Borga*'s image, the prospective Ghanaian migrant is given "hard core evidence" and increasingly made aware of the opportunities and lifestyles abroad. But in what ways does the demonstration effect of the image of the *Borga* affect the decision-making process of the prospective Ghanaian migrant?

The *Borga* image as evidence of truth

When we have belief in something, we accept that it exists even when we have not seen evidence to that effect. Beliefs, therefore, act as the "vehicle of truth" (Russell, 1921: cited in Leicester, 2016, p.ii). According to John Locke, a "belief is the admitting or receiving any proposition as true, upon arguments or proofs that are found to persuade us to receive it as true" (cited in Leicester, 2016, p.3, 15). Beliefs of a group of people are usually old and may have been passed on from one generation to another. This situation may put up a showing that "beliefs are conservative" (Leicester, 2016, p.49). The belief systems of a group of people are, however, not cast in stone. As Holsti (1962, p.246) explains, beliefs are dynamic and may change with time. Irrespective of the dynamic nature of beliefs, however, when evidence to prove the veracity of a belief continuously repeats itself, the belief gets fortified and entrenched. To this end, Leicester (2016, p. 42) has suggested that "evidence is the most important cause of belief". Over the course of time, society has been exposed to the manifestations of the *Borga* image resulting in beliefs concerning migration in general. Although not all people in the society may yield to the social beliefs regarding migration, the weight of disbelief is overruled by the weight of belief.

Consequently, many community members may think and act in the direction of the social viewpoint concerning migration.

Responses that were given by the respondents of this study suggested that there are social beliefs with regards to migration and the *Borga*. The social beliefs did not sound different from the personal beliefs or the demonstrations of the *Borga* image already mentioned above. This shows a clear relationship between both beliefs. The difficulty is the inability to determine which of the beliefs influenced the other. It is however certain that both had had influences on the other. As discussed earlier, the representation of the *Borga* is conceptualized in terms of his economic prowess, social consequences accruing to him, and through his physical, behavioural and psychological outlook. The social and personal beliefs concerning the *Borga* and migration shared by the participants, however, highlighted the economic aspect the most. This implies that society may be more interested in the economic side of things. One possible reason for the overemphasis on the economic credentials of the *Borga* is that it reflects the importance people place on the economic aspect of their lives.

In highlighting the beliefs in relation to migration, some participants suggested that making life at home is harder than making life outside. This is because even though people earn money, there is a lot of pressure on them as family members demand a lot (Participant T7). This seems to suggest that part of the reasons why the *Borga* is able to “make it” is as a result of his absence from the local scene. The *Borga*’s absence puts him out of the reach of the direct pressures from home. Participant T13 alludes to this absence when he said “if I live in another country, I am there alone. Your only interest is for me to send you money”. Because of the feedback signals the *Borga*’s image has relayed to the society over time, the opportunity to travel abroad is construed to mean the way to automatic wealth. Also, because the perceived wealth of the *Borga* is made abroad, there is the social belief that there is money abroad. According to this social belief, therefore, once a person migrates, he must make it (become rich) by all means possible. Participant T6 suggested that “when a person gets the opportunity to travel that way, it means he or she has been blessed because automatically he or she will be rich”. This is because everybody/society knows there is money abroad. “Once you go there, you make money” (Participant T10). Participant T9 intimated that in the Ghanaian society and in Africa generally, there is poverty, so it is assumed

that for people who get the chance to travel abroad, everything around them will change for the better. In some circles, however, it is a belief that the *Borga* does not only have to make it. He must make it over and above the non-migrant. In the account of participant T2, some of the *Borgas* were his father's mates who moved to Italy and stayed for about 5-6 years, but his father is better than them financially. According to him, his father has made it in life more than them as he has houses and cars to show.

One important aspect of the assumption that the *Borga* is or will be automatically wealthy is the link to the belief that the "Whiteman"⁹ whose country the *Borga* has relocated to is rich. Participant T10 put it that "If a Whiteman comes here (Ghana), even if he is poor, in somebody's estimation, he is a rich man. The poor Whiteman is a rich man to somebody". This supposition of a rich Whiteman could be traces of the colonial laden world view of the local Ghanaians of the Whiteman and a reflection of the social structure of the colonial times where the superiors were the whites and the subordinates were the local people. By being the bosses, they exhibited traits and lifestyles that implied they were rich. They drove the cars, wore nicer clothes that were different from those of the locals, lived in the best part of town and in the best of the houses in the colony. These characteristics of the colonial Whiteman may have transcended to be one of the major identifiers of the *Borga*: nice cars, houses, dresses and also automatic wealth. The regard for the Whiteman finds its way into some Ghanaian vocabulary and in the lyrics of some hi-life¹⁰ and hip-life songs¹¹. For example, one could heap praises on someone by calling him or her "me bronni"¹² (meaning my Whiteman) or "me bibini bronni" (meaning my black Whiteman).

This assumption of an automatic and complete change of fortunes make people blinded to reality so much that even if the *Borga* does not come back home with money, the society still regard him as wealthy because it is almost out of the equation to think that a *Borga* didn't come home with money. "They think that as soon as you go (abroad) and come, you have the money" (Participant T5). Some participants went further to even suggest that there is a time frame within which the

⁹ Whiteman here represents both sexes

¹⁰ Whiteman or woman is known as Obroni or Broni in the local parlance

¹¹ Genre of Ghanaian music for the older generation

¹² Genres of music for the contemporary Ghanaian

migrant must become rich. Participant T6 put it that, “it is believed that the economic standard is a little bit high so when you get there at least you can be rich within a short time”.

While making it, the *Borga* is expected to make the family and other members of his home community see and or enjoy the rippling effect of his “making it”. “If you travel, you make us see you are doing something good for the family or for yourself or you are doing something that helps improve your life” (Participant S12). There is, therefore, a social requirement for the *Borga* to fulfil. The fulfilment of this requirement is for the *Borga* to undertake projects for which the society will behold. “You would have to go, come back home and or do something at home” (Participant S4). Even though the individual has aims for which he chose to migrate, he must fulfil such requirement, so the larger society knows that it is real that the *Borga* migrated for a reason, he had aims and have been able to achieve them (Participant T13). The fulfilment of these requirements should include at least a personal house. On the account of participant T13, some *Borgas* after leaving the country and staying for many years came back home with nothing at home to show, not even the most necessary of the items in the requirement list; a house. According to him, “some have been away for more than 20 years but do not have a house in Ghana, a house in which he will dwell on his return”.

Accounts such as participant T13’s ownership of a house in which to dwell on his return put the *Borga* in a class of its own. A class different from the normal person or the non-migrant. By way of historical antecedent and the resulting social belief that has accrued from it, the *Borga* is expected to live an extraordinary life. According to Ghana’s Ministry of Works and Housing, the country has over 1.7 million housing deficits in the country. It is normal therefore to find many Ghanaians living in rented apartments or sharing housing units. From the account such as the one mentioned above, the *Borga* must not be seen taking part in this act. He must have his own house at least for himself and his immediate family. Apart from owning a house, the *Borga* is not expected to take part in some economic activities. Participant S12 who works in the wood industry suggests that the *Borga* must not come home to do the kind of work she does. As she puts it “if on your return you come to tell me you are also coming to do the kind of job I do, I will tell you what came of your trip”. Participant S12 further claimed that “I know someone, a relative who after living in the UK for a long while came home empty handed, he is now into cocoa farming”. Using

these views and assumptions, it is clear that the *Borga* must not be seen using public transport especially for in town manoeuvres or be seen walking. He must have his own car. The placement of the *Borga* in this league of extraordinary persons comes as a result of the demonstration effect of the *Borga* and the way the *Borga* has presented himself to the society over time. The demonstration that shows that indeed the *Borga* is rich.

The fulfilment of these social requirements has timelines. Failure to meet the timelines will cause eyebrows to be raised. This means the *Borga* is going beyond his probationary/grace period. Participants shared views that suggested that there is a grace period or probationary periods set aside for the new migrant after which he must start “making it” and making family and society see and or feel the rippling effects of making it. Participant 3 puts it this way “in the beginning, one would not be experienced in the foreign land. In one year, one may not know the living patterns of the new country... after 2 -3 years things may start going on well ...around this time your finances improve so that you can now embark on projects back home”. Participant S5 suggested a grace period of about 10 years after which the *Borga* must do something or help somebody.

Because of the demonstrations of the *Borga* for which the society has been exposed to over time, the *Borga* is supposed to be rich and do exploits. In line with these beliefs, there are social perceptions that come with failure to meet the timelines and grace periods. The society raises questions about the reasons for the *Borga*'s inability to make it. If the demonstrations of the *Borga* suggest that all *Borga*'s are supposed to be rich, why is then is this *Borga* not rich? Unfortunately for this *Borga* who has not been able to make it, the society is already stereotypical about his inability to make it and thus provide their own answers to the questions they ask. This stereotype has its roots in the meaning that people and society have made from the demonstrations of the *Borga* image over time. When the *Borga* is not doing something for the family or friends, he is heartless and careless because he is rich but has refused to help. To respondent S14, when people return from abroad and undertake projects or help their families, all are happy. When a returnee does not perform in a manner akin to the demonstrations of the *Borga*, it means whiles he was away, he didn't care about the family and engaged in only worthless things. Additionally, the *Borga* who comes home with nothing or does nothing at home is seen as one who was not determined enough, lived life anyhow without any seriousness and got himself engaged in worthless things

and unprofitable lifestyle. According to participant T2 for example, “their economy is better than Ghana. So, if you are there and you don't make it in life.... is like you are not forcing to make money”. To participant S8, coming home with nothing means the *Borga* didn't work hard enough. To some people, travelling abroad and coming back home with nothing means the *Borga* was not able to harness God's blessing upon his life. Participant S14 claim that if only the *Borga* does not go “playing” while away, “he will be able to do something at home or send something home while away”.

As will be cited in the section on social status and mobility, the *Borga* who does not make it at all or after this probationary period is cited in a way that is derogatory because his or her migration project has been or is deemed to be unsuccessful. He or she is given a tag and treated as such accordingly.

From the above, it is certain that the demonstrations of the *Borga* image build up social beliefs over time. Depending on the way the exposè on the *Borga* image is construed, the belief regarding migration is either positive or negative. The beliefs built around migration changes the circumstances under which current migration decisions are made. The decision of the prospective migrant in deciding to go abroad or stay home is influenced greatly by what they see from the predecessors who took the path they want to take now. Although the social belief that the *Borga* is rich has existed before this study, the image of the *Borga* as it shows now gives a confirmation of that belief and serves as hard evidence that that belief is true. For example, from Respondent T12's observation of the demonstration of the *Borga*, he is convinced that "...if somebody travel abroad, in the shortest possible time, he will make it more than you(non-migrant)...". This belief and the subsequent confirmation by the image of the contemporary *Borga* plays a critical role in the cost analysis and value expectations of the prospective Ghanaian migrant in his decision to go or to stay.

Demonstration effect, cost-benefit analysis, and value expectation

As stated by De Jong et al. (1983, p.473) under the value expectancy section, the migration decision-making process involves “costs and benefits analysis that involves subjective,

anticipatory weighting of factors”. The decision of the individual to migrate is influenced by what he expects to gain from travelling abroad (De Jong and Fawcett 1981: cited in Dako-Gyeke, 2016, p.727). Although the prospective Ghanaian migrant has been exposed to social beliefs, the image of the *Borga* serves as a tangible reference point for his cost-benefit calculations. This is because the demonstrations of the *Borga* gives impetus to those beliefs he may have been nurtured to accept. Even in the wake of difficulties experienced and narrated by the *Borga* in the destination countries, the image of the *Borga* makes it difficult for the prospective migrant to put that variable into his own cost-benefit analysis equation. For example, Participant S1 speaking in reference to the *Borgas* from Libya opined that, since the end of the war in Libya, they have gone back. According to him, if the place was not a good place, they wouldn't have gone back. Participant S12 added on this view when he said “Fine, they say life is difficult over there but when they come home, they go back there. So for me, I think that if life was difficult as they say, they would not go back there after they have come home”. To Participant S8, “many of *Borgas* come home and go back. If we ask them to come back and stay at home, they won't come. Going to those places, everybody becomes aware that your life is going on well”.

Such views coupled with the social beliefs around migration and the demonstrations of the *Borga* image make the outcome of the prospective migrant's cost-benefit calculation produce positive and favourable results. A positive and favourable result thus translate into positive expectation. A positive expectation translates to a confirmed decision to go rather than stay. This is because the increasing exposure to opportunities from around the world as a result of the demonstrations of the *Borga* image serves as a positive variable that gives a positive result in the cost-benefit calculations in the migration decision making. For example, even though participant S9 has not travelled abroad before, she is highly optimistic that a move abroad will enable her to get money so she can take care of his family. Due to such calculations, results and highly positive expectations resulting from the *Borga* image, migration becomes synonymous with “social and or material success” (de Haas, 2010a, p.1595). With such a perspective, migration can become a normal behaviour for people who want to achieve success (de Haas, 2010a, p.1595).

Resulting from the increased exposure to opportunities abroad due to the demonstrations of the *Borga* image coupled with the resulting positive outcome in the cost-benefit analysis, the

prospective Ghanaian migrant becomes convinced that the value he expects to get out of moving abroad will be positive. Participant S8 intimated that “you may be in Ghana working in the same field with somebody. The other person travels abroad and all of a sudden he has started a project at home while the non-migrant still working in Ghana can't start that project or any project for that matter”. With this in mind, participant T4 believes that with the kind of work he does, he is very sure that the opportunity to travel abroad will be helpful to his life's course. Like participant T4, participant T1 opines that with his desire to obtain a good living for himself, he is optimistic that migrating to one of those countries will be beneficial. In his mind, he feels abroad is better than Ghana. He concluded that living abroad is far better than his home country Ghana. Participant T2 picking signals from especially his uncle expect great economic value from migration. As he puts it, “I am sure my life will be totally changed financially”.

Although the motivations for the intent to migrate are due to economic, educational and structural reasons, the demonstration effect of the *Borga* image gives assurance that strengthens the belief that the value expected out of migrating would be positive and capable of correcting especially the economic “anomalies”. The image of the *Borga* helps the prospective migrant put himself in perspective because the *Borga* image reflects the future of the prospective migrants should he or she be able to make the journey abroad. It serves as a historical antecedent based on which he is able to make sound judgements and decisions. This is also in accordance with Holsti's, (1962, p.244) position that “a decision-maker acts upon his image of the situation rather than upon objective reality”. The *Borga* image thus serves as an “image of the situation” (Holsti's, 1962, p.244) the prospective migrant expects from his journey abroad.

Demonstration effect, wage differentials, and job availability.

Such positive expectations of the prospective migrant are no doubt also as a result of the job availability and the wage differentials that the prospective migrant's attention has been brought to as a result of especially the financial demonstrations of the *Borga* image. This was revealed in participants expressions on why they want to migrate. For example, participant S2 suggested that he wants to migrate because jobs are not readily available in Ghana. Contrary to the situation in Ghana, he believes that there are jobs readily available out there for which he would get employed and solve all his financial problems. Participant S3 who is a welder believes it pays more to be a

welder abroad than in Ghana. Like participants S2 and S3, participant S7 who is a steel bender believes there are no regular jobs available for people who work as steel benders. Even if there are jobs available, he believes the wages for working as a steel bender is insufficient and low as compared to situations elsewhere. Participant S4 is convinced beyond any reasonable doubt that, with the same strength he invests into his work, he can be able to get a lot more financial benefit elsewhere than he is currently gaining in Ghana.

Although the expressions of most of the respondents show that participants are eager to move out of Ghana due to economic conditions, the desires found in the statements above can be linked to the demonstration effect of the image the *Borga*. The *Borga* with his relatively superior and lavish lifestyle portrays a person who is employed and receiving some “living wages”: wages that suggest to the non-migrant that his wage is too little and too small. Additionally, the *Borga* is now seen to have attained significant economic capital although prior to his move abroad worked in the same field as the non-migrants. This confirms the belief of, for example, the welder that he will be better off travelling. The *Borga* and his image serve as a point of reference to the prospective migrant and confirm his beliefs and expectations from the trip abroad.

Like many discourses around migration have suggested, the major factor among the factors pushing participants of this study to desire to migrate are economic reasons. Accordingly, for most respondents, their cost-benefit analyses and the resulting value expectations are economically situated. This confirms Haug’s (2008, p.599) assertion that “economic motives and, by inference, economic grounds explain a large proportion of decisions to migrate and international migration movements”. Irrespective of this, however, the demonstration effect of the *Borga* and the demonstrations of his image present another lens through which the cost-benefit analysis is or can be carried out and the value expected thereof. As respondent S1 puts it, even though he expects to get economic capital due to migration, he will not be perturbed if economic capital does not come his way. To him, “.... even if you go to America, Europe or Asia and return with nothing, your body will look nicer and your health will be better. You can live a long life over there. Even if you live in America with no job, your stress levels will go down tremendously”.

From the above presentation, it is evident that the demonstrations of the image of the *Borga*, and the interpretations made of them have implications for the life of the non-migrant, and his or her desire to tread the path of the *Borga* or continue to stay at home. The demonstration effect of the *Borga* and his image can, however, have both positive and negative consequences on the desire and decision to migrate. As participant S9 puts it, some of the lives have told her something (to migrate), others have told her nothing (to stay). This is because to her some returnees come home with something while others come home empty-handed. The positive signals serve as behaviour enhancing power that inspires the non-migrant to also migrate or gives impetus to the already existing desire to move. According to participant T12, “their lifestyle and everything around them changes so that one serves a motivation to migrate too”. According to participant S10, the most important factor in his decision to migrate too is the fact that most of the people who migrate became wealthy.

The negative feedback signals, on the other hand, demotivates the individual to move or throw cold water on the existing desire to migrate. Participant T5 claimed that because some *Borgas* do not show good character on their return. For that matter, if it were left to the image of some *Borgas* alone, she would withdraw that decision to also migrate. Additionally, participant S6 sees the *Borga* as one who has lost touch with base and local connections as they quickly come home to do projects and leave. Participant S6 further suggest that the *Borga* becomes anti-social in the sense that they become paranoid and think that people who try to go close to them are doing so because they need something from him. According to him, such behaviour does not motivate him to migrate. From the responses of this study’s respondents, however, it is evident that the *Borga*’s image and its accompanying demonstration effect is more likely to create the desire in people to travel and motivate people who already have the desire to move.

5.1.2 Social networking within and without interpersonal connections

The importance of social networking and networks to the sustenance and continuation of migration has been projected by many. Haug (2008, p. 600) examined the role of social networks in migration, indicating that “networks play a major role” in facilitating human mobility. The importance of networks has often been centered around financing travelling cost, provision of links to jobs or housing, and the direct sharing of information between people with “interpersonal

relations” (Haug, 2008, p. 588). Such arguments suggest that the *Borga*’s gained experience and information becomes only available to people in his social network.

One issue that may not have attracted the attention of many is the role of the image of the *Borga* in social networking in the international migration corridors. As already indicated in the pages above, the *Borga*’s image reflects a certain posture. A posture that confirms the popular assertion and belief that it is green on the other side and that the *Borga* is making it and living well. By virtue of the fact that the *Borga* and prospective migrant share ties through kinship, friendship, or shared community of origin, the prospective migrant is open to seeing the *Borga*’s image on display. The more the non-migrant is opened to seeing the *Borga*’s reflection of the green side on his person and life, the more expectations raise and the desire to migrate is firmed. This is because the non-migrant through the *Borga* has an “artistic impression” of life on the green side and the impact of living on the green side on a person’s life.

When respondents were asked about their initial desire to migrate, many of the participants shared opinions that placed their initial desires squarely at the doorsteps of the image of the *Borga* and how it is demonstrated. For some respondents, the only reason for that initial desire was the result of that image of the *Borga* they got exposed to. For this reason, some respondents developed the interest to migrate as early as age 7. For participant T10, she cannot really recollect the age at which she started harbouring the desire to travel abroad. To her, it could be around her seventh age. She opined that at that age, “I thought everybody living abroad is rich and wealthy. Like he had a car, he had things. I knew people living abroad were respected; when they come home, everybody respects them”. Similarly, for participant T2 he started harbouring the desire to migrate in his teens, between the ages of 13 and 15. To this participant, he harboured this desire even when in his estimation, he did not have any reason for which he wanted to travel abroad. Irrespective of this fact, he suggested that it was normal for him to have that intent to migrate because, “every child has the mentality that when the opportunity comes, they will travel abroad without any reason”. To him, the desire to migrate at that young age is “like every child saying they will be medical doctors when they grow up when they did not know the courses to pursue to become a doctor”. These incidents and motivations can be linked to his socialization as a member of the

society and the reinforced social belief systems on migration that put migration in a very positive way.

It must be said at this point that, the image that the *Borga* reflects makes him ubiquitous and very conspicuous. According to Nieswand, (2014, p.412) the *Borga* is easily identified with “conspicuous body-related consumer goods”, nice cars, or big houses which are usually outside the means of local people. This is unlike other jurisdictions where the knowledge of one’s migration project is known to family and close associates. Once people embark on a journey or return home from their sojourns, people in the community become aware. This ubiquity and conspicuousness may partly be due to the nature of the society in which the *Borga* lives. All respondents in this study know at least one *Borga*, not because the *Borga* is a family member but because of the characteristics of the *Borga* and the society. Participant S12 shared light on this when she opined that,

Sometimes when you walk with somebody, he tells you this family’s *Borga* has come home, the *Borga* in your friend’s family is back or maybe if you are friends with somebody from that house, he will tell you my uncle has come home from abroad or my mother has come home from abroad. That also creates an avenue for you to know the *Borgas*.

The ubiquity of the *Borga* increases the magnitude of social networking that builds around the *Borga*. The dynamics of this social network is somehow a deviation from the contention by de Haas (2010a, p.1601) that “social capital, in the form of strong kinship and social bonds, facilitates the migration of group members” and as a result, people outside the group are left out. This exclusion of outsiders may be limited to financing and for example provision of accommodation in destination countries because the ubiquity and conspicuousness of the *Borga* make him a source of information to many whether within or outside the *Borga*’s circle.

The views expressed by respondents in this section show a certain level of interpersonal ties between the *Borga* and other members of the community that sows the seed of interest in migrating. Although the ties and links here may not show links with lowering cost and risk of movement (could be in the long run), they show signs of contributing to increasing the likelihood

of international migration. For example, the presentation of the *Borga* image makes the society and the individual believe and trust the *Borga*'s narrative. This is because the demonstration of the *Borga*'s images confirms what the *Borga* says, irrespective of whether it is the truth or not. Such narratives no doubt have consequences on the desire to migrate and the decision-making processes thereof, as was expressed by one of the informants:

I have a friend who travelled abroad. He came back about a month ago. On his return, he had his own car. He made a point that even that car he brought, was of a lower standard as compared to what he is using over there. To me that the car was very nice. He even made a point by saying that what he is using over there, he has not seen anyone using that kind of car before since he came back. So, I asked him, if he has the desire of coming to stay permanently in Ghana. He said no! because there is no work he feels he can do that can make him earn as much as he does over there and probably even if he wants to come and stay in Ghana then it would be during the period of his pension at which time he feels he would be paid a little pension benefit. That amount of money, that token he will be given when he is even in Ghana, it will be of let me say high quantity. So, looking at all these things it actually raises some kind of desire to be there. (Participant T6)

Additionally, such trust in the *Borga* resulting from the demonstration of the *Borga* image makes the prospective migrant convinced that getting information from the *Borga* is ideal if he has to succeed in his decision to migrate. Respondent S15 suggested that "If I see a returnee, he is the one who will be able to tell me to go left or right.... It makes you able to make a good arrangement even though you have not been there before". For respondent S6, he believes experience is the best teacher and for that reason, the *Borga* can give him directions as to how to go about things. In order not to get stranded therefore, he will contact the *Borga* for advice".

Participants of this study show different levels of preparedness in their desire to migrate. Irrespective of the level of preparedness however, most respondents have either contacted or have plans to contact a *Borga* for advice and direction. This is quite a representation of the belief in the *Borga* and his experience and of course, the signals the *Borga*'s image sends to his or her constituents. As a result of the demonstrations of the *Borga*, he is deemed to have excelled in the foreign land. For this reason, participant S14 have decided to seek information and direction from

a *Borga* because to him, “The *Borga* knows everything.... The *Borga* has lived there for so many years, so he knows about everything”, According to participant S2, because the *Borga* has travelled and has the experience, he needs to get ideas from him so that he doesn’t make mistakes. The participant is highly optimistic that once he has consulted him, he is sure not to face any problems.

The results of this study show that the ubiquity of the *Borga* open doors for people and make this social capital of networks, especially that aspect related to information sharing less scarce for people with no pioneer migrants in their family, households or social circles. For this reason, other persons who may not belong to the *Borga*’s social networks may contact him for advice and direction. This is quite unlike the assertion of Haug (2008, p. 588) that a migration network is a “composite of interpersonal relations in which migrants interact with their family or friends”. Respondent T13 could network with a *Borga* who he didn’t know and was not related to previously before their meeting. He stated that “...my boss is well travelled...., some of his colleagues visit him at the shop when they are in Ghana. Sometimes, they meet his absence and I talk to them about my plans”.

This does not, however, erase de Haas’ contention completely. As can be cited in the responses below, some respondent opined that although they had the interest and were willing to approach a *Borga* for information and direction, they could not do so because they had no pioneer migrant in their family, household or immediate social circles and thus could not approach or share their plans with the ‘external’ *Borga*. According to respondent S3, he has not got one to speak to because he is not very close to the ones that have returned and for that matter, he is unable to approach them for such talks related to migration. Respondent S9 also asserted that none of her family members is a returnee so it would be difficult for her to approach the returned migrants. Respondent S10 showed desperation in his inability to contact the *Borga* when he lamented, “Oh, I wish to, but I don’t know anyone for now”. According to this respondent, he knew many returned migrants but the relationship between them was a problem. He opined that he was not related to those persons that much to go into details with them.

Ultimately, it is evident that the image of the *Borga* facilitates social networking and interaction between the *Borga* and the prospective migrant. The demonstrations of the *Borga* image thus alter the context under which decisions to go abroad or stay at home are made by building the trust of the potential migrant in the *Borga* and making the connection between the *Borga* and the potential migrant available to a larger set of people. As indicative of Haug's (2008, p.588) view, "social networks provide a foundation for the dissemination of information" and in this case to a larger group of people.

The impact of the *Borga* image and the signals it sends is an affirmation of the Haug's (2008, p.588) assertion that "social networks are commonly an important determinant of migration plans". Although social networks are more likely to be inter-personal relations between people who may have had personal contact, the potential migrant becomes linked to the *Borga* and his image not only by virtue of personal relationships but also by just being a member of the community.

5.1.3 Moving up or down the social ladder

As has been explained earlier, social status refers to "the position an individuals or nuclear families occupy in the status structure of a given society" (Hollingshead, 2011, p.21). The status of an individual is commensurate to the value society places on him. Although social values given to individuals at birth without any deliberate attempt on their part may stay with them forever, statuses achieved are not. Values society allocate to individuals by virtue of their abilities and through competition are subject to change. For this reason, people can move up or down the social ladder.

It has already been established that the social values of individuals vary depending on education, occupation, wealth and other social considerations. Irrespective of this study's participants' social value now, they are positive that in the event that their desire to travel abroad comes true, their social values will see positive changes and grant them social mobility chances. This sense of optimism and positive social value expectation comes about because of the signal they get from the *Borga's* image and the way and manner in which society allocates value to and treats its members who make the journey abroad. The demonstrations of the *Borga* image tell the

prospective migrant of what is in store for him socially if he makes the trip abroad. It tells of the self in the future tense. This, therefore, serves as the basis for their expectations. As a characteristic of man, a positive future reflection of the self serves as a push factor and a motivation for him to move. For this reason, all respondents because of the perceived positive outcome of migration for the *Borga*, have positive expectations. These expectations/positive changes are in the form of increased social value and how society will treat them in the aftermath of a successful migration project.

With migration comes the ability and opportunity to be mobile along the social structures of the society. Based on the social beliefs with regards to migration and the perceptions that arise from it, there are social consequences for the *Borga*. Consequences that are either positive or negative. As participant S5 puts it, “it can bring both respect and disgrace”. The social consequence is positive if it brings respect to the *Borga*. It is negative if it brings disgrace to him. Gaining respect out of migration is to accrue more social points and value that afford the *Borga* the opportunity to move up the social structures irrespective of the other indicators discussed under Social status and social mobility in chapter 3. Losing respect or being disgraced is to lose points /social value and moving down the social ladder. This social mobility resulting from partaking in international migration either makes the *Borga* better or lesser placed than the position he occupied before his sojourn or makes him better or lesser placed than in comparison with other people in his generation or others outside his generation.

It is ironical that, although the decision to migrate is an individual project, the society allocates tags to the *Borga* based on whether the migration project is a successful one or not. The success or otherwise of the migration project in the eyes of society is as has been presented above and evaluated based on the *Borga*'s ability to do something at home or bring something home. These indicators have arisen out of the decades of exposure to the demonstrations of *Borga*'s image to the society and the social beliefs concerning migration and the *Borga* that have resulted from it.

Unanimously, irrespective of age, gender and educational attainment level, participants of this study agreed that being a *Borga* comes with enormous social consequences or rewards and value

capable of making the *Borga* socially mobile along the social status structures. This was evident in the various responses participants gave when they were asked if in their experience being a *Borga* enhances one's status and make people mobile along the social structure of the society. According to the respondents, in Ghana, returnees are valued highly and for that matter, people who were not treated well or had little to no value before their migration project are suddenly accorded great respect, highly valued and treated like kings and stars because they travelled out of the country. According to participant T4, "For Ghana, in particular, I will not say people value the *Borga*, I will say we value the *Borga*". This participant did not want to absolve herself from the social action of awarding values to the *Borga* hence her use of "we". Other participants shared their views concerning the social recognition of the *Borga* and its related social value appreciation and mobility. To participant T3, the individual might not be anyone but once he embarks on the journey and returns home, at least his status in the society goes higher than those who have not migrated yet. Participant S5 further intimated that just for the mere fact that one has travelled by aeroplane in itself causes the social value of that person to raise and gain respect. According to respondent S11, "on his (*Borga*) return, they will probably carry him shoulder high if it is possible to do so. When one returns home from abroad, he becomes a great person".

When you come to our setting, the Ghanaian setting the *Borga* is respected 'rough'¹³. The *Borga* is highly respected in our setting especially in our part of the country because even in the family when decisions are taken, even though the *Borga* may not be in Ghana, he will be contacted for his views for the mere fact that he is a *Borga*. It does not really matter which part of the world he is. What is necessary is that he is a *Borga*...If you travel abroad and come down, even if you don't bring anything, for the mere fact that you come from abroad, you are also respected because you came from abroad. You are a *Borga* (Respondent T5).

In Respondent S13's assessment of the *Borga*'s treatment pre and post-migration, he intimated that "if someone gets the chance to travel and returns, the kind of respect he enjoys is higher than the one who has not travelled. If someone returns from abroad, how he is treated and spoken to is different from how the person who has not travelled is treated and spoken to".

¹³ Means highly or extremely

Other participants also explained that an aspect of the social recognition that the *Borga* enjoys is people trying to associate themselves with him. This I term ‘Associative Property’. According to participant T5, in times past, “when the *Borga* comes to town people will want to walk with him, even hold the water he drinks because they feel proud to be walking with a *Borga*”. Participant T12 added on to this when she opined that when the *Borga* comes back home, he gets a lot of loved ones. Everybody wants to walk with him and or have a chat with him about life abroad.

Once you travel even if you have not returned, if you call people on phone to talk to them and you extend your greetings to people who never respected you when you were here or people who were not close to you, they become happy that you travelled and have extended greetings to them. Or how your colleagues follow you when you return, it raises morale. People are able to tell others this person is my friend, he returned home from abroad and I am walking with him or last week I was walking around with this person, he returned home from abroad. It is very good. It is very good for the returnees” (Participant T13).

The rise in the social value of the *Borga* for the mere fact of travelling abroad can be cited in the light of the fact that, in the earlier chapters of Ghana’s migration history especially during the colonial times, the opportunity to travel abroad was a reserve of some few students. For these earlier migrants, the opportunity to travel abroad was a recognition for their special talents. The *Borgas* of those years, the Been-Tos were few and far between. They thus formed a special class. The special recognition they enjoyed as Been-Tos has transcended to the modern *Borga*. In modern times, such blatant recognition of the *Borga* for just the reason that he has travelled abroad confirms the words of Ebo Whyte, a renowned Ghanaian playwright. According to him, success in Ghana is easily marked by how much Europeanism one can sample into a work. In the spheres of migration and the *Borga*, migration is synonymous to sampling Europeanism or Americanism into one’s life. This is a reflection of the colonial relationship that existed between the rulers and the ruled. This is such that, by sampling Europeanism into an item to make it a success, the Whiteman still exercises control over people in the colony. Being a *Borga*, therefore, becomes a form of validation by the ‘master’.

Whereas a section of the respondents was of the view that all migration projects bring value to the *Borga* and thus attract the great social value that makes the *Borga* mobile along the social structures

of society, some respondents argue otherwise. To these respondents, the returnee will only be valued and treated well only on the condition that he comes home with something or is able to do something at home while he was away or on his return. For example, participant T5 opined that the *Borga* is not seen when he is 'idle'. He is seen when he sends something home. To this participant, once the *Borga* is idle, nobody cares about him. Respondent T11 supports this claim when she suggested that the change in the social value of the *Borga* only comes when he has been able to do something from which the society and or family and friends will benefit. These responses from respondents go to confirm the views and observations by returned migrants who confirm to Nieswand (2014) of the appreciation in their social value and thus have gained a higher place in the social order of their society. This appreciation in value as was stated by Nieswand was due to the *Borga's* ability to convert his economic capital into symbolic capital and as stated by the respondents of this study, the ability of the *Borga* to do something at home or to bring something home. These views by returnees in Nieswand's study and respondents of this study who are potential migrants and community members brings us to a point of confirmation that, engaging in successful migration project appreciates one's value in his society (Ghana) irrespective of the traditional indicators required of a person to ascend in the social structures of the society or appreciate his or her value. Irrespective of the importance of the economic capital in this equation, however, the potential migrant is not perturbed because his cost-benefit analysis is influenced by social beliefs. Social beliefs concerning migration and the constant exposure to the demonstration of the *Borga* gives him a hope for positive expectations: expectations that says he will be rich within a short time once he is able to make it abroad.

When participants of the study were asked about their social value post-migration, all the participants but three of the twenty-eight respondents were emphatic about a positive change in their current social value. Participant S6 did not expect any change in his present value. To him change only come when there is a change in one or more variables. He opined that he was already doing the things that are expected of him even as a photo editor and a non-migrant. Since the performance of his duties won't change, he expects no changes in his social standing. For participant T11, the change in value will only come when she has been able to do something from which her family will benefit. This line of thought is in consonance with participants' expression of how society allocates values. Participant S5 thinking in line with participant T11 suggested that

he will be proud to at least help somebody at home. He expects that that act will bring respect and enhance his social status at home.

Irrespective of the fact that some participants were emphatic about doing something at home or bringing something home as a vital requirement for a higher social value, the majority of the study's respondents were very categorical about a positive change in their social value. This posture does not consider the fact that the migration experience also brings devaluation to the already held social value if the *Borga* does not bring something home or does nothing at home. This can be attributed to the demonstration of the *Borga*'s image and impartation from the social beliefs around migration. It can, therefore, be argued that the prospective migrant in line with the social beliefs expects to get rich automatically or soon by virtue of his move abroad. Getting rich means he would be able to do something at home or bring something home.

For participant S2, he is convinced beyond any doubt that "when you travel abroad, you go to a high place and so no matter what, the respect will come". For this reason, he strongly believes that the chance to travel abroad will move his social value up high and the subsequent respect he will enjoy will be much greater than what he has now. Participant S7 expect to overtake some of the people who have a relatively higher social value than he has if he is able to make it abroad. To him, even before he returns, things will change in his life. Speaking of himself and placing the self in the future, he said "my friends will like and respect me more than those people they liked when I was here (Ghana). While I am still here, they respect some people more than me. Once I travel, they will first show me respect". This view shared by participant S7 was echoed in the sentiments of participant S11. For participant S11, he expects to close the gap that has been created by virtue of the fact that he has been left behind by his colleagues who have attained a higher educational standard. He expects that even though those with higher education are enjoying much respect from the society due to their higher social value and look down upon people like him, he would overtake them because "I have been there while they don't know the place".

For some participants being a *Borga* is tantamount to being lifted up. It is based on this that participant S9 expect to be lifted up if she is able to make the trip abroad. To her, "If you take a look at where I was before but God has lifted me up to this stage, you will marvel and only show me respect". By virtue of been lifted up, participant S9 expect to become a prominent person in her

family. Subsequently, she looks forward to being respected by especially those who did not respect her before and those who respected her before her trip abroad. Participant S14 shared the views of Participant S9. For her, she expects a very big increase in the current social value and respect she enjoys now after a successful move abroad. She shared the opinion that currently, many people disregard her when they meet her by not talking to her. In the future when she has returned from abroad and become a *Borga*, she believes she will be treated like a king. Accordingly, “if in the beginning, people do not shake hands with me, they would like to do so this time around or give me a hug”. Like participant S9 and 14, participant S10 is highly optimistic that the social value he has pre-migration is going to be much better post-migration because “from there not only those who are on the same level as you or below your level will respect you but even the older ones will show respect to you when they see that you have gone out and come home”.

The above expectations show the expectations of participants who because of lower educational attainment levels claim to have lower social value and thus accorded little or no respect. Their positive expectations of changes in their social values reflect the findings of Nieswand’s (2014) study (mentioned above). Nieswand in his study posited that the returned migrants’ ability to convert their economic capital into social capital increases the *Borga*’s social value in the society. These responses by the respondents who although have not travelled yet suggest that they expect to among other things acquire significant economic capital through which they can elevate their social value. These expectations do not, however, begin and or end with just the acquisition of economic capital. As some participants expressed in earlier sections, just the fact that one is a *Borga* irrespective of his economic standing elevates one’s social standing.

In addition to the positive expectations from participants who claim to enjoy lower social value by virtue of their lower levels of educational attainment and the value allocation criteria of the Ghanaian society, participants with a relatively higher social value also expect to see changes in their social standing if they are able to travel abroad. For most of the participants with a higher educational attainment level and a higher social value, they expect to see a massive increment in their premigration social value, and the respect society shows to them. For some this social elevation will come naturally by virtue of travelling abroad. For others, this expectation arises from the fact that they expect to attain a great deal of economic capital from which they will acquire social capital and subsequently, a higher social value. Participant T6 puts it aptly when he explained that all his

friends who are medical doctors and lawyers who look down on him now will cease to do so because “they are not going to tell me how much is your money and that kind of things”. This is because, in his cost-benefit analysis and estimation resulting from the signals he has picked from the *Borga* and the demonstrations of the image the *Borga*, he will get economic capital automatically if he makes it to the greener side. According to participant T5, even though he has a higher social value and respected now, “the respect will be massive especially once I am able to bring something home”.

In view of the above, some respondents of this study indicated that the decision to go abroad rather than stay at home in Ghana has been influenced by their desire to ascend in the social structures of the society just like the *Borga* they have been exposed to. Social mobility is thus an important factor in their decision to want to migrate. This motivation is however not to dispel the importance of the economic considerations and quest for foreign education as push factors. Participants were just mindful of the social implications and consequences of their plan to travel abroad: ability to ascend in the social structures of the society and be better placed than their colleagues or even parents. According to participant T12, at the time he first thought and dreamt of migrating he was 15 years old and “was very young”. To him, at that “tender age” it became his aspiration to migrate because everybody was travelling abroad and on their return, they gained a lot of respect and social value that placed them on a relatively higher position on the social structure. For this reason, he wanted to go abroad so he could get that kind of respect in the society in which he lived. For participant T5 who is a first-degree holder and a teacher, he hopes to travel abroad for his master’s degree and possibly get a PhD as well. At the back of his mind, however, is the fact that getting a foreign education will also make him a *Borga* and grant him access to the social rewards that the Ghanaian society gives to its members who travel abroad. For this reason, even though he believes he can continue his education in Ghana, he has not tried to do it there. As he puts it, “I don’t have any plans of doing it here because my father did it here.... I want to go beyond my father.... I will have the other benefit; the other benefit will be me being a *Borga*”. Participant T6 like participant T5 is a first-degree holder and a teacher who hopes to travel abroad for his master’s degree. Even though to him the days when he desired to settle permanently abroad are no more, he wants to travel abroad so he can get the respect and prestige (social value) associated with being a *Borga*. To him, “that (respect and prestige) is what I wish to have so if I have some few years over there and come back, I will be ok”. He further suggested that when you travel abroad, “people even believe you have money even if you don't have, that is some kind of motivation” to desire to travel abroad. Although

for most participants, the desire to travel out is mostly a combination of the economic and other factors, participant T9 suggested that, “if I am on the same level with someone economically, once I travel people will respect me more than that person”. For this reason, he will travel out even if he is economically ok. The desire to travel therefore reflects the desire of the prospective migrants to be valued over and above his current status and to catch up with those over and above his present status.

As have been discussed in the previous pages, the individual with a lower educational standard has a relatively lower social value and standing. Per their educational standards, these participants have relatively little or no chance to attain credentials to upgrade their current levels. But from what they have been exposed to over time, their ability to obtain economic capital from which they can obtain significant social capital will appreciate their social levels. This is coupled with the fact that society from which they have lived their lives believe travelling abroad is an automatic way of making wealth and increasing their social value. This belief confirmed by the image, signals from the demonstrations of the *Borga* and the social consequences of being a *Borga* make them believe moving abroad is the only option. The situation is however not dire for the participants of this study with a higher educational attainment level and a job. To the one with higher education, the situation is not bad as he has a relatively higher social standing and some amount of economic capital and occupation.

The magnitude of the value society allocates to a *Borga* can also be associated with the destination country of the returnee. According to some respondents, the destination country of the returnee was so significant that in some time past women went to church to pray for husbands (*Borgas*) from specific countries. In the minds of some, however, the destination country is insignificant, and the value of the returnee was solely based on his ability to bring something home or do something at home. Participant T6 claimed that in his locality returnees from Italy and Libya were not respected as much as people who live or come back home from somewhere in Canada, or the United States of America. Adding on to this claim, participant T8 suggested that to the best of his knowledge, returnees from the UK, Canada, and Germany and then the US are more valued or are worth more than returnees from any other country that society thinks of. To respondent T10, these days one can hear of Libya *Borgas* or Kuwaiti *Borgas*, but they are not real *Borgas*. To her, there are some *Borgas* who people don't really value. She opined that “when people get to know you travelled to

Kuwait, it carries no value, not like those who have travelled to America”. As pointed out by respondent T6, the higher value allocated to *Borgas* from certain countries all points to the fact that it is believed that at least the economic standard in those countries are a little bit high so when you get there at least you can be rich within a short time. For this reason, people over there are cherished and valued much more than people in other places.

This kind of belief can also be traced back to the understanding the society has got from years of exposure to the demonstrations of the images of *Borgas* from different countries of destination. As can be seen later, such social valuation and allocation of status to the *Borga* based on where he has sojourned to also play important role in the decision relating to where the prospective migrant wishes to migrate to.

5.1.4 Highlighting relative deprivation

In this study, relative deprivation is any deprivation that arises in comparison with the *Borga*'s life or behaviour. According to Massey et al. (1993, p.451), “causation is cumulative” because each *Borga* the society is exposed to makes the context under which future migration decisions will be made different from the context under which past *Borgas* took their decision. This is because with each *Borga* displaying wealth and properties beyond the reach of the local people, the sense of relative deprivation of the non-migrant is increased and made obvious. The image of the *Borga* and the signals it sends magnifies the income disparities and relative deprivation between the haves and the have-nots. As de Haas (2010a, p. 1594) puts it, the effect of relative deprivation will make the desire or need to migrate prevalent.

The responses of the study's participants show that a clear majority interpret the demonstrations of the image of the *Borga* in the economic and financial terms. The direction of these views may be as a result of the general economic standing and situation of the people. The signals people receive while highlighting the economic prowess of the *Borga* also exposes the income inequality and the relative deprivation of people who are exposed to such demonstrations. Massey et al. (1993, p.439) state that an individual's “sense of relative deprivation depends on the incomes of which it is deprived in the reference-group income distribution”. If the income of the *Borga* is deemed to have increased while the income of non-migrants remains unchanged or reduced, then the relative deprivation of the non-migrant increases. The inability of non-migrants to live the life they so wish

to lead and perform duties they would love to execute make the *Borga* stand out when he performs such duties.

Although the assertion by de Haas (2010a, p.1595) that change in taste may eventually lead to the “perceived necessity to migrate” is true and may be applicable to the study’s respondents, the way and manner in which the participants of this study are motivated by the *Borga*’s image and its accompanying feedback signals are quite different. While through the *Borga*’s behaviour and demonstrations, the non-migrant is or feels relatively deprived, the feedback signals instigate and revive the can-do spirit of the non-migrant. It is worthy to note that although people may not be poor, relative deprivation using the *Borga* as the standard of measurement put pressure on them to desire to migrate. For example, participant T9 posits that after teaching in Ghana for some time now, he has not been able to make much progress on the plot of land he is developing but within 4 years, the one who went oversea has been able to build his own mansion. He is motivated by the fact that if he gets the chance to travel abroad, he may be able to do more. To participant T3, the exploits of the *Borga* sometimes make him feel that, if he also migrates, he may be able to do the kind of things the returned migrants are doing. For participant S3, if he were to be in Europe, he would have acquired some properties for himself or done some things. Like participants S3, T9 and T3, participant T1 suggested that when friends and colleagues return to build houses, non-migrants feel they can be able to put up a house if they go too. That feeling pushes them to say, “let me also travel too”.

The demonstrations of the *Borga* that the non-migrant is privy to and his level of relative deprivation also create a sense of awareness of the individual, his traits and potentials. For example, participant T8 upon a careful examination of the *Borga* saw that there are ones whose level of education do not march up to his level. In spite of that, they are thriving abroad and doing exploits at home. He believes that with his current level of education coupled with his desire for further education, his life may even be better than those *Borgas* below his academic standard. He is therefore influenced in his decision to travel abroad.

From this study’s respondents, the relative deprivation that occurs out of the *Borga*’s image is not only related to the *Borga*’s economic and financial advantage but also his physical and behavioural outlook. The physical appearance: the dressing of the *Borga* and the “smoothness” of his skin also

highlights the perceived shortfalls in the appearance of the non-migrant. As was stated in the opening comment of this thesis, smoothness of the *Borga's* skin is akin to a relatively “better skin”. Better skin that has come about due to the *Borga's* perceived non-involvement in laborious activities such as the crude way of farming in Ghana or engaging in artisanal jobs under the scorching sun. The smoothness of the skin is also cited in the absence of spots resulting from insect bites from mosquitoes, for example. It is also a common knowledge among Ghanaians that living in the relatively colder weather in Europe or America makes the dark skin lighter. Therefore, in a setting where many people see the lighter skin as more beautiful than the dark skin, the *Borga* whose skin colour has become lighter than his previous skin colour and probably lighter than the skin of the non-migrant is deemed to have gotten a comparatively smooth and better skin. This shortfall may cause people to desire to migrate in order to attain the level attained by the *Borga*. Participant S6 explains that although travelling to Saudi Arabia and the other Gulf countries are not safe still the ladies are struggling to go there because when “she returns, she is different from those at home. Maybe she will look nicer than she was before. People will say she has become pretty because of her journey and so people struggle to go there”. Participant S11 further suggested that “when you see the *Borga* in such a situation, where they have really become nice and beautiful, you become happy and long to travel too”.

Relative deprivation also arises from the social value society allocates to the *Borga*. The values allocated to the *Borga* is such that it propels him over and above people he is not supposed to if the conventional methods of allocating values based on education and occupation are used. In line with the widely acclaimed methods of allocation social values and placing people in the social stratification chart, i.e. education, occupation, and wealth coming as a result of the education and occupation, it is expected that participants with higher education will be content with their social value. This is however not the case. Some participants with higher educational levels choose to compare themselves with the *Borga*. Comparison with the *Borga* makes such people relatively deprived. Such relative deprivation comes economically and socially. To participant T12 for example, his master's education and the wages he receives do not correspond. For that reason, society does not regard him much because they think that the one who travelled abroad is far better than him. The higher valuation of the *Borga* above the master's degree holders may be attributed to the assertion that the society places a lot of premium on wealth. For this reason, participant T12

further suggested that if somebody has the option to either go to school or travel abroad, he will be advised to travel abroad.

5.2 Following the *Borga*'s lead

In deciding to go abroad or stay at home, the choice of place to go plays an important part in the decision-making process. Many reasons account for the choice of a destination location for the prospective migrant. Participants expressed various reasons for which they choose or have chosen different countries as their intended destination countries. The basis of many of the choices made by the respondents of this study is linked with the overall reasons for which they have chosen to migrate. For example, participants whose main reason for migrating is for educational purposes have settled for destination countries like Finland where they believe will help them fulfil their dreams with little or no difficulty. Likewise, participants who are motivated by economic factors have settled for countries they believe have available jobs for them. For others, a combination of different factors led to their selection. The significance of social networks in selecting destination locations can, however, not be overemphasized (Haug, 2008, p 588). Accordingly, some respondents have chosen countries based on their social networks.

The above notwithstanding, participants opinions suggested that, although for many, there is no direct social networking relationship between them and the *Borga*, the “interpersonal” relationship and network that exist between the *Borga* and the prospective migrant by virtue of a common community of origin, may help to determine the desired or planned destination of prospective migrants. This is because the outlook and demonstrations of the *Borgas* from different destination countries also send signals and messages. As a result of such demonstrations, the *Borga*'s image serves as a window to the outside and the impact of the outside on the life of the *Borga*. Although other factors may determine the value of a place to be selected as a proposed destination country, the image of the *Borga* plays a critical role in this aspect. There is, therefore, a high probability that, all things being equal, the prospective migrant will plan to go to the country(ries) whose returnees are “making it more”. As Participant S9 explained, “when some *Borgas* return they don't march up to where they are supposed to be. They are below the level society expect them to be”. For this reason, she would not be moved to plan to go to where they went to. In his valuation of two returnees from the US and Italy, for example, participant T9 posited that the returnee from America is worth more because “on his return, the things he does, people think it is higher than for

example a returnee from Italy”. This position by participant T9 shows that the people are more enthused and moved by what they see the *Borga* do. This emphasis does not show any interest in the quality of life lived by the *Borga* in his country of destination.

...at that time, I had heard of London and America (USA)...one of the returnees came back from London with a Whiteman. His demeanour and behaviour were nice and he had money too. Looking at him, I was happy and therefore concluded that I will also go to London. Participant S9.

As was discussed under the section “Social status and mobility”, the Ghanaian society have allocated tags and grades to returnees from various countries. For example, the returnee from the USA is more valued than the one from Libya, all things being equal. For this reason, the prospective migrant also decides in his plans to move to the more valued area. Participant T8 suggests that he would like to move to countries like UK, Canada, and Germany and then the US because people who return from those countries, value more and are worth more than returnees from any other country that they think of. These choices do not, however, come to pass always as access to the various countries are different. Participant S5 states this well as he posits that “if I want to travel directly to America now, it is expensive. Although it is expensive to travel to Libya, it is not as expensive as travelling to America”. According to participant T9, “it is everybody’s dream to go to the higher place” but sometimes it does not happen like that because it may be easier to go to Italy for example than to go to the US. He further suggested that “If it happens like that, you have no option than to go to the place where it is easier to go to”. In the view of participant T12, he wanted to go to America “because in our society, even when people go to church, they pray for American *Borgas* (as husbands). It was out of place to mention for example Spain”. Irrespective of this, however, where ever the chance comes from and it is outside Africa, he would go.

For me, as I sit here if you take me to Libya, I won’t go. If you take me to Italy, I won't go. Togo, I won't go but the United States, it is believed that at least the economic standard over there is ok and when you get there you can actually become rich. ...And at least when people see that you are from Canada, you are from the United States, at least you are hyped a little. Participant T6

Another aspect of location selection linked to the *Borga* and society is the fact of the *Borga*'s ubiquity. The commonness of the *Borga* as a result of his image and social value also makes his country of residence known to members of the society. This knowledge of the *Borga*'s country of destination makes the country popular to the community members. The popularity of the returnees' country of destination makes it a choice to be considered by the prospective migrant. According to participant T3, when he first thought of migrating, he chose the UK as his preferred country of destination. This was because it was very common to most of the people at that time because more *Borgas* had come from there. According to him, countries such as Australia and America were 'far' as very few people were going there and as such the *Borgas* from those places were few and far between. Participant T9 added to this view when he stated that at the time when he first wanted to travel outside Ghana, "mostly the *Borgas* were from Germany, Holland, and others and because I was young, I thought all *Borgas* were from Germany and Holland". For this reason, he wanted to go to those two countries too.

Although many participants had in mind the countries they wanted to move to, some participants did not have any particular place in particular. To them anywhere will do so far as that place also qualifies to be called abroad. For example, participant S4 suggested that "for now I don't really have any place in mind. Wherever my strength can take me, I will go. Yea. Anywhere safe where I will find life comfortable is okay for me". Participant S10 was undecided and will go anywhere. To participant S11, at the time of the conception of his initial desire, he wanted to go anywhere since she didn't know the place (abroad). Even at the time of data collection, she was undecided of her intended place of destination. As she puts it, she will go "anywhere that is called abroad. I don't know how the place is. So, I can't tell which one is ok. Where ever I get, I will go". For participant S13, since it was his desire to go get money, he just did not want to live in Ghana but travel abroad with no destination in mind. These positions suggest a reflection of the social belief that once somebody travels, he will automatically make money irrespective of where they go or going abroad is the option if one wants to make it in life. It also reflects the impact of the demonstrations of the *Borga* image on the life and decisions of the non-migrant. For example, the use of "comfortable" by participant S4 above implies that she is convinced the *Borga* lives a comfortable life abroad. For this reason, a movement "abroad" irrespective of where will make life comfortable for her.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

This research work sought to find the impact and role of the *Borga* image on the decision-making process of the potential migrant in Ghana. Accordingly, this thesis has explored the demonstrations of the *Borga* image and its impact on the decision of 28 prospective migrants from Ghana.

There are many reasons for which people desire to move from one country to another. For many, the desire to migrate is because of a mixture of reasons. Irrespective of the fact that people want to migrate in search of a “better life abroad” (Dako-Gyeke, 2016, p.729) and because of the seemingly not so good conditions at home, I argue that the image of the *Borga* that people are exposed to over time, the signals it sends and the social beliefs that have been formed around it play very critical roles in the decision making process of the Ghanaian migrants. These factors combine to serve as aiding and abetting agents that influence the decision-making process.

The image that is formed as a result of the *Borga*'s journey abroad transmits signals from which society and individuals make interpretations. The interpretations that arise cause conclusions to be drawn on the *Borga*'s life abroad and his progress in life. The image of the *Borga* gives society and the potential migrant a reflection of life abroad and serves as a window to the outside. Because of the reflections that have resulted from the interpretations of the *Borga*'s image that have been played back to society over time, the society has developed a belief system around them. As a result of these social beliefs coupled with the constant exposure to more *Borgas*, social expectation of the *Borga* is developed and firmed up such that for anyone who travels, society has a standard expectation. Such expectations include sending something home or doing something at home.

Although prospective migrants through many mediums may somehow or someway be aware that the ‘grass is greener’ at the other side, the image of the *Borga* sends home signals that confirm this assertion and thus makes the non-emigrant convinced that life is better at the other side. Even for people who are sceptical or are not aware of the greenness of the other side, the constant exposure

to the image that the *Borga* portrays and the signals that it sends makes the sceptics and the ignorant appreciate the 'reality'. Additionally, while social beliefs around migration and living abroad have been formed long before now, the image of the current *Borga* and the signals his image is sending home reinforces these beliefs and make younger and even older generations believe them.

As stated earlier, Nieswand (2014) and Yendaw (2014) have suggested in their studies on the *Borga* that by travelling abroad, the *Borga* is able to attain a relatively higher social status through the conversion of his accrued economic capital to social capital. Opinions of this study's respondents confirmed this assertion. According to the respondents, another way in which the *Borga* is represented is in view of his improved social value. This high social value of the *Borga* gives the prospective migrant hope that he will be able to replicate the *Borga*'s feat in this direction. For this reason, he is motivated to imitate the *Borga*'s action of migrating.

The image of the *Borga* and the reinforced social beliefs with regards to migration communicates to the prospective migrants the differences in wages between the home country and the destination country. Consequently, the cost-benefit analysis of the prospective migrant produces positive results and positive value expectations: positive value in the form of economic capital which is convertible to social capital through which the prospective migrant is guaranteed social mobility along the social structures of the society. Economic and social capital accruing to the *Borga* makes the relative deprivation of other members of the society big and obvious, both in terms of the *Borga*'s ability to acquire things and live lives out of the reach of other members of the community and ability to ascend the social structures of society.

An important aspect of migration perpetuation is the role of social networking. Although social networks may be limited to people with certain interpersonal links, the image of the *Borga* makes him almost conspicuous and known to almost everybody in the society. For this reason, other people outside the close links of the *Borga* are handed the opportunity of getting information from the *Borga*.

In view of the outcome of this thesis, I argue that the demonstration effect of the image of the *Borga* is a powerful stimulus for future migration in the Ghanaian context. All things being equal, the more the *Borga* image reflect positive outcomes of migration, the more non-migrants will be enticed to migrate too. The outcome of this study makes the cumulative causation theory a very relevant theory through which migration decision-making can be discussed. The theory suggests that people can be persuaded to initiate their own migration projects as they get exposed to people who have been engaged in migration or benefitted from it (Fussell, 2010, p.162). The outcome of this study has shown that although the Ghanaian prospective migrant intends to migrate for economic and educational reasons, his experience of migration through his exposure to the *Borga* image serves as an additional impetus to his initial desires to out-migrate. This is because for any additional *Borga* he is exposed to, he is equipped with more evidence that suggests to him that indeed migrating is the option to take.

To conclude, I would like to relate this study to issues within the migration-development discourse. There have been various arguments related to the impact of development on migration. It has been suggested across many platforms that to curb the numbers involved in especially irregular migration, policies should aim at eliminating the “root causes of migration” (de Haas, 2007, p.820) through economic development. It is envisaged that economic development in migrants’ origin countries will cause incomes to rise and stem the tide of emigration (Clemens, 2014, p.1). Contrary to such expectations, however, evidence has shown that economic and human development leads to an upsurge in human mobility (de Haas, 2007, p.819).

The outcome of this study presents some reasons why such developments in the sending countries may not stem the tide of migration flows, at least in the short to middle term. If the image of the *Borga* continue to reflect better outcomes from migration compared to staying at home even when income levels may have risen, people will still be motivated to migrate rather than stay. Under this condition of improved income levels in the sending country, the people who hitherto did not have the means to migrate may under the new era of economic and human development possess the financial strength to either migrate legally or pay to be smuggled to countries abroad. Until the time when the *Borga* image reflects conditions that are the same or similar to conditions at home, economic and human development might not cause a (significant) reduction in migration.

Development will reduce migration only in the long term when the cost-benefit analysis of the prospective migrant produces no significant positive outcomes.

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APPENDICES:

APPENDIX 1.

TABLE 1: Background data of the participants of the study

Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Educational Attainment Level	Employment Status
Participant S 1	Male	24	Secondary Education	Mobile Money Agent/Operator
Participant S 2	Male	27	Secondary Education	Plumber
Participant S 3	Male	27	Secondary Education	Apprentice/Welder
Participant S 4	Female	33	Basic Education	Trader
Participant S 5	Male	24	Secondary Education	Mason
Participant S 6	Male	28	Secondary Education	Photo Editor
Participant S 7	Male	27	No Education	Apprentice/Steel Bender
Participant S 8	Male	21	Basic Education	Apprentice/Tiller
Participant S 9	Female	24	Secondary Education	Baker
Participant S 10	Male	20	Secondary Education	Barber
Participant S 11	Female	25	Secondary Education	Trader
Participant S 12	Female	21	Secondary Education	Factory Hand
Participant S 13	Male	20	Basic Education	Mason
Participant S 14	Male	20	Secondary Education	Mason
Participant S 15	Male	22	Basic Education	Tiller
Participant T 1	Male	27	Tertiary/Degree	Bartender National Service ¹⁴
Participant T 2	Male	25	Tertiary/Diploma	Personnel/Health Information Officer
Participant T 3	Male	32	Tertiary/Degree	Teacher
Participant T 4	Female	23	Tertiary/Diploma	Teacher
Participant T 5	Male	30	Tertiary/Degree	Teacher

¹⁴ National Service is a compulsory one-year service rendered to the state after tertiary education.

Participant T 6	Male	29	Tertiary/Degree	Teacher
Participant T 7	Male	33	Tertiary/Degree	Teacher
Participant T 8	Male	34	Tertiary/Degree	Teacher
Participant T 9	Male	43	Tertiary/Degree	Teacher
Participant T 10	Female	19	Tertiary/On-going	Student/Teacher Trainee
Participant T 11	Female	22	Tertiary/On-going	Student/Nurse Trainee
Participant T 12	Male	38	Tertiary/Masters	Techer
Participant T 13	Male	25	Tertiary/On-going	Shopkeeper/Student

APPENDIX 2

Figure 1: Thematic analyses sheet

THEMATIC ANALYSIS.				
CODES	INITIAL THEMES	ORGANIZING THEMES	GLOBAL THEMES	
No Sense of direction Sense of happiness Ignorance Blind love Raw desire Fantasy-money country	Weak desire	Degree of desire	Locating the self in the migration decision making process	
Desperation to move Burning desire Do or die affair Made-up minds Determined to move	Determined to move			
Childhood dreams Childhood goals Nurture	Socialization	Echoes from the past		
Migration compared to profession		Current desires		
Solve financial problems Improvement in life Quest for more money Frustrated dreams Search for greener pastures	Micro level economic consideration			
Meeting family needs Family interest	Meso level economic considerations			
Wage differentials Exchange rate Job market comparisons Job Opportunities Hard living standard-money	Macro level economic considerations			
Better systems Systemic discrimination/Protocol Useful environment Stress free environment Social welfare	Institutional push and pull considerations			
Social pressures Excessive freedom Social behavior/norm Social network/Borga Promise	Social push factors			
Educational advancement Better education system Poor education system Tedious educational system	Educational advancement consideration			
Economic Induced	Economic induced		Destination location choices	Destination location choices
Educational choices induced	Education induced			
Social system-value allocation Window to the outside Impact of the outside Frequency of appearance Antecedent/Location choice	Social network-Location choice			
Home is hard: Away is better (Automatic) Economic breakthrough Borga rippling effect Borga is rich Borga is extra ordinary Probationary/grace period		Social Beliefs and Expectations	Social Belief Systems	
Undetermined life Selfishness Wasteful Living		Social Perceptions (Unsuccessful Project)		

THEMATIC ANALYSIS.			
CODES	INITIAL THEMES	ORGANIZING THEMES	GLOBAL THEMES
Financial advancement Doing something(infrastructure/business) at home Solution providers Coming home with something Evidence of things brought Life's accessories Extension to family/Remittance Ability to give Borga characteristics-Project timelines Quick movement (project timelines) Increased material things Borgas have investments Borgas open work opportunities Financial muscle Financial ability Ability to support Abnormal progression	Economic advancement/image/representation		Demonstration effect
Changed in social value Feedback signals-gaining respect Comparative disadvantage-Borga better Borga treatment	Social consequence/image/representation		
nice and pretty The Borga is different-dressing Bodily characteristics Borga lifestyle Changed lifestyle High swag Borga's physical appearance Being different person Borga demeanor Demeanor/Borga Characteristics		Feedback signals	
Decent lifestyles Changed lifestyle (Behaviour enhancing) Seed of pride Positive behaviour	Behavioral representation		
Going back to base Inspire happiness Life is good Advancement in life Good/Comfortable life Success manifestation Personal Assumption-Ease of life Taking lead in life Signs of progress-starting a project Enormous height Upper hand Moving further Going to higher places Living well Moving to Different level	Psychological representation		
View of the outside Trust in the unknown Better outside Life abroad better Pretty to be a returnee Hope in the unknown Social perception-abroad is the option Borga narratives/Trust		Interpretation	
Special treat Self-awareness Economic outlook Self-actualization Physical projections Behavioral projections	Positive Feedback Signals (Behaviour facilitating)	Implications for Migration	
Anti-Social Traits Losing Touch with Base Behavioral Outlook	Negative Feedback Signals (Behaviour constraining)		

THEMATIC ANALYSIS.

CODES	INITIAL THEMES	ORGANIZING THEMES	GLOBAL THEMES
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Job availability Wage differential Desire for Good life Economic emancipation Automatic wealth creation Channel of prosperity Hope material things Doing more or same as the Borga Ability to help Hope to work more Lightening family burden Bringing something home Doing something at home Character change Better health Nicer bodily characteristics Hope for Borga treatment Hope of Kingship treat Fortifying status Positive public response Bringing into prominence enhanced status Becoming a star Family star Borga identity Catching up Intergenerational mobility No change Same respect	Economic values Behavioral values Health expectations Physical expectation Social values	Personal expectations from the migration project	Cost-Benefit Analysis
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Wage differentials Doing something(infrastructure/business) at home Coming home with something Life's accessories Extension to family/Remittance Quick movement_project timelines Financial ability Ability to support Comparative economic advantage Abnormal progression Changed in social value Gaining respect Borga better Borga treatment Difference in physical appearance nice and pretty Borga lifestyle Swagger Borga's physical appearance Difference in physical appearance Borga appearance Demeanor/Borga Characteristics Can do spirit Self-awareness	Economic Advantage Social advantage Physical/Bodily advantage	Comparative advantage/disadvantage Personal realization	Relative deprivation
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Ubiquity of the Borga Borga narratives and trust issues conspicuousness Connections and Networks Within reach Prior links Barriers	Network facilitating Network barriers	Social Network
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THEMATIC ANALYSIS.

CODES	INITIAL THEMES	ORGANIZING THEMES	GLOBAL THEMES
Social recognition Associative properties Barrier breaking-tendencies Borga as an Identifier Value appreciation	Positive Consequences	Social Consequences	Social Status and Mobility
Social Value Depreciation Disassociative Property Negative review Scorned/Becoming a fool Stigmatization	Negative Consequences		
Educational attainment Level Occupation Wealth/Money Migration	Social Valuation and ordering	Way of life	
Absence breeding fondness Distance Destination	Migration and Valuation		
Social structure/Social ordering Social valuation Social expression Family recognition Social perception	Social Value	Present valuation of the prospective Migrant	
Social perception Social expression of economic value Social standing	Economic Value		
Hope for Borga treatment Hope of Kingship treat Hope for kingly treat	Enhance social treat	Post migration valuation	
Fortifying status Positive Public response Bringing into prominence enhanced status high value value change Positive change hype Lifting up	Positive social value		
Becoming a star Family star	A star in the making		
Borga calling Goals	Social identity		
Catching up	Catching up		
Intergenerational mobility	Intergenerational mobility		
No change Same respect	Maintaining status quo		