Examining the Receptivity of Foreign Guests: A Study of Economic Community of West African States (Ecowas) Students in Higher Educational Institutions in Accra, Ghana

Kezia Darkwah

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EXAMINING THE RECEPTIVITY OF FOREIGN GUESTS: A STUDY OF ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICAN STATES (ECOWAS) STUDENTS IN HIGHER EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN ACCRA, GHANA

A Doctoral Dissertation

Presented to

The College of Humanities and Social Sciences
School of Conflict Management, Peacebuilding and Development
Kennesaw State University
Kennesaw, Georgia

In Partial Fulfillment of the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in International Conflict Management

by

Kezia Darkwah

May 2019

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Keywords: foreign students, receptivity, cross-border higher education, regional mobility, regional integration, community integration, West Africa, Ghana.
Examining the Receptivity of Foreign Guests: A Study of Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Students in Higher Educational Institutions in Accra, Ghana

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Abstract

With an increasingly global demand for higher education, countries are competing for international students. Popular destinations like the United States are facing a decreasing number of international student enrollments due to restrictive policies that are perceived as unwelcoming to foreign guests. Regional hubs are emerging as alternative destinations for international students. Ghana, today considered one of West Africa’s most stable democracies and an important destination country in the region, receives many foreign guests including economic migrants, students, tourists, and refugees. Ghana is also emerging as a regional hub for educational migrants. How are these foreign guests received, integrated, and ultimately trained as global citizens? More specifically, this research asks, how are ECOWAS students in higher educational institutions welcomed within Accra, Ghana? This study relies on data from 47 semi-structured interviews with foreign students and Ghanaians and direct observations sessions at public and private universities. The study examines the receptivity of foreign guests by stakeholders in Ghana, focusing on tertiary-level student migrants from throughout the West African region. Findings indicate that the educational setting generally has a positive receptivity climate as supported by the data. The positive receptivity climate is intentional with associated government and institutional policies and practices. Francophone students experience less positive reception than Anglophone students do as a result of language barriers. Receptivity of foreign guests may be one significant way for developing countries to achieve sustainable growth and positive development outcomes. As such, this research develops a new migration model that enhances receptivity through education. Policy implications include the strengthening of regional ties and migration channels related to education circulation and the ongoing promotion and development of human capital and a human economy. An example of the
development of human capital is the West Africa Centre for Crop Improvement (WACCI) based at the University of Ghana, Legon, which since its inception in 2007, has trained fifty-two multinational postgraduates who are working toward lessening food insecurity in the sub-region.
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Chapter 1

Introduction

Overview to the Study

Traditional travel destinations like the United Kingdom and the United States of America have faced decreasing numbers of international students coming in as a result of challenges like Brexit, the election of Donald Trump as president of the United States, and anti-immigration politics in both the United Kingdom and the United States (Altbach & de Wit, 2018; Hayes et al., 2016). In particular, the United States is increasingly perceived as not welcoming to international students in light of the Trump administration’s negative changes to immigration perceptions and policies (Pottie-Sherman, 2018). Some of these changes include new restrictions on the duration of visas for Chinese graduate students and how ‘unlawful presence’ is calculated for international students. In January 2018, the National Science Foundation (NSF) released a report showing that from the fall of 2016 to 2017, the number of international students in the United States fell by 2.2% at the undergraduate level and 5.5% at the graduate level (NSF report, 2018). The number of international student visas for study in the United States in 2017 was 40% lower than in 2015 (Laudicina, 2018). However, globally the numbers of international students continue to rise. In 2011, the number of international mobile students globally was about 4 million and in 2016, the number had increased to about 4.8 million (Migration Data Portal, 2018; UNESCO, 2018).

As these statistics imply, international students are choosing to study at alternative destinations. International students directly benefit their universities and communities of choice economically, socially and culturally (Laudicina, 2018). Also, research indicates that the United

---

1 Unlawful presence refers to the presence in the United States after the expiration of authorized stay, or any presence without being admitted through formally approved channels (United States Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2018).
States is losing the intellectual capital these students bring (Laudicina, 2018). The United States is perceived as falling behind other competitors when it comes to recruiting international students (Wermund, 2018). For example, alternative destinations like Turkey and Russia have increased their attractiveness to international students by offering health and employment incentives (Laudicina, 2018). Of particular interest are regional hubs that have emerged as alternative destinations for international students. Countries like Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Ghana have pushed through to the top ten major destinations for international students (Table 1.1). African foreign students especially have turned their focus to emerging destinations such as Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Ukraine (Schulmann, 2017).

The United Nations estimates that Africa’s population is projected to account for more than half of global population growth between 2017 and 2050 (UN, 2017). Countries across the African continent are seeking to address increased pressure on their educational systems by building more universities and tertiary institutions; however, they are falling short of the capacity and quality needed (Lundy, 2018; Lundy & Negash, 2013; Schulmann, 2017). As a result of growing demand for tertiary education, many students are choosing to pursue their education outside of their home countries because of lesser costs, and the preference for countries that share direct land or maritime border with their homelands (Lee & Sehoole, 2015). Shifting mobility patterns reflect demographics within African nations themselves and attempts by governments and institutions in new destinations to recruit international students (Schulmann, 2017). In Africa, Ghana is seen as a leading destination country for globally mobile students, after South Africa (Akenwsivie et al., 2013; Schulmann, 2017). According to Table 1.1, Ghana
in 2014 emerged as the seventh country for inbound African mobility with 15,354 international students from throughout Africa.

Table 1.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2014</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>111,195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>57,321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>U.K</td>
<td>36,951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>U.S.A</td>
<td>36,734</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>17,260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>14,744</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>11,751</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>7,656</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>7,509</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>6,988</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics; World Education Services

**Statement of the problem**

The problem underlying how foreign students are welcomed can be considered in three ways. First, traditional destinations such as the United States are perceived to have become less welcoming to educational migrants. This has led to decreasing numbers of international students and faculty coming in for studies (Laudicina, 2018; Wermund, 2018). Secondly, regional hubs are becoming attractive destinations for international students due to proximity, cultural similarity, and lesser costs of education (Lee & Sehoole, 2015). As result of increased demand on home universities and the inability of governments to keep up with capacity and quality of the institutions, many students are turning to these hubs (Kondakci, 2011; Schulmann, 2017). Thirdly, discourses surrounding migrants tend to view them as problems to be solved (Gidley, 2016) rather than contributors to human capital and the human economy of their destination countries (Laudicina, 2018; OECD/ILO, 2018). There is often no distinction between categories

---

2 UNESCO statistics are based on data that includes only students who have crossed borders to pursue higher education for a diploma. Students pursuing short-term exchange programs for example, are not included in estimate counts.
of migrants when governments are enacting policies. Educational migrants, while providing economic, cultural and social benefits to their host institutions and communities also experience challenges as a result of negative policies (Wermund, 2018). Through these discourses, educational migrants are portrayed as having no agency. This study takes another viewpoint, using the perspectives of foreign students in Accra, Ghana to present a different picture of educational migrants. The study seeks to answer the question: How are Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) students in higher educational institutions welcomed in Accra, Ghana? Taking all three aspects together, this study adds to the knowledge of migrants and migration in general, allowing a better understanding of the migration and education phenomenon. Additionally, it provides empirical evidence from an understudied region in the conventional literature where there is dearth of information (Kondakci et al., 2017; Lee & Sehoole, 2015). The study also provides a nuanced approach to migration policy by bringing out immigrant friendly national institutional policies geared toward a positive welcoming culture for guests (McDaniel et al., 2017; Rodriguez et al., 2018). The welcoming approach of states, nations, institutions, communities and individuals play a critical role in reducing prejudice and discrimination toward newcomers; promoting strategies that help integrate foreign guests and hosts into a more connected society (Lundy & Hayes, n.d; Quinton, 2018).

**Statement of Purpose**

Research on patterns of international student mobility is dominated by discourses reflecting a Western orientation (Kondakci et al., 2017). Regional student mobility is often under emphasized in the literature. While this is so, a significant proportion of international education occurs across shared borders. For instance, among OECD countries, 21% of international students study in countries sharing a direct land or maritime border with their home countries.
(Lee & Sehoole, 2015; OECD 2014) According to OECD (2018), proximity factors such as language, historical ties, geographical distance, bilateral relationships, economics, and political frameworks are important determinants for student mobility (OECD 2018). These border patterns have generally been observed within western and eastern Europe, East Asia, Latin America and southern Africa (Lee & Sehoole, 2015). In spite of this prevalence, far less research exists on regional student mobility patterns. Barnett et al. (2016) suggested that future research in international student mobility should pay more attention to regional clusters and should investigate ‘the relationship between flow of international students and the regional economy, politics, culture and institutional features of higher educational structures’ (p. 550). These arguments emphasize the gap for regional hubs in understanding the non-traditional destinations of international students (Kondakci et al., 2017).

Additionally, studies contend that, migration among Global South countries is rising faster than migration from Global South to Global North countries; this movement of people has not been properly investigated because media coverage is usually about south-north migration (Kingsley, 2016; Lundy et al., 2017). The implication is that south-south migration trends are understudied therefore, not only will this research provide knowledge that contributes to the understanding of the south-south migration phenomenon, but will also enhance understanding of general transnational migration patterns, especially those related to higher education (Lundy & Lartey, 2017). While the focus on and rhetoric surrounding migrants often negatively highlights the issues and challenges of migrants within a host society, my research brings out the positive experiences of migrant activities. Additionally, it presents a form of regional student mobility that serves as an alternative to popular destinations currently considered unwelcoming to foreign students. My research seeks to understand the relationship between foreign students and their
host society within the regional hub of an understudied part of the world, which can also be considered as an emerging economy.

Research Questions

My main research question asks ‘How are ECOWAS students in higher educational institutions welcomed in Accra, Ghana?’ My secondary questions include:

- What is the nature of reception for ECOWAS students from different countries in Ghana?
- How is regional integration enhanced or not by cross-border educational migration?

Significance of the Study

My research has the potential to influence policies on migration and higher education in Ghana and West Africa. Ghana appears to be positioned as a regional hub for higher education and recommendations made by this study can help toward that goal. The students from the West African region also add to the pool of human capital and enhance economic and educational competitiveness for ECOWAS countries. A major relevance of this research includes developing a new migration model that better understands and contributes to regional integration through education for all countries involved. Policy implications include the strengthening of regional ties and migration channels related to education circulation and human capital.

Definitions

There is no consensus on a single definition of migration terms, such as the definition of a migrant (Anderson & Blinder 2017). The use of the term migrant ranges from its use among researchers, public debate, scholarly, and everyday usage. For the purpose of this study, my
conceptual and working definitions are presented below. It is important to recognize that some of these concepts may overlap.

**Migrants/Immigrants**

The term migrant is used to refer to any person who makes the decision to migrate for reasons of personal convenience, and without any outside compelling force (UNESCO, 2017). The emphasis is on the voluntary choice of the person to migrate. The incentives for migration are considered within this definition. If the reason for migrating is due to an outside compelling force, the person may be said to be a refugee as opposed to someone who migrates for reasons such as leisure (tourist), jobs (labor migrant) and education (educational migrant). As such, any person that lives temporarily or permanently in a country where he or she was not born, and has acquired some significant ties to the country can be said to be a migrant. It is important to note that the definition of migrants differ among various data sources; migrants may be referred to as foreign national, foreign born or people who have moved to a country for a year or more (Anderson & Blinder, 2017; Migration Observatory Report, 2017). The definition of immigration can be deduced based on the direction of migration flow. An immigrant is a person who comes in to a place of destination from his or her country of origin, with the intention to stay for at least one year (European Union, 2007). An emigrant is a person who moves out of their country of origin to a place of destination.

**Welcoming Culture**

In Germany, the term ‘welcoming culture’ was used to pursue a political agenda, namely to position German society as a place for immigrants to feel welcome (Trauner & Turton, 2017). In cities across the United States, the term refers to conventional immigrant-friendly ventures that serve as channels to integrate immigrants into the host society (McDaniel et al., 2017). One
such initiative is Welcoming America, an organization that leads a movement of inclusive communities to become better by making everyone feel that they belong. Welcoming America has five attributes they consider essential in making a community welcoming to immigrants (Rodriguez et al., 2018). These include having all sectors work together to promote long-term integration and institutionalizing strategies to ensure the economic and social integration of newcomers. A welcoming culture can therefore apply to political, social, economic, and cultural initiatives that make foreign guests perceive that they are welcome in a place. It is synonymous with receptivity.

**Receptivity**

McDaniel et al., (2017) defined receptivity as the degree of openness in a place toward newcomers. Receptivity is multilevel, fluid and can be more or less receptive with the passage of time (McDaniel, 2013; McDaniel, 2018; McDaniel & Smith, 2017). In this study, I define receptivity to include indicators such as how participants report experiences of intolerance, prejudice and discrimination (Lundy & Lartey, 2017). Also, maintaining strong friendships ties with others serve as an indicator of receptivity (Lundy & Lartey, 2017). Further, I operationalize receptivity indicators to comprise of feelings of safety and security reported by foreign students, connectedness to institution and community, and having access to plenty of resources. The literature indicated that institutions and centers help to deepen the understanding of migrants, which leads to a warmer welcoming climate and proactive inclusion (Harden et al., 2015; McDaniel 2013; McDaniel et al., 2017). In this study, efforts that educational institutions are making to incorporate foreign students serve as measures of positive receptivity.

**Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)**
The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) is a regional group of fifteen member countries consisting of Benin, Burkina Faso, Cabo Verde, Cote d’Ivoire, The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Senegal and Togo. The West Africa region is made up of these same countries with the exception of Mauritania which withdrew its membership from ECOWAS in December, 2000. The community of West African states was established May 28, 1975 with the mandate of promoting economic and political integration across all member countries. This mandate has evolved to include social and cultural ties. English, French and Portuguese are the official languages of member countries, but there are several local languages spoken in and across member countries, for example, Hausa, Ewe, and Wolof.

**Regional and Transnational Education**

Transnational education refers to any offer of academic programs and qualifications to students across national borders (Knight & Liu, 2016). Traditionally, international students go abroad for a combination of reasons such as career advancement, quality of education, or the experience of living abroad (Choudaha, 2012). Regional students have these same aspirations, but due to prohibitive costs they choose to stay closer to home (Lee & Sehoole, 2015). In West Africa, higher education follows structures modeled after the British and French education systems (Jokivirta, 2005). Since 2017, ECOWAS has made efforts to harmonize higher educational certificates and encourage the implementation of institutions related to the recognition and equivalence of degrees in the region. Harmonization efforts include the coordination of educational programs that agree on minimum academic standards and ensure equivalence and comparability of qualifications between and within countries (Woldegiorgis et al., 2015). For Anglophone students, a degree from Ghana may be transferable to their home
country based on similar education structures (Defor & Agyepong, 2017). A degree from Ghana for Francophone students is perceived to have an added benefit since it provides evidence of familiarity with the English language and culture (Tabiri & Budu, 2017).

**International Student/Foreign Student**

An internationally mobile student is a person who has physically crossed an international border between two countries with the aim of participating in educational activities in the destination country (UNESCO, 2015). The destination country is usually different from the country of origin. This definition includes students who are enrolled for a tertiary degree or higher, therefore the length of stay is typically more than one year. In this study, a foreign student is a person who has enrolled in a tertiary degree or higher and has been in Ghana for a year or more.

**Human Capital**

Human capital is an economic term referring to the collective skills, knowledge and intangible assets which translate into economic value for an individual, a community and a country (Sow, 2018). Research indicates that education and health are considered very important investments in human capital (Sow, 2018; World Bank, 2018). In Africa, the youth population is rising very fast and without investments into human capital, a constant threat of poverty trap exists (World Bank, 2018). This potential danger manifests as insecurity and instability when nothing is done to mitigate it. The current level of GDP per capita in African countries is 1,136 (Fig. 3). In 2050, without investment in higher education for example, there will be a projected decrease of 0.1% in GDP per capita.
Figure 3. Sub-Saharan Africa’s economic growth in the coming decades as it relates to human capital investment.

Source: The Brookings Institute

Next, I turn to migration within the region of West Africa to provide a justification for choosing Ghana as a research site.

**Characteristics of West Africa Mobility Patterns**

People within the West African region have had historic and commercial interactions with each other long before the ninth century (Hill, 2009; Shack & Skinner, 1979). These historical and commercial interactions endure today (Lundy, 2015). In West Africa, the majority of people on the move do not leave the region (Awumbila et al., 2014). Contemporary migration patterns show that mobility serves as an important livelihood strategy in the region (Awumbila et al., 2014). Recent migration patterns in Africa show a diversity of actors and destinations.
Research describes African migratory patterns as both dynamic and complex, playing a vital role in livelihoods and advancement of populations (Awumbila, 2017). While important, migration is also considered the least understood demographic phenomenon in the region due to limitations on availability and reliability of data (Konseiga, 2005).

While migrants from West Africa do move outside of the region, a number of studies have recorded that intra-regional migration accounts for the intense flow of human mobility (Awumbila, 2017; Konseiga, 2005; Shimeles, 2010). Mobility within the West Africa region is seven times greater than migration flows from West African countries to other parts of the world (Devillard et al., 2015; ECOWAS SWAC Series 2006). To put this in perspective, an estimated 2 to 3% of the West African population is involved in mobility; this is more than 8.66 million individuals moving inter-state annually (Charrière & Frésia, 2008).

The concept of migration seems to imply a long-term movement from one state to another (Castles, 2010); however, within this region, the concept may not entirely hold as relatives and kin groups regularly cross somewhat arbitrary state borders for trade, visitations, jobs and safety. For instance, Ewes in Togo move yearly to stay and work with their relatives in the Volta Region of Ghana (Awumbila et al., 2014).

Regional agreements like the ECOWAS free movement, right of residence and establishment of West African citizens, 1979, has contemporarily continued to support this inter-regional mobility across post-colonial state borders, although challenges to the implementation of the protocols remain. While member countries have principally ratified the ECOWAS free movement, residence and establishment of West African citizens, 1979 protocol, in practice, there are still restrictive policies by member states that protect some sectors of the economies for their nationals (Awumbila et al., 2014).
Within the West African region, Ghana is considered one of the most important countries of destination with a total international migrant stock estimate of about 399,471 in 2015, which constitutes about 1% of the total population (United Nations, 2015). About 10,383 foreign students are enrolled in tertiary institutions in Ghana; representing about 3% of the total 315,000 tertiary student population in the country (myjoyonline news, 2015). Ghana attracts many migrants, predominantly from ECOWAS countries, due to its stable peace and democratic tenets as well as the increasing level of development that the country has experienced (Leite et al., 2000; Nanor, 2010).

According to the United Nations Human Development Index (HDI) which measures three basic dimensions of human development—life expectancy, access to knowledge, and Gross National Income (GNI)—Ghana’s HDI in 2014 was 0.579, compared to Cote d’Ivoire at 0.462, Togo at 0.484 and Nigeria at 0.514. Examples of countries with very high HDIs include Norway at 0.944, United States at 0.915 and Singapore at 0.912. Ghana is positioned in the medium development category, the only other country after Cabo Verde in the West African region, to be in this category.

Ghana’s national migration policies focus on entry by foreign nationals, citizenship attainment as well as how mobility within Ghana is regulated. Ghana’s first president, Kwame Nkrumah, introduced a foreign policy to promote pan-Africanism, which, when coupled with the countrywide policy of universal primary education, caused Ghana to gain an early reputation as a destination country that prioritized education (Boasiakoh, 2009). A look at Ghana’s national policies on immigration is reviewed next.
National Policies on Immigration in Ghana

Tracing immigration policies (Table 1.2) under the various governments since Ghana’s independence provides a glimpse of how welcoming the nation has been and currently is toward migrants.

Table 1.2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Policy</th>
<th>President</th>
<th>Impact on Immigration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Immigration Act, 1957</td>
<td>Kwame Nkrumah</td>
<td>Regulated entry to Ghana and movements within Ghana; maintained freedom of movement granted to Africans and people of African descents.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aliens Act 1963 and Aliens Regulations Act 1963</td>
<td>Kwame Nkrumah</td>
<td>Exempted from their provisions anyone of African ethnic group or of African descent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aliens Compliance Order 1969</td>
<td>Kofi Busia</td>
<td>Expulsion order that targeted immigrant traders giving them two weeks to leave Ghana.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992 Constitution of Ghana</td>
<td>Jerry John Rawlings</td>
<td>Guarantees the right of all persons, whatever their race, place of origin, or political opinion to circulate freely within Ghana, but be subject to the rights and freedom of others and the public interest.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citizenship Act of 2000</td>
<td>John Agyekum Kuffour</td>
<td>Amendments as pertaining to the law of citizenship by birth, adoption, or naturalization.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Right of Abode law 2000</td>
<td>John Agyekum Kuffour</td>
<td>Extends to people of African descent the right to apply and stay in Ghana indefinitely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visa-on-arrival 2016</td>
<td>John Dramani Mahama</td>
<td>Extends visa on arrival for thirty days to citizens of the fifty-four African countries.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author

The legacy of pan-Africanism still remains in Ghana today making it a ‘welcoming country’ as evidenced by, for example, the Right of Abode Law. This law makes Ghana the first country in Africa to open its doors to people of African descent from all over the world. The 1992 Constitution also requires that any foreigner desiring Ghanaian citizenship by way of naturalization demonstrate knowledge of one of Ghana’s native languages (Scalabrini Institute for Human Mobility in Africa, 2014).
In addition to these national laws, Ghana has adopted regional agreements including the ECOWAS free movement, right of residence and establishment of West African citizens, 1979. This protocol was established in 1979 to enable the free movement of ECOWAS citizens within the region. The protocol also permits visa-free entry and stay in an ECOWAS country for a maximum of ninety days. Ghana is party to other international and continental frameworks that inform the management of migration within its borders as well such as a joint initiative of the African Union Commission, International Organization for Migration, Economic Commission for Africa, and the International Labor Organization that seeks to facilitate intra-regional mobility, free movement of persons, and integrated border management through the sharing of knowledge and information (Kwenin, 2015).

On April 5, 2016, Ghana formally launched a national migration policy, which is intended to guide the management of the country’s internal, intra-regional, and international migration flows. The government of Ghana takes the view that migration, when well-managed, is desirable and seeks a comprehensive way to enhance benefits and minimize the costs associated with migration within, to, and from Ghana (National Migration Policy, 2016). Some of the policy objectives within this plan are to promote non-discrimination against migrants, promote peace and protect the rights of migrants and host populations, and to increase inter-state cooperation on student mobility (National Migration Policy, 2016).

**Historical and Contemporary Picture of Migrants in Ghana**

A historical understanding of the origin of foreigners in Ghana helps to put its national policies on migration in perspective. The total number of migrants in Ghana was about 800,000 during the 1960 population census, taken three years after independence. Tables 1.3 and 1.4 present a view of foreign-born populations in Ghana at specific periods.
Table 1.3

*Foreign born Population by Country of Origin, 1960*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>% Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Togo</td>
<td>280,170</td>
<td>34.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burkina Faso</td>
<td>195,157</td>
<td>24.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>191,802</td>
<td>23.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ivory Coast</td>
<td>54,192</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benin</td>
<td>31,416</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niger</td>
<td>24,455</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mali</td>
<td>19,157</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberia</td>
<td>8,362</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>804,859</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 1.4

*Foreign born Population by Country of Origin, 2015*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>Migrants</th>
<th>% Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Togo</td>
<td>90,000</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>70,000</td>
<td>17.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burkina Faso</td>
<td>60,000</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ivory Coast</td>
<td>30,000</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberia</td>
<td>30,000</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benin</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niger</td>
<td>&lt;10,000</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mali</td>
<td>&lt;10,000</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
<td>&lt;10,000</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>&lt;10,000</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>&lt;1,000</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>&lt;1,000</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>&lt;1,000</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rwanda</td>
<td>&lt;1,000</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>&lt;1,000</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


A conservative estimate of about 400,000 foreigners lived in Ghana as of 2015.

Comparing Table 1.3 and Table 1.4 reveals that more migrants lived in Ghana in 1960 than in 2015. Reasons given for the increased numbers in 1960 were the liberal immigration policies pursued by Kwame Nkrumah at independence, which included pan-African policies and the need for labor migrants to help build the Ghanaian economy (Adjepong, 2013). Historically, Ghana also pursued anti-immigration policies such as the Alien Compliance Order decree in 1969.
Reasons given included the government’s desire to reduce unemployment rates, combat crime, and enhance the security of Ghana (Adjepong, 2009). This order gave non-citizens two weeks in which to obtain residence or work permits, or leave the country (Shack & Skinner, 1979).

In recent times, Ghana, with its capital, Accra, is viewed as a rising cosmopolitan hot spot. Accra is seen as Africa’s ‘capital of cool’, due to its thriving contemporary art scenes and nightlife (New York Times, 2016). Also, studies on migration motives in West Africa indicate that students prefer Ghana as a destination for tertiary education because Ghana has a well-structured tertiary level education system that operates on a modular system (Bosiakoh, 2009; Akenwsivie et al., 2013). Ghana is suggested to be a new target country for Africans in higher education due to similarities in culture and lower travel costs (UNESCO, 2012). Also, Ghana’s tertiary institutions are based on the modular system with English as the official language and medium of education. The curriculum of the educational system is made up of modules, providing knowledge and skill in a given area of study. These serve to make the country an attractive destination in the region. My research focuses on those migrants from the West African region within Ghana looking to improve their overall livelihoods through education, as is the case when people migrate for family, work and study (Flahaux & De Haas, 2016).

A report indicated that international students in Ghanaian public universities come from sixty-two different countries (ICEF Monitor, 2014). There is the implication that this number would be greater if it had included private universities in their estimates. In 2016, the total foreign student enrollment in Ghana was 17,821 (Table 1.5). Table 1.5 below shows the top 10 places of origin and percentage of total foreign student enrollment in Ghana.

Table 1.5

---

3 A modular system is an educational system comprised of modules or components that make up a complete curriculum. Each part provides skill and knowledge toward proficiency in an area.
Foreign Student Enrollment in Ghana

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of Origin</th>
<th>No. of Students</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>13,919</td>
<td>78.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gabon</td>
<td>705</td>
<td>3.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cote d’Ivoire</td>
<td>372</td>
<td>2.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congo, DR</td>
<td>353</td>
<td>1.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benin</td>
<td>306</td>
<td>1.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Togo</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>1.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cameroon</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>1.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burkina Faso</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>0.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberia</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>0.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niger</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>0.86</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Challenges exist in Ghana with tertiary-level ECOWAS students. One major challenge reported by foreign tertiary-level students is the charging of high prices for school fees.

Ghanaian universities ask foreign students to pay their fees in foreign currency. The fee schedule for tertiary-level students at the University of Ghana is displayed below (Table 1.6 and Table 1.7). It seems that institutional fees at the postgraduate level are not as high for ECOWAS students as they are for non-ECOWAS students, although all foreign undergraduates pay the same fee. Institutional policies regarding ECOWAS students at the tertiary level appear more welcoming in terms of fees.

Table 1.6

University of Ghana Fee Schedule, 2016-2017, Humanities (all figures are in USD)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Undergraduate</th>
<th>Domestic</th>
<th>Foreign</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Freshman Year</td>
<td>874.00</td>
<td>4,717.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All fees include tuition only and do not cover accommodation or other living expenses.

Table 1.7

University of Ghana Fee Schedule, 2016-2017, Master of Arts (all figures are in USD)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Postgraduate</th>
<th>Domestic</th>
<th>West African Nationals</th>
<th>Other African Nationals</th>
<th>International</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One Year MA</td>
<td>1,108.00</td>
<td>4,848.00</td>
<td>6,085.00</td>
<td>7,941.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Ghana Immigration Service has a set of instructions for prospective students wanting to study in Ghana. First, the student must have a letter of admission from a recognized and accredited school in Ghana. The prospective student must also show exemption or payment of required fees together with a guarantee of accommodation. The student must also provide evidence of financial support. All students coming from countries other than ECOWAS countries are required to obtain a visa or an entry permit before arriving in Ghana. However, this seems to contradict Ghana’s visa-on-arrival policy for non-West Africans (Ohene, 2016). Further, student residence permits cost the equivalent of about $35 for ECOWAS students and the equivalent of about $46 for students from non-ECOWAS countries. It appears that Ghanaian policies regarding immigration are more welcoming of ECOWAS students than non-ECOWAS students as it relates to residence permit costs.

The Context of Higher Education in Ghana

The education system in Ghana is composed of a 6-3-3-4 system with six years of primary education, three years each of junior and senior secondary education and four years of tertiary education. English is the official language of instruction throughout the system.

Tertiary education in Ghana is made up of public and private universities, polytechnics, and other specialized institutions such as training colleges. The National Accreditation Board of Ghana, a sub-agency of the National Council for Tertiary Education (NCTE), recognizes ten accredited public universities and eighty-one private tertiary institutions (National Accreditation Board, 2017). Table 1.8 and Table 1.9 depict ten accredited public and private universities offering undergraduate and postgraduate degree programs in Ghana. Admission into the Ghanaian universities is competitive especially in fields like medicine, engineering, and law. For instance, the admission rate for the University of Ghana is 30-40%, indicating a selective
admission policy.\textsuperscript{4} Competition from students who apply from West Africa also adds pressure for locals seeking admission (ICEF Monitor, 2014).

Table 1.8

*Ten Accredited Public Universities in Ghana*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University</th>
<th>#Students Enrolled</th>
<th># UnderGrad. Majors</th>
<th>#Grad. Programs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ghana Institute of Management and Public Administration</td>
<td>Over 10,000</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology</td>
<td>40,000-49,999</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Education</td>
<td>Over 60,000</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University for Development Studies</td>
<td>20,000-29,999</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Cape Coast</td>
<td>Over 80,000</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Ghana</td>
<td>30,000-39,999</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>Over 160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Energy and Natural Resources</td>
<td>6,500-6,999</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Health and Allied Science</td>
<td>3,500-3,999</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Mines and Technology</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Professional Studies</td>
<td>11,000-11,999</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: National Accreditation Board, Ghana.

Table 1.9

*Ten Accredited Private Universities in Ghana*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University</th>
<th># Students Enrolled</th>
<th># Undergrad. Major</th>
<th># Grad. Program</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ashesi University</td>
<td>Over 1000</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accra Institute of Technology</td>
<td>Over 750</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central University</td>
<td>Over 8400</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regional Maritime University</td>
<td>Over 800</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghana Technology University College</td>
<td>Over 7000</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mountcrest University College</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regent University College of Science and</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{4} Ranking is from UniRank. UniRank is the leading international higher education directory and search engine featuring reviews and rankings of over 13,600 officially recognized Universities and Colleges in 200 countries.
Ghana’s education system though considered one of the best in the region also faces some challenges (ICEF Monitor, 2014). These include concerns that the Ghanaian education system may not completely meet international standards and that students may not be adequately prepared for the global economy (ICEF Monitor, 2014). This research examines some of these identified concerns along with providing some recommendations toward ways of improving Ghana’s educational system.

**Conclusion**

In this chapter, I have presented the rationale for doing this research and the reasons for choosing Ghana as the focus of the study. Ghana serves as an emerging destination country for higher education students within Africa, in particular, West Africa. The historical and contemporary pattern of migrants in Ghana is also presented to set the stage for discussing a welcoming reception in Ghana from a political and historical viewpoint. The next chapter (Chapter 2) delineates a welcoming culture in Ghana from an ethno-political and historic perspective.
Chapter 2
The Background to a Welcoming Culture in Ghana
An Ethno-Political and Historical Account

Introduction

Ghana has a long history of immigration. Ethnic groups that make up Ghana today are believed to have immigrated from earlier empires located in what is today Mali and Mauritania (OECD/ILO, 2018; Owusu-Ansah, 2005). Ethnic groups, such as, the Hausa and the Fulani, were active as pastoralists and traders who established themselves in the northern and Ashanti regions of Ghana (OECD/ILO, 2018; Peil, 1974). In a 1960 census, Ghana recorded about a hundred linguistic and cultural groups (Owusu-Ansah, 2005). The more recent census of 2000 reflected a linguistic affiliation of about 49% Akan, 17% Mole-Dagomba, 13% Ewe and 8% Ga-Adangbe. About 4% affiliated as non-Ghanaian. Due to similarities in dialects and mobility of the population, every Ghanaian understands at least one of five major local languages: Akan, Nzema, Dagbane, Ga and Ewe (Owusu-Ansah, 2005).

In 1874, the British formally declared the ‘Gold Coast’ (as Ghana was known then) as a colony and established borders that were arbitrarily drawn. As a result, linguistically and culturally homogenous groups found themselves divided into two colonies and ultimately two countries. Examples include the Akans of western Ghana and eastern Cote d’Ivoire, the Ewes of eastern Ghana and Togo, and the Dagomba group of northern Ghana and Burkina Faso. The impact on migration means that the borders are extremely porous with movements between kin (OECD/ILO, 2018). Little is known about the culture of welcoming guests in Ghana. This chapter sets out to examine the culture of welcoming foreign guests, such as diplomats, labor migrants, tourists, and pastoralists among others. I use a political and historic framework to examine migration trends in Ghana. I also discuss how the politico-cultural ideals of Kwame
Nkrumah, the first president of Ghana and a key historical figure, translate into the contemporary Ghanaian welcoming culture. Further, I discuss receptivity and interrogate what a welcoming culture may mean to Ghana. The approach is a review of historical writings, pan-Africanism, and national immigration policies.

**Ghana’s Pre-Independence Interactions with Migrants**

By the end of the first quarter of the twentieth century, new mining techniques and cocoa growing were introduced by the colonial establishment into the Gold Coast economy. This attracted a large demand for manual workers. Many of the recruited workers were foreign migrants from the Upper Volta (Burkina Faso), Ivory Coast (Cote d’Ivoire), Togo and Nigeria (Addo, 1974). This implies that the economy of Ghana was increasingly expanding, diversifying, and providing employment opportunities to labor migrants. Attracted by the prospect of earning considerably higher wages than they would receive at home, they came to the rapidly developing sectors of mining, railways and cocoa farming of Ghana (Addo, 1974; Peil, 1974). By 1905, about 3,500 workers were entering the colony every year to work as carriers and laborers in the mines (Addo, 1974). It is understood that foreign migrant workers were involved in the development of Ghana from the onset. For instance, Rouch (1956) reports that the 1921 population census showed 50,000 migrants of whom 12,000 were from the Upper Volta (Burkina Faso) and the next ten year census also showed nearly 300,000 migrants of whom 200,000 were from the Upper Volta (Burkina Faso). These migrants were most likely seasonal migrants who came to the farm lands to work, contributing to Ghana’s agricultural development (Rouch, 1956). In addition to the economic appeal of Ghana, there were push factors causing people to migrate to Ghana. For instance, there were droughts, famine and ethnic conflict in the Upper Volta (Burkina Faso) in the 1920s (OECD/ILO, 2018). An explanation for this increasing influx was
that immigration into Ghana was based on a *laissez-faire* attitude of letting things take their own course, without outside interference (Addo, 1974). This implies that Ghana had no formal immigration policy during that time.

**Post-Independence Migration Trends and Interactions**

After independence, immigration in Ghana continued to grow as seen from Table 1.3 which depicts a snapshot of Ghana’s population in 1960.

Not only were the migrants attracted to the independent Ghana with her expanding prospects of economic livelihoods, but many Ghanaians, especially southern Ghanaians often disdained the low status jobs the migrants engaged in (Peil, 1974; Rouch 1956). As such, migrants were mostly found in the mining and cocoa sectors as laborers and carriers (Addo, 1974). The migrants maintained a strong link with their home country and resisted assimilation (Peil, 1974). They tended to live together in communities and often wore distinctive clothing, becoming very visible as minority groups (Peil, 1974). Many of them remitted money home which indicated their plans to return (Erdal & Oeppen, 2013; Shack & Skinner, 1979). Painter (1988) suggested that restrictive local taxes in south western Niger caused an increasing number of peasant farmers to travel long distances to Ghana in search of seasonal work. Ghana became a means through which money could be made and sent back home.

The high point of inward immigration into Ghana happened in the 1960s. In addition to economic incentives, there were also political enticements including pan-Africanist political and immigration policies designed to attract other Africans to Ghana (OECD/ILO, 2018). Ghana’s historical links to pan-Africanism is discussed next.

**Historical Links with pan-Africanism**
According to Geiss (1967) pan-Africanism is a historical or political movement or ideology; an active force still recognized in contemporary times. At the same time, it is a vague concept that defies a clear-cut definition. Pan-Africanism emerged at the end of the nineteenth century as an ideology and program which later challenged activities of European imperialism, slavery, colonialism and racism (Maimela, 2013). It originated from Africans in colonial territories. Three themes were central to the evolution of pan-African thought and practice (Geiss, 1967). First, it was seen as a return to the African continent by people of African descent living in the diaspora. Second, it was perceived as a political unification of the continent of Africa and third, it heralded liberation for African people. Central to all three themes is the call to unity among Africa and Africans in the diaspora in order to enact a form of political, social or economic advancement (Sherwood, 2012).

The history of pan-Africanism enfolded on three continents—Europe, Africa and North America, including the Caribbean. Twentieth century pan-Africanism emerged as a result of social changes in Africa, the Caribbean and among Africans in the United States of America (Geiss, 1967). Some of the key leaders included W. E. B. Du Bois, Marcus Garvey, George Padmore and Kwame Nkrumah. Du Bois, considered to be the originator of modern pan-Africanism, organized a series of pan-African conferences from 1919 to 1927 (Geiss, 1967; Lawson, 2010). For the purposes of this chapter, the history of Pan-Africanism as pertaining to West Africa and Ghana is the primary focus.

Ghana’s links to pan-Africanism have always progressed beyond national borders. In the early 1920s, a Ghanaian by name J. E. Casely Hayford actively supported the pan-Africanist movement. He followed and corresponded with some of the key leaders at the time including Du Bois (Marcus Garvey Association Papers, 2000). Casely Hayford, together with Dr. Richard
Akinwande Savage, a Nigerian physician, launched the first West African nationalist movement known as the National Congress of British West Africa (N.C.B.W.A.). The main focus was to free African colonies from colonial rule with the secondary aim of uniting the British colonies of West Africa under one organization (Eluwa, 1971). There were four colonies of Britain, namely, Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, and The Gambia involved in the movement.

Not only did J.E. Casely Hayford form the N.C.B.W.A., but at its first inaugural conference held in Accra, in March 1920, his speech indicated the need to welcome African Americans back home to Africa. This is seen in his statement,

There are thousands and thousands of our people right over in America, who were carried away from our country years and years back…Over there our people are thinking,…they are suggesting to themselves that the time has come when they should have some place in their native land of Africa… I think, Ladies and Gentlemen, that it will not be out of place for us to encourage them to come among us (the inaugural speech of Casely Hayford, 1920 cited in the Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers, pp. 46-51).

During the first meeting of the N.C.B.W.A., a series of agreements were produced among which were calls that there should be no discrimination against Africans in the civil service, a West African university should be established and compulsory education introduced in all the colonies, and foreign immigration should be controlled (Brown, 1964; Eluwa, 1971). The West African university failed to garner support at least in Sierra Leone. Fourah Bay College in Sierra Leone wanted the independence of forming their own curricula to the end that that will be independent of the West (Paracka, 2003). The faculty and staff of the college viewed a West African university as inadequate to meet the needs of all West Africans and were unsupportive of
a monopolistic venture such as a West African university (Paracka, 2003). The N.C.B.W.A formed the basis for increased calls for higher education in the British colonies (Brown, 1964). It also made the call for immigration control which suggested that immigration into the colonies, Ghana included, was considered problematic (Eluwa, 1971).

In 1945, a fifth pan-African conference known as the Manchester Congress was held in England. It marked a turning point in the pan-African movement because it was the first conference with many of the delegates coming from Africa (Lawson, 2010). It was during this congress that Kwame Nkrumah, together with George Padmore, was tasked to act as Joint Secretary and Joint Political Secretary of the organizing committee (Lawson, 2010). This implies that Nkrumah was seen as one capable of advancing pan-Africanism to Africa and creating a more solid, united movement (Lawson, 2010). Nkrumah with other West Africans formed the West African National Secretariat (WANS) in the 1940s appointing himself as general secretary (Lawson, 2010). The focus of this organization was to work for the unity of West Africans.

Ghana’s welcoming culture under Kwame Nkrumah is discussed next.

**Welcoming Culture of Ghana under Nkrumah**

In 1957, Ghana gained independence from colonial rule under Kwame Nkrumah. Due to Kwame Nkrumah’s political and ideological tendencies toward a unified Africa, pan-Africanism flourished in Ghana during this time. According to Lawson (2010), Nkrumah wanted Ghana to be an inspiration of pan-Africanism serving as an example of the forte and potential of an African country ruled by Africans. In his first speech as president, Nkrumah declared that,

> We have won the battle and again rededicate ourselves ... Our independence is meaningless unless it is linked up with the total liberation of Africa (Kwame Nkrumah, independence day speech, March 6, 1957).
He further declared,

Never before have a people had within their grasp so great an opportunity for developing a continent endowed with so much wealth. Individually, the independent states of Africa, some of them potentially rich, others poor, can do little for their people. Together, by mutual help, they can achieve much. But the economic development of the continent must be planned and pursued as a whole. A loose confederation designed only for economic cooperation would not provide the necessary unity of purpose. Only a strong political union can bring about full and effective development of our natural resources for the benefit of our people (Kwame Nkrumah, I Speak of Freedom: A Statement of African Ideology [London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1961], pp. xi-xiv).

For Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana’s freedom from colonial rule was not complete without the liberation of Africa. His rhetoric depicted the ideology consistent with pan-Africanism; that of African unity. According to Grilli (2015), Ghana became the first African country to endorse pan-Africanism as one of the pillars of its foreign policy. Between 1957-1959, Kwame Nkrumah with George Padmore formulated a unique foreign policy program based on pan-Africanism (Grilli, 2015). Three institutions were set up to work for the unity and liberation of the continent. The first was The Bureau of African Affairs, the second was The African Affairs Center and the third was The Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute. Nkrumah gave material and financial resources to African liberation movements, welcomed African freedom fighters for sanctuary in Accra and hosted political refugees under the umbrellas of these three institutions, (Bolaji, 2015; Grilli, 2015; Ohene, 2016). Accra became a shelter or base for freedom fighters from where ‘attacks against colonial and neo-colonial entities were launched’ (Grilli, 2015, p. xviii). Ghana
was considered a place of refuge for the people of Africa who needed to gain independence from imperial rule, for example, Ghanaian passports were granted to South African freedom fighters who needed to travel within the continent and abroad (Grilli, 2015; Ohene, 2016). This reinforced Accra’s image as a cosmopolitan city. For example, Martin Luther and Coretta Scott King, leading civil rights activists, visited Ghana. Also, Malcolm X and Muhammad Ali paid visits to Ghana. Ghana also became a destination for later African presidents who lived and visited in the 1940s and 1950s. These included Malawi, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

The first All-Africa Peoples Conference was held in Accra in December, 1958 where 62 delegates from Africanist nationalist organizations attended (Kumah-Abiwu & Ochwa-Echel, 2013; Shepperson, 1962). Some of the objectives of this conference were independence for the colonies, the strengthening of the independent states, and resistance to neocolonialism. Some of its subject matter denounced racial discrimination and advocated independence for countries under colonization. It was at this meeting that a decision was taken to establish a permanent secretariat in Accra (Shepperson, 1962). In order to start his unification agenda, Nkrumah formed the Ghana-Guinea Union which Mali later joined to become the Ghana-Guinea-Mali Union. This Union produced a draft Charter for the United States of Africa in 1961 (Kumah-Abiwu & Ochwa-Echel, 2013). This was the start of the establishment of the Organization of African Union (OAU) in 1963 (Kumah-Abiwu & Ochwa-Echel, 2013) and eventually the present day African Union (AU). It showed that Nkrumah was determined to have a united Africa whose strength lay in political, social and human resources (Finley, 2006).

Bolaji (2015) pointed out that Ghana provided a political and intellectual base for pan-Africanism which translated into Ghana becoming a ‘true gateway to the homeland in Africa’ (p.
93). Ghana also served as a beacon, guiding many countries in Africa to independence (Gaines, 1999). From the late 1950s to 1966, many African-Americans left the United States for Ghana in the name of pan-African solidarity (Gaines, 1999). Included among them were intellectuals like W.E.B Du Bois who was extended citizenship and died as a Ghanaian citizen in Ghana. In his tribute to Du Bois, Nkrumah described him as a highly respected scholar of intellectual honesty and integrity. As such, he (Nkrumah) invited him to ‘come to Ghana and pass the evening of his life with us and also to spend his remaining years compiling an Encyclopedia Africana’ (Nkrumah’s Tribute to Du Bois, Accra, August 29, 1963). The burial site of Du Bois is in Accra today, and serves as a tourist center and library for interested people. This shows that Nkrumah, and by extension, Ghana exhibited an open and a welcoming attitude toward other Africans, both on the continent and abroad.

**Regulatory Policies on Migrants in Ghana 1960-1965**

In order to understand the total picture of the welcoming culture of Ghana in the 1960s, it is also important to examine immigration policies. During the cocoa crises of the 1930s, it is noted that local chiefs on the cocoa farms asked the colonial government to ensure that foreigners were kept out of the country.

Okyeman consider…that it is now time that people from Sierra-Leone, Nigeria and other places should be made amenable to the customary laws of the various states in which they reside and that any act of insubordination on the part of any such strangers should, with the sanction of Government, be punished by deportation. These foreigners…disrupt the people of this Country. (Olaniyi, 2008, p. 13)
This shows that agitation for the expulsion of foreigners began in the colonial era, but issues did not come to a head until 1969. Before independence and shortly after, immigration into Ghana continued to grow. Ghana’s first formal attempt to regulate immigration started in 1963. The Alien Act 1963 (Act No. 160) with its subsequent amendment Aliens (Amendment) Act 1965 (Act No 265) was established. These Acts sought to modify and consolidate existing laws on immigration, started during the colonial era, into standard legislative systems (Addo, 1974). The Acts related to the immigration, residence, employment and deportation of aliens in Ghana. Among other things, The Alien Act 1963 stipulated that every alien should possess the necessary legal documents in order to reside in the country. According to Addo (1974), however, these Acts were not enforced stringently on the immigrant population.

In 1965, an advisory committee on population was set up to devise ways to formulate a population policy for Ghana. One of the concerns raised by this committee was the high rate of immigration of unskilled workers from neighboring countries. The committee recommended that the government strictly enforce the immigration regulations already in place (Addo, 1974). The committee neglected to articulate how enforcement of the immigration regulations could be enacted.

The non-enforcement of the Acts and the failure of the committee to provide practical recommendations were probably a result of Nkrumah’s government, which pursued a liberal policy agenda during that time (Addo, 1974; Henckaerts, 1995). It may also have been that the government was preoccupied with revving up the economy of Ghana. It is difficult for policies that run counter to the plans of a current government to be implemented or enforced.

**The 1969 Expulsion Order**
In the early 1960s, Ghana’s economy began to decline due to falling world prices of cocoa and several internal economic challenges. The government blamed the influx of immigrants as a cause for the employment decline (Campbell, 2006). The migrants were painted as criminals and diamond smugglers (Addo, 1974). Government statistics indicated that 90% of all criminals were aliens (Henckaerts, 1995). It must be noted that the validity of these statistics is questionable because the statistics did not include unreported, undiscovered and unresolved crimes. Also, because of subjective perception, the police were probably more sensitive toward crimes committed by aliens than crimes committed by locals (Henckaerts, 1995). As such the figures presented by the government are misleading. It is more likely that immigrants were used as scapegoats to turn the focus away from government’s challenges in dealing with the economic downturn (Gagnon, 1994; Peil, 1971). Olaniyi (2008) reported that,

Within a decade of independence in Ghana, an attempt to address economic development took a stereotypical pattern in which immigrants whose labour and entrepreneurship contributed immensely to the nation’s development were scapegoats. (p.6)

As part of the government’s strategies to arrest the declining economy, restrictive policies were enacted. An example of this was the Alien Compliance Order. This was an order by which all aliens, both Africans and non-Africans without residence permits were ordered to leave the country in two weeks. According to Aremu and Ajayi (2014), indigenous Ghanaians mounted pressure on the government to increase participation of native Ghanaians in the economic spheres of the nation. This led to events building up until November 1969 when the Prime Minister Kofi Busia expelled over 100,000 immigrant traders.
Shack and Skinner (1979) reported that the word ‘alien’ in Ghana was not in common use until the Alien Compliance Order promulgation in 1969. Before this order, foreign Africans in the cities of Ghana, especially Accra, were referred to as Wangara, Lagosians, Ewe and Mossi (Peil, 1974). According to The Pioneer Newspaper of November 1969, the government issued a statement that read as follows,

It has come to the notice of the Government that several aliens, both Africans and non-Africans in Ghana, do not possess the requisite residence permits in conformity with the laws of Ghana. There are others, too, who are engaging in business of all kinds contrary to the term of their visiting permits. The Government has accordingly directed that all aliens in the first category, that is those without residence permits, should leave Ghana within fourteen days that is not later than December 2, 1969. Those in the second category should obey strictly the term of their entry permits, and if these have expired they should leave Ghana forthwith. The Ministry of Interior has been directed to comb the country thoroughly for defaulting aliens and aliens arrested for contravening these orders will be dealt with according to the law. (Shack & Skinner, 1979, p.19)

The order gave non-citizens two weeks in which to obtain residence or work permits or leave the country. The word ‘alien’ referred collectively to Africans and non-Africans resident in Ghana who were not citizens (Shack & Skinner, 1979). The 1992 Constitution Act 527 together with The Citizenship Act, 2000 and its various Amendments 1971, 1972, 1978, 1979, and 2002 encompass how citizenship is achieved in Ghana. It can be acquired through (i) Birth, (ii) Either parent or grandparent being a citizen of Ghana, (iii) Marriage, (iv) Adoption and (v) Naturalization or Registration with the conditions that a person must be of good character and be
resident in Ghana for seven years. These options include being adapted to the culture of Ghana and speaking at least one indigenous language. It must be noted that the order was not circulated suddenly. In July of 1969, embassies in Ghana had been warned that foreign nationals would be given nine months to put their papers in order or be expelled (Brydon, 1985; Peil, 1971).

During a time of anti-immigrant sentiments, Ghana’s exclusionary policies sheltered immigrant farmers and targeted the prominent sector of non-citizen traders (Honig, 2016). Land in Ghana was controlled by powerful traditional authorities and the immigrant farmers. The immigrant traders on the other hand had gained economic dominance and therefore become the target of exclusionary policies in the face of anti-immigrant sentiments.

The move by Kofi Busia was opposite to that of Kwame Nkrumah’s ideals of Pan-Africanism and African unity, indicating that Ghana under two different prime ministers exhibited very different forms of reception toward foreigners. Ghana showed an open and welcoming attitude on one hand and on the other an antagonistic attitude toward foreigners, particularly foreign merchants, traders, businesspersons, and entrepreneurs. This indicates that the leadership of a country can determine the attitude of a nation toward foreigners, through policies that directly affect outsiders.

After the expulsion, in order to better assimilate, some migrants changed their dressing and tried to pass as Ghanaians, because they could speak a local language like Hausa (Adida, 2014; Peil, 1974). For instance, Adida (2011) disclosed that Nigerian Hausas in Accra integrated into the host Muslim society to the extent that the Ghanaian indigenes consider the Hausa language a native Ghanaian language and the Hausas a native Ghanaian people. The 1969 expulsion order with the resulting situation was something that occurred outside the norm. I will now discuss perspectives of the welcoming culture post 1969.
Ghana’s Welcoming Culture post 1969

According to Bolaji (2015), subsequent governments after Nkrumah did not make any significant steps toward pan-Africanism besides their commitment toward the OAU (or African Union [AU]). In 1981, the president of Ghana, Jerry John Rawlings, revived pan-Africanism in Ghana by building monuments such as the W.E.B. Du Bois Center for pan-African Culture in 1986. He also created the Kwame Nkrumah Memorial Park in 1992. Both these centers are located in Accra, and receive visitors from across Africa and the world. The Rawlings administration also instituted a biennial celebration of the pan-African Historical Theatre Festival (PANAFEST). This is a celebration that showcased African culture, arts and music. The seeds of pan-Africanism planted during independence have become a source of tourist revenues for the nation (Finley, 2006). This suggests that Ghana’s interest in reviving pan-Africanism was economic in nature, rather than seeking the ideals of pan-Africanism purported by Kwame Nkrumah. Not only are there cultural events organized around the pan-African theme, but universities also hold intellectual conferences designed to interrogate ideas in transforming higher education and pan-Africanism (Appendix E).

The Kufour government also organized a Home Coming Summit in July 2001. Some of the objectives of the summit included setting up a secretariat to promote dialogue and advice, support, and assistance for the African diaspora. Ghana was also willing to embark on national healing and atonement for her part in the slave trade and sought to re-kindle the ties of pan-Africanism during her independence from colonialism. This was shown through the Joseph Project of Ghana’s 50th Independence Celebrations in 2007. The Joseph Project was the code name for a series of activities, actions and interactions by Ghana to re-establish the African nation as a nation of all African people (Ministry of Tourism & Diaspora Relations, 2007). In
line with this, Ghana reached out not only to African Americans from the United States, but to traditional rulers in Senegal and Angola, trying to make Ghana the gateway to healing, atonement, and embracing of all Africans affected by the slave trade (Ministry of Tourism & Diaspora Relations, 2007). The readiness to accept blame and seek to right wrongs done to kin suggests that Ghana as a nation willing to make amends for past wrongs. This does not appear to include the migrants expelled under the Alien Compliance Order of 1969 bringing out criticisms that the acceptance of blame and apologies for past wrongs were merely ceremonial (King, 2007).

Most notable among the criticisms is the complaint by the African diaspora that the Ghanaian claim to provide them with activities that would spiritually connect them to their roots was often not realized (Bolaji, 2015). This is in connection with African Americans who were perceived by Ghanaians as relatively wealthy. The interactions of Ghanaians with ‘the money-making machine from the diaspora’ are clouded with ways to optimize revenue for the Ghanaians (Bolaji, 2015, p. 83).

Another objective of the summit was to operationalize and harmonize contradicting provisions in the Dual Citizenship Law. This law was signed during the Rawlings administration in 2000 and was implemented in 2001 during the Kufour government. Two Acts address the status of the African diaspora in Ghana, namely, the Citizenship Act 591 and the Immigration Act 573. Section 17(1) of the Immigration Act 2000, Act 573 provides that a person having the right of abode ‘shall be free to live and to come and go into and from that country without let or hindrance.’ In connection with dual citizenship, Act 591 16 (1) allows dual citizenship in that Ghanaians ‘may hold the citizenship of any other country in addition to his citizenship of Ghana.’ When these two Acts are taken together, it suggests that any person of African descent
who is already a citizen of any country may, by registration or naturalization, become a citizen of Ghana (Bolaji, 2015).

Ghana’s 1992 Constitution enacts the implementation of labor and immigration laws, and includes the obligation to respect the human rights and freedoms of all persons in Ghana. This includes foreign nationals, irrespective of their country of birth or legal status. From the mid-1990s, Ghana’s immigration and investment laws were restructured to allow for and encourage foreign talent and expertise into the country (OECD/ILO, 2018). Important changes to Ghana’s legislation on immigration (Table 1.2) included a change to the constitution.

The 1969 Constitution introduced a clause designed to prevent Ghanaians from holding the citizenship of Ghana and another country simultaneously. This meant that citizens, especially, of Nigerian descent who had become naturalized Ghanaians had to choose between maintaining their Ghanaian citizenship and abandoning the citizenship of the countries of their birth. The 1992 constitution did not give Ghanaians and non-Ghanaians the same level of protection (OECD/ILO, 2018). It placed restrictions on the activities of non-Ghanaians in the economy in terms of owning land. As such, non-citizens were barred from acquiring land permanently, or acquiring an interest in land for a period exceeding 50 years (OECD/ILO, 2018). In 1996, Ghana amended its 1992 Constitution to allow for Ghanaians to hold the citizenship of countries other than Ghana. This marked a change in policies. For example, the Constitution of Ghana broadened the availability of citizenship to non-Ghanaian long-term residents. The restructuring of the citizenship laws indicated the preparedness of the Ghanaian government to create a society that was more welcoming to foreigners and investment (OECD/ILO, 2018). In addition, non-citizens could now be dual citizens of Ghana and their countries of birth. A way to keep a record of all persons in Ghana was to issue national identity cards.
National Identity Card in Ghana

The process for national identification cards began in Ghana in 1972 through the implementation of the Citizen’s Identity Cards decree (NRCD 129). This law required Ghanaian citizens aged sixteen years and above to be issued with identity cards for cases where holder identity was in dispute and for other purposes, such as employment. In 1973, national identity cards were first issued to citizens in five border regions of the country. The project was discontinued three years later, because of the lack of financial and logistical support (Adjei, 2013). In 1987, the government revisited the national identity card notion by establishing committees. This was again discontinued because of economic challenges (Adjei, 2013). In 2001, the government decided to develop a comprehensive biometric system to capture data on Ghanaians, including legally resident non-Ghanaians. By 2003, a national identification secretariat was set up to implement and manage the national identification system. The Act 707, establishing the national identification authority was passed in 2006. The authority was able to embark on mass registration exercises in 2007, 2008 and 2009. The process of issuing national identity cards started in 2011.

Challenges remain in registration and issuing identity cards. One such challenge is the large number of foreign nationals claiming dual citizenship (Adjei, 2013). To prove citizenship, the national identification authority demands birth certificate or passports (NIA, 2018). The challenge is that only a small number of Ghanaians have birth certificates and therefore establishing citizenship became difficult (Adjei, 2013). The NIA consequently relied on relatives and opinion leaders to vouch for applicants whose identity were in doubt (Adjei, 2013).

Ghanaians do not seem to be suspicious of foreigners; rather they seek to embrace people, as evidenced by the Dual Citizenship Law and the Immigration Act geared toward
welcoming Africans back from the diaspora. As they experience an environment of warmth and friendly relations, foreigners remain receptive to the open friendliness and feel safe and secure (Pietilä, 2010). The peace experienced by foreigners is an indicator of how receptive a location is to foreigners (Furuseth et al., 2015; Lundy & Lartey, 2017).

Research indicates the perception about Ghanaians, ‘the outside world has always viewed Ghana with admiration, perceiving Ghanaians as peace-loving, warm and welcoming people’ (Tampuri, 2016, p.3). According to Shack and Skinner (1979), Ghanaians tend to see integration into their society as dependent on the wishes of the outsider; no one need stay a ‘stranger’ unless he or she chooses to remain so. The onus is on the guest to either choose to commit fully into society or maintain a dual role, perhaps because that is more beneficial (Erdal & Oeppen, 2013; Levine, 1971). Ghanaians therefore demonstrate an ability to accept guests on their (i.e the guests) terms (Peil, 1971).

MacGonagle and Warren (2012) acknowledge that Ghanaians are often described as the friendliest people in Africa. They are seen as having an overwhelming friendly way of dealing with foreign guests. For instance, Ghanaians can confer honorary chieftaincy status on foreign guests ranging from African-Americans to Dutch, German and British nationals (MacGonagle & Warren, 2012). Bolaji (2015) points out that these honorary titles are dissimilar to the traditional chief titles which include swearing of oaths and accompanying duties. These honorary titles predominately translate into development chief or development queen mother, thus dealing primarily with the theme of development. Such titles are conferred more to commend and secure foreigners’ contributions toward local development efforts than the usual traditional chief titles (MacGonagle & Warren, 2012). Regardless of skeptics, the point remains that people are often appreciative of the honor of being given the title of ‘chief’.
Considering that some ethnic groups in Ghana, like the Hausa were pastoralists, I will turn next to a discussion of Fulani pastoralists and Ghana’s response toward them.

*Ghana’s Welcoming Culture toward Fulani Pastoralists and Nigerian Businesspersons*

Fulani pastoralists in West Africa are continually depicted as sources of contention and conflict with local farmers (Bukari & Schareika, 2015; Yembilah, 2012; Yembilah & Grant, 2014). The modern migration of Fulani pastoralists from Burkina Faso, Mali and Niger to Ghana started as early as the 1960s (Tonah, 2003). Before that, the migration of the Fulani dates back to the time the Fulani became cattle keepers which started in the twelfth century, increasing by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (Adebayo, 1997). The modern state system and the new boundaries that were created by colonialism changed migration patterns from regional to cross-border migrations (Addo, 1974).

The Fulani would settle at the outskirts of settlements and begin grazing activities on the lands allocated to them (Tonah, 2003). Successful installation in a location would often be followed by requests for their kin and relatives to join them in that area. In the mid-1970s, another group of Fulani, fleeing drought in the Sahel region moved and settled into Northern Ghana and further into the Eastern, Ashanti and Volta regions. In the 1950s and 1960s, the relationships between the Fulani pastoralists and their host farmers were generally harmonious. Local farmers were able to focus on food and cash crop production because they entrusted their cattle to Fulani pastoralists, who obtained milk from the animals (Tonah, 2003). This was a mutually beneficial relationship, but could also be complicated. Tonah (2003) and Adebayo (1997) have documented that there were incidences of conflict from as early as the colonial period to independence, when damages occurred to farms through the movement of cattle from the northern parts of the West African region to southern markets.
Since the 1980s, the Fulani have dispersed from the northern parts of Ghana to the central parts, primarily settling in the Agogo Afram plains (Olaniyan et al., 2015). The relationship between Fulani pastoralists and local agricultural farmers has deteriorated gradually as a result of mistrust. This mistrust is due to incidences of theft, destruction of farms and competition over scarce resources (Adebayo, 1997; Fasona et al., 2016; Tonah, 2003). Competitive pressure from local population has led to a drastic reduction of Fulani settlements and access to grazing lands. In addition, bureaucratic hurdles have been introduced by successive Ghanaian governments to further curtail access to grazing lands. By 2000, protests over accusations at Fulani pastoralists emerged. These accusations ranged from destruction of farmlands and robberies to rape of local farmer wives’ and daughters by herdsmen (Olaniyan et al., 2015).

In January 2012, a high court in Kumasi, capital of the Ashanti region of Ghana, ordered a flushing out of all Fulani and their cattle from the Agogo Afram plains (Olaniyan et al., 2015). This differed from the 1969 expulsion act in the sense that it did not state that the Fulani had to leave Ghana, but they were to leave the immediate area. Security forces were drafted to enforce the order, however they were unable to do so due to either unwillingness or the inability to do so; there is still a significant presence of Fulani in the area (Olaniyan et al., 2015). This implies that the state was unwilling or unable to enforce the ruling, probably due to a lack of political will. As a result of anger over the inability of the government to enforce the ruling, a series of demonstrations and protests were staged by the residents of Agogo Afram plains demanding the mass expulsion of the Fulani pastoralists from Ghana (Olaniyan et al., 2015).

The ‘Fulani’ are not one of the recognized ethnic groups of Ghana, despite contact with the Ghanaian populace for over a century (Bukari & Schareika, 2015). This is likely because historically, the Fulani herders came occasionally from Burkina Faso and Togo to northern parts
of Ghana for seasonal grazing lands for their cattle. They went back to Burkina Faso and Togo after the season was over. This implies that their contact with Ghanaians were sporadic and not too frequent (Bukari, 2017). Many population censuses that have been held do not count Fulanis as part of the population of Ghana and as such they are not registered in the national census. According to Oppong (2002) given Ghana’s history with deporting aliens, many Fulani identified as indigenous Ghanaians in census data because of the fear of intimidation.

In national elections, second and third generation Fulani pastoralists are not allowed to vote, unless locally dominant political parties see them as enhancing their electoral chances. For example during the National Identification exercise meant to compile a national database and identity cards for both citizen and noncitizens resident in Ghana, the Fulanis were either turned away from registering or had to pay money to register (Bukari & Schareika, 2015). Many experts have a different view of Fulanis. According to them, Fulanis are second and third generation Ghanaians who are Ghanaian citizens. They also have rights according to the ECOWAS Transhumance Protocol 1998 which allow herders to move across borders in search of pasture and which Ghana signed (Bukari & Schareika, 2015). This protocol regulates the movement of nomadic herdsmen across West Africa in terms of where they can pass with their cattle and where water holes and veterinary posts are to be situated for them. Ghana offers veterinary services to Fulani and their cattle in some areas (Bukari & Schareika, 2015).

Realistic conflict theory explains why Fulanis are subject to discrimination, prejudice and stereotyping. The competition over scarce resources, destruction of farmland and changes in land use has resulted in prejudice, stereotypes and discrimination against Fulanis in Ghana (Fasona et al., 2016; Shittu et al., 2016). However, it is also important to note that the relationship is not
always conflict-based. The Fulani and Ghanaians also exist in a cooperative relationship often characterized by negotiations (Bukari, 2017).

Another incidence of a not so welcoming culture involved Nigerian small businesses in real estate, textile and garments, electronics, banking and telecommunication, and tourism in Ghana. Nigerian traders have criticized discriminatory treatment when setting up trading companies in Ghana, claiming that protocols relating to the free movement of people and right of establishment were only partially implemented (Hoppe & Aidoo, 2010). Nigerian traders in Ghana reported that their shops were closed by Ghanaian authorities resulting in tensions (African Report, 2014). The Ministry of Trade in Ghana alleged that foreign traders were in violation of Ghanaian national laws. They stipulated that trading enterprises either wholly or partly owned by a non-Ghanaian, and involved only in the purchasing and selling of goods, can operate if they invest at least US $300,000 and employ at least ten Ghanaians (Hoppe & Aidoo, 2010). According to the Ministry of Trade, Ghana is considering the introduction of special courts to deal with foreigners illegally operating small to medium retail businesses. In July of 2014, members of the Ghana Union of Traders Association staged a demonstration protesting that foreigners have taken over the retail businesses and were depriving Ghanaians of their livelihood in contravention of the law (African Report, 2014). Various reasons account for why foreign entrepreneurs invest in local economies such as expansion of markets or regional integration (Lundy, 2015; Lundy et al., 2017). The effect of the expansion of markets is that the population of foreign entrepreneurs can swell relative to local traders. According to Olaniyi (2008), this happened in Ghana in 1960, causing competition and indignation among Ghanaian local entrepreneurs. The protests and demonstrations can therefore be attributed to competitive
feelings over trade leading to exclusion and seeing the foreigner as an outsider (Lundy et al. 2017).

**Conclusion**

The expulsion policies and calls for expulsion against the foreigner in Ghana resulted from seeing the foreigners as threats to Ghanaian livelihoods and citizenship. These happen when resources seem to be scarce or when the nation is experiencing economic crises. It is easier to scapegoat immigrants than fix national economic problems that may be complex and not easily resolved. When individuals are also experiencing personal economic challenges, they scapegoat foreigners as well, evidenced by the holding of protests against Nigerian businesspersons and the Fulani pastoralists.

Implications of exclusionary policies against foreigners reveal temporary negative effects to the Ghanaian society. It could lead to repercussions from other countries as was the case when Nigeria retaliated with expelling Ghanaian immigrants from Nigeria in 1983. Many migrants do not feel welcome and may not integrate quickly. In the case of the Fulani in Ghana, some are compelled to relocate elsewhere, although they prefer to live in Ghana (Bukari & Schareika, 2015). Discrimination and stereotyping can lead to conflict and breaking of harmonious relationships (Baumeister & Vohs, 2007). Resorting to exclusionary policies breaks up the opportunity for resolving of conflicts which might exist just by living together in a location (Bukari & Schareika, 2015).

Based on the different perspectives outlined above, Ghana’s welcoming culture is determined to be complex, moving through the range of open and welcoming to closed and antagonistic toward foreigners. It can also be seen that leaders play a significant role in
determining whether a nation exhibits a welcoming attitude or not toward foreigners through their policies and actions.
Chapter 3
Theoretical Foundation and Conceptual Framework
Foreign Students Mobility: Patterns and Experiences

Introduction

The literature review in this section is focused on migration and education. The patterns and experiences of foreign students are largely documented centering on student mobility from the Global South to the Global North. While foreign students provide benefits to their host institutions and nations, they also face adaptation, adjustment, and integration challenges. The literature is lacking in areas of interactions and relationships of foreign students with host communities. There is also a dearth of information in regional mobility patterns as opposed to patterns where foreign students move from the Global South to the Global North.

The chapter starts with the theoretical underpinnings to the study. These are the contact hypothesis, realistic conflict theory, integration and acculturation, and finally receptivity theory. The review of literature is sectioned under these theories to give a picture of what is relevant in the field of migration and higher education. Scaffolding as a concept is used to tie all these theories together. Finally, I review regional mobility patterns in order to have an understanding of what might be considered as an emerging trend in migration and higher education patterns.

Theoretical Framework

Concept of Scaffolding

My theoretical framework is organized around the concept of educational scaffolding. Educational scaffolding was first employed by Vygotsky (1987). This refers to an instructional way of teaching that is used to build progressively toward a stronger understanding of a concept (Vygotsky, 1987). These theories—contact hypothesis, realistic conflict theory, integration and
acculturation, and receptivity—are used to frame the overarching discussion of welcome given to ECOWAS students in higher education in Accra, Ghana. The contact hypothesis and realistic conflict theory are used to understand interactions between foreign students and host nationals. Integration and acculturation and receptivity theories are used to examine the relationships of the community, institution and other stakeholders with foreign students. Also, the receptivity theory is applied to understand the reception of the state of Ghana to foreign students. Overall, these theories help to understand how receptive Ghanaians are toward ECOWAS students in higher education in the city of Accra, Ghana.

The Contact Hypothesis

The contact hypothesis theory is first used to inform the study. The contact hypothesis states that the more people come into contact with each other, the less biases result (Allport 1954; Cook 1985; Pettigrew & Tropp 2006). The more face-to-face interactions occur, the less people are biased toward each other. Evidence from the literature suggests that cross-group contact, such as close friendship ties, promotes tolerance and positive regard toward the other group (Davies et al., 2011; Gareis, 2012; Pettigrew, 1998). Pettigrew (1998) put emphasis on time. He explained that a fleeting contact is not enough, but that time is needed for learning about the other group, for behavioral changes to occur and for emotional ties to form. As such, the frequency and duration of contact can result in a more sustained form of interaction (Entzinger & Biezeveld, 2003; Gidley, 2016).

Research indicates that an increased contact with host communities can help international students improve their language skills and build confidence to communicate (Belford, 2017). Furthermore, friendship development and social interactions play significant roles in the adjustment process of international students (Belford, 2017; Lee & Rice, 2007). According to
Gareis (2012), an essential component of foreign student satisfaction is contact with host nationals, especially, the deep, meaningful and intimate contact found in friendships. For this research, the more sustained interactions occur between domestic and foreign students, the more foreign students are expected to improve their language skills and have the confidence to communicate. The realistic conflict theory presents a different view to this perspective.

**Realistic Conflict Theory**

A second theory used in this study is the realistic conflict theory. This theory states that as groups compete over scarce resources, negative attitudes such as discrimination and prejudices result (Baumeister & Vohs, 2007; Brief et. al. 2005). Prejudice is defined as the ‘negative attitude towards a group or members of a group’ (Stangor, 2009, p. 2). Related to prejudice is discrimination, which is the ‘behavioral manifestation of prejudice and involves actions taken toward individuals based on their group membership’ (Quinton, 2018, p. 2). Expressions of prejudice can be in the form of stereotyping. Stereotyping is a more complex phenomenon that may be linked to ideas or knowledge structures that create mental pictures of the other group (Stangor, 2009). Perceptions of prejudice and discrimination are related to negative experiences and interpersonal encounters (Quinton, 2018). Evidence points to a relationship between threat perceptions and prejudice against out-groups (Quinton, 2018; Stephan et al., 2009). A competitive place like a college campus where domestic students compete with international students for college admission, campus resources and opportunities will have the potential for perceived threats and expressions of prejudice. In a study on international students in an American host institution, it was found that American students generally lack interest and are unwilling to engage in close intimate relationships with international students (Gareis, 2012). It appeared that, generally, local students were uninterested
in initiating and maintaining contact with international students (Singh, 2012; Ward & Masgoret, 2004; Ward, 2001).

In another study, students in an American university were found to have prejudiced perceptions against international students, viewing them as realistic and symbolic threats (Charles-Toussaint & Crowson, 2010). A realistic threat involves the perception of competition over economic resources such as employment opportunities (Leong, 2008). A symbolic threat includes the ‘perception of cultural encroachment against dominant groups by members of an ethno-cultural minority’ (Leong, 2008, p. 117). Therefore, international students were seen as posing threats to the beliefs and values of American students as well as to their social status, economic, educational and physical well-being. These attitudes suggest subjective experiences of insecurity based on economic and socio-cultural uncertainties (Leong, 2008). In a third study, university specific attitudes of behavior toward international students were measured. Predictors of prejudice were used to investigate domestic students’ attitudes toward international students on campus (Quinton, 2018). Predictors of prejudice included negative attitudes toward international students, stereotypical beliefs about international students and the degree of socialization with international students. It was found that components of prejudice, such as socialization, predict domestic students’ attitudes toward international students. The more domestic students socialized with international students, the less likely they were to perceive international students negatively.

Expressions of discrimination and prejudice are expected to come out as Ghanaians compete with ECOWAS students over university resources. It is also expected that as Ghanaians socialize more with ECOWAS students, Ghanaians will be less likely to view foreign students negatively. Next, the integration and acculturation framework is discussed.
Integration and Acculturation Framework

Integration and acculturation framework is the third theory used. Berry (2009) described acculturation strategies as ‘ways by which groups and individuals seek to acculturate’ (p. 366). He identified four ways that this can be done: assimilation, separation, integration and marginalization. These ways describe how individuals orient themselves in relation to their cultural identities and their interactions with the host society. Integration is defined as maintaining one’s cultural identity while seeking to participate in the life of the larger society (Berry, 2007). Integration as defined in Berry’s (2009) model is very specific and does not refer to any long-term involvement of an immigrant group in a host society. However, in another argument, Berry (2007) recognized that the most common and adaptive strategy is integration. Integration can also be defined as processes of social connection within and between groups of a community (Ager & Strang, 2008). Structural barriers related to culture, language and the local environment can hinder the connection (Ager & Strang, 2008). In my research, I anticipate that language, culture, class, and the local environment may hinder processes of integration.

For this study, the approach is to use integration as defined by Berry (2007), i.e. maintaining one’s cultural identity while seeking to participate in the life of the larger society on one level. This definition places emphasis on newcomers, marking them out as in need of special treatment or as problematic (Gidley, 2016). On another level, this study also views integration as a whole society process, not just an issue of majorities and minorities (Maan et al., 2014; Spencer & Charsley, 2015). For my purpose, integration can be conceptualized as multi-dimensional, occurring in different ways and at different speeds for individuals (Gidley, 2016; Spencer & Charsley, 2015). For instance, authors distinguish between academic integration, social integration, cultural integration, community integration, and regional integration.
(Beresnevièiûtë, 2003; Bolaños, 2016; Kuran & Sandholm, 2008; Neville & Rhodes, 2004; Sander et al., 2010). Integration can thus be conceptualized in various ways. For example, academic integration occurs in higher education institutions when students express satisfaction or dissatisfaction with experiences that have the potential to impact their retention, degree completion, and exit from the institution (Nevill & Rhodes, 2004). Social and community integration may be defined as an intentional process to create community by encouraging actors to engage with each other in ongoing interactions (Young, 2014). Regional integration occurs when nations integrate their economies in pursuit of goals like economic, political, and physical growth and development (Bolaños, 2016). While this definition focuses on countries, individuals of these countries may also acquire skills, leading to increased human capital of their countries thereby promoting regional integration (Gennaioli et al., 2012).

Integration and acculturation literature takes the position that the goal of migrants is to integrate within their host societies (Berry, 1994; 2009; Lundy & Darkwah, 2018). Looking at integration from a different perspective, one may argue that the goal of institutions may be to integrate foreign students into the campus community (Nevill & Rhodes, 2004; Young, 2014). When one considers the various forms of integration, the implication is that foreign students may integrate into academic, social, and community settings of the institution and the larger host community. For my purpose, it is essential to understand the integration concept from different angles in order to provide depth and usefulness to the definition. As such, an expectation of this research is that ECOWAS students may integrate into the institutional community, the Ghanaian society or be part of a bigger regional experience.

A number of studies expound the experiences of educational migrants in adapting to their institutions (Belford, 2017; Gareis 2012; Singh, 2010; Ward, 2001). These experiences run the
scope from negative to positive. The literature distinguishes between physical, social and emotional challenges experienced by international students abroad. Physical and social challenges include adjusting to climate, food, accommodation and local languages (Fischer, 2011; Mahmud et al., 2010). In terms of language, studies show that students who are similar in culture and language adjust better because they are familiar with the language and values of the host nation, while students from dissimilar cultures often experience culture shock (Mahmud et al., 2010). Culture shock occurs when people fail to adapt their behaviors and attitudes in order to fit into different social contexts (Çetin & Griffiths, 2017; Mahmud et al., 2010). First coined by Oberg (1960), this term describes a period of disorientation a person experiences in a foreign environment while away from family and friends. Universities provide satisfactory support services for international students which help them adjust better (Mahmud et al., 2010; Wang et al., 2014). Such services include efficient international student offices, multicultural trained student personnel and support programs. As such, I included questions to institutional employees asking what support services were in place for foreign students in my interview guide. An expectation exists in the literature that cultural and social integration into a host community may achieve faster learning outcomes for international students (Hellsten, 2002). Therefore, receiving social and community support of the host nation makes learning quicker. The pathway to an international degree is viewed as a cooperative achievement with stakeholders from both migrants and the host country (Hellsten, 2002). ECOWAS students in Ghana are expected to perceive integration in the community as a way to achieve faster learning outcomes.

Emotional challenges faced by international students comprise problems with racial discrimination, alienation and homesickness (Çetin & Griffiths, 2017; Fischer, 2011). Research authors have noted that the most common problems faced by black African students in their host
destination are prejudice and discrimination, social isolation, financial concerns and separation from family and friends (Boafo-Arthur, 2014; Hyams-Ssekasi et al., 2014). These problems are often interrelated, for example, a lack of funds can prevent students from participating in social activities with other students (Boafo-Arthur, 2014; Hyams-Ssekasi et al., 2014).

A linguistic study comparing the cross-cultural adaptation experiences of international students was done with foreign students in the United States and South Africa (Catalano & Vandeyar, 2016). It was suggested that migrant students viewed the adaptation process as a survival mechanism. The classroom was metaphorically described as a battlefield with professors and members of the receiving society seen as opponents. The student migrant must survive by fighting with language, skills and knowledge as well as fight against nostalgia and the longing to be back home. This indicates that there is a struggle and hardship involved in the often painful process of adapting into the receiving society (Catalano & Vandeyar, 2016). These results were similar in both the United States and South Africa, suggesting that the process of adapting to a new society in different cultural contexts is comparable.

Not only are these challenges experienced by students from English speaking countries, but Francophone students also experience similar challenges. Tati (2010) explained that French speaking foreign students in South Africa experience financial pressures, language barriers and job insecurities while studying. They also face unsafe living environments and general anti-African foreigner sentiments. The next theory to be discussed is receptivity.

Receptivity

The final theory I use is receptivity which is defined by the Cambridge English dictionary as referring to the ability to accept new ideas and suggestions. Translating this definition to migration suggests the ability of citizens to accept and welcome newcomers into their midst. In
the United States, studies detailing immigrant integration as well as attitudes of native born citizens toward newcomers in the cities where they settle have been documented (De Jong & Tran, 2001; Furuseth et al., 2015; Harden et al., 2015; McDaniel, 2013; McDaniel et al., 2017; Rodriguez et al., 2018). According to studies, ambivalent attitudes occur toward immigrants by native born citizens (McDaniel, 2013; Prins & Toso, 2012; Rodriguez et al., 2018). These attitudes may impede immigrants’ socio-cultural and economic integration.

According to De Jong and Tran (2001), receptivity can be viewed as the attitudes of native born citizens toward immigrants. These attitudes can either be positive or negative. In their study, the authors tested how English-as-a-second-language (ESL) adult providers perceive community receptivity toward immigrants. The factors they believe foster or hinder receptivity and immigrant integration include limitations foreign born students face in schools as they integrate with native speakers of the English language (Garefino 2009; Hayes 2016). De Jong and Tran (2001) also tested the hypothesis that there are differences in the warmth of welcome extended to immigrants across United States census divisions and metropolitan areas. They showed that in general, metropolitan area citizens have more receptive attitudes, and non-metropolitan area citizens are less receptive toward immigrants. Gareis (2012) also examined how home and host region affect international students’ friendship development in the United States. It was found that students originating from English speaking countries and Northern and Central Europe had the most positive experience while students from East Asia had the least positive. Also, students developed friendship ties easier and better in non-metropolitan areas than in metropolitan areas of the United States. Using this finding in my research context, I anticipate that students from English speaking countries in West Africa will form friendship ties faster and integrate better in Accra than students from francophone West Africa.
Within the context of a local labor market, De Jong et al. (2017) examined the receptivity climate across traditional, new and emerging Hispanic immigrant destinations in the United States. They also examined whether the receptivity climate was related to local unemployment rates and the skill level of immigrants who settle in these destinations. The results indicated that immigrant receptivity climate was more negative where unemployment rates were higher, although this finding was limited to new and emerging destinations. They also found that a high skill level of natives contributed to a more positive immigrant receptivity climate. It is expected that a positive immigrant receptivity climate will be present in a campus setting than in a non-academic setting.

Receptivity toward immigrants may come not only from other groups or individuals, but institutions, communities and centers also play a role in reception is toward migrants (Harden et al., 2015; McDaniel, 2013; McDaniel et al., 2017). In my research context, focusing on what tertiary level institutions in Accra are doing with regards to ECOWAS students can give an indication of how receptive Ghanaians are toward foreign guests. Thus, policies and practices of Ghanaian tertiary-level institutions that interact with ECOWAS students will add considerable value to my research. Such policies and practices may include what is being done with recruitment, retention and graduation of ECOWAS students in higher education.

Receptivity has been moderately studied in cities and communities in the global North and focuses mostly on migrants who move from the global South to settle in the North, but attention is lacking on south-south movements of migrants and how the cities and communities they move to respond to them. Whether by design or not, Accra with its position as a rising cosmopolitan city, presents an opportunity to study how receptivity influences the integration of student migrants within the global south.
Summary of Theories

In summary, this study takes receptivity and integration as constituents of a social process. Social processes are models that define the dynamics of any social unit (Jenkins & Jenkins, 1997). Social processes are relational, dynamic and can be used as analytical tools to analyze patterns in society (Jenkins & Jenkins, 1997). Thus, individuals or groups within social processes can undergo change or be preserved overtime (Erdal & Oeppen, 2013). This research posits that receptivity can occur as a prelude to integration (Harden et al., 2015; McDaniel, 2013; McDaniel et al., 2017; Rodriguez et al., 2018). A positive receptivity climate must occur in order for integration to be successful (McDaniel, 2013). This research also suggests that being receptive to ECOWAS students, places Ghanaians in a position of dual loyalty where they find themselves in a dilemma with regional policies on migration and being nationally, institutionally and/or personally receptive. Additionally, Ghanaians may perceive ECOWAS students as competitors to scarce resources, such as education and housing. They attempt to navigate the dilemma between regional policies (such as ECOWAS free movement of persons and right of residence) and their security. They must continuously enact a type of balancing act through time to maintain equilibrium (Gluckman, 1968). This notion is summarized as follows:

As actors, migrants and the populations of the societies they live in locally and transnationally relate and respond to the structural constraints and opportunities provided by these societies, including the legal, political and socio-economic dimensions. At times structural constraints limit actors’ agency; at other times particular structural features lead to counter-intuitive choices based on pragmatic considerations. (Erdal & Oeppen, 2013, p. 877)
The discussion now turns to regional mobility in higher education to provide a context for higher education mobility patterns as they emerge and create hubs across the globe.

**Regional Mobility in Higher Education**

A United Nations report on migration and youth, defined as being between ages 15-24, pointed out that youth studying abroad is growing rapidly. Over the past two decades, internationalization of higher education has expanded in volume, scope and complexity (Knight, 2012; Mustaffa & Illias, 2013). This has led to a need for international cooperation and regulatory arrangements to oversee quality control of higher education and accreditation frameworks. The report also emphasized the need for cooperation among countries to acknowledge educational qualifications obtained in other countries. Enhancing quality and harmonizing standards of cross-border tertiary education can lead to ‘win-win’ situations for students and employers in both countries of origin and destination. To facilitate mobility for higher education, regional frameworks on accreditation, qualifications and quality assurance represent an important first step (UNESCO, 2014).

A recent development in the internationalization of higher education is the establishment of regional hubs (Mustaffa & Illias, 2013). Although there is seemingly no indicator to define what a regional hub is, it can be constituted as efforts to build a number of local and international actors involved in cross-border education, in training, and in knowledge production (Knight, 2012). It is important to note that these efforts include countries attracting students primarily, but not exclusively from the region (Knight & Morshidi, 2011). Efforts of institutions in recruiting international students are documented in this study.

The emergence of regional hubs is related to two important developments in the internationalization of higher education. First, is the growth and scale of cross-border education
(Mustaffa & Illias, 2013), and second, is the emphasis on regionalization of higher education (Knight & Morshidi, 2011; Lee & Sehoole, 2015). A third related issue is the key role higher education plays in a knowledge economy (Knight, 2012). Knight and Morshidi (2011) explored the rationales and strategies used by three countries in the Middle East and three in South East Asia that were working to position themselves as regional hubs. All six countries were relatively small in size and population and they were moving from a natural resource or manufacturing based economy toward a knowledge-based economy. They discovered that a key feature among all countries was the desire to be positioned as a regional education hub. Secondly, there were national efforts in place to enable the country serve as a regional hub. In Ghana, national efforts for positioning the country as a regional hub appear to be absent. This study offers some recommendations toward Ghana serving as a regional hub for higher education.

In research on students’ rationales for choosing a study destination, it was found that the quality of education, the geographic location, social connectedness, and political stability played predominant roles (Cortina et al., 2014; Jon et al., 2014; Lee & Sehoole, 2015). Proximity to home country in terms of geographic location and stability are therefore important indicators to becoming a regional hub for higher education. Other studies add that a common language is also a key factor for students choosing to study in a regional area (Barnett et al., 2016; Kondacki, 2011). For instance, Turkey attracts students from the Balkans who share common linguistic, cultural, and historical backgrounds with the people of Turkey; and therefore are happier with their cultural, social and academic experiences (Kondacki, 2011).

Kondacki (2011) argued in a study on international students in Turkey that four rings can be identified in the movements of students for study abroad. First, there are the traditional destinations such as the United States, United Kingdom, and Australia. Outside of this core are
non-Anglophone economically developed countries with Anglo-Saxon education. The third ring consists of non-Anglophone economically developing countries and the fourth ring constitutes other countries characterized as sending countries. He placed Turkey in the third ring and suggested that although the popular destinations were to the core and economically developed countries, the trend of international student movements were turning to the non-Anglophone and economically developed countries such as Turkey. Mexico has been recognized as a regional hub for students from other Latin American countries. Korea and South Africa are also recognized as regional hubs (Cantwell et al., 2009; Jon et al., 2014; Lee & Sehoole, 2015). In this research, Ghana can be placed in the fourth ring; traditionally a sending country, but now considered an emerging regional destination. Generally, it appears that the trend of international student mobility is shifting toward peripheral countries.

**Host Nations and Foreign Student Migrants**

Best practices for the recruitment of international students have been established for the successful recruitment and adjustment of international students. These best practices include using a recruitment agent to gain access to students. A recruitment agent can be an individual, company or organization, and can operate in three ways (National Association for College Admission Counseling [NACAC], 2013). First, an agent can serve as a contract representative for a college or collection of colleges exclusively. An agent can also represent students, and finally an agent can represent both students and colleges. One best practice is to have recruitment agents who travel frequently to target countries so that a person with intimate knowledge of the campuses and programs can interact with prospective students (American International Recruitment Council, 2016).
When international students arrive on campus, another best practice is having an orientation with government mandated check-ins where students’ documents are checked. These may include a valid passport and/or a visa stamp (American International Recruitment Council, 2016). Together with orientation, the international student office should plan special activities throughout the year to help international students complete administrative requirements and integrate into their new community. Also, group outings and tours can introduce students to the surrounding community and familiarize them with important services and amenities (American International Recruitment Council, 2016). Generally, the best practices for students, faculty and staff and members of the community are listed below in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1

*Best practices for different populations*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Students</th>
<th>Faculty/Staff</th>
<th>Members of the community</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The university offers an orientation program that addresses basic and immediate needs such as course enrollment, immigration registration, tuition payment, food, housing and social belonging.</td>
<td>The university offers campus employers with information on hiring international students.</td>
<td>The university maintains collaborative relationships with local, state and federal officials.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The university provides employees with basic information about international students including definitions, demographics and needs</td>
<td>The university maintains a resource library for employees to access information pertaining to serving international students from their unique professional domains.</td>
<td>Employers attending on-campus job fairs are briefed on the basics of hiring an international student.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The university provides cultural programming designed to facilitate integration between international students and domestic students.</td>
<td>The university includes community resources in the orientation program.</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

Observable practices based on Table 3.1 will be added at the end of the research to show the best practices for institutions and students in the Ghanaian context.

The literature documents an ongoing debate as to whether to enroll international students at local universities or not. Costs incurred by host nations when providing places of study for international students are cited as disincentives (Münch & Hoch, 2013). Depending on the type of higher education system, these costs are financed to a greater or lesser extent by tuition or school fees which are often in excess of those charged domestic students.

Foreign students paying more for tuition may be seen by others as beneficial (Dustmann & Glitz, 2011). Additionally, the money international students spend on their accommodation, living expenses, leisure, and travel activities translate into positive effects for the economies of host countries through gross value added and job creation. Therefore, positive effects accrue to host countries from international student mobility (Dustmann & Glitz, 2011). In this research, I anticipate that an increased number of ECOWAS students in Ghana will result in an increased perception of benefits to Ghanaian institutions and Ghanaians in general.

Few studies document the responses that a receiving society exhibits toward foreign students. Kayitesi and Mwaba (2014) explore the perceptions of South African undergraduate students to African migrants by examining the relationship between life satisfaction and prejudice. From their survey results of 255 students at a university, they found that perceptions showed positive attitudes and beliefs. This was in contrast to the popular belief of African migrants as job takers or criminals (Crush & Pendleton, 2004). In this case, receptivity is associated with life satisfaction, such that high levels of life satisfaction correlates with greater tolerance of an out-group; hence, a positive receptivity.
Akenwsivie et al. (2013) conducted a study on foreign students’ experiences in Ghana. It disclosed that Ghana was an emerging destination for study among African students. A total of thirty-eight different nationalities were pursuing university education in Ghana. The study showed that feedback from lecturers, quality of teaching, access to lecturers and professionalism of support staffs were perceived to be important variables influencing foreign students’ satisfaction. The overall perception and attitude that a foreign student develops toward a host country is a function of the student’s institutional and country experiences (Akwensivie et al. 2013). Therefore, an expectation of my research is that ECOWAS students’ institutional and country experience, or perceptions of integration will generate perceptions of increased receptivity in relation to themselves.

The foregoing review describes the experiences and patterns of student mobility in traditional destinations such as the United States. It also demonstrates the trend toward emerging destinations as regional hubs. Few studies document the responses of the host nation to foreign student migrants. It is in this understudied area that my research is located. My main research question is: “How are ECOWAS students in higher education welcomed in Accra, Ghana?”

Conclusion

The literature reviewed focused primarily on interactions from the perspectives of international students. The perspectives of members of the host community (both institutional and non-institutional) are less documented. Again, most of the literature focuses on international students in economically developed countries with a few from emerging economies. In particular, this research highlights Ghana, which by design or not, is emerging as a regional education hub in West Africa. The next chapter deals with the methodology used in the research.
Chapter 4

Methodology

A Combined Approach: Using the Community Integration Factor Score and International Friendly Campus Scale to Examine Receptivity

Introduction

The Community Integration Factor Score was developed to measure community integration of the Bissau-Guinean immigrant population in Cabo Verde (Lundy & Darkwah, 2018). Three indicators were used—human security, needs assessment and realistic conflict—to develop and validate community integration. Questions asked measured needs assessment, human security levels and conflict experiences of participants. Then, these three were combined into an integration factor score through confirmatory factor analysis. The integration factor score measured community integration at the aggregate level. In this study, the score informed questions posed to participants pertaining to resource sharing and conflict. I used this score in combination with the IFCS.

The International Friendly Campus Scale (IFCS) is an eighteen item scale used to measure the international friendliness of a university campus (Wang et al., 2014). It was developed with a sample of 501 international students. The eighteen items were grouped into five subscales which were: (1) International Center Services, (2) Campus Discrimination, (3) Academic Support, (4) Social Engagement and (5) Identification with Institution. Questions asked measured how environmental factors are associated with students’ adjustments on campus. The correlations between the subscales were moderate to strong showing the distinctiveness of each, as well as the possibility of a composite score. For this reason, I used these subscales to measure institutional receptiveness toward foreign students, thereby gaining an understanding of
the institutional climate. Questions relevant to my study were taken from each of these subscales as well as the community integration factor score to qualitatively examine the friendliness of tertiary institutions to foreign students. Questions used to help answer my hypotheses are discussed in the data analysis section below.

In this chapter, I first discuss my primary and secondary research questions and hypotheses, and why they are the central foci of my study. Next, I explain the research design, strategies of inquiry and data collection approaches, specifically, semi-structured interviews and participant observations. I also discuss access to participants, the sampling frame, data analysis, research findings, validity and relevance and, the ethical considerations used in this study. Finally, the details of the methodology used are summarized in the last section.

**Research Question and Hypotheses**

Educational migrants are generally described in the literature as moving from economically less developed countries to economically more developed countries (Barnett et al., 2016; Kondacki, 2011; Knight, 2012; Wu et al., 2015). In their host nations and institutions, the literature is focused on their experiences and neglects the responses and behaviors of host individuals and communities (Boafo-Arthur et al., 2017; Hyams-Ssekasi, 2014). The literature also tends to see migrants and refugees as a problem to be solved, pointing out ways to integrate them into society so they can assimilate faster (Gidley, 2016; Schlueter et al., 2013). Populist views on migration present the negative aspects of migrants—that they are a burden on the economy in terms of taking jobs of citizens, crime rates increasing, housing rents soaring, and providing general economic loss to the host government (Foged & Peri, 2015). However, documentation on the economic and cultural benefits of educational migrants to the host society also exists (Knight, 2012; Knight & Morshidi, 2011; Levent, 2016). My study focused on the
understudied feature of migrating for education and the responses, either positive or otherwise, which the host nation and its citizenry exhibit toward educational migrants. These responses and other factors, such as experiences of participants, are included in my definition of receptivity.

The primary aim of this study was to explore and understand the receptivity of Ghanaians toward foreign guests, in particular, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) students seeking higher education in Accra, Ghana.

My main research question is: “How are ECOWAS students in higher education welcomed in Accra, Ghana?” My secondary questions included:

- What is the nature of reception for ECOWAS students from different countries in Ghana?
- How is regional integration enhanced or not by cross-border educational migration?

A secondary objective of my research was to observe and record best practices toward foreign students’ integration in higher education within the West Africa region based on past research related to successful integration and additional evidence collected by Lundy and Darkwah (2018). Research concerning foreign students in higher education has largely been studied at various institutions in North America, Europe and Australia (Chia-Ming, 2017; Levent, 2016; Münch & Hoch, 2013). This study expands scope and knowledge on educational migration and its impacts on foreign countries. A third objective was to discover whether Ghana was positioned to become a regional hub for higher education among African students. After an extensive literature review on migration and tertiary education, four hypotheses were generated.

H1: Tertiary institutional policies and their implementation are receptive toward foreign students from ECOWAS countries in Accra, Ghana.
H2 (a): An increased number of ECOWAS students in Accra, Ghana will result in economic benefits to the host country.

H2 (b): An increased number of ECOWAS students in Accra, Ghana will result in social benefits to the host country.

H3: The positive experiences and perceptions of ECOWAS students will generate increased levels of receptivity for themselves through sustained contact with host society.

H4: Most ECOWAS students will return home upon graduating leading to an increase in net resources, higher education levels, and human capital for Ghana and the youth of West Africa.

Research Design

In this section, I provide a background to my research approach and explanations as to why it is a good strategy for my study. I used the qualitative exploratory approach. The concept of people migrating for educational purposes throughout West Africa is an understudied phenomenon, hence the need for the exploratory research design (Kinsley, 2016; Lundy et al., 2017). This approach provided a unique opportunity to gather new and comprehensive data which was supported through the triangulation of methods (Baxter & Jack, 2008). The decision to use a qualitative approach resulted from being able to have face-to-face interactions with foreign students and Ghanaians in universities throughout Accra without manipulating their behaviors (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Yin, 2003). This enabled the participants to tell their stories and reasons for migrating through semi-structured interviews without any outside influence. Thus, their stories and perspectives iteratively shaped the research design and process. I identified four categories of participants based on their roles and experiences. These were: (1) foreign students in universities in Ghana (including foreign student association presidents), (2) Ghanaians
students, (3) institutional employees (such as international student coordinators) and (4) miscellaneous (including personalities like immigration officials). These were from six tertiary level institutions out of ten identified as a result of convenience to the researcher and recommendations from study participants (See Appendix A). These six were a mix of private and public universities because I wanted to see if experiences and perceptions differed across tertiary institutions; limited to universities and postgraduate centres, in Accra, Ghana.

Not only did the interviews provide directions to me as a researcher, but I also gathered data through direct observation of participants for a substantial amount of time. According to research, direct observation determines who interacts with whom and tells how participants interact with each other (Kawulich, 2005). Therefore, to gain a better understanding of how foreign students interact with Ghanaians, I visited the international student offices of two, out of the six universities to observe students as they interacted with university officials. These were private and public universities, and I chose these two with the goal of observing whether practices differed. Additionally, I spent a considerable amount of time at a language school observing foreign students interactions with the surrounding community. This was done so I could have an understanding of how the community outside of a campus setting interacted with foreign students. Using the qualitative approach allowed me to adjust emerging themes based on participants’ responses and understand comprehensively how foreign students interacted with Ghanaians (Kawulich, 2005).

**Strategy of Inquiry**

My research utilized the qualitative study approach as the strategy of inquiry. Using this approach enabled me to observe the interactions of Ghanaians with foreign students in universities of Accra. In addition, the approach provided a complete opportunity to gather a
varied range of data from observed interactions and interview responses among participants leading to an in-depth understanding of the context of the study. My research and follow-up questions targeted the individual examples of foreign students and Ghanaians to learn about their experiences and interactions. This ensured a variety of responses and perspectives enabling me to study my research question from multiple positions. The data was gathered from six universities within the city of Accra, which research indicated has the highest numbers of foreign students attending them (Akwensivie et al., 2013; Frempong, 2015).

**Data Collection Process**

From May to June, 2017, I went to Accra, Ghana to collect data with the aim of answering my research question. I was on the field for about six weeks. This period was appropriate as students were finishing final exams were flexible with their time, and therefore could be interviewed at their availability. I sampled participants using purposive and snowballing techniques. I purposively went to a university campus and asked any of the students I met if they were willing to take part in being interviewed after I had explained my research. I then asked them for access to other students they knew who might want to take part in the research. Before going to the field, Kennesaw State University’s Institutional Review Board (IRB) granted approval of my study in line with the conduct of responsible social and behavioral research. Consent forms based on the IRB guidelines for ethical research were handed out to each participant to read and affix their signatures to before being interviewed. These were collected prior to the start of each interview.

My study relied on two principle means of data collection: semi-structured interviews between myself as the researcher and study participants, and direct observation. In terms of the direct observation process, I strove to be as unobtrusive as possible so as not to bias the process
of observation. Although these methods provided the best means through which responses to my research question were gathered, I also relied on an in-depth review of migration and foreign students’ academic literature. These helped in bringing out the themes of my research.

I established rapport with the participants in the initial stages of my research by simply introducing myself as a student conducting research into the experiences of foreign students in Accra. I was also mindful of the potential bias as a researcher being a Ghanaian conducting research with Ghanaian and foreign students. As such, I made a clear distinction by letting participants understand that I was resident in the United States and was solely interested in their experiences and opinions while in Accra, Ghana. In this way, I avoided influencing their perspectives while establishing an objective researcher-participant relationship with them. I used the interview process to gather the stories of participants such that their experiences in Ghana could be drawn out. Thus, I was able to gather in-depth information relating to receptivity toward foreigners in Ghana.

During the data collection process, I designed the interview guide and conducted the interviews in English, a language in which I as the researcher have a strong background and proficiency. This made the data collection process simple and effective. All members of the participant groups had formal education at the tertiary level and were fluent in English. Participants from francophone countries had a year or more of English literacy, and thus were proficient in speaking English. The six universities were similar in scenarios in that students were readily found on campus and therefore I used the same recruitment strategy in all of them.

**Data Collection Strategy**

Table 4.1 represents the number of participants interviewed, their country of origin and the total percentage of that nationality in the participant group. I used the concept of saturation to
help determine the total number of participants required for the study. A saturation point in qualitative research is a number at which new information is no longer gathered from study participants (Mason, 2010). According to Mason (2010), when a researcher faithfully follows the principles of qualitative research, sample size should generally follow the concept of saturation. I interviewed study participants until I reached the point where no new information was being discovered, which was around the forty-seventh interview.

An informal interview (during which I wrote field notes) with a Ghanaian immigration official was not included in the data because he was unwilling to sit for a formal semi-structured interview and refused to sign the IRB informed consent form. Participants from Nigeria dominated the interviews mostly because of its geographical location (proximity) and English language which was in line with what other researchers had recorded (Akwensivie et al., 2013; Frempong, 2015; Lee & Sehoole, 2015).

Table 4.1

*Representation of interview participants*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Togo</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burkina Faso</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ivory Coast</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mali</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guinea</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gambia</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benin</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niger</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>47</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author

Not all countries from ECOWAS are represented in Table 4.1. Countries such as Cabo Verde, Senegal, Guinea Bissau, Sierra Leone and Liberia are not represented in the participants’ sample.
Reasons for the non-representation could include linguistic barriers, strong institutions and low tertiary education enrollment rates. For example, Senegal and Cabo Verde appear to have strong academic home institutions and linguistic barriers of French and Portuguese. Guinea-Bissau and Sierra Leone seem to have low tertiary enrollment rates overall. In 2011, the World Bank estimated that tertiary enrollment per 100,000 inhabitants for Sierra Leone was 600 compared to Ghana at 1,180 for the same year (World Bank, 2013). A detailed profile of interview participants is presented in Table 4.2 below.

Table 4.2

*Profile matrix of forty-seven participants by seven variables*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Gender (M/F)</th>
<th>School (Pub/Pri/Prof)</th>
<th>Category (undergrad/grad/ employee/student association president)</th>
<th>Number of Years in Ghana</th>
<th>Plans to Stay in Ghana after graduation</th>
<th>Reasons for choosing Ghana</th>
<th>Ghana as 1st choice destination country</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Public</td>
<td>graduate</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Calm environment</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>graduate</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Best school in West Africa</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>graduate</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Peaceful</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>graduate</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Good reputation of school</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Public</td>
<td>employee</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>Not Applicable</td>
<td>Not Applicable</td>
<td>Not Applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Public</td>
<td>graduate</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Good school system</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Public</td>
<td>graduate</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Sociable people</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Public</td>
<td>graduate</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Sociable country</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Bachelors</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Private</td>
<td>employee</td>
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<td>Not Applicable</td>
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<td>No</td>
<td>Bachelors</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>undergraduate</td>
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<td>Not Applicable</td>
<td>Not Applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>F</td>
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<td>undergraduate</td>
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<td>Yes</td>
<td>Peaceful</td>
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<td>F</td>
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<td>undergraduate</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Flexible admission process</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Student assoc. pres.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>English quality, then Masters</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Student assoc. pres.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Improving English, then</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Student assoc. pres.</td>
<td>Bachelors</td>
<td>English, then Bachelors</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>undergraduate</td>
<td>English, then Bachelors</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>undergraduate</td>
<td>English, then Bachelors</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<tr>
<td>20</td>
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<td>Public</td>
<td>employee</td>
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<td>21</td>
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<td>graduate</td>
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<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Public</td>
<td>graduate</td>
<td>Better English quality; Safe</td>
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<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Public</td>
<td>undergraduate</td>
<td>Improving English, then Bachelors</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>24</td>
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<td>Private</td>
<td>undergraduate</td>
<td>Better English quality; Stability</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>27</td>
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<td>Private</td>
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<td>Bachelors and athletics</td>
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<td>28</td>
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<td>School then work</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>undergraduate</td>
<td>Quality of education system; peaceful</td>
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<td>30</td>
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<td>Private</td>
<td>undergraduate</td>
<td>Study; stability</td>
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<td>31</td>
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<td>Private</td>
<td>undergraduate</td>
<td>Athletics; study</td>
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<td>32</td>
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<td>Private</td>
<td>undergraduate</td>
<td>Study translation</td>
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<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>undergraduate</td>
<td>Study</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>undergraduate</td>
<td>Easier admission process</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>undergraduate</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
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<td>Private</td>
<td>undergraduate</td>
<td>Easier admission process</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>undergraduate</td>
<td>Easier admission process</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>undergraduate</td>
<td>Easier admission process</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>undergraduate</td>
<td>Learn English; transit to USA or UK; higher education system</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>undergraduate</td>
<td>Learn English, then Bachelors</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
According to Table 4.2, there were five institutional employees and five domestic students.

Semi-Structured Interviews

My 47 semi-structured interviews were with foreign students, Ghanaian students, and institution officials. These allowed for face-to-face in-depth discussions about their experiences and perspectives. According to research, the semi-structured method of interviewing ‘help to define the areas to be explored (by use of an interview guide), but also allows the interviewer or interviewee to diverge in order to pursue an idea or response in more detail’ (Gill et al., 2008, p. 291). This was the most appropriate method for gaining information from respondents with regards to answering my research question. The interview guide helped to keep my interviews focused while allowing for the flexibility of other ideas or responses not previously thought of. The outline below shows an example of how some of the questions from my interview guide were used to help answer my first hypothesis.

Hypothesis 1: Tertiary institutional policies and their implementation are receptive toward foreign students from ECOWAS countries in Accra, Ghana.

Sample of questions asked:

Source: Author (*refers to Ghanaian citizen)

---

5 Parentheses author’s
a) Do you have pre-arrival services, arrival services, and orientation? Can you explain some of these services to me?

b) How does the international office compare to other student services on campus? How do you feel about the international program office?

c) How do you perceive faculty members? Are they willing to give advice to international students? In what ways?

d) When needed, do you as a foreign student feel comfortable approaching faculty to discuss academic issues? Any examples?

e) How do you like associating yourself with this university?

f) Who do you socialize with?

g) How do you socialize?

h) What is your relationship like with others in the community?

The primary focus of my interviews was on foreign students, because I needed to determine how they felt and what their experiences were like in relation to how they have been received in Ghana. The questions asked to this group targeted their experiences in the classroom, in the wider campus and in the outside community. As such, questions relating to institutional services, academic support, and social engagement were asked. Information from this group was essential to the research because they provided a unique perspective on receptivity from the foreign students. This led to a more holistic understanding of the concept receptivity, from both Ghanaians and foreign guests.

Interviews with Ghanaian students and institution officials targeted institutional services and social engagement with foreign students. This provided information on how Ghanaians receive foreign students. The decision to interview institution officers stemmed from the fact that
they had the expert knowledge and extensive experience dealing with foreign students throughout the universities. Their inclusion provided information that was pertinent to understanding whether institutional policies and their implementation were friendly toward foreign students or not.

Questions establishing the origin of participants were also asked at the beginning of each interview. This was important to my research because it provided a non-extensive, but reliable means of measuring the presence of foreign students in universities in Accra.

*Direct Observation*

I used direct observation as the second means of data collection in addition to semi-structured interviews. The process began at the initial stages of my data collection and continued through—out the field work. I went to the campuses of the universities before starting interviews. In two of the universities, University of Ghana and Central University, I spent a significant amount of time sitting in their international offices and observing activities and interactions with foreign students. I chose the University of Ghana which is a public university and Central University, a private university because of ease of access. I used continuous monitoring while in the offices to observe the way international officers interacted with students. The continuous monitoring process also granted me access to students to interview. From the direct observation process, I was able to gather that international offices have open door policies for their foreign students. Students could walk in anytime with their concerns and get them addressed. Additionally, this process allowed me to develop new themes to explore during the interview process. For instance, the Central University international office had photographs of foreign students at cultural bazaars and local sight-seeing sites. This led me to consider the sight-seeing of local venues as a key indicator of receptivity. Additionally, I undertook direct
observation sessions in the communities where the language school and some of the universities were located. There were advantages to using direct observation as a source of data collection. Firstly, I was able to fit into the environment without drawing undue attention to myself. I did this by dressing casually in jeans and a T-shirt which was the standard attire of the students. I was therefore able to establish rapport and gain access to the participants. Secondly, I was able to observe the activities of foreign students as they interacted in the communities with Ghanaians. This led to the finding that catering to the needs of foreign students serves as means of livelihood for Ghanaians which is discussed in more detail in the results and findings section of this study.

**Access**

My study participants were foreign students in tertiary universities in the city of Accra and Ghanaians. Access to these participants was not difficult. First of all, the use of English as a mode of communication was effective as all study participants were conversant in English. As such, there was no need for an interpreter which could have had implications on the validity of my findings and overall research. The use of a language for interviews understood by both researcher and participant helps avoid misrepresentations that may creep in through the process of translation. Also, my status as a student researcher ensured a high level of acceptance as study participants seemed to gain an element of solidarity with the researcher leading to high levels of cooperation from study participants, especially the foreign students. About three students refused to participate in my interviews citing lack of time and disinterest as reasons. The participant to response ratio was approximately 80%. Thirdly, being Ghanaian led to conducting interviews in a timely fashion, since having knowledge of the region of Accra and context of tertiary universities served me well. Additionally, it helped in establishing trust and rapport among study participants, especially Ghanaians.
My Kennesaw State University research credential letter also played an essential role in accessing some of the participants, such as international student advisors/officials, as they needed an official letter of introduction before consent was given for interviews. While the KSU credential letter played an important role, there were instances where it did not suffice. For example, efforts to access immigration officers at the Greater Accra Regional Immigration Office for official interviews were unfruitful. This was likely due to the bureaucratic process involved (Alornyeku, 2011). In 2015, the Student Permit Processing Desk was moved from the Ghana Immigration Service headquarters to its current location. I was informed by the officer in a supervisory role at this office that my request for an interview would be forwarded to his immediate superior (who was out of town at that time and would only return after two weeks). He would then decide on whether or not to grant me approval. Subsequent follow-up visits proved unproductive. However, informal chats with immigration officers were helpful, the outcome of which is detailed in the results and analysis section.

**Sampling Procedure**

The primary purpose for my study was to select participants that could provide valid data to answer my research question based on their experiences and opinions. My sampling technique was purposive in this regard. Purposive sampling is defined as identifying and selecting participants based on the information they can provide toward the phenomenon under investigation (Palinkas et al., 2015). Also, Barbour (2001) established that purposive sampling can offer a researcher a measure of control since selection bias inherent in pre-existing groups can be done away with by including cases which might not be considered the norm. For this reason, I used purposive sampling to select participants based on the information they could provide to enable me to answer my research question. Not only that, but I also selected
participants who could provide varied experiences based on their origins from diverse regions in West Africa. This was done with the intention of getting at nuance and depth in my data that may not otherwise be available if, for instance, probability sampling was used.

In addition to purposive sampling, I used the snowball technique to contact participants, especially foreign students. Snowball sampling is often used in research as a cost effective way to access participants (Noy, 2008). I used this measure to reach participants because it was cost effective and needed little planning. After a case with a first participant, the snowball technique was used to identify subsequent participants with similar backgrounds. This process was repeated until a saturation point was reached, at which no new information was gathered (Mason, 2010). I used this method in gaining access to the foreign student participants leading to quick and effective interviews. In this manner, I gained opportunities to interview the presidents of the Guinea, Mali, and Niger student association groups and to subsequent foreign students from Guinea and Mali, and other countries.

**Data Analysis Technique**

I used template analysis in combination with thematic analysis to analyze my data. Template analysis is a form of thematic analysis that allows the researcher to develop initial themes based on a subset of the data (Brooks et al., 2015). Flexibility is involved in template analysis allowing the researcher to develop further themes or delete themes, thereby organizing the data into meaningful patterns. Through template analysis I developed a priori themes that helped with hypothesis formation based on a subset of data from my literature review. Most of the literature reviewed investigated how international students’ cultural assimilation impacts social ties on campus through quantitative measures (Belford, 2017; Facchini et al., 2015; Mustaffa & Ilias, 2013; Kruid, 2017; Wang et al., 2014). In this study, I used the International
Friendly Campus Scale (IFCS) developed by Wang et al. (2014), to explore receptivity to foreign students on campus. I combined the IFCS with the community integration factor score (Lundy & Darkwah, 2018) to examine integration of foreign guests in the community. A novel aspect of this research is combining these two scales to examine receptivity and integration among foreign students in Ghana.

The IFCS was used in conjunction with the community integration score to explore adjustments and experiences of foreign students on and outside of campus. A-priori themes were generated from the IFCS and the community integration score, as well as questions which were pulled from these scales. The relationships between a-priori themes, my research question and hypotheses are examined in the examples below.

Main research question: “How are ECOWAS students in higher education welcomed in Accra, Ghana?”

Hypothesis 1: Tertiary institutional policies and their implementation are receptive toward foreign students from ECOWAS countries in Accra, Ghana.

Sample Questions

Institutional Services

a. How do you feel about the international program office?

b. How does the international program office compare to other student services on campus?

Campus Discrimination

a. How do you perceive being treated on campus?

b. Do you hear any insensitive or degrading remarks about foreign students here?

Hypothesis 2 (2a and 2b): An increased number of ECOWAS students in Accra, Ghana will result in economic and social benefits to the host country.
Sample Questions

a. Do you participate in any cultural, leisure or tourist activities? Which ones?

b. Do you experience any language barriers? Which ones?

Hypothesis 3: The positive experiences and perceptions of ECOWAS students will generate increased levels of receptivity for themselves through sustained contact with host society.

Sample Questions

a. What are some of the most challenging experiences you have had since coming here?

b. What are some of the most rewarding?

c. How has that experience affected you?

Interactions

a. What do you find most welcoming about Ghana?

b. What do you find hostile to foreigners? Please explain

c. Would you say people are generally friendly or generally hostile toward you? Why?

d. Have you experienced any conflicts with people? Please explain

Social Engagement

a. Who do you socialize with?

b. How do you socialize?

c. What is your relationship like with others in the community?

Hypothesis 4: Most ECOWAS students will return home upon graduating leading to an increase in net resources, higher education levels, and human capital for Ghana and the youth of West Africa.

Sample Questions

Access to Resources
a. How do you see your access to resources and opportunities here?
b. What are your plans upon graduation?

The responses to these questions were then coded using thematic analysis.

According to Braun and Clarke (2006), thematic analysis involves grouping data into similarities, differences, and patterns. After extensive reading of my transcribed interviews and observation notes, I wrote down my impressions, looked for meanings within the data, and determined which pieces of data had value in terms of my research question and sub-questions. Thus, I became familiar with the data, gaining a deeper understanding in the process. I focused my analysis by dividing the data into similarities and differences. With this step, I further developed broad categories. I did this with the view to distil interview responses into fewer related categories (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). Similar codes were grouped together based on the study research question and sub-questions. Themes, patterns, connections and relationships were drawn at this point in the analysis. To verify that the themes were valid and consistent, first, I recoded the themes after not reading the transcripts for about two weeks. Second, I ran a word frequency analysis based on responses to interview questions using the Nvivo software. The results are discussed in Chapter 5. In the process of analysis, I made provisions for other unexpected themes, which emerged from the interviews as well as observation notes. These other themes are discussed in Chapter 6.

Validity

Trustworthiness in a qualitative study deals with four issues namely, credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Shenton, 2004). In this study, I was mostly concerned with the credibility and dependability of my findings. According to Shenton (2004), triangulation is a primary means of establishing the internal validity of a study. During this
research, I established validity through both triangulation of methods and triangulation of data sources. With the use of interviews and participant observation as my primary methods of data collection, I was able to exploit the respective benefits of both methods and lower their individual limitations (Shenton, 2004). These two methods enabled me as the researcher to obtain detailed and rich information while decreasing the amount of time spent had I used direct observation or semi-structured interviews only.

In my study, I also used a wide variety of informants, therefore individual viewpoints and experiences were checked against others leading to a data that is rich in information (Shenton, 2004). So, to determine receptivity of Ghanaians toward foreign students in tertiary education institutions, I drew information from foreign students and Ghanaians—students and employees—of the institutions. I also drew samples of participants from across several institutions thus reducing the effects of local factors peculiar to one institution (Shenton, 2004). For instance, at one university, I had access to mostly graduate students who were the ones on campus at that time. Having similar results from different sites enhanced the credibility of my findings. Although my findings in this research may not be generalizable to foreign students around the world, it has provided data that is relevant in terms of influencing government policies on tertiary education in Ghana and the West Africa region to make them more welcoming or receptive to foreign students. The data and information provided are also relevant in influencing government and civil society policies on immigration to Ghana. Additionally, because this project has focused on an understudied area of the nexus of migration and tertiary education, it has added to the scholarship on migration and tertiary education, including the debate on the brain drain phenomenon and where educational migration fits within the broader discourse around receptivity, welcoming cultures and migration (Lundy and Hayes, n.d.).
Ethical Issues

Before going to the field to collect data, I completed the relevant modules of the Collaborative Institutional Training Initiative (CITI) on the conduct of responsible social and behavioral research. I also sought and gained approval from Kennesaw State University’s Institutional Review Board (IRB). During data collection, I revealed my identity to each participant and explained the purpose of my research. I ensured that each participant understood the research purpose and that they were willing to participate in the study without any compulsion. Their free consent was given by signing the IRB consent form which I retrieved from each participant after their signatures. The consent form clearly outlined the ethical issues involved in the study which comprised of the inclusion criteria, benefits, risks, and confidentiality procedures, among others. In order to protect the identity of participants, no names were attached to the data, so that no information could be traced to any of the participants. In addition, I used pseudonyms in reporting the findings. All data obtained during the research process were stored and secured on my personal password-protected computer.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have provided a comprehensive account of the methods I used in obtaining information to answer my research question and sub-questions. This study involved 47 participants from six tertiary institutions over a six week period. I chose semi-structured interviews and direct observations as the means to gain appropriate data for my question. These methods gave me the opportunity to study the problem in context and to gain access to the sample in a timely and effective manner. Also, these methods allowed for an adjustment of schedules and questions according to participants’ and researcher’s needs.
I used purposive and snowballing sampling techniques to gain access to participants based on their experiences and information needed to answer my questions. Template and thematic analysis were used as my data analysis techniques which resulted in broad themes such as tertiary institutional policies, host nation perceptions, foreign students’ perceptions, and regional integration and resource gain. These themes and other emergent themes which culminated from the data gathering process are discussed in chapters 5 and 6.
Chapter 5

Findings:

Perceptions and Experiences of ECOWAS Students and Ghanaians in Accra, Ghana

Introduction

The need for empirical data on international student flows within Africa is essential. Expansion of international education efforts around the world is ongoing but empirical data from Africa is very limited (Sehoole & Lee, 2018). Data on intra-Africa mobility patterns and the experiences of foreign students in Accra, Ghana, is disclosed in this chapter. This adds to the general knowledge of international student mobility, migration, receptivity and welcoming culture literature (Lundy & Hayes, n.d).

I started this study with the research question: How are ECOWAS students in higher education welcomed in Accra, Ghana? My results and findings are separated into two chapters based on my hypotheses tested in the field and emergent themes that resulted from the interview data. Emergent themes are discussed in the next chapter. This chapter starts with a summary table of the hypotheses that were tested in the field. The study focused on the perceptions and experiences of ECOWAS students and Ghanaians in relation to each other within various tertiary institutions and communities of Accra, Ghana. The sub-questions of my study were:

a) What is the nature of reception for ECOWAS students from different countries in Ghana?

b) How is regional integration enhanced or not by cross-border educational migration?

The hypotheses tested in the field were derived from literature that identified an International Friendly Campus Scale (IFCS) (Wang et al., 2014). Literature for the adjustment and experiences of foreign students was used to determine the reception toward foreign students outside of campuses (Lundy & Darkwah, 2018). The hypotheses in relation to sub-questions are as follows:
Hypothesis 1: Tertiary institutional policies and their implementation are receptive toward foreign students from ECOWAS countries in Accra, Ghana.

Hypothesis 2 (a): An increased number of ECOWAS students in Accra, Ghana will result in economic benefits to the host country.

Hypothesis 2 (b): An increased number of ECOWAS students in Accra, Ghana will result in social benefits to the host country.

Hypothesis 3: The positive experiences and perceptions of ECOWAS students will generate increased levels of receptivity to themselves through sustained contact with the host community.

Sub-question (a): What is the nature of reception given to ECOWAS students from different countries in Ghana?

Hypothesis 4: Most ECOWAS students will return home upon graduating leading to an increase in net resources, higher education levels, and human capital for Ghana and the youth of West Africa.

Sub-question (b): How is regional integration enhanced or not by cross-border educational migration?

Table 5.1 below shows the relationships between themes and sub-themes with the corresponding research question, sub-questions, and hypotheses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>Sub-themes</th>
<th>Research question/Sub-question/Hypothesis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tertiary Institutional Policies</td>
<td>academic/faculty support</td>
<td>Main research question; Hypothesis 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>institutional support</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Host Nation Perceptions</td>
<td>positive perceptions</td>
<td>Main research question; Hypothesis 2(a) and 2(b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>negative perceptions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>neutral perceptions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Students’ Perceptions</td>
<td>negative perceptions</td>
<td>Main research question and sub-question (a); Hypothesis 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>positive perceptions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>neutral perceptions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regional Integration and</td>
<td>non-citizen card and residence</td>
<td>Main research question and Sub-question (b);</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In this chapter, the major findings are presented as follows: (a) Tertiary Institutional Policies and their Implementation; (b) Host Nation Perceptions; (c) Foreign Students’ Perceptions; (d) Regional Integration and Resource Gain. The first theme to be discussed in this section is tertiary institutional policies with their implementation processes.

**Tertiary Institutional Policies and their Implementation**

Tertiary institutional policies are taken from literature that addressed best practices for international students from the admission process through to the adjustment phase in their new environment (American International Recruitment Council, 2016; National Association for College Admission Counseling, 2013; Wang et al., 2014). The purpose of having these best practices (refer to Table 3.1) is to ensure commitment of tertiary institutions to the marketing, recruitment, and student support practices that are truthful, ethical, transparent, and professional (American International Recruitment Council, 2016).

Table 5.2

Best practices for different populations in Accra, Ghana.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Student</th>
<th>Faculty/Staff</th>
<th>Members of the Community</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Institutions have orientation programs that include immigration registration i.e. national identity cards, housing and social belonging.</td>
<td>Institutions provide employees with basic information about international students including demographics and needs. For example, a housing coordinator was provided with students’ home country information and food preferences.</td>
<td>Institutions maintain collaborative relationships with state officials. For instance, a student desk was established in 2015 at the Ghana Immigration Service solely for the purpose of processing foreign students’ residence permits.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutions include cultural bazaars, sightseeing tours and international student day events throughout the year for the integration of students into the community of Accra.</td>
<td>Institutions include community resources for foreign students such as places to gain accommodation off-campus, where to access public transportation, access to markets etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author
Table 5.2 displays the best practices of institutions within Accra for foreign students, staff, and members of the community. These best practices (refer to Chapter 3 for full discussion), while tailored to international students as a whole and not to a particular group, serve as a standard for assessing how well foreign students adjust and integrate in a host environment (Boafo-Arthur et al., 2017). These best practices can also serve as a measure for how well foreign students are received within the host nation. For the purposes of this study, I focus on student support practices—academic, faculty, and institutional support—in the institutions which portray how receptive Ghanaian tertiary institutions are toward foreign students.

Forty-two (42) out of 47 participants were asked questions pertaining to institutional policies such as whether or not they have academic support. They were also asked whether they have access to operations and activities of international program offices to determine the friendliness of tertiary institutional activities toward ECOWAS students. All 42 respondents, representing about 100% of foreign student participants agreed that academic support, operations and activities of program offices were geared toward enhancing the stay of ECOWAS students in Accra.

**Academic/Faculty Support**

Concerning faculty support, two students from Togo mentioned that they were comfortable approaching lecturers for help with academic challenges. ‘As for challenges, we always encounter them, but they [faculty] are there to help us. They do help. You never go to them and they will just show some attitude, no. When you get closer to them they are ready to help, they are ready to listen, unless you don't get closer to them’ (Mavis, interview, June 6, 2017). The second student agreed along the same lines, ‘Yeah they understand very well, they
understand, they know that all of us are not from Ghana. We don't have the same language, we don't understand, we're here to learn the English, so they understand, they help’ (Eyram, interview, June 10, 2017).

Foreign students expressed positive interactions with faculty, which is consistent with research that suggests that interactions with faculty of the same race and nationality, a diverse curriculum, and a safe class environment help to deliver a positive experience of academic support among foreign students on campus (Maramba, 2008; Trice, 2007). In addition, students who feel at home and are well connected to the host institution, including its faculty and domestic students are more likely to enjoy academic and social success (Çetin et al., 2017). In my study, foreign students reported feeling connected to their institutions and appreciated the support exhibited toward them by the institution, thereby eliminating feelings of isolation (Trice, 2007).

**Institutional Support**

A Ghanaian international programs office employee explained the process they go through in order to make a foreign student feel welcome,

Apart from that we organize durbars, welcome durbars for them whereby we tell them what we do here, how we can assist them and then we also tell them about how they can relate with Ghanaians, for instance, we tell them not to use their left hand [in gesturing] because here, it will be a sign of disrespect, where you are coming from it probably won't [mean] anything. So we give them those petty points so that they feel comfortable. (Harriet, interview, May 26, 2017)

Also, during an interview with an employee of the dean’s secretariat at the University of Ghana, some observations I noticed were that international students came in to talk with the
program officer about challenges they were facing. The frequency of movement was estimated to be about one person arriving in 15 to 20 minutes. A student from Nigeria needed help with the admission process for her sister who was interested in coming to the university. Another student came in wanting a change in his course, because his father had forced him into that particular course and he was not thriving. This constituted an open-door policy toward the international students. The program officer appeared to deal with issues which students faced on regular basis.

These findings are consistent with research that suggests that students need to feel connected to faculty and staff; emphasizing the pivotal role faculty and other university resources play in a student’s decisions and choices for academic success (Akanwa, 2015; McFadden et al., 2012). University policies and services help to provide a favorable learning environment for international students (Akwana, 2015). Of special consideration are the reactions of faculty, staff, and domestic students toward international students. During my research, I found that in universities in Accra, faculty and staff make special efforts to ensure that international students are well adjusted in their foreign institution from the time of their arrival in the host country. Some of these efforts included having an open door policy for international students and making sure that available channels for help and support existed. Attention is thus focused on foreign students in Accra to foster their adjustment in their chosen institutions. The best practice strategy of student support is adhered to within the tertiary institutions that admit foreign students to their campuses.

Further, integration and acculturation literature posits that individual migrants acculturate into new cultural environments through different acculturation strategies (Berry, 2007; Lundy & Larney, 2017) (see chapter 3). Berry’s (2007) model is applicable in this study in the sense that when foreign students perceive that the host institution is welcoming or accepting of them, they
are able to effectively integrate. Therefore, where students perceive stronger institutional support, they integrate better (Mahmud et al., 2010; Wang et al., 2014). An example of the institutional support is having an efficient international student office to meet students’ needs.

Studies indicate that integration and acculturation processes involve different levels of relationships and different classifications between migrant groups (Boafo-Arthur, 2014; Ward, 2008). International students and host communities are examples of different migrant groups. This study focuses on the relationships between foreign students and faculty, staff, and domestic students of the host nation. The findings indicate that overall interactions, as indicated by academic support, operations, and activities of international programs, are positive between foreign students, faculty, staff, and domestic students of the host nation. As such, this finding supports the hypothesis that tertiary educational policies are receptive toward foreign students from ECOWAS countries. The next theme to be discussed is the host nation’s perceptions toward foreign students.

**Host Nation Perceptions**

Studies on attitudes of host nations toward immigrants focus mostly on the economic benefits and cultural benefits of immigrants to their host countries (Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014; German Academic Exchange Service, 2013; Levent, 2016). From such studies, the positive benefits of foreign students to their host countries can be inferred. Some of these benefits include cultural and financial.

Eleven (11) out of 47 interviewees referred to their perceptions about foreign students from the host nation’s perspective. Eight (8) out of 11 Ghanaians, representing about 72% of Ghanaians interviewed, had positive impressions about the presence of foreign students in Ghana. Two (2) out of 11 Ghanaians, representing about 18% of all Ghanaians interviewed had
negative perceptions and 1 out of 11, representing about 9% of Ghanaians interviewed had neutral perceptions.

**Positive Perceptions**

*Socio-Cultural Impressions*

When asked about their feelings regarding foreign students coming to Accra to live and study, a Ghanaian student explained, ‘I don't have any form of dislike or anything towards that, I find it rather welcoming and intriguing to be able to study with them’ (Tracy, interview, May 26, 2017).

Akosua, a Ghanaian institutional employee at an international programs office opined on what she thinks about the presence of foreign students in Ghana, ‘Well I think every institution needs international students. In the face of competition where everyone wants to be globally relevant or you want to be known all over, it's very important that you have a good number of international students who serve as your ambassadors’ (interview, June 1, 2017). A Ghanaian student studying languages reflected, ‘I look at it on the positive which is the benefits; it's beneficial to us, because it opens our minds’ (Kwasi, interview, June 6, 2017). He further elaborated,

The more you know, the more you want to know, and that in itself is humbling, a very humbling experience, at least for me. And so yes I would say it's very beneficial to us. We would need to be able to explore other cultures. You understand, then you become more grounded and then you have an in-depth understanding of how systems work. And we get to adopt certain systems that you feel might work within your system. So I think it's beneficial. (interview, June 6, 2017)
Ghanaians acknowledge that the presence of foreign students in Ghana bring increased benefits to the country, to institutions, individuals and society. Some of these benefits include becoming globally relevant on the part of the institution. Another benefit is exploring other cultures as well as gaining an ‘open mind’ for individuals in Ghana. Not only are these benefits socio-cultural in nature but they are seen as economic as well.

**Economic Benefits**

From personal observations made at the Kwame Nkrumah national park, entrance prices were set differently for Ghanaians and non-Ghanaians. Ghanaians paid seven Ghana Cedis which is about $1.55, while non-Ghanaians paid ten Ghana Cedis, about $2.21. This is almost twice what a Ghanaian pays for touring a historical park site. When asked about the difference in prices, the Ghanaian ticket booth operator explained that Ghanaians see themselves as having ownership rights to these sites and complain if prices are charged at the same rates for both Ghanaians and non-Ghanaians (Personal Communication, June 21, 2017, Kwame Nkrumah National Park, Accra). It may also serve as a way to encourage Ghanaians to patronize local leisure sites, which may lead to enhanced local tourism. Nonetheless, Ghanaians are getting economic gains as foreigners seek out sites for leisure activities. Junior, a participant who mentioned the economic benefits to Ghana, not only during their stay as students, but also after graduation when some foreign students stay on and engage in business, corroborated this finding,

So you see definitely I'm sure it has an economical benefit to Ghanaians… And even after schooling some of the foreigners they stay here, they invest here, they do their own business. For instance we're here in a restaurant [that] is owned by a Francophone I think. And you have a lot of businesses, micro-finances, owned
and led by francophones or foreigners. So economically, foreigners are having positive impact on Ghana (interview, May 29, 2017).

Also, from personal observations held at a language school in Alajo, a suburb of Accra, I noticed that new businesses had sprung up around the vicinity of the school. These catered primarily to students from francophone countries, and included restaurants, boutiques and provision shops. I got into a conversation with a woman sitting outside the gate of the school with her clothes spread out around her. Two female students stopped by to bargain and buy some outfits from her. She mentioned that she did not come by often; but when she did, the francophone students (often women) bought clothes from her. The nearby restaurant also appeared to be a place where students congregated for food or to chat. These businesses provide economic benefits to the Ghanaians that run them.

**Negative Perceptions**

A Ghanaian student association secretary at one university noted that in comparison with Ghanaians, foreign students have unacceptable behaviors. Ghanaians in her opinion are adaptable and hospitable, but foreign students are less adaptable to change.

Ghanaians are hospitable, but it's like they (referring to foreign students) have this rowdy behavior. I know it's not all of them but most of them are like that. They are rowdy and they don't want to understand anything. They find it difficult to understand basic things that we Ghanaians, like we know human relations, we can adapt to anything. But you see it's like they can't (Mansa, interview, June 12, 2017).

Mansa contrasted the behavior of Ghanaians and foreign students implying that Ghanaians are flexible and adaptable while foreign students are not.

**Neutral Perceptions**
The term neutral perception was chosen for participants that gave neither a positive perception nor a negative impression, often giving perceptions on both sides. For Inkoom, a Ghanaian student studying languages, all students were the same. He viewed everyone basically as African with no differences. He spoke thusly,

When the foreigners started trooping in, we decided as Ghanaians to let them know that this class is not a class of individuals in that sense. We're a class of Africans, we're a class of brothers and sisters...so there is no such thing as I'm a foreigner, and I'm Ghanaian in this class. And it was deliberate you see. We decided to make them feel as welcome as possible. And that has helped us a lot because now I could go to any of these Francophone countries and then get a place to crash at, you understand? Just because of that relationship, that conscious relationship we established right from the beginning (interview, June 11, 2017).

For Inkoom, emphasizing the similarities between Ghanaians and foreign students helped to establish good relationships. Making sure foreigners feel welcome is tied to establishing that they were all Africans.

Based on these observations and interviews, my second hypothesis of an increased number of ECOWAS students leading to benefits to Ghanaians is supported. This finding is consistent with research that suggests that foreign students accrue economic benefits for their host countries. In a study by Levent (2016), most institutions charged higher tuition fees for international students, which resulted in an economic benefit to the institution. Table 5.3 indicates the difference between institutions with regards to undergraduate fees domestic students versus international students have to pay.
Table 5.3

*Differences between fees of universities in Accra (all figures are in USD)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of University</th>
<th>Domestic Fee</th>
<th>International Fee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ghana Telecom University</td>
<td>429</td>
<td>2,243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accra Technical University</td>
<td>973</td>
<td>2,350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Professional Studies</td>
<td>838</td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central University</td>
<td>442</td>
<td>2,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisconsin International University</td>
<td>856</td>
<td>3,905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Ghana</td>
<td>351</td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author

Frempong (2015) found that in 2014-2015, foreign students at the University of Ghana paid tuition fees of about $2 billion which constitutes a substantial economic gain for the institution. Not only are higher tuition charges viewed as an economic benefit to the host nation, but international students also contribute to the economy of their host nations through their living expenses and jobs (Levent, 2016). Table 5.4 is an example showing an estimated breakdown of the expenditure of foreign students into the Ghanaian economy.

Table 5.4

*An example of foreign students’ expenditure patterns per year (all figures are in USD)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Foreign Student</th>
<th>School</th>
<th>Tuition</th>
<th>Accommodation</th>
<th>Food</th>
<th>Transportation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Public</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>1,500 (on campus)</td>
<td>2,500</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>2,500</td>
<td>1,950 (off campus)</td>
<td>2,200</td>
<td>1,750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>3,000 (hostel)</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author (* food included in accommodation)
Table 5.5 indicates that Ghana has invested in education over time compared to other ECOWAS countries. Overall government expenditure per capita reached a peak in 2012 at 37.5. Ghana appears to be keeping up with increased demand on tertiary education by expanding its expenditure. An estimate of the proportion of total foreign students in Ghanaian public universities is 3% (Ministry of Education, 2017). Currently, adequate resources seem to be available for all, but this does not guarantee against future local protests, when resources turn out to be inadequate.

Table 5.5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Benin</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burkina Faso</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabo Verde</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>16.8</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cote d'Ivoire</td>
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<td>20.8</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>21.8</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gambia</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>30.6</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>23.8</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>20.2</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guinea-Bissau</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberia</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mali</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niger</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>21.7</td>
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<td>16.6</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>..</td>
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<tr>
<td>Senegal</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>20.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
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<td>20.7</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>12.8</td>
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<td>12.5</td>
<td>19.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Togo</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>24.4</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>19.6</td>
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<td>17.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Guinea</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>14.4</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Source: World Development Indicators, World Bank

It is also important to note that students may enter the Ghanaian labor market at some point and contribute to Ghana’s economy in similar ways that labor migrants do (OECD/ILO, 2018).
With reference to receptivity, Ghanaians view the presence of foreign students as both economically and culturally beneficial, which suggests that they welcome foreign students living and studying in the country. However, this perception may be a little misleading. Research indicates that immigration attitudes show little evidence of being strongly correlated with personal economic circumstances, but are focused mostly on gains at the national level (Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014). In my research, Ghanaians not only acknowledge the economic benefits of foreign students to the nation, but also see the importance of cultural benefits to themselves as individuals and to the institutions that admit the students. Rama, an institutional employee talked about taking international students around for cultural exhibits in Accra, ‘We had an invite from an exhibition center in Accra here, ATAG, [Aid to Artisans, Ghana] whereby a lot of exhibitors came around to exhibit handicrafts and stuff so international students along with some communication students went to see, so sometimes we get invites like that which are national programs’ (interview, May 26, 2017). Next, I discuss foreign students’ perceptions about Ghanaians.

**Foreign Students’ perceptions about Ghanaians and Ghana**

Thirty-six (36) out of 47 total interviewees were foreign students from various countries including Mali, Burkina Faso, Togo, Guinea and Nigeria (see to Table 1.5). Perceptions about Ghanaians were based on questions in the interview guide such as “What do you think about Ghanaians? What perceptions do you think Ghanaians have of themselves?” Foreign students’ perceptions about Ghanaians were mixed. Sub-themes that emerged from the main theme were divided into positive perceptions, negative perceptions and neutral perceptions.

**Positive perceptions**
Twenty-three (23) out of 36 participants representing about 64% of foreign students interviewed acknowledged that Ghanaians do not feel superior to others. According to one participant from Nigeria, Ghanaians ‘take everybody as they are part of Ghanaians; they do not differentiate between nationalities’ (Betsy, interview, May 26, 2017). Another respondent from Nigeria opined, ‘No I don't think so. If someone is proving to be superior, the person will [have] like this ego in the person and I don't see that in Ghanaians’ (Rita, interview, May 26, 2017). A third participant from Cote d’Ivoire mentioned the humility of Ghanaians,

Most of the Ghanaians they are very humble… I knew a lot in IT [Information Technology] when I came and I was even helping some TAs [Teaching Assistants] to assist with some students, and I knew some [Ghanaian] students they are also good, better than me. When we meet, they don’t behave as if they knew more than me. They’ll rather ask me can you explain new things, though they knew, but they come in, okay can you explain this. They will not boast like they know. Some are even working, they have money but when it comes to school, [they are] very low [referring to their attitude of humility]. (Dion, interview, June 10, 2017)

These quotes show that some foreign students have positive impressions about Ghanaians as they interact with them. They recognize that Ghanaians can be humble, do not differentiate between foreigners and citizens, and are without egos. This suggests that Ghanaians can have a welcoming attitude toward foreigners. Research indicates that it may be easier for international students to form friendships with domestic students, because domestic students can be nice and friendly and exhibit curiosity about the cultures of international students (Latif et al., 2012). A study on foreign students in Ghana also depicts Ghanaians as warm, hospitable and having a nice
culture (Frempong, 2015). Ghanaians’ attitudes of humility and lack of egos suggest openness to foreign students which can be deemed as welcoming attitudes. The perception of foreign students toward the state of Ghana was generally positive. Elvin from Burkina Faso had this to say about Ghana,

> So it was really wonderful and the level of development, technology, the country has a lot of potential in terms of IT, in terms of technology and infrastructure. Wow, I like the houses. I like the architecture of the houses and the opportunities available. There are a lot of opportunities available here in Ghana. Another thing that I really love about this country is [the] educational system. It's not only focused on theory, but theory and practice. And they encourage entrepreneurship. That's something I really like. I really appreciate. You see young people in universities having their own business, they go to school and they have people taking care of their business when they are in school. And when they close they go back and then they work. So everything goes like hands in hand. And that's really something I appreciate about this country (interview, June 19, 2017).

For Elvin, Ghana was developed with lots of opportunities adding to its attractiveness, however, not all perceptions were deemed positive.

**Negative Perceptions**

Negative perceptions are often formed out of negative experiences (Caldwell & Hyams-Ssekasi, 2016). Bened from Togo mentioned, ‘The way they talk ... they do feel superior especially [in relation to] the Francophone countries surrounding [them] because when for example you say you come from Togo, they'll be like oh that small village’ (interview, June 12, 2017). Grace from Nigeria pointed out, ‘Yes I think that Ghanaians they feel they are better than
any other person…they feel they are good, they feel they are pure, they feel they are perfect, they are not evil’ (interview, June 8, 2017). Genevieve from Togo was of the perception that, ‘They think their country is, when they know you come from Togo, for example, they will see themselves like more educated, more decent… they have things that we don't have in Togo so they think, yes, our country is better so we're better than you’ (interview, June 10, 2017). Participants felt that Ghanaians looked down on them and considered themselves better than foreign students. Studies reveal that when international students come into their host countries, they may lose their confidence and self-esteem because their values from home may not be recognized (Caldwell & Hyams-Ssekasi, 2016).

This finding relates to feelings of lack of confidence and self-esteem among foreign students, when they feel looked down upon (Caldwell & Hyams-Ssekasi, 2016). As such, they do not feel welcome. During interviews, Nigerian participants especially expressed attitudes of distrust exhibited toward them by members of the host nation. Studies show that international students face varying degrees of hostility depending on the context and countries they come from (Boafo-Arthur, 2014; Hyams-Ssekasi et al, 2014; Lee & Rice, 2007). A degree of distrust seemed to occur toward Nigerians depending on the context. Ahmed from Nigeria narrated how the parents of some Ghanaian students had advised them to stay away from Nigerians,

I think I've had a couple of people telling me that their parents advised them to stay away from Nigerians, and Nigerians are very rude, aggressive and you know, those kind of perceptions, you have it in our school here, you have it outside there, even in the market place. As soon as they see that you can't speak twi, and you're a foreigner and especially you're a Nigerian, they try to take advantage of you, you know, they feel you are troublesome, they feel you cannot be trusted,
you know those kind of feelings, trust me they are not really nice at all’
(interview, May 24, 2017).

These stereotypes about Nigerians persisted among the narratives. Some Nigerians acknowledged that they felt more distrust toward them in the community, such as when they take taxis for transportation. When probed further, they could not find any reason for this, but attributed it to feelings of intimidation that individual Ghanaians felt toward Nigerians. Jennifer a Ghanaian institutional employee pointed out a selective fee admission process toward Nigerians, because in her opinion, Nigerians are dishonest and often when Ghanaians get into trouble, Nigerians are found to be the mastermind behind the problem (interview, June 1, 2017). Neutral perceptions are discussed next.

Neutral Perceptions

Four (4) out of 36 participants, about 11% of foreign students interviewed, had neutral perceptions concerning Ghanaians and feelings of superiority. Isaac from Nigeria remarked ‘There is no difference between Ghanaians or Nigerians. They are all the same; we are all blacks so, from the same zone, well not much difference, not much’ (interview, May 24, 2017). Reference to a shared culture/heritage was made by about 12% of the total interviewees. This finding differs from previous studies on international students who struggle to adjust to the life of the host nation with instances of culture shock; seen commonly in international students travelling to American universities (Ebinger, 2011; Lee & Opio, 2011). Instead, foreign students in Ghana appeared to adjust quickly based on having similar cultures of African origin and having the same skin color (Bagley & Young, 1988). Foreign ECOWAS students were not in the minority and therefore did not experience discrimination based on looks alone. Research suggests that white international students from Europe, Canada, and New Zealand studying in
the United States do not report negative racial discriminatory experiences in adjusting to society (Lee & Rice, 2007). Non-black Africans studying in the United Kingdom also report better adjustments and less acculturative stress in society than black Africans (Boafo-Arthur, 2014; Caldwell & Hyams-Ssekasi, 2016). A reverse pattern appears to be experienced by foreign students from the ECOWAS region in Ghana. Challenges to adjusting and integration may arise based on how students talk, but not how they look. In this sense, ECOWAS students do not experience different aspects of receptivity based on looks alone. As ECOWAS students increase contact with Ghanaians, their positive perceptions about Ghanaians increase and leads to an increase in reception levels toward them. Thus, my third hypothesis is somewhat sustained. Next, I move to a discussion of the regional integration theme.

**Regional Integration and Resource Gain**

Regional integration in West Africa has experienced challenges over two decades (Bundu, 1997, p. 29). Some of the challenges include socio-cultural integration and development or economic integration. Although ECOWAS exists in an attempt to alleviate some of these challenges, national policies remain that create further obstacles to regional integration within West Africa. Can higher education improve or challenge regional integration in the region? This question is discussed through the sub-themes that emerged from the interviews.

**Non-citizen card and residence permit**

A national policy that appears unwelcoming to foreign nationals in Ghana is the mandatory acquisition of the non-citizen card. The National Identification Authority of Ghana (NIA) set up a process in 2013 to register all nationals and foreign nationals in Ghana. The NIA was mandated under NIA Act, 2006 (Act 707), National Identity Register Act, 2008 (Act 750), and the National Identity Regulations, 2012 (L.I. 2111) to issue non-citizen cards to foreigners in
the country. According to the NIA, the non-citizen card is a form of identity mandatory for various transactional purposes such as opening a bank account and acquiring or renewing a resident permit. The cost of obtaining the non-citizen card is $120 for a year and is renewable for subsequent years for $60 (Personal communication, June 15, 2017, Ghana Immigration Service, Accra). Ghanaian nationals can get their cards at no cost and are renewable for five years.

Thirteen (13) out of 36 participants, representing about 36% of foreign students respondents made direct reference to the non-citizen card. Foreign students found the cost to be prohibitive and they also questioned the usefulness of the non-citizen card. Bakari, the president of the Niger student association noted,

Non-citizen card is a card that you have to pay $120 before you get it as soon as you are a foreigner. And then when you get this one, then you go to the immigration service for your resident permit which is 150 Ghana Cedis [about $33]. So this is what especially students have been complaining about for the past year. For the non-citizen card…, and especially you can't even go to the bank with that particular card... Because of non-citizen card, which cost a lot, they can't even afford, so sometimes they even have to go to Togo to get the stamp, or not even use their passport when they are coming. So this is the main challenge that I know that people are debating about, complaining about. They don't even understand the usefulness of this card. (interview, May 29, 2017)

While foreign students did not understand why they are required to get the card, some institutions made it a point to apply for the non-citizen card together with the resident permit on behalf of their foreign students. This makes the process easier for them and less challenging. There is also a penalty for not acquiring a non-citizenship card. Unofficial interviews with
officers from the student desk at the Ghana Immigration Service indicated that ECOWAS foreign students were charged 60 Ghana Cedis (about $13) for every month they stay in Ghana after 90 days without acquiring a non-citizen card and a resident permit. (Personal communication, June 15, 2017, Ghana Immigration Service, Accra) According to the ECOWAS protocol relating to free movement of persons,

‘a citizen of the community visiting any member state for a period not exceeding ninety (90) days shall enter the territory of that member state through the official entry point free of visa requirements. Such citizen shall, however, be required to obtain permission for an extension of stay from the appropriate authority if after such entry that citizen has cause to stay for more than ninety (90) days.

(ECOWAS protocol, 1979)

Officers further pointed out that sometimes when students overstay, they are required to pay their balance owed before they are granted their resident permits when they apply. Foreign students receive a stamp in their passports at the port of entry, so a way to enforce the penalty is to check their date of entry from the stamp and calculate the number of months they had overstayed.

While this may not capture all foreign students who have overstayed, or students who came in to Ghana before 2013, there appears to be a process to keep track of foreign students coming into Ghana to study. The Ghana Immigration Service only has digital data on foreign students in Ghana since 2015, but there were bureaucratic challenges in acquiring that data⁶, however an estimate of students from the ECOWAS region applying for resident permits at the Ghana Immigration Service is given below in Table 5.6.

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⁶ A challenge experienced was in relation to red tape issues. There was a complex process of requesting and obtaining approval from senior government officials before immigration officers could be interviewed.
Table 5.6

*Estimate of origin of ECOWAS students and their numbers*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Students</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Approximate numbers</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>9,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>Cote d’Ivoire</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>Togo</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th</td>
<td>Mali</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th</td>
<td>Niger</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th</td>
<td>Burkina Faso</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th</td>
<td>Senegal</td>
<td>10</td>
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</table>

Source: Personal communication, June 15, 2017, Ghana Immigration Service

With regards to regional integration, the non-citizen card appears to hinder the process of integration through the obstacle of prohibitive prices. This actively prevents the mandate of ECOWAS regarding the free movement and establishment of residents within the ECOWAS communities. Vogl and Ouattara (2012) suggested in a report that structural shortcomings, including the formulation of effective policies and the lack of resources and capacities, hinder sustainable regional integration in West Africa. Also, the monopolistic setting of decision-making and the vested interests of member countries further hinder sustainable regional integration.

In Ghana, the national policy that compels foreigners to acquire a non-citizen card before being eligible for residence permits points to the vested interest of Ghana, thus contradicting the ECOWAS protocol of free movement and right of residence. Ghana can also enforce this policy because of the monopolistic nature of decision-making, having no overarching body in the region to ensure compliance with ECOWAS policies. This calls into question the dilemma caused by having the sovereignty of nations; trying to balance the nation’s interests in conjunction with policies of the regional bloc. A suggestion to overcome these challenges is to have a strong connection between academia, think-tank work and politics (Vogl & Ouattara, 2012). Economic integration in terms of the CFA franc (XOF) can also provide insights into appropriating regional
integration effectively. Advantages of having this monetary zone include reduced transaction costs and greater intraregional trade (Coulibaly, 2017). Students in tertiary education can provide a step toward looking at the current challenges from a different perspective.

**Net Migration Rate in Ghana (1961-2020)**

The net migration rate in Ghana is shown in the chart below from 1961 to the projected year 2020. According to Figure 4, the net migration rate is complex, showing decreasing trend overtime.

![Net Migration Rate in Ghana Chart](chart.jpg)

Source: United Nations Population Division

*Figure 4*. Net migration rate for Ghana: 1961-2020

In 1961, there was an increase in emigrants leading to a spike in net migration rate. This was as a result of the 1960 expulsion order for foreigners in Ghana. The 1983 expulsion order by Nigerians resulted in a spike in net migration rate as more Ghanaians came in from Nigeria. 2005 witnessed a slight increase as a result of the Right of Abode Law being passed. Currently, the rate shows a slight decline which corresponds to the increased number of foreigners coming into
Ghana, while emigration rates remained relatively unchanged. This supports the hypothesis relating to higher education levels indirectly. A more detailed look at my fourth hypothesis is discussed next in foreign students’ plans after graduation.

**Plans after graduation**

All 36 foreign students interviewed were asked about their plans once they completed their studies. Eighteen (18) out of 36, approximately 50%, planned to leave Ghana upon graduation. Blankay portrays this in the following statement, ‘but I’m planning to go back home, because as I said, Guinea we have lots of problems’ (interview, May 23, 2017). About half of the participants planned to go back to their country with their educational experiences from Ghana to help further develop their countries. As such, the resources gained from Ghana translate into resource gains for the home country of the student and further into resource gains for the whole region. Elvin from Burkina Faso talked about the importance of overcoming challenges in his educational experience in order to attain language skills necessary for personal success in his country.

And if I have to waste time comparing all the time or criticizing the school, I'll complete and I won't be able to speak the Portuguese the way I'm speaking French or English. Meanwhile that was my goal because I don't know many people who speak Portuguese in Burkina, and I want to go and like get all the market in Burkina as far as Portuguese is concerned. So I put on my best and I saw that this school has really a lot to offer only if you accept to see it. (Interview, June 19, 2017)
The niche for Portuguese speakers in his country motivated his quest for education in Ghana. The institution he was enrolled in offered Portuguese, along with French, Spanish, and/or English as majors.

Twelve (12) out of 36, about 33% of foreign students interviewed, planned to stay in Ghana and further their studies at the Masters’ level or find employment. Sherif, a student from Cote d’Ivoire discussed his long term plan of staying in Ghana, ‘Because staying here would be better for my kids tomorrow. Here is peaceful, and then the education system here is quite better because in Ivory Coast you use the French baccalaureate, and you have to really study hard for you to pass your exam’ (interview, June 10, 2017). About one third of the participants preferred to stay in Ghana and further their education. Their long-term plans were to live and reside in Ghana. Reasons given were about the peace and stability (i.e. good governance) experienced in Ghana and the entire education system. This finding is consistent with research on motivations and decisions of foreign students in choosing Ghana as a destination country (Frempong, 2015). Frempong (2015) found that both African and non-African foreign students were motivated to choose Ghana as a destination country to study because of the peace and stability in the country, the rich culture and the English language among others. Findings of this study were consistent with the reasons given for choosing Ghana as a destination to study (see Table 4.2). In my research, examples of the rich culture were described as the wearing of traditional outfits to work on Fridays, having television programs that showcased all ten regions in Ghana and trading in artifacts and items from Ghana in one’s home country. Staying on in Ghana may be an indicator of how satisfied foreign students are with Ghana. It may also be because of positive experiences or integrating well into the community.
Six (6) out of 36, approximately 17% of foreign students interviewed, were uncertain of their future and mentioned that it depended on a lot of factors. Ismael from Niger said, ‘And definitely in few months I'll be leaving Ghana. I can't leave Ghana totally because I've been doing things here so definitely I'll be in between Ghana and Niger for the rest of my life’ (interview, May 29, 2017). A quarter of the participants were ambiguous about whether to leave Ghana or not. They agreed that while they may leave Ghana, they also have links with Ghana which may cause them to visit or work temporarily.

This finding is in line with research that conceptualizes home and how home is tied to different migratory plans. Foreign students have four ways of thinking about home: as host, ancestral, cosmopolitan and nebulous (Wu & Wilkes, 2017). Those who view home as host plan to stay, those who view home as ancestral plan to return and those who view home as cosmopolitan or nebulous have open migratory plans. Open migratory plans correspond to cosmopolitan because their viewpoints are open and flexible. Therefore, their view of home is versatile and not dependent on a specific location (Wu & Wilkes, 2017). My research was consistent with this pattern of host, ancestral and cosmopolitan as participants revealed their perspective of home through their plans after graduation.

The students also acknowledged the importance of regional integration, noting that they were all Africans who had come to Ghana for different purposes. Their expenditure added to the economy of Ghana. They also mentioned that Ghanaians go to their country for other purposes, such as trade.

Decisions regarding foreign students’ plans to stay enhance both regional integration and resource gain. In this sense, my fourth hypothesis is somewhat supported. The sub-theme of foreign students’ plans after graduation suggests a solution to the oft-mentioned challenge of
brain drain (Baruch et al., 2007; Wu & Wilkes, 2017). The movement of graduates with high-level skills and competence from one developing country to another can result in a large pool of skilled human capital for one country and an increase in resources for the region as a whole. For instance, the West Africa Centre for Crop Improvement (WACCI) based at the University of Ghana, has since its inception in 2007, graduated fifty-two Ph.D. graduates who are working towards lessening food insecurity in the sub-region. Also, the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping and Training Center (KAIPTC) in Accra, Ghana has since 2004, trained and tutored over 15,000 military, police and civilians in multidimensional peace operations who have become influential in areas of conflict prevention, management and peacebuilding in the region (e.g. election monitoring, customs, immigration etc). Additionally, The Ghana Institute for Management and Public Administration (GIMPA) hosts the Young African Leaders Initiative (YALI) at its Regional Leadership Center for West African nationals. Since 2014, the YALI regional center has trained over 4,000 African youth in public policy, civil leadership and entrepreneurship. These examples provide concrete successes of increased human capital ventures within the region. My findings point to about half of research participants expressing a desire to return to their countries with the intention of helping to develop them. While the brain drain phenomenon often affects a country at the national level, this research reveals that individual desires also have implications for their individual nations and the region as a whole, by adding to human capital investments.

Conclusion

To conclude, receptivity in Ghana toward foreign students in higher education on the whole is largely seen as positive through institutional policies, host nation perceptions and foreign students’ perceptions. Institutional policies appear friendly to foreign students through
arrival, academic, institutional support, and adjustment services to enable better acclimatization. Host nation perceptions include economic and cultural benefits to the nation, institutions and individuals. Negative perceptions include negative stereotypes and point to foreign guests as rowdy, and less adaptable. Positive perceptions of foreign students include the humility of Ghanaians, their lack of egos, and Ghana relatively having a higher level of development. Negative impressions include lack of esteem and trust for foreign students. These constitute negative stereotypes and prejudice against foreign students. Positive perceptions of host nation and foreign students somewhat support my second and third hypotheses. Findings suggest that Ghanaians welcome foreign students living and studying in Ghana. My fourth hypothesis is somewhat supported through regional integration and resource gain. One unwelcoming feature of the Ghana state toward foreign students is the national identity card. Foreign students perceive the process of acquiring the card as cumbersome and unnecessary. Foreign students’ plans after graduation include returning home to help develop their countries. High-level skill sets and competence levels increase human capital for the region. Regional integration and cultural integration is enhanced through these regionally mobile students.

This chapter adds empirical data to the literature on migration, receptivity and higher education from an understudied region. The intra-regional mobility patterns of foreign students in West Africa play a role in facilitating development and poverty reduction across the region.
Chapter 6

Emergent Perspectives on Receptivity:

Foreign Students’ Experiences and Views on Receptivity in Ghana

Foreign students’ views and experiences while studying in Ghana present a much needed context for international students’ while studying across borders. Through analysis and coding, the emergent themes discussed in this chapter provide an understanding of receptivity, integration, and migration within Ghana and West Africa. Some themes resulted from the review of literature. For instance, language was seen as a barrier to integration (Ager & Strang, 2008). Conversely, an unexpected finding emerged from the data which indicated that language could serve as an opportunity to integrate successfully. When foreign students speak the local language, they were able to communicate more effectively. Receptivity toward them becomes more positive as a result of the ability to communicate effectively. These emergent themes from my analysis are summarized in Table 6.1. They either promote or limit receptivity and/ or integration.

Table 6.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thematically Coded Promoters and Limiters of Receptivity/Integration, 2017</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Promote Receptivity and/or Integration</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Limit Receptivity and/or Integration</strong></td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author; N= number of times participants referred to themes

The first theme discussed below is language with its sub-themes—language as an obstacle and language as an opportunity.

Language
Thirty-six (36) out of 41 foreign students were asked how they communicate. Mostly, participants communicated in English. Also, all 36 respondents agreed that they faced obstacles with language, especially the Ghanaian Akan language Twi, however, 5 out of 36, representing about 14% of those who agreed that language was an obstacle, revealed that the Akan language could also be viewed as an opportunity. Eighty-six per cent (86%) had the perspective that the Akan language was an obstacle to integrating within the community.

Research documents that a distinctive type of stress, known as acculturative stress, is connected with individual cross-cultural encounters (Berry et al., 1987). This type of acculturative stress can generate physical, social and psychological responses. Social stress is an example from my data whereby, foreign students feel dissociated from Ghanaians because of the inability to communicate in the local language. Social stress occurs when foreign students face obstacles with language within a host society (Yeh & Inose, 2016). Studies reveal that language barriers often hinder foreign students from interacting socially with the nationals of the host country (Akanwa, 2015; Yeh & Inose, 2016).

Francophone students opened up about their difficulty in integrating with Ghanaians because of their limited command of the English language. Research shows that poor English language proficiency limits the ability of international students to be fully involved in learning; adjusting to different dialects and slangs of local teachers also compound the challenges (Mahmud et al., 2010). For francophone students, this challenge was expressed. Bubakarr, a student from Mali emphasized the dissimilarity in culture between Ghanaians and French speakers, expressing difficulties in breaking that barriers, ‘In Ghana here, I can say there is a barrier for we Francophone and Ghanaian people, because we cannot get closer to them because we don't have the same culture, we don't [have] the same vision, and then we don't have the same
opinion about life. So at the beginning it is difficult to break that barrier’ (interview, May 29, 2017). He gave the example that he and some of his friends from francophone countries were Muslims and therefore familiar with the Muslim culture; they were used to doing things as a group. He considered Ghanaians more independent and individualistic. He elaborated thusly,

In Mali where I'm from, everything you're doing is with group of the people, a team. So you develop your talent according to your team. But here in Ghana there is not much of that so every Ghanaian has to do all things by himself. So that's why when you come here you have to do everything by yourself. An example I can say is that, let's say when you are 18 years old in Ghana here, you leave your house. That's the culture. But in our culture [it] is not necessary to leave your house (Bubakarr, interview, May 29, 2017).

The francophone students found it difficult to integrate especially in the non-academic settings such as the market place, trying to gain accommodation, and finding transportation to various places. At the market places, francophone students noted that the market women were unfriendly toward them due to their inability to speak the local language Twi, and often quoted high prices for items. This finding was consistent with research that showed that learning difficulties for francophone students transcended the academic setting (Tabiri & Budu, 2017). In addition, in the literature, receptivity climate was found to be more positive with higher skill levels of natives (De Jong et al., 2017). In the non-academic settings, such as the market place, receptivity toward foreigners appeared more negative than on a campus where higher skill level sets could generally be found.

Francophone students navigated the difficulty of receptivity and integrating due to language by joining language schools in Ghana to improve their English. After spending nine to
twelve months undertaking English language lessons, they either transferred to higher education institutes in Ghana or returned home. Junior, the president of the Guinean association stated the reason students from his country chose to come to Ghana,

The parents look at all this thing and send them here and also they have been asking people what's the difference between the Ghana English and the other English from Liberia and Sierra Leone, but people have been saying that the pure English is Ghana and also coming to Ghana, you're not going to, everywhere you go, you can meet other people speaking the real English, not that pidgin or Liberian or Sierra Leone what you speak there when you go out from the school, you see, that's why we came here for English and for other educational, for professional masters education (interview 15, May 27, 2017).

For Anglophone students, the situation was a little different. Anglophones were able to adjust faster. This may have been because of the similarity and familiarity of the English language and culture, such as the Christian culture of Ghanaians (Furnham & Bochner, 1982; Lee & Sehoole, 2015). Anglophone foreign students, however, mainly expressed dissatisfaction with the local Ghanaian language Twi.

**Language as an obstacle**

Participants who viewed the Akan language as an obstacle had negative feelings and attitudes about communicating in Twi. Bennie from Nigeria expressed,

Their coercion on you to learn their language is just annoying. When they speak to you in a language that you don't understand, they look like what do you mean, why will you say you don't understand what I'm saying and you just try to tell them, “I'm not a Ghanaian that's why I don't understand”…, they'll be like, “no
you are a Ghanaian, you are just trying to prove stubborn that you don’t understand”…, [that is] the way they try to force it on you (interview, May 26, 2017).

Research shows that understanding the local language helps international students to interact with local people and understand local culture better (Mahmud et al., 2010). On the other hand, failure to interact with local people may cause culture shocks and miscommunication leading to a lack of social support (Chen, 1999; Tseng & Newton, 2002). In the experience of Bennie, the Twi language was a barrier to communicating effectively with Ghanaians. Not only was the local language an obstacle, but it also generated feelings of annoyance and inadequacy on the part of the foreign student, resulting in the prevention of open communication, less adaptability and less acculturation (Berry et al., 1987). Bennie felt the Twi language was being forced on her against her will. This may be a reflection of the attitudes of university students toward their indigenous languages. Research indicates that students at the University of Ghana did not consider being bilingual in English and a local language as a social handicap; however, they perceived that knowledge of a local language had hardly any economic value (Dako & Quarcoo, 2017). Bennie’s attitude may be attributed to the fact that the English language is widely viewed to contribute to the economic success of nations and the economic and social wellbeing of individuals (Dako & Quarcoo, 2017).

As noted, although Bennie experienced faster adjustment to the local culture in terms of the English language, she still experienced challenges with open communication because of Twi (Furnham & Bochner, 1982). While she may have acculturated on one level, integrating fully within the local community was more difficult. Other participants regarded the Twi language as an opportunity to interact better with Ghanaians.
Language as an Opportunity

The Twi language was also an opportunity to learn from and interact with Ghanaians. In a study of international students in a university in Malaysia, it was found that a strong correlation existed between language proficiency and cultural adjustment (Mustaffa & Ilias, 2013). International students that spoke both English and Malay were able to adjust better and quicker (Mustaffa & Ilias, 2013). In my study, foreign students that viewed the Twi language as an opportunity to learn appeared to be well adjusted within the host community. Speaking Twi at markets, for instance, resulted in better reception from the locals (Ager & Strang, 2008). Foreign students had relatively cheaper prices quoted for them for goods as opposed to those who did not speak Twi. Ghanaians welcomed them because they perceived them as willing to learn about the Ghanaian culture and were happy to teach them. A student from Gambia stated,

When I start speaking it [Twi] with them they are so happy. They are so like you can see that they are really happy, and they [say] you're a Ghana boy…, they say oh…my son you've become a Ghanaian. So like you see that they feel like you're interested in their culture, in their language and [in] what they do…So when you show that to someone the person will definitely be like more grateful, and they will reach you as one of their own (Alieu, interview, June 19, 2017).

A positive perspective on a host nation’s culture and practices likely makes the adjustment process smoother (Zentella, 1997). Portraying a willingness to learn Twi expresses a positive attitude toward the Ghanaian culture and practices which in turn generates a positive response toward the foreign student (Campbell, 2015). This makes Ghanaians more receptive toward the student by welcoming him or her and including him or her as one of their own. The foreign student’s sense of belonging may then be enhanced making integration easier (Campbell, 2015).
Generally, local languages, especially Twi, seemed to be the medium often used to communicate. A Togolese student, Audrey, was unimpressed with the frequency of use. She lamented, ‘and everywhere they want to speak Akan. I think yesterday, it was on Friday, I came to UPSA [University of Professional Studies].... And when we went to the office the woman started speaking Twi. And then my colleague responded in Twi...this is, I mean, you can't speak Twi in your office. If it's outside we understand but you are in the office and someone came to you, speak English to the person’ (interview, June 18, 2017). She found this to be very rejecting of foreigners because she felt Ghanaians do not always recognize the presence of foreigners among them and sometimes resort to speaking Akan languages, in particular Twi, to distinguish between insiders and outsiders. This made her feel that she did not belong. Other research has corroborated this finding of using local languages in an official setting such as the bank to deter foreigners (Dako & Quarcoo, 2017).

National and educational policies in Ghana seem to be skewed toward the English language, through its use in public and educational settings (Dako & Quarcoo, 2017). This gives the impression to foreigners that Ghana is receptive with regards to the English language, however foreigners who further embrace the local language, such as Twi, and make an effort to learn it are considered Ghanaians and are better received in the local communities. They are therefore able to adjust easier and integrate better. Those who do not embrace the local language of Twi are viewed as outsiders and do not seem to integrate as fast. Peace and security as a theme is discussed next.

**Peace and Security**

Peace and security was a theme that emerged frequently from interview participants. Forty-seven (47) of interview participants were asked what they liked about Ghana or what
Ghanaians thought foreign students like about Ghana. All 47 participants, representing 100% of interview participants, referred to Ghana as being peaceful and having a high level of security. As one participant explained, ‘It's peaceful, it's peaceful, like no tension; there is this rushed kind of life in Nigeria which is not as dominant here. Here it's kind of calm, it's really nice’ (Cynthia, interview, May 26, 2017). Ghana is referred to as a beacon of peace in a volatile region by a number of authors (Awinador-Kanyirige, 2014; Karim, 2017; UNDP, 2014). In a study on Cabo Verde, Bissau-Guineans referred to Cabo Verde in a similar vein, which was interpreted as an indicator of successful integration (Lundy & Lartey, 2017). In the same way, foreign students who appreciated the peaceful environment of Ghana can be said to have successfully integrated.

In 2017, Ghana was ranked fifth out of 44 countries sampled in Africa and 44th globally out of 163 countries on the Global Peace Index (GPI). It also ranked eighth out of 54 countries on the continent on the Mo Ibrahim Index of African Governance (IIAG). The GPI is a measure of positive, achievable and tangible peace run by the Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP). This measure is used as a standard of human well-being and progress (IEP, 2017). Although seen as a generally peaceful country with high security measures and good governance, relative to other countries in the sub region, Ghana has had its share of internal tensions and conflicts such as chieftaincy issues and land resource conflicts (Marfo, 2013; Sowatey, 2005). One major finding that emerged from interviews with foreign students was the calm and peaceful environment of Ghana. This seeming contradiction can be explained as the calm and peaceful environment of Ghana relative to the countries of the foreign students. In relation to their countries, Ghana appears calm and peaceful.

*Environment of Ghana*
Interview participants made reference to the general environment of Ghana as being peaceful. They described the atmosphere and the people as peaceful and friendly especially when compared to their home countries. Seidou from Gambia reflected,

I think the biggest thing about Ghana and Ghanaian people is the peace, the peace, and the friendly nature of the people, because I've been to some other African countries as well but I found people to be very aggressive toward us especially if you are a foreigner. But here I've not had those confrontations since I came or have any harsh comment from a Ghanaian person, and they are just reliable, they are just peaceful people (interview, June 1, 2017).

This finding is supportive of research which indicates that migrants are appreciative of a peaceful and calm environment for many purposes such as job opportunities and successful community integration (Lundy & Lartey, 2017). In my research, foreign students were appreciative of the calm environment for educational purposes. Foreign students mentioned that one of their motives for coming to Ghana was the reputation of Ghana as a peaceful nation. Upon staying, they also perceived that Ghanaians were peaceful and friendly.

An additional factor that contributes to Ghana’s peaceful and secure atmosphere is reflected in peaceful elections and successful democratic governance and transitions since the 1990s. Ghana was ranked 81 out of 180 countries on the corruption perceptions index (Transparency International, 2017). Abdulai (2009) stated that Ghana has made progress in institutionalizing multiparty democratic governance. This is reflected in the peaceful transfer of power between the governments of the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP) during seven elections in succession. Political liberalization allows Ghanaians to enjoy a wide range of rights and freedom especially with a vibrant civil society as
well as an independent media (Abdulai, 2009). The independent media label is questionable in
the sense that the World Press Freedom Index suggests media pluralism but not enough media
independence in Ghana (Reporters without Borders, 2018). Edward from Burkina Faso found it
shocking, but helpful, that Ghanaians could openly criticize their government without any
repercussions, especially when he compared it to his country:

For instance in my country, you'll never hear someone openly insulting or
criticizing the elected president like openly. I think things are changing now with
the new government over there, I think maybe the freedom of expression will be
much higher than this. But at first, you dare not. So coming here and hearing
anybody at all taking their phones calling the president and talking about
foolishness, incompetency, I was like “wow, that's really something good.” Like
at least the president himself gets to know how the people feel about him, or the
way he's doing something. And out of that, it can give [you] ideas or help you
also change your way of governing or your way [of] relating, something like
that. In my country, no, we're a bit reserved when it comes to that. You don't talk
about certain issues openly like that. So that was a shock. (interview, June 19,
2017)

Foreign students were shocked with the freedom associated with freely expressing ideas
by individuals and society. In terms of integration and receptivity, Edward further stated
that,

And all those facts about people telling you everything, since they are free they
can talk about everything. And I know personally that where I come from there
are certain things you can't talk about in public. And so it was a two-edged knife.
Either I give in to what they were doing and be in trouble in my country or remember or recall the realities in my country and act accordingly here so that it wouldn't be like messy when I go back there. People will be running away from me, and when I come here, people will be coming closer to me. So I had to balance the two and find the right middle (interview, June 19, 2017).

In this context, he has to find the right balance between integrating and being well-received in Ghana as well as making sure he is not compromising his security back home. This is an example of the migrant balancing acts being enacted by a foreign student (Gluckman, 1968).

**Freedom of Movement**

Participants were impressed with the level of security in Ghana especially in relation to their own countries. Louis from Cote d’Ivoire spoke about his experience with security in Ghana:

I like the fact that they are so peaceful. We don't really have it in Cote d'Ivoire. In Cote d'Ivoire, we have serious problem of security. Like at a certain point of time you cannot go out because maybe you can be robbed or something like that. But here it's a very free country. When you come here, even 10 pm, 11 pm, people see you walking, they don't do anything. And they are very welcoming. So I really like that about Ghana. (interview, June 17, 2017)

Among the participants, the ability to move around freely in Ghana was cherished. In relation to their countries, they were confident of being out late at night without any fear of crime or being checked for their identity cards. Linda from Benin reflected that,

You see, I've done my non-citizen card, but even when I go out during the night, nobody asks me for that. Since I've done it, no policeman has asked me for it. But in my country [Benin] for instance, you cannot even go to the roadside without
your ID. If you don't have it, you can be taken to the police station. But here I'm a foreigner and sometimes I don't go out with my ID card and it's not a problem. So I think Ghana, it's a very peaceful country and I'm very satisfied and happy to be here. (interview, June 1, 2017)

The 2017 Hobson’s report, indicates that safety and security is an important consideration for prospective international students seeking to study in the UK. Safety and security are factors that influence how welcoming international students perceive a town or city to be. The security situation in Ghana was well regarded by foreign students from the ECOWAS region, especially when compared to their own country where their identity cards were often checked, even as citizens. This suggests that Ghana was viewed as a welcoming country to foreigners in terms of peace and security. Not only was Ghana seen as a welcoming country by foreigners, but social ties and interactions were considered important during foreign students’ stay.

Social Cohesion

The social cohesion theme emerged from questions such as ‘Who do you socialize with?’ and ‘How do you socialize?’ Thirty-nine (39) out of 47 participants, representing about 83% of all those interviewed, gave responses regarding their social interactions. Friendships and discrimination were considered in the responses. According to the GALLUP migration acceptance index, migrant acceptance increases with social interactions (Esipova et al., 2017). GALLUP is an organization that provides advice and analytics on the attitudes and behaviors of employees, students, customers and citizens across the world to individuals and organizations.

Social Interactions
Students socialized mostly with classmates. Amadou from Benin compared the attitudes of Ghanaians to other Africans from other West African countries and noted that age is not a factor for socializing or interactions in Ghana,

Because if, like what I said about the attitude of other people in other countries, for example, your age, they tend to look at your age before they kind of socialize with you. If you are a little bit younger, maybe they may not be open to them. But here it's like everybody, you can just meet. Everybody whatever age and then you joke, you talk, whatever you want from them, you tell them they will still give it [referring to their generosity] to you, they don't mind (interview, June 1, 2017).

Amadou noted that Ghanaians were generous and did not mind sharing their resources with foreigners. Research reports that younger generations are often more accepting of migrants than older people (Esipova et al., 2017). The perception among West African students in Ghana is that age is not a consideration among the Ghanaian populace with regards to the reception of foreigners. This makes the students feel accepted and able to interact and integrate faster.

Other foreign francophone students selectively chose to interact with Ghanaians only in order to improve their English language skills. Samia from Guinea explained, ‘I'm really happy because through my Ghanaian friends my English has been polished because I don't do French friends. If you are a francophone, I'm a francophone it will not help me…. So I do more Ghanaian friends...than francophone friends because through Ghanaians I was able to, you know, be where I am today’ (interview, June 5, 2017). Research suggests that having a well-developed social network that is inclusive of locals in the host country is an important indicator of cultural assimilation (Facchini et al., 2015). In this case, foreign students in Ghana who selectively chose
to interact with Ghanaians only appeared to integrate faster. It is also probable that having the common interest of the English language resulted in integrating quickly.

Other indicators for social bonds and ties included the patronage of Ghanaian cultural artifacts and outfits (Frempong, 2015). Foreign students appreciated the culture of Ghana. Edinam from Togo indicated that Ghanaians seemed very proud of their culture revealing that she liked the fact that Ghanaians wore their traditional outfits to their workplaces on Fridays (Personal Communication, June 10, 2017). A number of universities held bazaars for foreign students to enable them get familiar with the Ghanaian culture and each other’s culture so that they could integrate faster, findings which are similar to what other authors have found (Gidley, 2016; Lartey & Lundy, 2017). According to Facchini et al. (2015), tertiary education institutions were places where immigrants and natives had a higher probability of forming friendships and social networks. Also, Linda, a student from Benin, whenever she went on vacation, usually purchased Ghanaian outfits and jewelry to sell to her friends at home. Not only did such actions strengthen social bonds and ties, but also contributed to economic trade and regional integration.

Access to resources is discussed next.

**Access to Resources**

With access to resources, 36 out of 47 participants spoke about their access to resources and opportunities off-campus. All 36 respondents, representing about 77% of interview participants expressed their frustrations with access to resources, including accommodation, transportation and food, but agreed that job opportunities were somewhat available. All 36 participants mentioned that they had equal access to resources on campus, such as the library and other facilities. However, they noted that fees and the costs of sightseeing were unequal for foreigners in Ghana.
**Perspectives on Livelihoods**

With regards to their livelihoods, one participant communicated that,

> Transportation, accommodation, even food, I can say it's a little bit expensive when you consider transportation and accommodation. Here, most of the time when you get a house they will ask you to pay at least for one year or two years. Either you have the means or you come together to get a house like the way we did (Michael, interview, June 1, 2017).

The main concern with access to resources was the issue of accommodation and transportation. To overcome this challenge, students either stayed in off-campus hostels or shared accommodation with other students. Francophone students complained especially about the cost of accommodation and issues regarding landlords. Ahmed, a francophone student who also serves as a liaison between landlords and francophone students clarified that the landlords believe francophone students are rich. He explained that in 2007, Gabonese students came to Ghana with their government scholarships and could afford to pay high rents or double the amount an occupant of an apartment was paying. Also, according to him, francophone students like to be comfortable and are willing to pay for an apartment compared to Ghanaians who prefer to stay in hostels (Personal Communication, June 18, 2017). For these reasons, the landlords assume all francophone students are wealthy and can afford to pay rent amounts therefore they are charged high rents. Research indicates that the rent system in Ghana has a systemic prejudice in favor of the privileged (Arku et al., 2012). In this informal housing market, renters are charged advance rent, typically covering two to three years (Arku et al., 2012). The advance rent system applies to both Ghanaians and foreign guests alike.
Additional research indicates that host nations offer both formal and informal practices and policies that either inhibit or facilitate integration for immigrants (Neufeld et al., 2002). The practice of advance rent suggests that Ghanaian landlords make it difficult for renters of which foreign students are a part to integrate well within the community. This implies that the Ghanaian society is less receptive to foreign students with regard to accommodations.

The perception of ECOWAS students in Ghana did not always point to unequal access to resources. A student from Cote d’Ivoire stated, “There are a lot of opportunities available here in Ghana. Since it's, I can say, a peaceful country and then with high level security, people feel comfortable establishing their businesses. And so you get a lot of opportunities, job opportunities, only if you also put in your best” (Barete, interview, June 19, 2017). This student described himself as having an entrepreneurial mindset which enabled him to pick up on business opportunities in Ghana. At the time of the interview, he stated that he was running a business alongside pursuing his bachelor’s degree. Research has shown that immigrants are twice as likely to become entrepreneurs as native born citizens and often earn more money (Lundy et al., 2017; Vandor & Franke, 2016). One reason given for this is that cross-cultural experiences increase the ability to recognize business opportunities. The findings of my study are supported by this research in that the foreign student attributed his ability to found a business to his entrepreneurial mindset. He was able to use his cross-cultural experiences from Cote d’Ivoire and Ghana to notice profitable opportunities in Ghana, creating a business of his own (Vandor & Franke, 2016).

In terms of integration and receptivity, this particular foreign student is able to integrate better due to his business and is also likely to feel that Ghanaians are more receptive toward him,
because he has access to business opportunities. This entrepreneurial mindset does not appear to have caused friction for the student. The cost of education and sightseeing is discussed next.

**Cost of Education and Sightseeing**

Prices for many resources, including fees, and prices for sightseeing are often not the same for Ghanaisans and non-Ghanaisans. Assiatou from Guinea explained, ‘Ok, when you have a program or the fees for instance, the international student over there, they pay $2,000 per semester. That’s the average. And for Ghanaisans [they] will pay 2,000 Ghana Cedis [about $400]. So foreigners have to pay about four times more than Ghanaisans’ (interview, June 10, 2017).

The schedule of tuition fees for domestic and international students of Central University, Accra, Ghana is presented in Table 6.2. For a comparison of fees for domestic students and international students of other institutions, refer to Table 5.3.

**Table 6.2**

*Schedule of fees for students 2016/2017 (all figures in USD)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Domestic Student</th>
<th>Foreign Student</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Undergraduate (Freshman)</td>
<td>451</td>
<td>2,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate</td>
<td>2,286</td>
<td>3,500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Central University Schedule of fees

From Table 6.2, foreign students pay as much as four times more than Ghanaisans in terms of undergraduate tuition fees for school. In the United States, international students contribute immensely to the economy through tuition fees and jobs. According to NAFSA, a not—for—profit association of international educators who work to advance policies and practices that ensure a more interconnected and peaceful world, international students in the United States contributed about $36.9 billion dollars to the U.S. economy during the 2016-2017 academic year. As it occurs in universities that host foreign students, the students often pay more in tuition fees
for their education than their domestic counterparts. While foreign students in Ghana may perceive this as unequal access to resources, it is a standard practice in many universities that open their doors to foreign students. This suggests that it may not be a significant measure of receptivity, however, it does add to perceptions of unwelcomingness.

With regards to sightseeing in the local places like parks and beaches, Abdul from Burkina Faso stated that,

So when they come and then they visit them all, they feel happy. There are no beaches in Burkina Faso. We don’t have the sea so yeah. And the parks too, no we don’t have them in Burkina Faso. So they are happy to visit actually, they are really happy to visit. But something that is discouraging people is the fee they have to pay there. When you go there, when you are a foreigner, you pay this. When you are a Ghanaian you pay this [a different amount]. Ghanaians maybe pay 20 Cedis (about $4), a foreigner will pay 50 Cedis (about $11). And for me, a place that is natural like, you don’t have to do that, honestly you don’t have to do that. (Interview, June 10, 2017)

For the foreign student who is excited about nature and wants to explore Ghana, the different prices charged at the entrance to these tourist sites are expensive barriers to leisure. In this regard, foreign students faced unequal access to resources, therefore it suggests that Ghanaians were not very receptive toward foreigners.

The views and experiences of foreign students in Ghana appeared to be mixed. Students experienced positive outlooks with regards to the environment, language, social interactions and business opportunities, but they were not too impressed with access to
resources including accommodation and fees. For the foreign student, life in Accra was expensive.

**Conclusion**

The various forms of foreign students’ experiences as they lived and studied in Accra, Ghana are put forth in this chapter. Language, a key indicator of receptivity and integration appeared to be an obstacle to integration and receptivity. A small number of participants viewed language as an opportunity to learn about the culture of Ghana and thereby increased their intercultural competence. Access to resources and opportunities also seemed to be a barrier to integration and receptivity. Accommodation and fees were major deterrents to integrating successfully. Foreign students perceived that living and studying in Accra was expensive.

Positive measures of receptivity and integration included the peaceful and calm environment of Ghana. Participants appreciated the fact that life in Accra was not rushed and was peaceful relative to their home countries. Also, they enjoyed freedom of movements without constant checks by security officers, which again was different in Ghana from their countries of origin. Research indicates that intercultural interactions promote intercultural friendships and intercultural understanding (Ward, 2001). As foreign students and Ghanaians interacted in the institutional setting and within the community, friendships were developed leading to a promotion of intercultural understanding. This helped in the process of integration and generally promoted a positive receptivity climate. Intercultural understanding may be a key element in regional cultural integration. Participants were of the view that they had formed friendship ties with students they could connect to wherever they go in the region of West Africa. As such,
regional integration can be enhanced through friendship ties formed in student mobility patterns across West Africa.
Chapter 7

Conclusion and Recommendations:

Summary of Findings, Limitations, and Next Steps

This study differs from the usual push—pull model of migration in two ways. First, the rationales for studying in the region as opposed to moving to an economically more advanced country are nuanced (Lundy & Hayes n.d). Second, student migrant experiences represent a middling experience of migration; they have resources such as education and skill but do not experience an elite form of flexible citizenship (Robertson & Runganaikaloo, 2018). This begs the question as to whether student migrants within the region of West Africa need or want the citizenship of their host nation. Again, differences can be observed within their experiences that differ from student migrants in previously more desirable destinations. Students may decide to stay in their host nation, go back home, or go elsewhere which makes them flexible and mobile in their decisions after graduating. If they decide to return home, they increase human capital, which in turn helps with development of the entire region (Lundy, 2015). These regionally mobile students are a potential source of research output and income generation for universities in the West Africa region, especially the graduate students (Lee & Sehoole, 2015). In this area, South Africa appears to have set a precedent by building human capital and economic competitiveness for the Southern Africa region and Africa as a whole (Lee & Sehoole, 2015). Ghanaian universities will benefit from regionally mobile students to strengthen their research capacity and global competitiveness. I started this research with the question, ‘How are foreign students from the ECOWAS region welcomed in the city of Accra, Ghana?’ Secondary questions included:
(a) What is the nature of reception for ECOWAS students from different countries in Ghana?

(b) How is regional integration enhanced or not by cross-border educational migration?

In chapter 1, I presented the rationale for doing the research and the reasons for choosing Ghana as the focus of the study. Ghana serves as an emerging destination for higher education students within Africa, in particular West Africa. The historical and contemporary pattern of migrants in Ghana was also presented to set the stage for discussing a welcoming culture in Ghana from an ethno—political and historical viewpoint. In chapter 2, the migration trends in Ghana from the 1960s were examined. The political landscape regarding immigration and migrant groups were also discussed. A background to Ghana’s welcoming culture was explored to provide the context for the research. The next chapter, chapter 3, discussed the theoretical underpinnings and conceptual framework for this study. The literature reviewed mostly focused on interactions from the perspectives of international students. The perspectives of members of the host community as well as the wider community, outside the institutional community were less documented. Again, most of the literature focused on international students in economically developed countries with a few from emerging economies (Barnett et al., 2016; Kondacki, 2011). In particular, this research highlights understudied Ghana, which by design or not, is emerging as a regional education hub in West Africa. The following hypotheses were generated from the literature review, and then were investigated in the field.

H1: Tertiary education institutional policies and their implementation are receptive toward foreign students from ECOWAS countries in Accra, Ghana.
H2 (a): An increased number of ECOWAS students in Accra, Ghana will result in economic benefits to the host country.

H2 (b): An increased number of ECOWAS students in Accra, Ghana will result in social benefits to the host country.

H3: The positive experiences and perceptions of ECOWAS students will generate increased levels of receptivity for themselves through sustained contact with the host society.

H4: Most ECOWAS students will return home upon graduating leading to an increase in net resources, higher education levels, and human capital for Ghana and the youth of West Africa.

In chapter 4, I provided a comprehensive account of the methods I used in obtaining information to answer my research question, sub-questions, and hypotheses. This study involved 47 participants from six tertiary institutions over a six week period. The tertiary institutions were a mix of public and private universities. I chose semi-structured interviews and direct observations as the means to acquire appropriate data. These methods gave me the opportunity to study the problem in context and to gain access to them in a timely and effective fashion (Maramwidze-Merrison, 2016). Also, these methods allowed for an adjustment of schedules and questions according to participants’ and researcher’s needs. I used purposive and snowballing sampling techniques to gain access to participants based on their experiences and information needed to answer my questions (Shenton, 2004). Template and thematic analysis were used as my data analysis techniques and these resulted in broad themes such as tertiary institutional policies, host nation perceptions, foreign students’ perceptions, regional integration and resource gain (Braun & Clarke, 2006). A novel aspect of this study involves combining the community
integration factor score and the international friendly campus scale to examine receptivity qualitatively (Lundy & Darkwah, 2018; Wang et al., 2014).

Receptivity in Ghana toward foreign students in higher education on the whole is largely seen as positive through institutional policies, host nation perceptions and foreign students’ perceptions. Institutional policies appear friendly to foreign students through arrival, academic, institutional support, and adjustment services to enable better acclimatization (Boafo-Arthur et al., 2017; Trice, 2007). Host nation perceptions include economic and socio—cultural benefits to the country, institutions, and individuals. Negative perceptions include negative stereotypes such as the perception of foreign guests as rowdy and less adaptable. Positive perceptions identify the humility of Ghanaians, their lack of egos, and Ghana having a higher level of development relative to other countries in West Africa. Negative impressions reveal the lack of esteem and trust for foreign students (Caldwell & Hyams-Ssekasi, 2016). These constitute negative stereotypes and prejudice against foreign students (Quinton, 2008). Positive perceptions of host nation and foreign students support my second and third hypotheses. Findings suggest that Ghanaians welcome foreign students living and studying in Ghana. My fourth hypothesis is supported through regional integration and resource gain. One unwelcoming feature of the Ghana state toward foreign students is the national identity card. Foreign students perceive the process of acquiring the card as cumbersome and unnecessary. Foreign students’ plans after graduation include returning home to help develop their countries.

Language, a key indicator of receptivity and integration appears to be an obstacle to integration and receptivity (Ager & Strang, 2008). A number of participants view language as an opportunity to learn about the culture of Ghana, thereby increasing their intercultural competence (Ward, 2001). Access to resources and opportunities appear to be a barrier to integration and
receptivity. Research indicates that the renters’ market in Ghana privileges the rich (Arku et al., 2012). As students pay advance rent for two or three years, they perceive that living and studying in Accra is expensive. Accommodation and fees are major deterrents to integrating successfully.

Positive measures of receptivity and integration include the peaceful and calm environment of Ghana (Lundy & Lartey, 2017). Participants appreciate that life in Accra is not rushed and is peaceful relative to their home countries. Also, they enjoy freedom of movement without constant checks by security officers, which again is different from their countries of origin. Research indicates that intercultural interactions promote intercultural friendships and intercultural understanding (Ward, 2001). As foreign students and Ghanaians interact in the institutional setting and within the community, friendships are developed leading to a promotion of intercultural understanding. This helps in the process of integration and generally promotes a positive receptivity climate. Intercultural understanding may be a key element in regional cultural integration. Participants are of the view that they have formed lasting relationships with students whom they can connect with wherever they go in the region of West Africa. As such, regional integration can be enhanced through friendship ties formed in student mobility patterns across West Africa. High-level skill sets and competence levels increase human capital for the region (Baruch et al., 2007; Lundy, 2015). Regional integration and cultural integration is enhanced through these regionally mobile students (Lee & Sehoole, 2015). This can lead to brain gain for the region, countering the effect of brain drain (Baruch et al., 2007).

Limitations and Future Research

This study, being a qualitative study, has results that cannot be generalized to specific contexts, such as in OECD countries. However, the findings presented provide important context
from an understudied region that adds to the knowledge of migration and student mobility patterns generally. The study also provides information on domestic students, host institutions and the larger community in which they reside. It also provides information on regional hubs for education. This is relevant in cases where the literature identifies a dearth of information (Barnett et al., 2016; Ward, 2001). The use of surveys and gaining access to more students from ECOWAS countries could have enhanced the findings by increasing the scope and depth of information leading to a greater understanding of receptivity. In the course of the research, government officials and other stakeholders such as non-government organizations could not be accessed for information. This challenge was mitigated by secondary sources of information. Future research can incorporate these stakeholders to give a more thorough understanding of receptivity, further adding to the literature on migration, welcoming cities and student mobility patterns. Also, next research steps may include following up on the three specific cases of regional successes—the fifty-two graduates of West Africa Centre for Crop Improvement (WACCI), Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Center graduates (KAIPTC) and graduates of Ghana Institute for Management and Public Administration (GIMPA) Young African Leaders Initiative (YALI) for West African youth.

**Observable Best Practices**

A summary of the best practices for students, faculty and staff, and members of the community occurring in institutions within Accra, Ghana is presented below.

**Student**

- Institutions have orientation programs that include immigration registration, in other words, national identity cards, residency permits, housing, and social belonging.
• Institutions include cultural bazaars, sightseeing tours, and international student day events throughout the year for the integration of students into the community of Accra.

Faculty/Staff

• Institutions provide employees with basic information about international students including demographics and needs. For example, a housing coordinator in an institution was provided with students’ home country information and food preferences.

• Institutions can collaborate with other institutions across the country to establish language proficiency centers for foreign students to integrate faster in the community.

Members of the Community

• Institutions maintain collaborative relationships with state officials. For instance, a student desk was established in 2015 at the Ghana Immigration Service solely for processing foreign students’ residence permits.

• Institutions include community resources for foreign students such as places to gain accommodation off-campus, where to access public transportation, access to markets etc.

Based on the best practices for recruitment, admission, and adjustment of international students discussed in chapter 3, it is noted that institutions mostly follow these practices. Circumstances differ in every context and while these are observable best practices following the standards of the American International Recruitment Council, it is best that each institution modify these practices to suit their context (American International Recruitment Council, 2016). The goal of presenting these measures in this research is to have an idea of institutional best practices within higher education in the Ghanaian and West African context.

Recommendations
1. Ghana may have a niche role in becoming a regional hub for higher education. As such, the government can create and implement a national plan that partners with local universities toward recruitment efforts and integration strategies. Creating a national plan has proved successful in Cabo Verde’s efforts of migrant community integration (Lartey & Lundy, 2017).

2. Best practices observed during the study can serve as guidelines in enhancing recruitment strategies, admission processes, and adjustments of foreign students in Accra, Ghana.

3. Ghanaian institutions can focus on building the human capital of graduate students toward enhancing research capacity and development throughout the region.

4. A suggestion to overcome the challenges produced by regional integration is to have a strong connection between academia, think-tank work, and politics (Vogl & Ouattara, 2012). Economic integration in terms of the CFA franc (XOF) can provide insights into appropriating regional integration effectively. Cross-border students can help in finding solutions toward achieving effective regional integration.

5. The government of Ghana can focus its efforts not only on the contributions to Ghana’s economy through labor migrants (OECD/ILO, 2018), but also on foreign students, seeing them as potential labor migrants and putting measures in place to harness them as human resources.

6. Foreign students lamented over feelings of isolation that occurred as a result of a lack of integration with domestic students and a lack of institutional backing to address challenges such as conflicts with landlords, roommates, etc. Community partnerships are effective in decreasing discrimination and increasing integration levels (Lartey & Lundy, 2017). Community partnerships can be formed with students (both domestic and foreign),
faculty and staff from other institutions as well as foreign students' primary institutions, so that foreign students can have a bigger voice to address challenges. Also having collaborative activities together, such as a dance club or language club, can encourage cultural and social integration.

7. Discrimination and other forms of prejudices did not appear to be overt during this research, although there seemed to be latent forms of discrimination, such as unfriendly markets. There is the need for policy reforms that will function against future discrimination, tension, conflict and sources of friction. An example of a policy reform that is working is the Cabo Verde government adopting a national policy to integrate labor migrants and mitigate discrimination, conflict, and tensions.
References


King, S. M. (2007). We hear you all…but we don’t understand what you are saying. Personal reflections on the Joseph project of Ghana, West Africa, Summer, 2007. Retrieved from


APPENDIX A

This appendix is based on a listing of all colleges and universities in Accra, Ghana. The first ten were compiled based on recommendations from study participants and convenience to the researcher.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Location</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>University of Ghana</td>
<td>Accra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central University</td>
<td>Accra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghana Institute of Languages</td>
<td>Accra</td>
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<tr>
<td>University of Development Studies</td>
<td>Accra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisconsin University</td>
<td>Accra</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ghana Technology University</td>
<td>Accra</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ghana Institute of Management and Public Administration</td>
<td>Accra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghana Institute of Journalism</td>
<td>Accra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valley View University</td>
<td>Accra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accra Technical University</td>
<td>Accra</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Hypotheses:
H1: Tertiary education institutional policies and their implementation are receptive towards foreign students from ECOWAS countries in Accra, Ghana.

H2 (a): An increased number of ECOWAS students in Accra, Ghana will result in economic benefits to the host country.

H2 (b): An increased number of ECOWAS students in Accra, Ghana will result in social benefits to the host country.

H3: The positive experiences and perceptions of ECOWAS students will generate increased levels of receptivity for themselves through sustained contact with the host society.

H4: Most ECOWAS students will return home upon graduation leading to an increase in net resources, higher education levels, and human capital for Ghana and the youth of West Africa.

Students

1. Where are you from? How long have you been here? Why did you come originally? Why have you stayed? Has your reason for staying changed?

2. Please explain how you got here. Did you need any special documents? Medical checkups? Anything else?

Institutional Services

3. Has the international program office helped in your transition? How? Do you have pre-arrival services, arrival services and orientation? Can you explain some of these services to me?

4. How does the international program office compare to other student services on campus?

5. How do you feel about the international program office? Do you feel safe, comfortable, or otherwise?

Academic Support

6. How do you perceive faculty members? Are they willing to give advice to foreign students? In what ways?

7. When needed, do you as a foreign student feel comfortable approaching faculty to discuss academic issues? Any examples?

8. Do you feel faculty members make a real effort to understand the difficulties foreign students may have with their academic work? In what ways?

Identification with institution
9. How do you like associating yourself with this university? Do you feel happy, proud etc?

Interactions
10. What do you find most welcoming about Ghana?
11. What do you find most welcoming about Ghanaians?
12. What do you find hostile to foreigners? Please explain
13. Would you say that people were generally friendly or generally hostile towards you? Why?

Social Engagement
14. Who do you socialize with? In what ways?
15. How do you socialize? Do you have close friends who are Ghanaians on campus? Off-campus? Do you have close friendship with other foreign students in other universities? Do you have a favorite place to meet your friends? Are there differences between this and other gathering places? Are there gathering places that you avoid? Why?
16. What is your relationship with others in the community? Who do you mix most easily with? Do Ghanaians feel superior to others?
17. Tell me about your living arrangements? Do you live with Ghanaians or non-Ghanaians? Do you live on-campus or off-campus? Have you experienced any conflicts with people you live with? What made you choose on-campus or off campus living?
18. Do you recommend living on-campus or off-campus for foreign students? Why?
19. Do you belong to any organizations? What are they?

Culture
20. Do you participate in any cultural, leisure, or tourist activities? Which ones?
21. How do you communicate? Do you communicate in any of the Ghanaian local languages?
22. Do you experience any language barriers? Which ones?
23. Does the pursuit of formal education ever get in the way of ‘cultural’ expectations?

Campus Discrimination
24. How do you perceive being treated on campus? Are you treated differently or unfairly because you are a foreign student?
25. Do you hear any insensitive or degrading remarks about foreign students here?
26. How do you see your access to resources and opportunities here on campus compared to Ghanaian students?
27. What are your plans upon graduation?
28. What are some of the reasons you would prefer to stay here? Move on? Where would you go? Why?
29. What are your career goals/aspirations?
30. Is there anything that I might have missed that you feel is important?
Student associations

1. How long have you been in operation?
2. How often do you meet? Where do you meet?
3. What do you do? What is your mission?
4. How many foreign students are in your group in a typical year? How many do you think live on campus? How many do you think live in Accra? How many do you think are from ECOWAS countries?
5. Can you tell me about your programs? How do you organize yourselves?
6. How do you socialize? Do you have a favorite place to meet? Are there differences between this and other gathering places? Are there gathering places that you avoid? Why?
7. Are there any institutional/university policies that affect your organization? What are they? In what ways? How do you feel about such policies?
8. Do you have a “network” for meeting people, or finding help/housing? Who belongs to your “network”?
9. Do you recommend living on-campus or off-campus for foreign students? Why?
10. What is your relationship with others in the community? Other organizations? Who do you mix most easily with? Does one group feel itself superior to the others?
11. What sort of values or characteristics do you associate with being part of the group?
12. How do you welcome others to participate?
13. What do you find most welcoming about Ghana and Ghanaians? What do you find not welcoming? Why or why not?
14. Do you think the presence of foreign students here is beneficial or detrimental to Ghanaians? Why or why not?
15. Do you think the presence of foreign students here is beneficial or detrimental to Ghana? Why or why not?
16. What would you say are some of the most challenging experiences you have had since coming here?
17. What are some of the most rewarding?
18. How has that experience affected you?
19. What are the future plans for the group?
20. Is there anything that I might have missed that you feel is important?

Institution (International program center, faculty department, etc)

1. Tell me about your recruitment process?
2. Tell me about your retention process?
3. Can you tell me about your programs? How do you organize yourselves with regards to foreign students? Are there any special resources or services available for foreign students? Do you have pre-arrival, arrival and orientation for foreign students?
4. Do you recommend living on-campus or off-campus for foreign students? Why?
5. Are there any institutional policies that affect foreign students? How do you feel about such policies?
6. What kind of help exists for foreign students in terms of housing and residence?
7. How do you ensure that foreign students feel safe and comfortable?
8. How many foreign students are in your department? How many do you think are on campus? How many do you think are in Accra? How many do you think are from ECOWAS countries?
9. What kind of activities do you have for foreign students to feel welcome or included?
10. Do you have links or partnership with outside (outside of campus) organizations on welcoming students to live and stay here in Ghana? Which organizations are they? What activities do you do?
11. Tell me about your classroom experiences? Do you have any foreign students in your class? What do you do to make them feel welcome?
12. What do you think foreign students find most welcoming about Ghana and Ghanaians? What do you think they find not welcoming? Why or why not?
13. How do you feel about the presence of foreign students here? Do you think the presence of foreign students is beneficial or detrimental to Ghanaians? Why or why not?
14. Do you think the presence of foreign students is beneficial or detrimental to Ghana?
15. Is there anything that I might have missed that you feel is important?

Others (e.g. Ghana Tourism Board employees, NGOs, landlords, etc)

1. How do you feel about foreign students coming here to live and study?
2. How long have you rented out your facilities to foreign students?
3. Who do you mostly rent out to? (from which country)
4. How would you describe your relationship with foreign students? (which ones in particular)
5. Do you feel threatened by foreign students coming here to study or live? In what ways?
6. What is the most challenging experience you have had with foreign students?
7. What is the most rewarding experience?
8. How has that experience affected you?
9. Do you think living off-campus helps foreign students learn better or not? Why?
10. What do you think foreign students find most welcoming about Ghana?
11. What do you think foreign students find most welcoming about Ghanaians?
12. What do you think foreign students find hostile about Ghana?
13. What do you think foreign students find hostile about Ghanaians?
14. What are some of your welcoming initiatives towards foreign guests and foreign students in particular?
15. Is there anything that I might have missed that you feel is important?
APPENDIX C
SIGN SIGNED CONSENT FORM
IRB Study #17-531

Title of Research Study: Examining Receptivity of Foreign Guests: A Study of Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Students in Higher Educational Institutions in Accra, Ghana

Researcher's Contact Information: Kezia Darkwah, 678-900-4398, klar_tey@students.kennesaw.edu

Introduction

You are being invited to take part in a research project conducted by Kezia Darkwah of Kennesaw State University, United States. Before you decide to participate in this study, you should read this form and ask questions about anything that you do not understand.

Description of Project

The purpose of the research is to explore the receptivity of Ghanaians towards foreign guests, in particular, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) students in higher educational institutions in Accra, Ghana.

Explanation of Procedures and Time required

You will be asked to participate in an interview lasting between 30-60 minutes at a day, time, and location of your choosing. The interview will be digitally recorded to serve as a memory aid and in order to convey accurate information. Some follow up may be needed, again at a day, time, and location of your choosing or by phone or email. You will be asked questions such as: When did you first come to Ghana? Who do you socialize with? What do you find most welcoming about Ghana? What are your plans for the future?

Risks or Discomforts

There are no anticipated discomforts or risks from participating in this interview. You have the right to skip any questions or discontinue the interview without penalty at any time.

Benefits

Although there are no direct benefits to you for participating in this study, the indirect benefits from your participation will be a contribution to better understanding of migration and higher education issues within an understudied population and context.
Confidentiality

The results of your participation in this study will be kept confidential. Any identifying information collected from you, including this consent form, will be kept separate from the data. Furthermore, all data will be coded to remove any identifying information and pseudonyms will be used in all publications resulting from this study. The results of the interview will be kept confidential and will not be released in any individually identifiable form. Data will be locked in a footlocker while I am here in Ghana and upon return to the United States, I will store all data in a locked filing cabinet. All computer data files will be password protected. All electronic data files will be kept on an encrypted and password protected thumb drive that will also be locked in a filing cabinet.

Inclusion Criteria for Participation

Participants for this study are Ghanaian citizens, ECOWAS students in higher education, and tertiary institutional employees who must be over the age of 18.

Signed Consent

I agree and give my consent to participate in this research project. I understand that participation is voluntary and that I may withdraw my consent at any time without penalty.

_______________________________________________
Signature of Participant, Date

Initial to consent to be digitally recorded

________________________________________
Signature of Investigator, Date

PLEASE SIGN BOTH COPIES OF THIS FORM, KEEP ONE AND RETURN THE OTHER TO THE INVESTIGATOR

Research at Kennesaw State University that involves human participants is carried out under the oversight of an Institutional Review Board. Questions or problems regarding these activities should be addressed to the Institutional Review Board, Kennesaw State University, 585 Cobb Avenue, KH3403, Kennesaw, GA 30144-5591, (470) 578-2268.
Dear Institutional Review Board Chair and Members,

**RE: IRB LETTER OF APPROVAL**

**MS. KEZIA LARTEY**

I write to inform you that Ms. Kezia Lartey, a Ph.D. candidate of the International Conflict Management Program at Kennesaw State University, has the permission of Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping and Training Center (KAIPTC) to develop her research work on the topic “Examining the Receptivity toward Foreign Guests in West Africa: The Case of Ghana.”

We are happy to support Ms. Lartey by linking her to individuals and organizations in Ghana who may be able to provide her with information and perspectives relevant to her study.

Ms. Lartey has provided my office with a copy of her IRB approval request form which indicates a high level of commitment towards conducting her research in an ethically sound manner.

Please do not hesitate to contact my office should the need arise for further clarification.

Sincerely,

EW KOTIA, PhD  
Brigadier General  
for Commandant
APPENDIX E

IMAGES FROM THE FIELD

Central University’s International Students’ Office
A poster showing international students at the ATAG cultural bazaar, 2016. Other activities organized by Central University for their foreign students can be viewed at http://central.edu.gh/152.
A poster showing University of Ghana’s Pan-African Conference and Festival, July, 2017.